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A GRAMMAR OF BABA MALAY
WITH SOCIOPHONETIC CONSIDERATIONS

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Dedicated to the memory of Lee Tai San alias Yap Kim Seng,
my Peranakan grandfather

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ABSTRACT

Baba Malay, the home language of Peranakans, was formed via early intermarriage between Hokkien-speaking male traders and Malay-speaking indigenous women in the Malay Peninsula. The language is endangered, with less than 1,000 speakers in Singapore, and less than 1,000 speakers in Malacca, Malaysia. This dissertation describes the language's sociohistorical background, its current circumstances of endangerment, and provides information regarding the phonology, parts of speech, and syntax of Baba Malay as it is spoken in Singapore. The language has 19 consonants and 8 vowels, of which [ɛ] occurs only in a refined style of speaking. Acoustic investigation of the vowel system shows that that [ɛ] is falling out of use, especially among less proficient speakers. A matched guise task is conducted to show the associations that listeners form between this changing variant and the speakers who produce this variant. Results show that younger listeners in particular perceived forms with [ɛ] as being more emblematic of the Peranakan culture and community than corresponding coarse speech forms that do not use [ɛ], suggesting that loss in production precedes loss in perception. Results from a post-matched guise survey also indicate that Peranakans are very concerned about language loss. Beyond this extended phonological investigation, the language's basic clausal word order is Subject Verb Object, where Subject is optional. Topicalization also occurs frequently in the language. The basic phrasal word orders in Baba Malay are Adjective Noun and Noun Adjective, Genitive Noun, and Preposition Noun. Relative clauses occur preminally and postnominally. Other than presenting a traditional description of Singapore Baba Malay, this grammar also highlights differences between Singapore Baba Malay and Malacca Baba Malay, and addresses whether Baba Malay is a genetic dialect of Malay, a mixed language, or a creole. Comparison between Singapore Baba Malay and Malacca Baba Malay shows that Malacca Baba Malay is more influenced by standard Malay, particularly where lexicon is concerned. Investigation into the issue of classification shows that BM should be classified as a creole. This dissertation includes vocabulary and texts; the audio files associated with these texts are archived at Kaipuleohone.

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1. Introduction to Baba Malay, its speakers and this dissertation

The purpose of this dissertation is to provide a grammar of Baba Malay as spoken in Singapore. Other key components to documenting this highly endangered language include a sociophonetic focus on a language change in progress, observations of the differences between the varieties of Baba Malay that is spoken in Singapore and Malacca, as well an investigation of the type of language that Baba Malay is, whether it is a genetically related “dialect” of Malay, a mixed language, or a creole. For details of these goals, please see section 1.3.2.

1.1 The formation of Baba Malay

Baba Malay (ISO 639-3: mbf), also known as *Peranakan* to its speakers, is a contact language with two main component languages. Most of the words are of Malay (ISO 639-3: zlm) origin, while it is disputed whether the grammar is derived from Hokkien, also known as Fukien or Southern Min (ISO 639-3: nan) (Holm 1989; Lee 2009; Shih 2009) or if Baba Malay is a dialect of Malay (Pakir 1986; Thurgood 1998).

¹ Regardless, it is generally agreed that Baba Malay was formed via Chinese-Malay intermarriage.

Based on Chinese imperial records, Chinese contact with the Malay Peninsula is said to have begun around the 3rd century AD, continuing into the 5th AD (Thurgood 1998). Chinese traders en route to India would have had to travel via the Malay Archipelago. The ports in the Malacca Strait area were geographically advantaged, being at the receiving end of both northeast and southwest monsoons. The northeast monsoon aided vessels in their journey from China to the Malacca Strait, where they awaited changes in the wind direction to continue to their journeys or to return home (Andaya and Andaya 1982). The development of Chinese settlements southwards from China began as early as the 15th century AD—at least dates have been documented for the travels of the Chinese admiral Zheng He, who led trading exchanges in the South China Sea, Java Sea and Malacca² Strait between 1405 to 1433 (Wade 1994; Wang 1964; Widodo 2002/2003). In particular, Chinese settlements were built in Malacca, and it became a highly favored trading post of the Chinese. At that time, Malacca was a kingdom in its

¹ While some have stated that Baba Malay was influenced by colloquial Malay rather than by the standard variety (Tan 1993; Ansaldo and Matthews 1999), others have stated that the language was more likely influenced by more standard Malay (Lee 2009). The Hokkien dialect that most probably contributed to the formation of Baba Malay is that of Zhangzhou and Quanzhou, where most Singapore and Malacca Hokkiens originally came from. More discussion on this topic ensues in Chapter 7: What type of language is Baba Malay?

² In Malay, Malacca is Melaka orthographically.

own right (Windstedt 1948), and it notably became the first nation to receive an official inscription on a tablet from a Chinese emperor of the Ming dynasty, Yong Le (Wang 1964; Widodo 2002/2003).

During his voyaging years, the Chinese admiral Zheng He made a total of five trips to Malacca. After Zheng He's death in 1433, a scholar on his ship by the name of Fei Hsin wrote in *Hsing-ch'a sheng-lan*³ 'The Overall Survey of the Star Raft' that besides dark-skinned people, he had also seen fairer-looking people of Chinese descent in Malacca (Fei 19436). A century later, in 1537, a Chinese traveler by the name of Hwang Chung wrote in his travel journal, *Hai yu* 'News from the Ocean', that the Chinese in Malacca ate pork, lived in hotels, and had female slaves who served them food and drinks (Groeneveldt 1876). These narratives complement the account that many of the Chinese men who had come to trade at the new port in Malacca did not return to China. Most Chinese immigrants were men, as it was rare for women to make these voyages out of China (Skinner 1996). Eventually, these Hokkien-speaking men who mostly originated from the Zhangzhou and Quanzhou⁴ regions in the Fujian province on the south-east coast of China, married indigenous Malay spouses. Some were said to have married slaves of Batak, Balinese, and Javanese origin (Purcell 1980). By 1750, it was reported by the then Governor of Malacca, Balthasar Bort that the Chinese population in Malacca had grown to 2161, a fifth of the total population (Purcell 1980), and that the number of China-born Chinese only contributed minimally to this figure (Skinner 1996). Descendants of this community are referred to as 'Straits-born Chinese', or *Peranakan*, and it is their language, *Baba Malay*, that this dissertation is concerned with.

1.2 The Peranakans

It is important to note that while Chinese-Malay intermarriages still currently occur, these intermarriages result in neither Peranakan ethnicity nor culture. Besides having developed their own home language that they refer to as a *patois*, the Peranakans also created their own unique culture, which is a blend of Chinese, local, and Western customs and traditions. Mostly Chinese, the Peranakan culture is also influenced by Malay and Western practices (Wee 2013). Traditionally, they follow Chinese religious practices, such as praying to *ti gong* 'sky god', and the *datok dapor* 'deity of the stove', in addition to

³ The Wade-Giles system of romanization was used by the translator of this edition, J.V.G. Mills.

⁴ With the exception of referring to the romanized forms used by other authors who have used Romanization systems such as the Wades-Giles, the Hanyu Pinyin system is used for representing Mandarin in this dissertation.

ancestral worship⁵. Malay influence on the other hand, is seen in how the Peranakan language resembles Malay, hence its name Baba Malay (henceforth ‘BM’). Where dress is concerned, the Peranakan men traditionally wore the *baju lokchuan*, a Chinese attire made of silk, while the females wore the *baju panjang*, a long blouse, over a *sarong*, reminiscent of what Malay and other local women would wear. Eventually, the men began to prefer English suits due to colonial influence, and the women favored the *sarong kebaya*⁶, the *kebaya* being a short jacket made of European material such as voile and often elaborately embroidered by hand around the edges with Chinese motifs, such as phoenixes and dragons. The *kebaya* is fastened in the front by three brooches linked together by a common chain. This set of brooches, unique to the culture, is called the *kerosang*. While most Peranakans no longer wear traditional outfits on a daily basis, the women do wear the *kebaya* for special occasions, such as formal dinners, while the men have begun wearing batik shirts, similar to their counterparts in Southeast Asia. Where cooking is concerned, Peranakan cooking is a fusion of Chinese, local, and Western ingredients. The *iték tim* ‘duck soup’ for example, comprises Chinese preserved vegetables, the Southeast Asian tamarind, and Western brandy, among other ingredients (Wee 2013). Western influence brought about particularly by the British colonialism cannot be underestimated. With the British settlement of Penang, Malacca, and Singapore in the nineteenth century, Peranakans were learning English (thus differentiating themselves from other Chinese migrants), and identifying themselves as the King’s Chinese (Hardwick 2008). While wealthy families sent their children to schools in England, Peranakan men were also employed as middlemen who mediated between the migrants and the English colonial administrators. Eventually, a group of Peranakans set up the Straits Chinese British Association in 1900, the name of the association reflecting the Peranakans’ ties with the British administrators. Post- World War II, the British completely removed themselves from Malaya in 1963, and only then was the association renamed the Singapore Chinese Peranakan Association. It was later renamed the Peranakan Association Singapore in 1966, and the association’s name has since stayed the same (Wee 2013).

The Peranakans themselves are referred to by many names. The word *Peranakan* is composed of a person prefix, *per-*, the morpheme for child, *anak*, and a nominalizer, *-an*. Both affixes are of Malay origin. While the nominalizer *-an* is a productive suffix in BM, the person prefix *per-* is not used to

⁵ The Peranakans were never Muslims, even though the group was formed via Chinese intermarriage with Malays. Malays had converted to Islam from around the 14th century. The Sultan of Malacca himself converted to Islam from Hinduism, changing his name from Parameswara to Muzzafa Shah.

⁶ In the past, the *kebaya* was known as the *baju nona*, literally the ‘clothes (of a) Nyonya’. This term is no longer commonly used by Peranakans today (Peter Wee, p.c.).

create new words in the language. As a single word, *Peranakan* denotes ‘descendants’. In the Malay Peninsula, it is commonly taken to mean ‘locally-born’, as with Peranakan Jawi (locally-born Arabs), and Peranakan Yahudi (locally-born Jews). However, the term *Peranakan* is used mainly to refer to the Peranakan Chinese due to their significantly larger numbers (Pakir 1986).

The males in the Peranakan community are referred to as *baba*, while the females are referred to as *nyonya*. The word *baba* is of unclear etymology. Pakir (1986:23) mentions JD Vaughan (1879)’s explanation of the term’s origin, that “the term *baba* was used by the natives of Bengal to designate the children of Europeans and was probably introduced by the Indian convicts at Penang to describe Chinese children”, but postulates that the word could have been borrowed from Turkish, in which it means ‘father’ (1986:25). In a different vein, Khoo (1996) postulates that *baba* is a loanword borrowed from Persian by Malay speakers. Used as an honorific solely for grandparents, the term was supposedly brought to the Malay Peninsula by Hindustani speakers such as vendors and traders. It then became part of the vernacular. In light of this disparity in etymology, a simpler, more direct explanation of the term *baba* can be proposed. The term could have come from Hokkien, which the Chinese traders would originally have spoken. In Hokkien, one addresses one’s father as [pàpǎ] with an unaspirated [p], a low falling tone on the first syllable, and a rising tone on the second syllable. The children of the Chinese-Malay intermarriages may have used the Hokkien term while addressing their father, which is entirely plausible since most of the kinship terms are derived from Hokkien (See Pakir 1986, Shih 2009, and Appendix A: Kinship terms). The term [papá] evolves into [baba], as unaspirated [p] is aurally close to [b], and Peranakans call their fathers [bapa?]. Some Malacca Peranakans call their fathers [baba].

Nyonya, which refers to a female Peranakan, appears to have a slightly clearer etymology. Pakir (1986) suggests that the word derives from the Indonesian word *nona*, which means ‘lady’. On a related but different note, Thurgood (1998:90) states that *nyonya* is a Javanese term, corresponding to “English *Mrs.*, German *Frau*, or Polish *Pani*”. To uncover the actual etymology, it is necessary to look at the common influences that underlie both Indonesian and Javanese forms. Pakir (1986:25) questions if *nyonya* has a Dutch or Portuguese origin. While there was considerable Dutch influence in the region considering that Malacca and parts of Indonesia (in particular Java) formed part of the Dutch East Indies administration from the 17th century to the early 19th century, there is no similar form for *nyonya* in Dutch that means ‘lady’, ‘female’, or an equivalent. In addition, it is said that Malacca under the Dutch rule attracted few Chinese immigrants, ‘so that the emergent society had a long period of incubation

with relatively little incorporation of new Chinese “blood” (Skinner 1996: 57). It is likely that the Peranakan community would have been stable for a period of time, and that essential terms in the language would already have been developed prior to this. On the other hand, Portuguese has a comparable form, *dona*. The dates of the first Chinese settlement in Malacca and the Portuguese colonization of the place also agree with this account. Portugal had colonized Malacca between 1511 and 1641, arriving a century after Chinese traders had likely begun to settle in it. Within a century, the Chinese- Malay intermarriages that led to the development of the Peranakan culture and identity would have taken place, and it would have been possible for the Peranakans to borrow the word for ‘female’ from the then-dominant Portuguese administrators. Remarkably, the word *nona* from that era is still preserved through a popular Kristang (an endangered Portuguese Creole spoken in Malacca) song called *Jingli Nona* (‘Dancing Girl’), demonstrating how salient the word *dona* or *nona* could have been in Malacca, so much that the Peranakans would have come to use *nyonya* to mean ‘female Peranakan’.

Other essential terms associated with the Peranakan identity are *peranakan jati*, *peranakan chelop*, *embok-embok*, *embok jantan*, and *bibik*. Both *peranakan jati* and *peranakan chelop* relate to lineage. *Jati* means ‘teak’ in Malay, and a *peranakan jati* is one who is considered to be true-blue Peranakan, or one whose parents are both Peranakan. *Chelop* means ‘to dip in dye’ in Malay, and a *peranakan chelop* is ironically, no longer “pure”, since their ancestors or parents have married outside the community. These concepts are paradoxical, considering that the Peranakan community itself arose out of intermarriages across ethnic lines. However, in the years after the formation of the Peranakan identity, marriages within the community were preferred (Clammer 1980, Tan 1979) and the Peranakans differentiated themselves from the new Chinese migrants or *sinkék*. The word *sinkék* is derived from Hokkien to mean ‘newcomers’. These marriages within the community became rare after the Japanese invasion of the Malay Archipelago (1942-1945), and consequently, there are not many Peranakans left who can claim to be *peranakan jati*.

The term *embok-embok* is close in nature to that of *peranakan jati*. *Embok-embok* in Peranakan refers to elderly Peranakan women who are highly traditional, and fastidious in maintaining customs. Pakir (1986:23) cites Horne (1974), pointing out that *embok-embok* could have originated from Javanese, in which [əmbəʔ] would mean ‘mother’, or be a ‘term of address for an older woman, especially of the servant class’. Pakir (1986:23) also cites Ikranagara (1980) who states that Melayu Betawi, a creole dialect spoken in Jakarta, uses [mboʔ- mboʔ] to mean ‘older woman’. As before, it is important to ask if

this word can be traced further back to an earlier existence in Hokkien, since the Chinese from Fujian were once dominant in the region. There exists in Hokkien a word that refers to ‘grandaunt’—[pǒ], with a rising tone. This word would appear as [ŋpǒ] in the Zhangzhou variety of Hokkien, Zhangzhou being where most of these Chinese immigrants originated from. [ŋ] is a vocative particle in the Zhangzhou variety of Hokkien, used commonly in kinship terms (Freedman 1979). The meaning of [ŋpǒ], which denotes grandaunt, and connotes a much older lady, is semantically congruous with those of the Peranakan, Javanese, and Melayu Betawi terms. In Peranakan, it is interesting to note that *embok-embok* can also mean ‘highly traditional Peranakan elders’ collectively. However, the term is never used to refer to elderly Peranakan men. This is perhaps due to the fact that the original terms from which *embok-embok* was coined refers to ‘grandmother’ or ‘elderly woman’ in Hokkien. The male counterpart of the female *embok-embok* is the *embok-jantan*, wherein *jantan* means ‘male’ in Malay.

The last term that indicates Peranakan identity is *bibik*. This refers to ‘a mature Peranakan woman’. It is said that this word may have been derived from Hindustani, and has a similar meaning of ‘aunt’ in Indonesian (Pakir 1986:25). There is no direct male equivalent to *bibik*. At the time of writing, the terms *embok-embok* and *embok-jantan* are falling out of use with members of the community. Only the term *bibik* remains highly used. This may be due to the fact that *embok-embok* refers to not just an elderly Peranakan person, but also to a very traditional person who still follows the Peranakan customs and traditions. By definition then, there are only a handful of Peranakans who can be considered to be *embok-embok*, and the word is not often used.

1.2.1 Geographical location

Although the Peranakans first developed their identity, language, and culture in Malacca (2.2000° N, 102.2510° E), many later moved to Penang (5.4000° N, 100.2333° E) and Singapore (1.3667° N, 103.7500° E). While Penang is 475 km (295 miles) north of Malacca, Singapore is 232 km (144 miles) south of Malacca. Penang is about 1,048km², Malacca is about 1,664 km², and Singapore is about 710 km². Both Penang and Malacca are states in current-day Malaysia, and Singapore is a nation state on its own. The local names for Penang and Malacca in Malay are *Pulau Pinang* (‘Island Penang’) and *Melaka*. Penang and Malacca are positioned on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, while Singapore occupies the southern-most tip of this peninsula. All three locations run along the Malacca Strait, which was made prosperous by trading ships that plied these waters. Being the main channel that links the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean, the Malacca Strait is still a vital shipping channel today.

Malacca flourished as a trading port under the Portuguese rule between 1511 and 1641. In contrast, it was not as successful under the Dutch rule between 1641 and 1825. The Dutch preferred to use Batavia, present-day Jakarta, as their main center of economic activities, and had only occupied Malacca to prevent other European powers from occupying it (De Witt 2008). Thus, a considerable number of Peranakans moved to Penang after the British annexed it in 1786, for Penang was thriving as a trading port at the expense of Malacca. In a letter dated 1 February, 1787, founder of Penang, Captain Francis Light, wrote that “[d]id not the Dutch keep a strict watch over the Chinese, most of them would leave Malacca” (Purcell 1967: 244). Following that, a sizeable number of Peranakans also moved to Singapore at the beginning of the 19th century, shortly after the founding of Singapore by Sir Stamford Raffles in 1819 (Skinner 1996).

In addition to the Peranakans of Malacca, Penang, and Singapore, there is also a Peranakan population in Java, Indonesia (7.5028° S, 111.2631° E). This population is not directly related to the community that first developed in Malacca. It is said that even though Chinese immigrants arrived in Java prior to the 18th century, they had mostly assimilated to indigenous society. The Peranakan community, with its own practises and language, only developed in Java during the 18th century (Skinner 1996). The language of this community is also different from BM. It is called Peranakan Indonesian (ISO 639-3: pea), and is based on Indonesian (ISO 639-3: ind), and Javanese (ISO 639-3: jav), with Mandarin elements, as compared to BM, which instead has Hokkien elements (Lewis et al. 2013).

1.2.2 Dialects and language environments

There are two varieties of BM spoken today. The Peranakans from Singapore speak a different variety from the Peranakans from Malacca. Interestingly, while it has been noted that there is a population of Peranakans in Penang who originated from Malacca, this group of Peranakans does not speak BM. Instead, they speak Penang Hokkien. Skinner (1996) postulates three reasons for this difference. First, he states that there was already a stable settlement of married Hokkien speakers in Penang preceding the arrival of the Peranakans from Malacca, whereas there was no such settlement in Singapore. Next, the trading patterns of Penang and Singapore differed.

As Skinner (1996: 58) reports it:

Penang served as entrepot for Medan in northeastern Sumatra and for Phuket in southern Thailand, and in both of those ports Hokkien speakers predominated among Chinese traders, whereas Singapore was the entrepot for ports along the north coast of Java, where Peranakans predominated.

Lastly, he states that there was considerable intermarriage between the Peranakans of Penang with Hokkien families in Sumatra and southern Thailand, whereas Singapore Peranakans intermarried with Peranakan families in Java. Some of these explanations appear to be more plausible than others. While it may be less accurate to suppose that the Singapore Peranakans maintained BM due to their links with Java Peranakans, as the Java Peranakans speak a different language than the Singapore Peranakans, it appears that the Penang Peranakans assimilated to Hokkien due to their strong ties with Hokkien speakers, and that they already had models in the form of other Hokkien families they could emulate. It is important to note that although Peranakan culture is a mixture of Chinese, indigenous, and Western ways, it is still predominantly Chinese. For example, regardless of whether Peranakans speak Penang Hokkien or BM, they maintain Chinese kinship terms (See Tan 2001 for kinship terms in Penang Hokkien and section **Error! Reference source not found.** for kinship terms in BM).

Malacca and Singapore Baba Malay differ mainly because of the other languages that they came in contact with. In Malacca, Malay is the language of administration and mainstream education, and it is spoken by the majority (Tan 2001). To a lesser extent, English, Hokkien, and Cantonese are spoken. It is interesting to note that whereas Cantonese is more widely spoken in other Malaysian states such as the capital state of Kuala Lumpur, Hokkien is more extensively used in Malacca and Penang (Chen 2003). English is also spoken by the younger generation. It is becoming more prominent in education, as it is increasingly used in private schools as a medium of education (David and Govindasamy 2005). In addition to this, Malaysia has its own colloquial English variety, more commonly known as “Manglish” (Lee 1998). Malay is, however, still the most dominant language in Malaysia.

In Singapore, English is the majority language. Used for administrative purposes and as the main medium of education, English is designated as an official language together with Malay, Mandarin, and Tamil. The language policy for education in Singapore categorizes students by broad ethnic groups, and assigns students from each ethnic group a “mother-tongue” that they have to learn as an academic subject, in addition to English. Pakir (1994) calls this “English-knowing bilingualism”. With this rule, those who are classified to be “Chinese”, regardless of whether they are Hokkien, Teochew, or

Cantonese, are supposed to learn Mandarin. “Indians” are to learn Tamil, and “Malays” are supposed to learn the Malay language. In addition, Malay has a further status of being the national language, and it is the language of Singapore’s national anthem and pledge. However, it is not widely used outside the Malay community, its status as a national language notwithstanding. Other languages spoken in Singapore with no official status include Colloquial Singapore English (commonly known as “Singlish”), Bazaar Malay (a pidgin used in the market place by older Singaporeans), and other Chinese varieties such as Hokkien, Cantonese, and Hakka. The 2010 Singapore census of households shows that English and Mandarin were most frequently spoken at home. Among the Chinese, Hokkien was the most commonly spoken Chinese “dialect”, while Malay was preferred at home among the Malays (Singapore 2011).

The two varieties of BM are influenced by their different environments. It appears at first glance, that Singapore Baba Malay (SBM) has more Hokkien lexical items than Malacca Baba Malay (MBM), which seems more Malay. While [hwa.hi] can be used to express the notion of ‘happy’ in SBM, MBM users will use [gəm.bi.ra] or [su.ka ha.ti] and not [hwa.hi]. The words [gəm.bi.ra] and [su.ka ha.ti] (literally meaning ‘like heart’) are derived from Malay, while their counterpart [hwa.hi] is derived from Hokkien. Similarly, other words such as like [ri.jaŋ], meaning ‘lively’, are used in MBM, but are deemed by SBM speakers as being ‘too Malay’. SBM speakers use the Hokkien- derived term [lau.dʒiɛt] to mean ‘lively’ instead. Syntactically, the two varieties also differ from one another. It is syntactically possible to construct phrases with both sequences of ‘Noun Determiner’, and ‘Determiner Noun’ in SBM, whereas the sequence ‘Determiner Noun’ is not usually found in current-day MBM. In Malay, only the sequence ‘Noun Determiner’ is permitted, while in Hokkien, the opposite is true.

There has been little research done on the differences between Singapore and BM. While Pakir (1986) and Lee (1999) explicitly state that their fieldwork is conducted in Singapore, and Sharif (1981) and Lim (1981, 1988) state that their fieldwork took place in Malacca, the two varieties are often conflated together. Pakir (1986) suggests towards the end of her dissertation, that comparisons between the two dialects could be carried out in the future.

1.2.3 Speaker numbers

The 2010 census of Malaysia shows that Malacca had a population of 788,706 as of 2010 (Malaysia 2011). In 2007, 32% of the total population in Malacca was Chinese, while the Malays outnumbered

them at 57%. In Singapore, as of 2012, there were 5.31 million people. The Chinese formed the majority at 74%, followed by Malays at 13%, and Indians at 9.2% (Singapore 2011). These numbers however shed no light on the current Peranakan population and BM speaker numbers, as Peranakans are subsumed under ‘Chinese’ for the purpose of administration in both Malaysia and Singapore. In addition, while Singapore’s population census does report language trends such as the language most often used at home, it only includes a set list of languages such as English, Mandarin, Malay, Tamil, Hokkien, Teochew, Cantonese, “Other Chinese dialects”, “Other Indian languages”, and “Others” (Singapore 2011). Presumably, BM would be included in the count under “Others”.

In 1986, based on a 1957 census report of Singapore that stated that 2.1% of 442,707 people had “Malaysian dialects” as their mother tongue, Pakir (1986) reported that there was possibly an ethnic population of 10,000 Peranakans in Singapore. Pakir (1986) further estimated there to be at least 5000 speakers. This number comprises both fluent and semi-fluent speakers. Monolinguals were also reported to be at least 70 years old. Twenty-six years on, BM has become a moribund language that is no longer being learnt by younger generations. Speakers themselves often cite that there are less than 1,000 people in Singapore who can speak the language fluently. Based on Pakir’s (1986) numbers, all surviving monolingual speakers should be in their late 90s at the very least. The situation in Malacca appears to be equally bleak. In 2006, it was reported that there were 2,000 Peranakans in Malaysia (Salleh 2006). There are no official numbers for how many of them speak BM. Given that the language is moribund and that speakers under the age of 50 are rare, assuming equal numbers of Peranakans below and above the age of 50, it can be roughly estimated that there are less than 1,000 speakers in Malaysia, all of whom are assumed to speak MBM.

1.2.4 Language endangerment index

Once said to be “the dialect of commerce and the lingua franca of the Straits Settlements” (Tan 1988:121), BM has now become a home language that is endangered (Chia 1983, Lau 1984, Pakir 1986). This is due to the fact that other languages have taken over the home domain. In Malacca, languages that are spoken at home in place of MBM include English, Hokkien, and to a lesser extent, Malay. In Singapore, languages that are spoken in place of SBM are predominantly English and Mandarin.

There are different methods of assessing language vitality. For example, there is the 8-level Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (Fishman 1991), the Expanded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (Lewis and Simons 2010) and UNESCO has also proposed nine factors for evaluating language vitality (2003). One of the latest scales to date is the Language Endangerment Index (Van Way and Lee 2013) that has been proposed for assessing levels of endangerment in the *Catalogue of Endangered Languages* (Endangered Languages 2012).⁷ Most of these scales emphasize similar factors that indicate endangerment. Van Way and Lee (2013) propose that some of the most important factors include intergenerational transmission (as underscored by Fishman 1991, Lewis and Simons 2009 in their scales that measure intergenerational disruption), absolute number of speakers, speaker number trends, and domains of use.

Van Way and Lee's (2013) endangerment index is presented in the following tables. The numbers (1-5) in the top rows represent the score that is to be given to the language if it matches the description in the column below. Being the most important indicator of language vitality, the score given for intergenerational transmission is multiplied by two, while the other scores are not multiplied. The scores for all separate indicators are then added up, and converted into a percentage out of a total possible score of 25. The vitality score based on these percentages can then be interpreted with Table 5: Language Endangerment Index – Interpretation. Note that in Table 5, there is also a certainty score in addition to the vitality score. This is a unique feature of Van Way and Lee's (2013) Language Endangerment Index. This score indicates how reliable the vitality score is, by summing up the total possible score that a language can receive based on the number of indicators that are used. If there is not enough information for a particular indicator, that indicator does not have to be used, and a score of zero will be assigned instead of five, which is the total possible score for each indicator (except for intergenerational transmission, for which a language receives a possible total score of 10 points instead of 5).

⁷ www.endangeredlanguages.com

5	4	3	2	1	0
<i>Critically Endangered</i>	<i>Severely Endangered</i>	<i>Endangered</i>	<i>Threatened</i>	<i>Vulnerable</i>	<i>Safe</i>
Few speakers, all elderly	Many of the grandparent generation speak the language.	Some adults of child-bearing age know the language, but do not speak it to children.	Most adults of child-bearing age speak the language.	Most adults and some children are speakers.	All community members/ members of the ethnic group speak the language.

Table 1: Language Endangerment Index – Intergenerational transmission

Where intergenerational transmission is concerned, BM is “severely endangered”. A severely endangered language is one that is spoken by many from the grandparents’ generation. A severely endangered language on the index is more in danger of dying out than an “endangered language”, which is spoken by some adults of child-bearing age, but not spoken to children. Both MBM and SBM are rarely spoken by adults of child-bearing age, and would be better classified as being “severely endangered”, being moribund and not learnt by children. At the same time, it cannot yet be classified as being “critically endangered”, as not all speakers are elderly, some are middle-aged. The language scores an 8 in this respect (4x2).

5	4	3	2	1	0
<i>Critically Endangered</i>	<i>Severely Endangered</i>	<i>Endangered</i>	<i>Threatened</i>	<i>Vulnerable</i>	<i>Safe</i>
1-9 speakers	10-99 speakers	100-999 speakers	1000-9999 speakers	10,000-99,999 speakers	100,000+ speakers

Table 2: Language Endangerment Index – Absolute number of speakers

In terms of absolute number of speakers, having less than 1,000 speakers, both MBM and SBM are classified as being “endangered” on Van Way and Lee’s index (2013). The language scores a 3 for absolute number of speakers.

5	4	3	2	1	0
<i>Critically Endangered</i>	<i>Severely Endangered</i>	<i>Endangered</i>	<i>Threatened</i>	<i>Vulnerable</i>	<i>Safe</i>
A small percentage of community members or members of the ethnic group speak the language; the rate of language shift is very high.	Fewer than half of community members or members of the ethnic group speak the language; the rate of language shift is accelerated	About half of community members or members of the ethnic group speak the language; the rate of language shift is frequent but not rapidly accelerating	A majority of community members or members of the ethnic group speak the language; the number of speakers is gradually diminishing.	Most community members or members of the ethnic group are speakers; speaker numbers are diminishing, but at a slow rate.	Almost all community members or members of the ethnic group speak the language; speaker numbers are stable or increasing.

Table 3: Language Endangerment Index – Speaker number trends

Besides absolute numbers, Van Way and Lee (2013) emphasize the importance of looking at general trends in speaker numbers. These varieties are not commonly spoken by those under the age of 50. Assuming that there are community members equally distributed over an age range of 0-90, SBM and MBM can be categorized on the index as being “severely endangered” since fewer than half of the community members speak the language. The rate of language shift is accelerated in these instances. The language scores a 4 in this instance.

5	4	3	2	1	0
<i>Critically Endangered</i>	<i>Severely Endangered</i>	<i>Endangered</i>	<i>Threatened</i>	<i>Vulnerable</i>	<i>Safe</i>
Used only in very few domains, (for example, restricted to ceremonies, to few specific domestic activities); a majority of speakers supports language shift; no institutional support.	The language is being replaced even in the home; some speakers may value their language while the majority supports language shift; very limited institutional support, if any.	Used mainly in the home; some speakers may value their language but many are indifferent or support language shift; no literacy or education programs exist for the language; Government encourages shift to the majority language; there is little outside institutional support.	Used in non-official domains; shares usage in social domains with other languages; most value their language but some are indifferent; education and literacy programs are rarely embraced by the community; government has no explicit policy regarding minority	Used in all domains except official ones (i.e., government and workplace); nearly all speakers value their language and are positive about using it (prestigious); education and literacy in the language is available, but only valued by some; government and other institutional support for	Used in government, mass media, education and the workplace; most speakers value their language and are enthusiastic about promoting it; education and literacy in the language are valued by most community members; government and other institutions support the

			languages, though some outside institutions support the languages.	use in non-official domains.	language for use in all domains.
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Table 4: Language Endangerment Index – Domains of use

In addition to intergenerational transmission and speaker numbers, it is also important to consider the language’s domains of use. On Van Way and Lee’s (2013) index, both MBM and SBM are “severely endangered”, as they are being replaced even in the home. In both Malacca and Singapore, the varieties are being replaced by English to a large extent. As mentioned earlier, other languages spoken at home in Malacca include Hokkien, and to a lesser extent, Malay; and Mandarin is spoken in the Singapore Peranakan home as well. It is valuable to note that Peranakans were among the first in the Malay archipelago to embrace the English medium education that began with British colonialization (Lim 2010). In addition, it is important to remember that the Peranakans had positive relations with the British administrators, to the extent that they were referred to as the “King’s Chinese” during the colonial period (Lim 2010). It appears that since then, Peranakan families have been more inclined towards speaking English. In addition, although the Peranakan language is highly valued particularly by those involved in cultural and clan activities, the majority would rather have their children speak English at home for the purpose of social advancement, as the mastery of English is conflated with better academic performance, and better job opportunities. Chua (2003:71) states that “weakness in English language skills are not only detrimental to educational achievements, but also incur serious economic disadvantages” in the Singapore context. There is very limited institutional support for BM in both Malacca and Singapore. There is no official support for the language in Malacca. The situation is harsher in Singapore, as the use of non-official languages is forbidden on the national free-to-air radio and television stations (Wee 2010). Limited institutional support comes from the various Peranakan associations. BM is often used on promotional material for Peranakan events, although these are limited to short *pantun* ‘traditional poem’, and short paragraphs, since many community members do not understand the language. At the time of writing, there are no BM language classes available anywhere. The language thus scores a 4 on this scale.

<i>Vitality</i>	<i>Certainty</i>
100-81% = Critically Endangered	0-10 = Uncertain
80-61% = Severely Endangered	15-20 = Fairly Certain
60-41% = Endangered	25 = Certain
40-21% = Threatened	
20-1% = Vulnerable	
0% = Safe	

Table 5: Language Endangerment Index and Level of Certainty Index

BM scores $(8+3+4+4)/25 \times 100 = 76\%$ on the Language Endangerment Index, and the language is considered as being “severely endangered”. This can be said with a high level of certainty, since all four indicators have been used to derive the vitality score.

1.3 Language documentation

This dissertation is based on an ongoing language documentation project that began in June 2012. Both SBM and MBM are being documented as part of this project, even though this dissertation focuses primarily on the SBM variety.

Essentially, language documentation emerged as a response towards current concerns regarding language vitality. Krauss (1992) predicted that as much as 90% of the world’s languages may become “doomed” (moribund or extinct) by the end of this century. Repeating Krauss’ predictions, UNESCO (2003) states that at least 50% of the world’s languages are losing speakers, and that by the end of the

21st century, about 90% of the languages may be replaced by dominant languages. Since then, more recent numbers have also been made available. Campbell et al. (2013) show that 3230 of the world's languages are endangered by the careful criteria of the *Catalogue of Endangered Languages* (Endangered Languages 2012), 45% of the world's languages, and on average, only 0.36 of a language becomes extinct per month. Essentially, this means that one language dies every 3 months, or 4.3 languages per year. The fact that Krauss' initial estimates were too high is corroborated by Simons and Lewis (2013), who based their findings based on information in the latest edition of *Ethnologue* (Lewis et al. 2013). Simons and Lewis (2013) state that in more urbanized areas such as Australia, Canada, and the United States, 75% of the languages that were in use in 1950 are now extinct or moribund, while in less urbanized areas such as sub-Saharan Africa, less than 10% of the languages are extinct or moribund. Overall, Simon and Lewis (2013) estimate that 19% of the world's living languages are moribund. Regardless of how high or low these numbers are, language loss is highly consequential.

Crystal (2000) states the importance of language in expressing identity, and in encapsulating its speakers' history, for as Emerson once said, "Language is the archives of history" (1855:26). Languages also contribute to the sum of human knowledge (Crystal 2000), and the loss of languages and their cultures is accompanied by the irreparable loss of diverse and interesting intellectual wealth Hale (1992). With specific regard to BM, the language expresses and represents a particular ethnic identity. Arguably, the language is an essential external marker of the Peranakan identity in this current era. Most Peranakans look Chinese, having long been assimilated into the Chinese population through marriage. Nyonyas no longer wear their traditional outfit, the *sarong kebaya* on a daily basis. Neither do the Babas go about their regular day dressed any differently from other people in a modern-day society. Essentially, it is difficult to identify a person on the street as being Peranakan unless the person speaks BM. Beyond being an ethnic marker, BM also captures the cultural knowledge of the Peranakans. Without the language, it is impossible to talk about the traditional ceremonies that take place in a Peranakan household, such as *lapchai* 'gift exchange ceremony' and *chiutau* 'coming-of-age ceremony', which are just two of the many ceremonies conducted for marriage. In addition to being a marker of identity and a cultural repository, BM is linguistically interesting. It is contact language that has both Austronesian and Sino-Tibetan components. As such, it also combines non-tone and tone languages. In addition, while it is regarded to be a creole by some (Lim 1981, 1988, Ansaldo and Matthews 1999, Shih 2009), it has more complex features that are not traditionally associated with creoles, such as relative clauses to mention one example (see section 5.6.3). Also with regard to its likely creole-hood, Ansaldo

et al. (2007) acknowledge correctly, that while most typical creoles were formed against a background of unequal power between two groups, BM had its roots in the intermarriage of ethnicities of relatively equal power. These are but just some of the attributes that make BM unique as a language, and that gives further impetus to document it.

Language documentation has been positioned to address the concerns above. However, there are two quite separate views about what language documentation should encompass. There are researchers such as Himmelmann, who state that language documentation is “concerned with the methods, tools, and theoretical underpinnings for compiling a representative and lasting multipurpose record of a natural language or one of its varieties” (2006: 5). In the same vein, Austin states that “[t]he role of data in language documentation is rather different from the way that data is traditionally treated in language description” (2006:86). A more extreme version of this view is that of Woodbury who propose that language documentation is “direct representation of naturally occurring discourse is the primary project, while description and analysis are contingent, emergent byproducts which grow alongside primary documentation but are always changeable and parasitic on it” (2003:39). While researchers like Himmelmann may prefer to leave the task of description out of a language documentation project until the task of language documentation is fully complete (see Himmelmann 2006), it is clear that a language may never be satisfactorily documented (in their sense of documentation) to its fullest extent. In addition, Rhodes et al. (2006) state that description and analysis is a crucial step in accounting for how adequately a language is documented. In this sense, grammars and dictionaries appear to be basic requirements of language documentation projects – this is the view held by most scholars who work on the indigenous languages of North America and by older scholars in other regions. This dissertation hence adopts the view that language documentation should encompass both documentation and analysis.

This dissertation, which aims to present a descriptive grammar of BM, is designed to be part of a wider documentation project that will ideally encompass also the creation of an annotated corpus and a bilingual BM- English, English-BM dictionary. In particular, a well-annotated corpus can be used by community members in the development of pedagogical materials, or serve as a record of the culture. For researchers, material in a well-annotated corpus can be used to answer different questions about the nature of BM, and/or contact languages, as well as to verify or reject the claims of other researchers with regard to these topics among others. Note that this dissertation is based on both naturally occurring and elicited data. While it is always ideal to use naturalistic data, some grammatical constructions are not

common in daily speech, for example, noun classifiers and relative clauses. Where elicited data is used, checks will be made with other consultants to ensure that the utterances are acceptable in the language. All material that result from language documentation efforts will then be archived in Kaipuleohone, the University of Hawai'i Digital Ethnographic Archive, that is managed by the Department of Linguistics. The university and department have a strong focus on research in the Asia-Pacific region. Kaipuleohone also conforms to international archiving standards for digital archives. By default, all material in this archive will be openly accessible after an initial period of five years, unless they are deemed to require restricted-access by the language consultants. It cannot be reiterated often enough how crucial it is to archive documentation materials, as it will contribute towards preserving linguistic and cultural diversity, BM being a repository of culture for its speech community.

1.3.1 Community and participants

With regard to language documentation, I have been working with speakers of both SBM and MBM. Among my key consultants are three SBM speakers (two males and one female) and one MBM speakers. Being well-connected with Peranakan culture scene or with family members who still speak the language, these speakers also serve as my contact point to other speakers. Their ages of my key consultants range from 60 to 78, and they all use BM on an everyday basis. According to Pakir (1986), monolinguals were in their 70s in 1986, and should be in their 90s currently, but none could be found. Interviews have also been conducted with less proficient speakers, who claim that they used to speak the language natively, but who no longer use the language regularly. This allows me to examine and establish the extent of variation among these different sorts of speakers.

Among the four key speakers that I have been working with are the president of the Peranakan Association of Singapore, Baba Peter Wee, and the cultural advisor to the Gunong Sayang Association,⁸ Baba Victor Goh. Both men are in their sixties. The Peranakan Association of Singapore is a cultural association for the ethnic group established in 1900 with links to similar associations in Malacca, Penang, and also Sydney, where a number of Peranakans have migrated to in recent years⁹. It is headquartered informally at the Katong Antique House that Baba Peter Wee owns. The Katong Antique House is located along East Coast Road, a traditional Peranakan enclave. Recording sessions with Baba

⁸ The words *Gunong Sayang* translate directly into 'mountain love' to mean 'mountain of love'.

⁹ This information has been derived from the Peranakan Association website (www.peranakan.org.sg).

Peter Wee take place here. He also occasionally receives Peranakan visitors who speak BM. With informed consent, some of the conversations that take place at the Katong Antique House have also been recorded and archived.

Another location where recording sessions take place is the Gunong Sayang Association clubhouse situated at Geylang. The Gunong Sayang Association is a social club established in 1910 that aims to create an awareness of Peranakan culture by promoting *dondang sayang* ‘art of singing Malay poetry’, *wayang Peranakan* ‘Peranakan theater’, music, and dance¹⁰. Besides eliciting data from Baba Victor Goh, the club’s cultural advisor, I record conversations that take place at the dinner table, and apart from attending events organized by both associations, I attend weekly singing rehearsals at the clubhouse. In particular, I have formed a close bond with the Gunong Sayang singers, a group of mostly female singers between the ages of 50 to 80. Under the direction of Baba Victor Goh, they rehearse every Monday evening at the Gunong Sayang clubhouse, and put on several public and private performances every year. Although this is a *language* documentation project, cultural documentation is equally important, since language and culture are highly intertwined. Hence, my corpus will include recordings of cultural performances, in addition to recordings of interview sessions. Besides documenting cultural activities, I believe that spending time intensively interacting with a group of Peranakans who have come together for the purpose of carrying out a cultural activity, can better inform my language documentation efforts. Also, by attending cultural events, and interacting with active community members, I can create awareness for my project, as well as awareness about the endangerment of BM.

The only female key speaker that I am working with is Bibik Jane Quek, who is 78 at the time of recording. Besides being a singer and committee member of the Gunong Sayang Association, Bibik Jane Quek is known for her Peranakan home-cooking in Singapore. Recording sessions with her usually take place at her home. All three key speakers mentioned in the above speak SBM. The key speaker that speaks MBM is Baba Albert Ku, who is also in his sixties. Recordings with him take place mostly at his home in Malacca. A retiree, he speaks the language with his family, and is accomplished at writing *pantun* (traditional poetry) in BM.

¹⁰ This information has been derived from a National Library Board of Singapore website (http://infopedia.nl.sg/articles/SIP_1383_2010-05-24.html)

All of the key speakers in this project speak BM natively, and still use the language on a daily basis. They have provided informed consent for their data to be recorded and archived in Kaipuleohone, so that it can be used for this dissertation and subsequent publications on BM.

1.3.2 The scope of this dissertation

This dissertation is a grammar of BM as it is spoken in Singapore, although it makes observations where SBM differs from MBM. It is based mainly on the material that has been collected for the language documentation project. It differs from other grammars in that:

- a) It incorporates sociophonetics as a means of documenting the associations that people form between phonetic variants that are changing due to language endangerment and the speakers who produce these variants.

The term ‘sociophonetics’ has been used in connection with research concerning variation, change, sociologically-informed fieldwork, speaking style, as well as with other topics as disparate as the phonological relationship between liquids, descriptive accounts of Albanian and Cocos Malay, loanword pronunciation, conversation analysis, methods for developing large corpora, and psycholinguistic experiments on information processing (Foulkes et al. 2010). For the purposes of this dissertation, a narrower sense of the term ‘sociophonetics’ is used. Here, the term ‘sociophonetics’ refers to “the study of socially conditioned phonetic variation in speech” (Hay and Drager 2007: 90). Hay and Drager state that sociophonetics usually involves “using increasingly sophisticated phonetic analysis to show that very fine phonetic detail is used in constructing social identity,” “using ethnographic approaches to break free of traditional social categories,” and “using experiment techniques to probe listener’s use of sociophonetic detail in speech perception” (2007:89).

There are different reasons for incorporating sociophonetics into a language documentation project and grammar. This project identifies four ways in which language documentation and sociophonetics can contribute to one other. First, to fully document a language, it is also necessary to document and describe how the language is used, and how it varies according to social contexts. In addition, variation in structure is still part of structure. Variation in structure needs to be described and explained, and the explanation may most likely be found in social conditioning of language variants. Second, language documentation emerged as a reaction to the fact that languages were being lost at an alarming rate. A

documentation description captures a snapshot of the language, and preserves it, but the reality is that this snapshot is seldom that of a stable system. Moribund languages are said to be often less normative and more variable (Dorian 2001). It has been demonstrated that in minority language communities, variation can occur in phonetics and phonology, and in syntax, morphology, and even morphophonology when a language's viability is being threatened by a more dominant language (see Stanford and Preston 2009). An endangered language community thus may be ideal for a language variation study. In view of that, this current project approaches variation via sociophonetic perception methods. Third, an extensive corpus of good quality sound files provides not only valuable production data from languages other than English, on which sociophonetics has been largely focused (Foulkes et al. 2010). This also provides a wealth of naturally occurring tokens, which may be preferred for their naturalness in perception experiments. Labov et al. (1991) in particular advocate against using unnatural, isolated, synthetic tokens, although some scholars. Fourth, linguists are usually expected to incorporate aspects of ethnography into the language documentation project. Hill states, "Documentary linguists need to be ethnographers, because they venture into communities that may have very different forms of language use from those of the communities in which they were socialized as human beings or trained as scholars" (2006:113). This is compatible with the notion of ethnographic approaches in sociophonetics, wherein researchers are able to "break free from using traditional social categories that may not be relevant for a particular group of speakers, and to investigate in depth the social meaning of particular variants" (Hay and Drager 2007:89).¹¹ Although the goals of both language documentation and sociophonetics tend to be different, the basic stances are the same. With careful planning, it is possible, and optimal, for a language documentation and sociophonetics to mutually exist within a single project. Although this is not a language revitalization project, I hope that by documenting the associations that people form between phonetic variants that are changing due to language endangerment and the speakers who produce these variants, I can create a greater awareness of language endangerment in the Peranakan community, and increased enthusiasm for attempting to revitalize the language. The sociophonetics experiment conducted during the course of fieldwork is discussed in section 3.7.1.

¹¹ Note that the notions of ethnography in sociophonetics and language documentation differ in some sense, ethnography in sociophonetics allows for more open-ended investigation than immediately focusing on a few key variables, while ethnography in language documentation takes into account culture when it impinges on the language structure. The ethnography of communication also differs drastically from ethnography in anthropology, which requires a holistic description of society and culture.

Besides being an experiment in itself for incorporating sociophonetics into language documentation work, this grammar can be used to shed insight on issues such as:

b) How is SBM different from MBM?

As mentioned earlier (see section 1.2.2), researchers usually regard BM as a single entity, using the same label ‘Baba Malay’ for both varieties, spoken in Singapore and Malaysia. Again, the only references to particular locations were made by Pakir (1986), who states that her dissertation describes BM as it was spoken in Singapore, and Lim (1988), who mentions that his fieldwork took place in Malacca. Based on materials collected for the archive, I will be able to evaluate how these two varieties differ. Broad generalizations that can be made are that SBM utilizes more forms that are derived from Hokkien, while MBM utilizes more forms that are derived from Malay. For example, where the vowel inventory is concerned, [ɔ] exists in SBM, but is not observed to occur in MBM. Differences are also clear where functional words are concerned. An example of such a lexical difference is the use of conjunctions. SBM speakers use [sa.ma] to mean ‘and’ and ‘with’, whereas in addition to [sa.ma], MBM speakers use both Malay forms [dan] to indicate ‘and’ and [dəŋan] to indicate ‘with’, the basic lexical meaning of [sa.ma] being ‘same’ in Malay. With a more extensive corpus, it will be possible to establish how the two dialects differ. This dissertation, being mainly a grammar of SBM, makes observations of certain differences between SBM and MBM in chapter 6.

Besides exploring language change through sociophonetics, as well as the differences between SBM and MBM, this grammar also address:

c) Whether or not Baba Malay is a creole language, a dialect of Malay, or some other sort of contact language?

With regard to the classification of BM, researchers are divided into two main camps. There are those who regard BM as a dialect of Malay (Pakir 1986, Thurgood 1998), and those who regard BM as a language that has undergone creole formation (Lim 1981, Lim 1988, Ansaldo and Matthews 1999, Ansaldo et al. 2007, Shih 2009).

Thurgood’s (1998) dissertation focuses on 19th century BM. Based on her analysis of old BM texts, Thurgood (1998:245) concludes that the language is a Malay variety that has undergone shift, rather than a creole. For Pakir (1986: 116, 117), BM is a variety of Malay that has borrowed Hokkien loanwords in domains such as the household; terms of address and reference; celebration, customs,

beliefs and religion; and clothing and personal ornaments, in addition to others. Pakir (1996:207) states, for example, that the phone [ɔ] only occurs in Hokkien loanwords, and that all syntactic structures in BM that resemble Hokkien structures, are also found in other dialects of Malay, such as Bazaar Malay, Jakarta Malay and Ambonese. Also, Pakir (1996:210) points out cases wherein these links appears to be less strong—not all of these structures and their functions match up to either that of Hokkien or Malay. Therefore, Pakir (1986) views BM as a unique dialect of Malay. Note that the findings of this grammar do not support the notion that BM is a genetic dialect of Malay.

In response to Pakir (1986), Ansaldo and Matthews (1999) state that the fact that other varieties of Malay have many of these BM features by no means invalidates the arguments for the Hokkien substrate, since there are other ways through which these features could have entered these other Malay dialects. They point out that Bazaar Malay and Jakarta Malay especially have substantial Chinese language contact influence. Besides suggesting that there could have been direct Chinese influence through immigration across the Malay Peninsula and archipelago, and possibly “restructuring under conditions of language contact” (Ansaldo and Matthews 1999:43), the authors also point to Lim’s (1981:31) suggestion that there could have been an “antecedent lingua franca spoken by and between different groups over several centuries, underlying both Baba and Bazaar Malay.” The rest of Ansaldo and Matthews’ structural arguments are based mostly on data provided by a play. They investigate a passive construction, an attributive construction, and the tense-aspect system of BM, stating that these have similar counterparts in Hokkien.

Based on his fieldwork in Malacca, Lim (1981, 1988) recognizes the structural ties between BM and Hokkien. For example, Lim points out that most of the pronominal system in BM is derived from Hokkien (see Table 6). For example, second person and third person plurals appear to have been calqued from Hokkien forms using a combination of singular form and the Malay word *orang*; *lâng* in Hokkien means ‘people’.¹²

¹² It is not implausible that the phonetic similarity of Malay *orang* and Hokkien *lâng* may have facilitated the adoption of the calque forms for second person and third person plurals in BM, comprising Malay word *orang* ‘person’.

	Baba Malay	Malay	Hokkien
<i>I</i>	gua ¹³	saya/ aku	gua
<i>you</i>	lu	kamu/awak/engkau	lú/ lí
<i>he/she</i>	dia	dia	I
<i>we</i>	kita	kita (inclusive) kami (exclusive)	gún-lâng (inclusive) lán-lâng (exclusive)
<i>you (pl)</i>	lu-orang	kamu/awak/engkau	lín-lâng
<i>they</i>	dia-orang ¹⁴	mereka	ín-lâng

Table 6: Comparison of pronominal system across Baba Malay, Malay and Hokkien (replicated from Lim 1988: 27)

Similarly, Shih (2009) attempts to establish BM as a creole, based on observations of its phonology, morphology, lexicon, and syntax. While comparisons of its phonological system with that of Hokkien and Malay appear to be less conclusive, she states that there is less affixation in BM than in Malay, and the use of the ‘number classifier noun’ structure appears to have been derived from Hokkien. In addition, kinship and cultural terms have also been derived mainly from Hokkien. With regard to syntax, Shih (2009) compares BM *kasi*, with Hokkien *hoo*, which has the literal meaning of ‘to give’. She

¹³ My Singapore Baba Malay informants and Malacca Baba Malay consultants state that *saya* is used in Baba Malay to mean first person singular as well, and that it is more formal than *gua*. This is also observed by Chia (1983). The word *saya* ‘I (humilific)’ is borrowed from Sanskrit, not only in Malay, but in a few other languages of the region. Whereas Marsden (1812) notes that *saya* is humilific in Early Modern Malay, which may have influenced BM’s structure, *saya* is used as a more formal first person pronoun in current day Malay and Indonesian, the informal first person pronoun being *aku*.

¹⁴ In my collected data, *dia* can be used interchangeably with *dia-orang* to represent the third person plural.

demonstrates that there are overlaps in their functions, among which are their uses in causative constructions. Examples (1) and (2) demonstrate two types of causative constructions using *kasi*.

- (1) *tak orang mo senang senang kasi lu tumbok*
 NEG person want free free let/give 2.SG punch
 ‘No one would volunteer to be hit by you.’
 (Shih 2009: 82)
- (2) *dia tak dani, dia kasi saya susah-hati*
 3.SG NEG present 3.SG cause/give 1.SG worry
 ‘His absence frets my heart (troubles me a lot).’
 (Shih 2009:83)

In example (1), *kasi* expresses ‘to let’; in example (2), *kasi* means ‘to cause’. Similar constructions can be found in Hokkien.

- (3) *I hoo gua lai*
 3.SG let/give 1.SG come
 ‘he let me come.’
 (Shih 2009:79)
- (4) *i bo lai hoo gua jin huan.lo*
 3.SG NEG come cause/give 1.SG very worried
 ‘that he doesn’t come troubles me a lot.’
 (Shih 2009:80)

While in (3) *hoo* means ‘to let’, in (4), it means ‘to cause’. These are similar in structures to examples (1) and (2). Based on these examples that appear to be substrate transfers, Shih (2009) concludes that creolization must have taken place.

It is useful to consider the different views in the literatures about creole formation, to see if any of these may impact on a resolution of this controversy. Thus far, although the evidence above appears to be congruent with the notion of substrate transfer or relexification (Lefebvre 1998, Muysken 1981, Siegel 1999), where the functions and or syntax of the substrate language are adopted into the creole language with forms from the lexifier language. A more detailed description of the differences between substrate transfer and relexification are found in section 7.4.4.2. Nevertheless, Pakir (1986) had pointed out that there is not a complete point-by-point match between the grammars of Hokkien and BM. A universalist point of view may also be inadequate — Bickerton’s (1984) list of 15 features that are presumably found in all creoles makes no predictions of more complex material, such as relative clauses (see section

5.6.3). Neither does the universalist approach acknowledge that features can be retained from the substrate languages as seen from examples (1) to (4).

Would BM, for example, be a feasible creole according to Mufwene's views of founder effect and language ecology? The founder effect principle is largely applied to plantation creoles, and it asserts that the structural features of creoles have been predetermined to a large extent (but not exclusively) by characteristics of the vernaculars spoken by the populations that founded the colonies in which they developed (Mufwene 1996). According to Mufwene (1996: 85), an ecology is:

the ethnographic setting in which the lexifier (the displaced population) has come into contact with diverse languages (other populations) whose structural features (genes) enter into competition with its own features.

The features may then be adapted to suit the ecology, so that features that are compatible with the features of the other languages in the ecology are more likely to be maintained than features that are not. Structurally, for this to be a plausible account of BM, it must be shown that basilectalization had taken place, so that the creole became more and more divergent from the initial lexifier language. Basilectalization in this instance, refers to the creole becoming more like its substrate language in terms of structure. However, this begs another question. Why is Malay the lexifier language of BM and not Hokkien? Should the Malay-speaking population then be treated as the founder population, rather than the Hokkien traders? In relation to this, as mentioned earlier, Ansaldo et al (2007) acknowledge correctly, that while most typical creoles were formed against a background of unequal power between two groups, BM had its roots in the intermarriage of ethnicities of relatively equal power. If Malay should indeed be considered the language of the founder population (possibly since they were in Southeast Asia prior to the Hokkien traders), it will be necessary to consider how the language ecology may have affected the selection of features. When the Chinese traders arrived after the beginning of the 15th century, the Malay language was already a dominant lingua franca in the region, having been established as one during the Srivijaya period (from about the 7th to the 13th century A.D.) (Hall 2011).¹⁵ This language ecology appears to be largely maintained. Currently, with Singapore situated among Malay-speaking neighbors (Indonesia, Malaysia, and Brunei), and Malacca being part of Malaysia, it may be no surprise as to why on the surface, BM appears to be most congruent with Malay.

¹⁵ The Sri Vijaya kingdom began in the late 7th century A.D, became politically dominant in the 9th to 10th century, and then declined into the 13th century.

The Founder Effect and the notion of a linguistic ecology are useful, but some questions remain unanswered. For example, why do some structures appear to be caused by substrate transfer, such as the causative patterns observed in examples (1) to (4)? Why are forms that are Hokkien in origin used by BM speakers for particular domains such as with kinship terminology (See section **Error! Reference source not found.**)? While the structure of BM cannot be completely explained by these theories, their pertinence could rest in their aggregate contribution to explaining BM's origins and development. Based on the findings of this grammar, this dissertation aims to shed light on whether or not BM can be classified as a creole language, a dialect of Malay, or some other sort of contact language (see chapter 7). I will argue for the conclusion that BM is to be classified as a creole.

2. An overview of Baba Malay typology and this grammar

2.1 An overview of Baba Malay typology

This is a brief typological overview of BM, surveying its basic characteristics. It includes notes on its vowel and consonant inventories, morphology, word order, alignment, and case.

2.1.1 Sound system

BM has eight phonemic vowels; its vowel inventory is as follows:

i		u
e	ə	o
ɛ	a	ɔ

Its consonant inventory is as follows:

		Labial	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Velar	Glottal
plosives	voiceless	p	t		k	ʔ
	voiced	b	d		g	
affricates	voiceless			tʃ		
	voiced			dʒ		
fricatives	voiceless		s			h
nasals		m	n	ɲ	ŋ	

lateral			l			
flap			r			

glides: w, j

2.1.2 Basic morphology

There is some affixation in BM. All of the affixes are derived from Malay, in which the corresponding affixes are obligatory (Marsden 1812)¹⁶. Most of these affixes are optional and may not be meaningful to BM speakers. For example, in Malay, the prefix *me-* is used as an active marker. But in BM, the use of this marker is not mandatory, and it makes no difference in meaning to the speakers. This is demonstrated below by examples (5) and (6), where *me-* appears attached to *nyanyi* ‘sing’ in the former example, but is non-existent in the latter. Alternatively, *nyanyi* can be used in the context of (5) and *menyanyi* can be used in the context of (6) to express the same notions.

- (5) *Mari menyanyi.*
 let.us sing
 ‘Let us sing.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-043, 00:15:08.7-00:15:09.9)
- (6) *Nyanyi lah lagu terang bulan ka,*
 sing EMP song bright moon or
 ‘Sing the Bright Moon song or (something else),’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-043, 00:08:26.2-00:08:28.9)

Very few affixes are obligatory. Two affixes that are more commonly used are the prefixes *ter-* ‘accidental, movement’, as well as the suffix *-kan* ‘transitive’. The two types of *ter-* are analysed as the same prefix, since they are semantically related, as they both involve movement in general. The different usages of *ter-* are shown in examples (7) and **Error! Reference source not found.**. In example (9), the verb *jatoh* ‘to fall’ is intransitive, while in (10), it is made transitive with the affixation of *-kan*.

- (7) *Ter-masok kat dalam ayé*
 ACD-enter PREP inside water

¹⁶ Crucially, Early Modern Malay contributed to the formation of Baba Malay, rather than modern Malay; Baba Malay in the present day being a moribund language.

- ‘Fell into water.’
(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-044, 00:14:33.2-00:16:34.8)
- (8) *Ter-balék-kan itu ikan pun boléh lah*
MVT-turn.over-TR that fish also can EMP
‘Turn over that fish is also okay.’
(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-044, 00:10:32.3-00:10:33.8)
- (9) *Budak jatoh,*
child fall
‘The child falls.’
(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:03:46.6-00:03:50.7)
- (10) *Jatoh-kan dia,*
fall-TR 3.SG
‘drop it,’
(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:00:59.2-00:01:02.5)

2.1.3 Basic syntax

The basic clausal level word order in BM is SVO (Subject Verb Object). This is demonstrated by the following examples.

- (11) *Itu kucing makan ikan.*
that cat eat fish
‘That cat eats fish.’
(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-009, 00:00:35.9-00:00:37.7)
- (12) *Gua jatoh-kan gua mia bég*
1.SG fall-TR 1.SG POSS bag
‘I dropped my bag.’
(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-044, 00:15:37.8-00:15:41.9)
- (13) *Dia kata buah berangan*
3.SG say CLF.FRUIT chestnut
‘He said chestnuts.’
(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-079, 00:00:49.2-00:00:51.2)

The subject is not always obligatory. This happens when the unexpressed subject is known to participants in the conversation. In (14), the speaker is asked what she is doing, to which she responds *kopék bawang* ‘peeling onions’. In (15), the speaker was speaking about what old people do to stay

healthy, one of the suggestions she gives is *makan ikan banyak* ‘eat a lot of fish’, the unexpressed subject here being old people.

- (14) *Kopék bawang lah.*
Peel onion EMP
‘Peeling onions.’
(Kim Choo, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-079, 00:12:49.8-00:12:51.2)

- (15) *Makan ikan banyak*
Eat fish many
‘Eat a lot of fish.’
(Lilian, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-079, 00:03:44.4-00:03:46.2)

At the phrasal level, BM has word orders of ADJ N (Adjective Noun) *and* N ADJ, GEN (Genitive Noun) *and* NG (not basic), as well as PREP N (Preposition Noun). Relative clauses occur both prenominally and postnominally. Example (16) shows the ADJ N word order, while example (17) shows the N ADJ word order.

- (16) *betol mia cherita*¹⁷
real REL story
‘story that is real.’
(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-028, 00:03:24.8-00:03:26.0)

- (17) *Idong panjang.*
nose long
‘Long nose.’
(Lillian, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-079, 00:00:13.7-00:00:15.0)

Example (18) demonstrates the GEN N word order. The N GEN word order is not basic since it requires the use of a pronoun. The possessor in the N GEN construction has to be a pronoun. This is shown in example (19).

- (18) *Peter punya bapak,*
Peter REL father
‘Peter’s father,’
(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-009, 00:45:01.7-00:45:06.9)

- (19) *Badan lu*
body 2.SG
‘Your body.’
(Lilian, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-079, 00:11:33.1-00:11:36.1)

¹⁷ *Punya* is analysed as a relative clause marker, this phenomenon is described in section 5.6.3

Example (20) illustrates the PREP N word order.

- (20) *Kebun dekat Europe ini.*
garden PREP this
'This garden is in Europe.'
(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:00:32.8-00:00:34.6)

Example (21) shows prenominal relativization, while example (21) shows postnominal relativization. Both are equally common in BM. For restrictions on relativization and more details, please refer to section 5.6.3

- (21) [*Anak perempuan nia*] *satu*
child female REL ONE
'The one that is a girl.'
(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:00:44.8-00:00:47.0)

- (22) *Ini semua dia mia kawan [nang¹⁸jaga kambing]*
This all 3.SG REL friend REL guard sheep
'These (are) all his friends that guard the sheep.'
(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-030, 00:05:58.2-00:06:00.8)

For discussion on other word-order tendencies within the different types of phrases, please refer to sections 5.1.5, 5.2.9, 5.3.7, 5.4.4 and 5.5.

In terms of alignment and case, the subject NP is not marked differently from the object NP. The subject of the clause mostly precedes the verb. BM is a nominative-accusative language. The subject of the intransitive verb is treated equivalently to the agent of the transitive verb. Both precede verb phrase. Example (11) is replicated as (24).

- (23) *Budak tu senyum.*
child that smile
'That child smiles.'
(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-088, 00:00:35.9-00:00:37.7)

- (24) *Itu kucing makan ikan.*
that cat eat fish
'That cat eats fish.'

¹⁸ Also *yang*.

(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-009, 00:37:23.3-00:37:25.5)

In addition, it is possible for the object to undergo passivization with the use of the adversative passive markers *kasi* (other meanings: ‘give’, ‘cause’, ‘let’) and *kena* (other meaning: non-volitional ‘subjected to’, see section 5.2.3) where the object is promoted to subject. Note that the logical subject is not expressed overtly when *kena* is used. For more discussion on passivization, please refer to section 5.2.3. Example (26) is the passive version of example (25), while example (28) is the passive statement that corresponds to example (27). (27) replicates (24).

(25) *Mary bunoh dia*
kill 3.SG
‘Mary killed him.’

(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-037, 00:39:17.1-00:39:18.8)

(26) *Dia kasi Mary bunoh.*
3.SG PASS kill
‘He was killed by Mary.’

(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-037, 00:40:01.8-00:40:14.9)

(27) *Itu kucing makan ikan.*
that cat eat fish
‘That cat eats fish.’

(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-009, 00:37:23.3-00:37:25.5)

(28) *Itu ikan sudah kena makan.*
that fish already PASS eat
‘That fish has already been eaten.’

(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-009, 00:38:17.8-00:38:19.9)

In topicalization, logical object is also fronted, without passivization. This topicalization construction is highly productive in BM, and hence worthy of mention. It has been observed by Lee (1999) in SBM, and Lim (1988) in MBM. This generates sentences such as (29). More information on topicalization can be found in section 5.6.9.

(29) *Itu ikan sudah kucing makan*
that fish already cat eat

‘That fish, the cat already ate.’

(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-009, 00:37.37.1-00:39:39.8)

2.2 A user guide to this grammar

This grammar was written to be of use to as wide an audience as possible. Where possible, I have avoided using any theoretical framework that would require specific training to understand. Some basic background in linguistics is however necessary, since this grammar uses basic grammatical concepts. These basic grammatical concepts have to be used so that the language can be adequately described, and so that researchers can make comparisons to other languages where relevant. This grammar has also adopted the use of some features that are intended at making it more user-friendly.

2.2.1 Features

These user-friendly features are (A) morpheme-by-morpheme glosses; (B) a list of linguistic abbreviations used; (C) a Baba Malay-English glossary and an English-Baba Malay glossary featured in Appendix C; as well as (D) reference to where each example can be found in the relevant archive, following Berez (2011). Example (30) illustrates this.

(30) *Dia chakap sama dia.*
3.SG speak with 3.SG
‘He speaks with him.’

(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-042, 00:02:44.4-00:02:46.0)

Kaipuleohone is hosted online at scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu, and if a reader wanted to search for example (30) within the archived file, she or he would have the information that this example uttered by the speaker Peter Wee, can be found on the site in the file labeled NL1-042, and more specifically, this utterance can be heard between 00:02:44.4-02:46.0. Appropriate citation will also be provided in the rare case that an example is derived from a previous publication.

2.2.2 Structure of the grammar

This grammar is organized as following. Chapter 3 describes the phonetics and phonology of BM; chapter 4 describes the different parts of speech; and chapter 5 provides information concerning the syntax of the language. These chapters deal with the more traditional aspects of the language’s grammar, except the inclusion of the results of the sociophonetics investigation in Chapter 3 that sheds light on an

ongoing change to the vowel inventory. The dissertation then continues with in a less traditional way, addressing in Chapter 6 the differences between SBM and MBM, and in Chapter 7, whether BM is a genetic dialect of Malay, or if it is a mixed language or a creole. Appended at the end of this dissertation is a collection of texts, vocabulary lists, indexes and bibliography.

2.2.3 List of linguistic abbreviations used

The following is a list of abbreviations used within the glosses of examples. Leipzig glossing conventions are used where possible.

ACD	Accidental marker
ADJ	Adjective
ADV	Adverb
AdvP	Adverbial phrase
Aux	Auxiliary verb
AP	Adjective phrase
CLF	Noun classifier
COP	Copula
COMP	Complement
CONF	Confirmative particle
DEM	Demonstrative
EMP	Emphatic particle
EXCLAM	Exclamation
EXIST	Existential marker
GEN	Genitive
HAB	Habitual marker
MVT	Movement marker
N	Noun

NEG	Negation marker
NMZ	Nominalizer
NP	Noun phrase
NUM	Numeral
PFV	Perfective marker
PL	Plural
POSS	Possessive marker
PREP	Preposition
PROG	Progressive marker
Q	Question particle
REL	Relativizer
SG	Singular
TR	Transitive marker
V	Verb
VP	Verb phrase
1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person

2.2.4 Example sentences

Example sentences are mostly taken from material I have recorded during fieldwork that was carried out between June 2012 to February 2014. The sound files collected and selected transcripts of them are hosted at the above-mentioned Kaipuleohone archive. Example sentences are taken from both naturally occurring and elicited texts. Although naturally occurring texts are usually preferred, it is difficult to collect a wide range of constructions by solely recording naturally occurring texts. In addition, these examples also come from a range of different genres, such as conversation and narratives among others. While texts collected include *pantun* ‘traditional poems’, these are generally not used for grammatical

examples, as these *pantun* are highly stylized, and do not reflect ordinary language use.¹⁹ Some *pantun* have been included in the selection of texts that accompany this grammar.

Again, the source of examples or place in the archive is indicated following the example, as explained in section 2.2.1. Similarly, examples are duly acknowledged in parentheses following them, if they are derived from some other source.

2.2.5 Transcription

The transcription in this grammar is based mostly on Du Bois et al. (1992)'s conventions for discourse transcription. Speech streams are segmented by intonation unit, which is defined by Du Bois et al. as "one spurt of speech" (1992:16) or "a stretch of speech uttered under a single coherent intonation contour" (1992:21). However, when presented in this grammar to demonstrate a particular grammatical pattern or a well-formed phrase or sentence, I have taken the liberty of conflating intonation units for ease of interpretation. Thus, an example such as (31), which has two intonation units, would be produced in the grammar as (32) in a section on transitivity.

(31) *Anjing tutop -kan.*
dog close -TR
'The dog turned off'

Itu aloji.
that alarm.clock
'That alarm clock.'

(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-088, 00:00:25.6-00:00:29.9)

(32) *Anjing tutop -kan itu aloji.*
dog close -TR that alarm.clock
'The dog turned off that alarm clock.'

¹⁹ A *pantun* is a traditional Malay verse form with an *abab* rhyme system. The significant lines in a *pantun* are the third and fourth lines, in which the main message of the *pantun* is embedded. *Pantun* can be sung to a tune called *Dondang Sayang* 'melody (of) love', and singers used to exchange verses they would compose on the spot (Chia 1994: 70). As compared to the Malay *pantun*, the subject of the Peranakan *pantun* is often matters that the Peranakan community can relate to. It is interesting that even in Peranakan *pantun*, the Malay language is followed as much as possible (Chia 1994: 70). Singing *pantun* to *Dondang Sayang* is now an endangered art form, but still performed by groups such as the Gunong Sayang Association in Singapore.

Du Bois et al's (1992) conventions allow for a range of transcription delicacy, from a very broad level one to their very detailed level seven that would include multimodal information. For the purpose of this grammar, a level three transcription that includes information on what the boundaries are will suffice. A period at the end of an utterance indicates finality, a comma signals continuity (that the speaker has more to say), whereas a question mark signals appeal, that the speaker is seeking a response from her or his interlocutor. These are dependent on intonation (See section 3.6.3). Incontrovertibly, the function of an utterance, whether it is a statement or a question, is important in understanding the basic structure of a language. The broader level one and two transcription systems do not include this information. Level four is more detailed than necessary for this grammar, including information such as whether a speaker saying an utterance with a smile. Transcription conventions for understanding the appended full transcripts at the end of this grammar are included with the transcripts in section 0. Transcription is orthographic, adapted in part from Malay spelling conventions in Singapore (See section 3.5), rather than phonetic. A solely phonetic transcript might be alienating to any non-linguists who are interested in the transcripts.

3. Phonetics and Phonology

At its core, the sound system of BM must take into account the fact that BM is a contact language. While the main lexifier of BM is Malay, BM also derives a significant amount of its lexicon from Hokkien. To a lesser extent, it is observed to have borrowed words from English, Portuguese, Dutch, and Tamil, among other languages (Pakir 1986, Shellabear 1913). This chapter explains how BM has its own phonological system, different from the Malay that is spoken in Singapore and Malaysia, and incorporating words from Hokkien and other languages based on its own unique phonological template.

3.1 Phoneme inventory

The phoneme inventory of BM accounts for words of Malay origin, words of Hokkien origin, and words of other origins that have long existed in the BM speakers' repertoire. This inventory comprises 19 consonants and 8 vowels, that can be combined to form diphthongs and long vowels. Differences between this phoneme inventory and that of Malay, as well as of Hokkien, are discussed in section 7.4.1.

3.1.1 Consonants

BM has the following consonants:

		Labial	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Velar	Glottal
plosives	voiceless	p	t		k	ʔ
	voiced	b	d		g	
affricates	voiceless			tʃ		
	voiced			dʒ		
fricatives	voiceless		s			h
nasals		m	n	ɲ	ŋ	

lateral			l			
flap			r			

glides: w, j

Table 7: Consonant chart of Singapore Baba Malay

3.1.1.1 Minimal and near-minimal pairs of consonants

Minimal pairs can be used to establish the phonemic status of the consonants that have been discussed. Some minimal pairs for the consonant phonemes of the language are as follows.

- (33) /b/ : /p/
[baji] ‘similar to’ : [paji] ‘morning’
- (34) /b/ : /w/
[bajaŋ] ‘shadow’ : [wajaŋ] ‘play’
- (35) /p/ : /w/
[paʔ] ‘male fellow’ : [waʔ] ‘elderly Malay person’
- (36) /m/ : /w/
[majaŋ] ‘palm blossom’ : [wajaŋ] ‘play’
- (37) /m/ : /n/
[mja] ‘life’ : [nja] ‘contracted form of possessor and relativizer *punya*’
- (38) /m/ : /p/
[mati] ‘die’ : [pati] ‘first cream of coconut’
- (39) /d/ : /t/
[da.own] ‘leaf’ – [ta.own] ‘year’
- (40) /d/ : /r/

- [dʒari] ‘finger’ – [dʒadi] ‘happen, become’
- (41) /t/ : /tʃ/
[tareʔ] ‘pull’ – [tʃareʔ] ‘search’
- (42) /d/ : /dʒ/
[dari] ‘from’ – [dʒari] ‘finger’
- (43) /tʃ/ : /dʒ/
[tʃam] ‘observe’ – [dʒam] ‘time, hour’
- (44) /n/ : /l/
[nama] ‘name’ – [lama] ‘long (describing time)’
- (45) /r/ : /l/
[rupa] ‘appearance’ – [lupa] ‘forget’
- (46) /r/ : /n/
[kuran] ‘less’ – [kunan] ‘under the influence of black magic’
- (47) /n/ : /ŋ/
[piŋgan] ‘plate’ – [piŋgan] ‘waist’
- (48) /n/ : /ɲ/
[na] ‘here you go’ – [ɲa] ‘mother’
- (49) /dʒ/ : /g/
[dʒanton] ‘heart’ – [ganton] ‘hang’
- (50) /k/ : /g/
[kaja] ‘rich’ – [gaja] ‘splurge’
- (51) /k/ : /tʃ/
[kjam] ‘stingy’ – [tʃjam] – ‘divination stick’
- (52) /g/ : /ŋ/
[gaga] ‘daring’ – [ŋaŋa] ‘mouth agape (near minimal pair)’
- (53) /ŋ/ : /k/

[pəŋat] ‘sweet dessert of thick coconut milk with banana chunks’ – [pəkət]
‘thick (describing liquid)’

(54) /ʔ/ : /ŋ/
[pulaʔ] ‘instead’ – [pulaŋ] ‘return’

(55) /s/ : /h/
[so] ‘burn’ – [ho] ‘good’

(56) /h/ : /ŋ/
[hantoʔ] ‘bang’ – [ŋantoʔ] ‘sleepy’

(57) /ʔ/ : /k/
[baʔu] ‘smell’ – [baku] ‘standard’

A near minimal pair that may establish that /ʔ/ and /g/ are different is:

(58) /ʔ/ : /g/
[baʔu] ‘smell’ – [bagus] ‘good’

3.1.1.2 Bilabials

There are three bilabials in BM, the voiceless plosive /p/, voiced plosive /b/, and the nasal /m/. The following provides the environments in which they are found. The items in grey are words of Hokkien origin. Note that Hokkien is an isolating language (Wright 1983), meaning that while it lacks inflectional morphology, it has many compound words comprising more than one syllable (See Bodman 1955 and 1958 for examples). Hokkien compound words are however taken directly into BM, and BM speakers who mostly do not speak Hokkien, are unable to identify the original individual components that make up these compound words. These words are often incorporated into BM as whole, monomorphemic items that cannot be further broken down, abiding by the phonotactic of BM words (see section 3.2 for discussion on phonotactic).

	Initial position	Medial position	Final position
p	[pokoʔ] ‘tree’	[kəpeʔ] ‘pinch’	[tʃukop] ‘enough’
	[peʔpeʔ] ‘father’s elder brother’	[peʔ.peʔ] ²⁰ ‘father’s elder brother’	[tʃap] ‘ten’
b	[bawaŋ] ‘onion’	[tʃobeʔ] ‘long-jawed’	[dʒawab] ‘answer’
	[bapaʔ] ‘father’	[awban] ‘selfish’	[tʃanab] ‘decorative altar stand’
m	[masaʔ] ‘cook’	[gəmoʔ] ‘fat’	[malam] ‘night’
	[mja] ‘life’	[chut.mja] ‘famous’	[geʔsim] ‘unhappy’

Table 8: Bilabial consonants by position

While the consonant [f] is noted to occur in [maʔaf] ‘forgiveness’, which is of Arabic origin, it only occurs in this one word, and may be an instance of code-switching, since the expression [ampun] is more commonly used to denote ‘forgiveness’ in BM.

The following are acoustic representations of these bilabials. The purpose of acoustic analysis is two-fold. In addition to being more precise than a purely auditory analysis, an acoustic analysis can form the basis of comparison in the future if changes occur to particular phonemes. All waveforms and spectrograms are generated using computer software Praat version 5.3.59 (Boersma and Weenink 2013). All recordings in this section are made with using a Zoom H4 recorder paired with either a Shure WH30XLR cardioid headset microphone or a Countryman E6 XLR omnidirectional earpiece

²⁰ Examples such as [ʔ.p] in [peʔ.peʔ] and [t.m] in [chut.mja] should not be regarded as true consonant clusters, as the consonants that appear adjacent to each other belong to separate syllables.

microphone. For the purpose of making the characteristics of these phones comparable, speech from the same speaker is utilized. The words used in these instances are derived from naturally occurring forms in narratives including story-telling and conversational data. While phoneticians have been, and still are debating over whether it is preferable to use word-list data or naturally occurring data, this grammar maintains that it is important to understand language as a natural occurrence. Hence word-list data is not used. Although naturally occurring forms are used, it is possible to choose tokens whose acoustic characteristics of the phones in question can appear distinctly. For example, it may be more useful to look at plosives in the word initial position, so that the waveform captures information such as whether there is aspiration or not, whereas a nasal's own formants show up better on the spectrogram when the nasal is between vowels. Tokens in stressed positions are also preferred, so that acoustic information on in the waveforms and spectrograms appear clearer. In general, BM is syllable-timed instead of stress-timed (See section 3.6), and thus in most instances, syllables may receive equal stress in a multi-syllabic word. In addition, it must be noted that as these words are extracted from language documentation data that are recorded in natural environments, there may be slight background noise, even in instances when there ought to be complete closure, for example, at the beginning of the spectrogram in figure 1. The formant settings used for this analysis are – Maximum formant: 5000Hz, number of formants: 5, window length: 5 milliseconds, dynamic range: 30dB, dot size of 0.5mm. To facilitate comparison, all waveforms and spectrograms presented are normalized to 0.5 seconds in length.

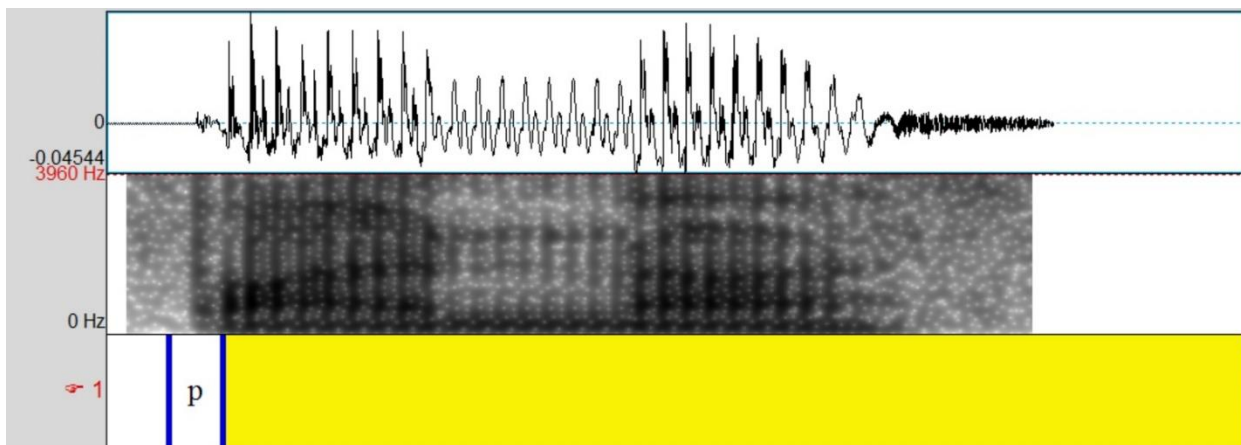


Figure 1: Waveform and spectrogram of /p/ in [panas] ‘hot’

(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:02:26.7-00:02:27.2)

Notice from the waveform that /p/ in BM has very little aspiration and the vowel begins quickly after the closure. The plosive is also voiceless as indicated by the lack of a voice bar in the corresponding area on

the spectrogram. The locus of F2 and F3 (second and third formants) in the following vowel are also relatively low, as characteristic of preceding bilabials (Ladefoged and Johnson 2011).

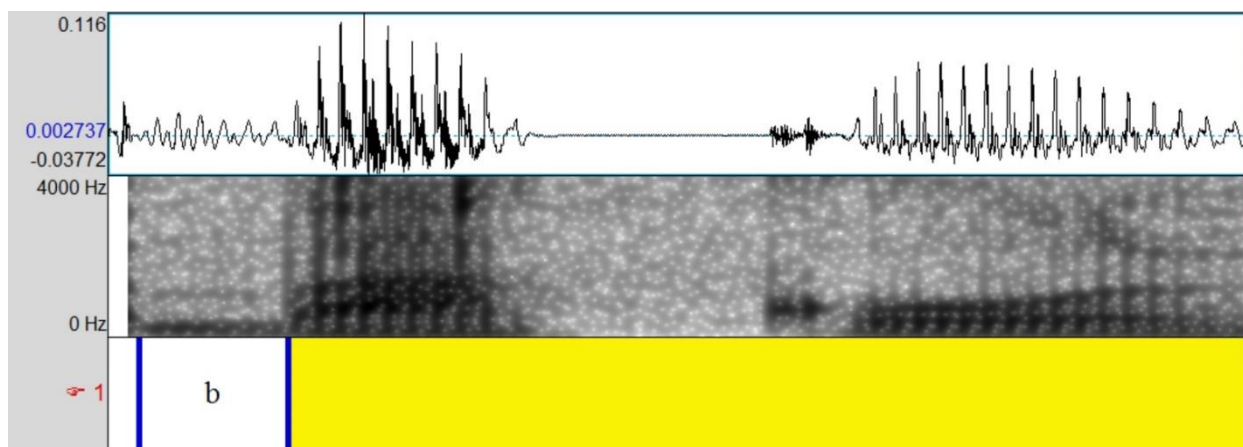


Figure 2: Waveform and spectrogram of /b/ in [bakol] ‘basket’

(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:00:54.4-00:00:54.9)

The corresponding voiced bilabial plosive of /p/ is /b/, the main difference being that there is no aspiration at all in this instance. Voicing precedes the following vowel. As expected, the locus of both F2 and F3 in the following vowel are also relatively low for this bilabial.

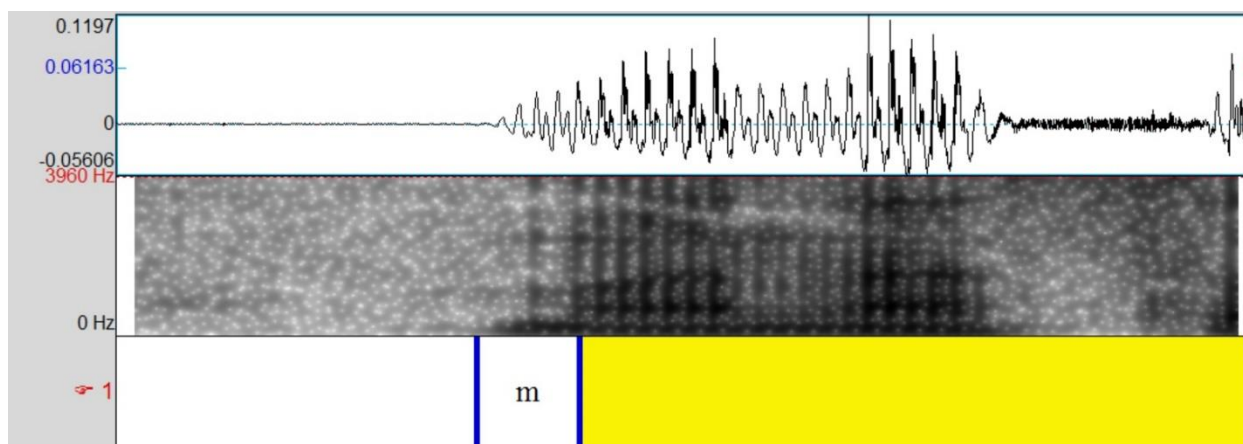


Figure 3: Waveform and spectrogram of /m/ in [mana] ‘where, which’

(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:01:26.3-00:01:26.8)

Formants are usually distinct for nasals between vowels, and as characteristic for /m/ there is energy at the base at about 200Hz (hertz), at about 1000Hz, and at over 2000Hz. Again, the locus of F2 and F2 are relatively low for /m/ as a bilabial.

3.1.1.3 Alveolars

The alveolars found in BM are the voiceless plosive /t/, the voiced plosive /d/, voiceless fricative /s/, nasal /n/, lateral /l/ and flap /ɾ/. The following are environments in which they can be found.

	Initial position	Medial position	Final position
t	[taw] 'know'	[rəti] 'understand'	[lipat] 'fold'
	[tu] 'cupboard'	[kam.tio?] 'develop an illness'	[tʃwe.it] 'first day of the lunar month'
d	[da.own] 'leaves'	[bodoh] 'stupid'	
	[djam] 'quiet'	[djam.djam] 'quietly'	
s	[sədap] 'delicious'	[kasi] 'give'	[ləkas] 'quick'
	[sehjit] 'birthday'	[tʃut.si] 'birth'	
n	[naŋis] 'cry'	[mənaŋ] 'win'	[ta.own] 'year'

	[njo] ‘mother-in-law’	[anchəŋ] ‘blessing of the marital bed’	[tʃin] ‘close to one another’
l	[lipat] ‘fold’	[kalu] ‘if’	[dəgil] ‘stubborn’
	[lotʃeŋ] ‘bell’	[haw.lam] ‘male mourner’	
r	[rəti] ‘understand’	[buroʔ] ‘ugly’	[kasar] ‘coarse’

Table 9: Alveolar consonants by position

The following are waveforms and spectrograms of BM alveolars.

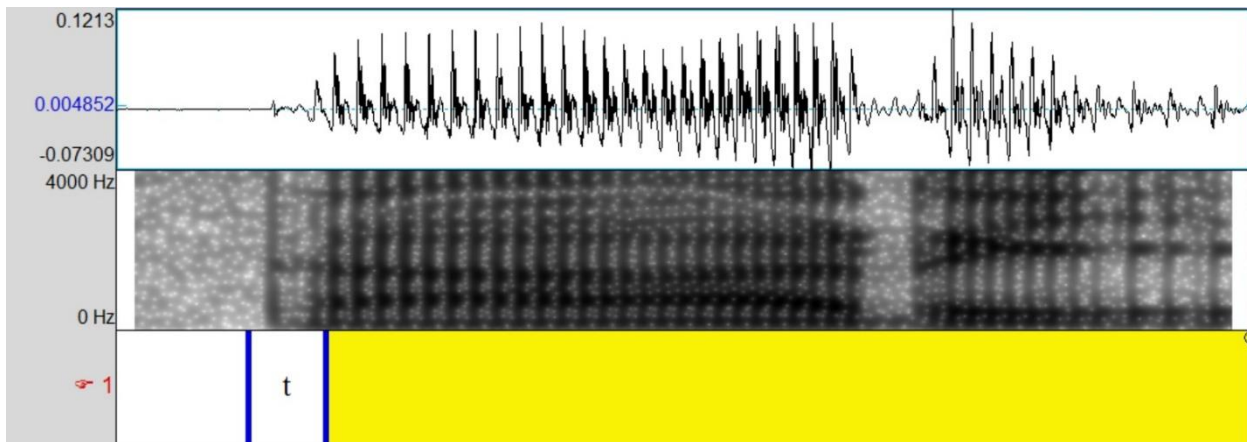


Figure 4: Waveform and spectrogram of /t/ in [tareʔ] ‘pull’

(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:01:54.7-00:01:55.2)

There is slight aspiration after the closure made for /t/ in the above instance, and minimal voicing. The locus of F2 is about 1700Hz, which characterizes alveolars (Ladefoged and Johnson 2011).

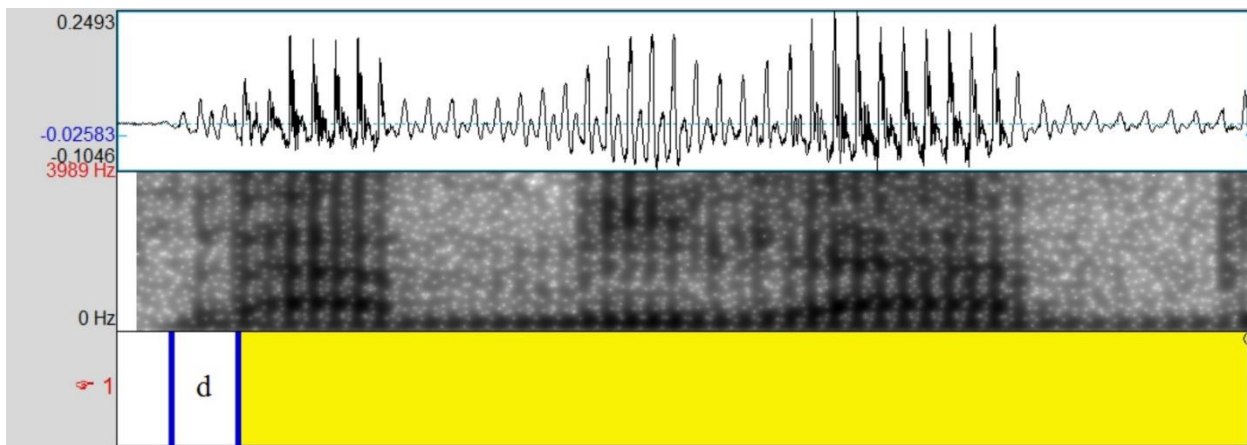


Figure 5: Waveform and spectrogram of /d/ in [datəŋ] ‘come’

(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-030, 00:02:14.5-00:02:15.0)

As compared to /t/, no aspiration is involved at all when producing /d/, and there a voice bar appears clearly in the spectrogram.

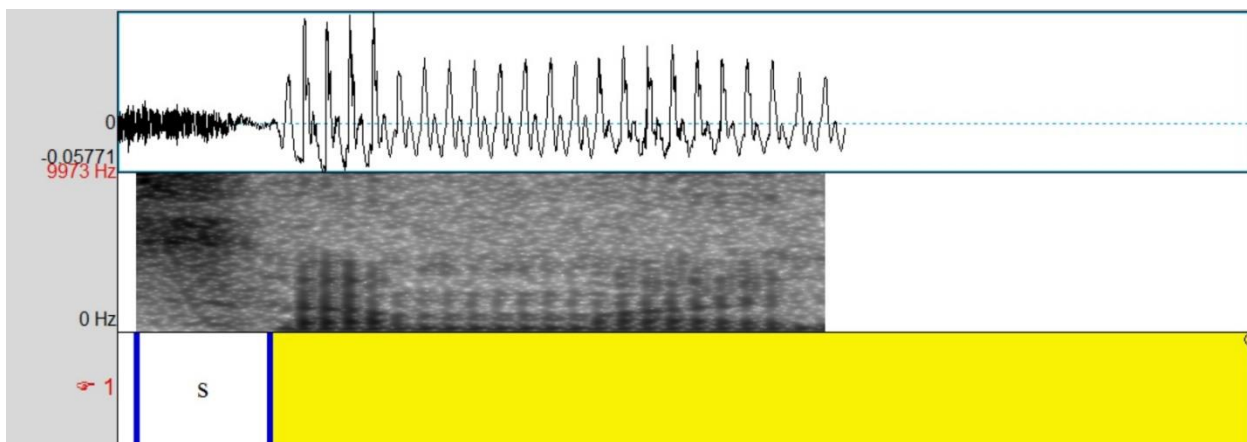


Figure 6: Waveform and spectrogram of /s/ in [səmə] ‘same, and, with’

(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-030, 00:01:43.0-00:01:43.3)

The /s/ fricative has a lot of energy in the spectrogram above 5200 Hz until 10,000 Hz or so. Frication noise can also be seen in the waveform. This range for the alveolar sibilant can be contrasted with the range expected for the palatoalveolar sibilant, which does not show energy above 7000Hz (Evers et al. 1998: 348).

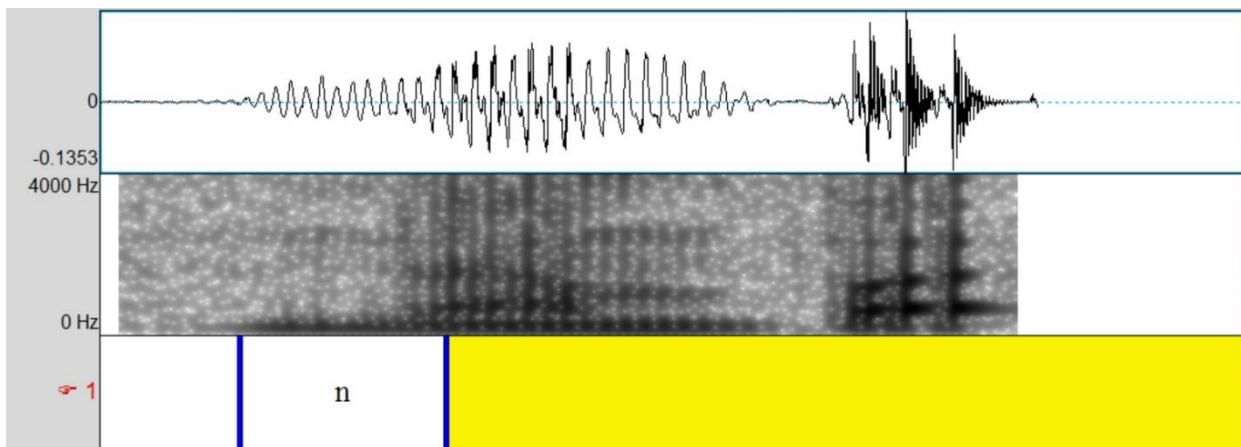


Figure 7: Waveform and spectrogram of /n/ in [nampaʔ] ‘see’

(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-030, 00:02:56.6-00:02:60.6)

Again, with nasals, formants can be seen especially between vowels, and there is energy at 200Hz, 1000Hz and 2400Hz in this case. Formants are weak at the nasal murmur portion, nasal murmur comprising extra resonances that arise due to the nasal passage being used in addition to the oral tract. The nasal formant occurs weakly at about 300Hz.

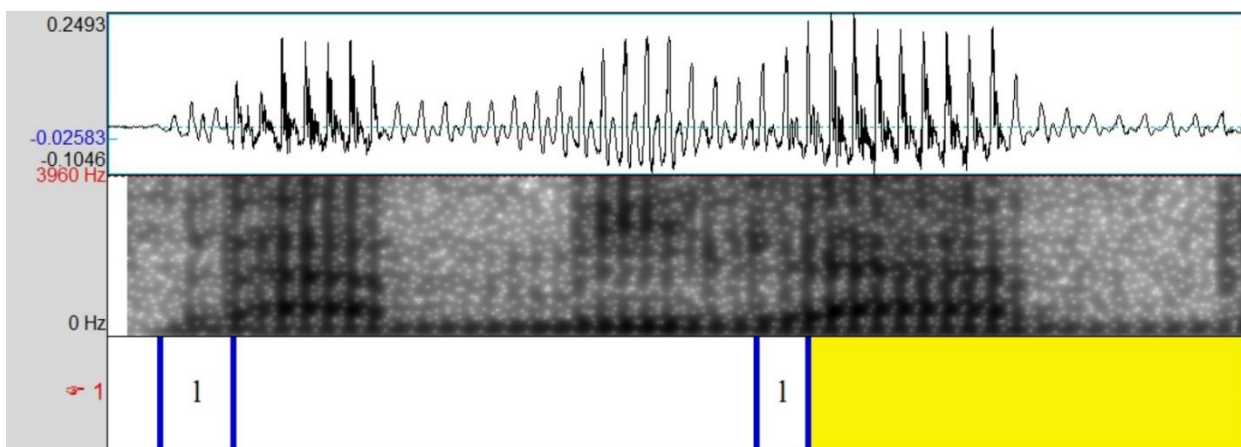


Figure 8: Waveform and spectrogram of /l/ in [labilabi] ‘tortoise’

(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-030, 00:00:15.6-00:00:16.1)

When in an initial position, clear /l/ has a second formant at about 1400Hz.

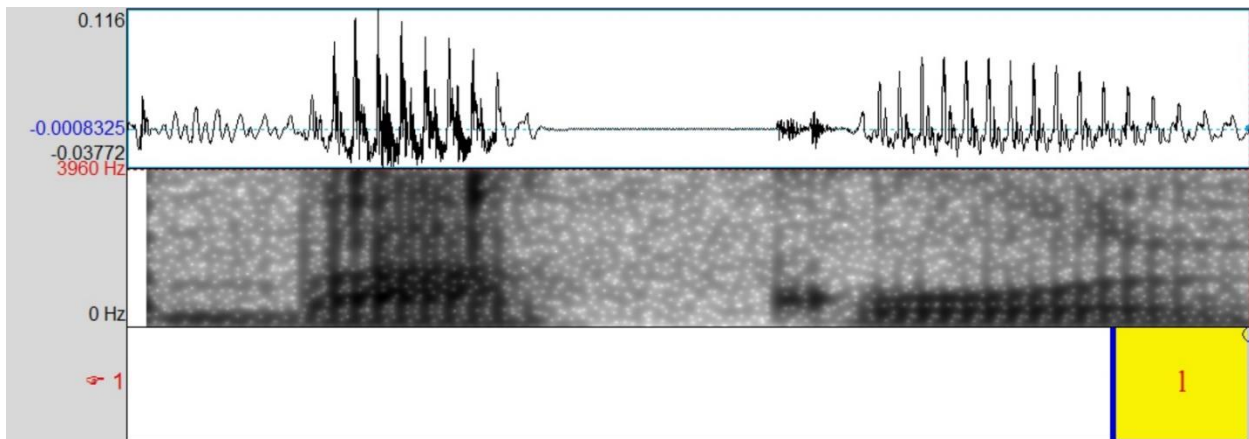


Figure 9: Waveform and spectrogram of /l/ in [bakol]

(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:00:54.4-00:00:55.0)

There is no dark l in final position. Instead, /l/ appears to be vocalized where it occurs.

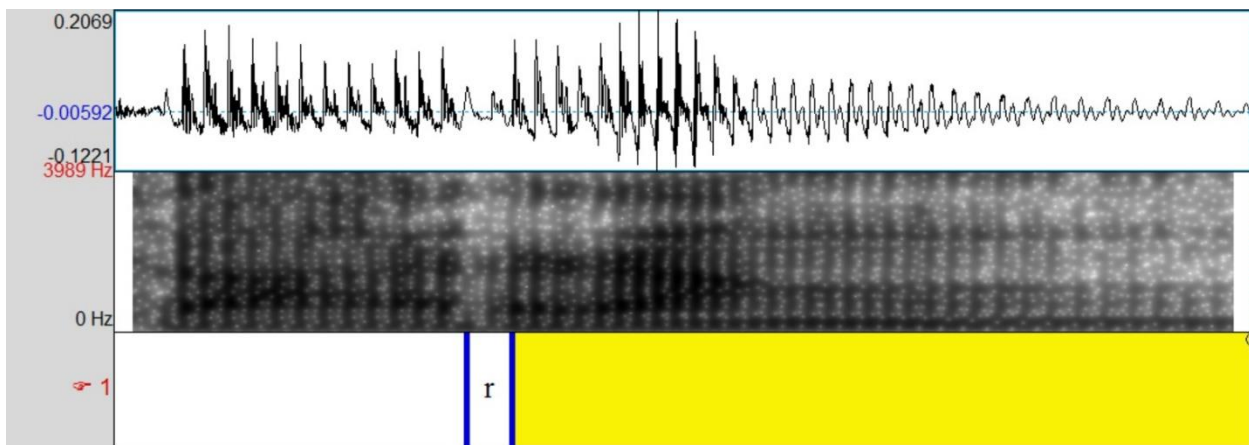


Figure 10: Waveform and spectrogram of /r/ in [garaŋ] ‘fierce’

(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:02:06.4-00:02:07.0)

There is very little rhoticity or r-coloring to /r/, with the relatively high third formant value of about 1600Hz (Ladefoged 2003).

3.1.1.4 Post-alveolars

The three post-alveolar affricates in the language are voiceless affricate /tʃ/, voiced affricate /dʒ/, and nasal /ɲ/.

	Initial position	Medial position	Final position
tʃ	[tʃam.por] ‘mix’	[bun.tʃit] ‘distended stomach’	
	[tʃaj.ki] ‘banner’	[lap.tʃaj] ‘wedding gift exchange ceremony’	
dʒ	[dʒum.pa] ‘meet’	[badʒu] ‘clothes’	
	[dʒi] ‘two’	[peʔ.dʒi] ‘eight characters for Chinese horoscope’	
ɲ	[ɲoɲa] ‘Peranakan lady’	[ɲoɲa] ‘Peranakan lady’	

Table 10: Post-alveolar consonants by position

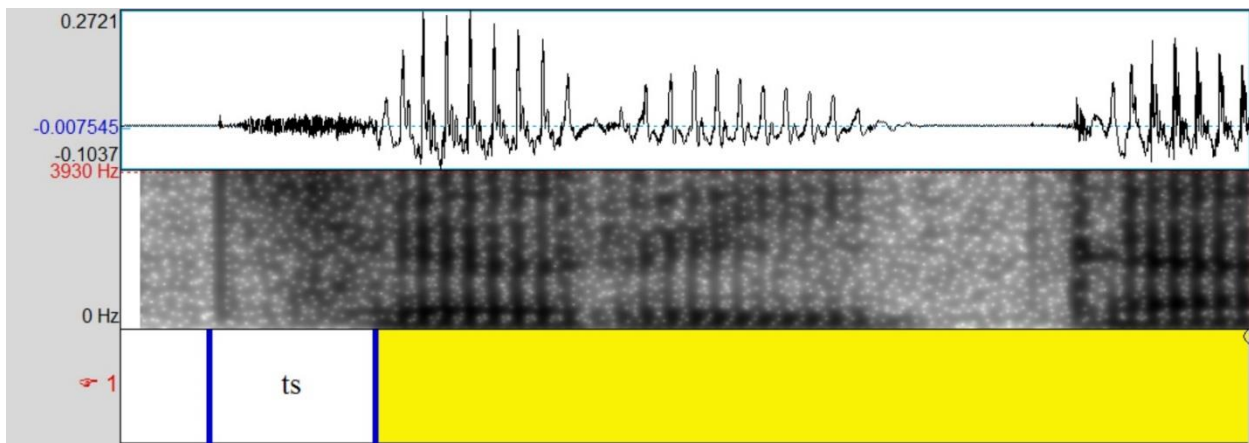


Figure 11: Waveform and spectrogram of /tʃ/ in [tʃərita] ‘story’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-030, 00:00:18.3-00:00:19.2)

In the waveform above, there is clear frication that occurs after the closure with the production of affricate /tʃ/.

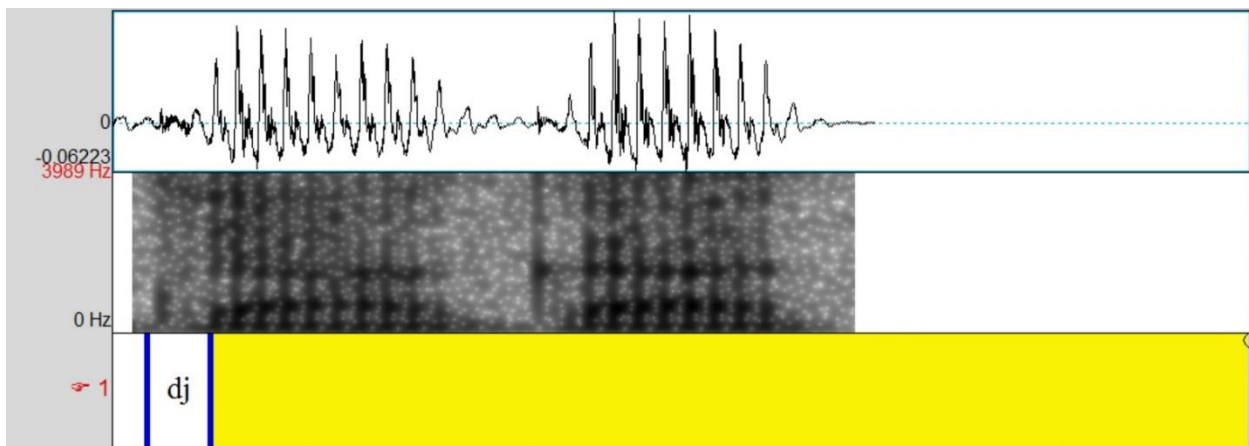


Figure 12: Waveform and spectrogram of /dʒ/ in [dʒaga] ‘guard, take care’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-030, 00:04:06.3-00:04:06.6)

There is some prevoicing in the instance of /dʒ/, and there is clear frication in the waveform, albeit lesser than involved in the production of /tʃ/.

In addition to affricates, there is also nasal /ŋ/ at the post-alveolar place of articulation.

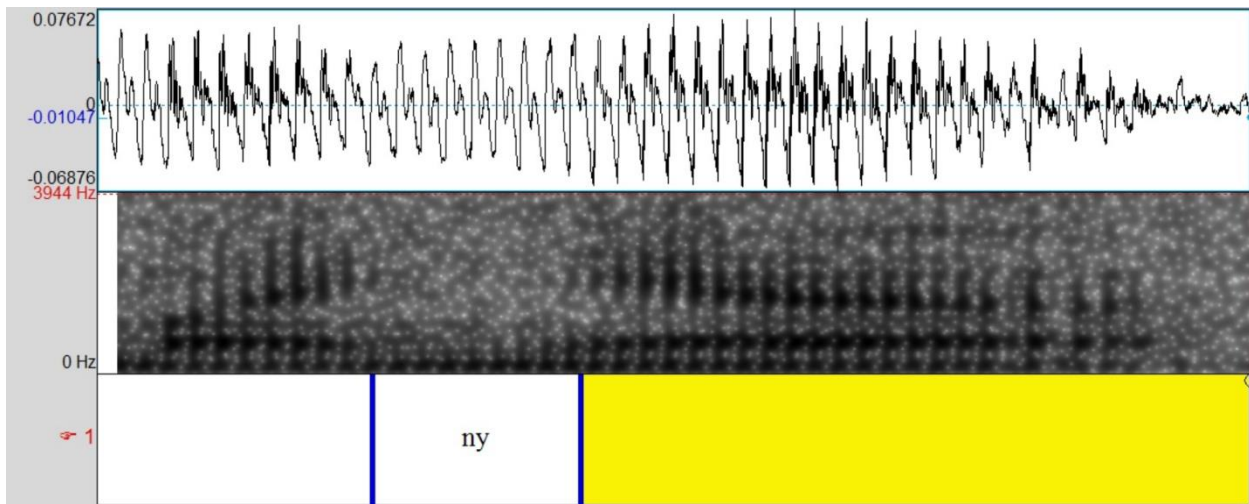


Figure 13: Waveform and spectrogram of /ŋ/ in [maŋaʔ] ‘many’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-052, 00:19:41.5-00:19:42.4)

As is common with nasals universally, some formants can be seen between vowels for /ŋ/ in BM. Energy is concentrated at around 250Hz, 600Hz and about 2000Hz.

3.1.1.5 Velars

The velars in BM are voiceless plosive /k/, voiced plosive /g/, and nasal /ŋ/.

	Initial position	Medial position	Final position
k	[kalu] ‘if’	[ləkas] ‘quick’	
	[ko] ‘paternal aunt’	[laŋ.kéʔ] ‘guest’	
g	[gəmoʔ] ‘fat’	[paŋi] ‘morning’	
	[gwa] ‘1.SG’	[lun.gweʔ] ‘Chinese intercalary month’	

ŋ	[ŋantoʔ] ‘sleepy’	[naŋis] ‘cry’	[bisɪŋ] ‘noisy’
	[ŋe.ŋe] ‘obstinate’	[laŋ.kéʔ] ‘guest’	[lotʃeŋ] ‘bell’

Table 11: Velar consonants by position

The following are acoustic representations of these velars.

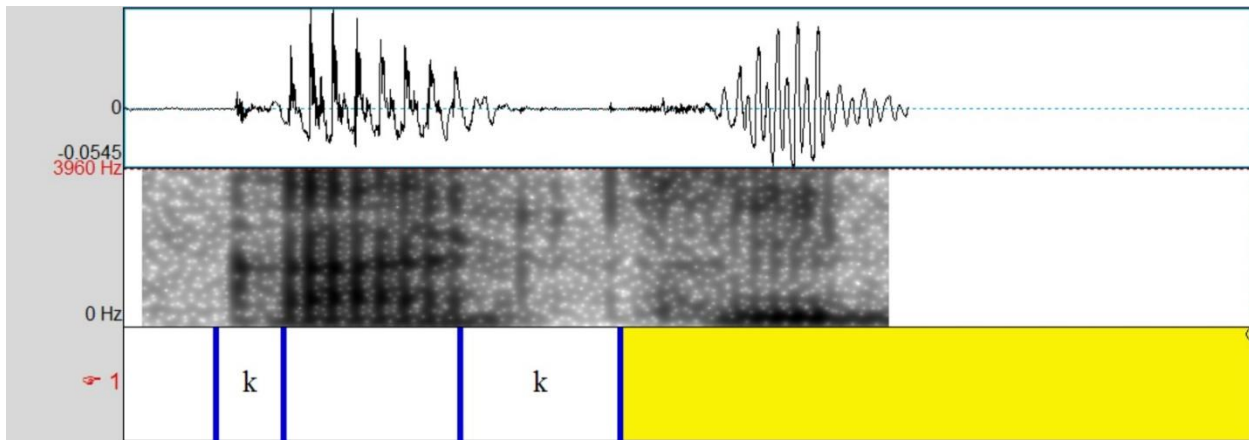


Figure 14: Waveform and spectrogram of /k/ in [kaki] ‘leg’

(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:02:06.4-00:02:07.0)

There is very minimal aspiration following closure as observed from the word initial /k/ on the waveform, while the velar pinch is more obvious with the intervocalic /k/. This is not surprising as there are no formants during aspiration. The velar pinch is where F2 and F3 appear to converge on the spectrogram.

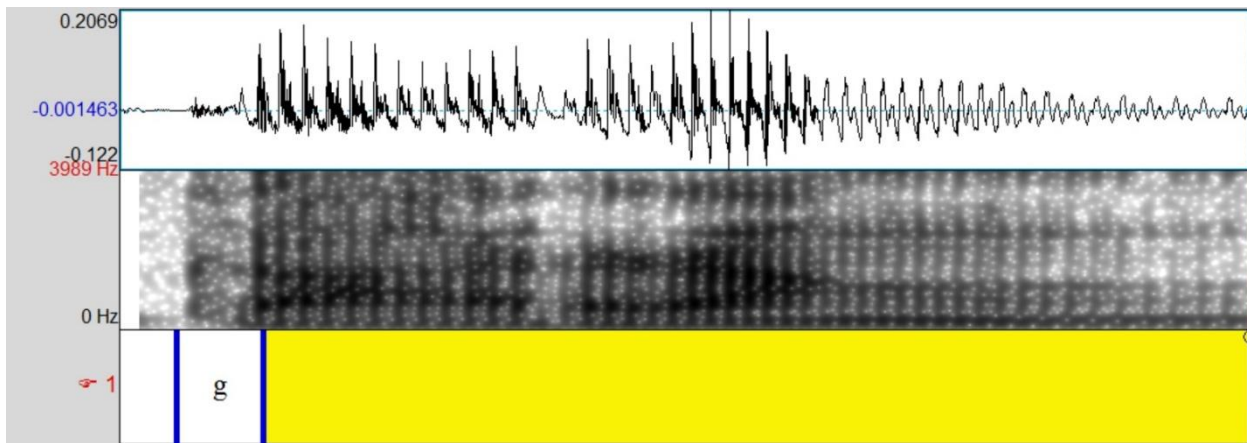


Figure 15: Waveform and spectrogram of /g/ in [garaŋ] ‘fierce’

(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:02:06.4-00:02:07.0)

In the case of /g/ above, the velar pinch can be seen at in the word initial onset position at about 1800Hz. The same spectrogram also demonstrates the acoustic characteristics of /ŋ/

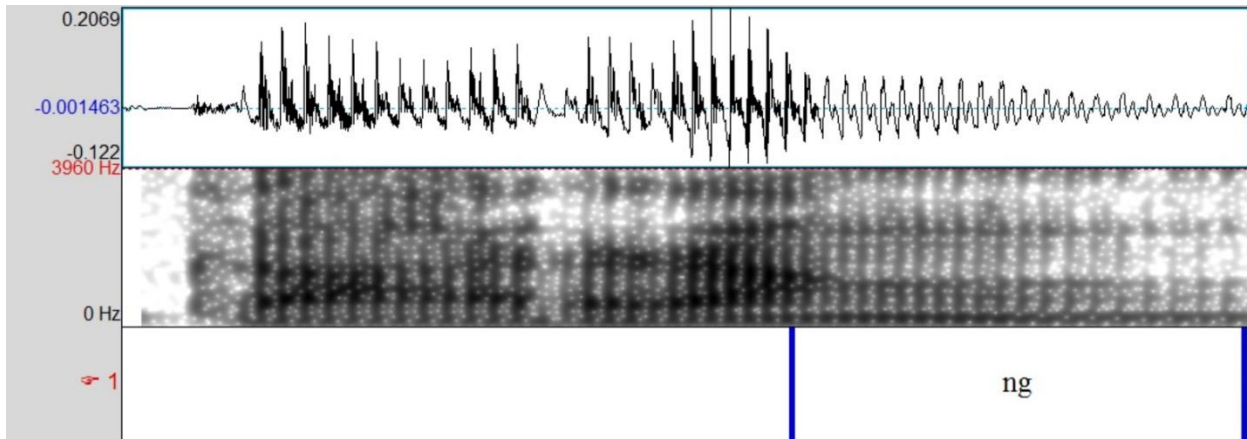


Figure 16: Waveform and spectrogram of [ŋ] in [garaŋ] ‘fierce’

(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-030, 00:05:07.8-00:05:08.1)

Weak formants, which are characteristic of nasals, can be seen in the region of /ŋ/. The velar pinch at 1200Hz shows that this is a velar nasal, and not an alveolar nasal.

3.1.1.6 Glottals

There are two glottals in BM, these being the voiceless plosive /ʔ²¹/, and the voiceless fricative /h/.

	Initial position	Medial position	Final position
ʔ		[pe.ʔe] ‘good character’	[kəpeʔ] ‘pinch’
		[geʔ.sim] ‘unhappy’	[sin.keʔ] ‘newcomer’
h	[habis] ‘finish’	[dahi] ‘forehead’	[mən.tah] ‘raw’
	[hwan.tjoʔ] ‘meet ill spiritual forces’	[lihaj] ‘cunning’	

Table 12: Glottal consonants by position

The following are acoustic representations of these glottals.

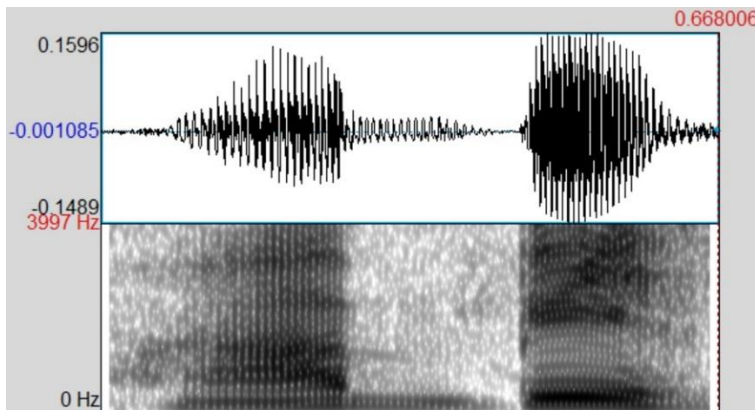


Figure 17: Waveform and spectrogram of /h/ in [habis]

(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:03:41.7-00:03:42.4)

²¹ It is worth noting that words with final consonants such as glottal stops, have been derived from both Malay and Hokkien. For example, [gəmoʔ] ‘fat’ is derived from Malay, while [peʔpeʔ] is derived from Hokkien.

Even though there is very little striation in the spectrogram due to its voiceless quality, glottal frication can be observed in the spectrogram with [h].

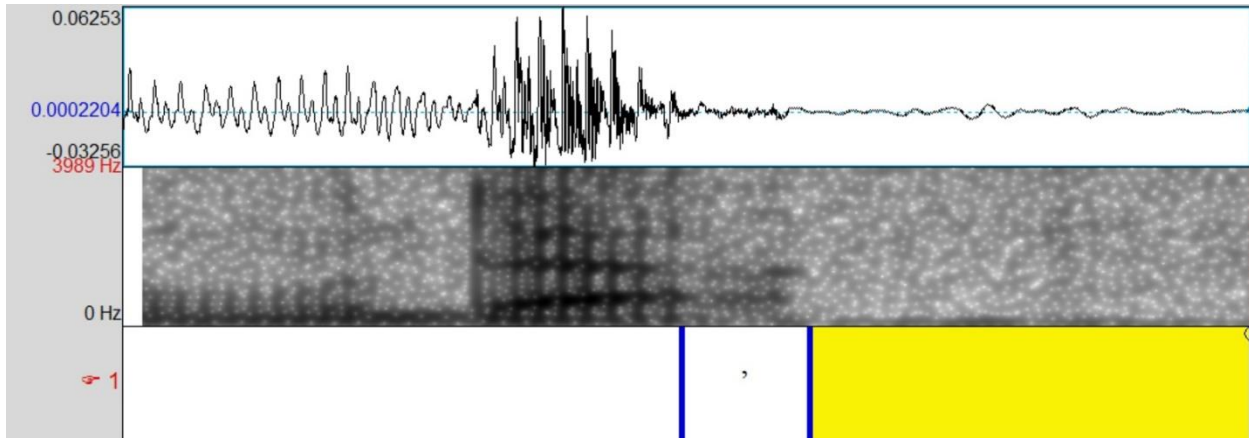


Figure 18: Waveform and spectrogram of /ʔ/ in [budaʔ] ‘child’

(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:05:54.1-00:005:54.6)

While the glottal plosive shows up more clearly between vowels, it is rare to find one in this position in BM, except for Arabic loanword [pe.ʔe] ‘good character’. A word-final glottal stop is therefore used, and glottal frication shows up at the position of plosive /ʔ/.

3.1.1.7 Glides

There are two glides, the labiovelar approximant /w/ and the palatal approximant /j/.

	Initial position	Medial position	Final position
w	[waŋi] ‘fragrant’	[bawaŋ] ‘onion’	[taʋ] ‘know’
	[wiɔ] ‘Lunar New year reunion dinner’	[kawiŋ] ‘marry’	[hor.paʋ] ‘purse’

j	[jang] ‘REL’	[səmajəŋ] ‘pray’	[pandaj] ‘clever’
	[jen.tʃi] ‘rouge’	[tʃaj.jen] ‘jelly’	[jau.gwaj] ‘demon’

Table 13: Glides by position

These glides are represented acoustically in the following.

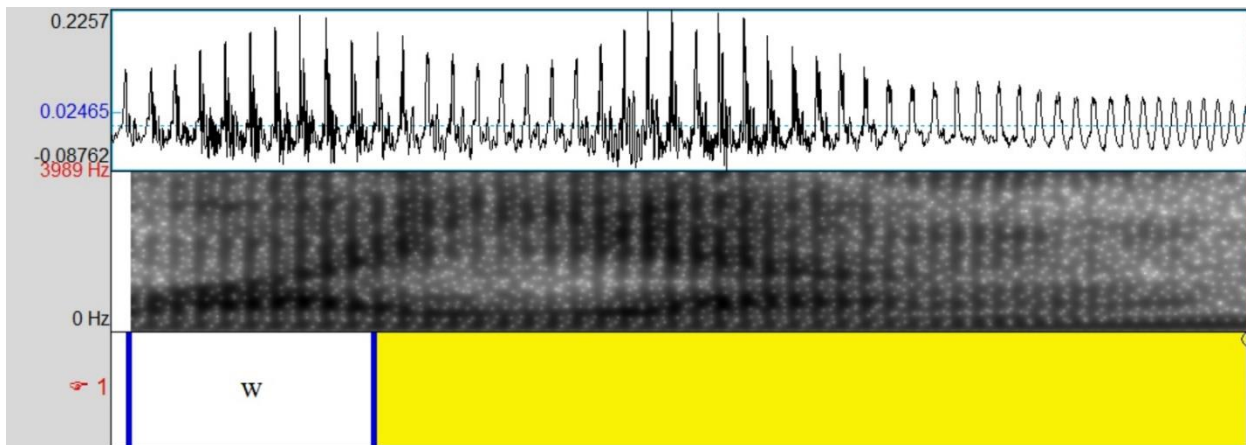


Figure 19: Waveform and spectrogram of /w/ in [wajaŋ] ‘play (performance)’

(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-107, 00:11:22.4-00:11:23.0)

The labiovelar approximant /w/ appears to have formants but no steady state. There is a gradual dip in its F2, but it does not descend below 750Hz and based on that, it can be concluded that the lips were not very rounded (Ladefoged 2003). The acoustic characteristics of /j/ can be observed on the same spectrogram.

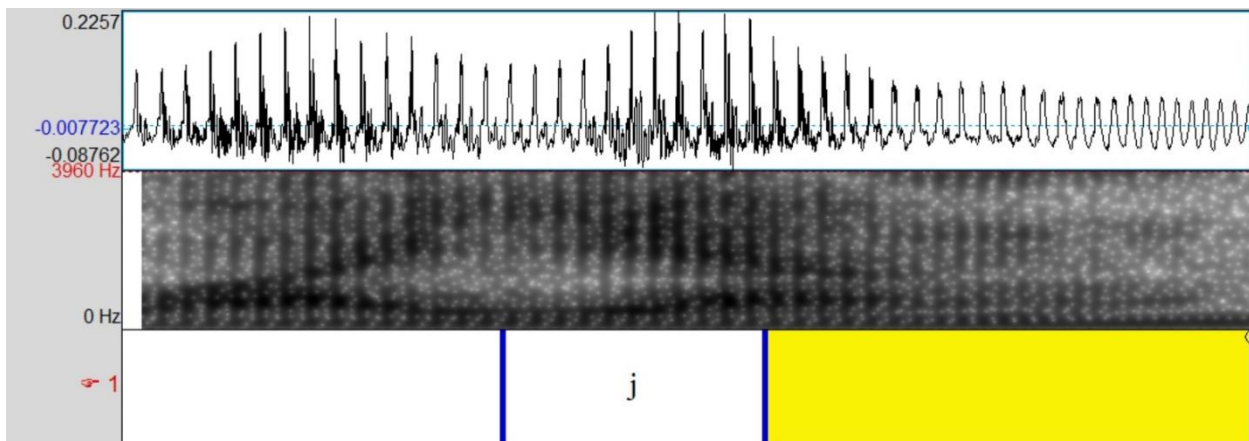


Figure 20: Waveform and spectrogram of /j/ in [wajaŋ] ‘play (performance)’

(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-107, 00:11:22.4-00:11:23.0)

Using the same word as above, [wajaŋ], the palatal approximant [j] in this instance also shows vowel-like qualities except that it has no steady state. The tongue is at its highest front position at about 2000Hz, and is retracted and lowered as F2 falls.

3.1.2 Vowels

The 8 phonetic vowels are represented in the vowel chart below:

	front	central	back
	non-rounded	non-rounded	rounded
close	i		u
close-mid	e	ə	o
open-mid	ɛ		ɔ
open		a	

Table 14: Vowel chart of Singapore Baba Malay

Out of these vowels, /ɛ/ and /a/ are contrasting phonemes, and /a/ becomes /ɛ/ before /l/, /r/ and /s/ (see section 3.3.9). Both do also form minimal pairs (see section 3.1.2.1).

3.1.2.1 Minimal pairs of vowels

The minimal pairs for the following vowel phonemes of the language are as follows:

- (59) /i/ : /e/
 [tapi] ‘but’ : [tape] ‘fermented rice dessert’
- (60) /i/ : /ə/
 [siram] ‘flush’ : [səram] ‘frightening’

- (61) /i/ : /u/
[abi] ‘then, but’ : [abu] ‘ash’
- (62) /u/ : /ə/
[kunaŋ] ‘under the influence of black magic’ : [kənaŋ] ‘reminisce’
- (63) /u/ : /o/
[ku] ‘maternal uncle’ : [ko] ‘paternal aunt’
- (64) /o/ : /ə/
[kɔpeʔ] ‘peel’ : [kəpeʔ] ‘pinch’
- (65) /o/ : /a/
[ikot] ‘follow’ : [ikat] ‘tie’
- (66) /o/ : /ɔ/
[toʔ] ‘table’ : [tɔʔ] ‘poisonous, evil’
- (67) /ɔ/ : /ə/
[əŋ] ‘prosperous’ : [əŋ] ‘honorific prefix for familial relations’
- (68) /ɔ/ : /a/
[gantɔŋ] ‘hang’ : [gantəŋ] ‘a cylindrical measure of one gallon of rice’
- (69) /a/ : /ɛ/
[kena] ‘PASS’ : [kenɛ] ‘know (refined)’
- (70) /a/ : /ə/
[basi] ‘stale’ : [bəsi] ‘iron’
- (71) /a/ : /e/
[tʃobaʔ] ‘taste’ : [tʃobeʔ] ‘long-jawed’
- (72) /e/ : /ə/
[bedeʔ] ‘tell a lie’ : [bədeʔ] ‘pummel’

3.1.2.2 Monophthongs

Acoustic measurements are made of the vowels of the same proficient speaker whose consonants were acoustically analysed in 3.1.1. Again, the data comes from naturally occurring forms in narratives including story-telling and conversational data, and tokens are chosen if their relevant acoustic characteristics appear distinctly. 10 tokens are measured for each vowel, and the resultant vowel plot in F1-F2 space is presented at the end of this section. It has been proposed that that vowel formants are acoustic correlates of vowel features, and are more representative of vowels rather than their articulatory properties. This is due to idiosyncratic differences in vowel articulation as well as inconsistencies between patterns of linguistic vowel height and frontness and measured tongue height and frontness during vowel production (Johnson 2012, Johnson et al. 1993, Ladefoged et al. 1972).

Formant values are read manually at the midpoint, steady state of a vowel, corresponding roughly to the midpoint of the vowel being analysed. The settings used for this analysis are the same as the ones used for the analysis of consonants – Maximum formant: 5000Hz, number of formants: 5, window length: 5 milliseconds, dynamic range: 30dB, dot size of 0.5mm. F1 and F2 values are derived for all vowels. F1 corresponds approximately to vowel height while F2 corresponds roughly to vowel frontness. The higher F1 is, the lower the vowel, the higher F2 is, the more front the vowel. F3 is primarily used for differentiating between vowels that are only distinguishable by lip-rounding (Ladefoged 2003), for example, the difference between [i] and [y]. There are neither front rounded vowels nor back unrounded vowels in BM, hence it is not necessary to measure F3. Analysis is carried out in Praat (Boersma and Weenink 2013). Again, where possible, the same speaker's vowels are presented. Tokens are not arbitrarily selected. Rather vowels are selected with the following preferred characteristics: Vowels in stressed positions are preferred, since it is difficult to read the formants of an unstressed vowel off a spectrogram. For the same reason, creaky voice data is discarded. In addition, it is preferable to use vowels that are not surrounded by consonants, as the formant frequencies of vowels can be affected by consonants in their immediate environment. This ensures that the measurements derived are purely that of the vowel, and not that of a consonant's effect on a vowel. In addition, if there are preceding or following consonant, /h/ initial and glottal stop finals are preferred since these do not affect formant values as much as other consonants. For example, laterals lower the following formant values. However, due to the fact that many tokens are preceded by labials, these can be used consistently for different vowel measurements. Tokens outside of these environments are used only where there are not enough

tokens to constitute the 10 required for each vowel. The following spectrogram demonstrates how the formants are measured for individual tokens.

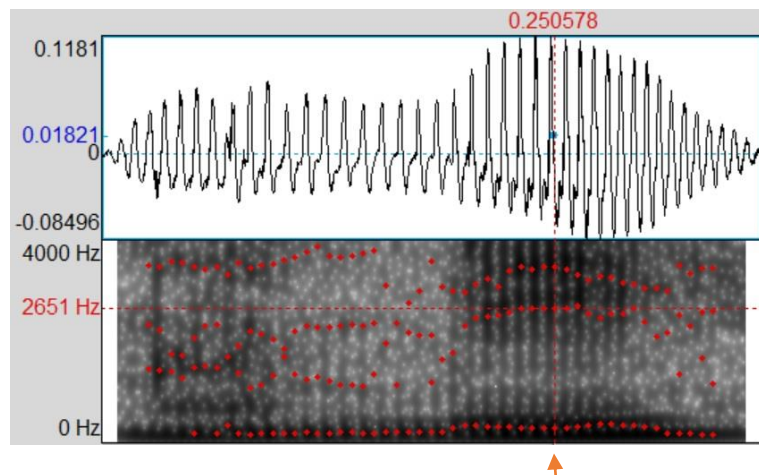


Figure 21: Waveform and spectrogram of /i/ in [abi] ‘then’

(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-30, 00:03:12.4-00:03:13.0)

In the spectrogram generated by Praat, the dots correspond to where the darkest horizontal stripes are. These dark horizontal stripes represent areas of energy, and also the formants that are to be measured. F1 is indicated by the lowest stripe, and F2 by the one above it. The arrow indicates where the vowel /i/’s formants is measured, at midpoint, steady state. The measurements along the left axis of the spectrogram shows that the value of /i/’s F2 is 2651Hz (F1 whose value is not seen here is 302Hz). The relatively low F1 value and the relatively high F2 value show that /i/ is a high front vowel respectively.

The following table shows the different F1 and F2 values generated for the different vowels. Individual spectrograms are not provided since formant values may vary widely between speakers and tokens.

No.	Vowel	Word	Environment	F1	F2
1	i	labilabi	b_	286	2145
2	i	labilabi	b_	267	2165
3	i	habi	b_	286	2242

4	i	tapi	p_	286	2203
5	i	labilabi	b_	267	2300
6	i	labilabi	b_	267	2397
7	i	habi	b_	305	2591
8	i	tepi	p_	267	2203
9	i	babi	b_	286	2242
10	i	ilanʔ	#_	267	2397
11	e	beloʔ	b_	402	2010
12	e	pile	l_	441	2203
13	e	peteʔ	t_ʔ	402	2107
14	e	tareʔ	r_ʔ	402	2029
15	e	tʃareʔ	r_ʔ	421	2107
16	e	teŋoʔ	t_ŋ	383	2010
17	e	habes	b_s	383	2145
18	e	sampay	p_	421	2436
19	e	habes	b_s	344	2262
20	e	beloʔ	b_	402	2010
21	ɛ	laŋɛ	ŋ_	538	2107
22	ɛ	laŋɛ	ŋ_	538	2087
23	ɛ	keɛ	r_	615	2242
24	ɛ	sɛ	s_	538	2149
25	ɛ	bekete	t_	538	2203
26	ɛ	kedʒɛ	dʒ_	557	2184
27	ɛ	deŋɛ	g_	576	2107

28	ε	hospite	t_	596	1971
29	ε	hospite	t_	615	2087
30	ε	gambe	b_	596	1855
31	ə	pete?	p_	383	1448
32	ə	pete?	p_	441	1526
33	ə	terlaŋe	t_r	480	1545
34	ə	terlaŋe	t_r	460	1545
35	ə	mentah	m_n	499	1506
36	ə	terkele?kele?	t_r	441	1603
37	ə	terkele?kele?	k_	480	1546
38	ə	terkele?kele?	k_	383	1564
39	ə	tepi	t_	421	1564
40	ə	kena	k_	480	1661
41	a	mata	m_	789	1255
42	a	mari	m_	770	1545
43	a	maso?	m_	789	1448
44	a	apa	#_	770	1506
45	a	apa	p_	634	1255
46	a	babi	b_	809	1390
47	a	apa	#_	731	1216
48	a	apa	p_	751	1235
49	a	apa	#_	673	1351
50	a	apa	p_	770	1371
51	u	kebun	b_n	267	809

52	u	kebun	b_n	247	906
53	u	buda?	b_	286	903
54	u	mulot	m_	247	925
55	u	mulot	m_	286	906
56	u	bukit	b_	247	925
57	u	buda?	b_	286	925
58	u	buda?	b_	286	867
59	u	buda?	b_	247	867
60	u	bulan	b_	305	886
61	o	poko?	p_	408	698
62	o	mo	m_	383	777
63	o	mo	m_	363	777
64	o	mo	m_	344	750
65	o	lotfej	l_	354	830
66	o	dzatoh	t_h	407	803
67	o	tolonj	t_	407	1015
68	o	mo	m_	354	750
69	o	mo	m_	354	803
70	o	katfo	tj_	381	1094
71	ɔ	ɔraŋ	#_	468	964
72	ɔ	lambəŋ	b_ŋ	538	698
73	ɔ	teŋɔ?	g_?	539	936
74	ɔ	lambəŋ	b_ŋ	518	645
75	ɔ	tarɔ?	r_?	513	1041

76	ɔ	lɔmpat	l_m	518	1068
77	ɔ	tɔŋkat	t_ŋ	538	990
78	ɔ	teŋɔʔ	ŋ_ʔ	576	1068
79	ɔ	tɔŋ	t_ŋ	513	989
80	ɔ	ɔraŋ	#_	500	1068

Table 15: Vowels and formant values for a proficient speaker of Singapore Baba Malay

That [ɔ] exists in words derived from Malay is worthy of mention. This contrasts with Pakir's (1986:56) observations that [ɔ] exists only in loanwords. It is also important to note that there are [ɔ] vowels are undergoing change, so a word such as [ɔraŋ] 'person' may be pronounced as [oraŋ] by others (see section 3.7 for more information regarding change in the vowel space).

The F1 and F2 values derived are presented in figure 22, which is a vowel plot with F1 values on the Y-axis and F2 values on the X axis.

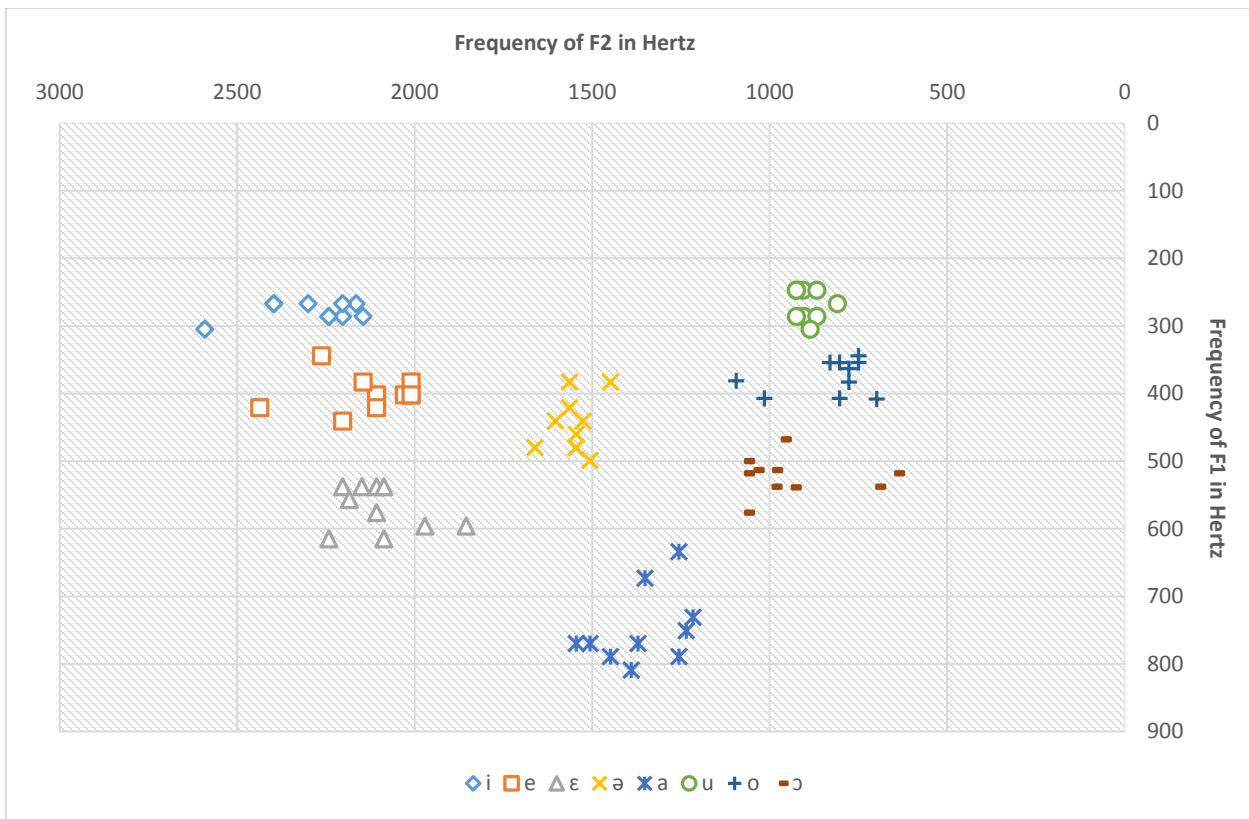


Figure 22: Vowel space of a Singapore Baba Malay speaker

The speaker whose vowels are represented in figure 22 is a proficient speaker, relatively conservative (See section 3.7), and the above chart is a good representation of the general vowel space in BM. While the above is an individual’s vowel chart, and may involve some level of idiosyncrasy, the vowel spaces of six speakers are contrasted in section 3.7.

3.1.2.3 Diphthongs

Diphthongs here refer from sequences of vowel and glide that occur within the same syllable, as compared to sequences of vocoids that occur broken across two separate syllables (see section 3.1.2.4). These have their own special category, as they can be distinguished from other consonant clusters that exist as a result of metathesis and fast speech (see section 3.2). This is in fact similar to the treatment of diphthongs in Austronesian, where diphthongs are viewed to be combinations of vowel and semivowel (Dempwolff 1934-1938, Blust 1998), and such a treatment extends to many other languages. Diphthongs in BM can be divided into two types, those that only exist in words derived from Hokkien, and those that exist in words of Malay and Hokkien origins, among others. Words that are derived from Hokkien

are marked with (H) in the following list. Note that these words may have been phonologically adapted into BM (see sections 3.3 and 3.3) and sound different from their original H counterparts.

(73) [aj]

Examples: [bə.kə.laj] ‘quarrel’, [tʃaj.təŋ] ‘nunnery that serves vegetarian food (H)’

(74) [aw]

Examples: [taʊ] ‘know’, [ɔ:paw] ‘purse (H)’

(75) [oj]

Examples: [amboj] ‘exclamation of surprise’, [bojʔ] ‘socks (H)’

(76) [ow]

Examples: [da.own] ‘leaves’, [bow] ‘NEG (H)’

3.1.2.4 Vowel sequences across syllables

The [a.o] vowel sequence occurs broken across two different syllables. These cannot be analyzed as diphthongs comprising vowel and glide, since each syllable should have its own nucleus, and each vowel in one of these vowel sequences form the nucleus of the different syllables. Note that there is no glottal stop in between [a] and [o] in these instances.

(77) [ao]

Examples: [da.own] ‘leaves’, [ta.own] ‘years’, [ga.o] ‘mix’

3.2 Phonotactics

The BM syllable structure is (C)(C)V(C)(C) with some restrictions. Onsets and codas are optional. Thus, syllables are of the type V, CV, CCV, VC, CVC, CCVC, and CVCC. However, no examples are found with VCC and CCVCC. The consonant clusters that occur within the same syllable have a glide as one of the consonants in the cluster. This is demonstrated by examples such as the CCV syllable [mwi] in [mwi.laŋ] ‘matchmaker, the CCVC syllable [bwaŋ] ‘throw’, and the CVCC syllable [bajʔ] ‘good’. Other consonant clusters within the same syllable occur as a product of local metathesis or fast speech. For

example, [kr] in [krə.dʒar] ‘work’, [gr] in [grə.taʔ] ‘threat’, and [tr] in [trə.baŋ] ‘fly’ are derived from [kər.dʒar]²², [gər.taʔ], and [tər.baŋ] respectively. An example of a consonant cluster in fast speech occurs when [ə] is reduced, as in [bla.tʃu] for [bə.la.tʃu] ‘unbleached cotton outfit used for mourning’. In all these instances of underlying consonant clusters in a single syllable, at least one of the consonant is a glide [j, w] or a liquid [l, r]. In general, the glottal stop [ʔ] cannot occur in the onset of the first syllable, while affricates [tʃ] and [dʒ] cannot occur in the coda. The following are permutations found in BM, as well as the restrictions found on each permutation. Syllable boundaries are marked with ‘.’ Words of Hokkien origin are followed by (H).

(78) V

Examples: [a.deʔ] ‘sibling’, [o.pan] ‘freckles (H)’

All vowels can occur as the obligatory, individually-occurring nucleus that comprises the entire syllable.

(79) CV

Examples: [da.pat] ‘receive’, [kweh.ji] ‘glutinous rice balls (H)’

There are no restrictions on V in this sort of syllable, and the only restriction on C is that it cannot be a glottal stop. Glottal stops are only allowed in the onset of the second syllable, such as in [ba.ʔu] ‘smell’ and in the word [pe.ʔe] ‘good character’, which is borrowed from Arabic, [fi.ʔil].

(80) CCV

Examples: [trə.baŋ] ‘fly (after metathesis), [mwi.lang] ‘matchmaker (H)’

There are no restrictions on V, whereas the restriction all consonant clusters is that one of the consonants must be a glide, or a liquid in the case of metathesis or fast speech. In the case of CCV, the second consonant has to be a glide or a liquid. The glottal stop should also not occur in the onset of the first syllable.

²² Note that whereas the BM versions of work are [kər.ʒar], [krə.ʒar] (coarse), and [krə.ʒɛ], the Malay version is [ker.ja].

(81) VC

Examples: [aŋ.kat] ‘lift, hold, pick up, carry’, [aw.ban] ‘selfish (H)’

Both glides and full consonants, except for affricates, can occur in the C position in VC. Note that it is more common for [ŋ] to follow a vowel as a coda than to precede it as an onset.

(82) CVC

Example: [ti.mun] ‘cucumber’, [joʔ.hun] ‘Chinese medicinal powder (H)’

The glottal stop is not permitted in the onset of the first syllable, while affricates are not permitted in the coda. An example of a glottal stop occurring in the second syllable is the word [a.ʔus] ‘thirsty’.

(83) CCVC

Example: [pə.rjoʔ]²³ ‘cooking pot’, [hwat] ‘expand (H)’

The glottal stop is not permitted in the onset of the first syllable, while affricates are not permitted in the coda. The second consonant in the CCVC consonant cluster has to be a glide.

(84) CVCC

Examples: [bajʔ] ‘good’²⁴, [bojʔ] ‘socks (H)’

In CVCC syllables, the penultimate consonant must be a glide. The glottal stop is not permitted in the onset of the first syllable, while affricates are not permitted in the coda.

Words are usually between one to three syllables in length, with two syllable words being the most common in the corpus used. All possible syllabic permutations are found in words of Malay origin, as well as words of Hokkien origin. Words borrowed from other languages into BM also follow the above phonotactic constraints. For example, Dutch [lamp] for ‘lamp’ is borrowed into BM as [lampu] as there are no consonant cluster codas in BM that do not comprise a glide or a liquid, and the Portuguese word [padri] is borrowed into the language as [padəri] ‘priest’, as consonant clusters with liquids are not common, unless as a product of metathesis or fast speech.

²³ Not [per.joʔ]

²⁴ Originally from Dutch, borrowed into Malay.

3.2.1 Resyllabification and reduplication

Other processes that concern syllable shape are resyllabification and reduplication.

Resyllabification also occurs with the use of suffixes. For example, when nominalizer /-an/ is attached to /ma.ɲak/ ‘many’ to derive a noun out of an adjective, the new word is /ma.ɲa.kan/, and /k/ is no longer the coda of the penultimate syllable but it is the onset of the ultimate syllable. This is not a very productive process because the use of nominalizer /-an/ is optional, and so is the use of most affixes except for transitive suffix /-kan/ (see section 4.2.1.1), which has no effects on resyllabification since it has its own onset. Reduplication is also not always productive in BM. Words that appear reduplicated may not be recognised as being composed of a shorter component that has meaning by itself that is repeated in the reduplicated form by speakers, as with the following list of words.

- (85) labi-labi ‘turtle’
- (86) kupu-kupu ‘butterfly’
- (87) kura-kura ‘tortoise’
- (88) antiŋ-antiŋ ‘earrings’
- (89) gədəbaʔ-gədəbuʔ ‘onomatopoeia: thudding of the heart’
- (90) gədəbaŋ-gədəboŋ ‘onomatopoeia: loud noises’
- (91) embɛ-embɛ ‘half-cooked’

In the above examples, none of the supposed individual (unreduplicated) “components” are meaningful to BM speakers. *Labi* in (85) *labi-labi* ‘turtle’ does not mean a singular turtle, assuming that reduplication functions as a plural marker as with many other varieties of Malay, such as with Manado Malay, Ambon Malay, Kupang Malay (Paauw 2009), Bahasa Melayu, and Bahasa Indonesia, to name a few. In fact, on its own, *labi* does not appear to be accepted as a word. In varieties such as Bahasa Melayu and Bahasa Indonesia, *kupu* means ‘equal in social or familial position’, but is in no way related to (86) *kupukupu* ‘butterfly’. Similarly *kura* means ‘spleen’ in Bahasa Melayu and Bahasa Indonesia, but this is unrelated to (87) *kurakura* ‘tortoise’. The word *antiŋ* means ‘weight on a scale’ in the same language, and the word for earrings (88) *antiŋ-antiŋ* may have come from the fact that the long earrings worn might have looked like the weights on traditional balancing scales, but the word *antiŋ* does not exist in BM and any such historical connection there may be is unknown to speakers. Where (89) is concerned, the components *gədəbaʔ* and *gədəbuʔ* have no meaning on their own in BM. In related varieties such as Bahasa Melayu and Bahasa Indonesia, *gədəbuʔ* is the onomatopoeic sound for

stamping and pounding. These seemingly reduplicated words in examples (85) to (89) appear to have been directly derived from other Malay varieties, in which these words exist. More discussion on which variety of Malay may have constituted the lexicon of BM ensues in Chapter 7.

There are also instances of these “reduplications” in BM that have not been derived directly from any source. In (90), *gədəbaŋ* and *gədəboŋ* have no individual meanings in BM, but *gədəbam* is the onomatopoeic sound made by falling things in Bahasa Indonesia. BM speakers might have analogized and innovated *gədəbaŋ-gədəboŋ* as an onomatopoeia for loud noises themselves, following the template for *gədəbaʔ-gədəbuʔ*, in which the first component ends with an open low vowel followed by a velar, and the second component ends with a rounded, back and high vowel also followed by a velar. In other cases such as (91), neither component nor “reduplicated” word is known to exist in any other associated variety of Malay, and *embε-embε* ‘half-cooked’ appears to be unique to BM (*embε* on its own does not exist as a word).

In other instances, words are reduplicated meaningfully, some more productively than others:

- (92) *peʔ-peʔ* ‘father’s elder brother’ / *dʒi peʔ* ‘father’s second eldest brother’
- (93) *kim-kim* ‘mother’s brother’ wife / *tua kim* ‘mother’s eldest brother’s wife’
- (94) *adeʔ bəradeʔ* ‘siblings’ / *adeʔ* ‘sibling’
- (95) *rumah rumah* ‘houses’ / *rumah* ‘house’
- (96) *pəlan pəlan* ‘slowly’ / *pəlan* ‘slow’
- (97) *ləkas ləkas* ‘quickly’ / *ləkas* ‘quick’
- (98) *tauwε tauwε* ‘somewhat tasteless’ / *tauwε* ‘tasteless’
- (99) *asien asin* ‘somewhat salty’ / *asin* ‘salty’
- (100) *dʒalan dʒalan* ‘to take a walk’ / *jalan* ‘walk’
- (101) *matʃam matʃam* ‘like this and that’ / *matʃam* ‘seems, like, like this’

There are five patterns of reduplicated observed in the data above. (93) and (94) are examples of kinship terms in BM that have been derived from Hokkien. The individual components on their own have the same meanings as the reduplicated components, for example, *peʔ* also means ‘father’s elder brother’, same as *peʔ-peʔ*, but these stems are never used on their own in BM. Rather, they are combined with Hokkien numerals to indicate the position of this relative in relation to oneself, thus *dʒi peʔ* would mean ‘father’s second eldest brother’, and so on (see Appendix A: Kinship terms).

Whereas reduplication for plurals is common in other varieties of Malay such as the Bahasa Melayu and Bahasa Indonesia, reduplication for plurals is not common in BM. Plurals in BM are usually indicated by adding the word *manak* before the noun. Reduplicated plurals found in the corpus include (94) *ade? bərade?* ‘siblings’, reduplicated from *ade?* ‘sibling’ and, and *rumah-rumah* ‘houses’, reduplicated from (95) *rumah* ‘house’.

Examples (96) to (101) are more productive and typical in BM. Adjectives can be reduplicated to become adverbs, as with example e, where *pəlan* is ‘slow’ and *pəlan pəlan* ‘slowly’, and example f, where *ləkas* is ‘quick’ and *ləkas ləkas* means ‘quickly’. Adjectives can also be reduplicated to express tentativeness or moderateness, as with (98) and (99), where *tauwe* means ‘tasteless’ and *tauwe tauwe* can mean ‘somewhat tasteless’, and *asin* means ‘salty’ whereas *asien asin* can mean ‘somewhat salty’. Similarly, tentative can be expressed by reduplicating other word classes. On its own, *dʒalan* would mean ‘walk’ but (100) *dʒalan dʒalan* means ‘to take a walk’ or to stroll with no general goal or purpose (see section 5.2.5.7), and *matfam* means ‘seems, like, like this’ whereas (101) *matfam matfam* indicates ‘like this and that’, and nothing in general.

Phonologically, some of these reduplications appear to be interesting, for example, *ade? bərade?* ‘siblings’ and ‘*asien asin*’ but none of these patterns are productive in BM. Monosyllabic, bisyllabic and trisyllabic roots can all be reduplicated, with the monosyllabic forms being derived entirely from Hokkien.

3.3 Phonological rules

The following are phonological rules in BM, some of them being optional. It is important to note that these rules generate surface forms from underlying BM forms, and to not assume that the underlying forms will coincide with equivalent Malay words. BM is not a daughter or sister language of Malay (in the historical sense). Instead BM is a contact language that is formed through interrupted transmission (see section 7.2). More importantly, BM is a separate, distinct language in its own right, and its phonology must be analyzed accordingly, as that of a distinct language. It is therefore not technically necessary nor appropriate to use the phonologies of either Malay or Hokkien as preliminary points of comparison for BM phonological facts. In addition to understanding the phonological rules of BM, it is interesting to note how some BM words are different from equivalences in Malay, regardless of the phonological rules that apply. For example, BM /bawak/ corresponds to Malay /bawa/ ‘bring’, BM

/məsti/ to Malay /misti/ ‘must’, BM /amek/ to Malay /ambil/ ‘take’, BM /tʃarek/ to Malay /tʃari/ ‘find’, and BM /muŋka/ to Malay /muka/ ‘face’. The forms of words such as these are just idiosyncratically different in BM, and there should be no attempt to derive such BM words from the Malay forms with which they are compared, but by the phonological rules that are necessary and appropriate for BM phonology.

The following tables provides distinctive features of individual segments, as distinctive features are used in this section. Inasmuch as is possible, non-redundant features are used.

	i	e	ɛ	a	ə	o	ɔ	u	j	w
syllabic	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
high	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
low	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
back	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
round	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
tense	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-
approximant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+

Table 16: Distinctive features of vowels and glides in Singapore Baba Malay

In a strict view, where economy is valued, BM would not require all these features. For example, the feature [approximant] is redundant in this table of distinctive features of vowels and glides, as glides can be specified as [-syllabic]. However, since this feature captures a natural class of glides and liquids (which are represented in table 18), it is included both tables 17 and 18.

	p	b	m	t	d	s	n	l	r
syllabic	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
voice	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+
back	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
coronal	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
anterior	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
lateral	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
nasal	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
continuant	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+
approximant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+

	tʃ	dʒ	ɲ	k	g	ŋ	ʔ	h	
syllabic	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
voice	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	
back	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	
coronal	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	
anterior	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
lateral	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
nasal	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	
continuant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
approximant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

Table 17: Distinctive features of consonants in Singapore Baba Malay (not including glides)

The following phonological rules are found in BM.

3.3.1 ə to e- fronting before final k rule

$$(102) \begin{bmatrix} + \text{syllabic} \\ - \text{high} \\ - \text{low} \\ + \text{back} \\ - \text{round} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \text{back} \\ + \text{tense} \end{bmatrix} / _ \begin{bmatrix} - \text{syllabic} \\ - \text{voice} \\ + \text{back} \end{bmatrix} \#$$

$$\text{ə} \rightarrow \text{e} / _ \text{k}$$

Schwa is fronted to e before word-final k. Where [ə] exists elsewhere preceding or following k or any other velars, it does not occur in this specific environment.

Underlying forms	pəkək 'shout'	məmisək 'whisper'	manək 'bead'	kəpala 'head'	ləkas 'quick'	bəŋis 'fierce'
ə to e-fronting before final k rule	pəkək	məmisək	manək	kəpala	ləkas	bəŋis

3.3.2 Syllable-final velar plosive to glottal stop rule

$$(103) \begin{bmatrix} - \text{syllabic} \\ + \text{back} \\ - \text{nasal} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \text{back} \\ - \text{coronal} \\ - \text{anterior} \\ - \text{continuant} \end{bmatrix} / _ \$$$

$$\text{g} \rightarrow \text{ʔ} / _ \$$$

$$\text{k} \rightarrow \text{ʔ} / _ \$$$

In syllable-final position, voiceless velar plosives becomes a glottal stop obligatorily. The voiceless velar plosives are in complementary distribution with glottal stop. Elsewhere, /k/ and /g/ remain /k/ and /g/. For example, /k/ remains /k/ in [bikin] 'make do' and /g/ remains /g/ in [gasaʔ], where syllable-final /k/ becomes [ʔ].

Underlying forms	beg 'bag'	pekpek 'father's elder brother'	masok 'enter, put in'	gasak 'guess'	kəpala 'head'	bikin 'make, do'
syllable-final plosive to glottal stop rule	beʔ	peʔpeʔ	masoʔ	gasaʔ	kəpala	bikin

3.3.3 Word- final *aj* to *e* and *aw* to *o* monophthongization rule

$$(104) \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{syllabic} \\ + \text{back} \\ + \text{low} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} - \text{syllabic} \\ \alpha \text{ back} \\ + \text{high} \\ + \text{approximant} \end{array} \right] \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{syllabic} \\ \alpha \text{ back} \\ - \text{high} \\ - \text{low} \\ + \text{tense} \end{array} \right] / _ \#$$

aj ⇒ *e* /_#

aw ⇒ *o* /_#

In word-final position, diphthongs /aj/ and /aw/ become close-mid monophthongs [e] and [o] with the same degree of frontness and backness as the semivowels /j/ and /w/ in the diphthongs /aj/ and /aw/. These patterns have also been noted by Pakir (1986), except that she represents the diphthongs as /ai/ and /au/ instead of /aj/ and /aw/. This rule does not apply in other environments, so words such as /lawt/ 'sea' remain [lawt] and /kajn/ 'cloth' stays [kajn]. The word /kalaw/ is also interesting; it has two surface forms in SBM, [kalu] and [kalo], of which [kalu] is more common.

Underlying forms	kədaj 'shop'	pandaj 'clever'	halaw 'chase away'	pisaw	lawt 'sea'	kajn 'cloth'
monophthongization rule	kəde	pande	halo	pišo	lawt	kajn

Hokkien-derived words do not seem to undergo this rule, as with [aŋpau] ‘red packet of monetary gift’ and [tʃin.tʃaj] ‘not fussy’. Also, there are no words of Malay origin in BM that begin with either /aw/ or /aj/.

3.3.4 Deletion of word-initial *h* rule

$$(105) \left[\begin{array}{l} - \text{coronal} \\ + \text{continuant} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow (\emptyset) / \# _$$

$$h \rightarrow (\emptyset) / \# _$$

Word initially, /h/ is deleted optionally.

Underlying forms	haʔus ‘thirsty, worn-out’	hudzan ‘rain’	hitam ‘black’	mahal ‘expensive’	dzahat ‘evil’	bohoŋ ‘lie’
word initial h-deletion rule	aʔus	udzan	itam	mahal	dzahat	bohoŋ

This rule does not apply to all Hokkien-derived words, for example, [hawlam] for ‘female mourners’, and [haulɪ], referring to ‘male mourners’. For words derived from Malay, the rule is optional; speakers produce both forms with and without [h] (speakers can produce both [udzan] and [hudzan] for ‘rain’), although the general consensus is that the forms that lack [h] are more BM, since the forms with [h] exist in the standard Bahasa Melayu as well.

3.3.5 Deletion of *h* between *a_i* and *a_u* rule

$$(106) \left[\begin{array}{l} - \text{coronal} \\ + \text{continuant} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \emptyset / \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{syllabic} \\ + \text{low} \\ - \text{round} \end{array} \right] - \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{syllabic} \\ + \text{high} \end{array} \right]$$

$$h \rightarrow \emptyset / a_i$$

$$h \rightarrow \emptyset / a_u$$

Deletion of *h* takes place intervocalically, between /a/ and /i/ or /u/, creating diphthongs *ai* and *au*.

Deletion does not take place between other vowels, be it vowels of the same quality, such as with *dzahat* ‘evil’, or vowels of different qualities than *ai* and *au*, such as with *sihat* ‘healthy’. In these other environments, /h/ is not deleted.

Underlying forms	dzahit ‘sew’	pahit ‘bitter’	tahu ‘know’	sihat ‘healthy’	dzahat ‘evil’	bohoŋ ‘lie’
ai/au h-deletion rule (non-surface forms)	dzait	pait	tau	sihat	dzahat	bohoŋ

3.3.6 *i, u* vowel to *j, w* glide rule

$$(107) \begin{bmatrix} + \text{syllabic} \\ + \text{high} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \text{syllabic} \\ + \text{high} \end{bmatrix} / \begin{bmatrix} + \text{syllabic} \end{bmatrix} _$$

$$i \rightarrow j / V _$$

$$u \rightarrow w / V _$$

Vowels /i/ and /u/ become glides [j] and [w] when preceded by another vowel. The intervocalic deletion of /h/ between /a_i/ and /a_u/ rule feeds this glide rule (see section 3.3.10).

Underlying forms	dzait ‘sew’	pahit ‘bitter’	tahu ‘know’	da.own ‘leaf’	ta.own ‘year’	sihat ‘healthy’
i, u to j, w rule	dzajt	pajt	taw	da.own	ta.own	sihat

3.3.7 Metathesis of ə and r rule

$$(108) \begin{bmatrix} + \text{syllabic} \\ - \text{high} \\ - \text{low} \\ + \text{back} \\ - \text{round} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} - \text{syllabic} \\ - \text{lateral} \\ + \text{approximant} \end{bmatrix} \Rightarrow \left(\begin{bmatrix} - \text{syllabic} \\ - \text{lateral} \\ + \text{approximant} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} + \text{syllabic} \\ - \text{high} \\ - \text{low} \\ + \text{back} \\ - \text{round} \end{bmatrix} \right) / _ [-\text{syllabic}]$$

$$\text{ər} \Rightarrow (\text{rə}) / _ \text{C}$$

Metathesis occurs as /ər/ becomes [rə]. This only occurs before a consonant. It is also reasonable to assume that laterals following /ə/ might cause metathesis too, since both /r/ and /l/ are liquids. However, there are no instances of /l/ followed immediately by a consonant in BM, and hence it is not necessary to further define the liquid by including [-lateral]. This rule is optional, although the word for work, [krədʒa] appears consistently as such in the corpus. /ər/ is postulated as the underlying segment and not [rə], because when the segment /ər/ occurs in more general conditions elsewhere, such as in bərat 'heavy'.

Underlying forms	gərdʒa 'church'	kərdʒa 'work'	bərsi 'clean'	tərbəŋ 'fly'	bərat 'heavy'	pəletʃok 'twist foot'
ər to rə - metathesis rule	grədʒa	krədʒa	brəsi	trərbəŋ	bərat	pəletʃok

3.3.8 Assimilation to u before lw rule

$$(109) [+ \text{syllabic}] \rightarrow \left(\begin{bmatrix} + \text{high} \\ + \text{round} \end{bmatrix} \right) / _ [+ \text{lateral}] \begin{bmatrix} - \text{syllabic} \\ + \text{round} \end{bmatrix}$$

$$V \rightarrow (\text{u}) / _ \text{lw}$$

Optionally, vowels before /lw/ can assimilate towards the rounded, back and high /w/. This anticipatory assimilation is triggered specifically by a subsequent /lw/ and not by an intervening lateral, /lj/ or any IV environment.

Underlying forms	səlwar 'pants'	kəlwar 'go out, take out'	dilwar 'outside'	kalu 'if'	halja 'ginger'	katʃua 'cockroach'
u- assimilation rule	sulwar	kulwar	dulwar	kalu	halia	katʃua

3.3.9 Vowel-raising to ϵ and final l, r, s loss in refined style rules

Word-finally, /al/, /as/, and /ar/ optionally become [ɛ], as noted by Pakir (1986). Whether /al/, /as/, and /ar/ becomes [ɛ] depends however, on whether the speaker intends to come across as being 'refined' or 'coarse'. More details are provided in section on 3.7 on variation and change.

There are two rules that have to be posited for refined forms, since it is phonologically more plausible and preferable for phonological rules to change only a single segment at a time. These rules are identified in (110) and (111).

$$(110) \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{syllabic} \\ + \text{low} \\ - \text{round} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left(\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{syllabic} \\ - \text{back} \\ - \text{tense} \end{array} \right] \right) / _ \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{anterior} \\ + \text{continuant} \end{array} \right] \#$$

$$a \rightarrow (\epsilon) / _l \#$$

$$a \rightarrow (\epsilon) / _r \#$$

$$a \rightarrow (\epsilon) / _s \#$$

In the vowel raising rule, /a/ becomes [ɛ] when followed by /l/, /r/, and /s/, although this only occurs for refined forms.

Underlying forms	kenal 'know (a person)'	tampal 'mend'	panas 'hot'	nanas 'pineapple'	benar 'logical'	kasar 'coarse'
vowel raising rule	kəneɪ	təpeɪ	pəneɪ	nəneɪ	bəneɪ	kaɪ

$$(111) \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ anterior} \\ + \text{ continuant} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \emptyset / \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ syllabic} \\ - \text{ back} \\ - \text{ tense} \end{array} \right] _$$

$$l \rightarrow \emptyset / \varepsilon _$$

$$r \rightarrow \emptyset / \varepsilon _$$

$$s \rightarrow \emptyset / \varepsilon _$$

The vowel raising rule feeds the rule that deletes final /l/, /r/ and /s/ that follow [ε].

Underlying forms	kenɛl 'know (a person)'	tampɛl 'mend'	panɛs 'hot'	nanɛs 'pineapple'	bənɛr 'logical'	kasɛr 'coarse'
final r, l, s - deletion rule	kənɛ	tampɛ	panɛ	nənɛ	bənɛ	kasɛ

There is idiosyncratic variation when it comes to the vowel [ε]. The transitive marker is usually pronounced [kan]. However, it is expressed as [kən] by an individual as a refined version of the transitive marker. Thus, the speaker produces [bɔrsi -kən] as a refined version of 'clean -TRAN' and [dʒato -kən] as a refined version of 'fall -TRAN', with the notion meaning to drop something. He deems the [kan] version as being coarse, and avoids it, opting to use the refined [kən] version mostly.

3.3.10 Rule ordering

There are five sets of rule ordering.

3.3.10.1 *ə* to *e*- fronting before final *k*, then syllable-final plosive to glottal stop rule

The glottal stop rule has to apply finally, after *ə* to *e*- fronting before final *k*, since glottal stops occur in the surface form.

Underlying forms	pəkək ‘shout’	məmisək ‘whisper’	manək ‘bead’
<i>ə</i> to <i>e</i> - fronting before final <i>k</i> rule	pəkek	məmisek	manek
syllable-final plosive to glottal stop rule	pəkeʔ	məmiseʔ	maneʔ
Surface forms	pəkeʔ	məmiseʔ	maneʔ

If applied in the wrong order, /pəkək/ ‘shout’ would be derived as *[pəkəʔ], /məmisək/ ‘whisper’ as *[məmisəʔ], and /manək/ as *[manəʔ].

3.3.10.2 Deletion of *h* between *a_i* and *a_u*, then *i, u* vowel to *j, w* glide rule

The deletion of *h* between *a_i* and *a_u* feeds the vowel to glide rule.

Underlying forms	dʒahit ‘sew’	pahit ‘bitter’	tahu ‘know’
<i>ai/au</i> <i>h</i> -deletion rule	dʒait	pait	tau
<i>i, u</i> to <i>j, w</i> rule	dʒajt	pajt	taw
Surface forms	dʒajt	pajt	taw

The feeding order would be disrupted if the rules were applied in the wrong sequence, and words such as /dʒahit/ ‘sew’ would become [dʒait]. This goes against the notion that diphthongs contain sequences of vowel and glide, and not sequences of vowels, in BM.

3.3.10.3 Monophthongization, then deletion of *h* between *a_i* and *a_u*, followed by vowel to glide rule

Monophthongization takes place before *h*-deletion intervocalically between *ai* and *au*, and these take place before the vowel to glide rule.

Underlying forms	bahu ‘shoulder’	tahu ‘know’	dahi ‘forehead’
monophthongization rule	-	-	
ai/au h-deletion rule	bau	tau	dai
i, u to j, w rule	baw	taw	daj
Surface forms	baw	taw	daj

Words such as *bahu* ‘shoulder’, *tahu* ‘know’, *dahi* ‘forehead’ have surface forms [baw], [taw] and [daj] but not *[bo], *[to] and *[de]. There is however one exception to this ordering in the form of the word *mahu* ‘want’, which has the surface form [mo] and not [maw]. The anomaly of *mahu*’s patterns been identified in Pakir (1986). Although Pakir (1986) maintains that BM is not a creole, she mentions that “lexical morphemes tend to become phonologically reduced when they become grammatical markers” (1986:66), and postulates that [mo] exists as a type of modality marker, akin to those that fulfil the function of modality in the Tense-Modality-Aspect system of creoles that Bickerton (1981) discusses.

3.3.10.4 Vowel-raising, then loss of final *l*, *r*, and *s* rule

The vowel raising rule feeds the final *r*, *l*, *s* -deletion rule, since the final *r*, *l*, *s* segments are only deleted when they follow vowel [ɛ], which is created from the vowel raising rule.

Underlying forms	nanas ‘pineapple’	pasar ‘market’	kenal ‘know’
vowel raising rule	nanɛs	pasɛr	kenɛl
final <i>r</i> , <i>l</i> , <i>s</i> -deletion rule	nane	pase	kene
Surface forms	nane	pase	kene

Again, the feeding order would be disrupted if the rules are applied in the wrong sequence, and there would be no change to the surface form of words such as /nanas/ ‘pineapple’, /pasar/ ‘market’, and /kenal/ ‘know’.

3.3.10.5 u-assimilation, then vowel-raising, followed by loss of final l, r, and s rule

Vowel-raising and loss of final l, r, and s following raised vowel takes place only after assimilation to u.

Underlying forms	kəlwar ‘go out, take out’	səlwar ‘pants’
u-assimilation rule (surface forms)	kulwar	sulwar
vowel-raising rule	kulwɛr	sulwɛr
final r, l, s -deletion rule	kulwɛ	sulwɛ
Surface forms	kulwɛ	sulwɛ

This is due to the fact that non-refined forms are also observed to undergo optional u-assimilation, so that forms such as [sulwar] and [kulwar] exist in addition to [səlwar] and [kəlwar] as well for non-refined forms. Vowel raising followed by the loss of final l, r, and s are optional rules that makes forms such as [səlwar] and [kəlwar] refined. Otherwise, surface forms such as [kəlwɛr] for ‘go out, take out’ and [səlwɛr] are expected.

3.4 Fast speech

In fast speech, speakers tend to use contracted lexical items, and omit certain vowels, and join up words, so that the original word boundaries are lost. Fast speech phenomena are presented fairly extensively by Pakir (1986).

Certain contracted forms that are not phonologically rule-governed are *swa* for *sudah* ‘already’, *kat* for *dəkat* ‘near, at’, *sapa* for *sjapa* ‘who’, *pi* for *pərgi* ‘go’, *ni* for *ini* ‘this’, and *tu* for ‘itu’. These contracted forms are usually function words or words that are very commonly used, so that very little context is required to understand what these words refer to. Among these contracted forms, *dʒoraŋ* is an

interesting contraction for *dia-oraiŋ* meaning ‘they’. The word initial *d* appears to be undergoing palatalization, brought about by anticipatory articulation before *i* with the sequence *jao* reducing to just *o*. This is not a commonly-used contracted form though, and in fact, whether it should be represented in writing for the stage has been a source of dispute among playwrights.²⁵

The vowel *ə* is also often reduced in fast speech in BM (Pakir 1986). This occurs usually on the first syllable, so that *səkali* ‘very’ becomes *skali*, *sərono* becomes *srono* ‘proper’, *kəriŋ* ‘dry’ becomes *kriŋ*, *bərapa* ‘how many’ becomes *brapa*, *tʃəlop* ‘dip in dye’ becomes *tʃlop*. In particular, there is a preference for *ə* to be omitted if it is followed by a liquid, but this is not always the case, as with *səkali* and *skali*. This appears to be connected to the optional /*ər*/ to [rə] metathesis rule, although the metathesis rule has no effect on the number of syllables. For example, *bərsi* ends up optionally as *brəsi* ‘clean’, both forms having the same number of syllables. In the instances of *ə* reduction in fast speech, the number of syllables is reduced. For example, whereas there are two syllables in *kəriŋ* ‘dry’, there is only one syllable in *kriŋ*.

The other phenomenon that is common in fast speech is that word-finally, liquids and glottal fricative can be omitted. For example, in their coarse forms, *kapal* ‘ship’ becomes *kapa* in fast speech, and *bəladzar* ‘study’ becomes *bəladza*. Non-coarse forms are affected too. For example, *dapor* ‘kitchen’ becomes *dapo*, *pe’el* ‘good character’ becomes *pe’e*, and *buah* becomes *bua* ‘fruit’. There appears to be connected to the rule that deletes final /*r*/, /*l*/, /*s*/ after raising to /*ε*/ in refined speech. The difference between these two phenomena is that final /*r*/, /*l*/, /*s*/ is mandatorily deleted after raising to /*ε*/ in refined speech, whereas word-final liquids and glottal fricative are not mandatorily deleted in fast speech.

Fast speech can also compound words together, common ones being *taʔ-a* and *taʔ-da* for *taʔ ada* ‘there isn’t’, *taʔ-pa* for *taʔ apa* ‘it is nothing’, *toʔ-sa* for *toʔ-usa* ‘there is no need’, and *niari* for ‘this *ini ari* ‘this day’. These are recorded in Pakir 1986. She has more examples of these that show up in her data than in the archive data used. She states that “disyllabic structures are the favoured output” (Pakir 1986:80).

²⁵ Information is recorded in an interview with Victor (oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-015, 00:00:00-00:03:43.0)

3.5 Writing system

As a non-official language that is not taught in schools, BM has no official writing system of its own. There are however individual systems used by playwrights who write Peranakan plays known as *wayang Peranakan*, or authors who write about Peranakan subject matters. These systems are closely modelled on the Malay writing system used in Singapore, Malaysia, and Brunei. Until the early 1900s, Malay was written using the Jawi script, modified for use from the original Arabic system (Omar 1989, Omar 1993). Only in 1904 was the writing system reformulated and romanized by Richard James Wilkinson, a Malay scholar and member of the colonial administration. This was the system adopted in Malaysia, Singapore, and Brunei. In fact, Wilkinson systematized the writing system predominantly based on the English writing system, whereas the romanized writing system in Indonesia introduced by Charles Adriaan Van Ophuijsen was influenced by Dutch (Omar 1989, Omar 1993). The standard Malay orthography was then revamped several times, with key changes taking place in 1972, during which administrators attempted to unify the spelling systems of Malay in Malaysia and Singapore with the one in Indonesia.

The system that this grammar uses is closest to the one utilized by William Gwee, a Peranakan community member in Singapore who has published a BM dictionary (Gwee 2006) and a compendium of BM sayings (Gwee 1998), the reasons being that his works may be familiar to the Peranakan community, and that the system he uses is logical and mostly easy to follow for general readers. The following table shows the phonetic values, writing system used for this grammar adapted from Gwee (2006) and the corresponding equivalents used in modern Malay orthography. The sense of the word ‘orthography’ as it is used here refers to standard usage.

<i>IPA</i>	<i>Writing system of this grammar (adapted in part from Gwee 2006)</i>	<i>Modern Malay orthography</i>
a	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>
i	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>
e	<i>é</i> ²⁶ except syllable-finally where it is represented by <i>ay</i>	<i>e</i> , except before a coda where it is represented by <i>i</i> . ²⁷
ɛ	<i>air</i>	
ə	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>
u	<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>
o	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i> , except before a coda where it is represented by <i>u</i> .
ɔ	<i>or</i>	
p	<i>p</i>	<i>p</i>

²⁶ Differs from Gwee (2006), where both [e] and [ə] are represented by *e*.

²⁷ Vowel lowering takes place in Malay before a consonant coda, so that /i/ becomes [e], and /u/ becomes [o]. See Onn (1980); Teoh (1994). There is no evidence that this takes place in BM.

b	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>
m	<i>m</i>	<i>m</i>
t	<i>t</i>	<i>t</i>
d	<i>d</i>	<i>d</i>
s	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>
n	<i>n</i>	<i>n</i>
l	<i>l</i>	<i>l</i>
r	<i>r</i>	<i>r</i>
tʃ	<i>ch</i>	<i>c</i>
dʒ	<i>j</i>	<i>j</i>
ɲ	<i>ny</i>	<i>ny</i>

k	<i>k</i> ,	<i>k</i> except for words borrowed from Arabic that originally contained velar fricative, these are spelled <i>kh</i> .
g	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
ŋ	<i>ng</i>	<i>ng</i>
ʔ	ʔ, except in word-final position, <i>k</i> or <i>g</i>	
h	<i>h</i> ,	<i>h</i>
w	<i>w</i> , except in non-onset position, <i>u</i>	<i>w</i>
j	<i>y</i> , except in non-onset position, <i>i</i>	<i>y</i>

Table 18: Writing system of Baba Malay used by this grammar

There are several points to note:

The sounds [ɛ] is represented by *air* as the vowel sounds similar to the vowel in the English word ‘air’. Singaporeans’ pronunciation of this English word is similar to that of the Received Pronunciation

rendition. This would be familiar to most literate Peranakans who would also be exposed to English, be it in Singapore in Malaysia. In fact, it should be recalled that the romanized Malay script itself was formulated based on English in these areas (Omar 1989, Omar 1993).

The two sounds [e] and [ə] are represented by the same symbol, *e* in Malay and in Gwee's writings (Gwee 1998, Gwee 2006). Whereas [ə] is still represented as *e* in this grammar, [e] is represented by *é* since it is not predictable where [ə] occurs, or where [e] occurs. For example, [bedeʔ] 'tell a lie' and [bədəʔ] 'pummel' form a minimal pair in BM. It is also more economical to mark [e] with an extra diacritic as opposed to [ə] since [ə] occurs much more frequently than [e] does.

However, the vowel sound [e] is written *ay*, such as with *sampay* for [sampe], meaning 'until, reach'. This marks a salient difference between BM and Malay. BM [sampe] would correspond to Malay [sampaj]. Similarly, while [ɔ] does not exist in Malay, [o] and [ɔ] are represented by *o* and *or* respectively, so as to be consistent with Gwee (2006).

Diphthong combinations are represented using *i* for [j] and *u* for [w] when [j] or [w] are not found in the onset. For example, [ja] is written as *ia* and [wa] can be written as *ua*. For example, [sjut] 'singe' is written as *siut* and [kwat] 'strong' is represented as *kuat*. In onset positions, the glide [j] is represented as *y* and [w] is represented as *w*. For example, the word [wa.jaŋ] 'play' is written as *wayang*. This follows Gwee (2006).

Although word-final glottal plosives manifests as [ʔ], these are still represented as *k* or *g*, since it should be relatively easy to apply the word-final plosive to glottal stop rule for readers. Word-final *k* and *g* are also used by Gwee (2006).

For readers familiar with Malay, it is interesting to note that the sounds [f] and [z] do not exist in BM, even though they exist in Malay.

Whereas Hokkien is a tone language, BM words of Hokkien origin do not have consistent tones on them and are thus not marked for tonal contrasts. Note that they do however receive regular lexical stress (see section 3.6.2).

3.6 Stress and intonation

In general, BM is a syllable-timed system, where the duration of each syllable is approximately equal. This is not surprising, considering that both its lexifier language, Malay (Wan 2012) as well as its substrate language, Hokkien are both syllable-timed (Hung 1996) instead of stressed-timed.

3.6.1 Word stress and pitch

While the lexical stress system is not based on duration, pitch (and to some extent intensity) is used for the purpose of lexical stress. All three factors discussed are common features that are said to “conspire in varying degrees in many languages to give some syllables prominence when compared with other syllables” (Cruttenden 1997:7). In BM, pitch is the most accurate indicator of stress. The ultimate syllable tends to receive the most stress. Wee (2000) characterizes this as a ‘step-up progression’. However, when there are three syllables, the final syllable receives the most stress, followed by the first syllable. Lexical stress allocation begins from the final syllable, and stress alternates between syllables. Words with four syllables are rare, but when they occur, they follow the general lexical stress template, where the ultimate syllable receives the most stress, the penultimate syllable is not stressed, and the second syllable is stressed. This differs from Wee’s (2000) findings, where step-up progression is also observed for words that are more than two syllables long

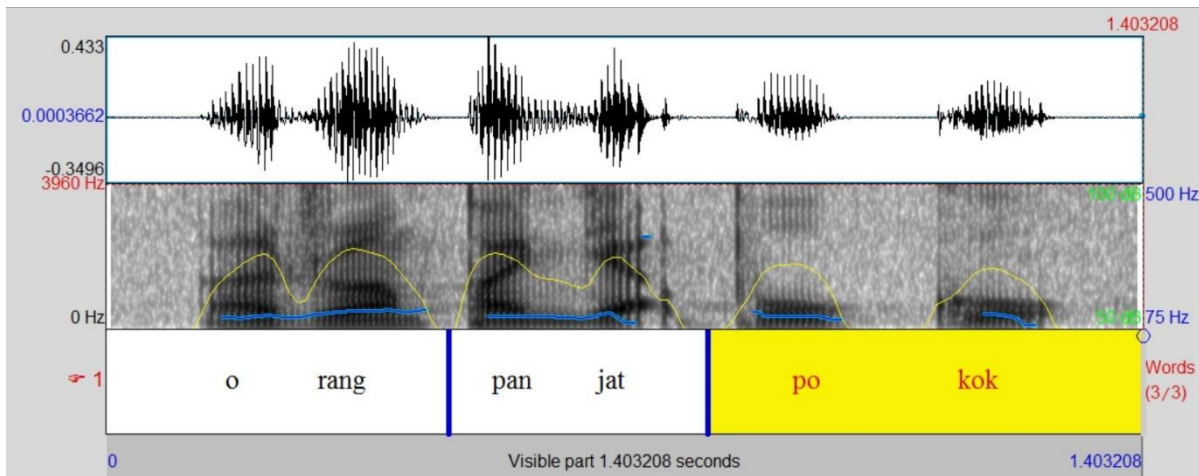
The following waveform and spectrogram captures natural speech comprising words of two syllables. The blue lines on the spectrogram represents pitch while the yellow lines represent intensity. Words are orthographically transcribed in this section.

(112) *Orang panjat pokok.*

person climbs tree

A person climbs a tree.

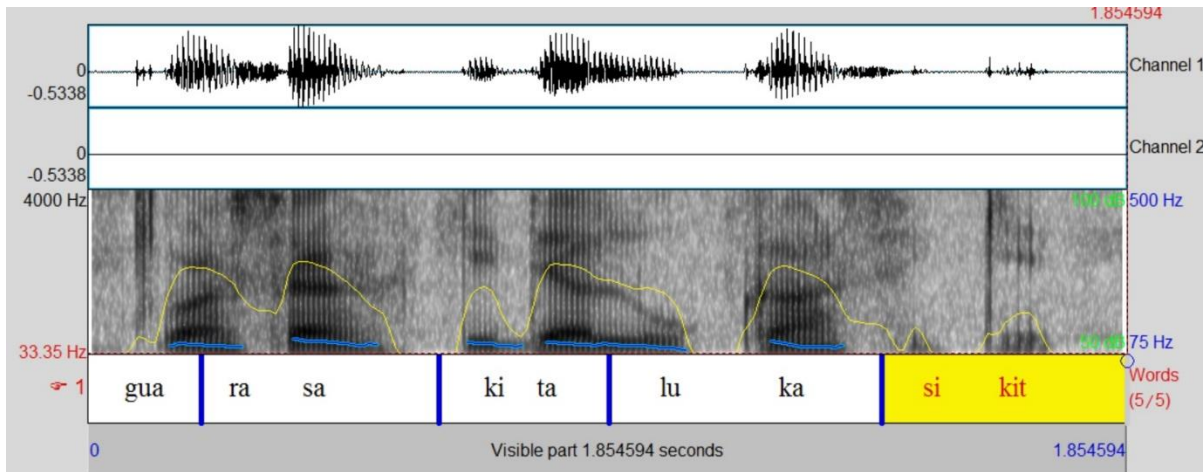
(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-028, 00:00:15.6-00:00:17.6)



Featuring a series of three two syllable words, example (112) shows that each syllable within each word is equivalently the length of the other word (as with syllable-timed systems), and each syllable within each word also has almost similar intensity patterns as the other. Besides a slight drop in pitch towards the end of the *pokok* ‘tree’ which seems to indicate sentence finality, the other disyllabic items show a slight step-up in pitch within the word. These can be represented as *o. 'rang* ‘person’ and *pan. 'jat* ‘climb’ respectively, where ‘ represents primary stress. In this sequence of two-syllable words, stress can be said to fall on the final syllable since the accompanying higher pitch indicates more prominence. Note that while (112) shows examples of closed syllables, (113) demonstrates that the same word stress pattern occurs in open syllables.

(113) *Gua rasa kita luka sikit.*
 1.SG think 1.PL wound little
 ‘I think we are a little wounded.’

(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-028, 00:03:42.5-00:03:44.9)

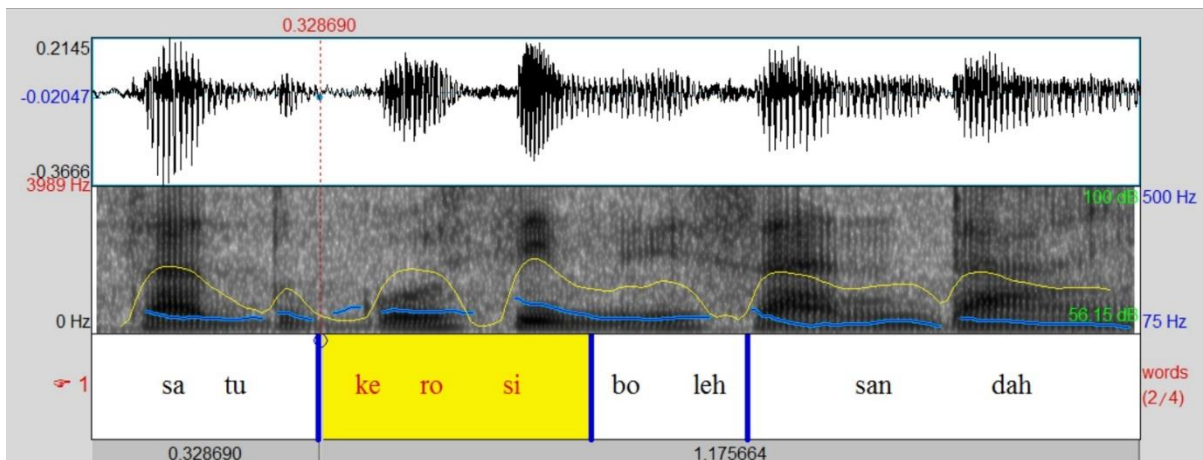


The disyllabic words in (113) can be represented as *ra. 'sa* ‘think’, *ki. 'ta* ‘1.PL’ and *lu. 'ka*. In addition to step-up progression in pitch, the second syllable in each word is also accompanied by higher intensity. Thus, in disyllabic words featuring both open and closed syllables, lexical stress always occurs on the ultimate syllable.

The following two examples demonstrate lexical stress in trisyllabic words.

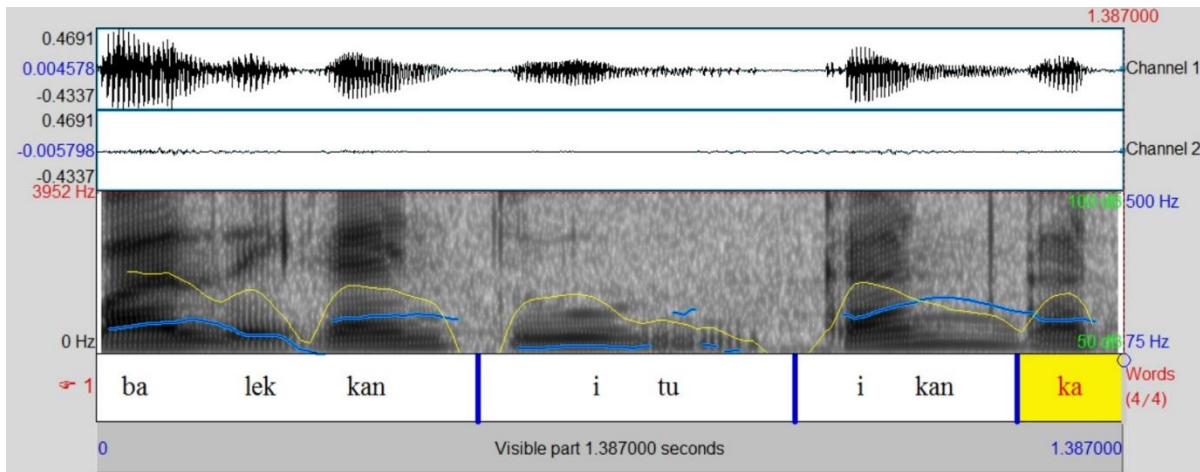
(114) *Satu kerosi boléh sandah.*
 one chair can lean
 ‘one chair (that) can lean.’

(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-044, 00:05:46.6-00:05:48.1)



In (114), the trisyllabic word for chair can be represented as *,ke.ro.'si* ‘chair’, where *,* indicates secondary stress and *'* indicates primary stress, with pitch being the most accurate indicator of stress. The following is another example of a trisyllabic word.

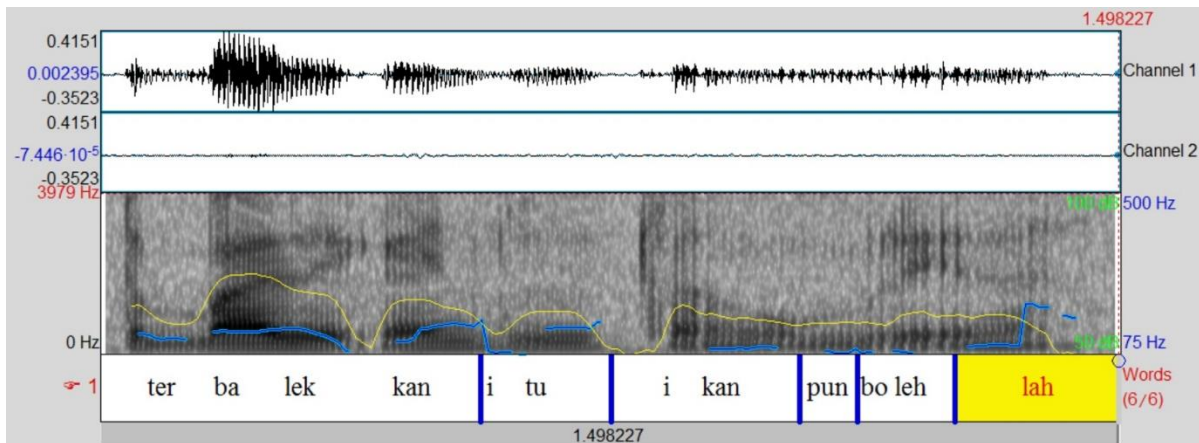
- (115) *Balék-kan itu ikan ka,*
 turn.over-TR that fish or
 ‘Turn over that fish or,’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-044, 00:10:30.7-00:10:32.3)



In example (115), ‘turn over-TR’ can be represented as *,ba.lék.'kan*, since pitch is the most prominent on the ultimate syllable followed by the first syllable. Hence in trisyllabic BM words, primary stress falls on the ultimate syllable, followed by the first syllable.

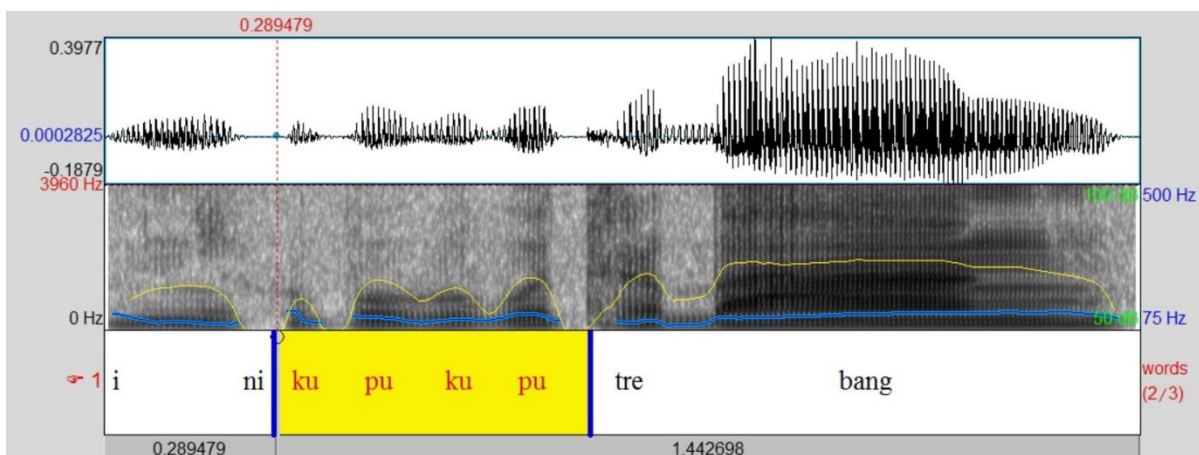
Words of four syllables are rare in BM, but they follow the template where the ultimate syllable receives primary stress, and the second syllable receives secondary stress. Example (115) can be compared to (116), where the prefix *ter-* ‘MVT’ is attached to *,ba.lék.'kan* ‘turn over-TR’. The word now comprises of four syllables instead of three. Example (8) is analyzed here as (116).

- (116) *Ter-balék-kan itu ikan pun boléh lah*
 MVT-turn.over-TR that fish also can EMP
 ‘Turn over that fish is also okay.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-044, 00:10:32.3-00:10:33.8)



With an additional prefix, the four syllable word can be expressed as *ter*, *.ba.lék*. '*kan* 'MVT-turn.over-TR'. The same syllables receive the same stress as *.ba.lék*. '*kan* 'turn over-TR'. This can be explained by the fact that stress allocation begins from the ultimate syllable; the ultimate syllable receives the primary stress, while the alternate syllable receives the secondary stress. Lexical stress is mainly indicated by pitch. (117) is another example of lexical stress allocation on a word comprising four syllables.

- (117) *Ini kupu-kupu terbang,*
 this butterfly fly
 ‘This butterfly flies,’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-030, 00:01:37.5-00:01:39.2)



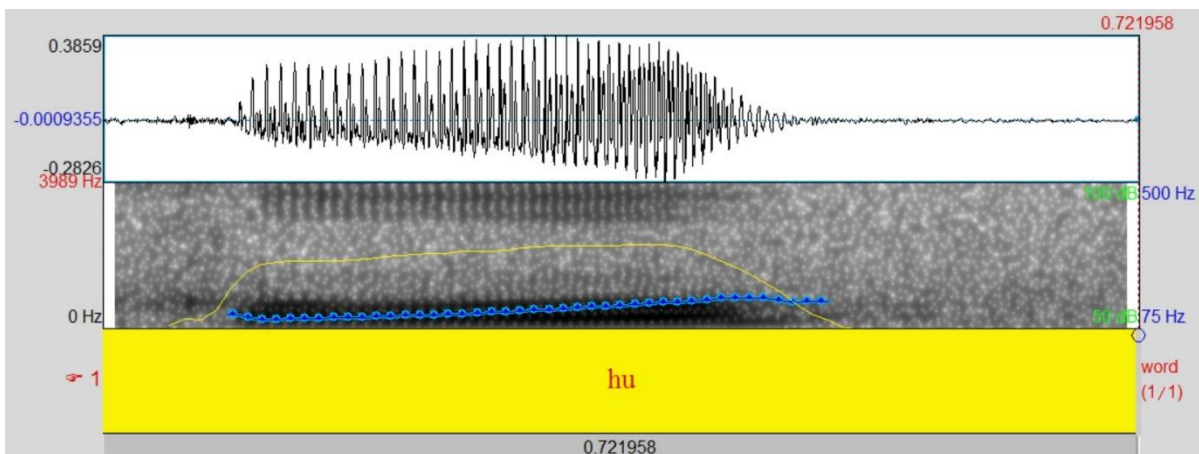
The word for butterfly can be represented as ku. ,pu.ku. 'pu, based on the pitch patterns, with the stress alternating between syllables.

3.6.2 Tones on Hokkien-derived words

One of the more interesting questions regarding pitch is whether or not tones in words derived from Hokkien have been preserved. Hokkien is a tone language with seven contrastive tones, a tone language being one where changes in pitch can change the meaning of the word (Yip 2002). Pakir (1986) states that words derived from Hokkien show no tonal distinctions.²⁸ This is partially true where the current corpus is concerned. On monosyllabic items, BM speakers appear to produce no contrastive tone in comparison with Hokkien speakers, and on disyllabic items, BM speakers produce pitch on these Hokkien-derived lexical items that are unlike Hokkien tones, but consistent with general BM patterns for other words. These essentially are essentially step-up progressions like the ones recorded in the previous section. Trisyllabic words from Hokkien are rare.

The following is an example of a monosyllabic word as it would have been produced in Hokkien. The speaker speaks BM, but is aware that Hokkien words sound different in BM than the corresponding form in Hokkien itself sounds.

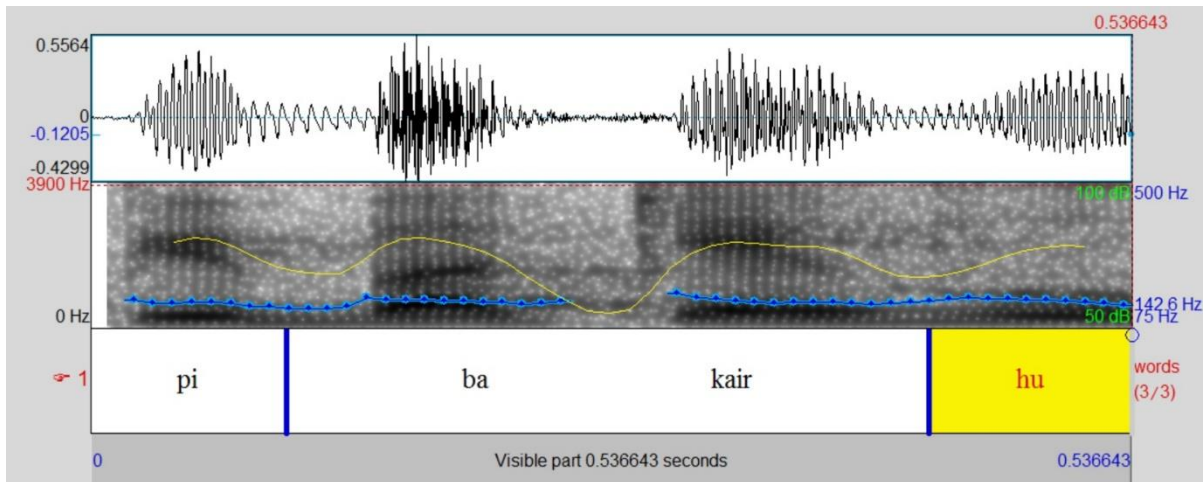
- (118) *Hu*
amulet
'amulet'
(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-169, 00:06:25.0-00:06:25.5)



²⁸ Pakir (1986) treats BM as a Malay dialect that has borrowed extensively from Hokkien.

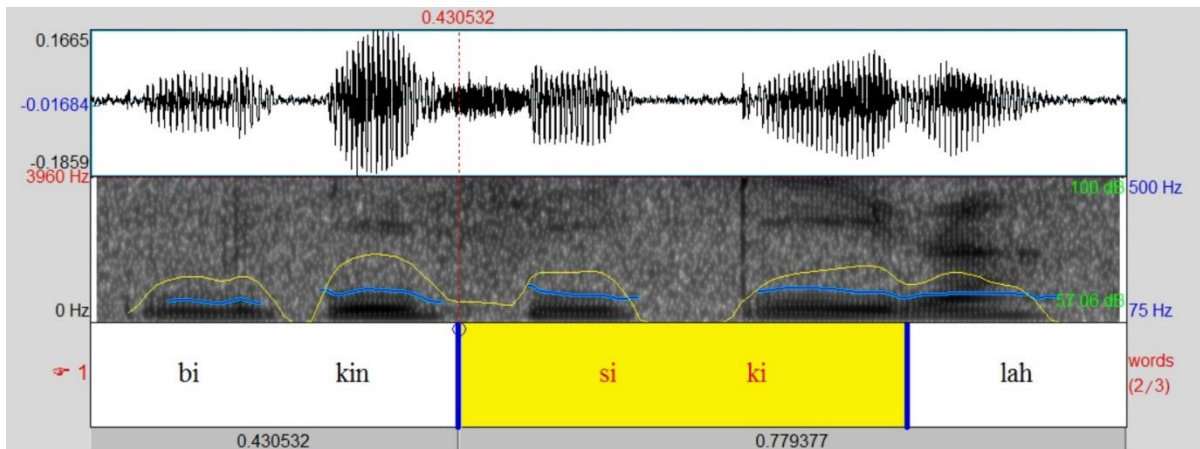
In example (118), the speaker states that *hu* is usually pronounced with a rising tone in Hokkien. In example (119), the BM speaker uses *hu* in a BM sentence. There is no rise in pitch accompanying *hu*. In fact, pitch falls slightly owing to *hu*'s sentence-final position.

- (119) *Pi bakair hu.*
 go burn amulet
 'Go burn an amulet.
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-169, 00:06:26.7-00:06:27.3)



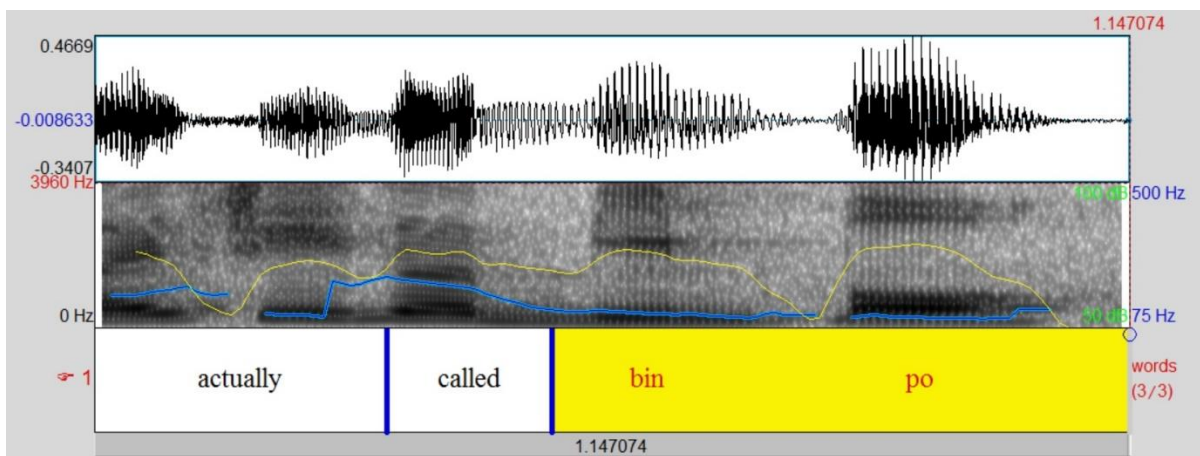
While monosyllabic items appear to lack tone, disyllabic items are accompanied by different pitches in BM from those in Hokkien. The following is taken from a speaker of both BM and Hokkien who differentiates between the two languages.

- (121) *Bikin siki lah*
 make death.anniversary EMP
 ‘Commemorate death anniversary.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-173, 00:08:04.6-00:08:05.8)



The following is another example taken from a different speaker, who also says that Hokkien as spoken by the Chinese is different from Hokkiens as spoken by BM speakers.

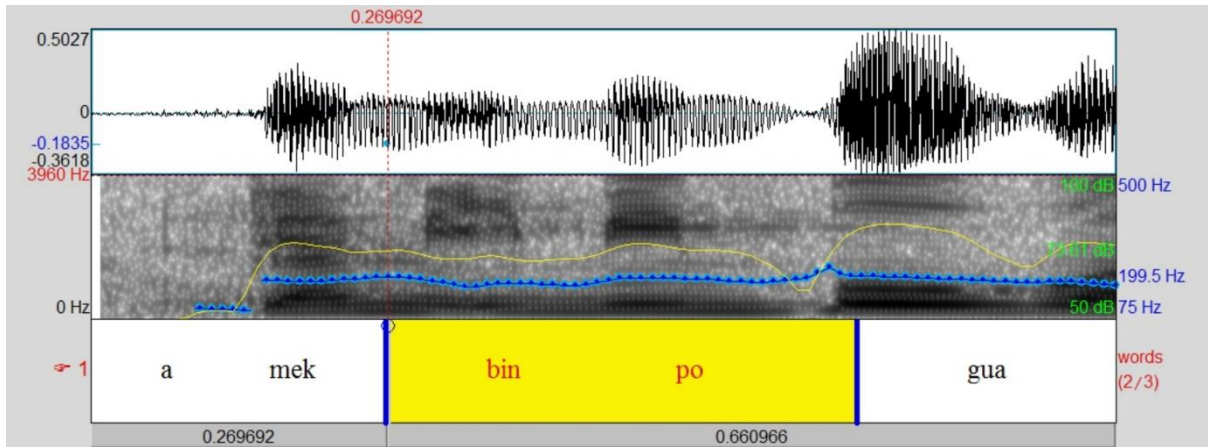
- (122) *Actually called binpo.*
 face.cloth (Hokkien)
 ‘Actually called facecloth.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-171, 00:34:35.2-00:34:36.2)



In example (122), the speaker states that in Hokkien, the word for ‘facecloth’ is *bin2lpo22*. It is interesting to note that *binpo* means ‘handkerchief’ and not ‘facecloth’ in BM. In comparison to example

(122) which shows that a low tone accompanies *po*, example (123) shows how *bin* starts lower, and *po* ends on a higher pitch, so that the word can be represented as *bin'po*.

- (123) *amék binpo gua*
 take hankerchief 1.SG
 'Take my hankerchief.'
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-171, 00:34:34.1-00:34:35.2)



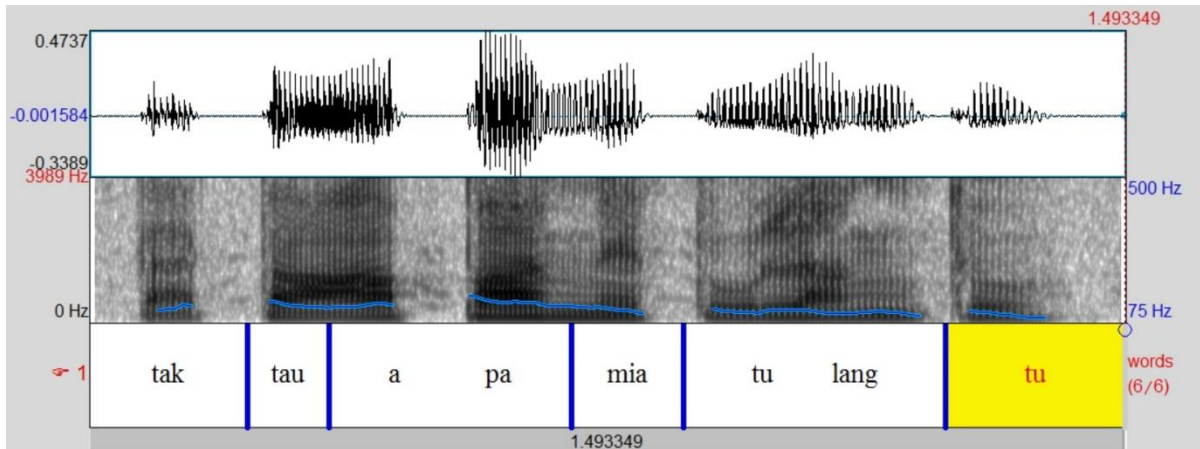
Although there is a slight up-step progression accompanying these words, there is technically no tone on these words, if tones are defined as what differentiates one lexical item from another (Yip 2002).

3.6.3 Sentence intonation

There are four main types of sentential intonation that may be observed. These are found in declaratives, clauses signaling continuity, content questions, and tag questions.

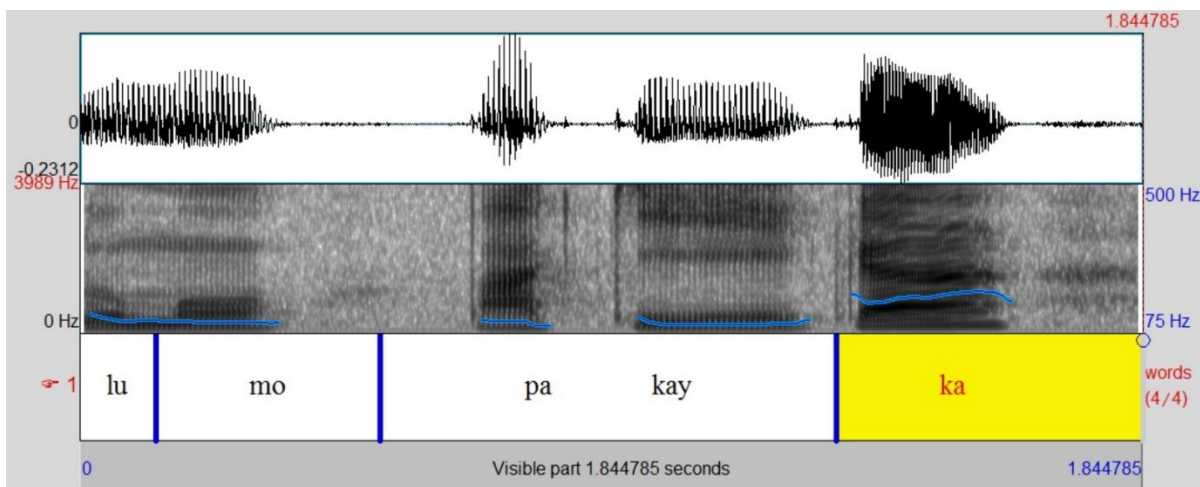
Declarative sentences end with a fall in the overall pitch contour of the sentence, as also observed by Wee (2000). This is demonstrated in example (124), and also in earlier examples such as (112) and (114).

(124) *Tak tau apa mia tulang itu.*
 NEG know what REL bone that
 ‘Don’t know what bone that is.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-030, 00:02:40.8-00:02:42.5)



With a different pattern, BM speakers signal continuity, that they have more to say on the subject matter, even though they may have come to a pause. The pitch of the sentence rises towards the end of the clause, as shown in example (125).

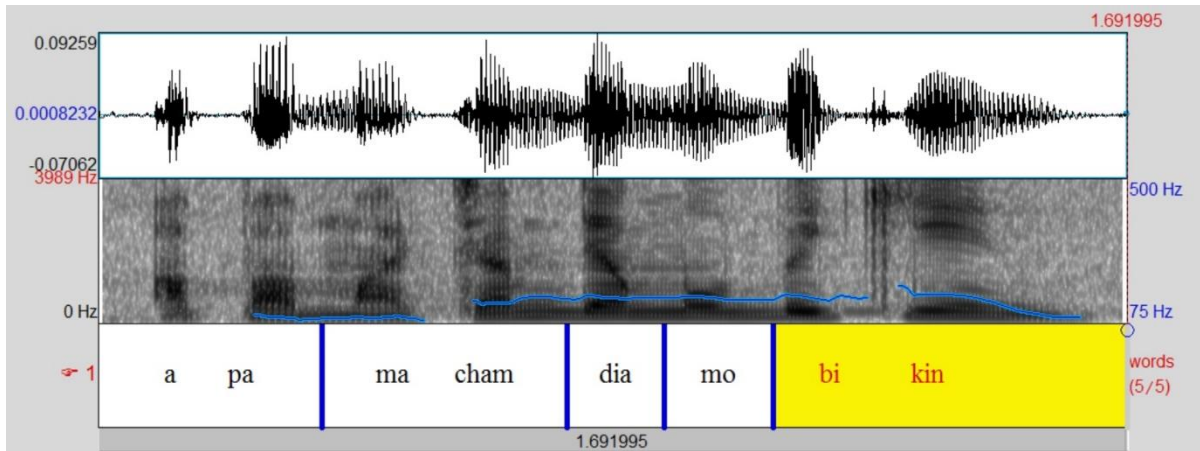
(125) *Lu mo pakay ka,*
 2.SG want use or
 ‘You want to use (it) or,’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-170, 00:04:10.5-00:04:12.4)



There are two separate intonation patterns that accompanies content questions, depending on the position of the question word. When the question word occurs at the beginning of the utterance, pitch

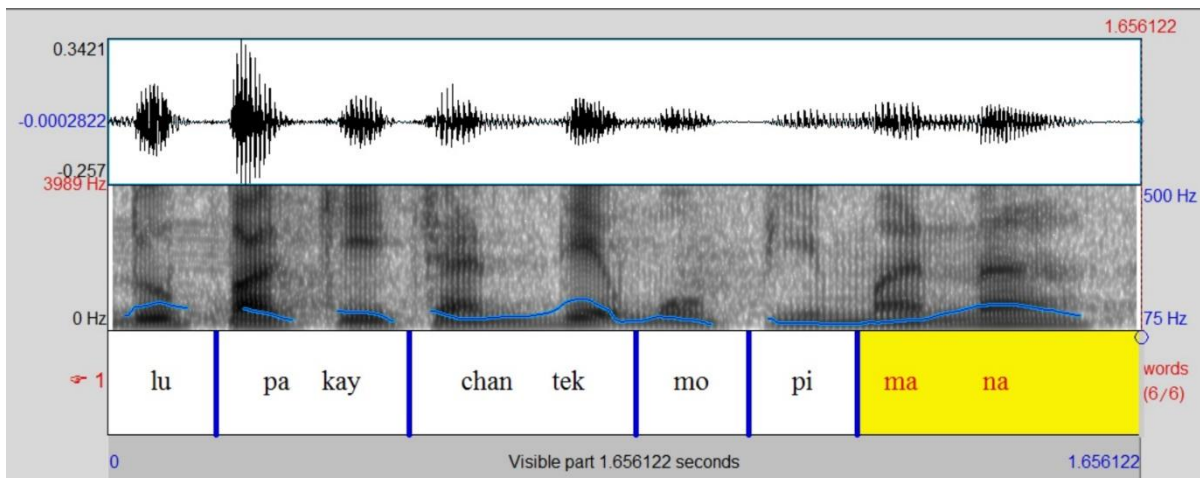
rises at the beginning and falls towards the end, as with example (126). This is similar to the observations of Wee (2000) that a rise-fall intonation accompanies interrogatives in BM.

- (126) *Apa macham dia mo bikin?*
 What like.that 3.SG want do
 ‘How does she/he want to do this?’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-37, 00:42:37.6-00:42:39.3)



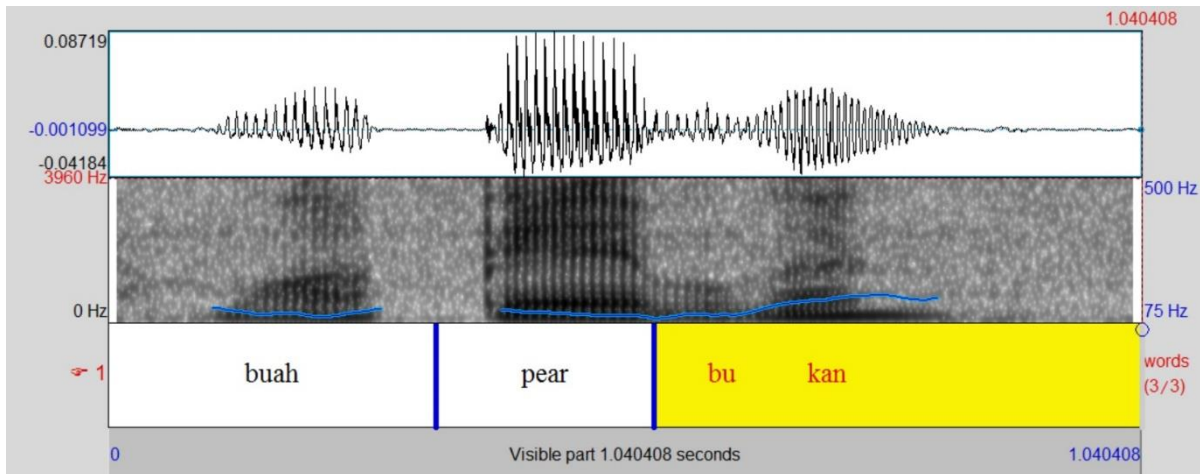
Conversely, when the question word is at the end of the utterance, pitch rises towards the end of it, as with example (127).

- (127) *Lu pakay chanték mo pi mana?*
 2.SG wear beautiful want go where
 ‘Where do you want to go dressed (so) beautifully?’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-37, 00:07:04.0-00:07:05.9)



Similarly, tag questions have a rise that come towards the end of question, as also observed by Wee (2000)³⁰. This is demonstrated by example (128).

- (128) *Buah pear bukan?*
 CLF.fruit no
 'Is this pear?'



Hence, there are a few intonation contours at the sentential level in BM. Declaratives fall in pitch towards the end of the utterance, a final rise can signal continuity, and content questions are accompanied by rise-fall when the question word occurs at the beginning of the interrogative. When the question word occurs at the end of the interrogative, or when a tag question is asked, pitch tends to rise at the end of the interrogative.

3.7 Variation and change

Tsunoda (2005) reports that the loss of phonetic information is common in situations of language decay. Even though phonological variation takes place when languages are not threatened, it has also been demonstrated in minority communities that phonetic or phonological variation may become more apparent when the viability of the language is threatened (Babel 2009, Brunelle 2009, Campbell and Muntzel 1989). This is true of BM, where the number of phonemic contrasts is diminished as speakers become less proficient in BM, and more proficient in other dominant languages such as English and Malay. In fact, the vowel space appears to be contracting, so that it appears to be more similar to that of

³⁰ Wee (2000)'s term for tag questions is yes-no questions.

Standard Malay. Clynes and Deterding (2011) provide the only phonetic account of Standard Malay, this being a variety spoken in Brunei. Crucially, they state that the Standard Malay of Brunei is similar to varieties spoken in Singapore and Malaysia, and different from the variety that is spoken in Indonesia. In the absence of information from Singapore, it is reasonable to assume that the vowel system of the variety in Singapore is comparable to the one that (Clynes and Deterding (2011)) describe. The essential difference between their vowel plot of Standard Malay and that of BM, is that open-mid front and back vowels, [ɛ] and [ɔ] that are found in BM do not occur in Standard Malay.

The vowels of six speakers are plotted below. These speakers are between the ages of 60 to 80, four of them are males and two of them are females. All of these speakers have stated that they grew up with BM as their first language. In addition, all of them are bilingual in English, and profess to have different levels of proficiency in BM. Four speakers state that they are proficient in BM, while two state that they have become less proficient in the language as English is now their dominant language.³¹

Ten tokens of each vowel were extracted from natural occurring speech (not wordlist data) and their formants measured in Praat, following the methodology in section 3.1.2.2. The only difference is that the settings used for this analysis are the same as the ones used earlier for the analysis of consonants and vowels, except that the maximum formant for female speakers is set to 5500Hz, while it is set to 5000Hz for male speakers. Where possible, ten [ɛ] and ten [ɔ] tokens are measured for each speaker, but where speakers only seem to produce [e] and not [ɛ], or [o] and not [ɔ], twenty [e] or [o] tokens are measured instead. Where vowels appeared to overlap, participants' beliefs were used to identify if a vowel was [e] or [ɛ], and [o] or [ɔ].

For the purpose of a quick general comparison, the following two vowel charts in figures 29 and 30 show the vowel spaces of a more proficient speaker, and a less proficient speaker respectively, the difference being that the more proficient speaker appears to have open-mid front and back vowels where the less proficient speaker produces none. Both speakers are males in their sixties. While the more proficient speaker still uses BM daily, the less proficient speaker has stopped using BM as much. This speaker used to speak BM with his parents who passed away over ten years ago before the time of recording. Figure 23 is from Figure 22.

³¹ The speakers have not been named here, so as to protect their identities, especially since language attrition is being discussed.

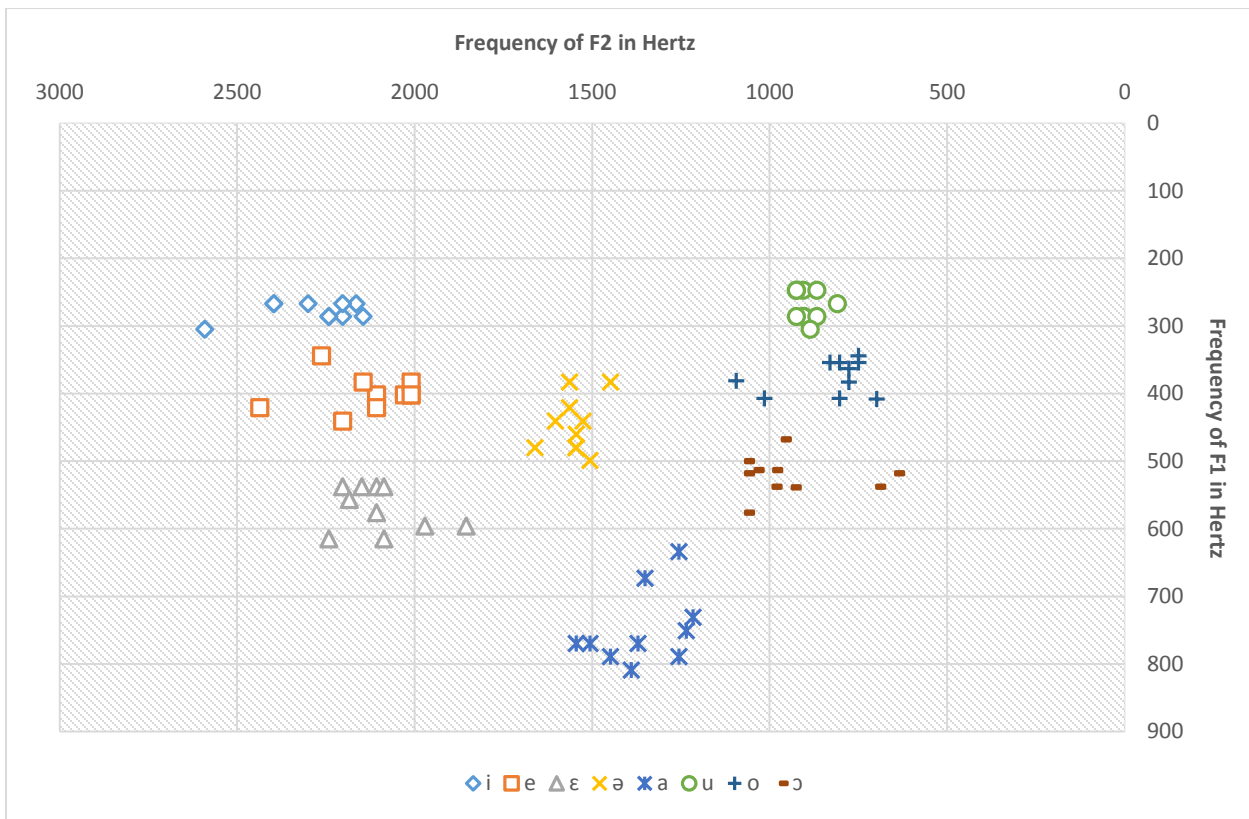


Figure 23: Vowel space of a more proficient Singapore Baba Malay speaker

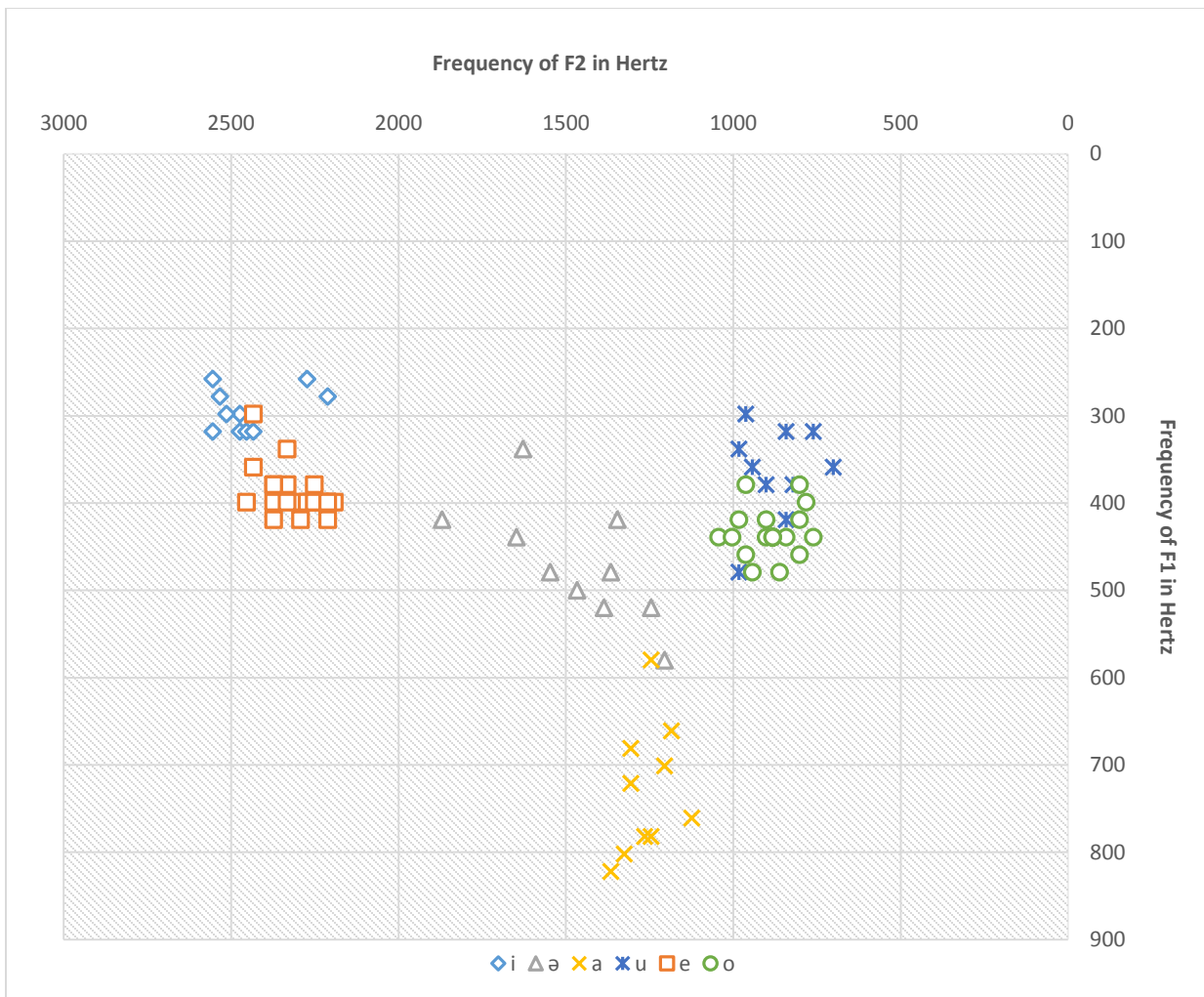


Figure 24: Vowel space of a less proficient BM speaker

While the above figures are provided for purpose of quick illustration, vowel normalization is generally required when comparing vowel spaces across different speakers, since the length and shapes of the vowel tracts of different speakers vary, especially when comparing across different genders. The Lobanov method is utilized in this instance (see Lobanov 1971).³² The following are the resultant vowel plots.

³² There are vowel intrinsic and vowel extrinsic methods of normalization (Ainsworth 1975, Nearey 1989). Vowel intrinsic methods use only acoustic information contained within a single vowel to normalize that vowel token, while vowel extrinsic methods rely on information distributed across more than one vowel of the speaker. Vowel extrinsic methods such as the Lobanov have been shown to perform better than vowel intrinsic methods. The Lobanov method is represented by the following formula $F_{n[V]}^N = (F_{n[V]} - \text{MEAN}_n) / S_n$, where $F_{n[V]}^N$ is the normalized value for $F_{n[V]}$ (formant n of vowel V), MEAN_n is the mean value for formant n for the speaker, and S_n is the standard deviation for the speaker's formant n .

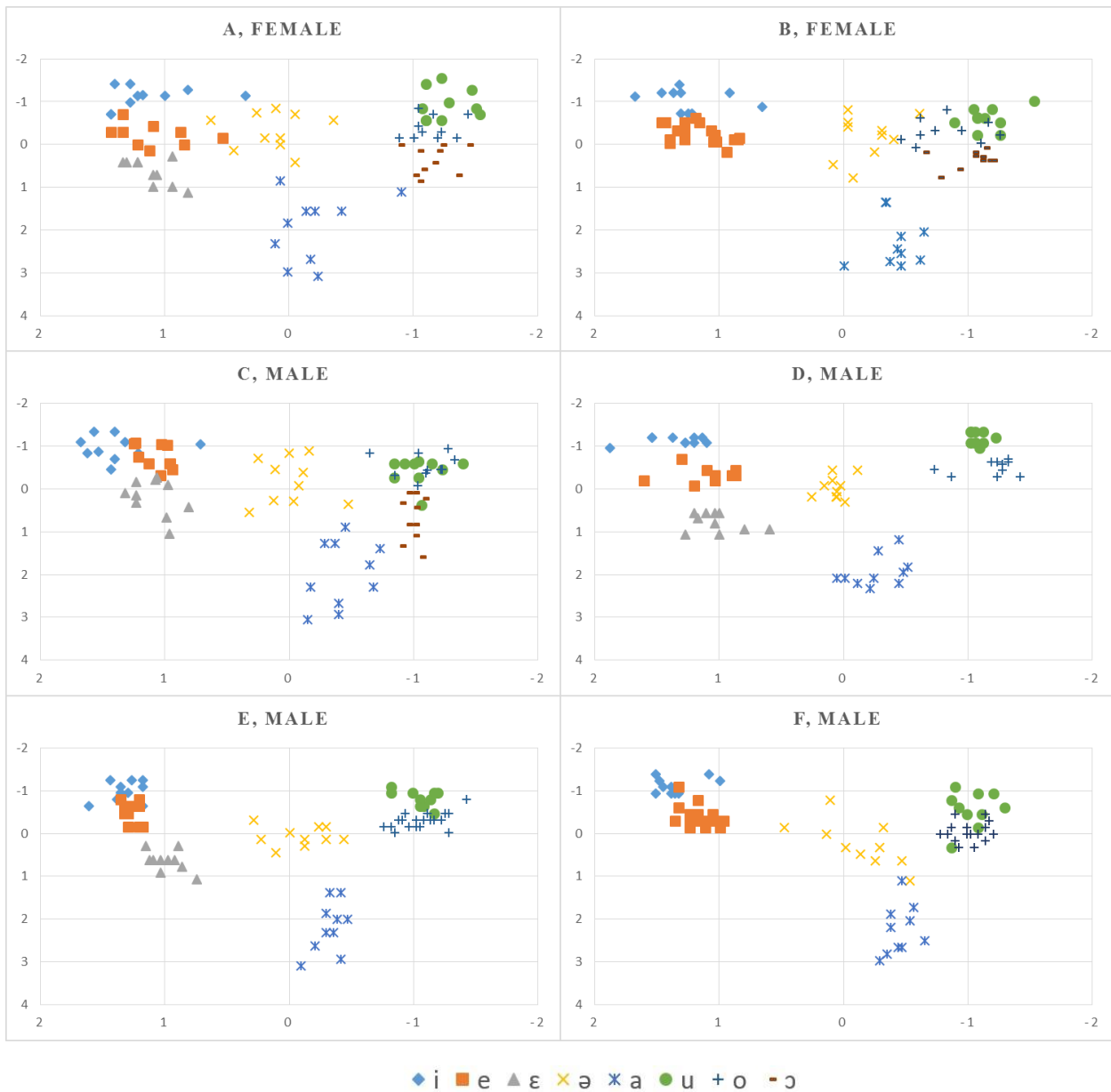


Figure 25: Normalized vowel plots of six Singapore Baba Malay speakers

According to the plot, two out of six speakers, B and F, do not produce anything in the region of the open-mid front vowel [ε], while only speakers A, C and D produce tokens in the region of low open-mid back vowel [ɔ] consistently, the most consistent being speaker C. It is not surprising that speakers B and F state that they are no longer proficient in BM, and that English is now their dominant language. All

The vowel plot shown is obtained through vowel normalization and plotting suite, NORM (Thomas and Kendall 2014).

other speakers state that they are proficient in BM. It is also interesting that speaker E, who states that he is a proficient BM speaker, does not produce [ɔ] tokens. There is ongoing change, as two vowels appear to be on the verge of being lost. The new vowel plot can be compared to the one that Pakir (1986) describes, wherein [ɛ] and [ɔ] can both be distinguished from other vowels.

It is interesting to recall that [ɛ] only occurs in refined speech, corresponding to words in coarse speech that end with phonological /ar/, /al/ or /as/. That [ɛ] is not produced as often as /ar/, /al/ or /as/ shows that BM speakers are producing less ‘refined’ speech, and using more ‘coarse’ speech instead. Words with the /al/, /as/, and /ar/ endings are acknowledged by speakers to be *kasar* or *kase*, literally meaning ‘coarse’. Their [ɛ] counterparts are *halus* or *alus*, the literal meaning being ‘refined’. Other linguistic features that have been described as *halus* ‘refined’ or *kasar* ‘coarse’ are the first person pronouns *saya* (refined) and *gua* (coarse) (see section 7.3.2). Previously unnoted by other researchers, when speakers engage either form, it has little to do with the level of familiarity the speaker has with the interlocutor, their social statuses or the social circumstances surrounding language use, but rather, that the speaker simply wants to be perceived as being more refined (hence the use of the terms *alus*³³ ‘refined’ and *kasar* ‘coarse’, indicating an elevated versus colloquial style, is more appropriate, rather than *formal* and *informal*.)

That speakers cite [ɛ] as being *alus* ‘refined’, and /ar/, /al/ or /as/ as being *kasair* ‘coarse’³⁴, may be rooted in [ɛ]’s association with urbanity, and some sense of sophistication and elegance. This is different from findings that urban forms can be associated with toughness (Eckert 1988, Lawson 2014).

While Lim (1988) does not label [ɛ] as a refined speech form, he associates it to urbanity in Malacca, and essentially, exposure to Hokkien speakers. Lim (1988) states that BM speakers in Malacca were more likely to produce [ɛ] if they lived nearer the city center, since this is where early Chinese settlers would have established themselves, and [ɛ] exists in Hokkien (but not in Malay).³⁵ In contrast, if the BM speakers lived in the more rural areas, they were less likely to come in contact with Hokkien speakers, and less likely to produce [ɛ]. Where Singapore is concerned, there are no records that such a division existed in the past, but it is not an implausible situation. However, noting that Singapore is small at 710 square kilometers (50 kilometers (31 miles) from east to west, and 26 kilometers (16 miles) from north

³³ Also occurs as *halus* (after initial h- deletion)

³⁴ Ironically, this is the refined form of the word *kasar*, meaning ‘coarse’.

³⁵ However, note that /ɛ/ does not exist in any of the Hokkien-derived words in BM.

to south), and that it is currently Chinese-dominant at 74 percent (Singapore 2011), a present-day division based on amount of contact with the Chinese is not perceptible. In fact, it is also observed that all Malacca speakers of BM who were interviewed for this project use both [ɛ] and non-[ɛ] forms, in sociolinguistically conditioned variation, regardless of how close or far away from the city they live. This may be due to urbanization within Malacca. The Chinese have spread out beyond the city center, and commuting has been made more convenient since the 80s when Lim carried out his research, thus enabling Peranakans to come in contact with others they may not necessarily live close to and vice versa. Instead, speakers of MBM also state that [ɛ] forms are *alus* ‘refined’, while non [ɛ] forms are *kasair* ‘coarse’. On a separate note, that BM speakers are producing less [ɛ] forms in Singapore and also in Malacca may be due to increased contact with Standard Malay or Bahasa Melayu. Bahasa Melayu is endorsed as an official language in both countries, as compared to Hokkien, which is gradually losing younger speakers. Although it should be mentioned that most BM speakers in Singapore do not speak Malay, they exist in an ecology that comprises Malay, and may be influenced reflexively by the Malay that they hear in their environment. In particular, if they do not encounter BM as much as they do Malay (the Malay population is much bigger than the Peranakan population, and there are television programs and radio broadcasts that take place in Malay, whereas none takes place in BM), the BM vowel system may assimilate towards that of Malay, and [ɛ] forms are in danger of being lost.

With respect to [ɔ], two reasons may be postulated for its loss. One plausible reason is that phonological systems tend to not be completely symmetrical, having more front than back vowels, due to the narrowing of the vocal track towards the back of the mouth. BM is consistent with this, as speakers appear to produce fewer cases of [ɔ] than [ɛ]. This is especially evident with male speaker, E. Next, Pakir (1986) states that [ɔ] is only found in words of Hokkien origin. Noting that BM is endangered and in the event that it is decreolizing, [ɔ] may be lost simply because words of Hokkien origin are being used less frequently. This may also be caused by language contact influence from standard Malay. Still, this explanation is not entirely satisfactory because it has been observed that some speakers of BM produce [ɔ] in words of Malay origin (see section 3.1.2, where the speaker produces ɔraŋ for oraŋ ‘person’). Yet, the notions of decreolization or even language change due to contact with a more dominant language do not have to be abandoned. In fact, speakers are producing [o] where they would traditionally produce [ɔ]. For example, speakers may produce [binpo] ‘handkerchief’ where originally, the word is pronounced [binɔ] in Hokkien. Language change in which the contact language becomes

more like its lexifier language, due to contact influence may explain for the change in phonetic space, since Malay has the same vowels as BM, apart from [ɛ] and [ɔ].

3.7.1 Sociophonetic investigation

That BM speakers are producing more of the less refined speech is interesting. It is important also to note that the [ɛ] vowel only exists in refined speech, and that [ɛ] distinctively marks BM speech since it does not occur in Malay, and [ɛ] is constantly brought up by members of the community as an example of what differentiates BM from Malay. Note that even though [ɛ] also occurs in Hokkien, BM is much more similar to Malay than Hokkien, due to the substantial influence of the Malay lexicon, and on the surface, there is no concern that BM cannot be differentiated from Hokkien. Given these phenomena, I pose the question: what social characteristics will listeners attribute to speakers who produce either variant? Will members of the community associate the refined [ɛ] form with speaking BM, even though the form is less often produced than the coarse /ar/, /al/, and /as/ form? A perception experiment was carried out to understand associations that BM speakers have between the variant that is changing due to language endangerment, and the speakers who produce these variants. Instead of relying on self-report measures that can generate skewed results, a carefully designed experiment that relies on the perception of phonetic variables can provide a more accurate view of language endangerment. Experiments such as the one conducted here allow researchers to approach attitudes that are below the level of consciousness, and these attitudes cannot be reported accurately using another method (Kristiansen 2010). These views may be particularly informative for researchers or community members who are interested in considering language attitudes for the revitalization prospects of BM (for example, what counts as BM, and what forms should be maintained).

For the above purposes, a matched guise experimental task was conducted. The matched-guise task is a method first pioneered by Lambert and his associates (Lambert 1967, Lambert et al. 1960). In their experiments, recordings of bilinguals speaking French or English were played to subjects who rated the speakers on various scales in order to compare their attitudes towards English and French speakers. The listeners did not recognize that the same individuals were speaking English and French in different stimuli, and so rated them differently for various traits depending on which language they were speaking (Lambert 1967, Lambert et al. 1960). Essentially, the matched guise technique enables the researcher to

ask, what social characteristics do listeners attribute to speakers based only on hearing their voice (Drager 2013)?

A recent project featuring a modified version of the matched guise task is that of Campbell-Kibler (2007). Campbell-Kibler (2007) investigates the relationship between English variable (ING) and the Southern accent and the “gay accent”, as they are conceptualized in listener’s perceptions of spontaneous speech. The speech of 8 speakers were collected in sociolinguistic interviews. Speakers were made to respond to digitally manipulated excerpts of 32 matched pairs differing in whether they were alveolar variant *-in* or velar variant *-ing*. Campbell-Kibler (2007) found that hearers associate the velar variant with education, intelligence, formality and articulateness, and the alveolar form with the lack of these characteristics. In addition, the listeners’ perceptions of these forms were also based on other characteristics attributed to the voice, whether they were Southern or gay. The alveolar variant increased the perceived strength of a Southern accent, dampening what was perceived as a gay and urban accent, and increasing perceptions of being rural and relatively uneducated. The conclusion that Campbell-Kibler (2007) draws is that accent is not perceived as a continuum, as much as a multidimensional landscape surrounding a central norm. This means that more often than not, a variant cannot be attributed one single social meaning, and an accent does not simply index more of a social meaning or less of it. Instead, there may be several related meanings that are associated with a central norm. In view of findings like this, it is important to consider the other indexed meanings that BM [ɛ] or /ar/, /al/, and /as/ forms might have besides their respective central meanings of being refined or coarse, such as whether these variants mark speakers as speaking BM or not speaking BM, or whether these variants mark speakers as being more educated, or less educated for that matter.

With regard to ongoing changes in a language, much like what is happening in BM, van Bezooijen (2005) uses the matched guise task to elicit attitudes towards the transmission of a linguistic change. van Bezooijen (2005) states that three variants of /r/ co-occur in northern Standard Dutch, spoken in the Netherlands. In addition the older alveolar and uvular consonantal types of /r/, there is now an approximant type /r/, which is restricted to the syllable coda. Through interviews, van Bezooijen establishes that approximant /r/ is spreading from the west to other parts of the Netherlands. It is used more often by women than by men, and more often by children than by adults. Matched guises with different variants were provided by a single speaker. These guises were interspersed by filler recordings of four other speakers reading the same text. Listeners were not told about the purpose of the

experiment, that the researcher wanted to establish how attractive the different variants of /r/ were. A seven point Likert scale was used for listeners from four different regions (30-40 listeners per region, equally distributed across sex and two age groups of older than 45, and younger than 45) of the Netherlands to rank their answers to questions, such as “*Would you like to talk like this yourself*” and “*What do you think the social position is of this speaker?*” (van Bezooijen 2005:23). The finding was that listeners from the west found approximant /r/ more attractive than listeners from other regions. van Bezooijen (2005) states that this variant is associated with people in the west and with a high social position. Although van Bezooijen (2005), as well as Lambert et al. (1960) and Campbell-Kibler (2007) were not working on particularly marginalized communities, the matched guise method that they use can be replicated in an endangered language community experiencing variation, as with BM speakers.

3.7.1.1 Stimuli

Ideally, the technique utilizes pairs of tokens that are produced by the same speaker, but vary in some domain (Drager 2013). The pairs of tokens in this instance are pairs of words that differ mainly in whether the word is coarse or refined, the coarse version ending in /ar/ and the refined version ending with the [ɛ] variant. There are other coarse variants such as /al/ and /as/, but it is preferable to provide only one coarse form in this instance, so that the critical comparison is between the refined form and the coarse form, and not between the refined form and the different underlying representations that comprise the coarse form. The experiment was conceived as part of a language documentation project, and naturally-occurring data that had been elicited during fieldwork was used. While it would have been ideal to utilise word pairs from multiple speakers, there is a small number of native speakers who naturally produce both forms, and it is a concern that these speakers would be aware of the goals of this perception experiment if they were required to participate in the perception experiment.

Hence, five pairs of tokens were extracted from the speech of two speakers (two from one speaker, and three from another). The five pairs of matched guises are presented in the list below.

No.	Target token	Gloss	Type	Speaker
1	[ba.kɑr]	burn	coarse	A
2	[ba.kɛ]	burn	refined	A
3	[bə.sɑr]	big	coarse	B
4	[bə.sɛ]	big	refined	B
5	[də.ŋɑr]	listen	coarse	A
6	[də.ŋɛ]	listen	refined	A
7	[ka.sɑr]	coarse	coarse	A
8	[ka.sɛ]	coarse	refined	A
9	[pa.sɑr]	market	coarse	B
10	[pa.sɛ]	market	refined	B

Table 19: List of matched guise tokens

Besides the 10 target tokens that comprise 5 target pairs, there will be 30 other filler tokens utilized in this experiment. It is important to utilize filler tokens, so that listeners do not focus too much on their responses to target tokens. It is also necessary to use a larger number of filler tokens and voices in this experiment, as this is a within-subjects experimental design. This means that participants hear and respond to the same voice in both target guises, as opposed to having one group of participants listen to one guise, and another group of participants listen to another guise. While a within-subjects design is more robust, since the subjects remain the same in this setup, it is necessary to use a larger number of fillers and voices to keep subjects from noticing that they are re-hearing the same target speakers (Drager 2013). As a result, within-subjects experiments tend to take longer than across-subjects experiments. However, this will not be a major concern, as the tokens are single words, instead of long sentences. The whole experiment takes no more than 20 minutes, even for listeners who take their time when responding. Tokens of single words are used instead of entire sentences. As these recordings are made in natural, non-studio environments, there is no way to control for any preceding or following content. Splicing the target token into a longer control sentence, following (Campbell-Kibler 2007, Campbell-Kibler 2009), resulted in clearly-manipulated, unnatural-sounding sentences, due to the clear difference in background noise in the recordings. In addition, when more words are used in a single token, there is a chance that the phonetic and intonational qualities of these other words will impinge on the perception of the phonological variation that this experiment is concerned with. Previous work on

the perception of sociolinguistic variables has demonstrated that listeners extract social information from very small amounts of speech, including single words (Strand 2000, Rakerd and Plichta 2003, Koops 2011).

The 30 fillers include 6 fillers that are unambiguously native BM, and 24 fillers that are clearly unambiguously not native BM, shown in in tables 21 and 22 respectively. All fillers were spoken by different speakers. The 6 fillers that are clearly native BM comprise lexical items that occur in BM, but not in Malay. These fillers were extracted from fieldwork data. For the 24 fillers that can clearly not be identified as native BM, recordings were made of Singapore English words produced by Singapore English speakers, BM words produced by American English speakers, and English words produced by American speakers.

No.	Filler	Gloss
1	idong	nose
2	samplang	improper etiquette
3	léihéi	neck
4	kéwat	fussy
5	embok-embok	Traditional Peranakan
6	piso	knife

Table 20: List of Baba Malay fillers

No.	Filler	Gloss	Note
1	corright	correct	Singlish, Singlish speaker
2	dowan	don't want	Singlish, Singlish speaker
3	ex	expensive	Singlish, Singlish speaker
4	kiasu	afraid to lose	Singlish, Singlish speaker
5	laidat	like that	Singlish, Singlish speaker
6	sian	ennui	Singlish, Singlish speaker
7	suaku	mountain tortoise (having no experience of the world)	Singlish, Singlish speaker
8	tapau	to take away (food)/ fail an exam	Singlish, Singlish speaker
9	ku.ping	ear	Baba Malay, American speaker

10	kawin	marry	Baba Malay, American speaker
11	tuahia	big brother	Baba Malay, American speaker
12	tipu	to cheat	Baba Malay, American speaker
13	Mak	mother	Baba Malay, American speaker
14	huahi	happy	Baba Malay, American speaker
15	yipoh	mother's sister	Baba Malay, American speaker
16	menantu	daughter-in-law	Baba Malay, American speaker
17	sandwich	-	English, American speaker
18	umbrella	-	English, American speaker
19	coffee	-	English, American speaker
20	plant	-	English, American speaker
21	pencil	-	English, American speaker
22	teeth	-	English, American speaker
23	airplane	-	English, American speaker
24	ocean	-	English, American speaker

Table 21: List of clearly non- Baba Malay fillers

3.7.1.2 Procedure

While participants listen to matched-guises of words with either variants, the key question that will be asked is:

- I. Is the person a speaker of Baba Malay?

Binary yes-no responses are recorded. There are four possible outcomes. First, the two variants could both not be linked to BM speakers. This is the most unlikely outcome. Next, both variants could be associated with speakers of BM. In this case, no shift is observed. Third, the coarse variant may be linked to BM speakers, and this may explain for the continuation of a shift that will eventually eliminate [ɛ] from the phonological inventory. Fourth, the refined form [ɛ] will be linked to speaking BM, but not the coarse variants. During fieldwork, it has been noticed that younger speakers are not using the [ɛ] variant. One of the major possibilities is that younger, or less proficient speakers might identify the [ɛ] variant word as being spoken by a person who speaks BM, and state that the coarse variant word is not produced by a BM speaker, even if these younger, or less proficient speakers do not produce the [ɛ] variant form themselves. This can be attributed to two things. First, the younger, or less proficient

speakers, may not know many other lexical items that differentiate BM speakers from Malay speakers. The only difference that they may be highly aware of is that [ɛ] occurs at the end of words in BM, where they would otherwise be /ar/, /al/, /as/ in Malay. This may lead them to identifying the [ɛ] variant as being BM, and the coarse variant as not being BM. The second reason, which is not completely unrelated to the first, is that the Peranakans want to differentiate themselves from the Malay community. Now that the culture and language are being threatened, the younger and/or less proficient speakers, who are experiencing the brunt of this loss, may want even more to differentiate themselves from other ethnic communities. Crucially, other explanations may also be found in the answers to these questions that will also form part of the matched-guise task.

- II. Does this person have many close friends who are not Peranakan?
- III. Is this person likely to take part in activities at the Peranakan Association or Gunong Sayang Association?
- IV. Is this person well-educated?

Binary yes-no responses are recorded for these questions as well. Question (II) is designed to test for the listener's perception of the speakers' network. It is possible that the more closed the networks are, the more likely speakers come into contact with fluent speakers, and know how to use both variants. Older, more proficient listeners may be more aware of this than younger, less proficient listeners. Also, since it is rare in an exceptionally urban environment to have completely closed networks, as community members would interact with non-community members on a daily basis, it is interesting to see if there is any correlation between speakers who retain [ɛ] and the listener's perception of how the speakers are oriented towards the Peranakan community. For example, the more oriented they are towards the Peranakan community, the more likely they may want to be distinguished from other communities. Thus, listeners might realize that speakers might only use the refined [ɛ] variant to distinguish themselves from the Malay community, since the coarse variant exists in Malay words from which BM words have been derived.

Related to (II), in addition to studying the listener's perception of the speaker's orientation, question (III) is conceived to uncover if there is any association between the [ɛ] form and speakers who are actively involved in Peranakan cultural activities. The outcomes could be similar to that of question (II). It is possible that the more involved speakers are in the Peranakan community, the more likely they are

aware that there is a refined variant as well as a coarse one. Again, older, more proficient listeners may be aware of this, as opposed to younger, less proficient speakers.

Question (IV) then, is designed to see if listeners perceive the [ɛ] form as being a reflection of higher education, and hence more prestigious. Recall that Lim (1988) had associated [ɛ] with urbanity. While levels of urbanity are now high in both Singapore and Malacca, it is still interesting to consider if speakers associate [ɛ] with a related aspect such as higher education levels.³⁶ Whether or not [ɛ] is associated with a higher level of education is also interesting since BM has strong covert prestige, and is regarded as a non-standard language in Singapore and Malaysia. While Peranakans are proud of their language, they commonly cite stories of being punished by their Malay teachers for using BM instead of standard Malay at school. At the same time, the Peranakans were the first to adopt English medium education in Singapore during the colonial era, and they were deemed to be a refined and wealthy class (Shellabear 1913). It is thus unclear if speakers think of their language as being something that more educated people speak.

Other independent variables in this study, are the listener's age, gender, proficiency in BM, and whether or not the listener belongs to a Peranakan cultural association. Also examined is whether there is an effect of languages that the listener speaks, other languages that the listener understands, and their perception, and attitude towards the language, and their perception of the endangerment of BM. In particular, the listener's reported attitudes towards the language can be gauged through their responses to (i) to (ii) and the perceived endangerment of BM can be gauged through the questions shown in (iii) and (iv).

- i. If you have children, would you want your children to speak Baba Malay?
- ii. If a person does not speak Baba Malay, can that person be Peranakan?
- iii. Do you feel that Baba Malay is endangered?
- iv. Are you worried that Baba Malay is endangered?

Yes-no responses to the above questions are collected in a post-listening questionnaire that also collects responses to questions regarding all other independent variables. A post-listening rather than pre-listening questionnaire is used since exposure to these questions could influence the listeners' responses

³⁶ A higher level of education is associated with urbanity in general. While Singapore is completely urbanised, there is research specifically showing a general perception of lower levels of education at rural schools among rural school teachers themselves in Malaysia. See Othman and Muijs (2013) for example.

on the matched guise task. The complete post-listening questionnaire that the listener completed has been appended in Appendix D. Reactions to both the matched-guise experiment and the questionnaire are recorded using pen and paper, instead of using computer experiment software, such as E-Prime and OpenSesame. Although there are clear advantages to using electronic means of recording reactions (for example, token randomization and ease of data processing), elderly participants feel more comfortable with a pen and paper task. Target tokens and fillers were randomized once, so that all participants hear the stimuli in a fixed order, but in an order that appeared random. The stimuli are portable sound files (.mp3), and each token is played twice. Participants pressed a button on the player (an iPhone 5) to listen to a new token. A pair of Sony dynamic stereo headphones (MDR-7506) was used for the task. A normalizing study was conducted for some participants, to ask if some of these words are ‘more Baba Malay’ than others.

3.7.1.3 Participants

All participants learnt BM from birth, even though they state that they have different levels of proficiency. Participants were recruited through word of mouth, and as variation is expected between older and younger listeners, 20 older Peranakans and 20 younger Peranakans were recruited. Older listeners are defined as being 50 and above, and younger listeners are defined as being under 50. A group that was younger than this (18-25 year olds) did not take part since it is difficult to find young community members who are able to speak BM. Indicative of the lower numbers of BM-speaking youth, the estimated average age of active community members at the various Peranakan cultural associations is 50. 20 per critical group, although small, is a natural limitation of working in an endangered language community. Across the older and younger groups, participants were matched for gender and whether they were from Singapore or Malacca. This means that among the 20 younger participants, there were 10 Singaporeans and 10 Malaccans. Among the 10 younger Singaporeans, there were 5 female participants as well as 5 male ones. Similarly, among the 10 younger Malaccans, there were 5 female and 5 male participants. The older participant group had the exact same composition. In addition, it is interesting to note if participants are members of cultural associations, since question (III) asks if they perceive the speaker to be a member of such an association. Half of the participants from the Singapore and half of the participants from the Malacca, matched across older and younger groups, are members of cultural associations. Among the 10 Singaporean participants who are members of Peranakan cultural associations, there were 3 older females, 2 older males, as well as 2 younger females,

and 3 younger males. Among the 10 Malaccan participants who are members of similar associations, there were 3 older females, 2 older males, as well as 3 younger females and 2 younger males. The distribution of participant demographics is shown in table 22, indicating the number of participants in each group.

20 older participants								20 younger participants							
10 Singaporeans				10 Malaccans				10 Singaporeans				10 Malaccans			
5 females		5 males		5 females		5 males		5 females		5 males		5 females		5 males	
3	2	2	3	3	2	2	3	2	3	3	2	3	2	2	3
m	nm	m	nm	m	nm	m	nm	m	nm	m	nm	m	nm	m	nm

Table 22: Demographics of perception experiment participants, m indicating ‘association member’ and n indicating ‘non-association member’

Note that due to difficulties with reading and or writing, the researcher read the survey to 8 participants and entered their responses on their behalf. Coincidentally, these participants were the only eight participants who were in their 70s). All participants stated that they had no auditory impairment.

3.7.2 Results

In addition to reporting raw trends, statistical significance and the degree of any effects are determined by a binary mixed-effects logistic regression model, which was fit to the data by hand using the statistic tool R (R Development Core Team 2013) and *lme4* (Bates et al. 2013). The mixed effects model takes into account not only fixed effects (i.e. traditional independent variables or predicting factors), such as age group and gender, but also random effects such as individual listener’s tendencies when responding. While simple linear and logistic models treat differences between responses from a single participant in the same way that they treat responses between participants, a random effects model assigns each participant an individual coefficient that can be scrutinized for anomalies. Where this experiment is concerned, binary yes-no responses are collected, and it is important to ascertain if individual listeners had a bias toward answering ‘yes’ or ‘no’, including participant as a random effect in the model can account for this bias, statistically.

Separate models were fit to the data for each of the matched guise questions (see section 3.7.1.2) for responses to only the target stimuli. As with logistic regression, a positive coefficient indicates a positive

correlation between the dependent variable and the effect, while a negative coefficient indicates a negative correlation between the dependent variable and the effect. By default, the dependent variable is whether the listener responded ‘yes’ to the question being asked, so a larger coefficient indicates a higher likelihood of a ‘yes’ response. The random effects considered include listeners, individual item, and voice. The fixed effects considered include the guise (whether the token contained [ɛ] or /ar/), listener age group, listener gender, whether the listener is from Singapore or Malacca, her or his proficiency in BM, whether the listener belongs to a Peranakan cultural association, other languages that the listener speaks, other languages that the listener understands, as well as whether the listener would want her or his children to speak BM, whether the listener would consider a person to be Peranakan if the said person does not speak BM, whether the listener feels that BM is endangered, and whether the listener is worried that BM is endangered (questions regarding these last four effects are included in the post-listening survey, see section 3.7.1.2). There are many predicting factors for a relatively small group of participants, so effects are tested separately, and only the relevant ones would be included in the final model. With regard to question (II) “Does this person have many close friends who are not Peranakan?”, no trend can be reported as the model shows no significant effect of any of the predicting factors tested. Responses to the other three questions are discussed in the subsections that follow.

3.7.2.1 Is this person a speaker of BM?

Where the main question was concerned, for all the 100 times the refined form was heard, the younger age group consistently responded that it was spoken by a BM speaker, whereas they identified the coarse form as being spoken by a BM speaker in only three instances. The older group performed very differently. While they also identified the speaker as a BM speaker for all 100 times the refined form was heard, they identified the speaker of the coarse form to be a BM speaker in 86 instances. These responses are presented in the chart in figure 26.

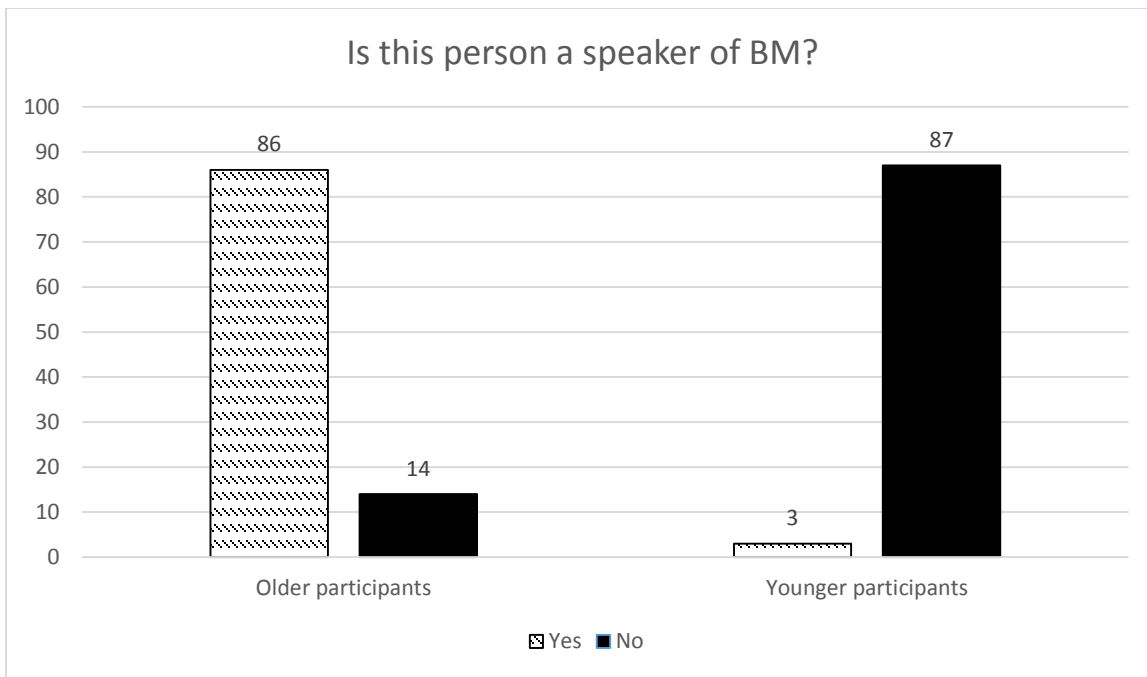


Figure 26: Responses to “Is this person a speaker of BM?” with participant’s age group as a predictor

It is not possible to generate a sound logistic regression model for the question “Is this person a speaker of BM” since there is perfect separation³⁷ — a refined guise completely predicts that the participant perceives the speaker as a speaker of BM. The analysis breaks down. The model has to be refit to only those responses in the coarse guise (i.e. only those tokens where not all participants perceived the speaker as someone who speaks BM). Only fixed effects that reached a significance level of $p < 0.05$ or smaller were included in this model.

³⁷ In the case of perfect separation, there is the option of using penalized regression (Firth 1993), but random effects cannot be included in such a model. It is important to consider random effects, hence penalized regression is not suitable for the purpose of this investigation.

	Estimate	Std. error	Z value	Pr(> z)
(Intercept)	4.729	1.436	3.293	0.0010
Age group=Young	-8.561	1.804	-4.745	<0.0001
Origin=Singapore	-2.800	1.105	-2.534	0.0113

Table 23: Coefficients of fixed effects; larger negative coefficients indicate a lower likelihood of responding ‘yes’ to the question “Is this person a speaker of BM?” when listening to a COARSE guise.

First, I step through how to interpret the model’s output and then, in the following paragraph, I discuss the results of the analysis. The model’s coefficients, listed in the ‘Estimate’ column, are negative for both predicting factors (age group and origin), indicating that coarse tokens were less likely to be perceived as being spoken by a BM speaker by younger listeners and listeners from Singapore compared with older listeners and listeners from Malacca. The coefficients are also indicative of effect size, with numbers that are further from zero being indicative of a larger effect. For listener age, the coefficient is -8.561 whereas it is -2.800 for origin; younger Peranakans are more likely to not identify the coarse form as being spoken by a BM speaker than older Peranakans, and this effect is stronger than the effect of origin. Significance level can be gleaned from column ‘Z value’, where numbers greater than 2 and smaller than -2 are significant, and the column with the p-value (labeled ‘Pr(>|z|)’), where numbers smaller than .05 are significant.

Participants who are younger (identified as being below the age of 50) are more likely to not respond ‘yes’ to the question “Is this person a speaker of BM?” when they hear a coarse guise ($p < 0.0001$). This result is expected for two reasons as discussed in section 3.7.1.2. Younger speakers may not know many other lexical items that differentiate BM speakers from Malay speakers, the only difference they may be highly aware of, is the often-cited fact that [ɛ] can occur at the end of words in BM, where they would otherwise be /aɪ/, /aɪ/, /as/ in Malay. Their responses show that they are unaware that /aɪ/, /aɪ/, /as/ variants belong to BM in *kasar* ‘coarse’ forms. It is interesting that there is no significant effect of proficiency. One may have expected that older speakers are more proficient than younger speakers, and that this might have an effect on how they perceive these variants. A Kendall (1955) rank correlation test is run in R, using the package *kendall* (McLeod 2014). The Kendall rank correlation coefficient is able to evaluate the degree of similarity between two sets of scalar data. In effect, presented with (x_1, y_1) and

(x_2, y_2) , the Kendall coefficient indicates how similar x_1 and x_2 , and y_1 and y_2 are. If the coefficient is zero, there is no correlation between these two items. When the coefficient is one, there is full correlation between the two items. The two items analyzed using Kendall' in this instance are age (grouped by tens), and proficiency (scale of one to five). Kendall's tau (τ) = 0.44, and the $z=3.2$, which is large enough to reject the null hypothesis that there is no correlation between the two items, at $p < 0.01$.³⁸ Hence there is a correlation between age and proficiency, and that the older participants are, the more likely they are to be more proficient.

Next, younger speakers who are experiencing the brunt of the loss of their culture and language may want to differentiate themselves even more from other ethnic communities such as the Malays. It is said that the third generation often expresses regret over the loss of their communities' languages and cultural practices (Stebbins 2004). In a production study on Cajun English within the St. Landry community, Dubois and Horvath (1998) demonstrate that the older generation use more dental variants than all others, the middle-aged dramatically decrease their use, but the younger generation shows a level of usage closer to the old generation.³⁹ Therefore, that the younger Peranakans do not identify the coarse form as being spoken by a BM speaker appears to be indicative of a desire to keep their language and culture distinct from others. This is an interesting phenomenon, considering that the refined form [ɛ] is falling out of use among less proficient BM speakers (see section 3.7).⁴⁰

Interestingly and more unexpectedly, the fixed effect of origin has a significant effect on whether or not participants identified the coarse variant as being spoken by a BM speaker. Singaporeans (compared to Malaccans) were more likely to not identify the coarse guise as being spoken by a BM speaker. There is however no interaction between the fixed effects of age group and origin, meaning that, younger Singaporeans are not more likely to not identify the coarse guise as being spoken by a BM speaker, as compared to younger Malaccans. Returning to why Singaporean speakers may be more likely to not identify the coarse form as being spoken by a BM speaker in comparison to Malaccans, the reason may

³⁸ R states that exact p-values cannot be computed with ties, but the tau value still shows that there is a fair level of correlation.

³⁹ Except for young men in and women of all ages in open networks (See Dubois and Horvath 1998).

⁴⁰ Participants self-reported their proficiency on a scale of 1 to 5 in the post-listening survey, with 5 representing the highest level of proficiency and 1 representing the lowest level. The lowest level of proficiency reported was 3, while the highest was 5. In a separate mixed effects model (dependent variable: whether participants responded 'yes' to coarse form as being spoken by a BM speaker) that included proficiency as a fixed effect, the coefficient was $-5.498e-01$ with a p value of 0.6705 for proficiency level 3. This indicates that there is a likelihood of less proficient participants identifying the coarse variant as being spoken by a BM speaker, although this is far from reaching significance. Future production work is required to test the interaction between proficiency and age group in particular.

be highly political. Whereas Singaporeans have no incentives to identify themselves with other ethnic groups, Malaccans being Malaysians, may choose to align themselves with the Malays (the privileged *bumiputra*⁴¹), their country being pro-Malay when it comes to education, jobs, social and business opportunities (Holst 2012). Thus, Malaccan Peranakans may have less inclination to view themselves as being separate from the Malays, whereas Singaporean Peranakans are not disinclined towards disassociating themselves from the Malays. The fixed effect of origin is however less significant than that of age (at $p < 0.1$, compared to $p < 0.0001$).

3.7.2.2 Is this person likely to take part in activities at the Peranakan Association or Gunong Sayang Association?

The main predictor of whether a participant would respond ‘yes’ to the question is again, age. For all 100 instances that the refined guise was heard, it was identified by both older participants and younger participants as being spoken by a person who is likely to participate in activities at the Peranakan Association or the Gunong Sayang Association 96 percent of the time. When the coarse guise was heard, older participants identified it as being spoken by a person likely to participate in cultural association activities in 76 instances, whereas younger participants only did so for 2 instances.

⁴¹ In Sanskrit, *bhumi* means ‘earth’ and *putra* means ‘son’, the definition of *bumiputra* means ‘son of the earth’.

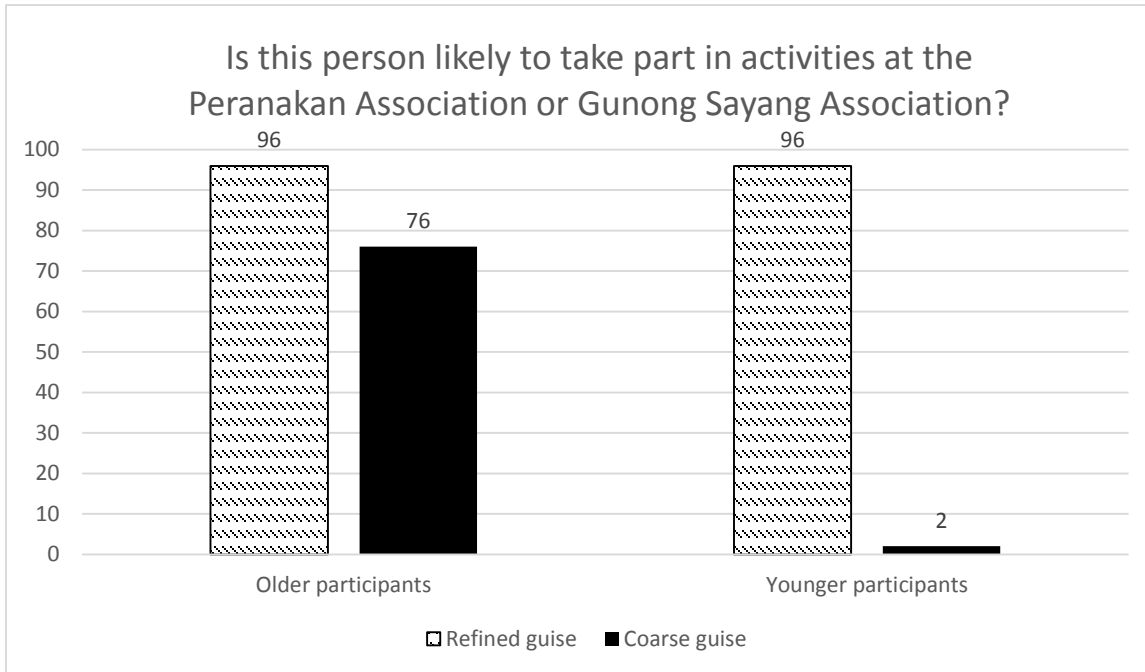


Figure 27: Yes responses to “Is this person likely to take part in activities at the Peranakan Association or Gunong Sayang Association?” with participant’s age group as a predictor

Compared to the question in section 3.7.2.1, there is no perfect separation. Not all refined guises are perceived as being spoken by a BM speaker. It is therefore possible to generate a binary mixed effects logistic model with the dependent variable being whether participants respond ‘yes’ to the question “Is this person likely to take part in activities at the Peranakan Association or Gunong Sayang Association?”. Because the model is fit to all of the data, guise can be included as a predicting factor in addition to the independent variables tested in section 3.7.2.1. Again, only fixed effects that reached a significance level of $p < 0.05$ or smaller were included in this model.

	Estimate	Std. error	Z value	Pr(> z)
(Intercept)	1.973	0.708	2.787	0.0053
Guise=Refined	2.952	0.802	3.682	0.0002
Age group=Young	-7.109	1.341	-5.302	<0.0001
Guise=Refined:Age group=Young	6.745	1.539	4.383	<0.0001

Table 24: Coefficients of fixed effects; larger negative coefficients indicate a lower likelihood of responding ‘yes’ to the question “Is this person likely to take part in activities at the Peranakan Association or Gunong Sayang Association?”

The positive intercept (1.973) indicates that people are likely to respond ‘yes’ to this question in general. The significant fixed effects on the other hand, include guise and age group. The positive coefficient for the refined guise factor, shows that participants are more likely to respond ‘yes’ to the question “Is this person likely to take part in activities at the Peranakan Association or Gunong Sayang Association?”, and this is significant at $p < 0.001$. The negative coefficient for the young age group factor suggests that the younger participants are more likely to not respond ‘yes’ in general, to the same question, although the interaction coefficient between refined guise and the younger age group is positive. This indicates that younger participants are more likely to respond ‘yes’ when listening to the refined guise, rather than when listening to the coarse guise. Both age group effect, and interaction effect between age group and guise are found to be highly significant at $p < 0.0001$.

Results show that the young participants shift the most between guises, the implication of which is that there is a change in progress with regard to the social meaning attributed to both guises. The assumption of the younger Peranakans appears to be that the refined form is more emblematic of the Peranakan culture and community than the coarse form, hence they identify the refined form as being spoken by a person who is likely to take part in activities at the Peranakan Association or Gunong Sayang Association, both being associations that emphasize Peranakan cultural activities. Again, this also shows that the younger listeners may be less proficient in BM, and less aware that the coarse variant exists alongside the refined one. The older, more proficient speakers may be more aware of this. They do not identify the refined form as being more emblematic of their culture and community than the coarse form. There is no relation between the older age group and the refined guise; the older participants are

not more likely to state that the refined guise is spoken by a person who is actively involved in cultural activities, although there is an overall main effect of guise that the older participants are more likely to state that the speaker takes part in cultural activities.

3.7.2.3 Is this person well-educated?

With regard to the question “Is this person well-educated?”, three main trends can be observed. The strongest trend is that of participant’s age group. In most instances, older participants perceived the speaker as being well-educated, regardless of which guise they heard, whereas when the refined guise was heard, younger participants perceived the speaker as being well-educated in 74 instances. This can be compared to their responses to the coarse guise. Younger participants perceived the speaker as being well-educated in 43 out of 100 instances that the coarse guise was heard. These raw responses are reflected in figure 28.

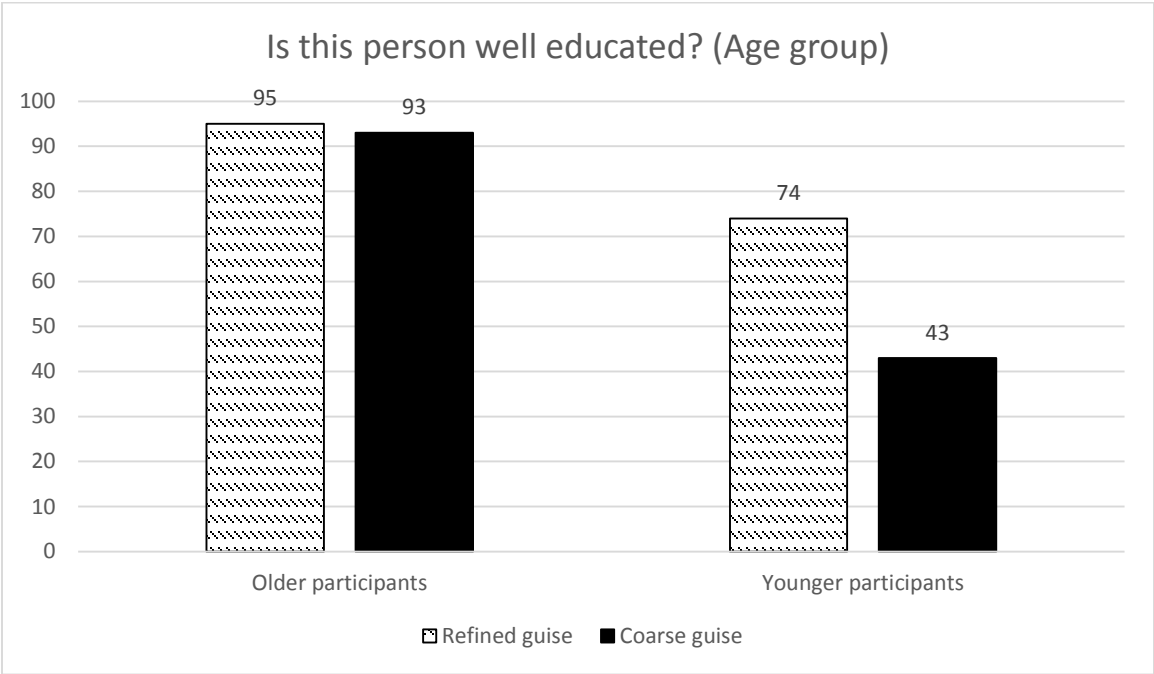


Figure 28: Yes responses to “Is this person well-educated?” with participant’s age group as a predictor

Participant’s origin is also an interesting predictor. Malaccan participants appeared to perceive the speaker as being well-educated regardless of guise. Singaporean participants perceived the speaker as being well-educated less often than the Malaccan speakers. Singaporean participants perceived the

speaker as being well educated in 73 out of 100 instances in which the refined guise was heard, as compared to 52 out of 100 instances in which the coarse guise was heard. These raw responses are captured in figure 29.

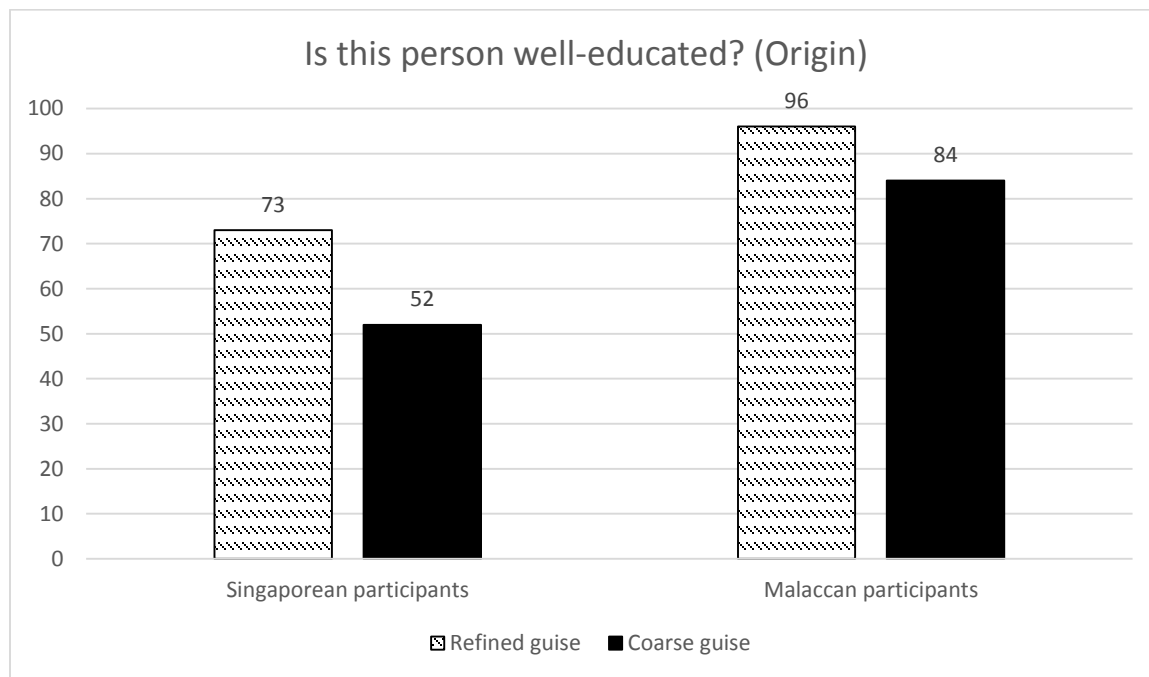


Figure 29: Yes responses to “Is this person well-educated?” with participant’s origin as a predictor

A third predictor that should be considered is whether or not the participant belongs to a Peranakan cultural association. Non-members appeared to perceive the speaker as being well-educated more often than association members, regardless of guise. Among association members, the refined guise was more often perceived as being well-educated than the coarse guise. In 100 instances that the refined guise was heard, association members perceived the speaker as being well-educated 77 times. In comparison, the same group perceived the coarse guise as being spoken by a speaker who is well-educated in 56 out of 100 instances that they heard. These raw responses are depicted in the chart in figure 30.

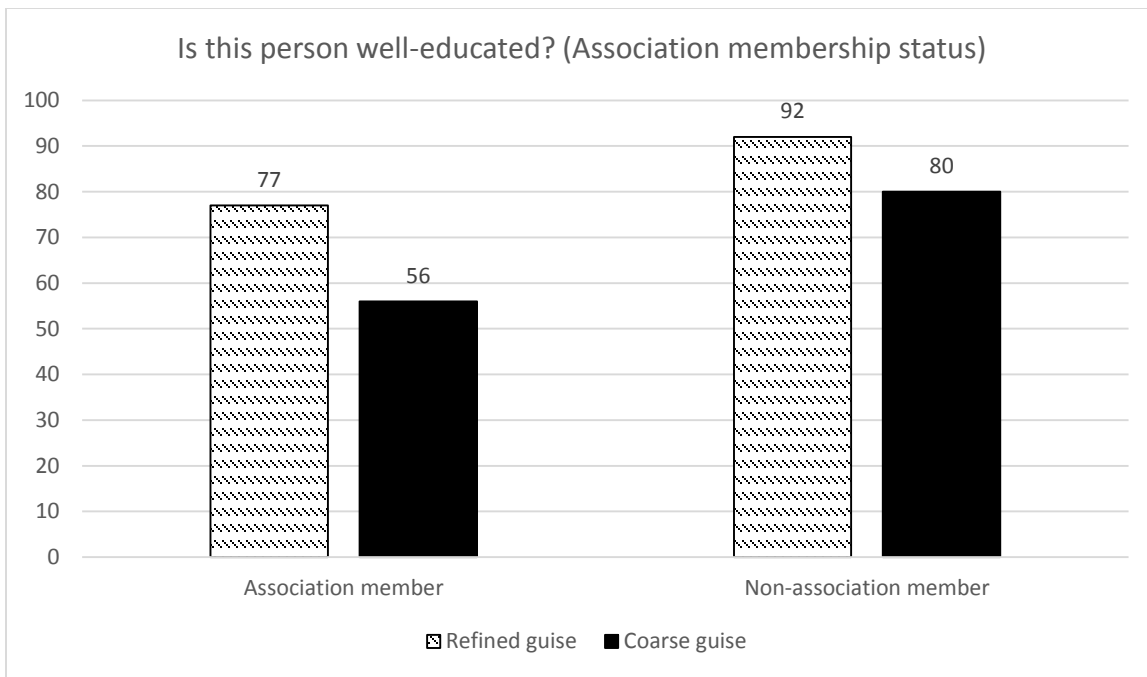


Figure 30: Yes responses to “Is this person well-educated?” with participant’s cultural association membership status as a predictor

A mixed model is generated for the question “Is this person well-educated?” Similar to the mixed effects logistic model in section 3.7.2.2, the dependent variable is whether participants respond ‘yes’ to the question being asked. Only fixed effects that are reached a level of significance of $p < 0.05$, either on their own or in interaction with other fixed effects, are included in this model.

	Estimate	Std. error	Z value	Pr(> z)
(Intercept)	10.703	2.519	4.249	<0.0001
Guise=Refined	0.511	0.716	0.713	0.4757
Age group=Young	- 7.289	1.768	-4.124	<0.0001
Origin=Singapore	-4.991	1.642	-3.039	0.0024
Association = Yes	-3.924	1.594	-2.462	0.0138
Guise=Refined:Age group = Young	3.932	1.158	3.396	0.0007

Table 25: Coefficients of fixed effects; larger negative coefficients indicate a lower likelihood of responding ‘yes’ to the question “Is this person well-educated?”

Fixed effects that are significant ($p < 0.05$) regardless of any interactions with other fixed effects, include age group, origin, and whether or not the participant belonged to an association. More specifically, younger participants, Singaporean participants, as well as those who belonged to a cultural association, were more likely to not respond ‘yes’ to the question “Is this person well-educated?” Of these effects, the most significant one is that of age ($p < 0.0001$), followed by the participant’s origin ($p < 0.01$), and finally that of association membership ($p < 0.05$).

It is then interesting to look at the relationships between age group, origin, membership, and guise, the question being whether or not younger participants, Singaporean participants, and participants who belong to Peranakan cultural associations are more likely to identify one guise as being more “well-educated” than another. However, only the interaction between young participants and the refined guise is significant ($p < 0.001$). Young participants are more likely to identify the refined guise as being spoken by a person who is well-educated. The other interactions have not been included in this final model presented, since those did not reach significance level of $p < 0.05$. The only substantial inference that can be made regarding participant’s origin and participant’s association membership status, is that Singaporean participants and participants who belong to Peranakan cultural associations appear to be more selective as to who they perceive as being well-educated.

While there is no clear trend where the older participants are concerned, younger participants perceive speakers who sound “more BM” as being better educated. This is particularly interesting, considering that BM has a strong covert prestige, but not overt prestige, since it is regarded as a non-standard language in both Singapore and Malaysia. While their home language never gained any official status, the Peranakans have been known to place an emphasis on education. Before British trading began in the region, the male Peranakans were sent to China to be educated there (Ansaldo et al. 2007:208). When English medium education started in Singapore, the Peranakans were the first to adopt it (Shellabear 1913). In general, the Peranakans were perceived as “the best educated and wealthiest and most intelligent section of the Chinese community” (Nathan 1922:77). Since then, education has become widespread in both Singapore and Malaysia, and the Peranakans are no longer more educated than other ethnic groups. It is thus interesting that younger participants still associate the refined, “more BM” form with speakers who are better-educated, since it is common for them to receive the same level of education with their counterparts from other ethnic groups. On the other hand, it is curious that there is no identifiable trend of older participants perceiving the refined form as being more educated. There are two reasons for why this may be so. First, the refined form is not significantly “more BM” to the older participants than the coarse form (see section 3.7.2.1), and hence, there may be no reason for them to perceive the refined form as being more or less educated than the coarse form. Next, commonly cited experiences among older fieldwork consultants include being punished by Malay teachers for using BM instead of standard Malay. Punishments have since become less harsh⁴², and younger participants are less affected, especially in Singapore, since Singaporean Peranakans are now required to study Mandarin instead of Malay (as they are identified as ethnically Chinese) (see Pakir 1994). If younger participants do not associate bad experiences in the classroom or in education with BM, they may not be as disinclined towards perceiving their language as being “more educated”. However, due to the fact that older participants often responded ‘yes’ to the question “Is this person well-educated?”, this interpretation may be less valid than the first one.

⁴² Older consultants (above the age of 60) shared classroom experiences with the researcher, and these include having been caned or fined for using BM in Malay language class; another consultant shared that his children were very recently told off by a Malay teacher for using BM in class, but they not punished.

3.7.3 Implications of sociophonetics experiment

Several implications arise from the sociophonetics experiment.

The phenomenon of the loss of [ɛ] is somewhat paradoxical. Even though the data show change in apparent time for [ɛ] (refined form), where [ɛ] is not being passed on to the younger generation (see section 3.7), the sound has perceptual salience particularly for the younger Peranakans, who may not know other lexical terms that differentiate BM from Malay, or who may not know that /ar/, /al/ and /as/ are coarse forms in BM (see section 3.7.2.1). Usage of the refined form also allows BM speakers to maintain a separate Peranakan identity. Facing the possible loss of their language, [ɛ] also outrightly distinguishes BM speakers from Malay speakers, since the coarse forms /ar/, /al/ and /as/ forms exist in Malay, but not the refined forms that utilize [ɛ]. In addition to perceiving the refined form as being “more BM” than the coarse form, younger Peranakans also perceive the refined form as being produced by Peranakans who are active in associations that emphasize cultural activities, and who are hence interested in keeping the culture and community alive.

On a separate but related note, the phenomenon that younger Peranakans have strong associations with a variant that they are not producing as often fits in with the notion of passive heritage speakers who are able to comprehend their language and participate in communication with other speakers, even though they may not speak the language itself (Valdés 2005: 419). While the younger participants in the current sociophonetic investigation may not be passive heritage speakers (since they are able to speak the language to some degree), what is noteworthy is the fact that these participants differ in the social meanings that they assign to the BM variants. This could have consequences for language change in the future, where the two variants in question may lose their refined and coarse contrast and develop new fixed meanings.

The second paradox is the fact that a form associated with covert prestige can also reflect a high level of education, and hence better socioeconomic standing. Overt prestige, usually associated with higher socioeconomic standing, is supposedly characteristic of standard varieties (Labov 1972: 249), such as standard Malay. It is therefore interesting that the younger Peranakans perceive the “more BM” refined form as being spoken by well-educated speakers.⁴³ Where language endangerment and revitalization is

⁴³ This phenomenon is different from Labov's (1963) observation of college-educated young men who used vernacular vowels to actively identify themselves as belonging to Martha's Vineyard

concerned, it is encouraging that the language bears no stigma for the younger generation, as well as the older generation who identify both forms as being spoken by a person who is well-educated.

Responses to other questions used as predicting factors for the sociophonetics experiment corroborate the potential for BM revitalization among the Peranakans. These include binary responses to the following questions (replicated from section 3.7.1.2).

- i. If you have children, would you want your children to speak Baba Malay?
- ii. If a person does not speak Baba Malay, can that person be Peranakan?
- iii. Do you feel that Baba Malay is endangered?
- iv. Are you worried that Baba Malay is endangered?

Although responses to these questions did not affect the results to the matched guise tasks significantly, they show that the Peranakans are very concerned about language loss. In response to question (iii), 82.5% felt that BM is an endangered language. This includes responses from both the younger age group (80%) and the older age group (85%). All other questions yielded 100% to the same responses among both age groups (the lack of variation in responses also meant that these items could not be included as fixed effects in the models discussed in section 3.7.2.). While no participant felt that it was necessary for a person to speak BM in order to be Peranakan, they also responded that they would want their children to speak BM if they had children, and that they were worried about BM being endangered.

In general, the results from this experiment are encouraging for any potential revitalization efforts. Going forward, future research should investigate production more closely, especially the link between proficiency and the production of refined/coarse forms. With regard to perception itself, an interesting question is whether or not perceptions of refined/coarse forms will differ when the guises of older and younger speakers are contrasted, since a clear disparity in the perception of refined/coarse forms exists among younger and older Peranakans. Previous research has shown that social characteristics (including age) attributed to the speaker may influence the listener's perception of the speaker's variant (Drager 2011). It would be interesting to find out if listeners identify a variant as being refined more often when listening to an older speaker than a younger one. If they do, this may imply that listeners are more exposed to older speakers who utilize the refined form than younger ones. This would further corroborate the notion that language change is in process, and that [ɛ] may or may not fall out of use in the future.

4. Parts of speech

Since BM is mostly an isolating language, more so than Malay (which utilizes a number of affixes), word order is crucial in expressing grammatical relations. In view of this, the different parts of speech in BM can be identified appropriately by their individual distribution. This is more accurate than purely using semantics, whereby an action constitutes a verb, while a thing constitutes a noun a descriptive word constitutes an adjective. This is especially so when it is unclear semantically if the word is an action, a thing or a description. For example, the word *salah* ‘mistake, wrong’ can be both a noun and an adjective depending on how they are used. When used following a transitive verb, it is the object complement of the verb, when used immediately after a subject noun phrase, it can be assumed to most likely be an adjective (the copula verb is usually not expressed explicitly in BM).

(129) *Gua bikin salah*
1.SG make **mistake**
‘I make mistake.’
(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-043, 00:19:04.0-00:19:05.8)

(130) *Gua salah*
1.SG **wrong**
‘I (am) wrong.’
(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-043, 00:40:04.0-00:40:05.2)

Similarly, *marah* ‘angry’ can be used as an adjective or a transitive verb. After *jangan* ‘do not’, it is used as verb (section 5.2.8) and where it precedes a noun phrase object complement as with (132), it is a transitive verb.

(131) *Jangan marah*
do.not **angry**
‘Do not (be) angry’.
(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-042, 00:20:18.1-00:20:19.2)

(132) *Dia-orang sumua marah dia lah.*
3.PL all **angry** 3.SG Emp
‘They are all angry at him.’
(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-030, 00:04:37.9-00:04:40.4)

Hence, this grammar prefers to differentiate between parts of speech using distribution rather than semantic content. Note that square brackets [] are henceforth used to delineate meaning constituents that are relevant to the discussion, and no longer represent phonetic forms.

4.1 Nouns

Nouns in BM can be identified by the following distribution patterns. They can be used after noun classifiers (section 4.1.2), after demonstratives (section 4.5.2) and numerals (section 4.5.3). The following are respective examples of these.

- (133) *Satu batang payong*
 one CLF.long.thin umbrella
 ‘One umbrella’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-156, 00:05:43.5-00:05:45.0)
- (134) *Gua mo beli ni kayu.*
 1.SG want buy this wood
 ‘I want to buy this wood.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-035, 00:02:23.3-00:02:24.8)
- (135) *Ni tiga ékor babi kuluair rumah.*
 this three CLF.animal pig go.out house
 ‘These three pigs went out of the house.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-035, 00:00:43.7-00:00:47.2)

Proper nouns (not personal pronouns) can be used after person markers, although this is optional (section 4.5.1).

- (136) *Kat mana si Mary mo jumpa John?*
 PREP where PERSON want meet
 ‘Where does Mary want to meet John at?’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-037, 00:02:44.4-00:02:47.3)

Also, in general, the noun phrase can precede verb phrase as subject, or follow verb as object (sections 5.2 and 0). In examples (137) and (138) precede and follow the verb. The noun phrases *orang* ‘person’ and *dia* ‘3.SG’ precede the verb phrase as subjects, while the noun phrases *pokok* ‘tree’ and *tu orang* ‘that person’ follow the verb phrase as objects predicated by the verb.

- (137) *Orang panjat pokok.*
 Person climb tree
 ‘A person climbs a tree.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-028, 00:00:15.6-00:00:17.6)
- (138) *Dia téngok tu orang*
 3.SG see that person
 ‘He saw that person.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-028, 00:02:29.7-00:02:30.9)

4.1.1 Nominal morphology

Nouns can occur on their own without affixes, as with *anjing* ‘dog’ in (139) and *pokok* ‘tree’ in (140).

- (139) *Anjing tu gongong.*
dog that bark
‘That dog barked.’
(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-034, 00:01:48.9-00:01:51.8)

- (140) *Empat pokok*
four **tree**
‘Four trees.’
(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:00:25.7-00:00:26.8)

Nouns may also be reduplicated. In example (141), *adék* is singular for ‘sibling’ while the reduplicated form *adék-beradék* denotes the plural form ‘siblings’. In example (142), *pék* represents father’s elder brother, but this stem is never used on its own, thus the form *pék-pék* is preferred.

- (141) *Pangkat adék -beradék*
rank **sibling sibling**
‘Cousins.’
(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-132, 00:03:41.4-00:03:43.8)

- (142) *Pék-pék*⁴⁴
‘father’s elder brother.’
(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-132, 00:07:10.4-00:07:11.4)

Noun reduplication is not as productive as verb reduplication is. Noun reduplication appears largely limited to reduplication of kinship terms as example (142) demonstrates (see section 3.2 for more details).

In addition to reduplicated forms, a noun may be created using the *-an* nominalizer suffix.

4.1.1.1 Derivational noun morphology

⁴⁴ Earlier, *pék-pék* was represented as *peʔ-peʔ* since the phonological form was being cited. Here, the orthographic form is used.

Derivational morphology that create new nouns is non-productive. In fact, the nominalizer suffix *-an* is only found with adjectives *manyak* ‘many’ and *kasair* ‘coarse’ in the corpus used. This creates nouns *manyak-an* ‘many’ and *kasair-an* ‘coarse manner’.

- (143) **Manyak-an** *chakap bikin* *manyak*
many -NMZ speak make/do many
 ‘Many say *bikin* a lot.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-043, 00:00:36.8-00:00:40.0)
- (144) **Manyak -an** *chakap tua.hia*
Many -NMZ speak big.brother
 ‘Many say *tua.hia*.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-132, 00:01:38.6-00:01:38.5)
- (145) **Kasair -an**
coarse-NMZ
 ‘Coarse manner.’

Aside from nominalizer *-an*, there is virtually no other derivational morphology concerning nouns in BM.

4.1.1.2 Nominal compounds

Nominal compounds in BM are noun phrases comprising a noun modified by either noun, adjective, verb, or even classifier. The following table lists examples of nominal compounds found in in the language, as well as their patterns of modification. For the purpose of illustration, nominal compounds that use *ati* ‘heart’, *mata* ‘eye’ and *mulot* ‘mouth’ are listed. Note that none of these patterns are productive ones.

<i>Nominal compound</i>	<i>Meaning of individual lexemes</i>	<i>Meaning of compound</i>	<i>Parts of speech</i>
<i>ati baik</i>	heart good	kind	N + A
<i>ati busok</i>	heart smelly	cruel	N + A
<i>ati it gor it chap</i>	heart one five one ten	nervous	N + NUM + NUM + NUM + NUM
<i>jantung ati</i>	heart heart	beloved	N + N
<i>mata ari</i>	eye day	sun	N + N
<i>mata ayé</i>	eye water	sweetheart	N + N
<i>mata beliak</i>	eye glare	protruding eyes	N + V
<i>mata gelap</i>	eye dark	detective	N + A
<i>mata ikan</i>	eye fish	wart	N + N
<i>mata juling</i>	eye squinty	cockeye	N + A
<i>mata kucing</i>	eye cat	longan fruit	N + N
<i>mata lembu</i>	eye cow	fried egg with yolk intact	N + N
<i>mata mata</i>	eye eye	policeman	N + N
<i>mata piso</i>	eye knife	blade of knife	N + N
<i>bijik mata</i>	CLF.small.round eye	favorite child, apple of one's eye	CLF + N
<i>tanda mata</i>	sign eye	heirloom	N + N

<i>mulot asin</i>	mouth salty	ability to make accurate predictions	N + A
<i>mulot béngok</i>	mouth twisted	twisted mouth	N + A
<i>mulot berat</i>	mouth heavy	inability to express oneself	N + A
<i>mulot bocho</i>	mouth leaky	inability to keep a secret	N + A
<i>mulot busok</i>	mouth smelly	bad breath	N + A
<i>mulot gatair</i>	mouth itchy	uncontrollable mouth	N + A
<i>mulot dunya</i>	mouth world	public opinions	N + N
<i>mulot jahat</i>	mouth evil	caustic mouth	N + A
<i>mulot kering</i>	mouth dry	inability to say more	N + A
<i>mulot manis</i>	mouth sweet	ability to speak sweetly	N + A
<i>mulot pantat ayam</i>	mouth buttocks chicken	deceitful mouth	N + N + N
<i>mulot ringan</i>	mouth slim	polite character	N + A

Table 26: List of some nominal compounds in Baba Malay

In these nominal compounds, the modifier occurs after the head, except for *bijik mata* ‘favorite child, apple of one’s eye’, where a classifier precedes the noun. The head+modifier form of these nominal compounds is interesting because modifiers do not always occur after nouns in BM (See sections 4.5.2 and 5.1.5 for examples). With most modifiers following nouns, except for classifiers, the word order in BM nominal compounds is similar to word order in the lexifier language, Malay. Modifiers occur after noun heads, except for classifiers. For example, two blue cars would be expressed in Malay as *dua buah keréta biru* ‘two CLF.big.object cars blue’. Note that modifiers occur before noun heads in the substrate language Hokkien.

4.1.2 Noun classifiers and partitives

Noun classifiers and partitives (mass classifiers) are common in BM, although they are non-obligatory. Noun classifiers are presented in the following table.

animals and young children	<i>ékor</i>
fruit	<i>buah</i>
bloom	<i>kuntum</i>
small round items	<i>bijik</i>
durian flesh	<i>uluair (ular, uluair: snake)</i>
long thin items	<i>batang</i>

Table 27: Noun classifiers in Baba Malay

These classifiers are used in front of nouns, together with numerals. Some examples of these are as follows:

- (146) *Dua ékor ikan*
 two CLF.animal fish
 two fish
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-148, 00:01:57.9-00:01:59.1)
- (147) *Ini buah pear*
 this CLF.fruit
 ‘These are pears.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:00:27.9-00:00:28.9)
- (148) *Se- kuntum bunga*
 one- CLF.bloom flower
 ‘One flower.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-160, 00:02:04.7-00:02:05.7)
- (149) *Dua bijik intan*
 Two CLF.small.round diamond.chip
 ‘Two diamond chips.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-148, 00:07:12.9-00:07:16.2)

- (150) *Dua uluair durian*
 two **CLF.durian.flesh/snake**
 ‘Two pieces of durian.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-148, 00:04:39.5-00:04:41.3)

Besides noun classifiers, BM speakers also use measure words when speaking about mass nouns in partitive phrases.

bundle	<i>bungkus</i>
bottle	<i>botol</i>
slice	<i>kepéng</i>
cup	<i>changke</i>
bowl	<i>mangkok</i>
spoon	<i>séndok</i>
sheet	<i>hélay, lay, éla</i>
gallon	<i>gantang</i>
quarter gallon	<i>chupak</i>

Table 28: Mass classifiers in Baba Malay

Some examples of these partitive phrases are as follows.

- (151) *Satu bungkus nasik*
 one **bundle** cooked.rice
 ‘One bundle of rice.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-149, 00:27:14.4-00:27:15.7)

- (152) *Potong -kan satu kepéng kék*
 cut -TR one **piece** cake
 ‘One piece of cake.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-149, 00:01:55.5-00:01:59.3)

- (153) *Tuang-kan satu changke kopi*
 pour -TR one **cup** coffee
 ‘One cup of coffee’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-156, 00:16:08.0-00:16:10.1)
- (154) *Satu mangkok nasik*
 One **bowl** cooked.rice
 ‘One bowl of rice.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-148, 00:26:58.0-00:27:01.4)
- (155) *Kasi gua dua séndok nasik*
 Give 1.SG two **spoon** cooked.rice
 ‘Give me two spoons of rice.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-148, 00:24:47.0-00:24:50.0)
- (156) *Satu lay kain*
 One **sheet** cloth
 ‘One sheet of cloth.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-149, 00:08:02.5-00:08:06.0)

4.1.3 Pronouns

Pronouns here refer to a closed set of grammatical items that may substitute a noun phrase. The set of pronouns in BM include personal pronouns, reflexives, reciprocals and interrogative pronouns.

4.1.3.1 Personal pronouns

The following is the system of personal pronouns used in BM.

1.SG (refined)	<i>saya</i>
(coarse)	<i>gua</i>
1.PL	<i>kita</i>
2.SG	<i>lu</i>
2.PL	<i>lu-orang/ lu</i>
3.SG	<i>dia</i>
3.PL	<i>dia-orang/ dia</i>

Table 29: Personal pronouns in Baba Malay

The personal pronominal system is a mixed system derived from Hokkien and Malay. The words for the first person (coarse) *gua* and second person *lu* are derived from Hokkien, while the rest of the terms originate from Malay.

Some aspects are noteworthy. While terms are derived from both the lexifier language, Malay, and the substrate language, Hokkien, calquing occurs whereby terms for second person and third person plurals are directly translated from Hokkien terms. Second person plural is *lu-nang* ‘2.SG-people’ and third person plural is *i-nang* ‘3.SG-people’ in Hokkien. In the BM versions of these words, *nang* is replaced by the Malay word for people, *orang*. It is curious that the first person plural is not a calque of *gua-nang* ‘1.SG-people (Hokkien)’.

Next, while speakers of other languages differentiate between formal and informal registers, BM speakers differentiate have two registers depending on whether they want to sound *alus* ‘refined’, or *kasair*⁴⁵ ‘coarse’ (see section 3.3.9). Within the pronominal system, the first person singular is the only concept that is ostensibly marked as being *alus* or *kasair*. The word that BM derives from Malay, *saya*, is used as an *alus* term, while the word that BM derives from Hokkien, *gua*, is used as a *kasair* term. It is interesting to note that that older females appear to use more *saya* more often than males or younger females do.⁴⁶ That *gua* is used more often than *saya* among the Singapore BM-speaking community may be indicative that the language is undergoing changes, whereby the younger speakers no longer are familiar with what is *alus* ‘refined’ and what is *kasair* ‘coarse’. In addition to these two forms of first personal singular pronouns, Chia (1983) notes that it was common for pre-war⁴⁷ Peranakans to refer to themselves in the third person as a show of humility. This is no longer common nowadays. Other personal pronouns are not outwardly *alus* or *kasair*, although when addressing an interlocutor, it is more *alus* to use the interlocutor’s name (and title if appropriate) rather than the second person singular *lu*. For example, when enquiring if one has eaten, it is more *alus* to say “Uncle XX sudah makan? (Has Uncle XX eaten?)”, rather than “lu sudah makan? (Have you eaten?)”.

Finally, Pakir (1986:146) notes a distinction between first person plural inclusive, *kita-orang* and first person plural exclusive *gua-orang*, and states these terms are analogous to Hokkien *lan-lang* ‘first person plural inclusive’ and *gua-lang* ‘first person plural exclusive’. These terms are not found in the current dataset used. These are also not reported by Lee (1999). Other terms that are undergoing change include second person plural *lu-orang* and third person plural *dia-orang*. Some speakers use *lu* and *dia*

⁴⁵ Also occurring as *halus* (after initial h- deletion) and *kasar* (coarse form).

⁴⁶ In fact, while females have also been observed to use *gua* for the first person singular, the researcher had been reprimanded several times by an older male speaker for using *gua* during the course of fieldwork.

⁴⁷ War here refers to the 1942-1945 period of the Second World War, when the Malay Archipelago was invaded by the Japanese.

instead for these concepts. This variation is also observed by Lee (1999:20), but not in the earlier work of Pakir (1986). This may indicate language shift (or decreolization since the language is shifting away from the substrate language and towards the lexifier language).

4.1.3.2 Reflexives

Reuland (1999) states that the reflexivity of predicates is licensed by either inherent properties of the verb or by the addition of a form such as *self*. In BM, reflexives in BM are formed using the reflexive pronoun *sendiri* ‘self’, as also noted by Lee (1999). As a reflexive marker, *sendiri* denotes the same referent with the one of the subject noun phrase. In the more typical instances, the subject and the object could have the same referent, such as with examples (157), (158) and (159). The word *sendiri* replaces the pronoun or noun referent in the object noun phrase position.

(157) *Gua boléh mandi sendiri.*

1.SG can bathe **self**

‘I can bathe myself.’

(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-150, 00:12:45.2-00:12:46.4)

(158) *Budak-budak sumua pi mandi sendiri.*

Child-child all go bathe **self**

‘All the children go bathe themselves.’

(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-154, 00:12:20.9-00:12:22.6)

(159) *Kita mandi sendiri*

1.PL bathe **self**

‘We bathe ourselves.’

(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-154, 00:09:38.5-00:09:39.5)

In these instances where the reflexive replaces the object in a sentence, *sendiri* can also be used immediately after the subject as an emphatic reflexive, to reinforce the notion that the predicate concerns the subject himself, herself or itself.

(160) *Lu sendiri suap sendiri.*

2.SG **self** feed **self**

‘You yourself feed yourself.’

(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-150, 00:15:29.5-00:15:32.6)

- (161) *Dia sendiri mandi sendiri.*
 3.SG **self** bathe **self**
 ‘He himself bathes himself.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-150, 00:17:13.4-00:17:16.0)

Similarly, *sendiri* can be used as an emphatic reflexive in intransitive constructions where there is no object, reinforcing that the subject carried out the action himself or herself, and no one else.

- (162) *Gua sendiri makan, lu jangan suap gua.*
 1.SG **self** eat, 2.SG do.not feed 1.SG
 ‘I eat (by) myself, you do not (have to) feed me.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-154, 00:13:08.5-00:13:14.7)

- (163) *Dia sendiri jatuh.*
 3.SG **self** fell
 ‘He himself fell.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-150, 00:27:33.2-00:27:34.9)

- (164) *Kita sendiri tau mandi.*
 1.PL **self** know bathe.
 ‘We ourselves know how to bathe.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-150, 00:14:35.9-00:14:37.6)

Finally, while Lee (1999:21) suggests that reflexives can also be formed with the expression *mia diri* ‘REL self’, *mia diri* ‘REL self’ is more accurately analysed as being part of the object phrase. For instance, in example (165), *kita mia diri* refers to ‘our selves or bodies’, where *diri* is not an anaphora of *kita*. In fact, this expression was judged to be strange by some but not by others due to the subject matter.

- (165) *Kita boleh mandi kita mia diri*
 1.PL can bathe 1.PL **REL self**
 ‘We can bathe our selves/bodies.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-150, 00:14:50.4-00:14:53.5)

4.1.3.3 Reciprocals

Reciprocals in BM are indicated by the expressions *satu sama satu* ‘one with one’, or *satu sama lain* ‘one with all’ depending on the number of people involved in the predicated activity. When there are only two people involved in a reciprocal relationship, the expression *satu sama satu* ‘one with one’ is used as an object noun phrase, as with example (166). When more than two people are involved, the

expression *satu sama lain* ‘one with other’ is used in the same position, as with examples (167), (168) and (169).

- (166) *Mary sama Lucy sayang satu sama satu.*
with love **one with one**
‘Mary and Lucy love one another.’
(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-154, 00:00:16.0-00:00:20.2)
- (167) *Ini budak.budak sumua sayang satu sama lain*
this children all love **one with other**
‘These children love each other.’
(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-154, 00:03:12.2-00:03:18.0)
- (168) *Dia adék.beradék sayang satu sama lain*
3.SG siblings love **one with other**
‘Them siblings love each another.’
(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-161, 00:00:28.0-00:00:32.7)
- (169) *Itu empat budak sayang satu sama lain*
that four children love **one with other**
‘Those four children love each other.’
(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-150, 00:05:03.6-00:05:15.8)

There is also some individual variation in expressing reciprocity. The following are examples of how one consultant prefers to express reciprocity, even though she is aware of the *satu sama satu/ satu sama lain* expressions. In these examples, the expression *sama sama* ‘same same’ is used either before or after the predicate (note that *sama* can mean both ‘with’ and ‘same’).

- (170) *Mark sama Lucy sama sama sayang*
with **same same** love
‘Mark and Lucy love each other.’
(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-150, 00:00:14.4-00:00:24.0)
- (171) *Dia empat budak sayang sama sama*
3.SG four child love **same same**
‘Them four children love each other.’
(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-150, 00:03:34.8-00:03:42.5)

4.1.3.4 Interrogative pronouns

In BM, there are five interrogative pronouns. These are *apa* ‘what’, *siapa* ‘who’, *siapa punya* ‘whose’, *berapa* ‘how many’, and *mana* for ‘which’. Interrogative pronouns are interrogatives that can substitute noun phrases. Not all question words are interrogative pronouns as not all can be substitutes for noun phrases. Interrogative adverbs include *bila* ‘when’, *mana*⁴⁸ ‘where’, *apa pasal/ pasair/ sair* ‘what reason (why)’, *apa macham/ apacham/ amcham* ‘what like (how)’ and the rhetorical *mana ada* ‘where EXIST’ (See section 4.4.2 for more details).

what	<i>apa</i>
who	<i>siapa</i>
whose	<i>siapa punya / mia / nia</i>
how many	<i>berapa</i>
which	<i>mana</i>

Table 30: Interrogative pronouns in Baba Malay

The following instances demonstrate how interrogative pronouns may be used in BM. More details can be found in 5.6.10.1.

(172) *Ini apa?*
 This **what**
 ‘This (is) what?’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-037, 00:23:11.1-00:23:12.5)

(173) *Siapa itu?*
who that
 ‘Who (is) that?’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-042, 00:23:11.1-00:23:12.5)

(174) *Siapa punya bubor itu?*
who **POSS** porridge that
 ‘Whose porridge (is) that?’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-032, 00:04:10.1-00:04:12.1)

⁴⁸ Note that *mana* means both ‘where’ and ‘which’ in BM.

- (175) *Umor lu berapa taon?*
 age 2.SG **how.many** year
 ‘How many years old are you?’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-052, 00:14:51.4-00:14:53.7)

- (176) *Mana baik, mana satu tak baik?*
Which good **which** one NEG good.
 ‘Which (is) good, which one (is) not good?’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:01:23.2-00:01:26.3)

4.2 Verbs

Verbs in BM can be identified by the following distribution patterns. They occur after noun subjects. Transitive verbs precede noun complements. Verbs also may occur after aspect markers such as progressive *ada*, and with other verbs in serial verb constructions. The following are respective examples of these distribution patterns.

- (177) *Budak itu ketawa*
 child that **laughs**
 ‘That child laughs.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-088, 00:09:16.0-00:09:17.8)

- (178) *Anjing ambek bakol*
 dog **take** basket
 ‘The dog takes the basket.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-088, 00:01:19.6-00:01:21.9)

- (179) *Dia ada bikin kueh*
 3.SG **PROG make** cake
 ‘She is making cake.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-037, 00:26:46.5-00:26:47.6)

- (180) *Pi tidor*
go sleep
 ‘Go sleep.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:03:24.1-00:03:25.5)

4.2.1 Verbal morphology

Verbs can occur on their own without affixes, such as with both *dapat* ‘get’ and *makan* ‘eat’ in example (181) and *senyum* ‘smile’ in example (182).

(181) *Dapat makan*

get eat

‘Gets to eat.’

(Lilian, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-079, 00:00:18.2-00:00:19.3)

(182) *Budak tu senyum.*

child that **smile**

‘That child smiles.’

(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-088, 00:00:35.9-00:00:37.7)

Verbs may also occur in reduplicated forms. In the following instances, these verbs express tentativeness, meaning that the agents are not walking anywhere or looking at anything in particular in examples (183) and (184) (see section 3.2).

(183) *Jalan jalan*

walk walk

‘Take a walk’

(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:02:13.1-00:02:14.6)

(184) *Téngok téngok*

see see

‘Take a look’

(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:02:14.6-00:02:16.2)

Other than in reduplicated forms, verbs also can take on affixes. In general, verbs undergo more affixations than nouns. The different types of affixation are discussed in following sections.

4.2.1.1 Derivational verb morphology

Inflectional affixes neither change lexical meanings nor part of speech, while derivational affixes changes lexical meaning, and may also change the part of speech. In BM, there are no inflectional affixes but a few derivational ones. Two derivational suffixes that are productive are the transitive suffix *-kan* and prefix *-ter* that is attached to verbs to emphasize that something was done accidentally or with movement.

Transitivity “involves a number of components” regarding the “effectiveness with which an action takes place”, and one of the many indicators of transitivity is valency (Hopper and Thompson 1980:251). Valency refers to the number of arguments a verbal predicate takes, and in BM, transitivity is increased by suffix *-kan* which causes the verbal predicate to take two arguments instead of one. The productive transitive marker *-kan* is attached to verbs, regardless of whether they are innately transitive as with examples (185) and (186), or intransitive as with examples (187) and (188).

- (185) *Amék-kan gua mia aloji*
Take-TR 1.SG REL small.clock
 ‘Take my small clock.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-043, 00:10:09.4-00:10:11.7)
- (186) *Bukak -kan itu kepok.*
open -TR that box
 ‘Open that box.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-044, 00:02:07.9-00:02:09.4)
- (187) *Auntie Jane selalu ketawa-kan gua*
 always **laugh -TR** 1.SG
 ‘Auntie Jane always laughs (at) me.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-043, 00:18:03.5-00:18:06.4)
- (188) *Tak tau apa sair dia pekék -kan si John*
 NEG know what reason 3.SG **shout -TR** PERSON
 ‘Don’t know why she shouted (at) John.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-043, 00:11:50.7-00:11:53.2)

Other than on verbs, the transitive suffix *-kan* can be attached to adjectives to convert them into transitive verbs. In example (189), *panas* ‘hot’ is an adjective, while in example (190), it is *panas-kan* is a transitive verb meaning ‘to heat something up’. Similarly, in example (191), *kechik* ‘small’ is an adjective, while in example (192), it is a transitive verb meaning ‘to make something small.’

- (189) *Ala panas sair, pakay kopiah dia.*
 EXCLAM **hot** CONF wear hat 3.Sg
 ‘(Goodness it is) hot indeed, wearing a hat he is.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-043, 00:02:26.7-00:02:29.2)
- (190) *Panas -kan itu kuah.*
hot TR that gravy
 ‘Heat (up) that gravy.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-043, 00:44:57.0-00:44:59.9)

- (191) *Tidor ranjang kechik*
 sleep bed small
 ‘Sleep (on the) small bed.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-043, 00:02:01.3-00:02:03.3)
- (192) *Kalo mo kechik-kan badan kurang-kan roti*
 if want small -TR body less -TR bread
 ‘If (you) want to make your body smaller, lessen (your intake of) bread.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-053, 00:12:27.5-00:12:32.0)

The other derivational affix in BM is *ter-*. It has two main uses in BM, the first of which is to indicate that an action occurred accidentally, as shown in examples (193), (194), and (195), while the second emphasizes that there is movement to the action that is taking place, as shown in examples (196), (197), and (198). Example **Error! Reference source not found.** is replicated here as (196).

- (193) *Itu tortoise, dia sendiri ter- balék*
 that 3.SG self ACD- return
 ‘That tortoise accidentally flipped itself (upside down).’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-044, 00:10:54.4-00:10:56.6)
- (194) *Dia ter- gui*
 3.SG ACD- kneel
 ‘He accidentally fell on his knees.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-044, 00:07:44.9-00:07:46.1)
- (195) *Dia jalan ter- peléchok*
 3.Sg walk ACD- twist.foot
 ‘He walked (and) accidentally twisted his foot.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-044, 00:07:43.1-00:07:44.9)
- (196) *Mata dia ter- kelek.kelek*
 eye 3.SG MVT- blink
 ‘His eyes blinked.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-030, 00:00:23.9-00:00:24.9)
- (197) *Ter- lompat lompat*
 MVT- hop hop
 ‘Hopping (here and there).’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-030, 00:00:38.6-00:00:39.8)
- (198) *Ter- kejar ni mia apa?*
 MVT- chase this REL what
 ‘(It) chased what is this?’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-030, 00:02:08.7-00:02:10.0)

While *ter-* is necessary in indicating that something is accidentally taking place, it is optional in indicating movement. This is demonstrated by example (199), which can be compared to example (197).

- (199) *Dia lompat sini, dia lompat sana*
 3.SG hop here 3.SG hop there
 ‘He hops here and there.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-030, 00:02:08.7-00:02:10.0)

The transitive suffix *-kan* occurs in Malay (both spoken in Singapore/ Malaysia and Indonesia), where it is said to license arguments that are not syntactically licensed by the base verb (Cole and Son 2004), in effect, changing the valency of the verb. The prefix *ter-* does occur in both varieties of standard Malays, but its meaning differs slightly than in BM. In Bahasa Melayu and Bahasa Indonesia, *ter-* has been analysed as an accidental marker (Sneddon 1996, Wee 1995), as well as an active marker, a superlative marker, a passive marker, and an abilitative marker (Chung 2011). The prefix *ter-* in BM which has the same ‘accidental’ meaning, has developed its own function, indicating ‘movement’. However, it cannot be used as an active marker, a superlative marker, or as an abilitative marker.

4.2.1.2 Non-productive verb morphology

There are two more suffix forms in BM that are unproductive. These are *ber-* and *me-*. The prefix *ber-* in Malay is said technically to correlate with the notion of middle voice (Benjamin 2009, Windstedt 1927, Windstedt 1945), wherein the agent of the verb performs an action that involves the agent herself or himself. In BM, some verbs retain reflexes of the *ber-* prefix but this prefix has no lexical meaning of its own in BM. The following examples feature words that begin with the prefix form *ber-*. BM speakers however do not analyze any of these words as having two separate components, as a Malay speaker would. For example, a Malay speaker would recognize that the *bergerak* in (200) comprises the *ber-* middle voice prefix and *gerak*, meaning ‘movement’.

- (200) *Tu bangkuang tak bergerak*
 that turnip NEG move
 ‘That turnip does not move.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-034, 00:01:00.5-00:01:03.3)

- (201) *Itu orang tak tau berenang*
 that person NEG know swim
 ‘He doesn’t know (how to) swim.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-044, 00:16:31.0-00:16:33.2)
- (202) *Dia-orang bertengkar*
 3.PL argue
 ‘They argued.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-044, 00:11:47.4-00:11:50.7)
- (203) *Bergetair lah*
Tremble EMP
 ‘Tremble.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-030, 00:05:00.2-00:05:01.7)

The presence of *ber-* is infrequent, and not used to indicate middle voice. Instead, where speakers of Malay would use *ber-* to form middle voice forms of *berchakap* ‘speak’, *berfikir* ‘think’, and *berlari* ‘run’ respectively in examples (204), (205), and (206), BM speakers prefer to produce forms without *ber-*.

- (204) *Kita chakap Peranakan*
 1.PL speak
 ‘We speak Peranakan.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-030, 00:05:00.2-00:05:01.7)
- (205) *Goldilocks tak pikay siapa punya bubor itu*
 NEG think who REL porridge that
 ‘Goldilocks did not think whose porridge that (was).’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-032, 00:04:08.7-00:04:12.1)
- (206) *Terus dia lari*
 straight 3.SG run
 ‘Straight he ran.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-028, 00:03:01.5-00:03:02.8)

In addition to the prefix form *ber-*, the prefix form *me-* is also found, occurring unproductively in BM. The prefix *me-* is commonly analyzed as an active voice marker in the standard Malays of Singapore and Malaysia, as well as Indonesia (Chung 1976, Nomoto and Shoho 2007, Son and Cole 2008). Again, in the examples below, BM speakers do not analyze these words as having two separate components, namely a *me-* active prefix and a root. They state that they do not know any component words such as *nyalap* ‘howl’ or *ngantok* ‘yawn’.

- (207) *Itu kuah sudah **menidi**.*
 that gravy already **boil**
 ‘That gravy (is) already boiled.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-043, 00:45:15.2-00:45:17.3)
- (208) *Tu anjing **menyalap**.*
 that dog howl
 ‘That dog howled.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-034, 00:01:40.2-00:01:44.6)
- (209) ***Mengantok**.*
yawn
 ‘Yawn.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-009, 00:29:44.0-00:29:45.5)
- (210) *Sini dua ékor **memisék**⁴⁹*
 here two Clf.animal whisper
 ‘Here (these) two are whispering.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-043,00:13:10.2-00:13:13.5)

In other instances, speakers produce two versions of the verb, one with *me-* and one without *me-*. Out of the lexicon collect of about 1000 words, there are only two words that have these differing forms. They are *nyanyi* and *menyanyi* ‘sing’ in examples (211) and (212), as well as *nangis* and *menangis* ‘cry’ in examples (213) and (214). Note that *me-* does not appear to be particularly indicative of the active form as it would have been in Malay, otherwise both verb forms in (211) and (213) would have to take on the *me-* prefix. Example (6) is reproduced here as example (211).

- (211) *Nyanyi lah, lagu terang bulan ka,*
sing EMP song bright moon or
 ‘Sing the Bright Moon song or (something else),’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-043, 00:08:26.2-00:08:28.9)
- (212) *Kita sama sama **menyanyi**.*
 1.PL same same **sing**
 ‘We sing together.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-043, 00:08:26.2-00:08:28.9)
- (213) *Téngok bapak dia mati, dia tak **nangis**.*
 see father 3.Sg die 3.Sg Neg **cry**.
 ‘See, his father passed away, (and) he did not cry.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-021, 00:32:44.0-00:32:46.3)

⁴⁹ Note that the Malay version of *me-bisek* is *membisek* ‘whisper’, the coda of the suffix agreeing in place of articulation with the onset of the first syllable on the root form *bisek*. This does not occur in BM.

- (214) *Dia kuluardari rumah menangis.*
 3.SG go.out from house **cry**
 ‘She left the house crying.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-043, 00:04:18.3-00:04:20.9)

Considering that *me-* is not lexically meaningful, it is better to treat both versions of each word above as different variations of the same word, but denoting the same notion. Again, it is much more common for BM speakers to not use the *me-* form at all, as demonstrated in the following examples. Malay speakers would otherwise replace *bacha* ‘read’ with *membacha* in (215), *dengair* ‘listen’ with *mendengar*⁵⁰ in (216), and *jual* ‘sell’ with *menjual* in (217) to indicate that these verbs are active.

- (215) *Mak tu ada bacha lagik.*
 mother that Prog **read** more
 ‘That mother is reading more.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-043, 00:08:53.3-00:08:57.0)

- (216) *Gua tak dengair apa lu chakap.*
 1.Sg Neg **hear** what 2.Sg speak
 ‘I do not hear what you speak.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-043, 00:09:17.6-00:09:20.7)

- (217) *Orang jual batu*
 person **sell** stone
 ‘The person sells stone.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-043, 00:03:06.1-00:03:07.7)

Hence, both *ber-* (middle voice marker in Malay) and *me-* (active marker in Malay) prefix forms are neither productive nor lexically meaningful in BM.

4.2.1.3 Verbal compounds

Verbal compounds in BM are verb phrases comprising a verb and a modifier. Modifiers include noun, adjective, verb, as well as preposition phrase. The following table lists examples of verbal compounds found in the language, as well as their patterns of modification. For the purpose of demonstration, the verbs *buang* ‘throw’, *buat* ‘do, make’, and *naik* ‘ascend’ are used (note that there are two words for ‘do, make’ in BM, the other word being *bikin*). None of these verbal patterns are productive ones

⁵⁰ There is no *-air* form in Malay.

<i>Verbal compound</i>	<i>Meaning of individual lexemes</i>	<i>Meaning of compound</i>	<i>Parts of speech</i>
<i>buang ayé</i>	throw water	urinate	V + N
<i>buang ayé besair</i>	throw water big	defecate	V + N + A
<i>buang ayé kechik</i>	throw water small	urinate	V + N + A
<i>buang buang</i>	throw throw	exorcise	V + V
<i>buang mata</i>	throw eye	keep an eye on someone or something	V + N
<i>buang mulut</i>	throw mouth	convey by speaking (as opposed to writing)	V + N
<i>buang se-belah</i>	throw one-side	aside from	V + NUM + PREP
<i>buang segan</i>	throw shy	stretch upon waking up	V + A
<i>buang terbiat</i>	throw attitude	throw tantrum	V + N
<i>buat bodoh</i>	do/ make stupid	feign ignorance	V + N
<i>buat mahal</i>	do/ make expensive	play hard to get	V + A
<i>buat malu</i>	do/ make embarrassed	cause embarrassment	V + A
<i>buat mungka</i>	do/ make face	be sour-faced	V + N
<i>buat suay</i>	do/ make unlucky	cause misfortune	V + A
<i>buat susah</i>	do/ make difficult	cause difficulty	V + A

<i>buat tak dengair</i>	do/ make not hear	pretend to not hear	V + NEG + V
<i>naik baik</i>	ascend good	change for good	V + A
<i>naik chuan</i>	ascend breathless	be breathless	V + A
<i>naik darah</i>	ascend blood	be angry	V + N
<i>naik geléték</i>	ascend tickle	be up to mischief	V + V
<i>naik geram</i>	ascend furious	be furious	V + A
<i>naik gila</i>	ascend mad	be mad	V + A
<i>naik lemak</i>	ascend cooked.in.coconut.milk	be up to mischief	V + A
<i>naik pangkat</i>	ascend rank	be promoted	V + N
<i>naik sedap</i>	ascend delicious	be satisfied	V + A
<i>naik seram</i>	ascend frightening	be frightened	V + A

Table 31: List of some verbal compounds in BM

In general, the shape of verbal compounds appear to follow that of a verb phrase comprising verb and complement.

4.3 Adjectives

Adjectives in BM occur before or after nouns they modify. When used before a noun, they usually occur with relative marker *punya* (shortened versions being *mia* and *nia*), as in example (219). Adjectives may also occur after the verb *ada* when it functions as a copula (see section 5.2 for other usages of *ada*), as in example (220). It is however much more common for the copula to be omitted, as with example (221).

- (218) *Beruang kechik ada mangkok kechik*
bear small have bowl small
‘Small bear has (a) small bowl.’

(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-028, 00:01:20.9-00:01:22.4)

- (219) *Cherita -kan gua betol mia cherita*
 story -Tr 1.Sg **real** REL story
 ‘Tell me a real story.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-028, 00:03:20.8-00:03:26.7)
- (220) *Ada baik tak a?*
 COP **good** NEG COP
 ‘Are (you) good or not?’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:00:09.9-00:00:11.2)
- (221) *Taukay kebun ni kiam sair*
 boss garden this **miserly** CONF
 ‘This boss (of the) garden is miserly indeed.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-028, 00:01:03.7-00:01:05.8)

4.3.1 Adjectival morphology

Adjectives can occur on their own, as with *mahal* ‘expensive’ and *chanték* ‘beautiful’ in examples (222) and (223).

- (222) *Tapi mahal lah*
 but **expensive** EMP
 ‘But (it is) expensive.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:02:30.8-00:02:32.9)
- (223) *Chanték sekali*
beautiful very
 ‘Very beautiful.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:02:35.7-00:02:37.2)

Examples do not occur in reduplicated forms. When reduplicated, adjectives function as adverbs (see section 4.4). Adjectives are also not formed with affixes. When affixed with nominalizer *-an*, nouns are formed instead (see section 4.1.1.1).

4.4 Adverbs

Adverbs modify adjectives or verbs. They may thus precede or follow adjectives, as with examples (224) and (225). They may also precede or follow the verb phrases that they modify, as with examples (226) and (227).

- (224) *Kambing dia kuat sekali.*
 goat 3.SG strong **very**
 ‘The goat, it (is) very strong.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:01:52.8-00:01:54.6)
- (225) *Ada satu bangkuang dia téngok betol besair.*
 EXIST one turnip 3.SG see **really** big
 ‘There was one turnip he saw (that was) really big.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-034, 00:00:27.0-00:00:30.5)
- (226) *Dia [peték tu buah pear] lagik*
 3.Sg pluck that Clf.fruit **again**
 ‘He plucked those bears again.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-028, 00:01:50.5-00:01:53.0)
- (227) *Si tua tu pelan -pelan [angkat satu -satu.]*
 PERSON old that **slow -slow** lift one -one
 ‘That old person slowly lifted one by one.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-028, 00:04:10.4-00:04:11.5)

4.4.1 Adverbial morphology

Adverbs may occur on their own, as with *selalu* ‘always’ and *macham* ‘like that’ in examples (228) and (229).

- (228) *Dia selalu pi sana.*
 3.Sg **always** go there
 ‘She always goes there.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:02:39.8-00:02:41.2)
- (229) *Dia-orang sudah biasa macham.*
 3.Pl already used.to.it **like.that**
 ‘They are already used to it more or less.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:04:58.9-00:05:01.1)

There is no affixation process that creates adverbs. However, reduplication may result in the formation of adverbs, the base form for reduplication being adjectives in these instances.

- (230) *Pelan -pelan, satu -satu, budak masok -kan*
slow slow one one child enter -Tr
 ‘Slowly, one-by-one, the children put (the pears) in.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:04:58.9-00:05:01.1)

- (231) *Apa sair gua chakap lu dudok diam -diam?*
 what reason 1.Sg speak 2.Sg sit **quiet quiet**
 ‘Why are you sitting quietly (while) I speak?’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-045, 00:19:50.6-00:19:52.8)
- (232) *Sandah baik -baik*
 lean **good -good**
 ‘Lean properly.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-044, 00:06:23.4-00:06:24.7)
- (233) *Misti angkat baik -baik*
 Must carry **good -good**
 ‘Must carry properly.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:01:05.5-00:01:07.2)

However, these adverbs may also occur in a non-reduplicated form in casual speech, as with examples (234) and (235). Essentially, adjectives may function as adverbs. Note that example (234) features both reduplicated form *lekas lekas* ‘quickly’, and non-reduplicated form *lekas*, that functions also as an adverb that modifies the verb, instead of as an adjective.

- (234) *Lekas -lekas datang lekas datang.*
quick -quick come **quick** come
 ‘Quickly come quickly come.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:04:58.9-00:05:01.1)
- (235) *Ketawa ketawa lekair senyum*
 laugh laugh **quick** smile
 ‘Laugh, laugh and quickly smile.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-044, 00:06:16.5-00:06:18.0)

Besides not having affixes that form adverbs, BM also appears to not have adverbial compounds.

4.4.2 Interrogative adverbs

Interrogative adverbs include *bila* ‘when’, *mana* ‘where’, *apa pasal*, literally ‘what reason’, and *apa macham*, ‘what like’. *Apa pasal* and *apa macham* function as ‘why’ and ‘how’ respectively. *Mana ada*, literally meaning ‘where EXIST’ is used as a rhetorical question, where the implied answer is negative. While interrogative pronouns can substitute noun phrase, interrogative adverbs usually stand in for the adverbial clause. Interrogative adverbs usually concern time, location, or the manner in which something was done, except for *mana ada*. Note that there are two other forms for *pasal* ‘reason’, the first being the

refined form *pasair* (see section 3.3.9), the second being *sair*, a shortened version of *pasair*. *Sair* is the most commonly used form in casual speech. The shortened version of *macham* in *apa macham* is *cham*.

when	<i>bila</i>
where	<i>mana</i>
why ‘what reason’	<i>apa pasal/ pasair/ sair</i>
how ‘what like’	<i>apa macham/ cham</i>
rhetorical ‘where EXIST’	<i>mana ada</i>

Table 32: Interrogative adverbs in BM

The following examples demonstrate how these interrogative adverbs are used in BM. More details can be found in section 5.6.10.1

- (236) *Bila gua panggay John datang?*
when 1.SG ask come
 ‘When did I ask to come?’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-093, 00:07:47.7-00:07:49.6)
- (237) *Mana pi si Mary?*
where go PERSON
 ‘Where goes Mary?’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-037, 00:08:42.2-00:08:43.5)
- (238) *Apa sair gua chakaplu tak jawab gua?*
what reason 1.SG speak 2.SG NEG answer 1.SG
 ‘Why are you not answering when I speak?’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-045, 00:20:03.9-00:20:06.9)
- (239) *Apa macham mo masak iték tim?*
what like want cook duck double-boil
 ‘How (do I) want to cook double-boiled duck (soup)?’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-037, 00:04:30.9-00:04:33.1)
- (240) *Mana ada piso?*
where Exist knife
 ‘Where is the knife (implying there is no knife)?’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-037, 00:21:02.8-00:21:05.6)

4.5 Determiners

Determiners in BM include person markers, demonstratives, numerals and other quantifiers.

4.5.1 Person marker

Si is used as a person marker in BM. It can be used directly before a person's name, or with attributes that describe a person (usually with personal pronouns, nouns and adjectives). The usage of *si* is not mandatory. For example, *si* does not precede *John* in example (241).

- (241) *Apa sair si Mary bunoh John?*
what reason **PERSON** **Mary** kill John?
'Why did Mary kill John?'
(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-037, 00:01:06.7-00:01:09.1)

- (242) *Si sa ko bongsu.*
PERSON **third paternal.aunt** **youngest.child**
'Youngest third paternal aunt.'
(Lilian, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-079, 00:09:01.2-00:09:02.9)

- (243) *Téngok si tua tu peték dia mia pear.*
look **PERSON** **old that** pluck 3.SG REL
'Look at the old man plucking his pear.'
(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:05:36.9-00:05:38.7)

- (244) *Bila gua boléh jumpa si ano ni?*
when 1.SG can meet **PERSON** **anonymous this**
'When can I meet this anonymous person?'
(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-107, 00:12:11.7-00:12:15.2)

Si in BM can be attributed to Malay, where it is also used as an optional person marker. There is no similar person marker in Hokkien, except for *ng* which is used with kinship terms (see section **Error! Reference source not found.**).

4.5.2 Demonstratives

Four demonstratives in BM are *ini* 'this' and *itu* 'that', as well as *sini* 'here' and *sana* 'there'. The shortened forms or *ini* 'this' and *itu* 'that' are *ni* and *tu* respectively. *Ini* and *itu* can be used as demonstrative pronouns as with examples (245) and (246), where these words stand in for nouns in a deictic way – these words can only be understood in context.

- (245) *Ini buah pear.*
this CLF.fruit
 ‘This is a pear.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:00:27.9-00:00:28.9)
- (246) *Lepas itu kita boléh buat soup bangkuang*
 after **that** 1.PL can make turnip
 ‘After that we can make turnip soup’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-034, 00:00:38.8-00:00:46.6)

Besides demonstrative pronouns, *ini* and *itu* can also be used as demonstrative determiners that occur together with nouns. As determiners, *ini* and *itu* can precede or follow nouns, as with examples (247) and (248), and examples (249) and (250) respectively.

- (247) *Ni tiga ékor babi tinggal sama mak babi*
this three CLF.animal pig live with mother pig
 ‘These three pigs live with mother pig.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-035, 00:00:23.0-00:00:25.0)
- (248) *Itu bangkuang pun tak bergerak.*
that turnip also NEG move
 ‘That turnip also does not move.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-034, 00:01:20.0-00:01:22.2)
- (249) *Budak ini sangat kechik lah.*
 child **this** very small EMP
 ‘This child is very small.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:03:23.5-00:03:25.3)
- (250) *Sekarang dia tolak bicycle itu.*
 now 3.SG push **that**
 ‘Now he is pushing that bicycle.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:04:34.6-00:04:36.3)

Sini ‘here’ and *sana* ‘there’ are also to be interpreted deictically, based on context. (Note that the shortened version of *tak ada* ‘NEG have’ is *tak -a*.) Examples of their usage are as follows.

- (251) *Kita sini tak -a pokok.*
 1.PL **here** NEG have tree
 ‘We do not have the tree here.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:00:35.5-00:00:36.9)
- (252) *Lama tak jalan sini.*
 Long.time NEG walk here
 ‘(I have) not walked here (for) a long time.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:00:06.5-00:00:08.3)

- (253) *Pusing sini pusing sana.*
 turn **here** turn **there**
 ‘Turns here and turns there.’

(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-044, 00:22:09.8-00:22:11.6)

- (254) *Dia tau sana* ada orang.
 3.Sg know there EXIST people
 ‘He knows there is someone (there).’

(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:02:23.1-00:02:24.8)

4.5.3 Numerals

Two sets of cardinal numerals are used. One set is derived from Malay, while the other from Hokkien. In general, the Malay terms for numbers are used. Hokkien numerical terms are used specifically with lunar calendar dates and kinship terms.

The following table shows the set of Malay numbers used in BM. Note that *se-* is short for *satu* ‘one’, and is the only numeral that has its own shorter prefix version.

1	<i>satu</i>	11	<i>se-belas</i>
2	<i>dua</i>	12	<i>dua-belas</i>
3	<i>tiga</i>	13	<i>tiga-belas</i>
4	<i>empat</i>	20	<i>dua-puluh</i>
5	<i>lima</i>	30	<i>tiga-puluh</i>
6	<i>enam</i>	40	<i>empat-puluh</i>
7	<i>tujuh</i>	41	<i>empat-puluh satu</i>
8	<i>lapan</i>	100	<i>se-ratus</i>
9	<i>semilan</i>	200	<i>dua-ratus</i>
10	<i>se-puluh</i>	1000	<i>se-ribu</i>

Table 33: Numerals derived from Malay

Examples (255) and (256) show how these Malay-derived general numerals are used.

(255) *Ada satu orang tua lah*
 EXIST **one** person old EMP
 ‘There is an old person.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-028, 00:00:21.5-00:00:24.0)

(256) *Ada tiga ékor beruang*
 EXIST **three** CLF.animal bear
 ‘There are three bears.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-032, 00:00:25.2-00:00:27.3)

On the other hand, the Hokkien-derived numbers are only used for particular domains that are discussed using Hokkien terms. These include kinship and lunar calendar dates. The lunar system is used in particular for keeping track of Chinese festivities, which are traditionally important to the Peranakans. Note that there are fifteen days to the lunar month, thus Hokkien numbers used in BM do not usually exceed fifteen.

1	<i>it</i>	9	<i>gau</i>
2	<i>ji</i>	10	<i>chap</i>
3	<i>sa</i>	11	<i>chap-it</i>
4	<i>si</i>	12	<i>chap-ji</i>
5	<i>gor</i>	13	<i>chap-sa</i>
6	<i>lak</i>	14	<i>chap-si</i>
7	<i>chit</i>	15	<i>chap-gor</i>
8	<i>puay</i>		

Table 34: Numerals derived from Hokkien

Examples (257) and (258) show how these Hokkien-derived numeral are used.

(257) *Ji pék.*
two father's.elder.brother
 'Second uncle (who is older than one's father).'
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-132, 00:07:50.6-00:07:52.0)

(258) *Bila chuay it chap-go gua pi sohio.*
 when beginning.lunar.month **one fifteen** 1.SG go burn.incense
 'I will go burn incense on the first and the fifteenth of the lunar month.'
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-171, 00:09:53.9-00:09:56.8)

4.5.3.1 Other numerical expressions

Odd-numbered items are referred to as *ganjil*, while even-numbered items are referred to as being in pairs or *pasang*.

(259) *Bila kita tangkap gambair, kita tak suka ganjil, mesti ber- pasang.*
 when 1.PL capture picture 1.PL Neg like **odd.number** must Poss-pair
 'when we take photographs, we do not like odd numbers, (we) must have pairs.'
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-148, 00:12:02.8-00:12:09.8)

While *ganjil* cannot be used to count, *pasang* can be used for counting items.

(260) *Se- pasang gelang tangan*
 one- **pair** bracelet hand
 'One pair of hand bracelets.'
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-148, 00:09:56.6-00:10:06.7)

(261) *Se- pasang kasot manék*
 one- **pair** shoes bead
 'One pair of beaded shoes.'
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-148, 00:08:24.0-00:08:31.3)

Pasang can also be used to refer to two items that may not form natural pairs such as shoes or bracelets.⁵¹

(262) *Se- pasang suluair*
 one- **pair** pants
 'one pair of pants (technically two pants).'
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-148, 00:08:54.3-00:08:56.4)

⁵¹ The Peranakan bride wears one on each hand.

Other numerical expressions include *satu satu* (one by one), *dua dua* (two by two), and so on and so forth.

- (263) *Satu satu, budak masok -kan*
one one child put.in -TR
'One by one, children put in (the pears).'
(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:05:51.4-00:05:42.3)

4.5.4 Quantifiers

Quantifiers in BM include *sumua* 'all', *manyak* 'many', *berapa* 'some', *sikit* 'little'. These can be used on their own as nouns, or be used to modify other nouns and adjectives (see section 5.3.6 for modification of adjectival phrases). The following examples demonstrate how they are used in BM. Example (264) shows how the quantifier can be used as a noun on its own. Examples (265), (266) and (267) show how these typically modify nouns, and example (268) demonstrates how quantifiers can modify adjectives too.

- (264) *Sumua kata sedap.*
all say delicious
All say (it's) delicious.
(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:10:04.8-00:10:05.8)
- (265) *Kita sumua ada chakap sama tu dua budak.*
1.PL **all** Prog talk with that two child
'All of us are talking to the two boys.'
(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-071, 00:16:41.5-00:16:49.8)
- (266) *Makan ikan banyak.*
eat fish **many**
'Eat a lot of fish.'
(Lilian, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-079, 00:03:44.4-00:03:46.6)
- (267) *Tu dua budak chakap sama kita berapa orang*
that two child talk with 1.Sg **some** people
'Those two children talked to some of us.'
(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-071, 00:18:06.8-00:18:09.3)
- (268) *Asien-asin sikit.*
somewhat.salty **little**
'A little salty.'
(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:11:18.0-00:11:20.8)

4.6 Prepositions

Prepositions here refer to a closed set of lexemes that occur before noun phrase complement. They form adverbial phrases with these noun phrase complements. Prepositions in BM include general prepositions *dekat* and *di*, *dalam* ‘inside’, *dari* ‘from’, *sampay* ‘until’ and *sama* ‘with’. *Dekat* (short version *kat*) literally means ‘near’, as shown by its use in example (269). It has been grammaticalized and is used as a general preposition. It is used to denote the concepts of *at*, as demonstrated by examples (270) and (271), *in*, as with example (272), *to*, as with example (273), and *on*, as with example (274).

general prepositions	<i>dekat</i>
at, in, to, on	<i>di</i>
inside	<i>dalam</i> (<i>dekat dalam, di dalam</i>)
front	<i>depan</i> (<i>dekat depan, di depan</i>)
beside	<i>se-belah</i> (<i>dekat se-belah, di se-belah</i>)
behind	<i>belakang</i> (<i>dekat belakang, di belakang</i>)
top	<i>atas</i> (<i>dekat atas, di atas</i>)
bottom	<i>bawah</i> (<i>dekat bawah, di bawah</i>)
from	<i>dari</i>
until	<i>sampay</i>
with	<i>sama</i>

Table 35: List of prepositions in Baba Malay

- (269) *Kupukupu trebang di dekat itu mia anjing.*
butterfly fly **PREP** **near** that REL dog
‘The butterfly flew near that dog.’
(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-030, 00:01:36.8-00:01:41.7)
- (270) *Dia tarok kat depan*
3.Sg put **PREP** front
‘He put (it) in front.’
(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:03:05.0-00:03:06.4)

- (271) *Dekat dia nia kebun*
PREP 3.SG **REL** garden
 ‘At his garden.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-034, 00:00:22.0-00:00:23.4)
- (272) *Se -kali dia angkat tulang itu dekat mulut dia.*
 one -time 3.SG lift bone that **PREP** mouth 3.SG
 ‘Once it lifted that bone in its mouth.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-030, 00:02:46.5-00:02:48.6)
- (273) *Dia salin -kan dekat bakol*
 3.SG Transfer -TR **PREP** basket
 ‘He transferred (the pears) to the basket.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:00:50.8-00:00:55.4)
- (274) *Satu couple ada tarok dia mia kain dekat rumput*
 one PROG put 3.SG **REL** cloth **PREP** grass
 ‘One couple is putting their cloth on the grass.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-088, 00:05:36.3-00:05:41.3)

Di is another general preposition whose use is derived from Malay where it is used to indicate ‘at’. It is used in sentences where *dekat* is already used to denote ‘near’. Example (269) is replicated here as example (275). *Di* is much less frequently used than *dekat*, and may be a later development in BM, as speakers begin to borrow more from Malay.

- (275) *Kupukupu trebang di dekat itu mia anjing.*
 butterfly fly **PREP** near that **REL** dog
 ‘The butterfly flew near that dog.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-030, 00:01:36.8-00:01:41.7)
- (276) *Kerekot di dekat panjang*
 bent.and.curled.up **PREP** near bed
 ‘Bent and curled up on the bed.’
 (Lilian, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-079, 00:04:26.2-00:04:28.5)
- (277) *Datang di tepi sunggay*
 come **PREP** side river
 ‘Came to the side of the river.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-030, 00:02:14.1-00:02:17.3)
- (278) *Tulang di mulut, buang di sunggay*
 bone **PREP** mouth throw **PREP** river
 ‘Bone in the mouth, thrown into the river.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-030, 00:02:14.1-00:02:17.3)

Another preposition in BM is *dalam* ‘inside’. It can also be used together with the general preposition *dekat*, as demonstrated by examples (280) and (281).

(279) *Dia-orang* *punggot* *itu* *buah* *pear* *masuk* ***dalam*** *bakol*
 3.PL pick.up that CLF.fruit enter **inside** basket
 ‘They picked up those pears (and) put (them) inside the basket.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-028, 00:03:56.1-00:03:58.5)

(280) *Dia* *tarok* *bunga* ***kat*** ***dalam*** *kepok*.
 3.SG put flower **PREP** **inside** box
 ‘He put flowers inside the box.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-088, 00:04:07.9-00:04:09.9)

(281) *Dia* *mia* *kodok* ***kat*** ***dalam*** *sana*
 3.SG REL frog **PREP** **inside** there
 ‘His frog (is) inside there.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-088, 00:09:50.3-00:09:52.8)

Depan is used to indicate ‘front’. Again, other prepositions may occur before *depan*, as with examples (284) and (285).

(282) ***Depan*** *carpark* *ada* *ini* *kebun* *bunga*
front EXIST this garden flower
 ‘In front of the carpark there is this flower garden.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-107, 00:07:32.8-00:07:38.7)

(283) *Kebun* *bunga* ***depan*** *carpark*
 garden flower **front** carpark
 ‘The flower garden is in front of the carpark.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-107, 00:07:51.2-00:07:54.6)

(284) ***Di*** ***depan*** *carpark* *nanti* *jumpa* *satu* *kebun* *bunga*
PREP **front** carpark later meet one garden flower
 ‘In front of the carpark (you) will see one flower garden.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-107, 00:08:12.0-00:08:17.2)

(285) *Dia* *tarok* ***kat*** ***depan***
 3.SG put Prep front
 ‘He puts (it) in front.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:03:04.4-00:03:06.4)

Se- belah, literally ‘one-side’ is used to indicate ‘besides.’ It can be used with a preceding general preposition, as demonstrated by example (288).

- (286) *Se -belah park satu keday kopi*
one -side one shop coffee
 ‘Beside the park (is) one coffee shop.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-103, 00:11:30.9-00:11:34.1)
- (287) *Lu mesti seberang sempang se -belah supermarket.*
 2.SG must cross traffic.junction **one -side**
 ‘You must cross the junction beside the supermarket.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-103, 00:14:22.6-00:14:27.1)
- (288) *Di se -belah, dia ketok apa?*
PREP one -side 3.SG knock what
 ‘Beside, they are knocking what?’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-043, 00:14:31.8-00:14:33.5)

Belakang is used to denote ‘behind’, as demonstrated by examples (289) to (291).

- (289) *Tempat buang ayé belakang restaurant sair*
 place throw water **behind** CONF
 ‘The toilet is behind the restaurant indeed.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-103, 00:13:29.4-00:13:33.5)
- (290) *Belakang restaurant tu ada chiwan*
behind that EXIST toilet
 ‘Behind that restaurant there is a toilet.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-107, 00:05:29.4-00:05:34.2)
- (291) *Anjing utan kejair belakang dia*
 dog jungle chase **behind** 3.SG
 ‘The wolf chased behind him.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-035, 00:04:22.3-00:04:23.9)

Atas is used to indicate ‘top’, as shown in examples (292) to (293).

- (292) *Dia naik tangga atas pokok.*
 3.SG ascend ladder **top** tree
 ‘He climbs a ladder to the top of the tree.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:01:08.6-00:01:12.1)
- (293) *Rumah-rumah atas bukit*
 house -PL **top** mountain
 ‘The houses are on top of the mountain.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-030, 00:03:58.2-00:04:00.6)

- (294) *Kodok dekat atas itu yacht senang*
 frog **PREP top** that yacht relax
 ‘The frog is on top of that yacht relaxing.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-088, 00:00:53.5-00:00:56.4)

Bawah is used to denote ‘bottom’.

- (295) *Dia dudok bawah pokok.*
 3.SG sit **bottom** tree
 ‘He sat at the bottom of the tree.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:01:34.9-00:01:37.1)

The notion ‘from is expressed by the preposition *dari*.

- (296) *Si sa ko dari mana*
 PERSON three paternal.aunt **from** where
 ‘Third paternal aunt from where?’
 (Lilian, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-079, 00:08:49.3-00:08:53.2)
- (297) *Dia jatuh dari ranjang*
 3.SG fall **from** bed
 ‘She fell from the bed.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-028, 00:08:29.1-00:08:31.3)
- (298) *Dari tempat letak keréta, lu mesti seberang satu sempang*
from place park car 2.SG must cross one traffic.junction
 ‘From the car park, you must cross one junction.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-103, 00:11:02.0-00:11:05.1)

Sampay undergoes grammaticalization. Its original meaning that is also retained in BM is ‘reach’ while the preposition it forms is ‘until’, a related notion. *Sampay* can be used to indicate ‘until’ with regard to place, as with example (300), time, as with example (301), and state, as with example (302). Example (299) shows how *sampay* is used to mean ‘reach’.

- (299) *Apa macham gua boléh sampay sana?*
 what like 1.SG can **reach** there
 ‘How can I reach there?’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-103, 00:18:27.4-00:18:31.7)
- (300) *Gua sudah jalan sampay sini*
 1.Sg already walk until here
 ‘I already walked until here.’
 (Lilian, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-079, 00:16:04.9-00:16:07.3)

- (301) *Dudok sampay pukol lima*
 sit **until** strike five
 ‘Sit until five o’clock.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:03:03.3-00:03:05.6)
- (302) *Dia dudok bicycle chepat pulak sampay dia nia buah pear jatoh*
 3.SG sit fast instead **until** 3.SG REL CLF.fruit fall
 ‘He rode the bicycle fast instead, until his pears fell.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-028, 00:03:11.6-00:03:13.0)

Besides being used literally to mean ‘same’, and as a conjunction (see section 4.7), *sama* is also used as a preposition, denoting *with*. General use of *sama* is demonstrated in examples (303) to (306).

- (303) *Orang itu pukol kucing sama kayu.*
 person that hit cat **with** stick
 ‘That person hit the cat with the stick.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-009, 00:40:58.1-00:41:00.2)
- (304) *Ini kawan, dia datang sama apa?*
 this friend 3.SG come **with** what
 ‘This friend, he came with what?’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:01:34.9-00:01:37.1)
- (305) *Pi masak sama dia*
 go cook **with** 3.SG
 ‘Go cook with it (fish).’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:12:43.3-00:12:45.2)
- (306) *Dia chakapsama dia*
 3.SG speak **with** 3.SG
 ‘He is talking to him.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:02:44.4-00:02:46.0)

Sama is also used in comparatives, as demonstrated by example (307) (refer to section 5.3.1 for more details and examples).

- (307) *Dia tinggi sama ngko dia.*
 3.SG tall **with** older.brother 3.SG
 ‘He is as tall as his brother.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-009, 00:10:31.5-00:10:33.6)

Additionally, *sama* is used to connect verb with its object noun phrase, as compared to the obliques in examples (304) to (307). This is demonstrated in examples (309) to (311). Example (308) shows that

this is optional for transitive verbs, when compared to example (309). Inserting *sama* is also a way of making an intransitive verb transitive, as example (311) demonstrates.

- (308) *Dia sumua halo tu mia anjing*
 3.SG all chase that REL dog
 ‘They all chased that dog.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-030, 00:04:32.1-00:04:34.1)
- (309) *Halo sama budak ini*
 chase.away **with** boy this
 ‘Chase away this boy.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-030, 00:06:02.5-00:06:04.6)
- (310) *Rindu sama gua*
 miss **with** 1.SG
 ‘Miss me.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-043, 00:29:51.9-00:29:54.3)
- (311) *Senyum sama gua*
 smile **with** 1.SG
 ‘Smile at me.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:18:07.3-00:18:08.7)

4.7 Conjunctions

The following table features conjunctions that are commonly used in BM.

and	<i>sama</i>
finish	<i>habi/abi</i>
or	<i>ka</i>
but	<i>tapi</i>
because	<i>pasal/ pasair</i>
if	<i>kalu</i>
when	<i>bila</i>
although (literally ‘really also’)	<i>sunggu pun</i>

Table 36: List of conjunctions in Baba Malay

The following example sentences show how they are used. Examples (312) to (314) demonstrate the using of coordinating conjunctions. These are used to conjoin similar phrases, or clauses at the same level. In example (315), the subject noun is unexpressed in the second clause (see section 5.6.2), and both components being conjoined are clauses. Constituents involved in conjunction are presented in parentheses.

- (312) [*Ini kupukupu*] **sama** [*anjing ni*].
 this butterfly **and** dog this
 ‘This butterfly and this dog’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-030, 00:01:48.0-00:01:50.4)
- (313) [*Mak pegi pasair*], **habis** *tu* [*dia pegi kopitiam*].
 mother go market **finish** that 3.SG go coffee.shop
 ‘Mother went to the market. After that she went to the coffeeshop.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-110, 00:01:23.4-00:01:29.3)
- (314) *Gua rasa ini* [*anak dia*] **ka** [*chuchu dia*].
 1.SG think this child 3.SG **or** grandchild 3.SG
 ‘I think this is his child or grandchild.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:02:13.0-00:02:15.0)
- (315) [*Gua mia adék bikin kék*] **tapi** [*tak sedap*].
 1.SG REL sibling make cake **but** NEG delicious
 ‘My sister baked a cake but it was not delicious.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-117, 00:14:38.9-00:14:44.6)

Examples (316) to (318) show the use of subordinating conjunctions. These ones link subordinate clauses to main clauses. The subordinate clauses in the following examples are presented in parentheses. Example (317) is specifically a conditional expression.

- (316) *Tiga minggu macham*, *dia balék* [*pasair dia tinggal Singapore*]
 three week like.that 3.SG return **because** 3.SG live Singapore
 ‘For about three weeks, she returns because she lives in Singapore.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:04:03.8-00:04:09.2)
- (317) [*Kalo gua tau lu mo datang*] *gua tentu jumpa lu dekat airport*
if 1.SG know 2.SG want come 1.SG definite meet 2.SG PREP
 ‘If I knew you were coming, I am definite (I would) meet you at the airport.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-053, 00:13:32.1-00:13:37.9)
- (318) [*Bila bahru gua balék rumah*], *bahru gua dapat tau pasair tu accident*
when just 1.Sg returnhome just 1.SG get know matter that
 ‘When I just returned home, I just got to know (about) that accident.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-053, 00:02:22.8-00:02:26.3)

- (319) [*Sunggu.pun dia tak standard*], *dia dapat ini kreja.*
although 3.Sg Neg 3.Sg get this work
 ‘Although he (is of) no standard, he got this work.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-053, 00:20:53.4-00:20:57.2)

More details on the different types of conjunctions and their syntactic patterns can be found in section 5.6.8. Conditionals are discussed in section 5.6.7.

4.8 Discourse elements

BM discourse is characterized by its heavy use of interjections and particles.

4.8.1 Interjections

Interjections belong to a non-productive word class, whose main function is emotive (Crystal 1997). In this grammar, it refers to both single words and short two word utterances that can be used on their own or right at the beginning of sentences. Interjections are characteristic of daily conversations in BM, with participants engaging in *mincharok*, or using curse words. While there is usually little illocutionary force in *mincharok*, and hence no intent on the speaker’s part to curse her or his interlocutor or to wish bad things upon them, it is considered *kasar* ‘coarse’ to engage in *mincharok*. It is also less appropriate for younger speakers to use *mincharok* with older speakers, although it is normal for older speakers to use it with younger speakers regardless of occasion. Note that not all interjections are forms of *mincharok* ‘curse’. A list of common interjections is given in the following table, some of which are *mincharok*.

<i>aiyo</i>	exclamation of irritation
<i>ala</i>	exclamation of regret
<i>ayi</i>	exclamation of surprise
<i>alamak</i>	exclamation of dismay
<i>éh</i>	exclamation in a jibing manner
<i>amboey</i>	exclamation of surprise
<i>adoey</i>	exclamation of pain

<i>mati</i>	die
<i>mampus</i>	dead
<i>chilaka</i>	cursed one
<i>kus semangat</i>	cry to a dead spirit

Table 37: List of common interjections in Baba Malay

The following are some examples of how these interjections are used. While some cannot be directly translated into English, close translations are provided.

- (320) *éh, ho mia lah lu.*
EXCLAM.jibe good life EMP 2.Sg
 ‘Hey, you have a good life.’ (said in a jibing manner)
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-044, 00:26:20.3-00:26:22.9)
- (321) *Ayi mampus kambing dia kuat sekali.*
EXCLAM.surprise dead goat 3.SG strong very
 ‘Surprising, goodness, the goat it (is) very strong.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:01:52.8-00:01:54.6)
- (322) *Amboey. Dia kasi -kan kopiah.*
EXCLAM.surprise 3.SG give -TR hat.
 ‘Surprising. He gave (him) the hat.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-052, 00:05:06.6-00:05:10.2)
- (323) *Alamak, chilaka, kepala gua sakit.*
EXCLAM.dismay cursed.one head 1.Sg sick
 ‘Goodness, cursed one, my head hurts.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-052, 00:05:45.8-00:05:47.8)

4.8.2 Particles

While interjections are used on their own, particles are used at the end of sentences. These discourse particles do not change the meaning of the utterances they are attached to. The two most commonly used particles are *lah*, and *sair*.

Lah, usually accompanied with a falling pitch is used emphatically. Emphatic *lah* can be attributed to Hokkien influence, just as *lah* in Colloquial Singapore English (a creole with a Hokkien substrate) is said to have been derived from Hokkien (Platt and Ho 1989). In the following examples, the insertion of *lah* at the end of the utterances emphasizes whatever had been said in the utterance. Semantically, the

insertion of this pragmatic particle does not change the meanings in these utterances. The usage of *lah* is shown in examples (324) to (329).

- (324) *Abi dia naik geram lah*
 finish 3.SG ascend furious **EMP**
 ‘After that he became furious.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-030, 00:03:00.2-00:03:02.0)
- (325) *Budak ni ada jaga dia mia kambing lah*
 child this PROG guard 3.SG REL sheep **EMP**
 ‘This child is guarding his sheep.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-030, 00:04:00.6-00:04:03.4)
- (326) *Dia-orang sumua marah dia lah.*
 3.PL all angry 3.SG **EMP**
 ‘They all (were) angry (at) him.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-030, 00:04:37.9-00:04:40.0)
- (327) *Chakiak orang putéh lah*
 clogs person white **EMP**
 ‘Western-style clogs.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-030, 00:07:15.6-00:07:17.5)
- (328) *Tak mo lah*
 NEG want **EMP**
 ‘(I) don’t want to.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:06:17.9-00:06:19.1)
- (329) *Sini masak nia sedap lah*
 here cook REL delicious **EMP**
 ‘(The food) that is cooked here (is) delicious.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:06:45.8-00:06:48.1)

The other particle that is commonly used is *sair*, which has been analysed as being derived from *sekali* ‘very’ (Gwee 1998, Gwee 2006). This particle is usually accompanied with a rising pitch. Gwee translates *sair* as ‘indeed’, and in line with this, *sair* appears to have the effect of confirming the utterance itself, that what is being said is indeed the case. It is thus glossed as a confirmative particle in this grammar. As a discourse particle, *sair* does not significantly affect the meanings of the utterances to which it is attached. The usage of *sair* is demonstrated by examples (330) to (335). Note that the *sair* particle is not the same lexical item as *sair* in *apa sair*, which is the short for the refined form *apa pasair* ‘what reason’ (coarse form: *apa pasal*). Example (221) is replicated below as example (331).

- (330) *Panas sair*
hot CONF
‘hot indeed.’
(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-009, 00:02:25.1-00:02:26.3)
- (331) *Taukay kebun ni kiam sair*
boss garden this miserly CONF
‘This boss (of the) garden is miserly indeed.’
(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-028, 00:01:03.7-00:01:05.8)
- (332) *Dia chakap Peranakan lanchang sair*
3.SG speak fluent CONF
‘He speaks Peranakan fluently indeed.’
(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-028, 00:19:18.8-00:19:22.4)
- (333) *Tapi bukan anak sair*
but NEG child CONF
‘but (it is) not the children indeed.’
(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:09:54.0-00:09:56.2)
- (334) *Jangan bising sair*
do.not noisy CONF
‘do not (be) noisy indeed.’
(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:15:21.3-00:15:23.9)
- (335) *Suay sair*
unlucky CONF
‘Unlucky indeed.’
(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:15:55.6-00:15:56.5)

5. Syntax

Being more of an isolating language, BM uses word order predominantly in expressing syntactic relations. This chapter concerns the syntax of noun phrases, verb phrases, adjectival phrases, adverbial phrases, as well as more complex clauses. From the examples in this chapter, it will become clear that BM is neither predominantly head-initial nor head-final.

5.1 Noun phrases

A noun phrase (NP) comprises pronoun or a noun phrase and optional modifiers that both precede and follow the noun head. Modifiers include demonstratives, person marker, numerals, quantifiers, and adjectives. Modifiers may also come in the forms of genitive clauses as well as relative clauses. The following are examples of these.

(336) Pronoun:

Dia *tolak.*
3.SG push
'He pushed.'

(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-028, 00:04:27.7-00:04:28.7)

(337) Noun without modifier:

Anjing sudah bangun
dog alreadywake.up
'The dog has already woken up.'

(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-088, 00:00:17.1-00:00:18.7)

(338) Noun with preceding demonstrative:

Dia-orang *tolong itu* *budak*
3.PL help **that** **child**
'They helped that child.'

(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-028, 00:04:09.1-00:04:11.1)

(339) Noun with following demonstrative:

Budak ini *sangat kecil.*
child this very small
'This (is) very small.'

(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:03:23.5-00:03:25.3)

- (340) Noun with preceding person marker

Si tua
PERSON old

‘That old person.’

(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:04:10.4-00:04:10.8)

- (341) Noun with preceding numeral:

Satu bakol sudah ilang.

one basket alreadylost

‘One basket has gone missing.’

(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:05:47.1-00:05:48.9)

- (342) Noun with preceding demonstrative, numeral and classifier:

Ayi dia jumpa tiga ékor budak
EXCLAM.suprise 3.SG meet three CLF.animal child

‘Surprising he met three children.’

(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:05:52.6-00:05:54.5)

- (343) Noun with preceding quantifier

Sumua orang sekarang tak tau chakap
all person now NEG know speak

‘Everyone now does not know (how to) speak.’

(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-002, 00:07:37.8-00:07:40.9)

- (344) Noun with following quantifier

Angkat changkay changkay sumua pegi belakang.
carry **cup cup** **all** go behind

‘Carry all the cups (and) go to the back.’

(Jane Quek oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-043, 00:06:47.4-00:06:50.1)

- (345) Noun with preceding adjective

Cherita -kan gua betol mia cherita.
story -TR 1.SG **true REL** story

‘Tell me a true story.’

(Jane Quek oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-100, 00:02:56.4-00:03:00.5)

- (346) Noun with following adjective

Babi kechik chakap.

pig small speak

‘The small pig spoke.’

(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-035, 00:03:44.7-00:03:45.9)

(347) Noun with preceding genitive

Gong-ma mia gambar
grandfather-grandmother POSS picture
'Grandparents' photographs.'

(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-002, 00:10:57.8-00:10:59.0)

(348) Noun with following genitive

Bini dia sama anjing
wife 3.SG with dog
'His wife and the dog.'

(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-034, 00:01:31.8-00:01:33.3)

(349) Noun with preceding relative clause

[Dia diri -kan] nia bicycle
3.SG stand -Tr REL
'The bicycle that he (made) stand up.'

(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-028, 00:02:44.9-00:02:46.0)

(350) Noun with following relative clause

Ini sumua dia mia kawan [nang jaga kambing]
This all 3.SG REL friend REL guard sheep
'These (are) all his friends that guard the sheep.'

(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-030, 00:05:58.2-00:06:00.8)

The examples show that most types of noun phrases have both head-initial and head-final structures, except for person marker, numerals and noun classifiers that that obligatorily occur before the noun head. This is shown in examples (341) and (342). The following sections introduce the different types of noun phrases in more detail, but note that relative clauses are only discussed later in section 5.6.3.

5.1.1 Genitive

Case is not overtly marked in BM, and the genitive relationship between possessor and possessed is not expressed by genitive case. Instead, there are two ways of expressing possession. The first of which is by using the lexical item *punya* (shortened forms: *mia* and *nia*). Note that the *punya* is also used as a relative clause marker (see section 5.6.3). In this instance, the noun phrase is head-final. The second method, a head-initial way of expressing the possessor-possessed relationship, is by using the possessed-possessor word order. The following demonstrates both structures.

- (351) *William* *nia* *bapak*
 POSS father
 ‘William’s father.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-009, 00:45:06.9-00:45:09.7)
- (352) *Asam* *gugol* *mia* *kulit*
 tamarind dried.fruit **POSS** skin
 ‘The dried tamarind’s skin’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:11:51.6-00:11:54.0)
- (353) *Kita* *mia* *orang*
 1.PL **POSS** people
 ‘Our people’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-035, 00:05:49.3-00:05:50.4)
- (354) *Dia* *mia* *nama*
 3.SG **POSS** name
 ‘Its name’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-079, 00:00:37.9-00:00:41.4)
- (355) *Dia* *mia* *kawan*
 3.SG **POSS** friend
 ‘His friend’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-030, 00:05:58.2-00:05:59.0)

While expressions using *punya* as a possessive marker can be used to mark genitive relations between a proper noun, common noun or a pronoun and the possessed noun, only pronouns can function as possessor in the possessed-possessor structures. There are no instances of non-pronouns functioning as the possessor in utterances of the following sort. Note that third person pronoun *dia* occasionally occur as *nia*.

- (356) *Badan lu*
 body 2.SG
 ‘Your body.’
 (Lilian, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-079, 00:11:33.1-00:11:36.1)
- (357) *Kambing* *dia*
 sheep 3.SG
 ‘His sheep’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-030, 00:05:47.9-00:05:48.0)
- (358) *Bini* *dia*
 wife 3.SG
 ‘His wife.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-034, 00:01:32.0-00:01:33.3)

(359) *Mata dia*
eye 3.SG
'His eyes'
(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-030, 00:00:23.9-00:00:24.5)

(360) *Rumah gua*
house 1.SG
'my house.'
(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-035, 00:02:41.9-00:02:43.0)

Considering that *punya* constructions have more functionality than possessed-possessor constructions (which can only express genitive relations where pronouns are concerned), BM's more dominant word order appears to be GEN N, rather than N GEN.

5.1.2 Noun phrases with determiners

Determiners in this grammar refers both demonstratives, person marker, numerals, classifiers and quantifiers, these items co-occurring with nouns to express semantic contrasts, for example, distance and quantity. These determiners have different distributions. In general, demonstratives as well as quantifiers can precede or follow nouns, while numerals and classifiers precede nouns.

In addition, it is important to note that there are no determiners that express a definite-indefinite contrast. Context is largely used to determine if a noun is definite or indefinite. Example (112) is replicated here as (361), and example (337) as (362).

(361) First mention of a noun
Orang panjat pokok.
person climb tree
'A person climbs a tree.'
(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-028, 00:00:15.6-00:00:17.6)

(362) Subsequent mention of a noun
Anjing sudah bangun
dog alreadywake.up
'The dog has already woken up.'
(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-088, 00:00:17.1-00:00:18.7)

Both *orang* 'person' and *anjing* 'dog' in the above examples do not co-occur with any determiners, yet *orang* is interpreted to be indefinite, and *anjing* definite. This is due to the contexts in which they occur. Where (361) is specifically concerned, *orang* is the first utterance in a narrative and there is no

precedent. The word is hence interpreted to be indefinite. In the case of (362), *anjing* has been mentioned prior to this occurrence, and it is therefore understood by the listener as being definite.

5.1.2.1 Noun phrases with demonstratives

While there is no definite-indefinite contrast in BM, definite determiners can be contrasted based mainly on distance or space. The demonstratives *ini* ‘this’ and *itu* ‘that’ are used based on deictic notions. *Ini* is proximal, co-occurring with nouns that are typically close to the speaker or the action taking place, while *itu* is distal, and it co-occurs with nouns that are typically further away from the speaker or the action taking place. There is no preferred word order for noun phrases comprising demonstrative and noun. Note that the shortened versions of *ini* and *itu* are *ni* and *tu* respectively.

- (363) *Ini* *kebun*
this garden
‘this garden.’
(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:00:32.0-00:00:32.8)
- (364) *Ini* *rumah rumah*
this house house
‘these houses.’
(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-030, 00:03:52.6-00:03:53.2)
- (365) *Ni* *orang*
this person
‘This person.’
(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:00:29.0-00:00:30.0)
- (366) *Tu* *budak perempuan*
that child female
‘That girl.’
(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-028, 00:03:28.0-00:03:29.2)
- (367) *Itu* *kopiah*
that hat
‘That hat.’
(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-028, 00:04:37.0-00:04:38.5)

While the above examples show noun phrases where demonstratives precede nouns, the following are examples of nouns preceding demonstratives.

- (368) *Budak ini*
 child **this**
 ‘this child.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:03:23.5-00:03:24.0)
- (369) *Anjing hutan ini*
 dog jungle **this**
 ‘this wolf’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-030, 00:04:24.7-00:04:26.6)
- (370) *Anjing tu*
 Dog **that**
 ‘that dog’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-030, 00:01:41.7-00:01:42.3)
- (371) *Kuching belanda tu*
 cat Holland **that**
 ‘That rabbit.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-030, 00:01:18.0-00:01:19.4)
- (372) *Si tua tu*
 PERSON old **that**
 ‘That old person.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:04:10.4-00:04:11.0)

In addition, *demonstratives* may occur together with *punya*, as demonstrated in the following examples. In these instances, *punya*’s function appears to be similar to when it is a relative clause marker (see section 5.6.3), a relative clause being a subordinate clause that modifies the head noun. The subordinate clauses contain deictic information in these instances. For these constructions, the demonstrative always occurs before noun.

- (373) *Ini mia budak*
this REL child
 ‘This child.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-030, 00:03:49.0-00:03:50.0)
- (374) *Tu mia anjing*
that REL dog
 ‘That dog.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-030, 00:03:32.3-00:04:34.1)

Although demonstrative precedes noun in the *punya* construction, this is not the most basic type of noun phrase that features a demonstrative. Both DEM-NP and NP-DEM orders are equally common in BM and there is no preferred word order.

5.1.2.2 Noun phrases with person marker

Noun phrases featuring the person marker *si* always have the order *si*-NP. Example (242) is replicated as (376).

- (375) *Si* *Mary*
PERSON
'Mary.'
(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-037, 00:01:07.1-00:01:08.2)
- (376) *Si* *sa* *ko* *bongsu.*
PERSON third paternal.aunt youngest.child
'Youngest third paternal aunt.'
(Lilian, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-079, 00:09:01.2-00:09:02.9)
- (377) *Si* *tua* *tu*
PERSON old that
'That old person.'
(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:04:10.4-00:04:11.0)
- (378) *Si* *ano* *ni?*
PERSON anonymous this
'This anonymous person?'
(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-107, 00:12:13.5-00:12:15.2)

5.1.2.3 Noun phrases with numerals, noun classifiers and partitives

Similar to noun phrases comprising person marker, noun phrases are head-final when they comprise numerals or numerals and classifiers. The following are examples of noun phrases comprising numerals, and numerals with classifiers.

- (379) *Satu* *anjing*
one dog
'One dog.'
(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-030, 00:02:57.0-00:02:57.9)
- (380) *Satu* *tulang*
one bone
'One bone.'
(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-030, 00:02:55.0-00:02:55.8)

- (381) *Empat ratus* *taon*
four hundred year
 ‘Four hundred years.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-051, 00:13:45.4-00:13:47.0)
- (382) *Dua bulan*
two month
 ‘Two months.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-051, 00:03:33.6-00:03:35.0)
- (383) *Ni empat minggu*
 this **four** week
 ‘These four weeks.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-051, 00:16:55.0-00:16:56.5)
- (384) *Se- kor* *kambing*
one- CLF.animal goat
 ‘One goat.’
 (Victor oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:01:32.4-00:01:34.7)
- (385) *Dua bijak* *pear*
two **CLF.small.round**
 ‘Two pears.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:05:04.5-00:05:05.4)
- (386) *Satu bijak* *timun*
one **CLF.small.round** cucumber
 ‘One cucumber.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-149, 00:03:17.8-00:03:19.4)
- (387) *Se- kuntum* *bunga*
one- CLF.bloom flower
 ‘One flower’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-160, 00:01:59.2-00:02:00.7)
- (388) *Ni tiga ékor* *budak*
 this **three** **CLF.animal** children
 ‘These three children.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:05:53.5-00:05:54.5)

Partitive phrases are also considered here. These are semantically different than noun phrases featuring noun classifiers, as they are used to refer to a part or a quantity of a mass noun. However, they are syntactically alike noun classifiers with modifier preceding head.

- (389) *Satu botol susu*
one bottle milk
 ‘One bottle of milk.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-148, 00:21:05.5-00:21:08.5)
- (390) *Satu changkay ayé*
one cup water
 ‘One cup of water.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-148, 00:21:41.5-00:21:42.6)
- (391) *Satu kepéng ayam*
one piece chicken
 ‘One piece of chicken.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-148, 00:21:16.8-00:21:17.9)
- (392) *Satu éla mia kain*
one sheet REL cloth
 ‘One sheet of cloth.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-148, 00:23:27.5-00:23:28.5)
- (393) *Satu baldi mia ayé*
one pail REL water
 ‘One pail of water.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-148, 00:21:42.7-00:21:44.7)

Hence, noun phrases can comprise Num-NP, Num-Clf-NP, and Num-Part-NP sequences. All of these sequences alike in that they are head-final.

5.1.2.4 Noun phrases with quantifiers

Noun phrases may also have quantifiers as modifiers. In these instances, the modifier may precede or follow the head noun.

- (394) *Sumua adék- beradék*
all sibling-PL
 ‘All siblings.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-002, 00:07:37.9-00:07:38.5)
- (395) *Orang orang sumua*
 people people **all**
 ‘All people.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:01:23.6-00:01:24.6)

- (396) *Manyak* *orang*
many people
 ‘Many people.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:00:24.0-00:00:25.5)
- (397) *Dagin putéh* **manyak**
 meat white **many**
 ‘A lot of white meat.’
 (Lilian, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-079, 00:03:52.5-00:03:53.6)
- (398) *Berapa* *orang*
some people
 ‘Some people.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-071, 00:18:08.3-00:18:09.3)
- (399) *Umor* **sikit**
 age **little**
 ‘Little age.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-002, 00:06:23.0-00:06:24.1)

Other than noun phrases that are made up of nouns and quantifiers in either phrase-initial or phrase-final positions (Quan-NP, NP Quan), it is also possible for quantifiers to take the position of the noun itself.

- (400) *Manyak* *tak* *sama*
many NEG same
 ‘Many are not the same.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-002, 00:02:13.0-00:02:14.1)
- (401) *Sumuabising*
all noisy
 ‘All are noisy.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:01:33.9-00:01:34.5)
- (402) *Dia* *minum* **sikit**
 3.Sg drink **little**
 ‘He drinks a little.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-053, 00:22:41.0-00:44:42.7)

The only quantifier that has not been observed to replace the noun itself is *berapa* ‘some’. Note that *berapa* is also an interrogative meaning ‘how many’. Only context can help differentiate if it is meant as a quantifier or as an interrogative.

5.1.3 Noun phrases with adjectival modifiers

Adjectival modifiers in BM can follow or precede the head in a noun phrase. The more basic noun phrase structure comprises of noun followed by adjective.

- (403) *Dagin* ***mérah***
meat **red**
'Red meat.'
(Lilian, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-079, 00:03:50.7-00:03:51.7)
- (404) *Kepok* ***kosong***
box **empty**
'Empty box.'
(Lilian, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-079, 00:12:56.5-00:12:57.7)
- (405) *Beruang* ***besair***
bear **big**
'Big bear.'
(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-032, 00:04:24.7-00:04:27.2)
- (406) *Kayu* ***panjang***
wood **long**
'Long wood.'
(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-045, 00:01:20.3-00:01:22.4)
- (407) *Pintu* ***chanték***
door **beautiful**
'Beautiful door.'
(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-035, 00:01:55.7-00:01:56.8)

Adjectives may also precede nouns in an adjectival noun phrase when relative marker *punya* is used, as with examples (408) to (412). In these, the adjectives and *punya* function as a subordinate clause that gives information about the head noun, so that an example such as (408) *betol mia cherita*, may also be interpreted as 'a story that is real'. Example (16) is replicated here as (408).

- (408) *betol* *mia* *cherita*
real REL story
'Real story.'
(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-028, 00:03:24.8-00:03:26.0)
- (409) *sekarang* *mia* *orang*
now **REL** people
'Modern people'
(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:06:52.9-00:06:54.2)

- (410) *dulu mia lauk*
long.ago REL cook.food
 ‘Old-fashioned dishes.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:09:47.6-00:09:48.5)
- (411) *Bising mia pasair*
noisy REL matter
 ‘Noisy matters.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:01:34.1-00:01:35.5)
- (412) *Betol mia nasik lemak*
real REL rice cooked.in.coconut.milk
 ‘Real rice cooked in coconut milk (a dish).’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:08:10.0-00:08:11.5)

In effect, while both NP-A and A-NP orders are possible in BM, the basic form of the adjectival noun phrase is NP-A, since it does not require the use of an additional relative clause marker, and is also more commonly used than the *A-punya*-NP structure.

5.1.4 Negation of noun phrases

Noun phrases can be negated in the following way with *bukan* preceding the noun phrase. This is akin to the use of ‘not’ in English, rather than ‘no’ in these instances.

- (413) *Bukan anak*
NEG children
 ‘Not children.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:09:54.5-00:09:56.0)
- (414) *Bukan bawang*
NEG onion
 ‘Not onions.’
 (Lilian, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-079, 00:10:59.7-00:11:00.0)
- (415) *Bukan saya*
NEG 1.SG
 ‘Not me.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-018, 00:03:56.7-00:03:57.3)
- (416) *Bukan Singapore*
NEG
 ‘Not Singapore.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:02:19.0-00:02:22.0)

- (417) **Bukan** [*chakiak* *kita* *china* *mia*]
 NEG clogs 1.PL Chinese Rel
 ‘Not our Chinese(-style) clogs.’

(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-030, 00:07:17.5-00:17:19.3)

Note that the noun phrase is not negated when expressing ‘no’ semantically. Instead, a verb phrase containing the existential marker, *ada*, is negated with a separate negative marker *tak*. *Tak-a* is the shortened version of *tak ada*. (Refer to section 5.2.8 for more details and examples of the *tak* verbal phrase negation strategy.)

- (418) **Tak -a** *pokok*
 NEG -EXIST tree
 ‘There are no trees.’

(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:00:36.0-00:00:36.9)

In general, where noun phrases are concerned, *bukan* is used in a *bukan*-NP sequence. Note that *bukan* can also be used to negate statements (see section 5.6.10.2).

5.1.5 Order of elements in noun phrases

It is difficult to state if the noun phrase is strictly head-final or head-initial. Demonstratives as well as quantifiers may precede or follow main noun phrase. Adjectival modifiers are observed to precede and follow nouns, although the default order appears to be noun followed by adjective, since a relative marker, *punya*, is required to link adjective to noun when the adjective precedes the noun (see section 5.1.3). The same goes for genitive constructions. However, there are also support for the preference of a head-final noun phrase, considering that numerals, noun classifiers and partitives, the person marker *si*, as well as the negative marker strictly precede the main noun phrase. Overall, it is tenuous to state that there is a general preference for modifier to precede head, or head to precede modifier. More noun phrase word order is discussed in the section on relative clauses (see section 5.6.3).

5.2 Verb phrases

A verb phrase (VP) comprises verb, verb and complement(s), or sequences of more than one verb. Auxiliaries may precede the main verb phrase when they are used to express passivization, modality, or tense and aspect. Verb phrases may also be made up of more than one main verb in the case of serial

verb construction. Modifiers include negation markers and other adverbs. The following are examples of these.

(419) Intransitive verb

Berenang.

swim

‘Swim.’

(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-044, 00:16:20.1-00:16:22.1)

(420) Transitive verb with direct object complement

Bukak itu pintu

open that door

‘Open that door.’

(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-044, 00:20:35.9-00:30:39.1)

(421) Transitive verb with direct and indirect object complements

Dia kasi dia dua bijak pear

3.SG give 3.SG two CLF.small.round

‘He gave him two pears.’

(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:05:04.0-00:05:05.4)

(422) Causative verb with clause complement

Yauguai, kasi gua terperanjat sekali.

demon let 1.SG be.shocked very

‘Demon, you let me be very shocked.’

(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-043, 00:040:26.2-00:40:28.2)

(423) Auxiliary verb and verb

Sumua boléh chakap Peranakan.

all can speak

‘All can speak Peranakan.’

(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-002, 00:06:12.2-00:16:14.9)

(424) Adverb and verb

lekair senyum

quick smile

‘Quickly smile.’

(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-088, 00:06:17.5-00:06:18.6)

(425) Verb and adverb

Lu mesti mo chobak dulu
2.SG must want **taste** **first**
'You must taste first.'

(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-043, 00:21:46.0-00:21:48.3)

(426) Serial verb construction

Dudok téngok
sit look
'Sitting and looking.'

(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-088, 00:00:50.0-00:00:51.0)

(427) Negation marker and verb

Tak tau
Neg know
'(do) not know.'

(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-002, 00:08:16.4-00:08:17.2)

The examples show that verb phrases are head-initial and head-final. The following sections provide more details.

5.2.1 Copula constructions

Copulas are technically verbs that link the subject and a complement. In BM, there are two types of copula constructions. The copula verb *ada* can exist. It can be used as a regular copula, and it may be used in tag interrogatives, as with examples (428) and (429) (see section 5.6.10.2). However, in most instances, it is omitted.

(428) *Ada baik tak -a*
COP good **NEG** **-COP**
'Are (you) well or not?'

(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:00:09.2-00:00:11.2)

(429) *Rumah gua ada chanték tak*
house 1.SG **COP** beautiful **NEG**
'My house is beautiful or not?'

(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-035, 00:02:41.9-00:02:43.7)

The following examples show typical copula constructions where the copula verb is omitted. In the instances below, these copula constructions, by virtue of their word order (subject before complement),

associate subjects with complements ranging from adjective phrases to preposition phrase. Example (293) has been replicated below as (434).

- (430) *Gua lapair*
1.SG hungry
'I (am) hungry.'
(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-009, 00:14:16.4-00:14:17.5)
- (431) *Itu barang mentah*
that thing unripe
'That thing (is) unripe.'
(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-009, 00:22:15.6-00:22:17.1)
- (432) *Kemantin chanték*
bride beautiful
'The bride (is) beautiful.'
(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-009, 00:24:57.7-00:24:58.8)
- (433) [*Dia mia barang*]mahal
3.SG REL thing expensive
'Its things (are) expensive.'
(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:02:32.9-00:02:33.8)
- (434) *Rumah rumah atas bukit*
house house top mountain
'The houses (are) on top of the mountain.'
(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-030, 00:03:58.2-00:04:00.6)

5.2.2 Modality

Verb phrases may also comprise an auxiliary verb preceding the predicate. There are several functions of auxiliaries, including modality, passivization, and aspect. This section is concerned with the structures that expresses modality, modality being associated with the semantic expression of beliefs, attitudes, obligations and ability. While there are differing opinions as to what deontic modality means (Traugott 1989), it usually concerns will, permission and obligation (Lyons 1977, Traugott 1989). The epistemic modality on the other hand expresses one's belief state or attitude towards a certain proposition (Traugott 1989), while dynamic modality concerns one's capacity to do something (Nuyts 2006). As with other languages such as English, the same auxiliary may have overlapping functions.

The following sentences show the auxiliary verb *boléh* ‘can’ to express all three modalities. In examples (435) and (436), the speakers are discussing the abilities of the agents to perform a particular task. Hence the dynamic modality is expressed by placing *boléh* before the main verb phrase. Example (423) is replicated here as example (435)

(435) *Sumua boléh* [*chakap Peranakan*].
 all can speak
 ‘All can speak Peranakan.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-002, 00:06:12.2-00:16:14.9)

(436) *Kita boléh* [*masak*]
 1.PL can cook
 ‘We can cook.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:10:21.0-00:10:22.0)

In the next example, epistemic modality is expressed. The speaker is saying that something should be eaten with rice, and thus expressing a belief about a particular subject.

(437) *Ini sumua boléh* [*makan sama nasik.*]
 this all can eat with rice
 ‘All this (you) can eat with rice.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:08:46.5-00:08:48.1)

Boléh can also be used to express deontic modality. In examples (438) and (439), the speakers are not questioning the ability of the agents to perform particular tasks, but asking them if they are willing to perform them.

(438) *Lu boléh* [*chakap Peranakan*] *tak?*
 2.SG can speak NEG
 ‘Can you speak Peranakan?’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-037, 00:51:13.1-00:51:17.7)

(439) *Mak, boléh* [*masakini*] *tak?*
 mother can cook this NEG
 ‘Mother, can you cook this?’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:09:28.4-00:09:29.8)

Similarly, *mesti* has two uses. *Mesti* can be used to express the epistemic modality. In the following examples, the speakers express certain beliefs that they have about the world and what they have observed.

(440) *Kuching itu mesti makan ikan*
 cat that **must** eat fish
 ‘That cat must eat fish.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-009, 00:43:41.4-00:43:43.6)

(441) *Dia mesti ter- langgair*
 3.SG **must** ACC- crash
 ‘He must have crashed.’
 (Peter, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:03:32.5-00:03:34.1)

Mesti can also be used to express the deontic modality. In the following two examples, the speaker talks about his and his group’s obligation to carry out particular tasks.

(442) *Kita orang mia Peranakan, kita mesti [belajair].*
 1.PL people REL 1.PL **must** learn
 ‘Our people’s Peranakan, we must learn.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-037, 00:51:13.1-00:51:17.7)

(443) *Gua mesti [panggay engko]*
 1.SG **must** call older.brother
 ‘I must call (a male acquaintance) older brother.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-037, 00:05:25.7-00:05:27.3)

In BM, the notion of *mesti*, whether as an epistemic or deontic auxiliary, can be reinforced and emphasized by the form *mesti mo*, literally translated as ‘must want’. This appears to have been transferred directly from Hokkien *beh ai* (see Pakir 1986). In examples (444) and (445), the speaker is saying that she believes this is what has to happen when a person grows old, thus expressing beliefs. In examples (446) and (447), the speakers are expressing that the interlocutors have obligations to carry out particular tasks. While all speakers translate *mesti mo* as ‘want’, it is as though by adding volitional *mo* to *mesti*, the speaker believes strongly that the predicated proposition must be what is desired, whether it is part of their belief system (epistemic) or something that they want instilled in someone else’s (deontic).

(444) *Makan mesti mo [orang suap].*
 eat **must want** person feed
 ‘(when this person) eats, there must be a person to feed (him).’
 (Lilian, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-079, 00:05:01.1-00:05:02.4)

(445) *Kenching orang mesti mo [jaga apa].*
 urinate person **must want** take.care what
 ‘(when this person) urinates, a person must take care of whatever it is.’
 (Lilian, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-079, 00:05:02.4-00:05:04.3)

(446) *Mesti mo* [*ingat -kan gua*].
must want remember -TR 1.SG
 ‘(you) must remember me.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-045, 00:06:26.0-00:06:27.4)

(447) *Kalu sudah tua, mesti mo* [*jaga badan*].
 if alreadyold **must want** take.care body
 ‘If (you are) already old, (you) must take care of (your)body.’
 (Lilian, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-079, 00:04:49.6-00:04:53.6)

On its own, *mo* ‘want’ is also an auxiliary verb that expresses the future tense (see section 5.2.5.1), and or the deontic modality.

(448) *Dia mo* [*piléh*].
 3.Sg **want** choose
 ‘He wants (to) choose.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:01:19.3-00:01:20.0)

(449) *Gua mo pegi itu kebun bunga*.
 1.Sg **want** go that garden flower
 ‘I want (to) go (to) that flower garden.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-107, 00:12:32.0-00:12:33.7)

In general, *boléh* ‘want’, *mesti* ‘must’ and *mesti mo* ‘must want’ are auxiliaries that express modalities when they precede the main verb phrase (Aux VP).

5.2.3 Passivization

Passivization is a process that promotes the object NP into the subject position. In BM, there are two patterns of passivization, the first of which uses the passive verb *kena*, and the other uses the ditransitive and causative verb *kasi* ‘give’ (see section 5.2.4). The form of passivization that is more commonly used is the *kena* passivization. When the passive verb *kena* is used, the logical subject is not expressed in the utterance. Examples (450) and (452) are the active counterparts of the passive sentences in examples (451) and (453).

(450) *Orang itu pukul kucing*.
 person that hit cat
 ‘That person hit the cat.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-009, 00:42:26.0-00:42:27.8)

- (451) *Itu kucing kena pukul.*
 that cat PASS hit
 ‘That cat was hit.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-009, 00:42:37.0-00:42:38.8)
- (452) *Itu kucing makan ikan.*
 that cat eat fish
 ‘That cat eats fish.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-009, 00:37:23.2-00:37:25.5)
- (453) *Itu ikan sudah kena makan*
 That fish already PASS eat
 ‘That fish has been eaten.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-009, 00:38:17.8-00:38:19.9)

It is important to note that *kena* is an adversative passive, and semantically incompatible with sentences that have non-adversative connotations. Note besides as passive marker, *kena* is also used as a non-volitional verb meaning ‘subjected to’. Both *kena* functions as a passive marker and as a non-volitional marker. *Kena* also functions as a passive marker in Malay, but note that its non-volitional function is said to have been derived from Hokkien passive and non-volitional marker *tio?* (see Lim 1988, section 7.4.1). The following are examples that show non-volitional *kena* is used.

- (454) *Tapi lu ada kena kaki chaukah, alamak*
 but 2.SG PFV **subjected.to** friend bad.sport EXCLAM.dismay
 ‘But if you have been subjected to friends who are bad sports, oh no.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:15:12.8-00:15:15.9)
- (455) *Mak kena masak*
 mother **subjected.to** cook
 ‘Mother was subjected to cook.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:06:55.0-00:06:58.0)

It is thus important to differentiate examples such as (454) and (455) from true instances of passivization, where the object NP is promoted to subject position and *kena*, as a non-volitional auxiliary verb that precedes the main VP. Note that the oblique (or the initial subject of the active sentence) is not maintained in the passive *kena* sentence.

Whereas the oblique is not kept in passive *kena* sentences, it is maintained in *kasi* passives. *Kasi* literally means ‘let’ and also ‘give’, except that there is no volition in these passives on the part of the patients, or the subjects of the passives that undergo the event. These passives are also adversative

passives, and are most likely derived from Hokkien (see Pakir 1986, Lim 1988, Shih 2009, and section 7.4.3). In these instances of passivization, the original object or semantic patient of the active sentence is promoted to subject in the passive sentence, and the logical subject becomes the subject of embedded clause. Examples (25) and (26) are replicated as (456) and (457).

(456) *Mary bunoh dia*
 kill 3.SG
 ‘Mary killed him.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-037, 00:39:17.1-00:39:18.8)

(457) *Dia kasi [Mary bunoh].*
 3.SG let kill
 ‘He was killed by Mary.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-037, 00:40:01.8-00:40:14.9)

(458) *Orang kasi [embok-embok chakap]*
 person let traditional.Peranakan.elders talk
 People were talked about by the traditional Peranakan elders.
 (Lilian, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-079, 00:07:59.1-00:08:01.0)

(459) *Siapa kasi [si Mary bunoh]?*
 who let PERSON kill
 ‘Who was killed by Mary?’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-037, 00:39:39.8-00:39:43.2)

5.2.4 Ditransitive, causative and benefactive constructions

Ditransitive, as well as causative and benefactive constructions are related in BM. The typical ditransitive construction features the verb *kasi*, which literally means ‘give’, is also used for causative and benefactive constructions as well.

5.2.4.1 Ditransitive constructions

The typical ditransitive verb, *kasi* ‘take’ takes two arguments. In its complete form, the ditransitive verb phrase comprises the *kasi* verb, and a sequence comprising an indirect object (the semantic beneficiary), and a direct object NP (the semantic theme). Example (421) is replicated below as (460).

(460) *Dia kasi [dia] [dua bijik pear].*
 3.SG give 3.SG two Clf.fruit
 ‘He gave him two pears.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:05:04.0-00:05:05.4)

- (461) *Dia kasi [dia] [tiga].*
 3.SG **give** 3.SG three
 ‘He gave him three.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:05:20.9-00:05:22.6)
- (462) *Mak sudah kasi [gua] [duit].*
 mother already **give** 1.SG money
 ‘Mother already gave me money.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-094, 00:01:24.0-00:01:25.4)
- (463) *Mak.ko ada gula-gula mo kasi [lu] [dua].*
 Eldest.paternal.uncle’s.wife have sweet-sweet want **give** 2.SG two
 ‘Eldest paternal uncle’s wife has sweets that she wants to give you two.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-094, 00:06:31.0-00:06:48.1)
- (464) *Dia kasi [gua] [itu lauk].*
 3.SG **give** 1.SG that cooked.food
 ‘He gave me that cooked food.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-045, 00:17:42.3-00:17:45.0)

Other ditransitive verbs observed in the corpus include *ajair* ‘teach’, *pinjam* ‘lend’, and *tunjok* ‘show’. Note that Hokkien uses the same lexeme for both notions of lend and borrow, while Malay uses *pinjam* for borrow and *memberi pinjam*, literally ‘give borrow’ for the concept of lend. In BM, lend is ditransitive, while borrow is simply transitive, as demonstrated by examples (465) and (466). Examples (467) shows how *tunjok* ‘show’ is used in ditransitively.

- (465) *Lu pinjam [gua] [lu mia bég].*
 2.SG **lend** 1.SG 2.SG REL bag
 ‘You lend me your bag.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-089, 00:28:07.5-00:28:10.0)
- (466) *Gua pinjam [lu mia bég kechik].*
 1.SG **borrow** 2.SG POSS bag small
 ‘I borrow your small bag.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-089, 00:28:16.1-00:28:18.5)
- (467) *Gua tunjok [lu] [keday].*
 1.SG **show** 2.SG shop
 ‘I showed you the shop.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-043, 00:38:38.1-00:38:39.7)

In general, in ditransitive instances where the verb takes an additional argument, the ditransitive verbs precede the beneficiary, an indirect object NP, and the theme, a direct object NP, in that order. Also, it is possible for either indirect object to not be expressed. Example (466) is replicated as (468).

- (468) *Gua pinjam [lu mia bég kechik].*
 1.SG borrow 2.SG POSS bag small
 ‘I borrow your small bag.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-089, 00:28:16.1-00:28:18.5)

- (469) *Gua mo kasi [angpau].*
 1.SG want give red.packet.of.monetary.gift
 ‘I want to give a red packet.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-037, 00:44:51.2-00:44:52.4)

There are no instances in the corpus where direct object is not expressed.

5.2.4.2 Causative and benefactive constructions

Causatives in BM can also be formed with the verb *kasi*. These causatives have been identified in previous literature as being highly similar to a Hokkien construction (Lim 1981, Lim 1988, Pakir 1986, Shih 2009), see section 7.4.1 for more discussion. In effect, the causative construction appears similar to the ditransitive *kasi* ‘give’ construction, except that the indirect object NP does not necessarily benefit positively, and that the direct object theme is a verb phrase representing the caused event that affects the indirect object NP. In effect, the indirect object NP and the verb phrase constitute an embedded clause, similar to the *kasi* passive pattern (see section 5.2.3). The following sentences feature the causative verb *kasi*. Example (422) is replicated here as example (470).

- (470) *Yauguai, kasi [gua terperanjat sekali].*
 demon let 1.SG be.shocked very
 ‘Demon, you made me be very shocked.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-043, 00:040:26.2-00:40:28.2)

- (471) *Dia kasi [gua marah sekali].*
 3.SG let 1.SG angry very
 ‘She made me very angry.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-043, 00:39:42.7-00:39:45.4)

Other than *kasi* ‘give’, *paksa* ‘force’ can also be used in causative constructions, such as with example (472).

- (472) *John paksa [Mary lupa -kan si Peter].*
force forget -TR PERSON
 ‘John forced Mary (to) forget Peter.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-057, 00:07:04.2-00:07:10.4)

There are instances where the indirect object in fact benefits from the particular event predicated by the embedded verb phrase. These are known as benefactive constructions. Note that *paksa* ‘force’ cannot be used in benefactive constructions. Only *kasi* ‘give’ can be used in these instances, as with examples (473) to (475). This phenomenon is also recognised by Lim (1988)

- (473) *Mak kasi [gua pinjam satu ratus].*
 mother **let** 1.SG borrow one hundred
 ‘Mother let me borrow one hundred.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-094, 00:00:40.5-00:00:46.0)

- (474) *Saya ada satu lagu mo kasi [lu dengar].*
 1.SG have one song want **let** you hear
 ‘I have a song that I want to let you hear.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-094, 00:01:05.4-00:01:12.7)

- (475) *Jangan kasi [dia dengair ini pekara].*
 do.not **let** 3.SG hear this matter
 ‘Do not let him hear about this matter.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-094, 00:05:39.4-00:05:48.2)

5.2.5 Tense and aspect

BM utilizes an optional system that combines tense and aspect, although the aspectual system is more complex than its tense system. A tense system is one that relates to the time of speaking, while an aspectual system is one that focuses on “different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation” (Comrie 1976:3). The following figure represents the tense and aspectual system of BM. The only tense that is available in BM is the future. These are expressed with the adverbs *belum* ‘not yet’ and *nanti* ‘later’, and auxiliary verb *mo* ‘want’, which indicate that a current event has not taken place as of current time but will take place later. The aspectual system comprises adverb *sudah* ‘already’, which has a perfective meaning, and the auxiliary verb *ada* ‘have’, which is used to indicate several aspects, including the perfective, the progressive, experiential perfect and habitual, the adverb *baru*, which has a recent perfect meaning, and the adverb *pernah* ‘ever’ which is used to indicate the experiential perfect aspect. Tentative aspect is signaled by the use of reduplication (see section 3.2.1). This tense and aspect system is optional, especially when there is enough context provided to tell the

interlocutor if the event has been completed, or if it is still going on or will happen in the future. More details on how sentences can be modified with adverbial phrases that provide information of this sort can be found in section 5.6.6.1. Note also that most aspect markers are glossed in accordance to their literal meanings, because they contribute to the understanding of the particular aspect they are used for, except for *ada*, which has been glossed according to the list of linguistic abbreviations provided in section 2.2.3.

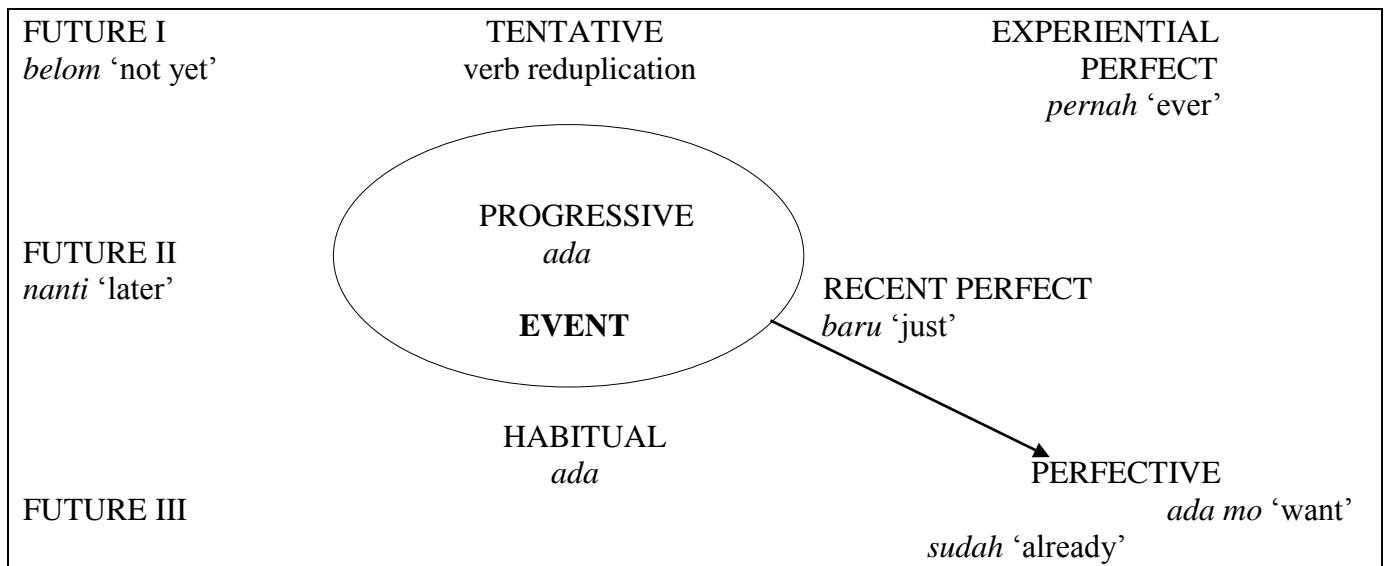


Figure 31: Tense and aspect system of Baba Malay.

5.2.5.1 Future tense

Future is indicated in three ways, through the use of the adverbs *belom* 'not yet' and *nanti* 'later', as well as by attaching the auxiliary verb *mo* 'want'. The following show how these adverbs and auxiliary are used to express the future tense. This is done by attaching these before the main verb phrase. Example (449) is replicated below as example (482). *Mo* in examples (482) and (483) express that something will happen in the future in addition to deontic modality (see section 5.2.2).

- (476) *Saya belom kasi tau mak.*
 1.SG **not.yet**let know mother
 'I have not let mother know.'
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-094, 00:02:03.4-00:02:05.1)

- (477) *Dia* **belum** *habis*.
 3.SG **not.yet** finish
 ‘He has not finished.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:15:29.2-00:15:30.3)
- (478) *Budak -budak* **belum** *pegi*.
 child child **not.yet** go
 ‘The children have not gone.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-100, 00:11:33.1-00:11:37.1)
- (479) *John* **nanti** *belajar dua jam kat library*
later study two hour PREP
 ‘John will study (for) two hours at the library.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-051, 00:28:40.5-00:28:50.1)
- (480) *Gua* **nanti** *tidor sampay bésok*
 1.SG **later** sleep until tomorrow
 ‘I will sleep until tomorrow.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-058, 00:05:51.3-00:05:53.7)
- (481) *Gua* **nanti** *tak makan sampay dia masak ayam*
 1.SG **later** NEG eat until 3.SG cook chicken
 ‘I will not eat until she cooks chicken.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-058, 00:06:36.8-00:06:41.5)
- (482) *Gua* **mo** *pegi itu kebun bunga*.
 1.Sg **want** go that garden flower
 ‘I want (to) go (to) that flower garden’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-107, 00:12:32.0-00:12:33.7)
- (483) *Gua* **mo** *pi belakang*
 1.Sg want go behind
 ‘I want to go to the back.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-052, 00:17:37.6-00:17:39.6)

Note that both *belum* and *nanti* are also adverbs that can modify the entire clause when placed in front of the clause.

- (484) **Belom** [*dia pulang*], *gua sudah dapat tau*.
before 3.Sg return.home 1.Sg alreadyget know
 ‘Before she returned home, I already got to know.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-096, 00:03:17.4-00:03:40.4)

- (485) *Nanti* [*Mary tinggal dekat Singapore sampai January*].
later stay PREP until
 ‘Later Mary (will) stay in Singapore until January.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-051, 00:18:24.3-00:18:27.8)

5.2.5.2 Perfective aspect

Where aspect is concerned, BM differentiates between the perfective and the imperfective progressive. The perfective “indicates the view of a situation as a single whole, without distinction of the various separate phases that make up that situation” (Comrie 1976:16). The perfective is thus often associated with completed action (Comrie 1976). In BM, there are two ways to indicate the perfective. These are the use of the auxiliary verb *ada* and the adverb *sudah*. While *ada* is also used to mean ‘have’, and as an existential marker, a copula, a progressive marker and a habitual marker, *sudah* literally means ‘already’. A shortened version of *sudah* in SBM is *sua*. The following are examples of how *sudah* and *ada* may be used to express the perfective aspect.

- (486) *Gua sudah kata lu, betul?*
 1.SG **already** tell 2.SG correct
 ‘I told you, right?’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:03:38.0-00:03:39.6)
- (487) *Lu sudah jatoh lu mia kopiah*
 2.SG **already** dropped 2.SG REL hat
 ‘You dropped your hat.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:04:55.5-00:04:57.5)
- (488) *Gua sudah tau.*
 1.SG **already** know
 ‘I knew.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-043, 00:19:80.1-00:19:19.4)
- (489) *Dia ada beli apple, bukan?*
 3.SG **PFV** bought no
 ‘She bought an apple, no?’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-051, 00:40:03.5-00:40:06.9)
- (490) *Ada tukar itu burung*
PFV change that bird
 ‘(It) changed (into) that bird.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-088, 00:04:15.0-00:04:18.0)

- (491) *Gua ada tutup.*
 1.SG **PfV** CLOSE
 ‘I closed (the door).’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-043, 00:22:15.8-00:22:16.7)

5.2.5.3 Recent perfect aspect

Baru is used as an adverb to indicate the recent perfect, *baru* also being an adjective indicating ‘new’. It refers to a situation recently completed, and usually still affecting the (current) moment of speech. This is demonstrated by examples (492) and (493).

- (492) *Dia baru datang.*
 3.SG **just** come
 ‘He just came.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-051, 00:30:58.1-00:30:59.2)

- (493) *Dia baru dapat tau.*
 3.SG **just** receive know
 ‘He just got to know.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-096, 00:00:24.2-00:00:25.8)

Note that in a separate construction, *baru* may also modify the clause that follows it, *baru* in this instance meaning ‘just then’, or just at that moment. This is shown in examples (494) and (495).

- (494) *Lagik satu minggu, baru dia rasa baik*
 more one week **just.then** 3.SG feel good
 ‘One more week, just then he felt better.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-051, 00:29:33.9-00:29:36.4)

- (495) *Baru masok buah paya*
just.then enter CLF.FRUIT papaya
 ‘Just then (you) put in papaya.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:12:45.7-00:12:48.0)

5.2.5.4 Progressive aspect

The progressive aspect is imperfective, which means that it “makes explicit reference to the internal temporal structure of a situation, viewing a situation from within” (Comrie 1976: 24). As a specific type of imperfective, the progressive refers to a temporary, continuous state (Comrie 1976). The progressive aspect in BM is also expressed by using *ada* as an auxiliary verb.

- (496) *Itu perompuan ada bacha magic book*
 that woman **PROG** read
 ‘That woman is reading a magic book.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-088, 00:08:46.5-00:08:49.1)
- (497) *Mak tu ada bacha lagik*
 mother that **PROG** read more
 ‘That mother is reading more.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-088, 00:08:54.3-00:08:57.0)
- (498) *Lu ada bikin apa?*
 2.SG **PROG** make what
 ‘You are making what?’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-042, 00:12:50.2-00:12:51.8)

5.2.5.5 Habitual aspect

Another imperfective aspect is the habitual aspect. This “describes a situation which is characteristic of an extended period of time” (Comrie 1976:27-28). Again, *ada* can be used as an auxiliary verb that indicates the habitual aspect.

- (499) *Ada pegi.*
HAB go
 ‘(I) usually go.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:00:40.0-00:00:41.0)
- (500) *Nampak gua dia ada senyum.*
 see 1.SG 3.SG **HAB** smile
 ‘(when she) sees me she usually smiles.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-043, 00:19:32.2-00:19:33.9)
- (501) *Tak senang, gua ada masak*
 Neg free 1.Sg **HAB** cook
 ‘Not free, I usually cook.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-043, 00:02:07.6-00:02:09.7)

5.2.5.6 Experiential perfect aspect

Different than the previous aspects discuss, the perfect describes not the situation itself, but “relates some state to a preceding situation” (Comrie 1976:52). The experiential perfect specifically indicates that a situation has happened “at least once during some time in the past leading up to the present” (Comrie 1976:58). In a sense, this is a combination of both time and event, and hence relates to both

tense and aspect. The experiential perfect in BM is indicated by auxiliary verb *pernah* ‘ever’. Both *pernah* ‘ever’ and *tak pernah* ‘never’ are commonly used in BM.

- (502) *Dia pernah jumpa gua.*
3.SG **ever** meet 1.SG
‘He has met me before.’
(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-037, 00:03:37.0-00:03:38.2)
- (503) *John rasa dia pernah jumpa Mary.*
think 3.SG **ever** meet
John thinks that he has met Mary before.’
(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-037, 00:42:23.6-00:42:25.7)
- (504) *Dia tak pernah bikin ini sumua.*
3.SG **NEG ever** do this all
‘She never did this all.’
(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-037, 00:42:23.6-00:42:25.7)

In summary, other than perfective, progressive, and habitual marker *ada* which is an auxiliary verb, the rest of the tense and aspect markers are adverbs. These include *belum* ‘not yet’, *nanti* ‘later’, *sudah* ‘already’ and *pernah* ‘ever’. All tense and aspect markers regardless of whether they are auxiliary verb or adverbs occur before the main verb phrase.

5.2.5.7 Tentative aspect

Tentative aspect can be expressed in BM by verb reduplication (see section 3.2.1). Examples are as follows. The tentative aspect is being expressed in these instances since there is no particular goal or purpose expressed, and that the action predicated is meant to take place for a short duration of time. Smith (1991) claims that it is a type of perfective aspect, since it represents a closed situation, of short duration and little importance. Verbal reduplication that expresses tentative aspect is commonly found in Sinitic languages, such as Hokkien and Mandarin (Tsao 2004).

- (505) *Jalan jalan*
walk walk
‘Take a walk.’
(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:02:13.1-00:02:14.6)
- (506) *Téngok téngok*
look look
‘Take a look.’
(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:02:14.6-00:02:16.2)

5.2.6 Serial verb constructions

The notion of serial verbs here follows that of Sebba (1987) and Aikhenvald (2005). According to Sebba's criteria, both verbs must be lexical verbs that have to be interpreted as having the same categories of tense-aspect-mood. There should also be neither clause boundary nor conjunction between the two verbs (Sebba 1987). In addition, Aikhenvald (2005) states that each component in the serial verb construction must be able to occur on its own. This is not the case with periphrastic constructions. Serial verb constructions also have to be differentiated from compound verbs such as *buang buang*, literally 'throw throw', meaning 'exorcise', or *naik geleték*, literally 'ascend tickle', meaning 'to be up to mischief.' The following are some examples of serial verb construction in BM. Note that serial verb constructions comprising three verbs are also possible, as in example (509).

- (507) *Dia* [turun] [masuk]
3.SG descend enter
'He descended and entered.'
(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-035, 00:05:37.3-00:05:39.8)
- (508) *Kodok* [turun] [kuluair]
frog descend go.out
'The frog gets down and out.'
(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-088, 00:08:31.4-00:08:33.3)
- (509) *Gua mo* [kuluair] [pi] [jalan]
1.SG want go.out go walk
'I want to go out, and go and walk.'
(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-088, 00:53:39.7-00:53:41.8)
- (510) *Mama gua mo* [pi] [buang-aye]
grandmother 1.SG want go throw -water
'Grandmother I want to go urinate.'
(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-037, 00:48:25.8-00:48:27.5)
- (511) *Kawan dia* [pi] [buangtepi].
friend 3.Sg go throw side
'His friend went and threw (it) aside.'
(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-028, 00:04:23.7-00:04:26.4)
- (512) *Kodok tu* [naik] [panjat].
frog that ascend climb
'The frog is ascending and climbing.'
(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-088, 00:07:37.3-00:07:41.3)

(513) *Kawan -kawan dia [datang] [tolong]*
 friend -friend 3.SG **come** **help**
 ‘His friends came and helped’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:03:58.4-00:04:00.9)

(514) *Kawan dia [datang] [angkat satu kambing].*
 friend 3.SG **come** **hold** **one** **goat**
 ‘His friend comes holding one goat.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:01:41.8-00:01:44.8)

All instances of serial verb construction in BM appear to involve a sequence of dynamic verbs and not stative ones. Speakers also state that it is unnatural for verb sequences to be broken up by conjunctions. Thus serial verb constructions in BM follow an uninterrupted VP-VP sequence.

5.2.7 Verb phrases with adverbial modifiers

Verbs phrases may be also be modified by adverbs. This has been earlier demonstrated in section 5.2.5, where adverbs precede verbs to express tense and aspect. The following examples show other examples that may precede or follow the verb phrase.

(515) *Itu bangkuang pun tak bergerak.*
that turnip **also** NEG move
 ‘That turnip also does not move.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-034, 00:01:20.0-00:01:22.2)

(516) *Aunty Jane selalu ketawa -kan gua.*
always laugh -TR 1.SG
 ‘Aunty Jane always laughs at me.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-043, 00:18:03.5-00:18:06.4)

(517) *Dia langsung tidur.*
 3.SG **straightaway** sleep
 ‘She slept straightaway.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-032, 00:06:54.0-00:06:55.8)

(518) *Gua terus lari*
 1.Sg **straight** run
 ‘I ran straight.’
 (Lilian, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-079, 00:00:56.7-00:00:57.5)

- (519) *Dia pelan- pelan makan kurang.*
 3.Sg **slow slow** eat less
 ‘They slowly eat less.’
 (Lilian, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-079, 00:03:42.6-00:03:44.4)
- (520) *Lu dudok diam- diam*
 2.SG sit **quiet quiet**
 ‘You sit quietly.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-045, 00:19:50.0-00:19:52.8)
- (521) *Ingat baik- baik*
 remember good good
 ‘Remember well.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-043, 00:21:20.1-00:21:22.7)
- (522) *Boléh lu tolong gua masak lagik*
 can 2.SG help 1.SG cook **again**
 ‘Can you help me cook again?’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-045, 00:13:30.1-00:13:34.1)
- (523) *Dia lalu pulak.*
 3.SG pass **instead**
 ‘He passed by instead.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-028, 00:02:14.0-00:02:15.1)
- (524) *Masak sahja*
 cook only
 ‘(I) cook only.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:05:55.9-00:05:57.1)

In fact, functional adverbs have fixed positions. Some may always precede the verb phrase while others always follow the verb phrase. The following table is a list of commonly used functional adverbs that modify verb phrases, and their positions in relation to the verb phrase.

<i>pun/kun</i>	also	_ VP
<i>selalu</i>	always	_ VP
<i>baru</i>	just	_ VP
<i>balék</i>	again, back	VP _
<i>dulu</i>	first (before doing something else)	VP _
<i>lagik</i>	still, more, again	VP _
<i>pulak</i>	instead	VP _
<i>sahja</i>	only	VP _
<i>jugak</i>	also	VP _

Table 38: List of commonly used adverbs that modify verb phrases and their distribution

Considering the above, there is no preferred position for the adverb that modifies the verb phrase. A verb phrase can comprise Adv VP, or VP Adv. Both are equally common.

5.2.8 Negation of verb phrases

There are a couple of ways in which a verb can be negated, the most general negative marker being *tak*. It precedes the main verb phrase that it negates.

- (525) *Tak jadi.*
 NEG happen
 ‘(It) did not happen.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:02:55.0-00:02:56.3)
- (526) *Gua tak reti.*
 1.SG NEG understand
 ‘I do not understand.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-053, 00:16:31.2-00:16:32.0)

- (527) *Dia tak pi.*
 3.SG NEG go
 ‘She does not go.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:04:50.5-00:04:51.2)
- (528) *Itu kambing, gua tak tau perempuan ka jantan.*
 That goat 1.SG NEG know female or male
 ‘That goat, I don’t know (if it is) female or male.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:01:47.3-00:01:49.8)
- (529) *Gua rasa pear tu tak boleh makan*
 1.SG think that NEG can eat
 ‘I think that pear cannot be eaten.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:05:24.3-00:05:25.7)

Commonly used negative forms of verbs have been developed by contracting negative marker and verb. These are *tak-a*, from *tak ada* ‘NEG have’, and *toksa*, from *tok usa* ‘NEG need’.

- (530) *Tak -a*
 NEG PFV
 ‘(Did) not.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-043, 00:22:14.8-00:22:15.8)
- (531) *Kita sini tak -a pokok.*
 1.PL here NEG have tree
 ‘Here we do not have trees.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:00:35.5-00:00:36.9)
- (532) *Toksa*
 NEG.need
 ‘No need.’
 (Lilian, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-079, 00:15:25.0-00:15:25.5)
- (533) *Toksa tanya*
 NEG.need ask
 ‘(Do) not need to ask.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-037, 00:47:31.6-00:47:33.4)
- (534) *Toksa marah*
 NEG.need angry
 ‘(Do) not need to be angry.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:40:02.6-00:40:01.0)

Other than *tak*, *jangan* is also used in the negation of verb phrases. More specifically, *jangan* is used in imperatives or commands. More details on non-negative imperatives can be found in section 5.6.11.

- (535) *Jangan* *raba*.
do.not touch
'Do not touch.'
(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-043, 00:21:17.3-0021:18.7)
- (536) *Jangan* *rindu gua*
do.not miss 1.SG
'Do not miss me.'
(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-043, 00:29:30.0-00:29:32.4)
- (537) *Jangan* *nangis*
do.not cry
'Do not cry.'
(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-043, 00:29:32.4-00:29:33.7)
- (538) *Jangan* *marah*⁵²
do.not angry
'Do not (be) angry.'
(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-043, 00:40:08.1-00:40:09.9)

Both types of negative markers precede the main verb phrase, hence negative verb phrases have the structure Neg-VP.

5.2.9 Order of elements in verb phrases

The verb phrase is not strictly head-final, as adverbs may precede or follow the verbs. However, there is still a head-final tendency, considering both adverbs of tense and aspect, as well as auxiliary verbs strictly precede verbs. Where the main verb phrase is concerned, a verb phrase may comprise an intransitive verb, a transitive verb with direct object, a ditransitive verb with a direct object and an indirect object, or a sequence of verbs in the manner of serial verb constructions. It is also possible for the object of a verb to be an entire clause, as with causative constructions for example.

5.3 Adjectival phrases

Adjectival phrases in BM include comparatives, comparatives of equality, comparatives of similarity, and expressions of excessive degree. Notions of superlatives are expressed by relative clauses, given the

⁵² The copula is optional in BM.

appropriate context. Adjectival phrases can also feature adverbs that precede or follow the adjective. Whereas noun phrases are negated by *bukan*, and general verb phrases by *tak*, adjectives have no direct negators. Adjectives are negated as part of a larger verbal phrase negation. Three different types of adjectival phrases are shown in the following examples.

(539) Comparative

Ini apple lagik manis lagik itu apple.
 this more sweet more that
 ‘This apple (is) sweet than that one.’

(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-009, 00:35:27.2-00:35:29.8)

(540) Comparison of equality

Dia tinggi sama ngko
 3.SG tall same older.brother
 ‘He (is) tall like older brother.’

(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-009, 00:10:16.2-00:10:17.5)

(541) Comparison of similarity

Kerair begi batu
 hard like rock
 ‘Hard like a rock.’

(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:05:25.7-00:05:25.9)

(542) Superlative (relative clause)

Ini apple yang manis sekali
 this REL sweet very
 ‘This (is the) apple that (is) very sweet.’

(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-009, 00:35:46.0-00:35:47.8)

(543) Excessive degree

Terlalu sejok
 too cold
 ‘Too cold.’

(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-032, 00:04:42.3-00:04:43.6)

(544) Adverb and Adjective

Budak ini sangat kechik lah.
 child this very small EMP
 ‘This child (is) very small.’

(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:03:23.5-00:03:25.3)

(545) Adjective and Adverb

Kambing dia kuat sekali.
goat 3.SG strong very
'His goat (is) very strong.'

(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:01:53.3-00:01:54.6)

(546) Negation of Verb Phrase with Adjective

Barang tak hak tak beli lah.
thing NEG suitable NEG buy EMP
'The thing (is) not suitable, (we) do not buy.'

(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:02:18.5-00:02:20.2)

Note in example (546) that while it appears as though the negative marker *tak* precedes the adjective directly, copulas are usually unexpressed in BM, and that *tak* negates the verb phrase that comprises *hak* as its complement. Verb phrase negation is covered in section 5.2.8.

5.3.1 Comparatives

Comparatives in BM are expressed by the structure *lagik-AP-lagik*, *lagik-AP* and *AP-lagik*, as shown in the following examples. This form of comparative has also been observed by Lee (1999). *Lagik* has the literal meaning of 'more' in these instances.⁵³ The noun phrase that follows the comparative expression is an oblique. It is optional as shown by examples (551) and (552). Example (539) is replicated as example (547).

(547) *Ini apple lagik manis lagik itu apple.*
this more sweet more that
'This apple (is) sweeter than that one.'

(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-009, 00:35:27.2-00:35:29.8)

(548) *Ini budak pandaylagik itu budak.*
this child clever more that child
'This child (is) more clever than that child.'

(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-009, 00:34:17.0-00:34:22.7)

(549) *Rumah batu lagik bagus lagik rumah yang lain.*
house rock more good more house Rel other
'The rock house (is) better than the house that (is) the other.'

(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-035, 00:03:16.9-00:03:27.0)

⁵³ *Lagik* also means 'still, later, and again.'

- (550) *Rumah kayu lagik bagus lagik rumah rumputkering.*
 house wood **more** good **more** house grass dry
 ‘The wooden house (is) better than the hay house.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-035, 00:02:46.1-00:02:50.2)
- (551) *Lagik senang.*
more easy
 ‘(It is) easier.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:12:50.4-00:12:50.9)
- (552) *Ini lagik shiok⁵⁴ kan?⁵⁵*
 this **more** satisfied.feeling no
 ‘It feels better, no?’
 (Lilian, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-079, 00:07:24.0-00:07:25.7)

Expressions of comparatives always follow the noun phrase that it modifies. Again, the copula is non-obligatory.

5.3.2 Comparison of equality

It is also possible in BM to express equality using the structure in the following examples, where *sama* is used, linking adjective with the noun phrase the subject is being compared to. Technically, *sama* NP appear to function as an adverb that modifies the adjective by following it. Example (540) is replicated below as example (553).

- (553) *Tapi dia tinggi sama ngko*
 But 3.SG tall **same** older.brother
 ‘But he (is) tall like older brother.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-009, 00:10:16.2-00:10:17.5)
- (554) *Derek tinggi sama ngko dia*
 tall **same** older.brother 3.SG
 ‘Derek (is) tall like his older brother.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-009, 00:10:31.5-00:10:33.6)
- (555) *Panday sama anak dia*
 clever **same** son 3.SG
 ‘Clever like her son.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-009, 00:08:10.1-00:08:12.1)

⁵⁴ This is the only word where ʃ is found, hence *shiok* [ʃjoʔ] is not part of the stable consonant inventory. The word itself may have been derived from Punjabi *shauk* [ʃjawʔ], which is an exclamation that is akin to ‘great’.

⁵⁵ *Kan* in this instance is a shortened version of *bukan* ‘no’.

Again, the main noun phrase precedes the adjectival phrase, except for example (555) where the subject is dropped. Subjects are optional in BM (see section 5.6.2).

5.3.3 Comparison of similarity

Another type of comparison in BM is that of similarity. These expressions are akin to stating that the subject in question is similar to something else, but not completely alike. For these expressions, *begitu* or *macham* are used, both meaning ‘like’. The short form of *begitu* is *begi*. Similar to comparatives of equality, *begi* NP and *macham* NP appear to be adverbs that modify the adjectives or verbs they follow, except for examples (559) and (561) where they modify the noun phrases that they follow. These are all considered to be Example (541) is replicated here as example (556).

(556) *Kerair begi batu*
 hard like rock
 ‘Hard like a rock.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:05:25.7-00:05:25.9)

(557) *Dia-orang seronoh begi kain lipat*
 3-PL proper like cloth fold
 ‘They (are) proper like a folded cloth.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-052, 00:03:03.8-00:03:13.0)

(558) *Dia chakap begi lidah tak -a tulang.*
 3.SG speak like tongue NEG have bone
 ‘He speaks like a tongue without bone (uncontrollable).’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-104, 00:13:51.4-00:13:53.8)

(559) *Itu macham Chettiar Melaka*
 that like
 ‘That (is) like the Chettiars in Malacca (known for being moneylenders)’
 (Lilian, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-079, 00:02:21.7-00:02:23.4)

(560) *Orang ni pandaysekali macham gauchaytian*
 person this clever very like monkey.god
 ‘This person (is) very clever like the monkey god.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-104, 00:22:36.7-00:22:40.8)

(561) *Dia macham kain lipat*
 3.SG like cloth fold
 ‘He (is) like a folded cloth (very proper).’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-052, 00:03:28.7-00:03:21.3)

Note that many of these expressions featuring *begitu* or *macham* are idiomatic, as with examples (557), (558), (560), and (561).

5.3.4 Superlatives

There are no actually grammatical construction in BM that is strictly a superlative. In fact, the interpretation of the notion of a superlative usually depends on the given context, given that superlatives take the form of relative clauses (see section 5.6.3). For example, the speaker produces (562) and (563) after giving examples about what constitutes comparatives, the earlier example (547) being the comparative counterpart of these sentences. Similarly, example (564) is produced in this speaker's retelling of Grimm's *The Three Little Pigs*, and after producing this utterance, he says in English, "the youngest". Example (542) is replicated here as (562).

(562) *Ini apple yang manis sekali*
this REL sweet very
'This is the apple that is very sweet (the sweetest apple)'
(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-009, 00:35:46.0-00:35:47.8)

(563) *Ni yang manis sekali.*
this REL sweet very
'This is that which is very sweet (this which is the sweetest).'
(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-009, 00:35:43.0-00:35:43.7)

(564) *Si babi yang kechik*
PERSON pig REL small
'The pig that is small (the pig that is the smallest)'
(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-035, 00:01:12.0-00:01:17.0)

These sentences that are to be interpreted as superlatives are essentially relative clauses that post-modify the noun phrase head. Lee (1999) also interprets similar constructions to be superlatives, although she does not identify these as relative clauses. More information on relative clauses can be found in section 5.6.3.

5.3.5 Excessive degree

Excessive degree is expressed in BM by pre-modifying the adjective concerned with the adverb *terlalu* 'too'. In Malay, *ter-* forms the superlative when attached to an adjective. However in this instance, *ter-* is attached to the verb *lalu* which means to 'pass by something or someone', and the resulting adverb

express the notion of ‘too’, or to an excessive degree. The prefix *ter-* is otherwise not-productive in this manner, and it is not used for purposes other than to express that a verb is accidental or involves movement (see section 4.2.1.1). Examples of utterances expressing excessive degree are shown below.

- (565) *Itu kuéh kuéh terlalu manis.*
 that cake cake **too** sweet
 ‘Those cakes (are) too sweet.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-053, 00:05:50.4-00:05:54.5)
- (566) *Tu kuéh rasa terlalu manis*
 that cake feel **too** sweet
 ‘That cake (I) feel (is) too sweet.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-053, 00:06:27.6-00:06:30.3)
- (567) *Itu bubor terlalu panas*
 that porridge **too** hot
 ‘That porridge (is) too hot.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-032, 00:04:27.2-00:04:30.6)
- (568) *Itu kerosi terlalu keras.*
 that chair **too** hard
 ‘That chair (is) too hard.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-032, 00:05:19.8-00:05:21.4)
- (569) *Kerosi tu terlalu lembéh.*
 chair that **too** soft
 ‘That chair (is) too soft.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-032, 00:05:29.2-00:05:31.8)
- (570) *Itu pun terlalu tinggi.*
 that also **too** tall
 ‘That (is) also too tall.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-032, 00:06:34.1-00:06:35.7)

Hence, where expressions of excessive degree are concerned, the adjectival phrase is head-final, with preceding modifier *terlalu* ‘too’.

5.3.6 Adjectival phrases with adverbial modifiers

In general, adverbs may precede or follow the main adjectival phrase. Example (544) is shown below as example (571).

- (571) *Sunggu* *chukop*
really enough
‘Just nice.’
(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-032, 00:05:50.8-00:05:52.3)
- (572) *Budak ini* *sangat kechik lah.*
child this **very** small EMP
‘This child (is) very small.’
(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:03:23.5-00:03:25.3)
- (573) *Manyak* *panas, dia tak boléh tahan.*
Many hot 3.Sg Neg can withstand
‘(It is) very hot, she cannot stand (it).’
(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:04:28.6-00:04:30.6)
- (574) *Mahal* *sikit*
expensive **little**
‘A little expensive.’
(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:02:48.7-00:02:50.0)
- (575) *Chanték* *sekali*
beautiful **very**
‘Very beautiful.’
(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:02:35.7-00:02:37.2)
- (576) *Dulu* *dia jahat sikit.*
long.ago 3.SG evil **little**
‘Long ago he (was) a little evil.’
(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:02:35.7-00:02:37.2)

There is no preference for either head-initial or head-final adjectival phrase. Both are observed to be equally common in BM.

5.3.7 Order of elements in adjectival phrases

The different types of adjectival phrases covered in this section are general comparatives, comparatives of equality, comparatives of similarity, superlatives (in the form of relative clauses), and expressions of excessive degree, as well as simple adjectival phrases that are either pre-modified or post-modified by adverbs. In many instances (such as with the different comparatives), the modifiers mostly follow the head adjective. However, it is also common to have modifiers preceding the adjectives, as with expressions of excessive degree and general modifications of the simple adjectival phrase. Note that

adverbs may also precede or follow basic adjectival phrases. In general, similar to the noun phrase it is inaccurate to state that the adjectival phrase has a preference for being head-initial or head-final.

5.4 Adverbial phrases

In earlier sections, there have been examples of how adverbs may be used to modify verbs and adjectives (see sections 5.2.7, 5.3.3, 5.3.5, and 5.3.6 for examples). This section shows how adverbial phrases may provide more information on matters of time, location, manner, intensity, and degree. These adverbial phrases are not strictly limited to phrases containing adverbs. Rather, they may also be noun phrases, prepositional phrases, or adjectival phrases that function as modifiers of verb phrases and other adjectival phrases. These adverbial phrases also have to be differentiated from adverbial clauses that modify other clauses (see section 5.6.6).

(577) Temporal

Mary nanti tinggal Melaka dua minggu.
later live two week

‘Mary will stay in Malacca for two weeks.’

(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-051, 00:28:06.4-00:28:12.4)

(578) Location

Mary beli apple kat pasar.
buy Prep market

‘Mary bought the apple at the market.’

(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-051, 00:33:27.0-00:33:32.4)

(579) Manner

Kuching.belanda lari chepat sekali
rabbit run fast very

‘The rabbit ran very fast.’

(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-030, 00:00:51.0-00:00:55.1)

5.4.1 Temporal adverbial phrases

Adverbial phrases may be used to indicate information regarding time. In BM, it is common to have noun phrase or preposition phrase functioning as an adverbial phrase that modifies the verb phrase. Example (577) is replicated below as example (580).

- (580) *Mary nanti tinggair Melaka dua minggu.*
 later live **two week**
 ‘Mary will stay in Malacca for two weeks.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-051, 00:28:06.4-00:28:12.4)
- (581) *John nanti belajardua jam kat library.*
 later study **two hour** **PREP**
 ‘John will study for two hours at the library.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-051, 00:28:40.5-00:28:50.1)
- (582) *Kukus tu sayor dalam se-puluh minit*
 steam that vegetable **inside one ten minute**
 ‘Steam those vegetables for ten minutes.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-051, 00:27:29.9-00:27:36.5)

Adverbial phrases regarding time usually follow the verb phrases that they modify instead of preceding them. A sentence may also have more than one adverbial phrase, as with example (581), which has two adverbial phrases, the first one following the verb phrase expressing time, and the second one expressing location.

5.4.2 Location adverbial phrases

Adverbial phrases in BM that usually comprise prepositional phrases are used to give information regarding location. Examples of these have also been presented in the earlier section on prepositions (see 4.6). Example (295) is replicated here as example (583), (269) as (584), and (581) as (585).

- (583) *Dia dudok bawah pokok.*
 3.SG sit **bottom tree**
 ‘He sat at the bottom of the tree.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:01:34.9-00:01:37.1)
- (584) *Kupukupu terbang di dekat itu mia anjing.*
 butterfly fly **PREP near that REL dog**
 ‘The butterfly flew near that dog.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-030, 00:01:36.8-00:01:41.7)
- (585) *John nanti belajardua jam kat library.*
 later study two hour **PREP**
 ‘John will study for two hours at the library.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-051, 00:28:40.5-00:28:50.1)

- (586) *Ada gui kat sana.*
 PROG kneel **PREP** **there**
 ‘(They) are kneeling there.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-088, 00:05:43.6-00:05:45.8)

Again, these adverbial phrases that modify the verb phrase usually following rather than precede it. A verb phrase may also be modified by more than one adverbial phrases, as with example (585). Consultants state that there is no preference for any specific order where these adverbial phrases are concerned. Temporal adverbial phrase may precede location adverbial phrase, or vice versa.

5.4.3 Manner adverbial phrases

Adverbial phrases may also be used to indicate the manner with which something is done. This happens when an adverbial phrase is used to modify a verb phrase. Example (579) is replicated as example (587) here. Again, adverbial phrases can comprise adjectives used as adverbs, as with (587) and (588). Adverbial phrases expressing manner may also comprise preposition phrases featuring *sama* ‘with’⁵⁶. This is shown in examples (589) and (590).

- (587) *Kuching.belanda lari chepat sekali*
 rabbit run **fast** **very**
 ‘The rabbit ran very fast.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-030, 00:00:51.0-00:00:55.1)

- (588) *Labi.labi main pelan sair.*
 tortoise play **slow** CONF
 ‘The tortoise played slowly indeed.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-030, 00:00:58.4-00:01:00.6)

- (589) *Lu boléh bukak itu pintu sama ini konchi.*
 2.SG can open that door **with** **this** **key**
 ‘You can open that door with this key.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-123, 00:05:30.3-00:05:33.8)

- (590) *Dia pinjak itu kachua sama dia mia kasot.*
 3.SG step.on.that cockroach **with** 3.SG REL shoe
 ‘He stepped on that cockroach with his shoe.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-123, 00:06:06.1-00:06:09.8)

⁵⁶ *Sama* is also used as general conjunction, ‘and’.

5.4.4 Order of elements in adjectival phrases

While single-word adverbs may precede or follow the verb phrase (see section 5.2.7 for examples), more complex adverb phrases like the ones in these sections usually follow the verb phrase instead of preceding it. These adverbial phrases expressing time, location, and manner are mostly head-initial, with the modifiers (mainly complements) following the heads, rather than preceding them.

5.5 Summary of word order at the phrase level

The following table sums up the different types of word order at the phrase level, and the default order of individual phrases, if any.

NP	DEM N / N DEM <i>A punya</i> N / N A GEN <i>punya</i> N / N GEN (only when possessor is a pronoun) PERSON N NUM N CLF N NEG N	No dominant tendency
VP	AUX V ADV V (strictly so for tense and aspect) V ADV NEG V	Modifier-head tendency
AP	ADV A A ADV	No dominant tendency

AdvP	ADV COMP	Head-modifier tendency
Prepositions		

Table 39: List of phrases, their word orders and general tendencies

The observed word orders in BM are interesting because the language does not appear to fall within the common parameters that Greenberg (1963) had postulated for SVO languages, BM being very clearly SVO (see section 5.6.2). In languages with prepositions, the genitive is said to almost always follow the governing noun. This is untrue of BM, since the default order is GEN N (N GEN can only be used when N is a pronoun). Also, SVO languages should correlate more with being N ADJ than ADJ N, however, both N ADJ and ADJ N orders are common in BM. Hence, these word order properties of BM make it typologically interesting.

5.6 Clauses

While the preceding sections focused on phrase-internal structure, the following section focuses on order at the higher clause level. Essentially, these sections are concerned with what phrases constitute a clause, or what some may refer to as a sentence, and what more complex clauses (such as relative clauses, complement clauses, among others) comprise.

5.6.1 Word order at the clause level

Clauses are generally predicate-final, the predicate being a verb in most instances. Example (23) is shown below as (591).

(591) *Budak tu senyum*

child that **smile**

‘That child smiles.’

(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-088, 00:00:35.9-00:00:37.7)

(592) *Budak pakay baju*

Child **wear clothes**

‘The child puts on clothes.’

(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-088, 00:00:59.4-00:01:01.8)

Sentences featuring adjectives like the ones that follow, can be interpreted to have an unexpressed copula predicate. For the purpose of comparison, example (595) features an expressed copula, copulas being optional in BM.

(593) *Ini orang kiamsiap sair.*
 this person **miserly** CONF
 ‘This person (is) miserly indeed.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-105, 00:02:06.1-00:02:07.5)

(594) *Ini orang tuakang sekali.*
 this person **generous** **very**
 ‘This person (is) very generous.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-105, 00:01:29.8-00:01:32.5)

(595) *Ini piso ada tajam.*
 This knife **COP** **sharp**
 ‘This knife is sharp.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-105, 00:03:58.5-00:03:59.9)

Similarly, sentence-final predicates can include noun phrases. Again the copula is not expressed. Example (147) is replicated here as (596).

(596) *Ini buah pear*
 this **CLF.fruit**
 ‘These (are) pears.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:00:27.9-00:00:28.9)

(597) *Peter punya bapak sama William punya bapak adék-beradék*
 POSS father and Poss father **sibling-PL**
 ‘Peter’s father and William’s father (are) siblings.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-009, 00:45:01.7-00:45:06.9)

In general, the order of basic clauses in BM appear to be NP-VP, when subjects are expressed. Again, it is possible for subjects to not be expressed (see 5.6.2). However, as section 5.6.9 shows, this general order may be disrupted when topicalization occurs, as it commonly does in BM.

5.6.2 Grammatical relations and alignment

BM is a SVO (subject verb object) language. The notion of subject here follows from that of Comrie, who states that “the prototype of subject represents the intersection of agent and topic (1989:107). In BM, the subject NP is not marked differently from the object NP. Instead, in most instances, the subject

of a clause can be determined by word order. The syntactic subject precedes the main verb phrase. This is demonstrated by examples (598) to (601). Example (200) is shown below as example (600).

- (598) *Beruang kechik ada mangkok kechik*
bear small Poss bowl small
 ‘The small bear has a small bowl.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-032, 00:01:20.9-00:01:24.5)
- (599) *Beruang kechik dudok kerosi kechik.*
bear small sit chair small
 ‘The small bear sits on a small chair.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-032, 00:01:44.0-00:01:46.8)
- (600) *Tu bangkuang tak bergerak*
that turnip NEG move
 ‘That turnip does not move.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-034, 00:01:00.5-00:01:03.3)
- (601) *Ada satu tukang kebun, sama bini dia, tanam bangkuang.*
Exist one labourer garden and wife 3.SG plant turnip
 ‘There was a gardener, and his wife, (who) planted turnips.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-034, 00:00:15.9-00:00:22.0)

While both (600) and (601) show that it is difficult to always correlate subject with the most agent-like NP in a clause, and hence support the notion of a prototypical subject instead of a definite one, (601) also demonstrates that the subject is not always overtly expressed in BM. BM is a null-subject language.

In terms of grammatical relations, it is also possible for object to undergo passivization with the use of passive marker *kena*, so that the object is promoted to subject. The logical subject is not expressed. This has also been discussed in section 5.2.3.

- (602) *Orang itu pukol kucing.*
person that hit cat
 ‘That person hit the cat.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-009, 00:42:26.0-00:42:27.8)
- (603) *Itu kucing kena pukol.*
that cat PASS hit
 ‘That cat was hit.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-009, 00:42:37.0-00:42:38.8)

Where alignment is concerned, BM is a nominative-accusative language. The subject of the intransitive verb is treated equivalently to the agent of the transitive verb. This is demonstrated by the following examples.

- (604) *Kuching tu lompat.*
cat that jump
'That cat jumped.'
(Jane Quek oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-043, 00:10:58.0-00:10:59.8)

- (605) *Anjing ambek bakol.*
dog take basket
'The dog takes the basket.'
(Jane Quek oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-088, 00:01:19.6-00:01:21.9)

The subject of the intransitive verb, as with *kuching tu* 'that cat' in (604), and the agent of the transitive verb, as with *anjing* 'dog' in (605), always precede the verb, whereas the object of the transitive verb always follows the verb.

It is important to note that there are no overt coding devices that reflect the nominative-accusative alignment in BM. There are also no other coding devices found on nouns or verbs to indicate alignment, agree, or cross-referencing. Relations are expressed mainly through word order.

5.6.3 Relative clauses

Relative clauses here refer to subordinate clauses that modify a noun phrase. Comrie (1989:143) states that relative clauses "consists necessarily of a head and a restricting clause" and that the prototypical relative clause is restrictive rather than non-restrictive. However, there is no basis for excluding non-restrictive relative clauses, so a more general view of relative clauses is adopted. More pertinently, Comrie (1989) argues for an accessibility hierarchy for relativization: Subject \supset Direct Object \supset Indirect Object \supset Possessor. That is, if a language can have relative clauses modifying noun phrases at a given position lower on the hierarchy, then it can relativize on all positions higher (to the left) on the hierarchy. The hierarchy of accessibility he identifies assumes that subjects are more easily relativized than direct objects, which are more easily relativized than indirect objects. Indirect objects are then in turn more easily relativized than possessors. In addition to the accessibility hierarchy, Comrie also highlights different strategies of relativization. The strategy that is most relevant to BM is the gap-type

strategy. The gap-type strategy is one that does not provide any overt indication of the role of the head within the relative clause.

In BM, there are two relative clause markers. One of the relative clause markers is *yang* (or sometimes *nang* in BM), which post-modifies the noun phrase head, as it does in Malay, the language from which it is derived. The other relative clause is *punya* (shortened forms: *mia*, *nia*), used in its basic form to indicate possession (see section 5.1.1). That *punya* is also used for relative clauses may be attributed to influence from substrate Hokkien relative clause marker *e*, which is also incidentally used to indicate possession. That *punya* derives its relativizer function from Hokkien *e* has been identified previously by Lee (2012) with regard to SBM and Lim (1988) with regard to MBM. Whereas *yang* relative clauses post-modifies noun heads, *punya* relative clauses pre-modify noun heads. The following are examples of both.

Both *yang* and *punya* can relativize subject, as demonstrated by examples (606) to (609), albeit *yang* relativizes postnominally while *punya* relativizes prenominally. Example (21) is replicated here as (609).

(606) Subject

Ini budak [nang ter- teriak wolf].
 this child **REL** ACD- call.out
 ‘This boy that accidentally cried wolf.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-030, 00:03:34.9-00:03:37.3)

(607) *Ini sumua dia mia kawan [nang jaga kambing].*

this all 3.SG POSS friend **REL** guard sheep
 ‘These are all his friends who guard sheep.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-030, 00:03:34.9-00:03:37.3)

(608) [*téngok saya punya*]kuda punya kaki sudah patah

look 1.SG **REL** horse Poss leg already snap
 ‘The horse that was looking at me had one of its legs already snapped.’
 (Lee 2012)

(609) [*Anak perompuan nia*] satu

child female **REL** ONE
 ‘The one that is a girl.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:00:44.8-00:00:47.0)

Both *yang* and *punya* can also be used to relativize direct object, as shown in examples (610) to (613). Again, whereas Malay-derived *yang* modifies the main noun phrase postnominally, *punya*, which has

derived its characteristics from Hokkien (see section 7.4.4.2, Lee 2012), modifies the main noun phrase prenominally.

(610) Direct object

Itu kerosi kechik [yang dia pechah]
this chair small REL 3.SG break

‘That chair that she broke.’

(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-032, 00:06:03.1-00:06:05.6)

(611) *Ini [yang dia kejar].*

this REL 3.SG chase

‘This that he chased.’

(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-030, 00:02:06.0-00:02:07.5)

(612) *Gua nampak [orang tarék punya] chia*
1.SG see person pull REL car

‘I saw the car (rickshaw) that the man pulled.’

(Lee 2012)

(613) [*Satu orang masak mia*].

one person cook REL

‘(The one) that one person cooked.’

(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:11:08.5-00:11:09.6)

Yang and *punya* may also relativize indirect object. Again, *yang* is used as a postnominal relativizer while *punya* is used as a prenominal relativizer.

(614) Indirect object

Itu perempuan [yang mak kasi lauk], sudah balék
that female REL mother give cook.food alreadyreturn

‘That female that mother gave cooked food to, has returned.’

(Lee 2012)

(615) *Saya nampak [saya kasi kuéh punya] orang*
1.SG see 1.SG give cake REL person

‘I saw the man whom I gave the cake to.’

(Lee 2012)

The only position that *yang* can relativize, but not *punya*, is the possessor. This may be due to the fact that *punya* is already used to indicate possession (see section 5.1.1), hence making it confusing if it is also used to relative possessor. The sentence in (618) is constructed and presented to speakers, who

judged it to be ungrammatical. They state that it is not possible to construct a sentence using *punya* to express ‘that person whose friends hit me’ (Lee 2012).

(616) Possessor

Saya kenal satu anjing [yang ada lima anak kechik].
 1.SG know.person one dog **REL** POSS five child small
 ‘I know a dog that has five small children.’
 (Lee 2012)

(617) [*Yang ada umur sikit*]

REL have age little
 ‘(Those that) have a little age /Those that are a little old.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-002, 00:06:22.4-00:06:24.1)

(618) **itu (orang) punya kawan-kawan pukul gua punya orang*
 that (person) possess friend-friend hit 1.SG **REL** person
 ‘that person whose friends hit me.’
 (Lee 2012)

Hence, the two relative clause markers, *yang* and *punya* have different patterns of use. While *yang* modifies a head noun phrase postnominally, *punya* modifies a head noun phrase prenominaly. Speakers can use *yang* to relativize subject, direct object, indirect object, and possessor, while they can use *punya* to relative subject, direct object, and indirect object, but not possessor. Both relative clause structures use the gap-type strategy, where there is no overt indication of role of the head within the relative clause (Comrie 1989). More discussion on how *punya* derives its functions from a Hokkien relative clause marker is provided in section 7.4.4.2.

5.6.4 Complement clauses

In BM, complement clauses can be predicated by verb or adjective. In a sense, the complement clause is required to realise the meaning of the verb or adjective. The zero strategy is used for complement clauses, the main clause and the subordinate complement clause being juxtaposed against each other. Examples (503) and (529) are replicated here as (619) and (620) respectively.

(619) *John rasa [dia pernah jumpa Mary].*

think 3.SG ever meet

John thinks that he has met Mary before.

(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-037, 00:42:23.6-00:42:25.7)

- (620) *Gua rasa [pear tu tak boléh makan].*
 1.SG **think** that NEG can eat
 ‘I think that pear cannot be eaten.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:05:24.3-00:05:25.7)
- (621) *Gua rasa [ni orang ada peték buah pear].*
 1.SG **think** this person PROG pluck CLF.fruit
 ‘I think this person is plucking pears.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:00:28.9-00:00:31.2)
- (622) *Gua tau [lu mo datang].*
 1.SG **know** 2.SG want come
 I know you want to come.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-053, 00:13:49.3-00:13:50.8)
- (623) *Mak dia harap [dia balék siang].*
 mother 3.SG **hope** 3.SG return early
 ‘His mother hopes he returns early.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-090, 00:05:46.0-00:05:58.6)
- (624) *Gua tak pikay [gua pernah jumpa lu].*
 1.SG NEG **think** 1.SG ever meet 2.SG
 ‘I do not think I have ever met you.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-096, 00:52:09.0-00:52:11.3)
- (625) *Tak sangka [boléh jumpa orang Peranakan].*
 NEG **expect** can meet person
 ‘(I) did not expect (I) could meet Peranakans.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-002, 00:04:31.4-00:04:33.7)
- (626) *Gua tentu [jumpu lu dekat airport].*
 1.SG **definite** jumpa 2.SG PREP
 ‘I (am) definite (I would) meet you at the airport.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-053, 00:13:34.1-00:13:37.9)

In instances when the subject is not expressed in the subordinate clause, the unexpressed subject always shares the same referent as the subject of the main clause, as with examples (625) and (626). These are instances of subject control, whereas the rest of the examples, (619) to (623), are instances of object control. Object control occurs when the object of the main verb is also the subject of the verb in the subordinate clause. It is also possible for the subject to be overtly expressed in the subordinate clause in cases of subject control (where subject of main clause has the same referent as subject of subordinate

clause). This is demonstrated by example (624). However, this is less frequently observed, possibly due to the efficiency of dropping subjects and the preference for null-subject in BM.

5.6.5 Direct and indirect speech

In BM, the zero strategy is used for both direct and indirect speech. There is very little difference between direct and indirect speech, except that the pronoun used within the subordinate clause changes accordingly. In examples (627) to (629), the speakers are using direct speech, either reporting what they said themselves, or what others have said in its original form. In instances such as these, the subordinate clause usually involve first person or second person pronouns.

- (627) *Gua kata*, [*gua sudah lama kun tak makan*].
 1.SG **say**, 1.SG already long.time also NEG eat
 ‘I said, “I also have not eaten (this) for a long time.”’
 (Lilian, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-079, 00:00:52.3-00:00:55.7)

- (628) *Mama mama sumua chakap*, [*ambek gua mia aloji kuluir*].
 grandmother grandmother all **speak** take 1.SG POSS small.clock out
 ‘Grandmothers all said, “Take my small clock out.”’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:10:19.5-00:10:21.4)

- (629) *Tony gua chakap*, [*oh lu Catholic ada chutsi eh*]⁵⁷
 1.SG **speak** 2.SG have rebirth Q
 ‘My Tony said, “Oh you Catholics have the concept of rebirth?”’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:06:05.7-00:06:10.8)

Where indirect speech is concerned, the zero strategy is also used, and the only difference between direct and indirect speech is that third person pronouns are usually used in indirect speech. Examples (630) and (631) show instances of indirect speech.

- (630) *Bill chakap*, [*dia sudah pi France*].
speak 3.SG already go
 ‘Bill said, he has already been to France.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-053, 00:09:59.6-00:10:02.8)

- (631) *Dia kata*, [*lama dia tak makan*].
 3.SG **say** long.time 3.SG NEG eat
 ‘She said she has not eaten (this) for a long time.’
 (Lilian, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-079, 00:00:31.2-00:00:33.5)

⁵⁷ Intended as a joke.

5.6.6 Adverbial clauses

The adverbial clause functions as a modifier of the larger component clause. The adverbial clause is an adjunct and optional, the main clause being grammatical on its own in the absence of the adverbial clause. However, it is often valuable, offering additional information on time, location, and to some extent, manner. Examples of the different types of adverbial clauses are shown here.

(632) Temporal

[*Dulu minggu*], *Mary jatuh sakit*.
before week fall sick
'Last week Mary fell sick.'

(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-051, 00:04:39.2-00:04:43.8)

(633) Location

[*Se- lepas restaurant itu*], *lu nanti jumpa satu cake shop*.⁵⁸
one- after that 2.SG later see one
'Immediately after that restaurant, you will see a cake shop.'

(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-107, 00:13:51.3-00:13:57.8)

(634) Manner

Dia menangis sedéh sedéh [bila dia kuluar rumah].
3.SG cry sad sad when 3.SG go.out house
'She cried sadly when she left the house.'

(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-053, 00:04:52.8-00:04:45.7)

5.6.6.1 Temporal adverbial clauses

One of the most important functions of adverbial clauses is to indicate information regarding time, considering that BM has a more elaborate system of aspect than of tense. Tense is hence often implied through the use of adverbial clauses. The following examples show how past, present and future are implied through the use of adverbial clauses. These clauses usually precede the main clause, although they may also follow the main clause. The events in examples (635) to (637) are to be interpreted as having happened in the past, the events in examples (638) to (640) are current, and those in examples (641) to (643) will take place in the future.

⁵⁸ It is possible for *se-* 'one' to be prefixed to *lepas* 'after', to denote immediacy, or that something took place one moment after another did. Similarly, it is possible for *se-* 'one' to be prefixed to *belom*, to denote that something took place immediately before something else.

- (635) [*Empat puluh taon lepas*], *Tan nia chepuat tinggair dekat Katong.*
 four ten years after REL family live PREP
 ‘Forty years ago, the Tan family lived in Katong.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-051, 00:00:38.5-00:00:54.5)
- (636) [*Dua bulan lepas*], *Mary beli rumah dekat Katong.*
 four month after buy house PREP
 ‘Four months ago, Mary bought a house in Katong.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-051, 00:03:33.6-00:03:35.4)
- (637) *Ini cherita jadi dia [lima ratus taon lepas].*
 this story happen 3.SG five hundred year after
 ‘This story happened five hundred years ago.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-051, 00:01:42.4-00:01:46.5)
- (638) [*Sekarang*] *tak tau chakap.*
 now NEG know speak
 ‘Now, (people) do not know how to speak.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-002, 00:07:39.2-00:07:40.9)
- (639) [*Ini ari*], *Mary lu mo pegi mana?*
 this day 2.SG want go where
 ‘Today, where do you want to go, Mary?’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-042, 00:02:28.1-00:02:30.6)
- (640) [*Hari ini*], *Mary jumpa Jane dekat pasair*
 day this meet PREP market
 ‘Today, Mary is meeting Jane at the pasair.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-051, 00:07:20.9-00:07:25.3)
- (641) [*Bésok*], *Mary pi pasair.*
 tomorrow go market
 ‘Tomorrow, Mary will go to the market.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-051, 00:22:27.0-00:22:29.4)
- (642) [*Lain minggu*], *Mary pi Melaka.*
 another week go
 ‘Next week Mary will go to Malacca.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-051, 00:25:03.5-00:25:06.3)
- (643) [*Lagik bulan*], *Mary pi Melaka.*
 More month go
 ‘A month later, Mary will go to Malacca.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-051, 00:26:17.6-00:26:20.9)

It is interesting to note that the word *lepas* which is literally interpreted as an adverb meaning ‘after’, is used in conjunction with noun phrases that indicate a quantity of time, to denote the past and not the future. This is seen in examples (635) to (637). However, its counterpart *belom* ‘before’ is not used to indicate the future. Instead, the future is expressed when *lagik* ‘more, precedes the relevant noun phrases, as with example (643). *Lain* ‘another’, as shown in example (642) has a more limited function of expressing next day, week, month or year. A list of words concerning time and date can be found in section **Error! Reference source not found.**

5.6.6.2 Location adverbial clauses

Location can also be expressed by adverbial clauses. These also usually precede the main clause, but may also follow the main phrase. Example (633) is replicated here as example (644) and example (288) as (645).

(644) [*Se- lepas restaurant itu*], *lu nanti jumpa satu cake shop*.
 one- after that 2.SG later see one
 ‘Immediately after that restaurant, you will see a cake shop.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-107, 00:13:51.3-00:13:57.8)

(645) [*Di se -belah*], *dia ketok apa?*
 PREP one -side 3.SG knock what
 ‘Beside, they are knocking what?’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-043, 00:14:31.8-00:14:33.5)

(646) [*Depan carpark*], *ada ini kebun bunga*.
 front EXIST this garden flower
 ‘In front of the carpark, there is a flower garden.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-107, 00:07:32.8-00:07:38.7)

(647) [*Di tepi library*] *ada satu kedai jual kuéh*.
 PREP side EXIST one shop sell cake
 ‘At the side of the library, there is a shop selling cake.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-107, 00:08:41.5-00:08:45.0)

(648) *Anjing sudah bangun*, [*dekat dalam basket*].
 dog alreadywake.up PREP inside
 ‘The dog had already woken up, inside the basket.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-088, 00:00:17.1-00:00:21.7)

- (649) *Itu budak main itu speedboat, [dekat itu laut sana].*
 that child play that PREP that pond there
 ‘That child is playing with that speedboat, at that pond over there.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-088, 00:05:22.1-00:05:27.0)

Note that in examples (648) and (649), the adverbial clause modify the entire clause. They are not adverbial phrases that modify only the verb phrase, as evidenced by the pause between both clauses.

5.6.6.3 Manner adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses may also be used to modify other clauses to express a manner in which something is done. Example (484) is replicated as (652).

- (650) *Dia menangis sedéh sedéh [bila dia kuluair rumah].*
 3.SG cry sad sad when 3.SG go.out house
 ‘She cried sadly when she left the house.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-053, 00:04:52.8-00:04:45.7)

- (651) [*Lepas makan pagi bahru*], *dia pi kreja.*
 after eat morning just 3.SG go work
 ‘After just eating breakfast, she goes to work.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-051, 00:32:20.1-00:32:22.8)

- (652) [*Belom dia pulang*], *gua sudah dapat tau.*
 before 3.SG return.home 1.SG alreadyget know
 ‘Before she returned home, I already got to know (about something).’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-096, 00:03:17.4-00:03:40.4)

Thus far, the examples discussed in these sections show that subordinate clauses may precede or follow the main clause, although there appears to be a stronger preference for subordinate clause to precede main clause. More adverbial clauses are discussed in the section on subordinating conjunctions (see section 5.6.8.2).

5.6.7 Conditionals

Kalu (alternative form: *kalo*) ‘if’ is used to connect clauses that are semantically express conditionals or *if-then* constructions (Traugott et al. 1986), where in a simplified sense, a proposition is implied to be true if the conditions of another are fulfilled. *Kalu* can also be used for counterfactuals with imagined states, as with example (655). It is typically used at the beginning of the first clause that describes the antecedent. The second clause describes the consequence if the antecedent conditions are met.

Although this is rare, *kalu* and its antecedent can also form the second clause, with the consequent clause fronted, as with example (656). Example (192) is replicated here as example (654).

- (653) [*Kalo gua tau lu mo datang*], *gua tentu jumpa lu dekat airport*
 if 1.SG know 2.SG want come 1.SG definite meet 2.SG PREP
 ‘If I knew you were coming, I am definite (I would) meet you at the airport.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-053, 00:13:32.1-00:13:37.9)
- (654) [*Kalu mo kechik-kan badan*], *kurang-kan roti*
 If want small -TR body less -TR bread
 ‘If (you) want to make your body smaller, lessen (your intake of) bread.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-053, 00:12:27.5-00:12:32.0)
- (655) [*Kalu chutsi*], *gua tak mo angkat pot*
 if rebirth 1.SG NEG want carry
 ‘If there is rebirth I do not want to carry a pot (out into this world).’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-053, 00:05:51.6-00:05:53.4)
- (656) *Gua bésok datang*, [*kalu Anne mo gua datang*].
 1.SG tomorrow come if want 1.SG come
 ‘I will come tomorrow if Anne wants me to come.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-053, 00:14:56.9-00:15:03.4)

Aside from *kalu* ‘if’, it is also noted that *bila* ‘when’ can be used to expressed conditional relationships, as with (657), except that it is rarely used for conditionals (see section 5.6.8).

- (657) *Kita chakap Peranakan*, [*bila kita jumpa kita mia kawan*].
 1.PL speak Peranakan when 1.PL meet 1.PL REL friend
 ‘We speak Peranakan when we meet our friends.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-053, 00:04:07.0-00:04:09.1)

5.6.8 Conjunctions

There are two types of conjunctions, as mentioned in section 4.7, these being coordinating conjunctions and subordinating conjunctions.

5.6.8.1 Coordinating conjunctions

Coordinating conjunctions are used to conjoin a phrase with another phrase, or a clause with another clause. The three coordinating conjunction markers in BM are *sama* ‘and’, *habis* ‘finish’, *ka* ‘or’, and *tapi* ‘but’.

In general, *sama* ‘and’ can be used to conjoin noun phrase to noun phrase or adjective phrase to adjective phrase. Examples (658) and (659) show how *sama* acts as a link between noun phrases, while (660) to (661) demonstrate how *sama* ‘and’ is used between adjective phrases.

(658) [Mak] *sama* [ko] *pegi pasair*
 mother **and** paternal.aunt go market
 ‘Mother and paternal aunt went to market.’

(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-110, 00:00:17.4-00:00:20.1)

(659) *Mak masak [iték tim], [babi buah keluak] sama [sambal petay.]*
 mother cook duck double.boil pig CLF.fruit Pangium.edule **and** chili.paste flat.bean
 ‘Mother cooked double boiled duck, pork cooked with Pangium edule, and chili with flat beans.’

(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-110, 00:06:51.5-00:06:57.2)

(660) *Dia kasi mak [marah] sama [sedéh].*
 3.SG let mother angry **and** sad
 ‘She made mother angry and sad.’

(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-110, 00:10:46.5-00:10:53.1)

(661) *Ini ari [panas] sama [melekat]*
 this day hot **and** sticky
 ‘Today (is) hot and sticky.’

(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-110, 00:13:24.5-00:13:26.3)

It is rarer to find *sama* ‘and’ being used to conjoin verb phrases. Speakers state that it is not possible to do two things at once, and prefer to use *habis* ‘finish’ to link two separate clauses together sequentially. Another version of the word *habis* is *abi*. That fact that it is not possible to express coordinated simultaneous action is also acknowledged by Lim (1988). He states that often, sequential events occur as two separate sentences in MBM. The following examples show how *habis* is used to link these separate clauses in SBM. Example (313) is replicated here as (662).

(662) [Mak *pegi pasair*], *habis tu* [dia *pegi kopitiam*].
 mother go market finish that 3.SG go coffee.shop
 ‘Mother went to the market. After that she went to the coffeeshop.’

(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-110, 00:01:23.4-00:01:29.3)

(663) [Mak *bikin kuéh*], *habis tu* [dia *siram ayé pokok bunga*].
 mother make cake finish that 3.Sg flush water tree flower
 ‘Mother baked cake. After that she watered the plants.’

(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-110, 00:03:41.6-00:03:57.2)

- (664) [*Jalan jalan*] **habi**, [*dudok kopi house*]
 walk walk **finish**, sit coffee
 ‘After taking a walk, (I) sit (in the) coffee house.’
 (Jane Quek oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:02:53.8-00:02:56.1)

Ka ‘or’ is used to connect any type of phrase to its equivalent phrase, or clause to another clause.

Example (665) shows how it connects noun phrases, example (666), verb phrases, example (667), proper nouns, and example (668), preposition phrases. Example (314) is replicated as (665).

- (665) *Gua rasa ini* [*anak dia*] **ka** [*chuchu dia*]
 1.SG think this child 3.SG **or** grandchild 3.SG
 ‘I think this is his child or grandchild.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:02:13.0-00:02:15.0)
- (666) [*Mandi*] **ka** [*bikin apa*?]
 bathe **or** do what
 ‘Bathe or do what?’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-045, 00:07:54.8-00:07:56.5)
- (667) [*Terang bulan*] **ka** [*di tanjong katong*] **ka**.
 Bright moon **or** PREP cape uncertain **or**
 ‘Bright moon or at the uncertain cape or (both are names of songs).’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-043, 00:08:27.8-00:08:31.0)
- (668) [*Dekat longkang*] **ka** [*dekat kopi tiam ka*],
 PREP drain **or** PREP coffee shop **or**,
 ‘At the drain or at the coffee shop.’

Tapi ‘but’ is used between two clauses, as with the following examples. Example (315) is replicated below as example (669).

- (669) [*Gua mia adék bikin kék*] **tapi** [*tak sedap*].
 1.SG REL sibling make cake **but** NEG delicious
 ‘My sister baked a cake but it was not delicious.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-117, 00:14:38.9-00:14:44.6)
- (670) [*Mary pi sekolah*] **tapi** [*dia tak suka bacha surat*].
 go school **but** 3.SG NEG like read letter
 ‘Mary goes to school but she doesn’t like to study.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-117, 00:16:26.0-00:16:29.5)
- (671) [*Bunga tu chanték*] **tapi** [*mak gua tak suka*].
 flower that beautiful **but** mother 1.SG NEG like
 ‘That flower is beautiful but my mother does not like (it).’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-117, 00:16:50.9-00:16:53.7)

5.6.8.2 Subordinating conjunctions

Subordinating conjunctions on the other are used to conjoin subordinate clause to main clause. In these instances, the subordinate clause usually are also adverbial clauses, functioning as modifiers of the main clause. Two commonly used subordinating conjunctions are *pasal* (refined form: *pasair*) ‘because’, *bila* ‘when’, and *sungguh pun* (literally: really also) ‘although’.

Pasal, which literally means ‘reason’, is grammaticalized, becoming ‘because’. *Pasal* ‘because’ hence is typically used between different clauses, where the first clause describes the outcome, and the second clause describes the reason behind the outcome. Example (672) to (674) show examples of how *pasal* is used, example (672) being a replication of (316). Note that the *pasal* construction may be the only subordinate clause that usually follows the main clause, rather than precede it (see section 5.6.6 for more examples of subordinate clauses preceding main clause).

(672) *Tiga minggu macham dia balék [pasair dia tinggal Singapore]*
three week like.that 3.SG return **because** 3.SG live Singapore
‘For about three weeks, she returns because she lives in Singapore.’
(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:04:03.8-00:04:09.2)

(673) [*Pasair orang tau*].
because person know
‘Because people know’
(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:09:41.1-00:09:43.0)

(674) *Kita kena masak [pasair kita tau masak]*
1.PL PASS cook **because** 1.PL know cook
‘We are made to cook because we know how to cook.’
(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:09:49.5-00:09:54.0)

While most BM speakers use *pasal* for ‘because’, there also individual variation observed in the corpus, where the Malay form *kerana* ‘because’ is used.

(675) *Gua angkat banyak tissue [kerana gua séisema]*
1.SG carry many **because** 1.SG have.a.cold
‘I carry a lot of tissue because I have a cold.’
(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-053, 00:17:19.4-00:17:25.9)

Bila ‘when’, which is also used as an interrogative (see sections 4.1.3.4 and 5.6.10.1), can also be used as a conjunction between a main clause and an adverbial clause. It is more common for the main clause

to follow the adverbial clause, as with examples (676) and (677) rather than precede it, as with example (678). Recall that *bila* may also be used in conditionals, even though it is rarely used to do so (see section 5.6.7).

(676) [**Bila** *bahru gua balék rumah*], *bahru gua dapat tau pasair tu accident*
when just 1.SG return home just 1.SG get know matter that
 ‘When I just returned home, I just got to know (about) that accident.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-053, 00:02:22.8-00:02:26.3)

(677) [**Bila** *gua senang*], *gua jalan jalan lah*.
when 1.SG free 1.SG walk walk Emp
 ‘When I (am) free, I take walks.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:01:50.1-00:01:52.2)

(678) *Gua dapat tau pasair tu accident* [**bila** *gua jumpa dia*].
 1.SG get know matter that **when** 1.SG meet 3.SG
 ‘I got to know (about) that accident when I met her.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-053, 00:00:30.5-00:00:36.0)

Sunggu pun (literally ‘really also’) functions as subordinating conjunction ‘although’. The subordinate clause it introduces usually precedes the main clause, although it is also acceptable for the subordinate clause to follow the main clause. Example (679) is a replication of (319).

(679) [**Sunggu.pun** *dia tak standard*], *dia dapat ini kreja*.
although 3.Sg Neg 3.Sg get this work
 ‘Although he (is of) no standard, he got this work.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-053, 00:20:53.4-00:20:57.2)

(680) [**Sunggu.pun** *lu tak suka dia*], *lu mesti perama*.
although 2.SG Neg like 3.SG 2.SG must polite
 ‘Although you do not like him, you must be polite.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-053, 00:23:21.7-00:23:25.2)

(681) *Dia boléh buang krejar*, [**sunggu.pun** *dia minum sikit*].
 3.SG can throw work **although** 3.SG drinks little
 ‘He can lose his job although he drinks little.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-053, 00:22:38.1-00:22:42.7)

Similar to observations made in section 5.6.6, most of subordinate clauses usually precede the main clause, the only exception being sentences featuring *pasal* ‘because’.

5.6.9 Topicalization

Topicalization occurs when a particular constituent is fronted in a clause so that it is the most prominent component of the clause. Topicalization is commonly used in BM, and speakers topicalize the elements they believe to be most important. Lim (1988) goes as far as suggesting that BM has a basic sentence structure of topic followed by comment. He alludes to Li and Thompson (1976) who suggest that many Asian languages have Topic-Comment as their basic structure, instead of subject and predicate. BM, having derived its characteristics from substrate Hokkien, may have adopted its Topic-Comment structure. However, one hesitates to state that BM is more Topic-Comment than it is Subject-Predicate, simply because there are many instances of Subject-Predicate examples, such as with the recently discussed examples (679) to (681). Instead, it may be preferable to assert that topicalization often happens in BM.

The different constituents that can be fronted through topicalization include noun phrase object, adjectival phrase, adverbial phrase and also adverbial clause. Verb phrases usually do not have to be topicalized, since it is common for subjects to not be explicitly expressed, leaving verb phrases to already front the clause. Note that commas may be provided in some of the examples below to help in the parsing of these clauses, even though the speakers do not pause between the constituent being topicalized and the rest of the clause in some instances.

The following examples show topicalization of object noun phrase.

- (682) [*Kerosi*], *dudok, belom panas, sudah jalan*
chair, sit not.yet hot already walk
'That chair is not yet hot from sitting, (and you) already are going.'
(Lilian, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-079, 00:15:11.8-00:15:14.3)
- (683) [*Ikan kuning*], *tarok asam*
fish yellow put tamarind
'Yellow fish, put tamarind (on it).'
(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:07:29.4-00:07:32.2)
- (684) [*Teloh*], *goréng.*
egg fry
'The egg, fry (it).'
(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:07:44.8-00:07:47.5)

While noun phrase is topicalized in the preceding examples, the following ones show topicalization of adjectives. At first glance, it is not clear if what is being topicalized is the adjectival phrase or the verb phrase, considering there is very little use of the copula verb *ada* in BM. It is not possible to make presumptions about whether *ada* should also be fronted, since no such data exists. However, it is interesting to note again that is no other instance of verb phrase fronting. In most instances, when verb phrases occur at the beginning of the clause, the clause carries no explicit subject, whereas in the examples that follow, the subject remains, albeit no longer in first position. Thus, these should be analysed as the topicalization of something other than the verb phrase, more likely, the adjectival phrase.

(685) [*Samplang*], *dia*.
 promiscuous 3.SG
 ‘Promiscuous, he is.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-052, 00:02:57.4-00:02:58.5)

(686) [*Betol*], *ini mas*
 real this gold
 ‘Real, this gold is.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-100, 00:52:54.1-00:52:55.1)

(687) [*Senyap*], *satu rumah*
 silent one house
 ‘Silent, the one house’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-037, 00:03:00.6-00:03:03.5)

It is also possible for adverbial phrases and adverbial clauses to be fronted, although adverbial phrases modifying time, location and manner usually follow the verb phrase rather than follow it (see section 5.4). Instances of adverbial phrase topicalization are hence much rarer, as with example (688). On the other hand, it is very common for adverbial clauses to be topicalized, adverbial clauses having been observed to occur at both the beginning and end of sentences (see section 5.6.6). Examples (632) and (633) are replicated as examples (689) and (690).

(688) [*Betol lawa*], *dia pakay*
 real stylish 3.SG wear
 ‘Really stylish, he dresses.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-101, 00:06:22.8-00:06:27.3)

(689) [*Dulu minggu*], *Mary jatuh sakit*.
 before week fall sick
 ‘Last week Mary fell sick.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-051, 00:04:39.2-00:04:43.8)

(690) [*Se- lepas restaurant itu*], *lu nanti jumpa satu cake shop*.
 one- after that 2.SG later see one
 ‘Immediately after that restaurant, you will see a cake shop.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-107, 00:13:51.3-00:13:57.8)

5.6.10 Questions

The types of questions in BM can be divided into two kinds, content questions and tag questions.

5.6.10.1 Content questions

Following sections 4.1.3.4 and 4.4.2, the interrogative pronouns and adverbs of BM are summarized in the following table.

what	<i>apa</i>	Interrogative pronouns
who	<i>siapa</i>	
whose	<i>siapa punya/ mia/ nia</i>	
how many	<i>berapa</i>	
which	<i>mana</i>	
when	<i>bila</i>	Interrogative adverbs
where	<i>mana</i>	
why ‘what reason’	<i>apa pasal/ pasair/ sair</i>	
how ‘what like’	<i>apa macham/ cham</i>	
rhetorical ‘where EXIST’	<i>mana ada</i>	

Table 40: List of interrogative pronouns and adverbs in Baba Malay

The following are examples of how these interrogative pronouns and adverbs are used, and the content questions that they form. The interrogatives can either be fronted or remain *in situ*. Note that questions may occur with *ah* as an optional question particle.

Apa literally means ‘what’, and it can replace a noun phrase in a sentence. *Apa* can be fronted, as with example (691). Example (693) shows how questions with *apa* are usually answered. Example (172) is replicated here as (692).

(691) *Apa ini ah?*
what that Q
‘What is this?’
(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-042, 00:08:32.1-00:08:33.4)

(692) *Ini apa?*
This **what**
‘This (is) what?’
(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-037, 00:23:11.1-00:23:12.5)

(693) *Ini hospital*
this
‘This (is) a hospital.’
(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-103, 00:01:01.4-00:01:03.6)

Siapa ‘who’ is also an interrogative pronoun may replace noun phrases in utterances, as demonstrated by the following examples. Example (696) demonstrates how questions with *siapa* may be answered. Example (173) is replicated as (694).

(694) *Siapa itu?*
who that
‘Who (is) that?’
(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-042, 00:23:11.1-00:23:12.5)

(695) *Mary ini siapa?*⁵⁹
this **who**
‘This Mary (is) who?’
(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-042, 00:23:11.1-00:23:12.5)

⁵⁹ Where *siapa* ‘who’ and the second person pronoun *lu* are concerned, it is generally more polite to ask “*Lu siapa?*” rather than “*siapa lu?*”

- (696) *Ini anak dia*
 this child 3.SG
 ‘This (is) his child.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:02:13.5-00:02:14.4)

The notion of ‘whose’ is expressed when *siapa* is used together with possessive *punya*. The short versions of *punya* are *mia* and *nia* (see section 5.1.1), although there are no instances of *siapa nia* recorded. Due to place assimilation to *p*, the onset of the second syllable in *siapa* ‘who’, *siapa punya* and *siapa mia* may be preferred over *siapa nia*. Inadvertently, the answers to these questions are utterances that replace *siapa* with a noun phrase, indicating who the possessor is, as with example (699). Example (174) is replicated here as (697).

- (697) *Siapa punya bubor itu?*
who **POSS** porridge that
 ‘Whose porridge (is) that?’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-032, 00:04:10.1-00:04:12.1)

- (698) *Ini rumah siapa mia?*
 this house **who** **POSS**
 ‘This house (is) whose?’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-092, 00:02:01.1-00:02:03.9)

- (699) *Gua mia ngkua mia.*
 1.SG **POSS** father-in-law **POSS**
 ‘My father-in-law’s.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-092, 00:03:03.0-00:03:06.3)

Berapa denotes ‘how many’ (recall that it can also be used to mean ‘some’, see section 5.1.2.4). *Berapa* can be used with noun classifiers and nouns, as with (700), or on its own, as with (701). The default meaning of the utterance concerns how much something costs, but context, noun classifiers and nouns can be used to tell what is being asked. Example (702) replicates (386), and shows how questions with *berapa* may be answered.

- (700) *Berapa bijak itu lémo kat sana?*
how.many Clf.fruit that lemon PREP there
 ‘How many lemons (are) there?’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-093, 00:27:14.8-00:27:17.8)

- (701) *Itu lémo berapa?*
 that lemon **how.many**
 ‘That lemon (is) how much?’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-093, 00:27:05.5-00:27:07.9)

- (702) *Satu bijak timun*
 one CLF.small.round cucumber
 ‘One cucumber.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-149, 00:03:17.8-00:03:19.4)

Mana has two functions, one of which is ‘which’ and the other is ‘where’ (‘Where’ examples are discussed later). *Mana* is usually used when an interlocutor is presented more than one option to choose from, and asked to state a preference for a particular one. There is some individual variation. In addition to *mana*, as with example (703), a speaker also uses *apa* to indicate ‘which’, as demonstrated by example (705). Example (704) replicates (176), and example (706) shows how these questions can be answered.

- (703) *Mana satu lu suka?*
Which one 2.SG like
 ‘Which one do you like?’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-089, 01:03:17.5-01:03:18.7)

- (704) *Mana baik, mana satu tak baik?*
Which good **which** one NEG good.
 ‘Which (is) good, which one (is) not good?’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:01:23.2-00:01:26.3)

- (705) *Apa colour?*
what
 ‘What colour?’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-089, 01:03:44.8-01:03:47.0)

- (706) *Gua suka mérah.*
 1.SG like red
 ‘I like red.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-089, 01:04:17.2-01:04:19.4)

Whereas the above show uses of interrogative pronouns, the following examples demonstrate how interrogative adverbs are used. These may substitute adverbial clauses. In most instances, *bila* questions take the form of (707) rather than (708), even though both are well-formed to speakers. Example (640) is replicated as (709), and shows how *bila* interrogatives may be answered. Answers usually reflect some type of temporal information.

- (707) *Bila lu mo datang?*
When 2.SG want come
 ‘When (do) you want to come?’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-093, 00:05:24.3-00:05:26.5)
- (708) *Dia nia sehjit bila?*
 3.SG POSS birthday **when**
 ‘Her birthday (is) when?’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-037, 00:43:10.9-00:43:13.6)
- (709) *hari ini, Mary jumpa Jane dekat pasair*
 day this meet PREP market
 ‘Today, Mary is meeting Jane at the pasair.’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-051, 00:07:20.9-00:07:25.3)

Other than being used to mean ‘which’, *mana* primarily functions to mean ‘where’. The following examples show how *mana* is used to mean ‘where’. Again, *mana* usually occur fronted as with (710). Example (711) is a rare instance of *mana* occurring *in situ*. Example (237) is replicated here as example (710), and example (712) shows a typical answer to *mana* interrogatives. Answers to *mana* interrogatives in this sense usually indicate a particular location.

- (710) *Mana pi si Mary?*
where go PERSON
 ‘Where goes Mary?’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-037, 00:08:42.2-00:08:43.5)
- (711) *Lu pakay chanték mo pi mana?*
 2.SG wear beautiful want go **where**
 ‘You dress beautifully to go where?’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-042, 00:07:01.5-00:07:03.6)
- (712) *Mary pi sekolah*
 go school
 ‘Mary goes to school.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-117, 00:16:26.0-00:16:27.5)

Apa pasal (refined form: *pasair*, short refined form *sair*) literally means ‘what reason’, and corresponds to ‘why’. Note that *apa pasal* is always fronted, and it has not been observed at the end of utterances. Example (715) show how these questions are usually answered, where *pasal/ pasair/ sair* occurs as a grammaticalized ‘because’ (see section 5.6.8.2).

- (713) *Apa pasal lu marah?*
what reason 2.SG angry
 ‘Why (are) you angry?’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-093, 00:23:43.8-00:23:45.1)
- (714) *Apa sair si Mary bikin kuéh?*
what reason PERSON make cake
 ‘Why (is) Mary baking a cake?’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-037, 00:01:06.7-00:01:09.1)
- (715) *Pasal dia jahat, macham hantu.*
because 3.SG evil, like ghost
 ‘Because he (is) evil, like a ghost.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-093, 00:26:21.2-00:26:27.0)

Apa macham (short form: *cham*), literally ‘what like’, is used to indicate ‘how’ in BM. They usually occur fronted, as with example (716). The only instances where they do not occur right at the beginning of the utterance are instances wherein other elements have been fronted, as demonstrated by example (717). *Apa macham* questions can be answered by simple statements, as demonstrated by example (718).

- (716) *Apa macham pi bank?*
what like go
 ‘How (do I) go to the bank?’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-103, 00:13:54.5-00:13:56.7)
- (717) *Bésok, si Mary, apa cham mo balék sekolah?*
 tomorrow Person **what like** want return school
 ‘How (does) Mary want to return to school tomorrow?’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-037, 00:41:02.5-00:41:04.8)
- (718) *Dia mo dudok bus.*
 3.SG want sit bus
 ‘She wants to take the bus.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-052, 00:09:14.8-00:09:18.0)

Whereas the previous interrogatives are used for the purpose of seeking an answer, *mana ada* ‘where EXIST’ is used as a rhetorical question. *Mana ada* always occurs at the beginning of utterances. These are used in response to an interlocutor’s statement or question, to imply the negative. For example, (719) follows an interlocutor’s question about where a knife is, and it denies the existence of said knife. (720) on the other hand, is a response to an interlocutor’s statement, that a particular person is clever. It does not give one’s opinion directly, and is akin to asking, “How is he clever?” There is an inherent

implication that the speaker does not share the same opinion as the interlocutor. Note that this structure is essentially derived from Hokkien, and will be revisited in section 7.4.4.2 Example (240) is replicated as (719).

- (719) *Mana ada piso?*
where EXIST knife
 ‘Where is the knife (implying there is no knife)?’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-037, 00:21:02.8-00:21:05.6)

- (720) *Mana ada panday?*
where EXIST clever
 ‘How is he clever (implying he is not)?’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-093, 00:21:32.7-00:21:34.2)

In summary, whereas interrogative pronouns can occur fronted, or *in situ*, there appears to be a preference for interrogative adverbs to be fronted. This is in line with the nature of the adverbial clauses that interrogative adverbs may substitute, adverbial clauses having the tendency to be fronted in BM (see section 5.6.6).

5.6.10.2 Tag questions

Other than questions that feature interrogative pronouns and adverbs, tag questions are also commonly used in BM. Tag questions are essentially declaratives that have been converted into interrogatives with the tags attached at the end of the sentence. Tags are usually negative in nature, and common ones include adverb, *belum* ‘not yet’ (see section 5.2.5.1), noun negation marker, *bukan* (see section 5.1.4), and verb negation marker, *tak* (see section 5.2.8). Another tag is that *tak* VP *tak* option.

Belom ‘not yet’ is used at the end of sentences featuring *sudah* ‘already’ to ask if an event has already happened. Examples (721) to (723) show how the *belum* tag is used, and examples (724) and (725) demonstrate typical answers to questions with *belum*. The positive answer would comprise *sudah* ‘already’ VP, while the negative answer uses *belum* ‘not yet’ VP.

- (721) *Itu kuéh sudah jadi belum?*
 that cake alreadybecome not.yet
 ‘Has that cake formed yet?’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-098, 00:19:55.5-00:19:57.7)

- (722) *Itu mia lauk sudah siap belum?*
 that Rel cooked.food alreadyprepared not.yet
 ‘Has that cook food been prepared yet?’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-099, 00:18:12.8-00:18:16.5)
- (723) *Lu sudah siap belum?*
 2.SG alreadyprepared not.yet
 ‘Are you prepared yet?’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-100, 00:10:36.4-00:10:39.0)
- (724) *Itu mia lauk sumua sudah siap.*
 that Rel food all alreadyprepared
 ‘That cooked food is all prepared already.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-099, 00:18:51.2-00:18:53.9)
- (725) *Mary belum siap.*
 not.yet prepared
 ‘Mary is not prepared yet.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-099, 00:20:11.5-00:20:13.9)

Another negative tag in BM is *bukan* (short version: *kan*⁶⁰). The following examples show the *bukan* tag is used. Earlier, the use of *bukan* to negate noun phrases was noted (see section 5.1.4). In these instances, *bukan* is used to negate the clause. Essentially, the speaker has a view, and seeks confirmation. Typical replies to these questions will comprise *ya* ‘yes’, or *bukan* ‘no’. These are demonstrated by examples (729) and (730).

- (726) *Dia ada beli apple bukan?*
 3.SG PFV buy no
 ‘He bought apples, no?’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-051, 00:40:03.6-00:40:07.2)
- (727) *Dia pi sekolah bukan?*
 3.SG go school no
 ‘He goes to school, no?’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-051, 00:40:24.4-00:40:27.4)
- (728) *Lu mo bukak pintu kan?*
 2.Sg want open door no
 ‘You want to open the door, no?’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-044, 00:20:58.3-00:21:00.1)
- (729) *Ya lah. Lama tak jalan sini.*

⁶⁰ This is not to be mistaken with transitive marker *-kan*.

yes Emp long.time Neg walk here
'Yes. (I have) not walked here for a long time.'
(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:00:05.1-00:00:08.3)

(730) *Bukan. Terima.*
no accept
'No. Accept (it).'
(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-045, 00:17:57.8-00:17:59.7)

While *bukan* negates the entire clause (and noun phrase), *tak* has been noted to negate verb phrase (see section 5.2.8). When *tak* is used as a tag marker, the speaker seeks information with no particular presupposed stance. Compare (726) to (731), and (727) to (732). In (726), the speaker is questioning the *notion* of agent having bought apples, thinking that the agent has most probably bought apples, whereas in (731), the speaker is questioning whether the agent bought apples or not, without presuming that the agent has bought apples. Similarly, in (727), the speaker questions the *notion* of whether the agent goes to school, presuming that the agent goes to school, whereas in (732), the speaker questions whether the agent goes to school, without any strong presumptions about whether the agent goes to school. Example (429) is replicated as (735).

(731) *Mary ada beli apple tak?*
PFV buy NEG
'Did Mary buy the apples?'
(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-051, 00:39:15.5-00:39:17.9)

(732) *Dia pi sekolah tak?*
3.SG go school NEG
'Does he go to school?'
(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-051, 00:40:17.5-00:40:18.6)

(733) *Lu jaga chuchu tak?*
2.SG take.care grandchildren NEG
'Do you take care of grandchildren?'
(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:00:50.8-00:00:52.5)

(734) *Lu boléh tunjok -kan jalan tak?*
2.SG can show -TR walk NEG
'Can you show the way?'
(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-083, 00:19:58.2-00:20:01.9)

(735) *Rumah gua ada chanték tak?*

house 1.SG COP beautiful NEG
 ‘My house is beautiful or not?’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-035, 00:02:41.9-00:02:43.7)

Other than the tag *tak*, it is also possible to form questions in the VP *tak* VP form. These have the same function as the basic *tak* tag. These can be thought of as more fully developed versions of the basic *tak* questions. Examples (736) to (740) show how the VP *tak* VP form is used. Note that (739) and (740) appear as AP *tak* AP on the surface, but they are versions of VP where the copula is not expressed, unlike in (736), where the copula is fully expressed. Example (736) replicates (428).

(736) *Ada baik tak -a*
 COP good NEG -COP
 ‘Are (you) well or not?’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:00:09.2-00:00:11.2)

(737) *Lu perchaya tak perchaya*
 2.SG trust NEG trust
 ‘Do you trust or not trust (this news)?’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-125, 00:02:09.2-00:02:11.8)

(738) *Lu setuju tak setuju*
 2.SG agree NEG agree
 ‘Do you agree or not agree?’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-125, 00:02:14.3-00:02:16.6)

(739) *Chanték tak chanték*
 beautiful NEG beautiful
 ‘Beautiful or not beautiful?’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-091, 00:03:41.3-00:03:43.9)

(740) *Lain minggu, Johntak tentu senang tak senang*
 another week NEG certain free NEG free
 ‘Next week, John is not sure if he is free or not free.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-091, 00:27:52.6-00:27:57.9)

The following examples demonstrate how *tak* and VP *tak* VP questions may be answered. Example (741) is a response to (739), while example (742) answers the question in example (733). Note that while *ya* is still used to mean ‘yes’, *bukan* ‘no’ is not used as a response to these questions (unlike the *bukan* questions). Instead, *tak ada* (short: *tak a*) ‘NEG EXIST’ is used to indicate a negative response. It

is possible also for answers to be given without *ya* or *tak ada*. Declarative statements like those in examples (743) and (744) are also common responses to *tak* questions.

- (741) *Ya. kasot ini chanték.*
 yes shoe this beautiful
 ‘Yes. These shoes (are) beautiful.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-091, 00:04:06.2-00:04:10.1)
- (742) *Tak a lah. Tak gitu lah.*
 NEG EXIST EMP NEG like.that EMP
 ‘No. (It is) not like that.’
 (Jane Quek oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:00:52.5-00:00:53.8)
- (743) *Suka lah.*
 like EMP
 ‘(I) like (response to whether or not the agent likes to play mahjong).’
 (Jane Quek oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:15:07.7-00:15:09.4)
- (744) *Tak boléh.*
 Neg can
 ‘Cannot (response to whether something can or cannot be done).’
 (Jane Quek oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-043, 00:05:14.9-00:05:15.4)

Besides the above two main types of tag questions, other tags also exist, such as the ones below.

- (745) *Asam gugol mia kulit ya?*
 tamarind dried.fruit POSS skin, yes
 ‘The dried tamarind’s skin, yes?’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:11:51.6-00:11:54.4)
- (746) *Gua mia favourite ah?*
 1.SG POSS Q
 ‘My favourite?’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:10:37.2-00:10:39.5)
- (747) *oh lu Catholic ada chutsi eh?⁶¹*
 2.SG have rebirth Q
 ‘Oh you Catholics have the concept of rebirth?’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:06:08.2-00:06:10.8)
- (748) *Gua lapair tau?*
 1.Sg hungry know
 ‘I (am) hungry, (you) know?’
 (Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-002, 00:17:16.3-00:17:17.3)

⁶¹ Intended as a joke.

The responses to these questions depend on whether the speaker has an intended answer (in which case the appropriate responses are *ya* ‘yes’ and *bukan* ‘no’), or whether the speaker is genuinely enquiring for information (in which case the appropriate responses are *ya* ‘yes’ and *tak VP*). In the above questions, only (745) can be answered with *bukan*, since it is the notion of the clause that is being questioned.

It is important to recall that both content questions and tag questions differ in intonation (see section 3.6.3). Whereas content questions are accompanied by a rise-fall when the interrogative occurs in utterance-initial position, and a rise at the end of question when the interrogative occurs in utterance-final position, tags always occur at the end of the utterance, hence tag questions are always accompanied by a rise at the end of the utterance.

5.6.11 Imperatives

Verb phrases function as imperatives on their own, except for negative imperatives that are essentially verb phrases made up of *jangan* ‘do not’ and the main verb phrase (see section 5.2.8). The following are examples of non-negative imperatives.

(749) *Pi buang ayé kechik.*

Go throw water small

‘Go urinate.’

(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-052, 00:18:51.7-00:18:53.9)

(750) *Pegi lah.*

Go EMP

‘Go.’

(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-037, 00:50:25.1-00:50:26.4)

(751) *Pegi buang ayé baik -baik.*

go throw water good good

‘Go urinate well.’

(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-037, 00:52:15.4-00:52:17.0)

(752) *Belajar chakap.*

learn speak

‘Learn to speak’

(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-043, 00:32:04.1-00:32:05.8)

(753) *Tutup pintu.*

close door

‘Close the door.’

(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-043, 00:23:01.3-00:23:02.8)

By and large, it is considered impolite to use these imperatives as well as the negative imperatives discussed in section 5.2.8 with speakers who have more seniority than oneself. Requests have to be couched in questions together with the appropriate term of address. For more information on interrogatives, please refer to section 5.6.10.

6. Differences between Singapore Baba Malay and Malacca Baba Malay

The label ‘Baba Malay’ is usually applied to the language of the Peranakans, both in Singapore and in Malacca. Thus far, research on BM has been restricted to condensed grammatical descriptions or sketches, since the aim of the researchers was mostly to determine how much of BM is due to influence from contact with Chinese speakers of Hokkien. Pakir (1986) and Lee (1999) explicitly state that their fieldwork is conducted in Singapore, Sharif (1981) and Lim (1981, 1988) state that their fieldwork took place in Malacca, and Shih (2009) expresses that she conducted interviews in both Singapore and Malacca. However, little has been said about whether the variety in Singapore is similar or different than the variety that is spoken in Malacca. Thus far, no researcher has expressed that these varieties should be any different, with the exception of Pakir (1986) who suggests towards the end of her dissertation, that comparisons between the two dialects could be carried out in the future.

While the focus of this dissertation has been mainly the grammar of SBM, this chapter aims to point out some differences between SBM and MBM where they exist. Primary fieldwork was carried out with my principal Malacca consultant and his mother. In addition, the author’s granduncle, an MBM speaker, was also consulted. These amount to twelve hours in audio recordings which are also archived in Kaipuleohone. The works of Sharif (1981), Lim (1981) and Lim (1988) are used to supplement this data, since both researchers carried out their fieldwork in Malacca.

6.1 Phonetic and phonological differences

Phonetically, MBM is different from SBM in that MBM speakers do not produce the vowel /ɔ/, whereas SBM speakers do. Phonologically, the monophthongization rule is not as strictly adhered to in MBM as it is in SBM.

6.1.1 Vowel /ɔ/

The main phonetic difference between SBM and MBM is the lack of vowel /ɔ/. The vowels of a proficient male MBM speaker in his sixties, are measured for their first and second formants. The tokens are extracted from twelve hours’ worth of interview sessions, from sections where speech is naturally-occurring. The same methodology adopted for measuring vowels of SBM (see section 3.7) is used. The following vowel chart shows the vowel space of this MBM speaker, in which /ɔ/ is clearly missing.

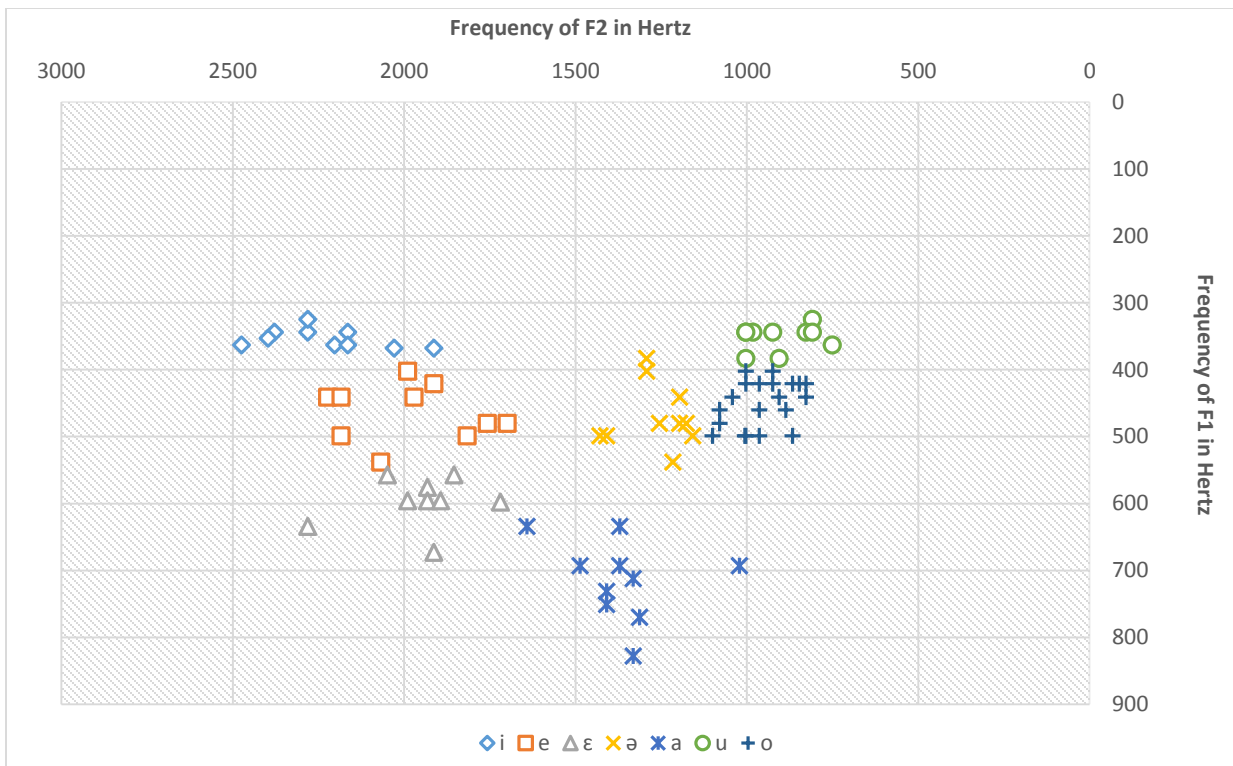


Figure 32: Vowel space of a Malacca Baba Malay speaker

This can be compared with the vowel space of a proficient SBM speaker, also a male in his sixties. The vowel space of the SBM speaker, featured earlier as figure 22, is replicated here as figure 33. The SBM speaker is observed to produce the vowel /ɔ/, while the MBM speaker does not do so.

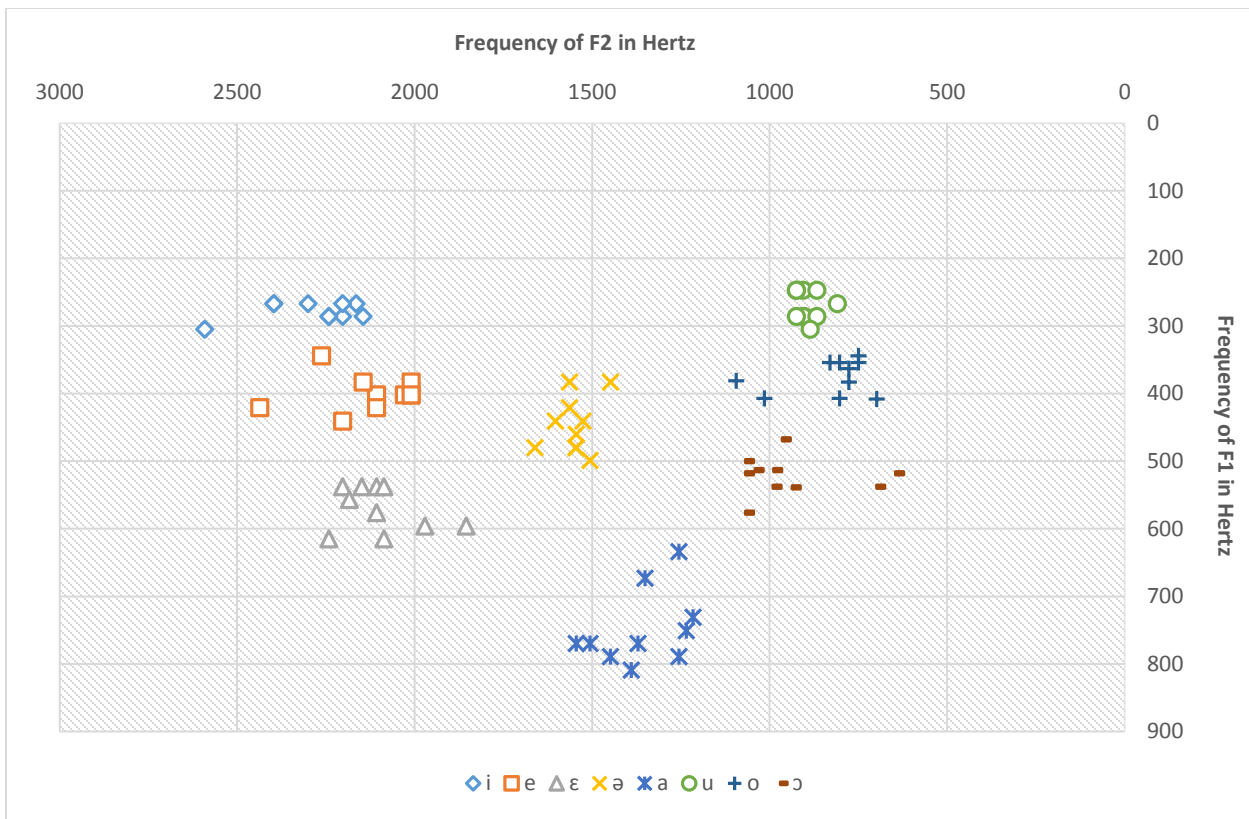


Figure 33: Vowel space of a Singapore Baba Malay speaker

Again, while the above figures provide a quick illustration, vowel normalization is required when comparing vowel spaces across different speakers, since the length and shapes of the vowel tracts of different speakers vary. As in section 3.7, the Lobanov method is also utilized here (see Lobanov 1971).⁶² The resultant chart comparing the vowels of the MBM speaker, and that of the SBM speaker, is provided in figure 34 below. The chart shows that while both speakers produced vowels in the open-mid front region, only the SBM speaker produces /ɔ/ vowels in the open-mid back region. The MBM speaker does not produce any vowel in this region.

⁶² There are vowel intrinsic and vowel extrinsic methods of normalization (Ainsworth 1975, Nearey 1989). Vowel intrinsic methods use only acoustic information contained within a single vowel to normalize that vowel token, while vowel extrinsic methods rely on information distributed across more than one vowel of the speaker. Vowel extrinsic methods such as the Lobanov have been shown to perform better than vowel intrinsic methods. The Lobanov method is represented by the following formula $F_{n[V]}^N = (F_{n[V]} - \text{MEAN}_n) / S_n$, where $F_{n[V]}^N$ is the normalized value for $F_{n[V]}$ (formant n of vowel V), MEAN_n is the mean value for formant n for the speaker, and S_n is the standard deviation for the speaker's formant n . The vowel plot shown is obtained through vowel normalization and plotting suite, NORM (Thomas and Kendall 2014).

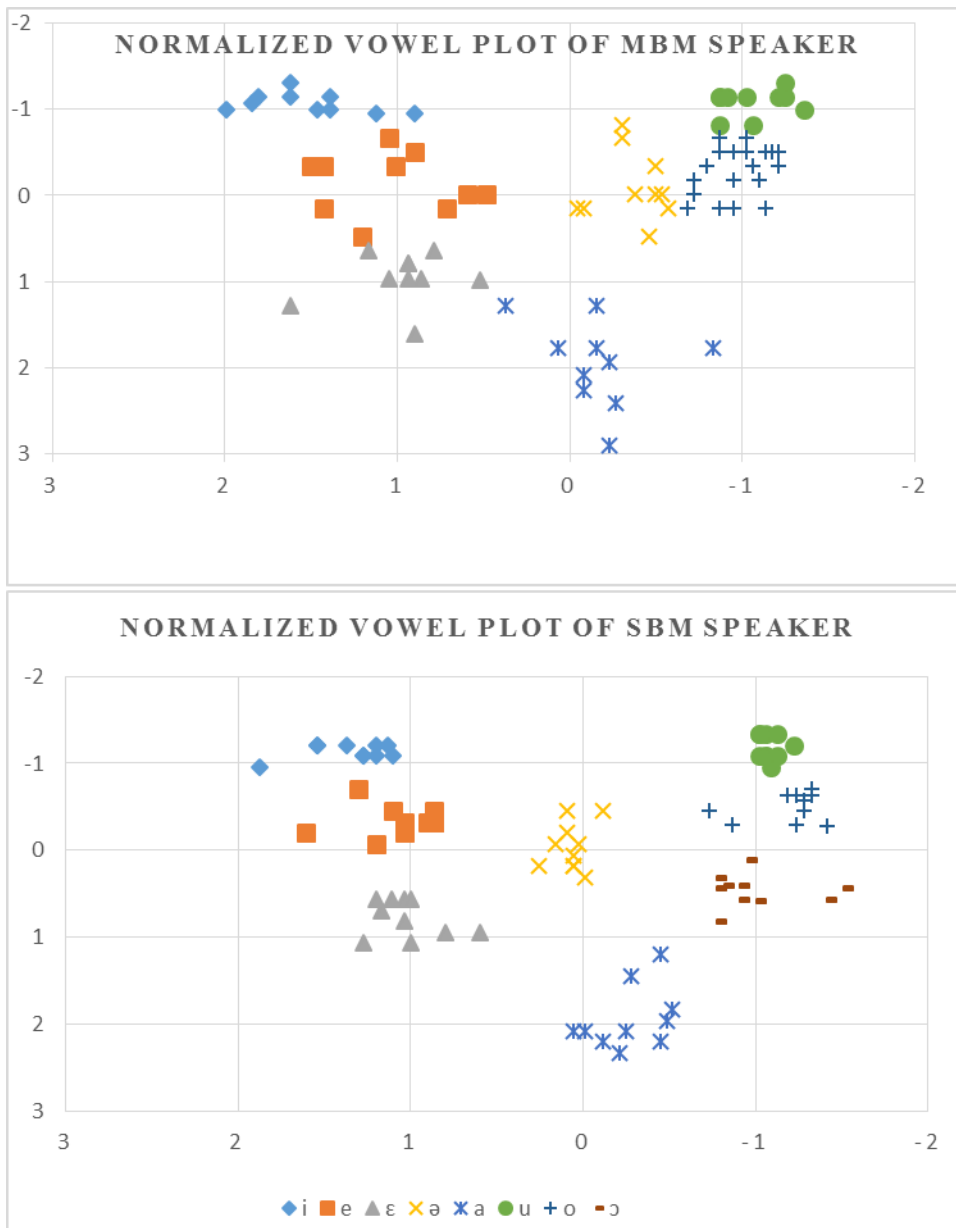


Figure 34: Normalized vowel plots of a MBM speaker and a SBM speaker

That MBM has vowels /i/, /e/, /ɛ/, /ə/, /a/, /u/, and /o/ but not /ɔ/ has also been observed by Lim (1981,1998). Note that Sharif (1981) only observed /i/, /e/, /ə/, /a/, /u/, and /o/. The findings of this dissertation are aligned with Lim (1981, 1998) and not Sharif (1981). The vowels of MBM can thus be represented by vowel chart in table 41.

	front	central		back
	non-rounded	non-rounded		rounded
close	i			u
close-mid	e	ə		o
open-mid	ɛ			
open		a		

Table 41: Vowel chart of Malacca Baba Malay

Where consonants are concerned, MBM has the exact same consonant inventory as SBM. The consonants of MBM can be represented by the following chart. Essentially, this chart has the same components as the consonant chart of SBM (see section 3.1.1).

		Labial	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Velar	Glottal
plosives	voiceless	p	t		k	ʔ
	voiced	b	d		g	
affricates	voiceless			tʃ		
	voiced			dʒ		
fricatives	voiceless		s			h
nasals		m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
lateral			l			
flap			ɾ			

glides: w, j

Table 42: Consonant chart of Malacca Baba Malay

It is interesting to note that these findings mostly accord with those with Lim (1988)'s work on MBM, except that the glottal plosive /ʔ/ is missing from his consonant chart. It may not have been his intention to leave it out, especially considering that he states that the phonological system of BM is “completely congruent with that of Malay” (Lim 1988:14), by which he means the standard Bahasa Melayu. He notes the presence of glottal plosive /ʔ/ in Malay. More information on how the sound systems of Hokkien and

Malay have contributed to BM can be found in section 7.4.1. Comparison with Sharif (1981)'s work on MBM shows that he treats liquid /r/ as velar fricative /ɣ/. This differs in general from anyone's work on BM (see Lim 1981, 1988 on MBM, and Pakir 1986 on SBM).

6.1.2 Optional monophthongization rule

In MBM, the monophthongization rule is not as strictly adhered to, as it is in SBM. Recall the monophthongization rule stated in section 3.3.3. Basically in word-final position, diphthongs /aj/ and /aw/ become close-mid monophthongs [e] and [o] with similar degrees of frontness and backness as the semivowels /j/ and /w/. The rule in (104) is replicated here as (755).

$$(755) \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{syllabic} \\ + \text{back} \\ + \text{low} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} - \text{syllabic} \\ \alpha \text{ back} \\ + \text{high} \end{array} \right] \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{syllabic} \\ \alpha \text{ back} \\ - \text{high} \\ - \text{low} \end{array} \right] / _ \#$$

aj ⇒ e /_#

aw ⇒ o /_#

Essentially in MBM, /aj/ becomes [e] word-finally, and /aw/ becomes [o] optionally. Examples (756) and (757) show /aj/ being replaced by [e] word-finally, whereas examples (758) and (759) show /aj/ remaining as [aj] word-finally. Note that although Sharif (1981) states that [e] replaces /aj/ word-finally in BM (he represents /aj/ as /ai/), he provides example (759) from his transcripts as a counterpoint, stating that this may be due to “a considerable amount of exposure to the Malay society” (Sharif 1981:106). In standard Malay, this monophthongization rule does not occur.

(756) [dja **pake** matʃam kawboj]
 3.Sg **wear** like cowboy
 ‘He wore (it) like a cowboy’
 (Albert Ku, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-046, 00:01:12.3-00:01:14.3)

(757) [kaki taʔ **sampe**]
 leg Neg **reach**
 ‘Legs do not reach’
 (Albert Ku, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-046, 00:02:52.6-00:02:54.0)

(758) [təpɔʔ **pandaj** **pandaj**]
clap **clever** **clever**
'Clap cleverly'
(Albert Ku, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-024, 00:15:38.3-00:15:39.4)

(759) [**pakaj**]
use
'Use'
(Sharif 1981: 106)

Similarly, aw/ becomes [o] optionally. Words such as [kalau] and [mau] are noted to not undergo monophthongization in MBM, whereas /pisaw/ undergoes monophthongization to become [piso]. In fact, in the current corpus, *piso* 'knife' is the only item noted in the current corpus that undergoes /aw/ to [o] monophthongization, as with example (760). The other items that end with [aw] do not undergo monophthongization, as shown in examples (761) to (765). Examples (764) and (765) are derived from Sharif (1981). Note that Sharif (1981) does not take into the account this pattern of monophthongization at all.

(760) [**piso** mana]
knife where
'Where (is) the knife?'
(Albert Ku, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-048, 00:14:07.8-00:14:08.6)

(761) [**kalaw** bole]
if can
'If possible'
(Albert Ku, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-003, 00:02:09.2-00:02:10.2)

(762) [oraŋ **kalaw** tʃakap terus teraŋ]
people **if** speak straight bright
'People, if (they) speak straight-forwardly'
(Albert Ku, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-003, 00:04:13.7-00:04:16.5)

(763) [**maw** aŋkat tu]
want carry that
'Want (to) carry that'
(Albert Ku, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-046, 00:02:33.1-00:02:33.5)

(764) [**kalaw**]
if
'If'
(Sharif 1981: 26)

(765) [mesti **maw**]
must **want**
'must'
(Sharif 1981: 20)

The best explanation again, may be that Peranakans in Malacca are highly exposed to standard Malay, since the monophthongization rule does not apply in standard Malay. Not only are Peranakans exposed to standard Malay speakers in Malacca. Many of them also undergo a standard Malay medium education in Malaysia. This may be the basis for why MBM appears to be more Malay than SBM is.

In fact, Sharif (1981)'s transcripts based on three interviews carried out in Malacca, show instances of further convergence towards standard Malay. Words that phonologically end with /a/ are phonetically transcribed with [ə] endings. For example, possessive /puŋa/ is transcribed as [puŋə], and /dʒumpa/ for 'meet' is transcribed as [dʒumpə]. This word-final alternation is characteristic of standard Malay in both Singapore and Malacca (Omar 1977), but not noted in any work on BM thus far. This alternation may have occurred due to the fact that the interviewers in Sharif (1981)'s transcripts used Standard Malay to elicit BM responses.⁶³ This alternation also does not show up in the current corpuses of both SBM and MBM.

6.2 Morphological difference

In terms of morphology, MBM differs from SBM only slightly. At first glance, this variety appears to take on more affixes than SBM.

6.2.1 *Ke-* *-an* nominalizing circumfix

In other varieties of Malay such as Bahasa Melayu and Bahasa Indonesia, the circumfix *ke-* and *-an* may be added to adjectives and verbs to form nouns of an abstract nature. In the current SBM corpus, there is no occurrence of this circumfix, whereas in the MBM corpus, the circumfix occurs with the word *banyak* 'many' so that it becomes a noun. This is also observed to occur in Sharif (1981)'s transcripts of MBM. Also, while 'many' in SBM is *manyak*, the word is *banyak* in these observed MBM instances.

(766) **Ke-** *banyak-an* *chakap saya*
NMZ- **many** **-NMZ** speak 1.SG
'Many say *saya* (for I).'
(Albert Ku, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-003, 00:01:06.1-00:01:08.2)

⁶³ While this is not outrightly stated in his thesis, it can be gleaned from the transcripts of Sharif (1981).

(767) *Anjing itu ke- punya -an Mary.*
 dog that NMZ- possess-NMZ
 ‘That dog (is) Mary’s possession.’
 (Albert Ku, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-010, 00:36:11.7-00:36:15.5)

(768) *Ke- banyak-an orang tongsan*
 NMZ- many -NMZ China
 ‘Many (were) Chinese’
 (Sharif 1981: 41)⁶⁴

However, note that *ke-* may also be omitted, as with example (769) and (770). In fact, *-an* in (769) appears as a regular nominalizer that may also be used for non-abstract items, as with the *chakap -an* ‘speech’ in (770). The general *-an* nominalizer is also found in SBM (see section 4.1.1.1).

(769) *Orang bahasa China banyak-an*
 person language China many -NMZ
 ‘Many of the Chinese speakers’
 (Albert Ku, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-003, 00:04:18.2-00:04:20.4)

(770) *Chakap -an Baba*
 speak - NMZ
 ‘The speech of the Babas.’
 (Albert Ku, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-003, 00:04:10.3-00:04:11.4)

6.2.1 Other affixes

Similar to SBM, affixes in MBM may not be meaningful. For example, in (772) and (774), Malay middle voice marker makes no difference to the interpretation of the word it is attached to.

(771) *bawak datang kuéh itu*
 carry come cake that
 ‘Carry that cake here.’
 (Albert Ku, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-013, 00:15:52.9-00:15:55.1)

(772) *Dia pegi jalan jalan berbawak satu jarring*
 3.SG go walk walk carry one net
 ‘He went walking carrying one net.’
 (Albert Ku, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-047, 00:00:54.8-00:00:56.9)

⁶⁴ Sharif’s transcripts (1981) are transcribed phonetically, but they are presented orthographically here for ease of understanding.

(773) *Dia gonchang botol itu.*
3.SG **shake** bottle that
'He shook that bottle.'
(Albert Ku, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-025, 00:09:39.8-00:09:42.1)

(774) **Bergonchang**
Shake
'Shake (something).'
(Albert Ku, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-025, 00:09:36.9-00:09:38.7)

In addition to nominalizer *-an*, other commonly used productive affixes in MBM are the ones that are also used in SBM, these being transitive marker *-kan* and accidental and movement prefix *ter-* (see sections 4.2.1.1). Examples (775) to (777) show usage of the transitive marker, examples (778) to (780) demonstrate how the accidental prefix is used, and examples (781) and (782) show usage of the movement prefix.

(775) **pechah-kan**
break -TR
'break (something).'
(Albert Ku, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-024, 01:12:17.0-01:12:18.6)

(776) *Lu jatoh -kan barang.*
2.SG **fall -TR** thing
'You dropped something.'
(Albert Ku, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-025, 00:05:13.8-00:05:15.9)

(777) **Sandah -kan itu tangga.**
lean -TR that ladder
'Lean that ladder (against something).'
(Albert Ku, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-025, 00:03:22.2-00:03:26.5)

(778) *Dia ter- tendang depan dia*
3.SG **ACD- kick** front 3.Sg
'He accidentally kicked in front of him.'
(Albert Ku, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-047, 00:01:23.7-00:01:25.7)

(779) **ter- langgair**
ACD- crash
'Accidentally crash.'
(Albert Ku, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-046, 00:03:33.0-00:03:33.6)

(780) *Dia mia kopiah ter- tinggal*
3.SG POSS hat **ACD- stay**
'His hat accidentally left behind.'
(Albert Ku, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-046, 00:04:39.0-00:04:40.9)

(781) *ter- pusing*
MVT- whirl
 ‘Whirl around.’
 (Albert Ku, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-046, 00:03:35.0-00:03:38.5)

(782) *keréta tu ter- balék.*
 car that **MVT- return**
 ‘That car turned upside down.’
 (Albert Ku, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-046, 00:04:06.1-00:04:10.8)

Note that while derivational morphology is limited in both MBM and SBM, MBM speakers are mostly aware of other derivational affixes used in Standard Malay and are able to use these. For example, while MBM speakers interviewed state that there is no person prefix in BM, this prefix is observed in Sharif’s data. Again, this may be due to the fact that the speaker is being interviewed by a speaker of standard Malay. Also note that MBM speakers have knowledge of standard Malay through education, as well as through contact with other speakers.

(783) *pe- kerja dia*
PERSON- work 3.Sg
 ‘His worker.’
 (Sharif 1981: 45)

In general, while MBM speakers may be aware of other derivational affixes in Malay, the ones that are considered to be BM to them are the abstract nominalizer circumfix *ke- -an*, general nominalizer *-an*, transitive marker *-kan*, and accidental prefix and movement prefix *ter-*.

6.2.2 Noun phrase

With regard to the noun phrase, MBM and SBM are mostly similar. The only major difference concerning the noun phrase is that demonstrative determiners follow the main noun phrase in current day MBM, whereas these demonstrative determiners both precede and follow the noun phrase in SBM. This appears to be a newer development considering that the older transcripts of Lim (1981, 1988) and Sharif (1981) show both word orders. There are also a couple of clarifications that have to be made where personal pronouns and relative clauses are concerned. While previous research only highlights one first person pronoun, the current corpus as well as the transcripts of Lim (1981, 1988) and Sharif (1981) show that, akin to SBM, MBM has two first person pronouns. In addition, while Lim (1981,

1988) only indicate a prenominal relativizer, and Sharif (1981), a postnominal relativizer, both are actually used in MBM, just as with SBM.

6.2.2.1 Demonstrative determiners

While demonstrative determiners are observed to both precede and follow the main noun phrase in SBM, the MBM data recorded show that determiners follow the main noun phrase rather than precede it. Examples are as follows.

- (784) *Barang ini banyak.*
thing this many
'These things (are) many.'
(Albert Ku, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-003, 00:07:00.0-00:07:01.3)
- (785) *Peté k buah tu*
pluck fruit that
'Pluck that fruit.'
(Albert Ku, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-046, 00:00:36.5-00:00:38.0)
- (786) *Dia pakay kopiah itu*
3.SG wear hat that
'He wears that hat.'
(Albert Ku, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-046, 00:02:49.9-00:02:50.8)
- (787) *Tangkap kodok tu*
capture frog that
'Captured that frog.'
(Albert Ku, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-046, 00:01:19.2-00:01:20.2)
- (788) *Anjing itu pun jatuh*
dog that also fall
'That dog also fell.'
(Albert Ku, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-046, 00:01:42.6-00:01:44.2)
- (789) *Kawin itu.*
marriage that
'That marriage.'
(Uncle Chan, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-008, 00:04:54.0-00:04:56.1)

The finding that determiner follows noun in MBM, differs from that of Lim (1991, 1998) and Sharif (1988). It is interesting to note that while they state that determiner precedes noun, their transcripts show that both word orders are common.

- (790) *Ini orang pegi mintak.*
this person go ask
 ‘This person goes and asks.’
 (Lim 1988: 53)
- (791) *Itu orang*
that person
 ‘That person.’
 (Sharif 1981: 17)
- (792) *Itu kuéh*
that cake
 ‘That cake.’
 (Sharif 1981: 22)
- (793) *Anak itu dua taon*
 child **that** two year
 ‘That child (is) two years old.’
 (Lim 1988: 54)
- (794) *Malam ini mesti mau sambod*
 tonight **this** must want pray
 ‘Tonight (we) must pray.’
 (Sharif 1981: 18)
- (795) *Macham kuéh pau tu*
 like cake bun **that**
 ‘Like that cake bun (a type of food)’
 (Sharif 1981: 21)

A feasible explanation is that MBM has lost its determiner noun word order within the last thirty years or so, noting that that Sharif’s and Lim’s fieldwork appear to have been carried out before 1981. This may be due to the fact that BM speakers come into contact with Malay speakers extensively in Malacca. Residential areas are mixed, and it is also no longer the case that most Chinese settlers would be located in the area around the Malacca River, while the local Malay population live mostly in the rural areas (see Lim 1988:16). In contrast, Malay is less dominant in Singapore, and the determiner noun word order may be maintained due to the fact that the determiner noun word order occurs in English, which is the dominant language in Singapore (see section 1.2.2 for more information on the different language environment of Malacca and Singapore).

6.2.2.2 Personal pronouns

It should be clarified that there is no difference between the personal pronominal system of MBM and SBM. Although Lim (1981, 1988) and Sharif (1981) indicate *gua* as the first person pronoun, their transcripts show that both coarse form *gua* and refined form *saya* are commonly used. Example (766) is replicated here as example (796).

(796) *Ke- banyak-an chakapsaya*
NMZ- many -NMZ speak **1.SG**
'Many say *saya* (for I).'

(Albert Ku, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-003, 00:01:06.1-00:01:08.2)

(797) *Saya punya mak*
1.SG POSS mother
'My mother'

(Lim 1988: 53)

(798) *Saya niat*
1.SG intend
'I intend.'

(Sharif 1981: 19)

(799) *Gua*
1.SG
'I'

(Albert Ku, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-003, 00:01:01.5-00:01:03.0)

(800) *Gua ingat*
1.SG think
'I think'

(Lim 1988: 55)

(801) *Gua tak berapa tau ni*
1.SG NEG some know this
'I (do) not know much (of) this.'

(Sharif 1981: 38)

The system of personal pronouns in MBM is thus the same as that of SBM, and can be replicated as such. Table 29 is replicated here as table 43.

1.SG (refined) (coarse)	<i>saya</i> <i>gua</i>
1.PL	<i>kita</i>
2.SG	<i>lu</i>
2.PL	<i>lu-orang/ lu</i>
3.SG	<i>dia</i>
3.PL	<i>dia-orang/ dia</i>

Table 43: Personal pronouns in Baba Malay

6.2.2.3 Relative clauses

While Lim (1988) suggests that *punya* is used as a pre-nominal relativizer, Sharif (1981) states that post-nominal relativizer *yang* is used. It should be clarified that similar to SBM, both *punya* and *yang* are used for the purpose of relativization (see section 5.6.3). Again, while *yang* can be used to relativize subject, direct object, indirect object, and possessor, *punya* can only be used to relativize subject, direct object, and indirect object.

(802) Subject

Orang [yang jaga kucing], ati nia baik
 person REL take.care cat heart 3.SG good

‘The person who takes care of the cat, his heart (is) good.’

(Albert Ku, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-013, 00:11:54.2-00:11:58.6)

(803) [*Taré k chia punya*]orang tak ada lagik. pull rickshaw REL person NEG EXIST more

‘The people who pulled the rickshaws are not around anymore.’

(Lim 1988: 19)

(804) Direct object

Budak itu nampak keréta [yang Mary bawak].
child that see car **REL** drive
'That child saw the car that Mary drives.'

(Albert Ku, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-013, 00:15:21.5-00:15:29.6)

(805) [*Gua pukul punya*]itu orang
1.SG hit **REL** that person

'That person whom I hit.'

(Lim 1988: 19)

(806) Indirect object

Orang jumpa budak perempuan [yang dia kasi duit].
person meet child female **REL** 3.SG give money
'The person met the girl whom he gave money (to).'

(Albert Ku, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-013, 00:17:43.1-00:17:48.7)

(807) *Budak ini lupa [dia kasi makan nia] kucing tu*
child this forget 3.SG give food **REL** cat that

'This child forgot that cat that he gave food (to).'

(Albert Ku, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-013, 00:13:50.0-00:13:54.3)

(808) Possessor

Dia nampak Ali [yang kawan pukul dia].
3.SG see **REL** friend hit 3.SG

'He saw Ali whose friends hit him.'

(Albert Ku, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-013, 00:19:57.0-00:20:00.9)

6.2.3 Verb phrase

Where the verb phrase is concerned, there are lexical differences in the aspectual systems of MBM and SBM.

6.2.3.1 Progressive aspect

In SBM, the progressive aspect is expressed with the use of auxiliary verb *ada* (see section 5.2.5.4), which literally means 'possess', and is also an existential marker, a copula, and a perfective marker. In MBM, *tengah* functions as a progressive marker in addition to *ada*. *Tengah* literally translates to 'middle', and is also used in Bahasa Melayu to express the progressive. Another progressive marker in Bahasa Melayu that is not found in BM is *sedang*. It is surprising that that *tengah*, which occurs in MBM, has been noted to be more formal than *sedang*, which does not occur in MBM (Mintz 1994).

Note that while Sharif (1981) indicates *tengah* as being the progressive marker, his transcripts also demonstrate *ada* being used as a progressive marker. This is shown in examples (812) and (813). Examples (809) and (810) concern the use of *tengah* as a progressive marker, while examples (811) to (813) show *ada* being used for the same function.

- (809) *Budak ini tengah mandi sama anjing.*
 child this **PROG** bathe with dog
 ‘This child is bathing with the dog.’
 (Albert Ku, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-047, 00:03:34.0-00:03:36.9)
- (810) *Kita tengah bikin.*
 1.PL **PROG** make
 ‘We are making (something).’
 (Sharif 1981: 53)
- (811) *Dia ada ingat.*
 3.SG **PROG** think
 ‘He is thinking.’
 (Albert Ku, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-046, 00:05:09.0-00:05:10.9)
- (812) *Kita ada semayang Tuapékong*
 1.PL **PROG** pray (name of a deity)
 ‘We are praying (to) Tuapekong.’
 (Sharif 1981: 20)
- (813) *Dia ada kerja*
 3.SG **PROG** work
 ‘He is working.’
 (Sharif 1981: 51)

6.2.3.2 Perfective aspect

Similar to SBM, the perfective aspect can be expressed using either *sudah* ‘already’ or *ada* (see section 5.2.5.2). There is no difference, except for the fact that *sudah* can be used in a contracted form *dah*. This differs from SBM contracted form, *sua*. Examples (814) to (816) demonstrate this usage of *dah*, example (817) shows *sudah* used in its complete form, while (818) to (820) show how *ada* can also be used to express the perfective aspect.

- (814) *Hari pun dah petang.*
 day also **already** evening
 ‘The day has already (become) evening.’
 (Albert Ku, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-047, 00:03:02.2-00:03:04.3)

- (815) *Buah tu dah jatoh*
 fruit that **already** fall
 ‘That fruit already fell.’
 (Albert Ku, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-046, 00:00:58.0-00:01:00.9)
- (816) *Military tu dah mati.*
 that **already** die
 ‘That military (man) already died.’
 (Sharif 1981: 40)
- (817) *Kita sudah jadi orang besar lah.*
 1.PL **already** become person big EMP
 ‘We already became adults.’
 (Sharif 1981: 29)
- (818) *Barang ada pechah.*
 thing **PFV** break
 ‘That thing broke.’
 (Albert Ku, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-024, 01:12:40.5-01:12:42.8)
- (819) *Jepun ada chakap*
 Japanese **PFV** talk
 ‘The Japanese talked.’
 (Sharif 1981: 40)
- (820) *Ada ikot Melayu dulu dulu.*
PFV follow Malay old old
 ‘They followed the old Malays.’
 (Sharif 1981: 26)

6.2.4 Adjectival and adverbial phrases

There are also slight differences in specific types of adjectival and adverbial phrases between MBM and SBM. Differences are found in the structures of comparatives and in the form of *dengan* ‘with’ adverbial phrases.

6.2.4.1 *Daripada* comparatives

With regard to comparatives, while the SBM speakers use the form *lagik* AP *lagik* (*lagik* literally means ‘more’ in this instance, see section 5.3.1), MBM speakers mostly use the standard Malay form *lebéh* AP *daripada*, as with examples (821) to (823). *Lebéh* translates to ‘more’ and *daripada* ‘from’.⁶⁵ Note that *lebéh* is also used to indicate ‘more’ in SBM, but it is not used in comparatives. A separate but related

⁶⁵ *Daripada* can be further analysed in Malay as containing preposition *dari* ‘from’ and *pada* ‘on’.

form is *kurang AP daripada*, *kurang* meaning ‘less’. This usage is demonstrated in example (824). There is no corresponding form in SBM.

- (821) *Apple mérah lebéh manis daripada apple ijo.*
 red **more** sweet **than** green
 ‘The red apple is sweeter than the green apple.’
 (Albert Ku, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-005, 00:30:38.9-00:30:45.9)
- (822) *Apple ini lebéh manis daripada apple itu*
 this **more** sweet **than** that
 ‘This apple is sweeter than that apple.’
 (Albert Ku, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-005, 00:30:33.0-00:30:37.5)
- (823) *Di sini lebéh banyak apple daripada sana*
 PREP here **more** many **than** there
 ‘Here (there are) more apples than there.’
 (Albert Ku, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-005, 00:31:18.6-00:31:22.1)
- (824) *Apple ini kurang banyak daripada sana*
 here **less** many **than** there
 ‘(There are) less apples here than there.’
 (Albert Ku, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-005, 00:31:54.0-00:32:09.8)

6.2.4.2 Dengan ‘with’ adverbial phrase

Adverbial phrases of manner in MBM can be introduced with *dengan* in addition to *sama*. Their SBM counterparts are introduced by *sama*, which is also the general conjunction marker in SBM (adverbial phrases of manner that use *sama* are covered in section 5.4.3.). This use of *dengan* that is also found in Malay, is very rarely found in SBM. The following examples show how *dengan* ‘with’ is used to introduce adverbial phrases in MBM. It is interesting to note that neither *suka hati* in example (825) nor *gembira* in (827) are used in SBM to mean ‘happy’. In SBM, the same notion is expressed by Hokkien term *huahi*. Examples (825) to (829) demonstrate the use of *dengan*, while example (830) demonstrate the use of *sama*, which is also used in SBM.

- (825) *Orang itu pukol kucing dengan kayu.*
 person that hit cat **with** stick
 ‘That person hit the cat with the stick.’
 (Albert Ku, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-010, 00:21:35.6-00:21:38.1)
- (826) *Gua sangat suka.hati gua chakap dengan lu.*
 1.SG very like.heart 1.SG speak **with** 2.SG

‘I (am) very happy I am speaking with you.’

(Albert Ku, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-005, 00:46:12.1-00:46:14.4)

(827) *Dia makan apple manis dengan gembira.*
3.SG eat sweet **with** happy

‘He ate the sweet apple happily.’

(Albert Ku, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-005, 00:36:33.0-00:36:41.0)

(828) *Ini ada satu cerita reka-an sahja dengan se-orang budak.*
this COP one story invent-NMZ only **with** one-person child

‘This is only one invented story with one child.’

(Albert Ku, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-047, 00:00:15.7-00:00:18.9)

(829) *Dengan Santali*
with (company name)

‘With Santali.’

(Sharif 1981: 41)

(830) *Budak ini tengah mandi sama anjing.*
child this PROG bathe **with** dog

‘This child is bathing with the dog.’

(Albert Ku, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-047, 00:03:34.0-00:03:36.9)

6.2.5 Conjunctions

Two conjunctions in MBM differ lexically from those used in SBM.

6.2.5.1 *Dan/ sama* ‘and’ coordinating conjunction

While SBM speakers strictly use *sama* to indicate general conjunction ‘and’ (see section 5.6.8.1), MBM speakers use *sama* and *dan*. *Dan* has the same function in standard Malay, while *sama* is used to indicate ‘with’ in that language. It thus appears that MBM is more influenced by standard Malay than SBM.

Examples (831) and (832) demonstrate the usage of *dan*, and example (833) demonstrates the usage of *sama* by the same speaker. Example (834) shows that *sama* cannot be used for sequential relations.

Sequential relations in both MBM and SBM are expressed by entirely separate clauses that can be mediated with the use of *habi* (see section 5.6.8.1).

(831) *Satu ékor anjing dan jugak satu ékor kodok.*
one Clf.animal dog **and** also one Clf.animal frog

‘One dog and also one frog.’

(Albert Ku, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-047, 00:00:23.2-00:00:28.2)

(832) *Budak jantan ini dan anjing balék*
Child male this **and** dog return

‘This boy and dog returned.’

(Albert Ku, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-047, 00:03:16.2-00:03:18.6)

- (833) *Apal sal budak ini sama anjing ini mo ni?*
what reason child this **and** dog this want this

‘Why do this child and this dog want this?’

(Albert Ku, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-047, 00:03:27.7-00:03:30.6)

- (834) *Dia chakap chakap sama nangis.*

3.Sg speak speak **and** cry

‘He was speaking and crying.’

(Lim1988: 37)

6.2.5.2 *Atau/ ka* ‘or’ coordinating conjunction

While SBM speakers use *ka* to indicate ‘or’, MBM speakers use *atau* in addition to *ka* (the usage of *ka* in SBM is explained in section 5.6.8.1.). Unsurprisingly, considering that MBM speakers come into much more contact with standard Malay than SBM speakers, *atau* is derived from Malay. *Ka* on the other hand is derived from Hokkien. Examples (835) and (836) show the usage of Malay-derived *atau* ‘or’, while example (837) shows the usage of Hokkien-derived *ka*. Example (838), which has been taken out of Sharif’s (1981) transcripts, is interesting, because it shows the use of both *ka* and *atau* in the same sentence, showing that both lexical items are available to the speaker of MBM.

- (835) *Sekarang mia murid murid atau budak budak sekolah.*
now REL disciple disciple **or** child child school

‘The current disciples or school children.’

(Albert Ku, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-003, 00:01:22.7-00:01:27.0)

- (836) *Dia mo buat kawan sama dia atau mo tangkap gua makan.*
3.SG want makefriend with 3.SG **or** want capture 1.SG eat

‘He wanted to make friends with him or capture me to eat.’

(Albert Ku, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-003, 00:01:22.7-00:01:27.0)

- (837) *Lu suka chakap Melayu ka suka chakap English?*
2.SG like speak Malay **or** like speak English

‘Do you like to speak Malay or do (you) like to speak English?’

(Lim1988: 38)

- (838) *Chuchu ada empat ka atau lima*
grandchild have four **or or** five

‘Granchildren (I) have four or five.’

(Sharif 1981: 36)

In view of the above examples regarding demonstrative determiners, progressive and perfective aspects, *daripada* comparatives, *dengan* adverbial phrases, as well as *dan* and *atau* conjunctions, differences between MBM and SBM appear to be mainly of a lexical nature. A clarification made in this chapter is that both prenominal *punya* and postnominal *yang* are used for relativization in MBM (c.f. Sharif 1981, Lim 1988).

7. What type of language is BM?

The intention of this dissertation has been to value BM as a language in its own right. In this spirit, inasmuch as possible, the language's grammar has been described without referring to its possible component languages from the get-go. However, it is undeniably interesting to ask questions such as, which language particular lexical items or grammatical structures may be attributed to, and what that may portend for the language in terms of classification. For the purpose of this dissertation (since the theme of language endangerment pervades it), it is also interesting to observe what happens when a contact language becomes endangered.

The findings will show that BM is indeed a contact language. The substratal component is Hokkien from Zhangzhou and Quanzhou, from where most Hokkiens in the Strait of Malacca originated. Although the Hokkien spoken in Singapore has often been referred to as Amoy Hokkien, it is very different from the Hokkien that is actually spoken in Amoy (see Pitcher 1912). The Zhangzhou and Quanzhou version of Hokkien, which is spoken in Singapore, has been recorded by Douglas (1873) and Bodman (1955, 1958) in some detail. Where Malay is concerned, there are differing views. Some have stated that BM was more likely influenced by colloquial Malay or Low Malay rather than the standard variety or High Malay, with the assumption that some kind of pidgin Malay was already spoken by the Chinese traders, and that the local women they married spoke colloquial Malay (see Ansaldo et al. 2007). Others are of the view that the language was more likely influenced by more standard Malay or High Malay (Lee 2009). There is no record that the local women spoke Low Malay instead of High Malay. All that is usually stated is that BM was formed via intermarriage of early Southern Chinese male settlers and local Malay women (Vaughan 1879, Clammer 1980, Chia 1983). Others have also hinted at the possibility that some of these indigenous women were slaves from the Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia), such as the Batak, Bugis, Balinese, and Siamese. (Rudolph 1998). Although so, no other native language has ever been mentioned in connection with these local women. In addition, BM is more similar to standard Malay than it is to colloquial Malay. For example, it utilizes noun classifiers which are also used in standard Malay but not in colloquial Malay, and *yang* as a relative clause marker occurs frequently in BM, just as it does in standard Malay but not in colloquial Malay (See Aye 2005). The version of Malay that has most likely influenced the formation of BM was recorded by Marsden (1812) and Crawford (1852). The link between the language that these sources represent and BM has been recognised by

Thurgood (1998). These references, as well as Douglas (1873) and Bodman (1955, 1958)'s work on Hokkien will be utilized when comparing BM to its component languages.

7.1 Classification

The sociohistorical background of BM needs only brief discussion, having been introduced in sections 1.1 and 1.2. BM was formed through the intermarriage of Hokkien-speaking traders and Malay-speaking indigenous women, as early as the 15th century. The descendants are known as the Peranakans, the females, Nyonyas and the males, Baba. Together with their unique culture that emphasizes customs, food, and attire, BM was thus developed.

Incontrovertibly, given the special circumstances of the language's genesis, the main focus of researchers working on BM has been the classification of BM. As mentioned in section 1.3.2, researchers are divided into two camps. There are those who regard BM as a dialect of Malay (Pakir 1986, Thurgood 1998), and those who regard BM as a language that has undergone creole formation (Lim 1981, Lim 1988, Ansaldo and Matthews 1999, Ansaldo et al. 2007, Shih 2009). To complicate the matter further, BM appears to share a similar sociohistorical background with languages that typify a category labelled 'mixed languages'. Using sociohistorical information, linguistic data from this grammar, as well as observations of researchers who have previously worked on BM, this chapter aims to shed light on how BM should be classified. Essentially it maintains that a process-based approach to understanding BM's classification is preferable, rather than one that purely relies on types, these types being the traditional labels of "dialect", "pidgin", "mixed language", or "creole", to name a few.

The issue of classification in the field of contact linguistics has always been fraught with complications, in part due to the fact that some of these labels were "lay terms" before linguists began using them in more specific ways (Mufwene 1997: 39). For example, the word "creole", possibly from Latin *creāre* 'to create' and later Portuguese *criar* 'to raise (e.g. a child)' appears to have been used for children born in the colonies by Africans, and then later by Europeans, and is also used to refer to their customs and speech (Holm 2000). As these labels came into use into contact linguistics, these terms have often been interpreted differently by different researchers. For example, to some researchers, a creole refers to a nativized pidgin (or even jargon) (Holm 2000), whereas to others, the process of vernacularization distinguishes a pidgin from a creole (Chaudenson 1992). Other factors for the difficulties in labelling

and hence, identification of pidgins and creoles have also been discussed. Mühlhäusler (1986) writes that often, lower-class pidgin and creole speakers are unaware that they speak a separate language, and they may not wish to admit that they speak a separate language even in cases where they are aware of it. This is especially so when the norm is to not use these languages in front of white speakers (who presumably until today constitute most researchers working on contact languages). On a separate note, Mufwene (1997) proposes that the problems with labels stem from the fact that none of the proposed definitions for these terms takes into account the contact languages' genetic histories, and that linguistic structure cannot be a factor in naming. Whether or not this is an accurate statement will be further evaluated in this chapter.

All that being said, labels are still necessary, for they allow abstraction in the field of contact linguistics (Thomason 1997b). In effect, these labels enable comparisons to be made between different languages within the same type, or even different languages across different types. For example, within the category of creoles, there are European language-based creoles, and non-European language-based creoles, which Ansaldo et al. (2007) consider BM to be. Presuming as Ansaldo et al. do, that BM is indeed a creole, they then ask questions about whether the language shares similar structural properties to European language-based creoles, and how much of it can be attributed to the influence of the individual component languages or even universal mechanisms. Across categories, one may choose to compare BM with Bazaar Malay, which is a pidgin comprising the same lexifier language (Malay) and substrate language (Hokkien) as BM (Aye 2005), and ask questions about whether BM might have emerged from Bazaar Malay (see section 7.4.4 for discussion on this topic). Note however, that at the end of her article on the typology of contact languages, Thomason (1997: 86) urges researchers against classifying languages that fall between dichotomies, such as between pidgin vs. ephemeral and unsystematic speech form, bilingual mixed language vs. ephemeral and unsystematic codeswitching mixture, creole vs. decreolized dialect of a lexifier language, pidgin/creole vs. dialect of lexifier when all the input languages are closely related, and between pidgin vs. ad hoc simplified version of a lexifier language. She argues that it is particularly necessary to accept fuzzy boundaries, when “there are no congruent social and linguistic correlates by which they (the languages) may be identified” (Thomason 1997:86). Likewise, even though Thomason does not directly address the dichotomies between a dialect undergoing shift and a creole, or a creole and a mixed language, these labels are only useful if they are sociohistorically or linguistically meaningful. With the above in mind, the following sections considers

arguments for the classification of BM as a dialect that has undergone normal transmission, as a mixed language, or as a creole, since these are the three most feasible categories that BM may belong to.

7.2 BM as a “dialect” of Malay

The term “dialect” is complex, its manifold definitions ranging from social to geographical and political ones. While it is usually employed by linguists to mean a “variety (regional or social) of a language, which is mutually intelligible with other dialects of the same language” and “is no longer used to refer to a daughter language of a language family” (Campbell 2013: 173), the word has been used in the literature of BM to mean a normally transmitted daughter language (instead of one whose transmission has been interrupted, such as a creole). Thus, the word “dialect” is used here to mean a language that has undergone normal transmission.

The suggestion that BM is a dialect of Malay has been put forth by Tan (1980), Thurgood (1998) and Pakir (1986). While Thurgood’s dissertation was written later than Tan’s and Pakir’s works, she addresses what she terms as “Old Baba Malay”, a variety of the language that possibly existed before the arrival of more Chinese immigrants in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Tan and Pakir on the other hand, are concerned with more modern BM. The source of Thurgood’s data are newspapers published in BM from 2 July 1894 to 2 July 1895, as well as *A manual of the Malay colloquial, such as is spoken by all nationalities in the Colonies of the Straits Settlements, and designed for domestic and business purposes* (Lim 1887).

7.2.1 Thurgood (1998)

Thurgood (1998) cites Thomason and Kaufman (1988) who differentiate between language shift and creole formation. While the shifting population has full access to the target language in the case of in language shift, access to the target language (or lexifier language) is restricted in cases of creole formation. With regard to BM, since there should have been full access to Malay, given the intermarriage scenario, the language is then evaluated as being a dialect of Malay, and one that is shifting towards the lexifier (Thurgood 1998). However, an important issue with this analysis is that it assumes that the speakers’ target is the lexifier language. It is possible that the very initial male speakers were bilingual in the languages of the traders. Yet, it has been noted that the traders used a form of

lingua franca (Lim 1981, 1988) that would not have been a full variety of the Malay lexifier. Some have gone on to postulate that BM itself became a lingua franca for trading in the region (Tan 1988). In the intermarriage scenario, it is even more unlikely that the speaker's target was the lexifier language. One can only postulate what may have happened in the minds of those speakers in the past, but it is probable that their goal was to be able to communicate with each other, and that there was no need or desire to acquire the lexifier language, Malay (or even the substrate language, Hokkien for that matter). In fact, the Peranakans did not want to be associated with both groups. They called the newly arriving Chinese *sinkék* 'newcomer', and preferred their children to marry other Peranakans. The Peranakans also did not want to be associated with speaking pure Malay, "calling it *Malayu hutan*—the language of the jungle" (Shellabear 1913:156, italics in original). It is relevant that the Peranakans have never fully assimilated into Malay culture. Instead they developed their own culture that emphasizes unique ways of dress, cooking, and traditions, these demonstrating a blend of Chinese, indigenous, and Western influences. Returning to the matter of what this means for the classification of BM, assuming that speakers did not treat the lexifier language as the target language, BM may be classified within the group of pidgins and creoles (albeit peripherally) based on Thomason's (1997) typology. Thomason states that "when no group has the need, the desire, and/or the opportunity to learn any of the other groups' languages", pidgins and creoles form (1997: 78). While the speakers were widely exposed to, and had the opportunity to learn either groups' language, it is probable that they had no need nor desire to.

The other argument that Thurgood (1998) puts forth for classifying BM as a product of language shift is that two languages are typically involved in instances of language shift, while more than two languages are usually involved in instances of creole formation. This appears to be based on Thomason and Kaufman (1988)'s comment that all or most creoles stem from contact among more than two languages. Note however, that using this criteria among others, Thomason (1997) also differentiates between pidgins/creoles and mixed languages. Hence, that BM has only two main languages involved in its formation, does not necessarily nor sufficiently warrant its classification as a language undergoing shift. It is possible to consider BM as a mixed language (see section 7.3). On the other hand, assuming that the number of languages involved in contact is indicative of whether a language should be classified as one undergoing shift or as a creole, it is disputable whether BM involves the contact of only two languages, considering that other languages such as English and even Cantonese had been present during the late 19th century (during which time the Old Baba Malay that Thurgood addresses existed). Earlier adstrates from the 16th to early 19th century include Dutch and Portuguese. This is evidenced by loanwords in

BM, such as *mentéga* ‘butter’ and *menjéla* ‘window’ (derived from Portuguese *manteiga* and *janela* respectively) and even *apple* and *pear* from English.⁶⁶ Note however, that while these other languages were around, predominantly and overwhelmingly, only Hokkien and Malay were involved to any significant degree in the development of BM. All that being said, the criteria for “creolehood” varies among researchers, depending usually on which theory of creole formation is being endorsed. The number of languages involved is usually a peripheral concern rather than a central one. For example, there are cases where language shift involves more than a language shifting towards another. For example, on the Upper Rio Negro in the Northwest Amazon of Brazil, language shift is going on in the direction of two additional languages at once. Speakers are shifting from Eastern Tukanoan languages to Tukano, and to Portuguese (Flemings 2010). There are also arguably creoles that do not involve multiple languages. These occur due to the vernacularization of a pidgin, where the pidgin may have only involved contact between two languages. For example, Ngatikese Men’s Creole that is spoken on the Ngatik atoll in Micronesia comprises Sapuahfik Pohnapeian and English (Tyron et al. 1996). More discussion of creole formation ensues in section 7.4.4.

Another point that Thurgood (1998) then makes is that BM appears to be undergoing light to moderate interference through shift, since according to Thomason and Kaufman (1988), this usually results in grammatical simplification. Thurgood (1998:249) states that “the influence of Hokkien is found, not in an abundance of Hokkien-like constructions, but rather in the patterns of simplification and generalization”. As an example of simplification, Thurgood points out the lack of verbal suffix *-i* in BM, which together with *-kan* in Malay increases the number of arguments a verb can take. Note that while Thurgood observes the use of *-kan* to be unpredictable in Old BM, this grammar has shown its consistent use as BM as a transitive marker (see section 4.2.1.1). This may be a later development of BM. However, more importantly, analysis will show that the structural influence from Hokkien is considerable, and not all of the cases of this show grammatical simplification. Hokkien influence can be demonstrated in patterns of demonstrative use, the classifier system, relativization, the passive construction, and the benefactive construction, among others. Some of these have been considered by

⁶⁶ Pakir (1986) provides a list of lexical items that are borrowed from other languages, some of which have also been borrowed into Malay. Note that she considers words of Hokkien origin to be borrowings in BM, while this current grammar treats them as words of BM that are derived from the substrate language.

researchers such as Lim (1988), Ansaldo and Matthews (1999), Shih (2009) and Lee (2012). More discussion on Hokkien influence ensues in section 7.4.

Given the above, it is also important not to compare directly the structures of old Baba Malay with the modern-day version of the language. Thurgood (1998) reminds the reader at the end of her dissertation that the language has since undergone change due to a large influx of new Chinese immigrants as well as the growth of Singapore and other British-controlled towns in the late 19th century. However, the data used to support her arguments is from the late 19th century. The BM newspaper articles from *Bintang Timor* ‘East Star’ date from 2 July 1894 to 2 July 1895, and Lim’s manual of colloquial Malay is dated 1887. While Thurgood (1998) clarifies that Old Baba Malay that was recorded in writing appears to be different from the modern variety that Pakir (1986) describes, it is unclear when the influence of later Hokkien-speaking immigrants supposedly begins to appear in the language. Note that by 1860, twenty to thirty years before the written sources used were published, the Chinese had already numbered 50,043 out of a population of 81,734 (Ng 1961). In addition, one has to be cautious about the use of written material as representative of the spoken language, particularly formally written newspaper articles. Granted that Thurgood (1998) mentions that there are less formally written commentaries contributed by readers in *Bintang Timor* which are less formally written, and the manual on colloquial Malay may exemplify the language better, but it is not clear if findings from these two main sources differed in any significant way. With the limitations in mind of researching an older form of the language that existed when oral recordings could not be made, Thurgood (1998) provides a thorough analysis of the written material, and is representative of Old Baba Malay.

7.2.2 Tan (1980)

Primarily a sociologist whose dissertation was based on the Peranakan culture (Tan 1979), Tan’s aim was to show that BM is not a corrupted language, but “a dialect which has developed out of a particular kind of historical process” (Tan 1980:150). Tan introduces the sociohistorical background of the Peranakans. He views BM as having evolved out of bazaar Malay, which was the colloquial language of business. (This will be further discussed in relation to the possibility of BM being a creole in section 7.4.) He then proceeds to show various patterns of differences between BM and Standard Malay. Note that while his fieldwork was carried out in Malacca, he regards the variety of BM spoken in Malacca to be similar to the one spoken in Singapore. Tan (1980) states that the most significant differences are

found in the use of loanwords and in its phonology. He regards Hokkien words in BM to be loanwords, and provides a list of these, as well as some from Indonesian and English, which show interesting cultural differences between BM speakers and Malay speakers. With regard to phonology, Tan (1980) shows differences between BM and Standard Malay, for example, vowel raising to ϵ , and *h*-deletion, among others. These are also noted by Pakir (1986), and in this grammar (see section 3.3). Essentially, through showing systematicity in the language, Tan seeks to defend BM from the view that BM is “a corrupted version of the Malay language”, which “implies that the Babas have no language of their own” (1980:165). While commendable, it must be noted that Tan (1980) does not differentiate between notions of a creole and a dialect that has undergone normal transmission. There are no definitions provided for the term “dialect.” Crucially, this work positions BM as a language in its own right, and not as a broken, unsystematic version of Malay.

7.2.3 Pakir (1986)

Pakir (1986)’s dissertation also focuses on modern BM, its goal being to resolve the question of BM’s position, since the language had been identified as a creole by some (Clammer 1980, Clammer 1983, Grimes 1974, Grimes 1984) and as a dialect of Malay by others (Tan 1980). The areas of phonology, lexicon, and syntax are investigated for Hokkien influence. In terms of phonology, Pakir (1986) states that BM is similar to other dialects of Malay. While there are some differences, such as vowel raising to / ϵ / (recognised as a refined form by this grammar, see section 3.3), and *h*-deletion, among others. While Pakir observes that Hokkien is responsible for the introduction of / ω / in the phoneme inventory, Hokkien loanwords “have had relatively little effect on the phonological system” (Pakir 1986:207). Where the lexicon is concerned, she points out Hokkien borrowings that are “clearly delimited to customary and cultural aspects of Baba life and to ‘ethnic’ value terms” (Pakir 1986:209). With regard to syntax, Pakir (1986) focuses on constructions with *punya* ‘possessive’, *kasi* ‘give’, *kena* ‘subjected to’, and *mo* ‘want’, whose uses are identified in this grammar as a prenominal relative clause marker (section 5.6.3), a benefactive verb used in passives as well as in ditransitive, benefactive and causative constructions (section 5.2.4), a passive marker (section 5.2.3), and as a deontic marker (section 5.2.2). These are said to have “functions analogous to the functions of some particular H[okkien] morpheme” (Pakir 1986:210). Crucially Pakir notes that there are still syntactic properties of BM that cannot be explained by Hokkien influence, and draws the conclusion that “while there has been some borrowing and other

influence from H[okkien], the H[okkien] element and role in BM has been overestimated or too often reported on without much linguistics basis” (Pakir 1986:211). With regard to the position of BM, Pakir states that “[t]here should be no stigma to speaking a language like BM for it is the creation of the Baba Chinese” and that “[e]ven if BM has its origins in a type of Bazaar Malay pidgin, the fact that it has acquired native speakers for at least two centuries if not more, should not detract from its value as a “Malay dialect in its own right”” (Pakir 1986: 213).

While Pakir (1986) is commendable for being an initial, in-depth study of BM, the implication is that creoles are corrupted, broken forms of a language. This has also been recognised by Ansaldo and Matthews, who comment that “[s]ome studies on BM are clearly permeated by the idea that recognising the creole-like nature of BM would somehow diminish its status, that the idea of creole as a corrupt, bastardised language would endanger the originality of BM” (1999:62). They also point out that these views may be “attributable to an outdated view of creoles, or to policies of linguistic nationalism in Malaysia, either way, it has little linguistic basis” (Ansaldo and Matthews 1999:62). Ansaldo and Matthew (1999) also state that shared features that may be found in other varieties of Malay do not invalidate arguments for Hokkien substratal influences as Hokkien was influential in the region, and that Hokkien influence in the lexicon is by no means shallow. They then provide more evidence of substratal influence from Hokkien to support the notion of BM being a creole (see section 7.4.2 for more discussion).

In sum, there is little basis for regarding BM as merely a dialect of Malay. Some may argue that BM is mutually intelligible with Malay (Chia 1994), but this is only natural given that most of BM’s lexicon is derived from Malay (Ansaldo and Matthews 1999). Note that there is an extent to how much Malay a BM speaker who has not acquired Malay formally would know, just as there is an extent to how much BM a Malay speaker would be able to understand. Even so, the criteria of being mutually intelligible with Malay does not stand in its way of creolehood, for creoles vary extensively with regard to how much they vary from their lexifier languages. For example, Louisiana Creole is closer to standard French than Haitian (Mather 2007) (keeping in mind that the lexifier language that community members were exposed to may have been non-standard varieties).

With regard to the main subject matter, some would take the view that BM is not a genetic dialect of Malay, since it would not have not undergone normal transmission. The comparative method cannot apply when it would yield no systematic correspondences. Thomason and Kaufman (1988) highlight

this, pointing to Tok Pisin and the Melanesian language Tolai. Thomason and Kaufman also maintain that the study of genetic relation should be “thus based theoretically on the social facts of normal transmission rather than merely on the linguistic facts themselves” (1998:12). This view is not shared by some, such as Mufwene (2003a). In response to a similar proposal in Thomason (2002), Mufwene (2003a: 275) states that this method of classification simply dismisses the problem at hand, and that there can be no break in transmission of the lexifier when a pidgin or a creole shares much of its grammar with its lexifier, “despite modifications that are to be expected from the learning process” (Mufwene 2003a: 281-282). At the other extreme end are writers such as Dillard (1975) and Burling (1973) express that pidgins and creoles are mostly influenced by the native language of their speakers, more specifically, they suggest that African American Vernacular English can be attributed to the effects of the speakers’ native African languages. Burling (1973: 113) goes as far as to state that the slaves on the plantations “would have had little opportunity to hear or imitate the colloquial speech of the whites, but they could easily have imitated one another”. Such a stance is clearly untenable, for there is no substantial evidence that supports the notion that early speakers of African American Vernacular English had such limited contact with white speakers that they could not approximate the speech of the latter group. With regard to Thomason and Kaufman’s (1988: 12) assertion that that the study of genetic relation should be “thus based theoretically on the social facts of normal transmission rather than merely on the linguistic facts themselves”, this grammar agrees with Mufwene (2003a) that dismissing the genetic affiliations pidgins and creoles have to their source language(s) is simply a convenient proposal that does not add value to creolistics, it takes the view that a creole cannot be traced back to a single source. On separate occasions, Mufwene has also argued for the “complementary hypothesis”, which proposes that “the only influences in competition are structures of the lexifier and of the substrate languages” (Mufwene 2001: 34), hence suggesting that pidgins and creoles do not have to be strictly traced back to one source. Given the sociohistorical facts that gave rise to BM, it is not viable to regard BM as having been derived from Malay only.

7.3 BM as a mixed language

According to Thomason (1997), a bilingual mixed language usually develops in a two-language contact situation wherein at least one of the speaker groups is bilingual in both source languages. Among other names given to mixed languages are ‘split languages’ (Myers-Scotton 2003) and ‘fused lects’ (Auer

1999). These mixed languages can usually be separated by its source languages, and these components are typically not simplified, given the widespread bilingualism on the part of at least one of its initial speaker groups (Thomason 1997).

Sociohistorically, mixed languages have been related to both the creation and maintenance of ethnic identity. For example mixed languages can arise from intermarriages, such as with Mednyj Aleut (also known as Copper Island Aleut), which was formed via the marriages of Russian fur seal hunters and Aleutian women on the Mednyj Island in the Bering Strait (Golovko 1994), as well as Michif, which was formed via the marriages of French fur traders and Cree women in the Red River Colony area (corresponding to present-day Manitoba and North Dakota) (Bakker 1997). Mixed languages can also arise through language identity maintenance, when groups undergoing language shift resist complete assimilation (Winford 2003). For example, Gurindji Kriol halts a complete shift to Kriol. The language is spoken by younger Gurindji people in Kalkaringi (Northern Territory, Australia), where Gurindji is still spoken by older people, but mostly in code-switching with Kriol, which is an English-lexifier creole (Meakins 2008). Similarly, Anglo-Romani was formed by Romani-speaking gypsies shifting towards English, and it comprises Romani structural and lexical insertions into a predominantly English discourse, the Romani material being used to express solidarity or even affection (Matras et al. 2007). However, not all mixed languages are formed via intermarriage, or out of attempts to maintain an ancestral language. Light Warlpiri, which is spoken in Lajamanu (Northern Territory, Australia) is spoken by younger Warlpiri speakers who continue to speak both their heritage language and English, and can be construed as an expression of their particular group identity (O'Shannessy 2005). In all instances, the relationship between mixed language and group identity is incontrovertible. Given the fact that commonly cited mixed languages such as Michif, Mednyj (Copper Island) Aleut, and Media Lengua emerged as vernaculars used to symbolize a separate ethnic identity, the proposition to also classify BM as a mixed language is ostensibly appealing. Notably, some have identified a separate Peranakan language spoken in Indonesia (a blend of Malay and Javanese) (see section 1.2.1) as a mixed language (Dreyfuss and Oka 1979, Matras and Bakker 2003, Wolff 1983).⁶⁷

⁶⁷ According to Dreyfuss and Oka (1979), 88 percent of grammatical affixes in this language that researchers term “Chindo”, are Javanese, while function words, adjectives and adverbs are almost equivalently distributed between Javanese and Malay. Among themselves, the Peranakans of Indonesia often refer to their language as “Peranakan”, just as the Peranakans of Malacca and Singapore refer to Baba Malay as “Peranakan”.

Structurally, mixed languages are a diverse category, contrary to Bakker's (2003: 108) notion that mixed languages are still recognised to "differ so radically from other results of language contact, that they show more similarities with each other than differences". The category includes languages that have different types of subsystem splits. There are mixed languages whose sources are split across grammar and lexicon, such as *Media Lengua*, spoken in Central Ecuador, which has Quechua grammar and almost 90 percent⁶⁸ Spanish lexicon (Muysken 1981). Another language that is split across grammar and lexicon is *Ma'a* (also known as *Mbugu*), spoken in Tanzania by a nomadic group that has moved into a region surrounded by Bantu languages. *Ma'a* is said to combine Bantu grammar with Cushitic lexicon (Mous 2003). There are also other languages such as *Anglo-Romani*, whose grammar comes from English and whose lexicon comprises of a restricted set of Romani words (in an otherwise English set of words) (Matras et al. 2007). A separate type of mixed languages is one whose sources are split between noun phrase and verb phrase. One of the most popular examples of these is *Michif*, which comprises predominantly French noun phrases (with French phonology intact) and Cree verb phrases (with Cree phonology intact) (Bakker 1997). A more recent example of a mixed language split across noun phrase and verb phrase is *Light Warlpiri*, whose noun structure derives from Warlpiri, and verb structure derives from Kriol/ Australian Aboriginal English (O'Shannessy 2005). While most verbs are derived from Kriol/ Australian Aboriginal English, nouns are derived from both Warlpiri and Kriol/ Australian Aboriginal English (O'Shannessy 2005). Again, the type of mixture may vary a lot from a language to the next. For example, instead of being a language split between noun-phrase and verb phrase, *Mednyj Aleut's* nouns and nonfinite verb inflections are derived from Aleut, while its finite verb inflections are derived from Russian, the lexicon in this instance being mostly derived from Aleut (Golovko 1994).

Just as there are structurally diverse types of mixed languages, there are also diverse ways in which mixed languages could have come about. These include notions of extensive borrowing (Thomason and Kaufman 1988), code-switching (Myers-Scotton 2003), relexification (Muysken 1981), language intertwining (a situation in which languages are combined, instead of one wherein a language replaces the functions of another) (Bakker 1997), as well as metatypy, which occurs when the syntax of one language becomes restricted based on the syntax of another (Ross 1996). It is however difficult to ascertain which process was the most responsible for the mixed language outcomes (since most of these

⁶⁸ However, based on a separate Swadesh list count, only 65 percent of the stems are from Spanish (Muysken 1997)

recognized languages were formed some time in the past). For this reason, only sociohistorical and structural factors are considered in the assessment of BM as a possible mixed language.

Thus far, there have been no attempts at classify also BM as a mixed language, although Ansaldo et al. (2007) do also iterate the fact that it is tempting to compare BM's formation with typical mixed languages. However, for several reasons, Ansaldo et al. (2007) do not do so. First, they question if mixed languages do form a valid class that is different in its genesis and type than other types of contact languages, and they also state that the same mechanisms of formation apply in all contact-induced change, citing Mufwene (2001, 2007). Next, they comment that pure bilingualism is hard to prove, and that the Peranakans showed high levels of multilingualism, and they also reference Siegel (1997), who proposes that features are transferred to the contact language in stages of interlanguage, and not directly from component languages to the contact language. The assumption here appears to be that the mixed languages are formed by groups that are highly bilingual in both component languages, and that features should not have to be transferred in stages to interlanguages, but all at once. However, there is no reason for why this should be so. Finally, they state that the structure of BM is not an "even distribution of lexical versus grammatical features of two different (groups of) languages", and that the "lexicon is mixed, and a combination of typological congruence and innovations can be found, similar to the type of restructuring we find in many creoles [and non-creole] languages" (Ansaldo et al. 2007:213). These concerns will be addressed below in the current assessment of whether BM should be categorized as a mixed language.

Before addressing how BM may or may not be alike mixed languages in sociohistorical and structural ways, it appears to be necessary to validate this category of contact languages. As mentioned in the earlier paragraph, there are those who question if mixed languages do form a valid class that is different in its genesis and type than other types of contact languages (Ansaldo et al. 2007). For example, Mufwene (2001) is of the opinion that regardless of the different names proposed for the different mixed systems, the levels and types of mixedness can be explained by the same principles of a language speciating in an ecology⁶⁹. In relation to this, other researchers such as Thomason (2003) are of the opinion that mixed languages differ from pidgins and creoles since the genesis of pidgins and creoles

⁶⁹ For example, features may be adapted to suit the ecology, and features that are compatible with the features of other languages in the same ecology are more likely to be maintained than features that are not. For more discussion, see Mufwene (1996, 2001, 2008).

involve imperfect learning. Thomason then goes on to postulate that the main mechanism that may have contributed to the genesis of mixed languages is “change by deliberate decision” (2003:34). Change by deliberate decision can involve intentionally making a language different than the neighbouring dialects, so as to be distinct as a group (Campbell 2013: 325). Thurston (1989) and Ross (1996) describe “esoterogeny” as the way in which speakers of a particular language make their language more complex, so as to distinguish it from the languages of their neighbours.⁷⁰ Ross (1996) refers to the language as being “emblematic” of ethnic identity in a multilingual environment. For example, a language can become more different than its neighbours with “an increase in the frequency of opaque idioms” (Ross 1996: 183). However, the notion of esoterogeny is fraught with difficulties (Campbell and Posner 2008: 352). Chief among which, “it is not clear how this hypothesized cultural motive for these changes” “could be tested” (Campbell and Posner 2008: 352). Yet, others such as Blust (2005) have shown that there are some sound changes in historical linguistics that only can be explained by change by deliberate decision. Blust (2005) specifically discusses deliberate sound changes that occur in several Austronesian languages. While deliberate language change cannot be confirmed for certain, evidence such as that of Blust (2005) shows that it cannot be easily dismissed.

Given how the components in a mixed language are usually not simplified, it is not implausible that change by deliberate decision may account for the genesis of mixed languages rather than imperfect learning. Mechanisms of genesis aside, mixed languages are a structurally definable category. The current view taken here is, regardless of whether it is the entire lexicon, or at the level of inflectional morphemes, it should be possible to attribute some identifiable different subsystems in the mixed language clearly to different individual source languages. Given the plausibility of change by deliberate decision contributing to the genesis of this particular category and the distinct difference in its structural characteristics (compared to other types of contact languages), it is valid to ask if BM is a mixed language.

⁷⁰ The opposite of esoterogeny is exoterogeny (Thurston 1989; Ross 1996), which usually occurs when a language is simplified for the reason that it is spoken as a “contact language” by members of other communities, as its original community is strongly bound to these other communities. Campbell and Posner (2008: 353) state that while this claim may be useful, it may not be accurate, as there is no substantial evidence that shows that a language will become simplified if it is used across communities. They also provide counterexamples with languages that maintain their complexity even though they are used across different communities (such as Arabic, Turkic, Mongolian and Georgian).

7.3.1 Sociohistorical factors

While I take no stance on whether imperfect learning accounts for the genesis of pidgins and creoles given the views of some that these languages arose from contact with non-standard speakers (Mufwene 1996), it is not an unreasonable proposition that BM arose out of change due to deliberate decision. This is particularly so since the Peranakans view themselves to be unlike other Chinese and Malays in Singapore. A heavily Malay-based lexicon differentiates the Peranakans from the Chinese, and features such as selected Hokkien personal pronouns (see section 4.1.3.1) and refined [ɛ] forms (see section 3.7) to differentiate themselves from standard Malay speakers. Again, it is not possible to look into the minds of the two original groups that formed BM, and consequently, BM's genesis cannot be attributed to change by deliberate decision with an absolute level of certainty, but particular extrapolations may be considered. BM is by no means a contact language with simplified components. To illustrate this, the language has two patterns of relativization, a prenominal strategy derived from Hokkien and a postnominal-strategy derived from Malay (see section 6.2.2.3). The implications of this for the structural-matchedness of BM with mixed languages will be discussed later, but it is clear that the initial groups must have had unimpeded exposure to both Hokkien and Malay in the intermarriage scenario. This begs the question of whether “pure bilingualism” is indeed a necessary condition for the genesis of mixed languages (Ansaldo et al. 2007).

Notwithstanding the usual difficulties in defining bilingualism (Romaine 1995), pure bilingualism or full bilingualism refers here to being fluent in both relevant languages. That such bilingualism is involved in mixed languages has been refuted by researchers such as Matras (2003), who states that this puts varieties of recognised mixed languages formed via language attrition (or shift towards another language) such as Ma'á and Para-Romani in the periphery.⁷¹ Regardless, it is necessary to examine the implications of why mixed languages are supposed to have emerged quickly in situations of full bilingualism, especially since it is an often-cited claim (Bakker 1997, Thomason 1997a). The implications are two-fold. First, lack of proficiency in any one of the two source languages may not result in a mixed language, since certain proficiency on the part of early speaker groups is essential for the development of mostly intact subsystems from both source languages. Second, knowledge in other languages (aside from the two main languages concerned) may affect the final output, so that entire

⁷¹ Both Ma'á and Para-Romani are said to be structurally prototypical for having a lexicon that comes from one language, and a grammar that comes from another.

individual subsystems of the language cannot have been neatly derived from two languages. In the case of the Peranakans, the early Chinese traders must have learnt some basic Malay vernacular to trade in the region, although it is not clear if this was to the extent of widespread bilingualism. Again, that being said, there would still have been little obstruction to the exposure of both component languages in the creation of BM, given the intermarriage scenario. The opinion here is that unimpeded access to both languages is sufficient to warrant the genesis of a mixed language, not necessarily “pure bilingualism”. The second implication appears to be more relevant in the case of the Peranakans, who showed high levels of multilingualism (Ansaldo et al. 2007). Note that the Peranakan community was the very first to acquire English in the Malacca/ Singapore region when it was introduced in the colonial period (Lim 2010), and they have been proficient enough in the language to have shifted towards it so much that their own language has become endangered (Chia 1983). It is however less plausible that the initial speaker groups that formed BM had been proficient at English, given that the community had existed before the period of British colonialism in the region during the late 18th to early 20th century (see section 1.1). There is also little evidence that the initial groups speaking BM had been proficient at other languages. Thus, it is unlikely that a language other than Hokkien and Malay, would have contributed significantly to the language, besides perhaps the adstratal contributions of borrowings from languages such as Portuguese and English. Thus, BM would appear to have met the bilingual condition that gives rise to mixed languages (however tenuous this requirement is).

Also on the topic of the BM’s sociohistorical background, it is necessary to state that there is no evidence for or against the quick formation of BM. While researchers who focus on mixed languages that evolved through the intermarriage scenario propose that mixed languages form rapidly (see Bakker 1997), other researchers state that this is not the case for languages associated with resistance to complete language shift (Matras 2003). However controversial, the speed of genesis may have implications for whether or not mixed languages are affected by the proposition that features are transferred to the contact language in stages of interlanguage, and not directly from component languages to the contact language (Siegel 1997). The faster the formation of the language, the less likely it is to have undergone several of these stages, and vice versa. In line with this, it is important to note that Siegel (1997) states that feature transfers that occur in stages of interlanguage affects pidgin and creoles, and indigenous varieties of languages, but does not mention mixed languages. While Ansaldo et al. (2007) appear to indicate that it is possible for features from Malay or Hokkien to have existed in states of interlanguage that may have preceded the resultant form of BM, there would technically have

been nothing that prevented a quick genesis of BM given the intermarriage scenario, as in the case of Michif (Bakker 1997).⁷²

The speed of BM's genesis is unclear but other sociohistorical factors, such as the probability that the language arose out of a deliberate decision that it should be representative of an ethnic identity, and the widespread bilingualism in the early ecology of BM, corroborate the idea that BM may indeed be a mixed language. Having discussed sociohistorical factors that affect the assessment of BM as a mixed language, it is necessary to examine the structure of BM before drawing any conclusions.

7.3.2 Structural factors

Structurally, researchers have been interesting in distinguishing mixed languages from pidgins and creoles. Thomason (2003) states that in pidgins and creoles, the lexicon may come from one language, while the grammatical subsystems in these languages can be viewed as a cross-language compromise. Mixed languages (which she terms "bilingual mixed language") on the other hand, adopt intact lexical and structural subsystems from the source languages, sometimes with some distortion or adaptation (Thomason 2003). In a similar vein, Bakker (2003) asserts that it is usually not impossible to identify a clear source for the grammatical component in pidgins and creoles, whereas mixed languages should have numerically equal and identifiable components from two languages. Whether or not only one component is clearly identifiable to a pidgin or creole's source language is debatable and will be discussed in the next section. Returning to the topic of mixed languages, mixed languages should clearly be identified by their structure, which comprises two component languages that are individually compartmentalized in separate subsystems, and BM's structural status will be assessed accordingly. Another interesting supposition is that in the instance of intermarriages, mothers provide the grammar language when raising their children (see Bakker 1997). This is not as strong as the earlier claim, but will be brought up as a point of interest in the following discussion.

Structural findings do not match up with sociohistorical ones. The findings here underscore Ansaldo et al.'s position, that "BM cannot be capture as an even distribution of lexical versus grammatical features of two different (groups of) languages" (2007:213). Even at the narrower level of individual subsystems,

⁷² It is interesting to note that differences can arise between researchers based on the type of process involved. For example Sri Lanka Malay is regarded to have been formed via rapid convergence by Bakker (1995), but via gradual metatypy by Ansaldo (2011). Whether or not Sri Lanka Malay as a mixed language is still being debated (see Nordhoff 2012).

BM does not show compartmentalization of individual languages. To examine if there is any systematicity in the lexicon, three word lists are presented, the first showing a completely Malay lexicon, the second shows an almost systematic Malay-Hokkien split, and the third, shows an unsystematic mixture. Where the grammar is concerned, the tense and aspectual system, as well as relativization patterns are used to show that there is no systematic mixture in BM.

Most words in BM are derived from Malay, and this is reflected in a Swadesh 100 word list (the complete list is appended in Appendix C). The first twenty words on this list are shown in the following table.

1.	I	<i>saya</i> (refined) <i>gua</i> (coarse)
2.	you	<i>lu</i>
3.	we	<i>kita</i>
4.	this	<i>ini</i>
5.	that	<i>itu</i>
6.	who?	<i>siapa?</i>
7.	what?	<i>apa?</i>
8.	not	<i>bukan</i> (noun negator) <i>tak</i> (verb negator)
9.	all	<i>sumua</i>
10.	many	<i>manyak</i>
11.	one	<i>satu</i>
12.	two	<i>dua</i>

13.	big	<i>besar</i> (coarse) <i>besair</i> (refined)
14.	long	<i>panjang</i>
15.	small	<i>kechik</i>
16.	woman	<i>perompuan</i>
17.	man	<i>jantan</i> ⁷³
18.	person	<i>orang</i>
19.	fish	<i>ikan</i>
20.	bird	<i>burong</i>

Table 44: List of first 20 words on Swadesh basic word list.

Given that almost the words on such a list are derived from Malay, it is indeed attractive to think of BM as a mixed language that has a Malay lexicon and a Hokkien grammar. But this is not the case. A substantial number of Hokkien words can be found in the language, particularly in areas of kinship terminology, religious customs, rituals and celebrations, as well as in terms of ethnic value and emotive import (Pakir 1986). In view of this information, the following list is provided. The words on this list represent a very specific domain, roles in a wedding ceremony.⁷⁴⁷⁵

⁷³ Note that MBM speakers prefer to use *laki* to mean ‘man’, since *jantan* refers to male animals in the source language, Malay. *Laki* also refers to ‘husband’ in both MBM and SBM.

⁷⁴ These are used both in SBM and MBM.

⁷⁵ For more information on the complex Peranakan wedding ceremonies, Cheo (1983) is a good source.

Role	Word in BM	Source of word in BM
‘bride’	<i>kemantin</i>	Malay
‘groom’	<i>kiasai</i> ⁷⁶	Hokkien
‘bride’s girl assistant’	<i>pengapék</i>	Malay
‘groom’s boy assistant’	<i>kuya</i>	Hokkien
‘bride’s assistant for kneeling and general help’	<i>bukak kun</i>	Malay-Hokkien
‘groom’s family’s host’	<i>chu-lang</i>	Hokkien
‘bride’s ceremonial assistant’	<i>sangkék-em</i>	Hokkien
‘groom’s ceremonial assistant’	<i>pak-chindék</i>	Malay

Table 45: Key roles in a Peranakan wedding

If BM is a mixed language, one might expect two scenarios. In the first scenario, the lexicon comprises almost entirely of words from one language. This is not the case, as seen in the table above. In the second scenario, the lexicon might be mixed in a systematic fashion. Thus, concerning the domain of the Peranakan wedding, words to do with the groom might be derived from Hokkien, while words concerning the bride might be derived from Malay. Again, this is not the case. While the words for the bride and the bride’s girl assistant (akin to a flower girl) are of Malay origin, and the words for the

⁷⁶ Also son-in-law

groom, the groom's boy assistant (akin to a page boy) and the groom's family's *chu-lang* (literally 'host person') who does the job of hosting the main ceremony) are of Hokkien origin, the labels for the other roles are less systematic. The assistant who quickly lifts the bride's heavy skirt for her when the bride is required to kneel is called the *bukak kun* (literally 'open skirt'), the word *bukak* is derived from Malay while *kun* is derived from Hokkien (since the type of skirt the bride wears is a Chinese-style skirt). In addition, the word for the bride's ceremonial assistant (whom the *bukak-kun* also answers to) is derived from Hokkien, while the word for the groom's ceremonial assistant is derived from Malay. These have to do with cultural underpinnings. The *sangkék-em* (literally 'deliver marriage aunty) dresses and performs rituals for the bride, while the *pak-chindék* (literally 'uncle' Chindek), traditionally a Boyanese man, looks after the groom. One might expect that the groom's valet, being under the groom's employment would have been Chinese, while the mistress of ceremony, usually being under the bride's family's employment, would have been local. Yet, as the lexicon indicates, the *sangkék-em* is a Hokkien tradition, while the *pak-chindék* is a Malay tradition (these traditions are very rarely practised by any group today in Singapore and Malacca). Hence, what this domain shows is earlier ceremonial choices made by the Peranakans, but not so much systematicity in the sense of mixed languages. In the same vein, one might argue that cultural domains are not reflective of the language's true mixture, since they usually reflect conscientious cultural choices.

Bearing that in mind, the following table of personal pronouns (which are arguably more basic than cultural terms) is presented.

Gloss	BM form	Hokkien form	Malay form
1.SG	<i>saya</i> 'refined'	<i>goá</i>	<i>saya</i> 'implies slave, but not literally so, polite, formal'
	<i>gua</i> 'coarse'		
			<i>amba</i> 'servant's speech'
			<i>beta</i> 'domestic servant's

			speech' <i>aku</i> 'informal'
1.PL	<i>kita</i>	<i>goán (goá-lâng)</i>	<i>kita</i> 'inclusive' <i>kami</i> 'exclusive'
2.SG	<i>lu</i>	<i>lí</i>	<i>angkau</i> 'used by both superiors and inferiors' <i>kamu</i> 'superior to inferior' <i>tuan</i> 'literal meaning: master'
2.PL	<i>lu-orang/ lu</i>	<i>lín (lin-lâng)</i>	
3.SG	<i>dia</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>diya</i>
3.PL	<i>dia-orang/ dia</i>	<i>in (i-lâng)</i>	<i>marika</i>

Table 46: Personal pronouns in Baba Malay, Hokkien, and Malay

The list of Hokkien personal pronouns that appears in table 46 is mostly based on Douglas (1873), while the list of Malay personal pronouns used is from Marsden (1812), since BM's formation is more likely influenced by these forms of the component languages, rather than current-day forms. Note however, that the forms in parenthesis featuring *lâng* 'people' in the Hokkien column have not been mentioned by Douglas (1873). Ansaldo and Matthews (1999) state that these forms may be later fused forms of the plural pronouns, given that *lang* is used widely in Hokkien to indicate an indefinite sense meaning 'people' (Douglas 1873), and that the forms of singular pronoun plus *lang* still exist in other varieties of Southern Min, such as the one used in Shantou. Given this explanation, the plural forms in BM do appear to look like calques of the Hokkien forms, and this has been recognized by Lim (1981), Pakir (1986), and Ansaldo and Matthews (1999). There is less of a match between the Malay forms cited by Marsden (1812) and the BM forms, except for the fact that besides *gua* '1.SG coarse' and *lu* '2.SG', Malay provides most of the BM lexicon. Semantically however, the distinction between refined and coarse speech may have developed with the derivation of *saya* from Malay, the use of *saya* implies that the speaker is a slave, although it is more often used metaphorically to express politeness or formality (see Marsden 1812). This is been reinterpreted in BM so that *saya* becomes a refined version of the first person while Hokkien first person *gua* has taken on implications of coarseness. If BM is a mixed language, one may expect systematicity, that the personal pronominal system might comprise entirely of labels from one language, and semantic structure from another. However, this is not the case, BM's

personal pronominal system uses labels from both Hokkien and Malay, and is structurally influenced by both calques from Hokkien and as well as by the formality and politeness denoted by Malay *saya*.

With regard to all lexical items derived separately from Malay and Hokkien, it must be noted from previous chapters that the separate sound systems do not stay intact. The sound systems appear to converge (see section 7.4.1), with the introduction of /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ from Hokkien, which are phonemes also used in words of Malay origin (see section 3.1.2.2). In addition to losing tonal contrasts on Hokkien words (see section 3.6.2), word-final stress in BM (see section 3.6.1) also appears to follow (but not exactly so) phrase-final high boundary tone in Malay (Ng 2012). BM's phonological system has elements from both Malay and Hokkien, but it appears more Malay. This is unlike mixed languages that contain more unmixed words such as Michif (van Gijn 2009). Michif has an intact Cree phonological system for its verb phrases and an intact French phonological system for its noun phrases, as compared to Media Lengua, which is characterized by mixing within words, and has Quechua phonological system to accompany its mainly Quechua grammar (van Gijn 2009). BM should be compared to mixed languages with unmixed words, given its more isolating nature, and this comparison shows that it is unlike any recognized mixed language.

While the above examples show that BM is neither lexically nor semantically close to being a mixed language, it is also necessary to examine other aspects of BM's grammatical system for a more complete picture. An area that can be examined is the tense and aspectual system of BM. Table 47 compares the tense and aspect systems of BM and its component languages. Again, Hokkien data is taken from Douglas (1873), Chiang (1940), and Bodman (1955, 1958), while the Malay data is gleaned from Marsden (1812) and Crawford (1852). Note that while Chiang (1940) and Douglas (19874) represent future 'want' in Hokkien as *beh*, and 'have' as *ū*, Bodman (1995, 1958) represents these as *bèq* and *ũ* respectively⁷⁷.

⁷⁷ These differences may be a matter of auditory interpretation. While *beh* has no tone, *bèq* has a low tone, and while *ū* has a mid tone, *ũ* has a rising tone.

Tense/ Aspect	BM form	Hokkien form	Malay form
future ‘not yet’	<i>belom</i> VP	<i>bōe</i> VP	<i>belum</i> VP
future ‘later’	<i>nanti</i> VP		<i>nanti</i> VP
future ‘want’	<i>mo</i> VP	<i>beh/bèq</i> VP	(<i>mo</i> ‘want’ is not recognised to indicate the future)
future ‘will’			<i>akan</i> VP
progressive ‘literal: have’	<i>ada</i> VP	<i>ū/ũ</i> VP	<i>ada</i> VP
habitual ‘literal: have’	<i>ada</i> VP	<i>ū/ũ</i> VP	
tentative	verb reduplication	verb reduplication	
perfective ‘have’	<i>ada</i> VP	<i>ū/ũ</i> VP	
perfective ‘already’	<i>sudah</i> VP	<i>i-keng</i> VP	<i>sudah</i> VP
			<i>telah</i> VP
recent perfect ‘just’	<i>baru</i> VP		<i>baharu</i> VP
experiential perfect ‘ever’	<i>pernah</i> VP	VP <i>kè</i>	<i>pernah</i> VP

Table 47: Tense and aspect of Baba Malay, Hokkien, and Malay.

While Marsden (1812) states that *sudah* and *telah* are used to indicate the past, examples provided show perfective use. *Mo* ‘want’ is recognized to be the equivalent of *beh* as BM has a construction *mesti mo* that appears to be a calque of ‘*beh ai*’ in Hokkien (see 5.2.2 and Pakir 1986). Also, tentative aspect via

verbal reduplication is characteristic of Hokkien (Tsao 2004). A quick glance at the table shows that while Malay contributes all the lexicon of the tense and aspect system of BM, grammatical functions can be attributed to both Hokkien and Malay. All functions from Hokkien appear to be transferred over to BM by being transferred over directly from BM, and by virtue of having compatible functions and forms in Malay (except for the fact that experiential perfect *kè* is postverbal rather than preverbal). However not all Malay forms and functions are found in BM (*akan* ‘will’, *nanti* ‘later’, and *telah* ‘already’). Regarding BM’s possible mixed language status, findings show that the two component languages are not individually compartmentalized in separate subsystems, and hence BM cannot be a mixed language. Similar findings can be made by examining other subsystems in BM, such as its relativization strategies. There are two relative markers in BM, one being *punya* and the other being *yang* (see section 5.6.3). The connection between *yang* in BM and *yang* in Malay is straightforward enough. Example (607) is replicated here as (840). In both instances, *yang* serves as a postnominal relative clause marker.

(839) Malay

Musim [yang datang].
 season **REL** come
 ‘The season that is coming.’
 (Marsden 1812:50)

(840) BM

Ini budak [nang ter- teriak wolf].
 this child **REL** ACD- call.out
 ‘This boy that accidentally cried wolf.’
 (Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-030, 00:03:34.9-00:03:37.3)

On the other hand, even though *punya* in BM is lexically Malay in origin, it is clearly related to Hokkien *ê* (see Lim 1981, Pakir 1986, Lim 1988, Ansaldo and Matthews 1999, Lee 2012). Malay *punya* and Hokkien *ê* are related in that both are possessive verbs. This is reflected in BM *punya* as well. Example (18) is replicated below as example (843).

(841) Malay

orang china punya arta
 person China **POSS** belongings
 ‘a Chinese person’s belongings.’
 (Marsden 1812:32)

(842) Hokkien

lâng ê kha
person **POSS** foot
'a person's foot.'
(Douglas 1873:99)

(843) BM

Peter ***punya*** *bapak*,
Peter **POSS** father
'Peter's father.'
(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-009, 00:45:01.7-00:45:06.9)

By extension, Hokkien *ê*'s function as a prenominal relative clause marker appears to have also been transferred to BM as a function of *punya* (Lim 1988, Lee 2012).

(844) Hokkien

Goá hō i [goá thān ê] lui.
1.SG give 3.SG 1.SG earn **REL** money
'I gave him/her the money that I earned.'
(Lee 2012)

(845) BM

Gua nampak [orang tarék punya] chia
1.SG see person pull **REL** car
'I saw the car (rickshaw) that the man pulled.'
(Lee 2012)

Thus both postnominal and prenominal relativization strategies are available in BM. Based on section 5.6.3 and Lee (2012), the relativization patterns in BM, Hokkien and Malay can be represented in the following table. It is clear from the table that not all patterns of relativization are transferred over from the component languages to BM. While Hokkien *ê* can be used to relativize possessor, BM *punya* is not able to do so.

	Subject	Direct Object	Indirect Object	Possessor
BM <i>punya</i> (prenominal)	+	+	+	-
Hokkien <i>ê</i> (prenominal)	+	+	+	+
BM <i>yang</i> (postnominal)	+	+	+	+
Hokkien <i>yang</i> (postnominal)	+	+	+	+

Table 48: Relativization patterns in Baba Malay, Hokkien, and Malay

In terms of the current mixed language debate, the patterns of relativization show that BM cannot be a mixed language structurally. There is not one but two component languages that underlie the language's relativization system. In addition, not all patterns of relativization from both component languages are found in BM. One of the component language's subsystem, namely that of Hokkien, is no longer intact in the resultant language. This makes the case for BM being a mixed language even less convincing.

Regarding processual matters, the relexification hypothesis that Muysken (1981) proposes for the mixed language, *Media Lengua*, cannot apply directly in any of the above instances. More discussion ensues in the next section. Essentially, while BM may appear to share similar sociohistorical characteristics as other mixed languages, the lexical and grammatical examples here show that the language is structurally dissimilar to any recognized mixed language.

7.4 BM as a creole

It is the view of this chapter that although the notion of a creole is a tenuous one, it is useful if it refers to a group of languages that have more in common with each other than differences (Bakker 2003 on mixed languages). That being said, while it will be shown that BM does not fit the most traditional

notions of a creole, the concept of a creole is still an evolving one, and BM best fits into these expanding if fuzzy boundaries.

Thus far, different modern definitions have been proposed for creoles. Some of these consider sociohistorical factors, others take into account structural features. These differences arise in no small part due to the varying approaches to creole formation—the universalist approach (e.g. Bickerton 1981, Bickerton 1984, Coelho 1880–6), the substratist approach (e.g. Adam 1883, Muysken 1981, Lefebvre 1998, Lumsden 1999, Siegel 1999) and the superstratist approach (Faine 1936, Chaudenson 1974, Mufwene 1996, Mufwene 2001, DeGraff 2001, DeGraff 2003). In brief, universalists usually focus on shared properties of creoles that arise because of natural mechanisms; substratists attribute creole features to the substrate languages; while superstratists typically maintain that the creole is a variety of its lexifier language. A creole would consequently mean different things to different types of creolists. To a universalist, a creole would be a contact language that shows particular features; to a substratist, a creole would be a language that has derived structural or semantic information from another; and to a superstratist, a creole may invoke a particular sociohistorical background. These inferences are but brief generalizations. More detailed discussions regarding these various theories ensue in sections 7.4.4.1, 7.4.4.2, and 7.4.4.3.

Leaving the different approaches to creole formation aside for now, another area of disagreement involves the distinction between pidgin and creole. For researchers such as Holm, a “*creole* has a jargon or a pidgin in its ancestry” (italics in original), and is “spoken natively by an entire speech community” (2000: 6). For others, nativization does not differentiate a pidgin from a creole. Chaudenson (1986) and Mühlhäusler (1992) are of the view that creoles expand from earlier stages after speakers begin using them as the primary mode of communication. Recognising these fuzzy boundaries that inadvertently surround these labels of contact languages, Thomason (1997b) proposes a prototypical definition of creoles. She states that these develop in situations that comprise more than two speaker groups, when neither group has “the need, the desire, and/or the opportunity to learn any of the other groups’ languages” (Thomason 1997b:78). The difference between prototypical creoles and prototypical pidgins is the “social feature of primary vs. restricted communicative functions” (Thomason 1997b:79). Consequently, a prototypical creole would be one that is the main language of the speech community and learnt as a native language, while a prototypical pidgin serves only limited functions. Hence, a prototypical creole would usually have more extensive structure and lexicon (similar to a full-fledged

language) (Thomason 1997b). Recognising that defining creoles by strict structural traits is highly contentious (Mufwene 1997), Thomason (1997b)'s definition is balanced and comprehensive, since it acknowledges fuzzy boundaries, as well as sociohistorical factors, and the minimum structural fact that creoles are more developed than pidgins, and akin to full-fledged languages. Hence, this is the view that this chapter adopts.

The notion that BM may be a creole has been proposed by Lim (1981, 1988), Ansaldo and Matthews (1999), Ansaldo et al (2007), and more recently by Shih (2009).

7.4.1 Lim (1991, 1988)

Based mostly on his fieldwork with MBM, Lim (1981, 1988) posits a possible connection between Bazaar Malay (then a lingua franca used for trade since the 17th and 18 century) and BM. He points out both languages had been previously conflated as 'Low Malay' by Shellabear (1913). While noting that Bazaar Malay has a more variable structure and a smaller lexicon than BM, Lim (1981, 1988) supports the notion that the Chinese had a large part to play in the creation of both Bazaar Malay and BM. He is also of the opinion that since some form of reduced Malay must have existed in both Chinese homes as well as in the trading community, hence BM would have not likely developed from the pidgin now known as Bazaar Malay. Instead, BM may have arisen quickly from an unstable and variable pre-pidgin continuum. Based on Hyme's (1971) notions that creolization involves complication, expansion and extension, in addition to convergence, BM's status as a possible creole is evaluated. In this instance, convergence "refers to the mixture of linguistic elements that is found in pidgin and creoles at each of the phonetic, the lexical, the syntactic and the semantic levels" (Lim 1988:12). Given the fact that there is no prior documentation of a pidgin or a pre-pidgin continuum, it is difficult to demonstrate whether it is complication or simplification, or expansion or reduction that takes place. Lim however identifies several areas of convergence.

At the phonological level, Lim compares the phonemic inventories of MBM with those of Hokkien and Malay. With regard to consonants, Lim notes that there is no sign of admixture as the consonantal system is "almost exactly congruent with that of Malay, and there is no interference from the Hokkien system whatsoever (1988:15). Note again that he does not include glottal plosive [ʔ] in his consonant chart of BM, and that it may not have been his intention to leave it out, especially considering that he

states that the system of BM is congruent with that of Malay, by which he means the standard Bahasa Melayu (see section 6.1) — the glottal stop exists both in Hokkien and in Malay. The consonant chart Lim (1988) presents of MBM is entirely similar to that of both SBM and MBM in this grammar (see sections 3.1.1 and 6.1).

Hokkien			Labial	Dental	Velar	Glottal
Stops	unasp.	v'less	p	t	k	ʔ
		voiced	b	d	g	
	asp.	v'less	p ^h	t ^h	k ^h	
Affricates	unasp.	v'less		tʃ		
		voiced		dʒ		
	asp.	v'less		tʃ ^h		
Fricatives		v'less		s		h
Nasals		voiced	m	n	ŋ	
Laterals		v'less		l		

Malay			Labial	Dental	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	v'less		p	t		k	ʔ
	voiced		b	d		g	
Affricates	v'less				tʃ		
	voiced				dʒ		
Fricatives	v'less	f	s	ʃ			h
	voiced		z				
Liquids	voiced		l	r			
Nasals	voiced	m	n	ɲ	ŋ		
Semi-vowels		w		j			

Table 49: Consonant charts of Hokkien and Malay (Lim 1988)

Baba Malay			Labial	Dental	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	v'less		p	t		k	(ʔ)
	voiced		b	d		g	
Affricates	v'less				tʃ		
	voiced				dʒ		
Fricatives	v'less		s				h
Liquids			l	r			

Nasals	m	n	ɲ	ŋ
Semi-vowels	w		j	

Table 50: Consonant chart of Malacca Baba Malay (Lim 1988)

Where vowels are concerned, Lim presents the following comparison. The vowel inventory of MBM is almost congruent with that of Malay, except for [ɛ], which results from raising discussed in section 3.3.9, although Lim (1981, 1988) attributes this to urbanity, and not “refinement”. While there are nasalized vowels in Hokkien, no nasal vowels are reported for BM. For example, /t^hia/ for ‘living room’ is reported as /tia/ (Lim 1988:15).

Hokkien				
	Front	Central		Back
High	i ĭ			u ũ
Mid	e ě			o õ
Low	a ã			ɔ ǔ
Malay				
	Front	Central		Back
High	i			u
Mid	e	ə		o
Low	(ɛ)	a		

Table 51: Vowel charts of Hokkien and Malay (Lim 1988)

Baba Malay			
	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e	ə	o
Low	(ɛ)	a	

Table 52: Vowel chart of Malacca Baba Malay (Lim 1988)

Thus, Lim (1988) states that unlike other creoles that may show substrate influence in phonology, BM shows little influence from Hokkien. Note however, that Lim's findings regarding MBM differ from this grammar's findings on SBM, where ϵ and also ɔ both exist in the vowel inventory, and are attributed to Hokkien substrate influence (see section 3.1). Influence from Hokkien is syntactically and semantically more prevalent.

Lim (1988) attributes the relativizer form and function of *punya* to that of Hokkien, as this dissertation and Lee (2012) also do (discussed in sections 5.6.3 and 7.3.2), although he also identifies it as a possessive, and temporal and locative marker. These can be interpreted as extensions of the relative marker (as this grammar has done). Alternate glosses are provided for Lim's examples below.

(846) BM

Sek Po punya keréta
REL car
 'Sek Po's car'
 'The car that is Sek Po's (alternate gloss).'

Hokkien

Sek Po ê chia
REL car

Malay

Keréta Sek Po
 car

(Lim 1988: 17)

(847) BM

Sini ***punya*** *orang*
here REL people
'The people of this place.'
'The people that are here.' (alternate gloss)'

Hokkien

Chit-tau ***ê*** *lang*
here REL people

Malay

Orang yang di sini
person REL Prep here

(Lim 1988: 17)

Note however, that not all relativization functions that exist in Hokkien do so in BM. While Hokkien *ê* can be used to relativize possessor, BM *punya* is not able to do so (see section 7.3.2). Other functions that are transferred over include the *kasi* benefactive and causative constructions (see section 5.2.4.2) among others. The following benefactive and causative examples are presented in examples (848) and (849).

(848) BM

dia *beli* *itu* *baju* ***kasi*** *gua*
3.SG buy that dress give 1.SG
'He bought that dress for me.'

Hokkien

i *bóe* *hít* *nîa* *sã* ***hō*** *gúa*
3.SG buy that CLF dress give 1.SG

Malay

dia *membeli* *baju* *itu* *bagi* *saya*
3.SG buy dress that for 1.SG
(Lim 1988: 20)

(849) BM

Dia-orang *kasi* *gua* *tau*
3.PL **give** 1.SG know
'They let me know.'

Hokkien

in-lâng *hō* *gúa* *chai*
3.PL **give** 1.SG know

Malay

Mereka *memberi* *tau* *kepada saya*
3.PL inform know to 1.SG
(Lim 1988: 20)

In addition to substratal influence in the form of the *punya* relative marker, and the *kasi* causative and benefactive constructions, Lim (1988) addresses the fact that the adversative passive *kena*, which has been derived from Malay, is also used as a non-volition marker, and that this use appears to have been derived from Hokkien *tioq*. It is important to note that Hokkien *tioq* is also a passive marker, and its congruence with Malay *kena* may have triggered the use of *kena* as a non-volition marker. Compare the congruence between the passive function in BM, Malay and Hokkien in examples (850) and (851), as well as the non-volition function of *kena* and *tioq* in examples (852) and (853). It is clear that the non-volition function of *kena* in BM is related to that of Hokkien *tioq*.

(850) Malay (also BM)

Dia *kena* *pukul*
3.SG PASS hit
'He was hit.'

(851) Hokkien

i *tioq* *phah.*
3.SG PASS hit
'He was hit.'

(852) BM (but not Malay)

Gua *kena* *pegí.*
1.SG subjected.to go
'I had to go (i.e. I had no choice).'

(853) Hokkien

Gúa tioq khi
1.SG subjected.to go
'I had to go.'
(Lim 1988: 21-22)

Aside from these Hokkien influences in syntax-semantics, which Lim takes to be evidence of convergence between Hokkien and Malay, he also presents evidence of convergence in terms word order, since the topic-comment order that is common in Hokkien is also common in BM (see section 5.6.9). Where the lexicon is concerned, BM's pronominal system is presented as evidence of convergence, since it derives words from both Hokkien and Malay and has calques from Hokkien. (see section 4.1.3 and 7.3.2). For example, third person plural *dia-orang*, literally '3.SG person' is derived from *i-lâng* '3.SG person' in Hokkien.

Hence, identifying convergence as a dominant phenomenon in BM, Lim (1988) states that BM as a creole.

7.4.2 Ansaldo and Matthews (1999) and Ansaldo et al. (2007)

While Ansaldo and Matthews (1999) provides evidence of substratal elements from Hokkien, showing that structures in BM are in accordance with Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) notion of substratum interference, Ansaldo et al. (2007) disagree with their views that contact varieties such as BM (which they regard to being similar to a creole) have to be associated with notions of imperfect learning or break in the transmission of the lexifier. The latter work also argues that emergence of such contact varieties do not have to be associated with "extraordinary social conditions of dominated, oppressed, or underprivileged populations" (Ansaldo et al. 2007: 204). The features in BM can then be explained by the language's ecology, in which an admixture of language materials from different sources compete for selection.

The data that Ansaldo and Matthews (1999) draw on are oral data recorded by Lau (1984) and Pakir (1986), Gwee's glossary (1988), as well as a play written by Chia (1989). They cite Thomason and Kaufman (1988), stating that substratum influence can be differentiated from borrowing, and that borrowing begins with the lexicon, while in substratum influence, structural interference and borrowing in the lexicon can overlap. Ansaldo and Matthews (1999) then show examples of structural influence, in

areas such as passivization, the attributive construction (analyzed here as relative clauses, see section 7.4.1 for discussion of Hokkien substrate influence in passivization and relative clause formation), existential *ada* constructions, and the tense-aspect system.

While Ansaldo and Lim (1999) state that *ada* and its Hokkien equivalent, *ǎ*, can mean ‘have’ or ‘exist’ in both Hokkien and Malay, they attribute its use as a preverbal auxiliary to Hokkien. Ansaldo and Lim (1999) cite examples such as the following.

(854) BM

Lu ingat sekarang punya orang ada ka berchaya ini chiong-chiong mia hal?
 2.SG think now POSS people **have** Q⁷⁸ believe this taboo-taboo POSS thing
 ‘Do you think today’s generation actually believe this stuff about taboos?’

(855) Hokkien

Lì ǎ siú bèq khǐ bou?
 2.SG **have** think will go NEG
 ‘Are you thinking of going?’
 (Bodman 1958:2)

Note however, that while this chapter agrees that the uses of *ada* are more alike that of Hokkien than Malay, *ada* as a progressive marker, has been noted in Malay (see Marsden 1812). Instead, the perfective use of *ada* may demonstrate Hokkien influence better, since this function does not exist in Malay. This can be demonstrated by the following examples. Example (491) is replicated here as (856).

(856) BM

Gua ada tutop.
 1.SG **PFV** CLOSE
 ‘I closed (the door).’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-043, 00:22:15.8-00:22:16.7)

(857) Hokkien

Guà ǎ khì hê-chiā-cām
 1.Sg **PFV** go train-station
 ‘I went to the train station.’
 (Bodman 1955:18)

⁷⁸ The use of *ka* as a question marker has not been noted in any data elicited for this grammar.

Other uses of *ada* and the implications of these substratum influence is discussed in section 7.4.4.2.

Where the tense and aspect system is concerned, Ansaldo and Matthews (1999) state that besides being consistent with typical creole typology, particular constructions appear to have been influenced by the Hokkien tense and aspect system. They cite the data in examples (858) and (859). While both *mo* and *bèq* [transcribed as *beh* by others such as Douglas (1873)] share a common meaning ‘want’ in Malay and Hokkien respectively, only Hokkien *bèq* has a future meaning. This future meaning is transferred to BM *mo*, even though it does not exist in Malay.

(858) *Apa mo jadi*
what FUT happen
‘What will happen?’

(859) *Guà bèq khi hê-chiā-cām*
1.SG will go train-station
‘I will (am expected) to go to the train station.’
(Bodman 1955:97)

This observation has also been made by Lim (1988) and in this grammar. Ansaldo and Matthews (1999) go a step further in proposing that there is a difference between *nanti* ‘later’ future constructions and *mo* ‘want’ future constructions (see section 5.2.5.1), stating that *nanti* is a general future construction, while *mo* is immediate/intentional future. The data covered in this dissertation does not show that *mo* indicates immediacy, although examples with *mo* do signal intention, as *mo* is also a deontic modality marker (see section 5.2.2).

Given the multiple structural inputs from Hokkien, Ansaldo and Matthews (1999) conclude that BM can be accounted for by substratal influence rather than by borrowing, based on distinctions made by Thomason and Kaufman (1988). They also propose that BM underwent creolization, due to the historical circumstances in which Malay women and Chinese men formed a community, as well as characteristics that show processes associated with creolization, such as morphological reduction (as with the loss of verbal prefixes), and grammaticalization (for example, the expansion of possessive *punya*’s use). They note that BM appears to be atypical, being a dual-input creole instead of one based on at least three languages. They name Pitcairnese as another dual-input creole (English-Tahitian), as well as dual-input pidgins such as Pidgin Delaware and Ndyuka Trio.

Whereas Ansaldo and Matthews (1999) is more concerned with structural matters, and demonstrated the validity of ideas put forth by Thomason and Kaufman (1988), Ansaldo et al. (2007) are more concerned

with sociohistorical issues, and they propose that contrary to Thomason and Kaufman (1988), notions of imperfect learning or break in the transmission of the lexifier may not be necessary in accounting for the formation of restructured vernaculars. In the same vein, Ansaldo et al. note that “the emergence of such contact varieties [do not have to] be associated with extraordinary social conditions of dominated, oppressed, or under-privileged populations” (2007:204).

While Ansaldo and Matthews (1999) identifies BM as a creole, Ansaldo et al. do not outrightly identify BM as a creole. They do, however, draw parallels between BM and other varieties that emerged in situations of “combined trade and settlement colonization”, stating that BM “offers useful comparative information in relation to ‘classic creoles’ of especially the American-Caribbean region and the Indian Ocean” (2007: 206). In contrast to populations associated with these prototypical creoles, speakers of BM were neither dominated by others, oppressed or underprivileged, nor had they ever undergone traumatic geographical displacement. Instead, citing Tan (1988), Ansaldo et al (2007) note that speakers of BM were an influential class of Chinese capitalists. Referred to as the “King’s Chinese”, the Peranakans were among the first to be educated in English, and they played significant roles as intermediaries between the locals, the Asian newcomers, and the British administrators and merchants (Tan 1988, Ansaldo et al. 2007). The Peranakans were therefore “neither and economically dominated nor an underprivileged group” (Ansaldo et al. 2007: 212). In addition, Ansaldo et al. argue that there was no imperfect learning, or break in the transmission of the lexifier, as “the creators of BM were always minorities surrounded by, and in many cases cohabitating with, speakers of colloquial Malay” (2007: 218). In relation to this, there is structurally little that would suggest “an evolution characterized by simplification (Ansaldo et al. 2007: 218). According to the authors, the structures in BM are better explained as having been selected and adapted from various sources in its ecology. For example, while kinship terms are derived from Hokkien (see Appendix A: Kinship terms), the pronominal system has both Hokkien and Malay influences, as also mentioned by Pakir (1986), Lim (1988), and explained in section 7.3.2.⁷⁹ While these are interesting observations, note that there are no defining explanations for when particular structures or lexicon are influenced by Hokkien, and when they are influenced by Malay.

⁷⁹ Some of these observations differ from those of this grammar, for example, while they state that demonstrative precedes noun in BM (following Hokkien rather than Malay), SBM data shows that both demonstrative noun and noun demonstrative orders are acceptable, and MBM data shows a preference for the noun demonstrative order.

7.4.3 Shih (2009)

The most recent study of BM is that of Shih (2009), who conflates both SBM and MBM as a single object of study, and shows that there is Hokkien substratal influence in BM. She observes specific aspects of the language's phonology, morphology, lexicon, and syntax, based on interviews conducted with seven speakers of BM, both in Malacca and Singapore, as well as on the *Kitab Perjanjian Bharu*, literally 'scripture testament new', originally written by Shellabear and other members of the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1913.

With regard to phonology, Shih (2009) states that BM is more similar to Malay on the surface, but it shows Hokkien influence, through the lack of several fricatives in its consonant system (for example [f], [x] and [z]), and that BM words are at most trisyllabic, similar to Sinitic languages. These points are disputable since [f] is a much more recent development in Malay, the usage of which may have expanded alongside the borrowing of Arabic loanwords into Malay⁸⁰; and [x] and [z] were introduced into Malay via Arabic loanwords. There are also quadrisyllabic words in BM, as with affixed forms such as *ter-balék-kan* 'MVT-turn over-TR' and reduplicated forms such as *kupukupu* 'butterfly'. There are also inaccuracies with the section on morphology. Shih (2009) states that there is a lack of affixation, in line with Hokkien, but this is untrue. As noted in this grammar, affixes such as transitive marker *-kan*, and accidental and movement marker *ter-* are productive, and commonly found in BM data. With regard to conversion processes, Shih (2009) notes that Malay roots can be used for different categories in BM, and that this is also true of Hokkien roots, but not Malay and Indonesian ones. This is more accurate, since *jalan* would mean both 'walk' and 'road' in BM, whereas *berjalan* would mean 'walk', but not 'road' in Malay and Indonesian. Much more Hokkien influence is found with regard to the lexicon. Similar to Pakir (1986), Shih (2009) notes that kinship terms (see Appendix A: Kinship terms) and cultural terms⁸¹ have been derived from Hokkien.

In terms of syntax, Shih (2009) focuses on the usages of *kasi* 'give' derived from Hokkien *hoo*. Shih (2006) states that *kasi* can be used as a ditransitive verb meaning 'give', as a goal marker in a

⁸⁰ While *f* occurs now in modern Malay words such as *fikir* 'think', the only words that utilise *f* in older High Malay were loanwords from Arabic. This is attested to by Crawfurd's (1852) dictionary.

⁸¹ See Pakir (1986) for an in-depth list.

ditransitive construction, as a causative verb, in special pivotal constructions, as a verb in imperative verb-complement constructions, and as an agent marker in passive constructions. The special pivotal construction mentioned by Shih (2006) essentially is the same as the benefactive construction recognized by the grammar, and the usage of *kasi* in imperative verb-complement construction is essentially an agentless imperative causative construction. Ditransitive, benefactive, and causative constructions are described in section 5.2.4. The notion that the benefactive and causative constructions have been derived from Hokkien are also described by Lim (1988) and in section 7.4.1. The *kasi* passive construction is described in section 5.2.3. Shih (2006) provides the following comparison in examples (860) and (861). Essentially, other structural extensions of *kasi* beyond the ditransitive verb meaning ‘give’, such as the causative, the benefactive and the passive, are relexified versions of Hokkien constructions.

(860) BM

Gua kasi dia tipu
 1.SG give 3.SG cheat
 ‘I was cheated by him.’
 (Shih 2009)

(861) Hokkien

Guà hō i phiǎn
 1.SG give 3.SG cheat
 ‘I was cheated by him.’
 (Shih 2009)

Hence, based mostly on structural evidence that there is substratal influence from Hokkien, Shih concludes that BM is a creole, instead of a dialect of Malay (in the sense of a related language). In addition, Shih (2009) goes further in saying that BM is a creole that has developed from the lingua franca, Bazaar Malay, since it was colloquial Malay that immigrants that arrived in the region were exposed to, before any intermarriage with the Malays. This last conjecture is reminiscent of Lim (1988)’s notion that BM may have arisen quickly from an unstable and variable pre-pidgin continuum. This raises a disputed issue of whether the founder effect would be stronger or if swamping by later migrants would have taken place (Gordon et al. 2004: 247). With founder effect, the structural characteristics of the language would have been mostly determined by the founder population (Mufwene 1996), whereas with swamping by later migrants, the effect of later migrants is so significant that traits from earlier varieties are swamped out (Lass 1997: 206). In BM’s scenario, early speakers who were

exposed to Bazaar Malay might have been overwhelmed by later numbers of those marrying Malay speakers. The view taken by this grammar is that this is plausible, since it is congruent with the narrative that BM was formed by the intermarriage of Hokkien-speaking traders (who must have had some knowledge of Bazaar Malay for the purpose of trade, prior to settling in the Malay Peninsula) and Malay-speaking women.

7.4.4 Creole theories and BM

Thus far, arguments regarding whether or not BM is a creole have focused mostly on structural traits that show Hokkien substratal influence, except for Ansaldo et al. (2007), who have used BM to challenge sociohistorical notions of what a creole is. This appears to put BM in the periphery of “creolehood”. In effect, BM appears to be a less than prototypical creole by any other standards. For example, Thomason’s notion of prototypical pidgins and creoles include languages that develop in situations that comprise more than two speaker groups, when neither group has “the need, the desire, and/or the opportunity to learn any of the other groups’ languages” (1997b:78). The dominant language in trading was colloquial Malay, and not the Malay spoken as anyone’s first language (Lim 1981, 1988). As mentioned in section 7.2.1, while early speaker groups most likely had the opportunity to learn either groups’ language, it is highly likely that they had neither need nor desire to in the intermarriage scenario. In addition, it is disputable if BM involves the contact of only two languages, or more than two languages (see section 7.2.1). Earlier adstrates include Dutch and Portuguese, while later ones include English and Cantonese, among other languages. However, it is clear from BM, that these other languages left very little imprint on it, no more than casual borrowing in other language situations. Again, the number of languages involved is usually a peripheral concern rather than a central one, and as a case in point, Ansaldo and Matthews (1999) highlight Pitcairnese as a dual-input creole comprising English and Tahitian.

Next, it is interesting to consider if BM did indeed arise from Bazaar Malay. Thomason states that the difference between prototypical creoles and prototypical pidgins is the “social feature of primary vs. restricted communicative functions” (1997b: 79). In an ideal theoretical world, Bazaar Malay would be the pidgin that BM originates from—Bazaar Malay is a pidgin that was used in the limited domains of trade and inter-ethnic communication, whereas BM is used as the main home language of the Peranakans. If this were the case, it would make sense to compare the structures of BM and Bazaar

Malay as if one evolved from the other, since a prototypical creole would usually be more extensive in structure and lexicon than a prototypical pidgin (Thomason 1997b). However, there is no substantial evidence to suggest that BM did evolve from Bazaar Malay, or even a pre-pidgin continuum. On a separate but related note, one might ask which variety of Malay influenced BM most. It is necessary to consider the fact that in an intermarriage scenario between Chinese traders and local women, there would have been no impediment to non-colloquial High Malay, especially if many of these women were local indigenous Malay. It is easy to find evidence of High Malay structural influence in BM. For example, as mentioned in section 7, BM uses noun classifiers and *yang* relative clauses. These occur in High Malay but not in colloquial Malay (Aye 2005). The structural evidence shows that it is necessary to compare BM with High Malay, and that it is not possible to adopt a strong stance regarding whether or not BM evolved from Bazaar Malay. That these Hokkien-speaking males who intermarried with Malay-speaking females were heavily exposed to Bazaar Malay through trade before any intermarriage occurred remains an interesting conjecture.

At the end of the day, definitions appear to be somewhat arbitrary. For example, creolehood depends on whether or not one accepts a dual-input contact language to be a creole (see Ansaldo and Matthews 1999, Thomason 1997b), and whether or not a creole is a nativized version of a pidgin (Holm 2000), or a contact language that has more communicative functions than a pidgin (Chaudenson 1986, Mühlhäusler 1992, Thomason 1997b). Considering that creolists who subscribe to different views of creole formation have different ideas about what constitutes a creole, it is immensely more interesting to question how BM fits in with theories of creole formation. Findings show that BM is far more like a creole when processes of creole-formation are considered, and that BM can also be used to provide perspectives on the various creole formation theories.

7.4.4.1 The universalists

It is said that “creole studies blossomed in the 1880s” (Holm 2000:27). One of the earliest theoretical positions taken on the origin of creoles was that of Coelho who attributed the form of creoles to certain universal tendencies in second language learning by adults. Coelho states that the “Romance and creole dialects, Indo-Portuguese and all the similar formations represent the first stage or stages in the acquisition of a foreign language by a people that speaks or spoke another” (1880–6:193), and that these languages “owe their origin to the operation of psychological or physiological laws that are everywhere

the same, and not to the influence of the former languages of the peoples among whom these dialects were found” (1880–6:195). Some of the evidence Coelho provides are the lack of overt functional categories, as well as the use of preverbal progressive marker generally found in creoles. It is interesting that one of the characteristics that Coelho points out is the use of *misti* to mean ‘need’ in several creoles, because BM uses *mesti* to mean ‘must’ (see section 5.2.2). Not surprisingly, Holm (2000) highlights that these were mainly Portuguese-based creoles, Portuguese being one of the adstrates spoken in the same environment as BM. Crucially, Coelho does not provide any explicit explanation of how psychological or physiological laws may constrain creole formation. It is thus difficult to evaluate the strengths of such an approach. Even if the preverbal progressive marker does occur in BM (see section 5.2.5.4), there is no evidence that this feature is due to some psychological or physiological law that is constraining second language acquisition.

Another more widely-known 20th century version of a universalist-type theory is Bickerton’s Language Bioprogram Hypothesis (LBH). Whereas Coelho views creole formation to be the result of second language acquisition, Bickerton views creole formation as a product of first language acquisition. More specifically, the “LBH claims that the innovative aspects of creole grammar are inventions on the part of the first generation of children who have a pidgin as their linguistic input, rather than features transmitted from existing languages” (Bickerton 1984:173). Drawing from his observations of Hawai’i Creole English, also known as Pidgin to its speakers, Bickerton explains that creoles are created abruptly, pointing to language acquisition by children of imported plantation laborers and slaves. The parents of these children spoke different languages, and could only communicate with each other in a very limited fashion. Consequently, the children did not have much linguistic material to work with, and they would have had to rely on their innate linguistic faculty to develop this unstable language into a full-fledged language (Bickerton 1981, 1984). As such, similar to Coelho’s notion of universality, the LBH is based on the idea that the “inventions show a degree of similarity, across wide variations in linguistic background, that is too great to be attributed to chance” (Bickerton 1984:173). Thus, in support of the LBH, Bickerton (1981) presents a set of features that are presumably found in creoles, but not in the languages that precede the creoles. These include for example, the Subject Verb Object (SVO) word order, a category of adjectives that form a subcategory of stative verbs, relativization that contains no surface marker of relativization, as well as verb serialization among others.

There are several weaknesses with the basic assumptions of Bickerton's LBH. First, in its narrow view, a creole would necessarily have been formed on a plantation. This excludes then, any creoles that would have been formed in other domains, such as through trade, colonization, and, intermarriage between two different ethnic groups, as in the case of BM, which is a language that was formed via the intermarriage of Chinese traders and Malay indigenous women in the Malay between the 15th to 19th century (Pakir 1986). Next, it would be necessary to evaluate the claim that the structures in creole are "shared by all locally born (i.e. creole) speakers and no immigrant (i.e. pidgin) speaker" (Bickerton 1984:174). Roberts (1998) demonstrates that some of the so-called universal features in Hawai'i Creole English, which this particular universalist theory is mostly founded upon, are connected with the first generation speakers' languages. In addition, some of these features exist in contact languages that have not become nativized, such as Ghanaian Pidgin English (Huber 1999). Where BM is concerned, any direct link between the creole and Bazaar Malay is purely speculative, and there is no known documentation of a pidgin version of BM. The language was not written until the late 19th century when the Peranakans began publishing newspapers, magazines, and translating Chinese stories (Yoong and Zainab 2002). While it is not possible to evaluate whether there are universal features in BM that can or cannot be connected to a pre-nativized version, it is possible to evaluate if these universal features can be found in BM, and if they are found, whether or not they can be linked to the original languages that were spoken by the original populations, in this case, Malay and Hokkien. Out of the universal features listed at the end of the last paragraph, two are not found in BM, while two can easily be attributed to the languages that were spoken by the original populations. BM does not have a special category of adjectives that form a subcategory of stative verbs, neither does it have relativization that does not make use of a surface marker for relativization. In fact, relativization in BM makes use of two different markers of relativization, depending on whether relativization is pre-nominal or post-nominal (see sections 5.6.3 and 7.3.2). The following are examples of pre-nominal and post-nominal relativization in BM. Examples (612)/(845) and (840) are replicated here as (862) and (863).

(862) BM

<i>Gua</i>	<i>nampak</i>	<i>[orang tarék</i>	<i>punya]</i>	<i>chia</i>
1.SG	see	person pull	REL	car
'I saw the car (rickshaw) that the man pulled.'				
(Lee 2012)				

- (863) *Ini budak [nang ter- teriak wolf].*
 this child **REL** ACD- call.out
 ‘This boy that accidentally cried wolf.’

(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-030, 00:03:34.9-00:03:37.3)

The surface markers *punya* and *yang* are used in prenominal and postnominal relativization respectively, and as mentioned in section 7.3.2, these constructions have counterparts in Hokkien and Malay. Examples include (844) and (839), replicated here as (864) and (865).

- (864) Hokkien

Goá hō i [goá thān ê] lui.
 1.SG give 3.SG 1.SG earn **REL** money
 ‘I gave him/her the money that I earned.’
 (Lee 2012)

- (865) Malay

Musim [yang datang].
 season **REL** come
 ‘The season that is coming.’
 (Marsden 1812:50)

Thus, in addition to not conforming to Bickerton’s universal, the relativization data also suggests that the contact language’s structure may be attributed in some way to languages spoken by the original population. This is something that Bickerton’s LBH does not acknowledge. In a similar vein, that a contact language has the SVO word order does not necessarily mean that this is a universal rule. In the case of BM, the SVO word order could be attributed to the fact that the SVO word order exists in both Malay and Hokkien. Similarly, the fact that verb serialization occurs in BM can simply entail the fact that it occurs in Hokkien too.

- (866) BM

Gua suap tu baby minum susu.
 1.SG feed that drink milk
 ‘I feed that baby milk to drink.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-045, 00:00:17.6-00:00:20.5)

- (867) Hokkien

Lîê chheh chioh goá khoà chit ē
 2.Sg book lend 1.Sg see one time
 ‘Your book, lend it to me to read once.’

(Chiang 1940: 31)

The above examples show that it may be necessary to consider the input of other languages in the formation of a contact language. This is an issue that the substratists and the superstratists contend with.

7.4.4.2 The substratists

Similar to the universalist approach, the substratist approach was also first articulated in the 1880s. Adam (1883) compared Guiana Creole French to that of Trinidad and several West African languages, and compared Mauritian Creole French to the Malagasy language of Madagascar. Inaccurate as the second comparison is, he states that “the Guinea Negroes, transported-to those [Caribbean] colonies, took words from French, but retained as far as possible the phonology and grammar of their mother tongues” (Adam 1883:4).

A more modern day approach exists in the notions of relexification and substrate transfer. The term ‘relexification’ was introduced by Stewart (1962) who noted the relationship between Caribbean creoles and particular pidgin and creole languages spoken in Asia and Africa. Stewart (1962: 46) defines the process of relexification as one wherein the vocabulary of a source language of a creole is replaced (through widespread borrowing) by the vocabulary of another language, “while the original grammatical structure is preserved practically unchanged.” In a similar vein, Whinnom (1965: 522) suggests that:

Certain pidgins and creoles are relexifications of an advanced Portuguese pidgin, others may be relexifications of a more primitive Portuguese pidgin which originated as a relexification of Sabir, or possibly, directly of Sabir itself.

Another proponent of relexification is Muysken (1981: 61) who proposed that *Media Lengua*, a mixed language, arose due to a “process of vocabulary substitution in which the only information adopted from the target language in the lexical entry is the phonological representation.” Such an approach has since been adopted by Lumsden (1999) and Lefebvre (1998) in explaining creole formation. Lefebvre (1998: 16) explains that in the process of relexification, the syntactic and semantic features of a lexeme in a substrate lose their original phonological label and are relabelled with a “phonetic string” from the lexifier. Crucially, this takes place due to the influence of the creator’s first language (L1) or languages. This differs markedly from Bickerton’s LBH in which the role of creole formation is left to children, and

influence from the first language is overtly not taken into account. Relexification is often compared to substrate transfer, which Siegel (2000) uses to account for the morphosyntactic properties of Hawai'i Creole English. Siegel (1999) argues that the selection of superstrate features depends on factors such as perceptual salience, transparency and frequency. Very little else is said of the superstrate language. Conceptually, relexification views the process more from the perspective of L1 input, focusing on how second language (L2) items are incorporated into the learner's system as labels for L1 derived semantic/functional categories, while transfer views the effects of L1 influence from the perspective of the L2, focusing on how the input is changed under the L1 influence (Winford 2003:345). The two are essentially similar, as they emphasize the importance of L1 influence, and differ markedly from the LBH by focusing on the notion of L2 acquisition. Substrate transfer in the following discussion thus also refers to relexification.

BM is recognized as comprising Hokkien as a substrate language, and Malay as a lexifier language (Lim 1981, 1988, Holm 1989, Ansaldo and Matthews 1999, Shih 2009). The substrate language here corresponds to L1 in the above discussion, while the superstrate language corresponds to L2. It is not immediately clear why Hokkien would constitute L1, and Malay L2, in this instance. Usually, it is the language that is external to the local community that would have L2 status, as with English in Hawai'i Creole English, or even French in Haitian Creole. In the case of BM, it was the Hokkien speakers who journeyed south to the Malay Peninsula, and yet, Hokkien corresponds to the substrate language, and hence L1, rather than L2 or the superstrate language. It would be necessary to postulate reasons as to why Malay was the target language and not Hokkien. This may be due to the fact that the Chinese traders had to learn a variety of Malay for the purpose of trade, since it was a dominant lingua franca in the region between the 14th to 19th century (Sneddon 2003) It is more likely that the Hokkien-speaking traders had to learn the local language, rather than the local women having to learn the Hokkien. Unfortunately, the substratists have not articulated clearly how the sociohistorical background of a creole contributes towards its structure. This remains one of the main criticisms of these substratal approaches (Winford 2003:337), and it is an aspect that is better addressed by superstratists (see section 7.4.4.3).

Next, it is necessary to evaluate if substrate transfer can account for the data in BM. Fundamentally, researchers who have identified BM as a creole, have done so based on substratal transfer, even if the exact term is not used. For example, as demonstrated above in section 7.4.1, Lim (1988) attributes the

prenominal relativizer *punya* construction, the causative/benefactive *kasi* constructions, and the topic-comment structure to the influence of Hokkien prenominal relativizer *ê*, causative/benefactive *hō*, and the topic-comment structure in the language, while Ansaldo and Matthews (1999) state that future marker *mo* is derived from Hokkien *bèq*. There are a number more structures that can immediately be attributed to substrate transfer. Within the aspectual system itself, tentative aspect verbal reduplication and perfective aspect *ada* have also been derived through substrate transfer.

As discussed in sections 5.2.5.7 and 7.3.2, tentative aspect in BM is indicated by verbal reduplication. Examples (505) and (506) are replicated below as (868) and (869).

(868) *Jalan jalan*
 walk walk
 ‘Take a walk.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:02:13.1-00:02:14.6)

(869) *Téngok téngok*
 look look
 ‘Take a look.’
 (Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-142, 00:02:14.6-00:02:16.2)

While tentative aspect through verbal reduplication does not appear to occur in Malay, it is fairly common in Hokkien and other Sinitic languages (See Tsao 2004). Compare examples (868) and (869) with (870). These instances of verbal reduplication express the tentative aspect where the situation is “of short duration, and of little importance” (Smith 1991: 356).

(870) Hokkien

Goá beh khi kiáⁿ kiáⁿ
 1.SG FUT go walk walk
 ‘I want to go take a walk.’
 (Chiang 1940: 13)

Note that in addition to verbal reduplication signalling tentative aspect, other word classes can be reduplicated for metaphorical tentativeness in BM. Example (871) shows how adjectival reduplication is used to express a metaphorical tentativeness.

(871) *Tawair tawair*
 Tasteless tasteless
 ‘Kind of tasteless.’

Adjectival reduplication that expresses metaphorical tentativeness is essentially also found in Hokkien. Note that this is different from reduplication that forms adverbs (see section 4.4.1). Tsao provides the following example.

(872) Hokkien

In lāupě sán sán a
3.SG father thin thin PRT
'His father is kind of thin.'

(Tsao 2004: 295)

Hence in BM, tentativeness in aspect, and in adjectival reduplication result from substrate transfer from Hokkien. Similarly, substrate transfer accounts for the use of *ada* as a perfective aspect marker in BM. *Ada* is not used as a perfective marker in Malay (Marsden 1812). In their most basic form, Malay *ada* and Hokkien *ū*⁸² are possessive verbs. Unsurprisingly BM *ada* is also a possessive verb.

(873) BM possessive *ada*

Kambing dia ada lochéng.
Goat 3.Sg has bell
'His goat has a bell.'

(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-022, 00:01:44.8-00:01:47.3)

(874) Hokkien

Goá ū tāmpoh sū
1.Sg has little matter
'I have a little matter.'

(Chiang 1940: 27)

(875) Malay

Raja itu ada s' orang anak nia perempuan
king that has one person child 3.SG female
'That king had one daughter.'

(Marsden1812: 58)

Other shared features between BM *ada*, Hokkien *ū* and Malay *ada* are the existential/location function, the copula function, and the progressive aspect function (Lee 2009). The following are examples of

⁸² Following Douglas (1873) and Chiang (1940)'s orthographic transcriptions

these share functions across the contact language, its substrate language, and its lexifier language. Examples (876) to (878) compare existential/location usage of *ada* and *ū*. The use of *ada* as an existential marker in BM is also mentioned in section 5.1.4.

(876) BM existential/location *ada*

Di tepi library ada satu keday jual kuay
 PREP next **EXIST** one shop sell cake
 ‘Next to the library, there is a shop selling cake.’

(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-107, 00:09:13.1-00:09:16.6)

(877) Hokkien

ēn̄ng ũ chaikuán
 Amoy **EXIST** restaurant
 ‘There are restaurants in Amoy.’

(Bodman 1955: 18)

(878) Malay

Ada s’ orang raja
EXIST one person king
 ‘There was a king.’

(Marsden1812: 58)

Examples (879) to (881) demonstrate copula use of *ada* and *ū*, example (429) is replicated here as (879). See section 5.2.1 for more information on copula constructions using *ada*.

(879) BM copula *ada*

Rumah gua ada chanték tak
 house 1.SG **COP** beautiful NEG
 ‘My house is beautiful or not?’

(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-035, 00:02:41.9-00:02:43.7)

(880) *chit keng lūtiám ũ hó bô*
 this CLF.BUILDING hotel **COP** good Neg
 ‘Is this hotel good or not?’

(Bodman 1955: 61)

(881) *rumah ini ada baik*
 house this **COP** good
 ‘This house is good.’

(Lee 2009)

Examples (882) to (884) show how *ada* and *ū* are used to express the progressive aspect, example (498) being replicated here as (882). The use of *ada* as a progressive marker is mentioned in section 5.2.5.4.

(882) BM progressive *ada*

Lu ada bikin apa?

2.SG **PROG** make what

‘You are making what?’

(Peter Wee, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-042, 00:12:50.2-00:12:51.8)

(883) Hokkien

Lì ũ sîu bèq khǐ bou?

2.SG **PROG** think want go NEG

‘You are thinking of going, or not?’

(Bodman 1958: 2)

(884) Malay

Orang ada makan

people **PROG** eat

‘The people are eating.’

(Marsden 1812: 58)

While all the possessive verb function, the existential/location function, the copula function, and the progressive aspect function are shared by BM *ada* and its lexifier and substrate equivalents, the perfective function is only shared by BM *ada* and its substrate equivalent *ū*. Example (489) appears here as (885), (857) as (886), and (884) as (887). The perfective use of *ada* is noted in section 5.2.5.2.

(885) BM perfective *ada*

Dia ada beli apple, bukan?

3.SG **PFV** bought no

‘She bought an apple, no?’

(Victor, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-051, 00:40:03.5-00:40:06.9)

(886) Hokkien

Guà ũ khì hê-chiā-cām

1.Sg **PFV** go train-station

‘I went to the train station.’

(Bodman 1955:18)

(887) Malay

*Orang **ada** makan*
people **PROG** eat
* ‘The people ate.’
‘The people are eating.’
(Marsden 1812: 58)

In Malay, *sudah* ‘already’ is used to mark the perfective. This is also used in BM (see section 5.2.5.2). Hokkien *i-keng* which also mean ‘already’ is congruous in function. Returning to the subject matter of substrate transfer, perfective use has been transferred from Hokkien *ū* to BM *ada*, since it is not a feature of Malay *ada* (Lee 2009).

A final example of the influence of the Hokkien substrate is the form *mana ada* ‘where EXIST’; its usage is discussed in section 4.4.2. Example (720) is replicated here as (888). Compare this example with example (889)

(888) BM *mana ada*

*Mana **ada** panday?*
where EXIST clever
‘How is he clever (implying he is not)?’
(Jane Quek, oai:scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu: NL1-093, 00:21:32.7-00:21:34.2)

(889) Hokkien

Tó-loh ũ lâ-sâm?
where EXIST dirty
‘Where is it dirty (implying it is not dirty)?’
Given translation: I don’t think it’s dirty
(Teo 1996: 75)

The form *mana ada* appears to be a calque of Hokkien form *tó-loh ũ*, both literally indicating ‘where EXIST’, and connoting that the speaker thinks the listener’s earlier assertion is not correct. Evidence such as this appear to support the substratist position.

However, matters are often more complicated. Not all substratal semantic-syntactic structures are transferred to BM. Recall for example, from section 7.3.2 that not all patterns of relativization are

transferred over from prenominal relativizer, Hokkien *ê* to BM *punya*. Specifically, while Hokkien *punya* is able to relativize possessor, BM *punya* is not able to do so. Interestingly, BM *yang* shows all relativization patterns associated with postnominal relativizer, Malay *yang* (see section 5.6.3 and 7.3.2). Table 48 is produced here as table 53.

	Subject	Direct Object	Indirect Object	Possessor
BM <i>punya</i> (prenominal)	+	+	+	-
Hokkien <i>ê</i> (prenominal)	+	+	+	+
BM <i>yang</i> (postnominal)	+	+	+	+
Hokkien <i>yang</i> (postnominal)	+	+	+	+

Table 53: Relativization patterns in BM, Hokkien, and Malay

The following examples contrasts BM *punya* with Hokkien *ê* in terms of possessor relativization.

Example (618) appears here as (891).

(890) Hokkien *ê* possessor relativization

hit ê [pêngiú phah goá ê lâng]
 that REL friend hit 1.SG REL person
 ‘That person whose friends hit me.’
 (Lee 2012)

(891) BM *punya* possessor relativization

**itu (orang) punya kawan-kawan pukul gua punya orang*
 that (person) possess friend-friend hit 1.SG REL person
 ‘that person whose friends hit me.’
 (Lee 2012)

Lee (2012) constructed sentences such as example (891) based on what is expected of BM. It conforms to the language as it is necessary for the possessor to occur before *punya* ‘to possess’ in order to express that it was the ‘person’s friends’ who hit ‘me’. However, this would not be compatible with relativization using *punya*, since *punya* has to precede the head it modifies in its most basic form in Malay.

(892) Malay

<i>Ali</i>	<i>punya</i>	<i>kuéh</i>
	possess	cake
‘Ali’s cake.’		
(Lee 2012)		

Example (891) is further incompatible with the gap-type strategy that is used in relative clause constructions containing Hokkien *e* or BM *punya*, the gap-type strategy being one that does not provide any overt indication of the role of the head within the relative clause (Comrie 1989). In (891), *orang* ‘person’ in parenthesis would overtly indicate what the role of the head is within the relative clause. Due to these misalignments, BM speakers judge this sentence to be ill-formed, stating that it is not possible to produce a sentence with such a meaning in the language. Hence, properties of both the lexifier language and the substrate language prevent the transfer of the feature that would otherwise allow for the relativization of possessors. Where major approaches to creole formation are concerned, substrate influence on its own cannot fully account for resultant structures.

Outside of syntactic structure, the same is also true. Substrate transfer on its own cannot explain all phenomena in BM. For example, it fails to account for why most words or ‘phonetic strings’ for kinship in BM are derived from Hokkien. The paternal uncle who is older than one’s father is called *pék*, the one who is younger than one’s father is called *engchek*, while the maternal uncle is called *engku* (see Appendix C: Kinship terms). These differs drastically from Malay, wherein these various relations can be subsumed under the word *pakcik* for addressing one’s uncle. Without discussing the sociohistorical background of these speakers, that these Peranakans held on to Chinese culture and tradition (for example, in ancestral worship, marriage rites, and in sending their sons for education in China before British colonialism made English-medium education popular), it would be difficult to understand why the Peranakans observe Chinese kinship terms.

An account of transfer that is solely focused on substrate transfer is limited. Lumsden acknowledges that “the RH [Relexification Hypothesis] is NOT a claim that relexification is the one and only process in

creole genesis, nor is it argued that relexification can account for all the properties of creole languages” (1999:230, fn.7). That being said, the substratists have not provided processes that can fully account for all the properties of creole languages. Hence, in order to more fully understand data from creole, or even BM, it is necessary to refer to yet another opposing point of view.

7.4.4.3 The superstratists

The insufficiency of substrate influence to explain for creole features has been addressed by scholars since the 1930s. Göbl-Gáldi (1934) for instance, highlights that aside from substrate influence, there is also evidence of retentions from archaic and regional French, in addition to creole-internal developments. Going a step further, Faine claims negligible African influence on Haitian Creole French, and that “at least three quarters [of the creole] is from the Norman dialect of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which has been preserved in a very pure state” (1936:1). Based on his work with Réunionnais, one of the more famous superstratists, Chaudenson (1974) argues that creoles evolved from a variety of colloquial French (*français avancé*), which was ahead of the standard language in its natural evolutionary tendencies such as the loss of inflections. His view that a creole is a variety of its lexifier is also found in a more modern day approach, that of Mufwene (1996, 1997 2001, 2003, 2007, 2008) and DeGraff’s (2001, 2003).

One of the biggest differences between the works of these superstratists and the other approaches that have been discussed thus far, is that they do not view creoles as being ‘exceptional’ (De Graff 2001, 2003). DeGraff highlights terms that have been used to discuss creoles—“DEGENERATE DESCENDENTS of their European ancestors”, “ABNORMAL TRANSMISSION or a BREAK IN TRANSMISSION”, “LIVING LINGUISTIC FOSSILS” and “SPECIAL HYBRIDS with exceptional genealogy” (2003: 393, emphasis in original). He goes as far to say that any approach that treats creoles as being exceptional is discriminatory. DeGraff (2003) contends with Lefebvre’s substratist approach (1998), stating that such a view implies that the creole creators were not able to abstract structure from the target European language, which is inaccurate as the lexicon and morphology of Haitian Creole demonstrates that these creators were able to segment and parse target speech down to the phonetic forms of many affixes. Similarly, Mufwene (1996, 2001, 2008) maintains that the word ‘creole’ is not a valid term for classifying languages, and that creoles are simply approximations of earlier regional dialects spoken by the founders of the colonies.

Similar to Bickerton's LBH, Mufwene's founder effect principle (1996, 2001, 2008) appears to be largely applied to plantation creoles, although Mufwene does not seem to be averse to applying it to creoles of different sociohistorical backgrounds (2003). It asserts that the structural features of creoles have been predetermined to a large extent (but not exclusively) by characteristics of the vernaculars spoken by the populations that founded the colonies in which they developed (Mufwene 1996, 2001, 2008). These vernaculars would often be regional vernaculars. Mufwene states that "European colonies often started with large proportions of indentured servants and other low-class employees of colonial companies, thus speakers of nonstandard varieties of creoles' lexifiers" (1996:84). This is reminiscent of Göbl-Gáldi (1934) and Chaudenson's (1974) that the French creoles emerged from regional varieties of French. In addition, basilectalization takes place. Slaves, having come into contact with the speech of the Europeans began making approximations of it. As "restructured varieties" containing approximations "became the models for some of the newcomers", creoles diverged more and more from the lexifiers (Mufwene 2001: 51). Mufwene (1996, 2001, 2008) also uses notions from population genetics to explain for the selection of creole features. Features can be selected by mutation (this does not receive very much attention), be favoured by new ecological conditions in the colony, or the colony may have received significant proportions of carriers of the features/genes, a situation which maximized the chances for their successful reproduction. The features may then be adapted to suit the ecology, so that features that are compatible with the features of the other languages in the ecology are more likely to be maintained than features that are not. (Mufwene 1996, 2001, 2008). In addition to ethnographic factors such as the demographic proportion of the newcomers relative to the local populations, their attitudes towards each other, and their relative social statuses, Mufwene also mentions regularity, transparency and perceptual salience as important factors that help decide which feature is to be selected if there is competition (1996, 2001, 2008). This is interestingly reminiscent of Siegel (1999) who argues that the selection of superstrate features depends on factors such as perceptual salience, transparency and frequency.

With regard to evaluating the superstratist approach, especially Mufwene's founder effect, some considerations that have to be made are whether an approach that treats creoles as 'unexceptional' is necessary or worthwhile, and how much such an ecological account (one that takes into consideration the environment in which the lexifier comes into contact with other languages whose features then compete with its own) (see Mufwene 1996) contributes towards the understanding of a non-prototypical creole such as BM. While there is no contesting the undesirability of discrimination, it is important to

note that modern day creole formation theories are not set out to discriminate against any particular group of people. There is hence no particular impetus to align one's work with this approach if the only reason is to be anti-discriminatory. In terms dealing with sociohistorical background, this particular substratist approach differs from Bickerton's LBH which focuses narrowly on the plantation scenario (and even then, ignores how sociohistorical factors may affect creole structure), as well as from the substratists who do not emphasize sociohistorical factors in determining creole structure.

An approach that focuses on the sociohistorical background of BM is interesting. As seen in the above section on the substratist approach, there is no way of accounting for why Malay is the lexifier language, while Hokkien is the substrate language of BM. There are debates over whether mothers as primary caregivers might provide more lexicon, or more grammar to their children. For example, Bakker (1997: 207) who focuses on mixed languages, suggests that as the primary caregiver, mothers would provide primary input for their children's language acquisition, and this would correspond to grammatical input (presumably grammar is harder to acquire than lexicon). In BM, this is not the case, for the mother's language clearly provides more lexicon than grammatical elements. While it remains unclear if there is substantial support for such a stance, Bakker (1997: 207) also suggests that the mother's language is usually the better-known language of the region. This is not entirely incongruent with the founder effect principle. So, under the founder effect principle, why should the Malay speaking population then be treated as the founder population, rather than the Hokkien-speaking traders? This may be plausible if one acknowledges that the Malays had arrived prior to these Chinese traders and were part of the flourishing Srivijaya empire attested to exist between late 7th century and early 12th century (Bronson and Wisseman 1976) whereas the earliest Chinese settlers arrived in the 15th century (Wade 1994, Wang 1964, Widodo 2002/2003). Bearing this in mind, it will be necessary to consider how the language ecology may have affected the selection of features. When the Chinese traders arrived after the beginning of the 15th century, the Malay language was already a dominant lingua franca in the region, having been established as one during the Srivijaya period. As with the discussion in section 7.4.4.2, even in intermarriage, it is more likely that the Hokkien traders had to learn the local language, rather than the local women having to learn the Hokkien. This language ecology appears to be largely maintained. Currently, with Singapore situated among Malay-speaking neighbours (Indonesia, Malaysia, and Brunei), and Malacca being part of Malaysia, it may be no surprise as to why on the surface, BM appears to be most congruent with Malay. However, for this to be a plausible account of BM, it must be

shown that basilectalization has taken place, so that the creole became more and more divergent from the initial lexifier language.

It is not entirely clear what the most influential variety of Malay was at the initial stages of creole formation (whether it was High Malay or Low Malay), and there are no manuscripts of early BM. However, it is possible to examine early British accounts of the Malay language that they are said to have encountered in trade, and to assess how BM may differ from this recorded variety of Malay. For example, Marsden (1812) records the form ‘Noun Determiner’, whereas in BM as spoken in Singapore, both ‘Noun Determiner’ and ‘Determiner Noun’ patterns are permissible (see section 5.1.2.1). This differs from the current BM as spoken in Malacca, where ‘Determiner Noun’ does not usually occur (see section 6.2.2.1). Noting that ‘Determiner Noun’ occurs in Hokkien, it may be possible to compare the ecologies of Singapore and Malacca. The population in Singapore is 74 % Chinese, a majority of whom are Hokkien (Singapore 2011). This can be compared to Malacca where 32 % are Chinese (Malaysia 2011). It is unclear as to how many Hokkien speakers there are in Malacca, but based on the aggregate proportions, it is conceivable as to why basilectalization can be seen in the ‘Determiner Noun’ structure of SBM, as compared to MBM, in which ‘Noun Determiner’ appears to be the norm.

The Founder Effect and the notion of a linguistic ecology are useful, but questions regarding linguistic features remain unanswered. For example, why do relativization patterns in SBM and MBM follow that of both Hokkien and Malay, when the ‘Determiner Noun’ structure is not popularly found in MBM?

7.5 Conclusion

Given the sociohistorical circumstances that led to the development of the Peranakan ethnicity and culture, BM is far from being a “genetic dialect” of Malay. While its sociohistorical circumstances are reminiscent of mixed languages that have been formed via intermarriage, the structural data shows that unlike mixed languages, BM's two component languages are not individually compartmentalized in separate subsystems (although it must be said that there is more Hokkien grammar, and more Malay lexicon). By the standard of a creole prototype (see Thomason 1997b), and not by the process of elimination, BM appears to fit within the fuzzy boundaries of creolehood, given that it is disputable whether or not BM should be considered as having been formed from more than two languages, and whether or not the language should be associated and compared with the pidgin, Bazaar Malay.

Definitions of what a mixed language is, and what a creole is, are inherently fraught with some level of arbitrariness and difference of points of views. More interesting questions can be asked regarding how BM fits in with theories of creole formation, and how BM can also be used to provide perspectives on the various creole formation theories. The universalist approach, the substratist approach, and the superstratist approach differ in many ways. Clearly, the universalist approach focuses on universal principles guided by perceived inherent characteristics of a human's genetic makeup, while the substratists and the superstratists emphasize the importance of the substrate language, and the lexifier language respectively. In addition, while the locus of the LBH is children, the substratists and the superstratists view processes natural to second language acquisition as being crucial in explaining creole structure. Finally, Mufwene's Founder Effect is laudable for emphasizing the influence of the sociohistorical background of the creole and its linguistic ecology on the form of the creole itself, as opposed to Bickerton's LBH and the substratists' notions of relexification and substrate transfer.

While this dissertation aims to be a comprehensive grammar, with an extra focus on sociophonetics, it has provided additional information regarding some differences between SBM and MBM, as well as how BM would fit into the greater environs of language contact. However, some questions remain unresolved. Given that the focal language of this grammar is an endangered contact language, the prime question should be, whether or not the endangerment of a contact language is different from the endangerment of a normally transmitted language. The endangerment of a contact language is generally not viewed as something that is different from the endangerment of a normally transmitted language. Wurm (2001:8) states that "some contact languages have become endangered, and some of them extinct. This is a fate that affects many other languages of the world too, not just contact languages." Mufwene (2003b) is of a similar opinion. He goes a step further, stating that there are "highly stigmatized language varieties such as Appalachian English, African-American English, and several creoles around the world" and they "do not seem to be particularly endangered by the more prestigious varieties with which they have coexisted and in which their speakers acquire literacy" (Mufwene 2003:330). He postulates that "despite linguists' common claim that creoles are separate languages related to their lexifiers, speakers of all these stigmatized vernaculars think that they speak the same language in which they are provided literacy" (Mufwene 2003:330-331). Providing a separate perspective, Matras (2005) holds that language contact does not necessarily lead to language death, and that extreme contact can be prolonged and even be a trigger for language birth.

It is not the case that a creole is always an extension of a less stigmatized vernacular (see Ansaldo et al. 2007), and hence, less likely to be endangered by the more prestigious variety with which it coexists. In the case of BM, Peranakans perceived their language to be of “the refined and wealthy class of Malay-speaking Chinese” and disdained pure Malay, “calling it *Malayu hutan*—the language of the jungle” (Shellabear 1913:156, italics in original). Beyond that, it is necessary to consider decreolization as a means through which a creole can be endangered. This can be differentiated from language shift (Fishman 1964), which can affect normally transmitted languages. Decreolization (by definition of Whinnom 1971) occurs when then creole begins to resemble one of the standard languages from which it originally derived or the one language from which it originated in some views, in a post-creole continuum with erosion of the more basilect varieties and convergence towards the acrolect varieties and towards the standard language, until the varieties exhibiting the most creole-like features just disappear. In Malacca, the trend is clear. The dominant language is Malay, and decreolization towards the lexifier may occur. In Singapore, the trend is less clear. The dominant language is Colloquial Singapore English (Singlish), which has the same substrate language as BM (Lee et al. 2009). Speakers are also heavily exposed to Standard English and Mandarin. Standard English is the official language of administration in Singapore, while most Peranakans, being recognised as Chinese, would have to learn Mandarin in school as a ‘mother tongue’. Other officially recognised languages are Malay and Tamil. For BM in Singapore then, the situation of language endangerment is more complicated than a shift towards a single dominant language. Would BM (or any other contact language) be inclined to decreolize towards its lexifier language or substrate language, or shift towards another dominant language that is spoken in its environment? This grammar is a step towards the resolution of the issue of contact language endangerment, still in its nascency.

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Appendix A: Word lists

Swadesh 100 word list

The following list is based on Swadesh (1955)'s 100 word list.

No.	Word	Gloss	No.	Word	Gloss
1.	<i>saya</i>	I (refined)	2.	<i>lu</i>	you
	<i>gua</i>	I (coarse)			
3.	<i>kita</i>	we	4.	<i>ini</i>	this
5.	<i>itu</i>	that	6.	<i>siapa?</i>	who
7.	<i>apa?</i>	what?	8.	<i>bukan</i>	no, negates noun
				<i>tak</i>	negates verb
9.	<i>sumua</i>	all	10.	<i>manyak</i>	many
11.	<i>satu</i>	one	12.	<i>dua</i>	two
13.	<i>besar</i>	big (coarse) big (refined)	14.	<i>panjang</i>	long
15.	<i>kechik</i>	small	16.	<i>perempuan</i>	woman
17.	<i>jantan</i>	man, male	18.	<i>orang</i>	person
19.	<i>ikan</i>	fish	20.	<i>burong</i>	bird
21.	<i>anjing</i>	dog	22.	<i>kutu</i>	louse
23.	<i>pokok</i>	tree	24.	<i>bijik</i>	seed
25.	<i>daoun</i>	leaf	26.	<i>akar</i>	root (coarse)
				<i>akair</i>	root (refined)
27.	<i>kulit kayu</i> 'skin wood'	bark	28.	<i>kulit</i>	skin
29.	<i>isi</i>	flesh	30.	<i>darah</i>	blood
31.	<i>tulang</i>	bone	32.	<i>minyak</i>	grease, oil
33.	<i>teloh</i>	egg	34.	<i>tandok</i>	horn
35.	<i>buntot</i>	tail, backside	36.	<i>bulu</i>	feather, fine hair

37.	<i>rambot</i>	hair, coarse hair	38.	<i>kepala</i>	head
39.	<i>kuping</i>	ear	40.	<i>mata</i>	eye
41.	<i>hidong, idong</i>	nose	42.	<i>mulot</i>	mouth
43.	<i>gigi</i>	tooth	44.	<i>lidah</i>	tongue
45.	<i>kuku</i>	finger nail	46.	<i>kaki</i>	foot, leg
47.	<i>lutot</i>	knee	48.	<i>tangan</i>	hand
49.	<i>perot</i>	belly, stomach	50.	<i>léihéi</i>	neck
51.	<i>téték</i>	breast	52.	<i>hati, ati</i> <i>jantung</i>	heart heart (when referring to emotions)
53.	<i>hati, ati</i>	liver	54.	<i>minum</i>	drink
55.	<i>makan</i>	eat	56.	<i>gigit</i>	bite
57.	<i>nampak, téngok</i>	see	58.	<i>dengar</i> <i>dengair</i>	hear (coarse) hear (refined)
59.	<i>tau</i>	know	60.	<i>tidor</i>	sleep
61.	<i>mati</i>	die	62.	<i>bunuh</i>	kill
63.	<i>berenang</i>	swim	64.	<i>terbang, trebang</i>	fly
65.	<i>jalan</i>	walk	66.	<i>datang</i> <i>mari</i>	come come let us do something
67.	<i>baring</i>	lie down	68.	<i>dudok</i>	sit, stay
69.	<i>diri</i>	stand	70.	<i>kasi</i>	give, let
71.	<i>chakap</i> <i>kata</i>	speak say	72.	<i>mata ari, mata hari</i> 'eye sun'	sun
73.	<i>bulan</i>	moon, month	74.	<i>bintang</i>	star
75.	<i>ayé</i>	water	76.	<i>hujan, ujan</i>	rain
77.	<i>batu</i>	stone, rock, cave	78.	<i>paser</i>	sand

79.	<i>tanah</i>	soil, ground, earth	80.	<i>awan</i>	cloud
81.	<i>asap</i>	smoke	82.	<i>api</i>	fire
83.	<i>abu</i>	ash	84.	<i>bakar</i> <i>bakair</i>	burn (coarse) burn (refined)
85.	<i>jalan</i> <i>tengah jalan</i> middle path	path road	86.	<i>bukit</i> <i>gunong</i>	hill mountain
87.	<i>mérah</i>	red	88.	<i>hijo, ijo</i>	green
89.	<i>kuning</i>	yellow	90.	<i>putéh</i>	white
91.	<i>hitam, itam</i>	black	92.	<i>malam</i>	night
93.	<i>panas</i> <i>panair</i>	hot (coarse) hot (refined)	94.	<i>sejok</i>	cold
95.	<i>penoh</i> <i>kerniang</i>	full full (from food)	96.	<i>baru</i>	new
97.	<i>baik</i> <i>bagus</i>	good good (EXCLAM)	98.	<i>bulat</i>	round
99.	<i>kering</i>	dry, hay	100.	<i>nama</i>	name

Table 54: Swadesh 100 word list in Baba Malay

Kinship terms

Some of these kinship terms can be used together with numerals derived from Hokkien. Please refer to section 4.5.3 for a list of relevant numerals.

No.	Kinship term	Gloss	No.	Kinship term	Gloss
1.	<i>mak</i> <i>nya</i>	mother	2.	<i>bapak</i> <i>baba</i>	father
3.	<i>mak-yi</i> 'mother-mother's sister'	second mother (in the case of a second marriage or a clash in horoscopes)	4.	<i>tio-tio</i> 'parent's. eldest.sister's husband' <i>eng-chék</i> 'honorific-father's younger.brother'	second father (in the case of a second marriage or a clash in horoscopes)
5.	<i>nya-besar/ besair</i> 'Nyonya-big'	eldest daughter	6.	<i>ba-tengah</i> 'Baba-middle'	middle son
7.	<i>nya bongsu</i> 'Nyonya-youngest'	youngest daughter	8.	<i>ba-chik</i> 'Baba-small'	youngest son
9.	<i>bini</i>	wife	10.	<i>laki</i>	husband
11.	<i>chingkay</i>	parent-in-law, father-in-law (indirect address)	12.	<i>chay.em</i>	mother-in-law (indirect address)
13.	<i>kua</i> <i>eng-kua</i> 'honorific-father.in.law'	father-in-law (direct address)	14.	<i>nio</i>	mother-in-law (direct address)
15.	<i>tachi</i>	elder sister, also used for cousins	16.	<i>hia</i>	elder brother, also used for cousins
17.	<i>tachi besar/besair</i> 'elder.sister big'	eldest sister	18.	<i>hia besar/besair</i> 'elder.brother big' <i>tua-hia</i> 'big-elder.brother'	eldest brother
19.	<i>tachi nombor dua</i> 'elder.sister number two'	second elder sister	20.	<i>hia nombor dua</i> 'elder.brother number two'	second elder brother

				<i>ji-hia</i> 'two-elder.brother'	
21.	<i>tachi numbuh tiga</i> 'elder.sister number three'	third elder sister	22.	<i>hia numbuh tiga</i> 'elder.brother number three'	third elder brother
				<i>sa-hia</i> 'three-elder.brother'	
23.	<i>adék</i>	sibling, younger sibling	24.	<i>adék-beradék</i> sibling-PL	siblings, younger siblings
25.	<i>adék perompuan</i> 'younger.sibling female'	younger sister	26.	<i>adék jantan</i> 'younger.sibling male'	younger brother
27.	<i>adék numbuh satu</i> 'younger.sibling number one'	eldest younger sibling	28.	<i>adék bongsu</i> 'sibling youngest'	youngest sibling
29.	<i>pangkat adék-beradék</i> 'rank sibling-PL'	cousins	30.	<i>kopiau</i>	paternal cousins
31.	<i>chau</i>	elder sister's husband	32.	<i>so</i> <i>eng-so</i> 'honorific-elder. brother's.wife'	elder brother's wife
33.	<i>yi</i>	mother's sister	34.	<i>ku</i> <i>eng-ku</i> 'honorific-mother's.brother'	mother's brother
35.	<i>tio</i> <i>eng-tio</i> 'honorific-mother's. sister's.husband'	mother's sister's husband	36.	<i>kim</i> <i>eng-kim</i> 'honorific-mother's. brother's.wife'	mother's brother's wife
37.	<i>yi-yi</i>	mother's eldest sister	38.	<i>ku-ku</i>	mother's eldest brother
39.	<i>tio-tio</i>	mother's eldest sister's husband	40.	<i>kim-kim</i>	mother's eldest brother's wife
41.	<i>ji-yi</i> 'two-mother's.sister'	mother's second sister	42.	<i>ji-tio</i> 'two-mother's. sister's.husband'	mother's second sister's husband
43.	<i>ji-ku</i> 'two-mother's.brother'	mother's second brother	44.	<i>ji-kim</i> 'two-mother's.brother's wife'	mother's second brother's wife

45.	<i>ko</i>	father's sister	46.	<i>pek</i> <i>eng-pek</i> 'honorific- father's.elder.brother'	father's elder brother
47.	<i>tio</i> <i>eng-tio</i> 'honorific-father's. sister's.husband'	father's sister's husband (also mother's sister's husband)	48.	<i>em</i>	father's elder brother's wife
49.	<i>mak-ko</i> mother-father's.sister	father's eldest sister'	50.	<i>pek-pek</i>	father's eldest brother
51.	<i>tio-tio</i>	father's eldest sister's husband (also mother's eldest sister's husband)	52.	<i>mak-em</i> 'mother- father's.elder.brother's. wife'	father's eldest brother's wife
53.	<i>chék</i> <i>eng-chék</i> honorific- father's.younger.brother	father's younger brother	54.	<i>chim</i> <i>eng-chim</i> 'honorific-father's.younger. brother's.wife	father's younger brother's wife
55.	<i>ji-ko</i> 'two-father's.elder.sister'	father's second sister	56.	<i>ji pek</i> 'two-father's.elder.brother'	father's second elder brother
57.	<i>ji-chék</i> 'two- father's.younger.brother'	father's second younger brother'	58.	<i>ji-chim</i> 'two- father's.younger.brother's wife'	father's second younger brother's wife.
59.	<i>gong</i>	grandparent, also grandfather	60.	<i>cho</i>	great- grandparent, also great- grandmother
61.	<i>mamak</i>	grandmother	62.	<i>gong.gong</i>	grandfather
63.	<i>mak-cho</i> 'mother- great.grandparent' <i>cho-cho</i>	great- grandmother	64.	<i>cho-gong</i> 'great-grandfather'	great- grandfather
65.	<i>po</i> <i>em-po</i> 'honorific-grandaunt'	grand-aunt	66.	<i>chek-gong</i> 'father's.younger.brother- grandparent'	grandfather's younger brother

67.	<i>ku-gong-cho</i> 'mother's.brother- grandparent- great.grandparent'	great- grandmother's brother	68.	<i>cho-po</i> 'great.grandparent-grandaunt'	great- grandaunt
69.	<i>gong-cho</i> grandparent- great.grandparent	ancestors	70.	<i>chuchu</i>	grandchild
71.	<i>chichi</i>	great- grandchild	72.	<i>onéng.onéng</i>	great-great grandchild

Table 55: Kinship terms in Baba Malay

Expressions for day, month and time

The days of the week are indicated by the word for day (*ari* or *hari*), followed by a number that represents a specific day of the week. This is with the exception of Sunday—*ari minggu* literally means ‘day week’. This is similar to the Hokkien system, where a number is assigned to each day; Tuesday corresponds to ‘two’, and Sunday corresponds to ‘week’. For example, Tuesday in Hokkien is *lépài jī* ‘week two’, while Sunday is *lépài jīt* ‘week day’. This is different from Malay, where Tuesday is *Selasa* and Sunday is *Ahad*.

No.	Day	Gloss	No.	Day	Gloss
1.	<i>ari satu</i> ‘day one’	Monday	2.	<i>ari dua</i> ‘day two’	Tuesday
3.	<i>ari tiga</i> ‘day three’	Wednesday	4.	<i>ari empat</i> ‘day four’	Thursday
5.	<i>ari lima</i> ‘day five’	Friday	6.	<i>ari enam</i> ‘day six’	Saturday
7.	<i>ari minggu</i> ‘day week’	Sunday			

Table 56: Days of the week in Baba Malay

Similarly, the months of the year are formed by combing the word for month (*bulan*) and a number that represents a specific month. Again, this is closer to the Hokkien system, where specific numbers represent specific months, although the word for month occurs after the numeral in Hokkien, instead of before. For example, February is *jī guek*, literally ‘two month’. These expressions may also refer to the lunar month.

No.	Day	Gloss	No.	Day	Gloss
1.	<i>bulan satu</i> 'month one'	January	2.	<i>bulan dua</i> 'month two'	February
3.	<i>bulan tiga</i> 'month three'	March	4.	<i>bulan empat</i> 'month four'	April
5.	<i>bulan lima</i> 'month five'	May	6.	<i>bulan enam</i> 'month six'	June
7.	<i>bulan tujuh</i> 'month seven'	July	8.	<i>bulan lapan</i> 'month eight'	August
9.	<i>bulan sembilan</i> 'month nine'	September	10.	<i>bulan sepuluh</i> 'month ten'	October
11.	<i>bulan se-belas/belair</i> 'month one-ten'	November	12.	<i>bulan dua-belas/belair</i> 'month-two-ten'	December
13.	<i>bulan tujuh satu</i>	first of July	14.	<i>bulan empat lima</i>	fifth of May

Table 57: Months in Baba Malay

Although the above expressions can be used to denote lunar month, Peranakans also use Hokkien forms to indicate special occasions marked by the lunar calendar.

No.	Day	Gloss	No.	Day	Gloss
1.	<i>chay-it</i> 'beginning.of.lunar.calendar-one'	first day of the lunar month; new year's day	2.	<i>chay-gau</i> 'beginning.of.lunar.calendar-nine' <i>ti-gong séh</i> 'sky-deity birth'	ninth day of the lunar month, birth of Jade Emperor (ninth day of first lunar month)
3.	<i>chap-gor</i> 'ten-five'	fifteenth day of lunar month; lovers' day	4.	<i>chap-gor méh</i> 'ten-five night'	night of the fifteenth day of the lunar;
5.	<i>chit guék</i> 'seven month'	seventh month; Hungry Ghost month	6.	<i>puay guék chap-gor</i> 'eight month ten-five'	fifteenth day of the eighth lunar month; Mid-autumn festival
7.	<i>tangchék</i>	Winter Solstice	8.	<i>lun-guék</i> intercalary-month	intercalary month, in the year that an extra month occurs
9.	<i>lun-chit-guék</i> 'intercalary-seven-month'	intercalary seventh month, in the year that there are two seventh months	10.	<i>ji-gau méh</i> 'two-nine night'	night of the twenty-ninth day of the twelfth lunar month; night of new year's eve

Table 58: Special occasions on the lunar calendar in BM

General time expressions are as follows.

No.	Time expression	Gloss	No.	Time expression	Gloss
1.	<i>pagi</i>	morning	2.	<i>hari/ari</i>	day
3.	<i>tengah hari/ari</i> 'middle day'	midday	4.	<i>petang</i>	evening
5.	<i>sinjakala</i>	dusk	6.	<i>malam</i>	night
7.	<i>siang hari/ari</i> 'day day'	daytime	8.	<i>siang malam</i> 'night day'	night time
9.	<i>se-malam</i> 'one-night'	yesterday	10.	<i>ini hari/ ini ari/ ni ari</i> 'this day'	today
11.	<i>besok</i>	tomorrow	12.	<i>rusak</i>	day after tomorrow

Table 59: General time expressions in Baba Malay

The expressions for specific time are similar to those in Malay. The words *pagi* 'morning' or *petang* 'evening' follow these expressions to indicate if the event takes place before midday or after midday.

No.	Time	Gloss	No.	Day	Gloss
1.	<i>pukul satu</i> 'strike one'	one o'clock	2.	<i>pukul dua</i> 'strike two'	two o'clock
3.	<i>pukul tiga</i> 'strike three'	three o'clock	4.	<i>pukul empat</i> 'strike four'	four o'clock
5.	<i>pukul lima</i> 'strike five'	five o'clock	6.	<i>pukul enam</i> 'strike six'	six o'clock
7.	<i>pukul tujuh</i> 'strike seven'	seven o'clock	8.	<i>pukul lapan</i> 'strike eight'	eight o'clock
9.	<i>pukul sembilan</i> 'strike nine'	nine o'clock	10.	<i>pukul puloh</i> 'strike ten'	ten o'clock
11.	<i>pukul se-belas/belair</i> 'strike-ten'	eleven o'clock	12.	<i>pukul dua-belas/belair</i> 'strike twelve'	twelve o'clock
13.	<i>pukul se-belas puloh pagi</i> 'strike one-ten ten morning'	ten minutes past eleven in the morning	14.	<i>pukul lima lapan petang</i> 'strike five eight evening'	eight minutes past five in the evening

Table 60: Specific time in Baba Malay

Appendix B: Texts

Transcription conventions for texts

The transcription conventions used in the texts that follow are modelled after Du Bois et al's (2012) Discourse Transcription conventions. Each line on the transcript represents one intonation unit (see section 2.2.5). The interpretation of transitions between intonation units are based on the findings regarding BM intonation patterns reported in section 3.6.3. The following table shows the conventions used in the texts. These conventions are indicated in the lines representing intonation units.

No.	Symbol	Intrepretation
1.	.	Final intonation boundary, usually associated with fall in overall pitch contour in BM
2.	,	Continuing intonation boundary, usually associated with a rise at the end of the intonation unit in BM
3.	?	Appeal intonation boundary, associated with overall rise-fall for WH-questions, and rise at the end of the intonation unit for tag questions in BM
4.	...	Noticeable pause between 0.3 to 0.6 seconds
5.	=	Lengthening on preceding segment
6.	@	Pulse of laughter
7.	#	Indecipherable syllable
8.	(2.1)	Pause of 2.1 seconds. Numbers in brackets represent duration in seconds. Pauses which are longer than 0.6 seconds are indicated by this convention.

Table 61: Trancription conventions for texts

Pear story⁸³ with Peter Wee

((NL1-022:Pear Story with Peter Wee: 0.00-379.00))

PETER WEE;

1.
Baba Malay IU Ah ini dekat mana ini?
Baba Malay words ah ini dekat mana
English gloss filler this PREP where
English free translation Ah what country (is) this?

2.
(2.7)

3.
Baba Malay IU Ini tempat pokok,
Baba Malay words ini tempat pokok
English gloss this place tree
English free translation This is an orchard,

4.
(1.1)

5.
Baba Malay IU Ini buah pear,
Baba Malay words Ini buah pear
English gloss this fruit
English free translation These are pears,

6.
Baba Malay IU Gua rasa orang ni orang ada peték buah pear.
Baba Malay words gua rasa ni orang ada peték buah pear.
English gloss I.SG think this person PROG pluck fruit
English free translation I think the person is plucking pears.

7.
Baba Malay IU Masok ini kebun,
Baba Malay words Masok ini kebun
English gloss enter this garden
English free translation Enter this garden,

8.
Baba Malay IU Kebun dekat Europe ini.
Baba Malay words Kebun dekat Europe ini
English gloss garden PREP this
English free translation This garden (is) in Europe.

⁸³ Chafe, Wallace (ed.), *The Pear Stories: Cognitive, Cultural, and Linguistic Aspects of Narrative Production*. Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex (1980)

9.
 Baba Malay IU Ada pear.
 Baba Malay words Ada pear
 English gloss EXIST
 English free translation There (are) pears.
10.
 Baba Malay IU Kita sini tak-a tak-a pokok.
 Baba Malay words Kita sini tak a tak a pokok
 English gloss 1.PL here NEG have NEG have tree
 English free translation We here, do not have trees.
11.
 Baba Malay IU Pear tau?
 Baba Malay words Pear tau
 English gloss know
 English free translation Pear (trees you) know?
12.
 Baba Malay IU Oh betul betul...oh satu sudah jatuh.
 Baba Malay words Oh betul betul oh satu sudah jatuh
 English gloss Filler true true Filler one already fall
 English free translation Oh true enough, one fell.
13.
 (2.6)
14.
 Baba Malay IU Buah pear bukan?
 Baba Malay words Buah pear bukan
 English gloss fruit no
 English free translation It (is) pear, no?
15.
 (1.0)
16.
 Baba Malay IU Mata gua tak gitu betul gua nampak begi buah paya hijau.
 Baba Malay words Mata gua tak gitu betul gua nampak begi buah paya hijau
 English gloss eye 1.SG NEG like.this correct 1.SG see like.that fruit papaya green
 English free translation My eyes (are) not accurate, (they) look like green papayas.
17.
 Baba Malay IU Bukan lah... ini sumua pear=
 Baba Malay words Bukan lah ini sumua pear
 English gloss no EMP this all
 English free translation No these are all pears.
18.
 Baba Malay IU Dia sudah dia sudah punggot punggot dia mia pear ... dia salin-kan dekat bakol.
 Baba Malay words Dia sudah dia sudah punggot punggot dia mia pear dia salin-kan dekat bakol
 English gloss 3.SG already 3.SG already pick.up pick.up 3.SG POSS 3.SG transfer-TR PREP basket
 English free translation He picked up his pears (and) transferred (them) to a basket.
19.
 (2.4)

20.
 Baba Malay IU Tu ini dia mia buah pear ini,
 Baba Malay words Tu ini dia mia buah pear ini
 English gloss that this 3.SG POSS fruit this
 English free translation Those pears of his,
21.
 Baba Malay IU Kalu mesti mo angkat tangan kalu tak-a jatoh kan dia,
 Baba Malay words Kalu mesti mo angkat tangan tarok kalau tak a tak a jatoh-kan dia
 English gloss if must want hold hand put if NEG EXIST NEG EXIST drop-TR 3.SG
 English free translation If you want (you) put (your) hand (there), if not (you will) drop it.
22.
 Baba Malay IU Dia sumua pichah.
 Baba Malay words Dia sumua pichah
 English gloss 3.PL all break
 English free translation They all break.
23.
 (1.9)
24.
 Baba Malay IU Mesti angkat baik baik,
 Baba Malay words Mesti angkat baik baik
 English gloss must hold good good
 English free translation Must hold them well,
25.
 (1.9)
26.
 Baba Malay IU Itu ada tangga...dia naik tangga atas pokok.
 Baba Malay words Itu ada tangga dia naik tangga atas pokok
 English gloss that COP ladder 3.SG climb ladder top tree
 English free translation That is a ladder, he climbs the ladder up the tree.
27.
 Baba Malay IU Sekarang dia mo apa?
 Baba Malay words Sekarang dia mo apa
 English gloss now 3. SG want what
 English free translation Now what (does) he want (to do)?
28.
 Baba Malay IU Satu satu dia mo apa bikin tu?
 Baba Malay words Satu satu dia mo apa bikin tu
 English gloss one one 3.SG want what make that
 English free translation One by one, what (is) he doing?
29.
 (2.3)

30.
 Baba Malay IU Dia mo piléh gua rasa.
 Baba Malay words Dia mo piléh gua rasa
 English gloss 3.SG want choose 1.SG think
 English free translation He wants to choose, I think.
31.
 (2.1)
32.
 Baba Malay IU Dia mo piléh mana baik...mana mana tak baik.
 Baba Malay words Dia mo piléh mana baik mana satu tak baik
 English gloss 3.SG want choose which good which one Neg good
 English free translation He wants to choose which (is) good, and which one (is) not good.
33.
 Baba Malay IU Mana sudah terbantot,
 Baba Malay words Mana sudah terbantot
 English gloss which already unripe
 English free translation which has not ripened.
34.
 Baba Malay IU Mana sudah masak,
 Baba Malay words mana sudah masak
 English gloss which already ripe
 English free translation which (is) already ripe,
35.
 Baba Malay IU Mana belum masak,
 Baba Malay words Mana belum masak
 English gloss which not.yet ripe
 English free translation which (is) not yet ripe.
36.
 Baba Malay IU Aye dia naik,
 Baba Malay words Aye dia naik
 English gloss EXCLAM.surprise 3. SG climb
 English free translation Aye he is going up,
37.
 Baba Malay IU Naik tangga pi pétek lagik.
 Baba Malay words Naik tangga pi pétek lagik
 English gloss climb ladder go pluck more
 English free translation Climbing the ladder to go pluck more.
38.
 Baba Malay IU Ini kawan dia datang sama apa?
 Baba Malay words Ini kawan dia datang sama apa
 English gloss this friend 3.SG come with what
 English free translation These friends are coming with what?
39.
 Baba Malay IU Sama donkey eh #sama goat.
 Baba Malay words Sama donkey eh sama
 English gloss with filler with goat
 English free translation With a donkey, (no) with a goat.

40
(1.2)

41.
Baba Malay IU Kambing=
Baba Malay words Kambing
English gloss goat
English free translation Goat,

42.
Baba Malay IU Kawan dia datang angkat satu kambing.
Baba Malay words Kawan dia datang angkat satu kambing
English gloss friend 3.SG come hold one goat
English free translation His friend comes holding a goat.

43.
Baba Malay IU Kambing dia ada locheng.
Baba Malay words Kambing dia ada locheng
English gloss goat 3.SG have bell
English free translation His goat has a bell.

44.
Baba Malay IU Itu kambing gua tak tau prompuan ka jantan.
Baba Malay words itu kambinggua tak tau prompuan ka jantan
English gloss that goat 1.SG Neg know female or male
English free translation I don't know if that goat (is) male or female.

45
(3.2)

46.
Baba Malay IU Aye mampus...kambing dia kuat sekali.
Baba Malay words Aye mampus kambing dia kuat sekali
English gloss EXCLAM.surprise dead goat 3.SG strong very
English free translation Oh this goat is so strong!

47.
Baba Malay IU Tarék dia.
Baba Malay words Tarék dia
English gloss pull 3.SG
English free translation Pulling it.

48.
Baba Malay IU Aye ini dia pétek lagik lah.
Baba Malay words Aye ini dia pétek lagik lah
English gloss EXCLAM.surprise this 3.SG pluck again Emp
English free translation Ah he plucks again.

49.
(2.4)

50.
 Baba Malay IU Buah pear...pear tree.
 Baba Malay words Buah pear pear tree
 English gloss fruit
 English free translation Pear tree.
51.
 (2.3)
52.
 Baba Malay IU Ala orang dia mia mungka bukan main garang sekali,
 Baba Malay words Ala orang dia mia mungka bukan main garang sekali
 English gloss EXCLAM.regret people 3.SG POSS face NEG play fierce very
 English free translation This person's face, (he is) not to be trifled with, (he) is very fierce,
53.
 Baba Malay IU Kus semangat.
 Baba Malay words Kus semangat
 English gloss EXCLAM.cry.to.a.dead.spirit
 English free translation Oh my goodness.
54.
 (3.0)
55.
 Baba Malay IU Ini ada bicycle=,
 Baba Malay words Ini ada bicycle
 English gloss this EXIST
 English free translation There is a bicycle.
56.
 Baba Malay IU Gua rasa ini anak dia ka chuchu dia,
 Baba Malay words Gua rasa ini anak dia ka chuchu dia
 English gloss 1.SG feel this child 3.SG or grandchild 3.SG
 English free translation I think this (is) his child or his grandchild,
57.
 Baba Malay IU pi charék dia mia gonggong...gua rasa.
 Baba Malay words pi charék dia mia gonggong gua rasa
 English gloss go find 3.SG POSS grandfather 1.SG think
 English free translation goes to find his grandfather, I think.
58.
 Baba Malay IU Ini mia tempat bukan Singapore lah...bukan this region...gua rasa ini sumua Mediterranean.
 Baba Malay words Ini mia tempat bukan lah bukan gua rasa ini sumua Mediterranean
 English gloss this POSS place NEG EMP NEG 1.SG feel this all
 English free translation This place (is) neither Singapore, nor this region. It (is) all Mediterranean.
59.
 (3.3)
60.
 Baba Malay IU Ala panas sair pakay kopiah dia.
 Baba Malay words Ala panas sair pakay kopiah dia
 English gloss EXCLAM.regret hot indeed wear hat 3.SG
 English free translation Goodness, it (is) hot indeed, (the child) is wearing his hat.

61.
(3.8)

62.
Baba Malay IU Ah ini anak dia ka chuchu dia panggay dia mia gonggong.
Baba Malay words Ah ini anak dia ka chuchu dia panggay dia mia gonggong.
English gloss filler this child 3.SG or grandchild 3.SG call 3.SG POSS grandfather
English free translation Ah this child or his grandchild is calling his grandfather.

63.
(5.0)

64.
Baba Malay IU Apa dia buat?
Baba Malay words Apa dia buat
English gloss what 3.SG do
English free translation What (is) he doing?

65.
(2.7)

66.
Baba Malay IU Dia chakap sama dia.
Baba Malay words Dia chakap sama dia
English gloss 3.SG speak with 3.SG
English free translation He is speaking with him.

67.
(2.5)

68.
Baba Malay IU Ah dia mo angkat.
Baba Malay words Ah dia mo angkat
English gloss filler 3.SG want lift
English free translation Oh he wants to lift,

69.
Baba Malay IU Oh dia mo angkat tarok mana tarok dia mia,
Baba Malay words Oh dia mo angkat tarok mana tarok dia mia
English gloss Filler 3.SG want carry put where put 3.SG Poss
English free translation Oh he wants to carry and put where, put on his

70.
Baba Malay IU Bicycle.
Baba Malay words Bicycle
English gloss
English free translation

71.
(1.0)

72.
 Baba Malay IU Eh tak jadi.
 Baba Malay words Eh tak jadi
 English gloss filler NEG happen
 English free translation Ey it didn't happen.
73.
 (5.5)
74.
 Baba Malay IU Ala...mia berat.
 Baba Malay words Ala mia berat
 English gloss EXCLAM.regret REL heavy
 English free translation Goodness, (this) heavy.
75.
 Baba Malay IU Jatoh lah=
 Baba Malay words Jatoh lah
 English gloss fall Emp
 English free translation (He will) fall (for certain).
76.
 Baba Malay IU Amcam...oh dia tarok kat depan.
 Baba Malay words Amcam oh dia tarok kat depan
 English gloss how Filler 3.SG put PREP front
 English free translation How? Oh he is putting (it) in front.
77.
 (2.9)
78.
 Baba Malay IU Téngok budak anak itu kechik,
 Baba Malay words téngok budak anak itu kechik
 English gloss see child child that small
 English free translation See that small child,
79.
 Baba Malay IU Sudah boléh pakay bicycle.
 Baba Malay words Sudah boléh pakay bicycle
 English gloss already can use
 English free translation Already can use a bicycle.
80.
 (2.5)
81.
 Baba Malay IU Aye jatoh lagik.
 Baba Malay words Aye jatoh lagik
 English gloss EXCLAM.surprise fall again
 English free translation Ah (he) fell again.
82.
 (1.0)

83.
 Baba Malay IU Gua sudah kata nanti jatuh... lu téngok.
 Baba Malay words Gua sudah kata nanti jatuh lu téngok
 English gloss 1.SG already say later fall 2.SG see
 English free translation I told you (he) would fall later you see.

84.
 (0.9)

85.
 Baba Malay IU Mesti jatuh.
 Baba Malay words Mesti jatuh
 English gloss must fall
 English free translation Must fall.

86.
 Baba Malay IU Budak ini... sangat kechik lah.
 Baba Malay words Budak ini sangat kechik lah
 English gloss child this very small Emp
 English free translation This boy (is) so small.

87.
 (3.4)

88.
 Baba Malay IU Ah jumpa kawan dia.
 Baba Malay words Ah jumpa kawan dia
 English gloss filler meet friend 3.SG
 English free translation Ah (he) met his friends.

89.
 Baba Malay IU Gua rasa mesti ter-langgair tau?
 Baba Malay words Gua rasa mesti ter-langgair tau
 English gloss 1.SG think must ACD-crash know
 English free translation I think (there) must be a crash (you) know.

90.
 (1.5)

91.
 Baba Malay IU Ada téngok ini dia mesti ter-langgair.
 Baba Malay words Ada téngok ini dia mesti ter-langgair
 English gloss PROG see this 3.SG must ACD-crash
 English free translation Seeing this he must crash.

92.
 (2.0)

93.
 Baba Malay IU Ah dia téngok dia habis.
 Baba Malay words Ah dia téngok dia habis
 English gloss filler 3.PL see 3.SG finish
 English free translation Ah they see him finish.

94.
 Baba Malay IU Tu... gua sudah kata lu betol,
 Baba Malay words Tu gua sudah kata lu betol,
 English gloss that 1.SG already say 2.SG correct
 English free translation That I already told you, correct,
95.
 (1.0)
96.
 Baba Malay IU Ala,
 Baba Malay words Ala
 English gloss EXCLAM.regret
 English free translation Goodness,
97.
 Baba Malay IU Habis... dia mia buah pear sumua,
 Baba Malay words Habis dia mia buah pear sumua
 English gloss finish 3.SG POSS fruit all
 English free translation The end, his pears all
98.
 Baba Malay IU Ter-lambong,
 Baba Malay words Ter-lambong
 English gloss ACD-toss
 English free translation: were tossed,
99.
 Baba Malay IU Bicycle jatoh,
 Baba Malay words Bicycle jatoh
 English gloss fall
 English free translation The bicycle fell,
100.
 Baba Malay IU Budak jatoh,
 Baba Malay words Budah jatoh
 English gloss child fall
 English free translation The child fell,
101.
 Baba Malay IU Buah pear dia sumua sudah,
 Baba Malay words Buah pear dia sumua sudah
 English gloss fruit 3.PL all already
 English free translation The pears they all had
102.
 Baba Malay IU Sudah jatoh.
 Baba Malay words Sudah jatoh
 English gloss already fall
 English free translation Had fallen.
103.
 (1.0)

104.

Baba Malay IU	Ah kaki dia sudah kena.
Baba Malay words	Ah kaki dia sudah kena
English gloss	filler leg 3.SG already PASS
English free translation	Ah his foot was affected.

105.

(3.0)

106.

Baba Malay IU	Ah siapa ni apa ni?
Baba Malay words	Ah siapa ni apa ni
English gloss	filler who this what this
English free translation	Ah who (is) this (and) what (is) this?

107.

Baba Malay IU	Ah kawan-kawan dia datang tolong.
Baba Malay words	Ah kawan kawan dia datang tolong
English gloss	filler friend friend 3.SG come help
English free translation	Ah his friends come to help.

108.

(2.5)

109.

Baba Malay IU	Sumua tolong dia lah.
Baba Malay words	Sumua tolong dia lah .
English gloss	all help 3.SG Emp
English free translation	All (are) helping him.

110.

Baba Malay IU	Punggot dia mia buah pear masok-kan bakol dia.
Baba Malay words	Punggot dia mia buah pear masok-kan bakol dia
English gloss	pick.up 3.SG POSS fruit enter-TR basket 3.SG
English free translation	Picking his pears putting them in his basket.

111.

Baba Malay IU	Aye dia ini lambong-kan.
Baba Malay words	Aye dia ini lambong-kan
English gloss	EXCLAM.surprise 3.SG this toss-TR
English free translation	He is throwing (it).

112.

(1.0)

113.

Baba Malay IU	Si tua tu pelan-pelan,
Baba Malay words	Si tua tu pelan pelan
English gloss	PERSON old that slow slow
English free translation	The old man slowly,

114.
 Baba Malay IU Angkat satu-satu tak mo ini budak-budak amék-kan sumua sudah lambong.
 Baba Malay words Angkat satu satu tak mo ini budak budak amék-kan sumua sudah lambong
 English gloss hold one one NEG want this child child take-TR all already toss
 English free translation Holding (the pears) one by one, (if they) didn't want, these children would have taken them all
 (and) tossed them.

115.
 Baba Malay IU Gua rasa dia mia pear ini kerair.
 Baba Malay words Gua rasa dia mia pear ini kerair
 English gloss 1.SG think 3.PL POSS this hard
 English free translation I think their pears (are) hard.

116.
 Baba Malay IU Belom masak=
 Baba Malay words Belom masak
 English gloss not.yet ripe
 English free translation Not yet ripe.

117.
 Baba Malay IU Tu sudah masak dia bikin macam habis nua.
 Baba Malay words Tu sudah masak dia bikin macam habis nua
 English gloss that already ripe 3.SG make like finish smashed.up
 English free translation That (is) already ripe (and) he makes it smashed up.

118.
 (3.1)

119.
 Baba Malay IU Ah ni apa ni?
 Baba Malay words Ah ni apa ni
 English gloss filler this what this
 English free translation Ah what (is) this?

120.
 (1.1)

121.
 Baba Malay IU Budak ini buat buat main main lah.
 Baba Malay words Budak ini buat buat main main lah
 English gloss child this do do play play Emp
 English free translation The children are playing.

122.
 (3.1)

123.
 Baba Malay IU Mmm=
 Baba Malay words Mmm
 English gloss
 English free translation

124.

Baba Malay IU	Sudah sudah habis ter-jalan balék.	
Baba Malay words	Sudah sudah habis ter-jalan	balék
English gloss	already already finish MVT-walk	back
English free translation	(when it is) already finished, he returns.	

125.

Baba Malay IU	Ah sekarang dia tolak bicycle itu.	
Baba Malay words	Ah sekarang dia tolak bicycle itu	
English gloss	filler now 3.SG push	that
English free translation	Ah now he is pushing that bicycle.	

126.

(1.5)

127.

Baba Malay IU	Dia mia dua... dia mia kawan.	
Baba Malay words	Dia mia dua dia mia kawan	
English gloss	3.SG POSS two 3.SG POSS	friend
English free translation	His two ... his friends.	

128.

(0.8)

129.

Baba Malay IU	Dia jalan lain tempat dia jalan lain tempat.	
Baba Malay words	Dia jalan lain tempat dia jalan lain tempat	
English gloss	3.SG walk another place 3.PL walk another place	
English free translation	He walks to another place, they walk to another place.	

130.

(2.1)

131.

Baba Malay IU	Ah dia ni punggot apa ini.	
Baba Malay words	Ah dia ni punggot apa ni	
English gloss	filler 3.SG this pick.up what this	
English free translation	Ah what (is) he picking up?	

132.

Baba Malay IU	Oh dia punggot kopiah dia.	
Baba Malay words	Oh dia punggot kopiah dia	
English gloss	Filler 3.SG pick.up hat 3.SG	
English free translation	Oh he is picking up his hat.	

133.

Baba Malay IU	Kopiah dia sudah jatuh.	
Baba Malay words	Kopiah ada sudah jatuh	
English gloss	hat PFV already fall	
English free translation	The hat had fallen.	

134.

Baba Malay IU	Dia teriak dia,	
Baba Malay words	Dia teriak dia	
English gloss	3.SG call.out 3.SG	
English free translation	He calls out to him.	

135.
 Baba Malay IU Oi?
 Baba Malay words Oi
 English gloss
 English free translation

136.
 (2.0)

137.
 Baba Malay IU Ah...lu sudah jatuh lu mia kopiah.
 Baba Malay words Ah lu sudah jatuh lu mia kopiah
 English gloss filler 2.SG already drop 2.SG POSS hat
 English free translation You dropped your hat.

138.
 (1.6)

139.
 Baba Malay IU Ada angkat-kan kasi-kan dia balék,
 Baba Malay words Ada angkat-kan kasi-kan dia balék
 English gloss PFV pick.up-TR give-TR 3.SG back
 English free translation (He) picked (it) up (and) returned it back to him.

140.
 Baba Malay IU Habi dia kasi dia dua bijak pear.
 Baba Malay words Habi dia kasi dia dua bijak pear
 English gloss finish 3.SG give 3.SG two CLF.small.round
 English free translation Then he gave him two pears.

141.
 (1.0)

142.
 Baba Malay IU Amboi,
 Baba Malay words Amboi
 English gloss EXCLAM.surprise
 English free translation Suprising,

143.
 (1.5)

144.
 Baba Malay IU Dia kasi-kan kopiah,
 Baba Malay words Dia kasi-kan kopiah
 English gloss 3.SG give-TR hat
 English free translation He gave (him) the hat.

145.
 Baba Malay IU Dia dapat dua bijak pear balék huh,
 Baba Malay words Dia dapat dua bijak pear balék huh
 English gloss 3.SG receive two CLF.small.round back
 English free translation He received two pears back huh,

146.
 Baba Malay IU Happy dia.
 Baba Malay words Happy dia
 English gloss 3.SG
 English free translation He (is) happy.
147.
 Baba Malay IU Aye-,
 Baba Malay words Aye-
 English gloss EXCLAM.surprise
 English free translation Surprising,
148.
 Baba Malay IU Ah dia kasi-kan kawan dia.
 Baba Malay words Ah dia kasi-kan kawan dia
 English gloss filler 3.SG give-TR friend 3.SG
 English free translation Ah he gave it to his friends.
149.
 (2.0)
150.
 Baba Malay IU Ah tu lah kasi-kan kawan dia,
 Baba Malay words Ah tu lah kasi-kan kawan dia
 English gloss filler that EMP give-TR friend 3.SG
 English free translation Ah that (he) gave to his friends.
151.
 (0.9)
152.
 Baba Malay IU Oh dia kasi dia tiga.
 Baba Malay words Oh dia kasi dia tiga
 English gloss Filler 3.SG give 3.PL three
 English free translation Oh he gave them three.
153.
 Baba Malay IU Oh sekarang budak-budak ini makan,
 Baba Malay words Oh sekarang budak budak ini makan
 English gloss Filler now child child this eat
 English free translation Oh now these children are eating,
154.
 Baba Malay IU Gua rasa pear tu tak boléh makan lah,
 Baba Malay words Gua rasa pear tu tak boléh makan lah
 English gloss 1.SG think that NEG can eat EMP
 English free translation I think those pears cannot be eaten.
155.
 Baba Malay IU Kerair begi batu.
 Baba Malay words Kerair begi batu
 English gloss hard like.that rock
 English free translation Hard like rocks.
- 156
 (1.0)

157.

Baba Malay IU	Tak masak mentah=.
Baba Malay words	Tak masak mentah
English gloss	NEG ripe raw
English free translation	Not ripe (still) raw.

158.

(2.0)

159.

Baba Malay IU	Ah ni si tua dia.
Baba Malay words	Ah ni si tua dia .
English gloss	Filler this PERSON old 3.SG .
English free translation	Ah this the old man he

160.

(0.8)

161.

Baba Malay IU	Turun tangga.
Baba Malay words	turun tangga
English gloss	descend ladder
English free translation	goes down the ladder.

162.

(1.0)

163.

Baba Malay IU	Téngok si tua pétek dia mia pear,
Baba Malay words	Téngok si tua pétek dia mia pear
English gloss	see PERSON old pluck 3.SG POSS
English free translation	See the old man pluck his pear

164.

Baba Malay IU	Berapa sayang.
Baba Malay words	Berapa sayang
English gloss	how.many care
English free translation	How much care.

165.

Baba Malay IU	Pelan-pelan=.
Baba Malay words	Pelan pelan
English gloss	slow slow
English free translation	Slowly,

166.

Baba Malay IU	Satu-satu=.
Baba Malay words	Satu satu
English gloss	one one
English free translation	One by one,

167.
 Baba Malay IU Budak masok-an.
 Baba Malay words Budak masok-an
 English gloss child enter TR
 English free translation The boys enter.
168.
 (3.0)
169.
 Baba Malay IU Aye mati sekair mana gua mia pear?
 Baba Malay words Aye mati sekair mana gua mia pear
 English gloss EXCLAM.surprise die indeed where 1.SG POSS
 English free translation Oh goodness, die, where (are) my pears?
170.
 Baba Malay IU On satu bakol sudah hilang.
 Baba Malay words Oh satu bakol sudah hilang
 English gloss Filler one basket already lose
 English free translation Oh one basket has gone missing.
171.
 (4.0)
172.
 Baba Malay IU Aye dia jumpa ini tiga ekor budak.
 Baba Malay words Aye dia jumpa ini tiga ekor budak
 English gloss EXCLAM.surprise 3.SG meet this three CLF.animals child
 English free translation Aye he meets these three children.
173.
 (2.5)
174.
 Baba Malay IU Ada makan pear.
 Baba Malay words Ada makan pear
 English gloss PROG eat
 English free translation Eating pear.
175.
 (6.0)
176.
 Baba Malay IU Oh sudah si tua ini heran,
 Baba Malay words Oh sudah si tua ini heran
 English gloss Filler already PERSON old this wonder
 English free translation Oh already this old man wonders,
177.
 Baba Malay IU Mana budak ini dapat pear #makan?
 Baba Malay words Mana budak ini dapat pear makan
 English gloss where child this get eat
 English free translation Where did these children get the pears to eat (from)?
178.
 (2.0)

179.
Baba Malay IU Ada lagik eh?
Baba Malay words Ada lagik eh
English gloss EXIST more filler
English free translation Is there more?

180.
Baba Malay IU Sumua habis.
Baba Malay words Sumua habis
English gloss all finish
English free translation All finished.

181.
(3.0)

182.
Baba Malay IU Habis.
Baba Malay words Habis
English gloss finish
English free translation the end.

<T=379.00>

Turnip story⁸⁴ with Victor

((NL1-034:The Enormous Turnip with Victor: 0.00-183.00))

VICTOR;

1.
Baba Malay IU Ada satu hari,
Baba Malay words Ada satu hari
English gloss EXIST one day
English free translation One day,

2.
Baba Malay IU Ada satu tukang kebun,
Baba Malay words Ada satu tukang kebun
English gloss EXIST one laborer garden
English free translation There was a gardener,

3.
Baba Malay IU Sama bini dia,
Baba Malay words Sama bini dia
English gloss and wife 3.SG
English free translation And his wife,

4.
Baba Malay IU Tanam,
Baba Malay words Tanam
English gloss plant
English free translation (they) were planting,

5.
Baba Malay IU Bangkuang.
Baba Malay words Bangkuang
English gloss turnip
English free translation Turnip.

6.
Baba Malay IU Dekat dia nia,
Baba Malay words Dekat dia nia
English gloss at 3.PL POSS
English free translation At their,

7.
(1.8)

8.
Baba Malay IU Kebun.
Baba Malay words Kebun
English gloss garden
English free translation Garden.

⁸⁴ The turnip story told here is a retelling of Alexander Afanasyev's The Enormous Turnip, published in 1863. See Афанасьев, А. Н. (1863)1984. Репка: Сказка N 89. Фундаментальная электронная библиотека: Русская литература и фольклор.

9.
 Baba Malay IU Ada satu...bangkuang dia téngok betol besair.
 Baba Malay words Ada satu bangkuang dia téngok betol besair
 English gloss EXIST one turnip 3.PL see really big
 English free translation There was one turnip they saw (that was) really big.
10.
 (2.9)
11.
 Baba Malay IU Tukang kebun chakap,
 Baba Malay words Tukang kebun chakap
 English gloss laborer garden speak
 English free translation The gardener spoke,
12.
 Baba Malay IU Gua mo cha=bot itu bangkuang besair sekarang.
 Baba Malay words gua mo chabot itu bangkuang besair sekarang
 English gloss 1.SG want pull.out that turnip big now
 English free translation I want to pull out that big turnip now.
13.
 (1.4)
14.
 Baba Malay IU Lepas itu,
 Baba Malay words Lepas itu
 English gloss after that
 English free translation After that,
15.
 Baba Malay IU Kita boléh...buat,
 Baba Malay words Kita boléh buat
 English gloss 1.PL can make
 English free translation We can make,
16.
 (2.1)
17.
 Baba Malay IU Sup bangkuang.
 Baba Malay words Sup bangkuang
 English gloss soup turnip
 English free translation Turnip soup
18.
 Baba Malay IU Untok⁸⁵ makan malam.
 Baba Malay words untok makan malam
 English gloss for eat night
 English free translation for dinner.

⁸⁵ The usage of ‘untok’ is Malay. It can be used in BM by those who speak Malay.

19.
 Baba Malay IU Dia nia bini chakap.
 Baba Malay words Dia nia bini chakap.
 English gloss 3.SG POSS wife speak
 English free translation His wife spoke.
20.
 (1.6)
21.
 Baba Malay IU Tukang kebun,
 Baba Malay words Tukang kebun
 English gloss laborer garden
 English free translation The gardener,
22.
 (1.1)
23.
 Baba Malay IU Tarék itu,
 Baba Malay words Tarék itu
 English gloss pull that
 English free translation Pulled that
24.
 Baba Malay IU Tarék itu,
 Baba Malay words Tarék itu
 English gloss pull that
 English free translation Pulled that
25.
 Baba Malay IU Bangkuang.
 Baba Malay words Bangkuang
 English gloss turnip
 English free translation Turnip.
26.
 Baba Malay IU Tapi tu bangkuang...tak bergerak.
 Baba Malay words Tapi tu bangkuang tak bergerak
 English gloss but that turnip NEG move
 English free translation But that turnip did not move.
27.
 (1.6)
28.
 Baba Malay IU Tukang kebun,
 Baba Malay words Tukang kebun
 English gloss laborer garden
 English free translation The gardener,

29.
 Baba Malay IU Ta=rék itu bangkuang lagik,
 Baba Malay words Tarék itu bangkuang lagik
 English gloss pull that turnip again
 English free translation Pulled that turnip again,
30.
 Baba Malay IU Tu bangkuang,
 Baba Malay words Tu bangkuang
 English gloss that turnip
 English free translation That turnip,
31.
 Baba Malay IU Pokok bangkuang...tak bergerak.
 Baba Malay words Pokok bangkuang tak bergerak
 English gloss tree turnip NEG move
 English free translation The turnip did not move.
32.
 (1.8)
33.
 Baba Malay IU Tukang kebun panggay dia nia bini tolong.
 Baba Malay words Tukang kebun panggay dia nia bini tolong
 English gloss laborer garden call 3.SG POSS wife help
 English free translation That gardener called his wife to help.
34.
 Baba Malay IU Tukang kebun sama bini dia,
 Baba Malay words Tukang kebun sama bini dia
 English gloss laborer garden and wife 3.SG
 English free translation The gardener and his wife,
35.
 Baba Malay IU Ta=rék itu bangkuang.
 Baba Malay words Tarék itu bangkuang
 English gloss pull that turnip
 English free translation Pulled that turnip.
36.
 Baba Malay IU Itu bangkuang pun...tak bergerak.
 Baba Malay words Itu bangkuang pun tak bergerak
 English gloss that turnip also NEG move
 English free translation That turnip also did not move.
37.
 (3.1)
38.
 Baba Malay IU Tukang kebun mia bini,
 Baba Malay words Tukang kebun mia bini
 English gloss laborer garden POSS wife
 English free translation The gardner' wife,

39.
 Baba Malay IU Panggay anjing dia tolong.
 Baba Malay words Panggay anjing dia tolong
 English gloss call dog 3.PL help
 English free translation Called their dog to help.
40.
 Baba Malay IU Tukang kebun,
 Baba Malay words Tukang kebun
 English gloss laborer garden
 English free translation The gardener,
41.
 Baba Malay IU Bini dia sama anjing,
 Baba Malay words Bini dia sama anjing
 English gloss wife 3.SG and dog
 English free translation his wife and the dog,
42.
 Baba Malay IU Ta=rék tu bangkuang.
 Baba Malay words Tarék tu bangkuang
 English gloss pull that turnip
 English free translation Pulled that turnip.
43.
 Baba Malay IU Tu bangkuang,
 Baba Malay words Tu bangkuang
 English gloss that turnip
 English free translation That turnip,
44.
 Baba Malay IU Pun= tak bergerak.
 Baba Malay words pun tak bergerak
 English gloss also NEG move
 English free translation also did not move.
45.
 (1.7)
46.
 Baba Malay IU Tu anjing,
 Baba Malay words Tu anjing
 English gloss that dog
 English free translation That dog,
47.
 (1.5)
48.
 Baba Malay IU Menyalap.
 Baba Malay words Menyalap
 English gloss howl
 English free translation howled.

49.	
Baba Malay IU	Panggay kuching tolong,
Baba Malay words	Panggay kuching tolong
English gloss	call cat help
English free translation	called the cat to help.
50.	
Baba Malay IU	Gonggong ... #.
Baba Malay words	Gonggong
English gloss	ONOMATOPOEIA.bark
English free translation	Barked.
51.	
Baba Malay IU	Anjing tu gonggong.
Baba Malay words	Anjing tu gonggong
English gloss	dog that ONOMATOPOEIA.bark
English free translation	That dog barked
52.	
Baba Malay IU	Sama,
Baba Malay words	Sama
English gloss	with
English free translation	with,
53.	
Baba Malay IU	Si kuching.
Baba Malay words	Si kuching
English gloss	PERSON cat
English free translation	the cat.
54.	
Baba Malay IU	Mintak tolong.
Baba Malay words	Mintak tolong
English gloss	ask.sincerely help
English free translation	Asking sincerely for help.
55.	
Baba Malay IU	Tukang kebun,
Baba Malay words	Tukang kebun
English gloss	laborer garden
English free translation	The gardener,
56.	
Baba Malay IU	Bini dia,
Baba Malay words	bini dia
English gloss	wife 3.SG
English free translation	his wife
57.	
Baba Malay IU	Anjing sama kuching,
Baba Malay words	anjing sama kuching
English gloss	dog and cat
English free translation	dog and cat,

58.
 Baba Malay IU Tarék tu bangkuang.
 Baba Malay words Tarék tu bangkuang
 English gloss pull that turnip
 English free translation Pulled that turnip.
59.
 Baba Malay IU Bangkuang tu pun...tak bergerak.
 Baba Malay words Bangkuang tu pun tak bergerak
 English gloss turnip that also NEG move
 English free translation That turnip also did not move.
60.
 (1.3)
61.
 Baba Malay IU Tukang kebun chakap,
 Baba Malay words Tukang kebun chakap
 English gloss laborer garden speak
 English free translation The gardener spoke,
62.
 Baba Malay IU Tak guna lah.
 Baba Malay words Tak guna lah
 English gloss NEG use EMP
 English free translation (It is) no use.
63.
 Baba Malay IU Ini=,
 Baba Malay words Ini
 English gloss this
 English free translation This,
64.
 Baba Malay IU Tak guna betol.
 Baba Malay words Tak guna betol
 English gloss Neg use really
 English free translation (It is) no use really.
65.
 Baba Malay IU Ini bangkuang,
 Baba Malay words Ini bangkuang
 English gloss this turnip
 English free translation This turnip,
66.
 (2.0)
67.
 Baba Malay IU Tak bergerak.
 Baba Malay words Tak bergerak
 English gloss NEG move
 English free translation Does not move.
68.
 (1.9)

69.
 Baba Malay IU Si kuching,
 Baba Malay words Si kuching
 English gloss PERSON cat
 English free translation The cat,
70.
 Baba Malay IU Panggay,
 Baba Malay words Panggay
 English gloss call
 English free translation called,
71.
 Baba Malay IU Ah...si burong.
 Baba Malay words Ah si burong
 English gloss filler PERSON bird
 English free translation the bird.
72.
 Baba Malay IU Pi #tolong mo tolong.
 Baba Malay words Pi tolong mo tolong
 English gloss go help want help
 English free translation Go help (we) want help.
73.
 (1.7)
74.
 Baba Malay IU Tukang kebun...bini dia,
 Baba Malay words Tukang kebun bini dia
 English gloss laborer garden wife 3.SG
 English free translation The gardener, his wife,
75.
 Baba Malay IU Anjing...kuching sama,
 Baba Malay words Anjing kuching sama
 English gloss dog cat and
 English free translation dog, cat and
76.
 Baba Malay IU Burong,
 Baba Malay words Burong
 English gloss bird
 English free translation bird,
77.
 Baba Malay IU Ta=rék,
 Baba Malay words Tarék
 English gloss pull
 English free translation Pulled
78.
 (1.9)

79.
 Baba Malay IU Tarék itu bangkuang.
 Baba Malay words Tarék itu bangkuang
 English gloss pull that turnip
 English free translation pulled that turnip.
80.
 (1.5)
81.
 Baba Malay IU Sama sekejap tu bangkuang,
 Baba Malay words sama sekejab tu bangkuang
 English gloss with a.while that turnip
 English free translation After a while that turnip
82.
 Baba Malay IU Pun= begerak.
 Baba Malay words Pun begerak
 English gloss also move
 English free translation Also moved.
83.
 (1.0)
84.
 Baba Malay IU Itu malam...sumua dapat,
 Baba Malay words Itu malam sumua dapat
 English gloss that night all get
 English free translation That night all got,
85.
 Baba Malay IU Makan,
 Baba Malay words Makan
 English gloss eat
 English free translation to eat,
86.
 Baba Malay IU Sup bangkuang.
 Baba Malay words Sup bangkuang
 English gloss soup turnip
 English free translation turnip soup.
87.
 Baba Malay IU Untok makan malam,
 Baba Malay words for makan malam
 English gloss for eat night
 English free translation for dinner,
88.
 Baba Malay IU Untok makan besok pagi,
 Baba Malay words Untok makan besok pagi
 English gloss for eat tomorrow morning
 English free translation for breakfast tomorrow,

89.
 Baba Malay IU Untok makan tengah hari,
 Baba Malay words Untok makan tengah hari
 English gloss for eat middle day
 English free translation for lunch,
90.
 Baba Malay IU Untok makan,
 Baba Malay words Untok makan
 English gloss for eat
 English free translation to eat,
91.
 Baba Malay IU Minum téh nia jam.
 Baba Malay words Minum téh nia jam.
 English gloss drink tea REL time
 English free translation (for) teatime.

<T=183.00>

Conversation with Aunty Jane

((NL1-142: Conversation 2 with Jane Quek: 0.00-372.70))

1.

JQ;

IU ###,

2.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU	Ah tachi...apa khabair=?
Baba Malay words	Ah tachi apa khabair
English gloss	filler elder.sister what news
English free translation	Ah elder sister how are you?

3.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU	Lama tak jum=pa,
Baba Malay words	Lama tak jumpa
English gloss	long.time NEG meet
English free translation	Haven't met you in a long time,

4.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU	Ah...yah lah,
Baba Malay words	Ah yah lah
English gloss	filler yes EMP
English free translation	Ah yes,

5.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU	Lama tak...jalan sini,
Baba Malay words	Lama tak jalan sini
English gloss	long.time NEG walk here
English free translation	Haven't walked here in a long while,

6.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU	Tak jumpa lu lu apa macham?
Baba Malay words	Tak jumpa lu lu apa macham
English gloss	NEG meet 2.SG 2.SG what like that
English free translation	Haven't met you, how are you?

7.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU	Ada baik tak baik.
Baba Malay words	ada baik tak baik
English gloss	COP good NEG good
English free translation	Are you well or not.

8.
JQ;
Baba Malay IU Se - lama ada pi main judi tak?
Baba Malay words se-lama ada pi main judi tak
English gloss one-long.time HAB go play gamble NEG
English free translation Do you still gamble regularly?
9.
JQ;
Baba Malay IU Mahjong se-ka se-kali lah=
Baba Malay words Mahjong se-ka se-kali lah
English gloss one-time one-time EMP
English free translation (I play mahjong) once in a while.
10.
JQ;
Baba Malay IU Ada kaki...pi main,
Baba Malay words Ada kaki pi main
English gloss EXIST friend go play
English free translation If there are friends (I) go play,
11.
JQ;
Baba Malay IU Kalu tak-a orang panggay tak main,
Baba Malay words Kalu tak-a orang panggay tak main
English gloss if NEG-EXIST people call NEG play
English free translation If there is no calling (I) do not play,
12.
JQ;
Baba Malay IU Jalan jalan.
Baba Malay words Jalan jalan
English gloss walk walk
English free translation (I) take walks.
13.
JQ;
Baba Malay IU Abi main cherki tak?
Baba Malay words Abi main cherki tak
English gloss then play Peranakan.card.game NEG
English free translation Then do you play 'cherki'(card game)?
14.
JQ;
Baba Malay IU Cherki pun sama lah.
Baba Malay words Cherki pun sama lah
English gloss Peranakan.card.game also same EMP
English free translation 'Cherki' (is) also the same.
15.
JQ;
Baba Malay IU Se-lama kun...tak banyak orang main cherki.
Baba Malay words Se-lama kun tak banyak orang main cherki
English gloss one-long.time also NEG many people play Peranakan.card.game
English free translation For a long time (now) also, there are not many people playing 'cherki'.

16.
 JQ;
 Baba Malay IU Tak # gitu main cherki lah.
 Baba Malay words Tak gitu main cherki lah
 English gloss NEG like.this play Peranakan.card.game EMP
 English free translation Not like this (I do not) play 'cherki'.

17.
 JQ;
 Baba Malay IU Tak apa pi jalan jalan,
 Baba Malay words Tak apa pi jalan jalan
 English gloss NEG what go walk walk
 English free translation (If there is) nothing (I) go for a walk,

18.
 JQ;
 Baba Malay IU Makan makan=,
 Baba Malay words Makan makan
 English gloss eat eat
 English free translation Eat (here and there),

19.
 JQ;
 Baba Malay IU Macham lah.
 Baba Malay words Macham lah
 English gloss like.that EMP
 English free translation Like that.

20.
 JQ;
 Baba Malay IU Pass...Pass time lah.
 Baba Malay words pass pass time lah
 English gloss EMP
 Free translation Pass time lah.

21.
 JQ;
 Baba Malay IU Day by day pass macham lah.
 Baba Malay words day by day pass macham lah
 English gloss like.that EMP
 English free translation Day by day pass like that.

22.
 (1.9)

23.
 JQ;
 Baba Malay IU Ada pegi,
 Baba Malay words Ada pegi
 English gloss HAB go
 English free translation (I do) go,

24.					
JQ;					
Baba Malay IU	Mana lagik,				
Baba Malay words	Mana lagik				
English gloss	where more				
English free translation	Where else,				
25.					
JQ;					
Baba Malay IU	Apa macham lu ada berapa banyak chuchu?				
Baba Malay words	Apa macham lu ada berapa banyak chuchu				
English gloss	what like 2.SG have how.many many grandchild				
English free translation	How are you, how many grandchildren do you have?				
26.					
JQ;					
Baba Malay IU	Ada lah tiga.				
Baba Malay words	Ada lah tiga				
English gloss	have EMP three				
English free translation	I have three.				
27.					
JQ;					
Baba Malay IU	Anak prompuan nia satu=,				
Baba Malay words	Anak prompuan nia satu				
English gloss	Child female REL one				
English free translation	One that is a girl,				
28.					
JQ;					
Baba Malay IU	Anak jantan mia dua=,				
Baba Malay words	Anak jantan mia dua				
English gloss	child male REL two				
English free translation	Two that are boys,				
29.					
JQ;					
Baba Malay IU	Ah sudah tiga chuchu lah.				
Baba Malay words	Ah sudah tiga chuchu lah				
English gloss	filler already three grandchild EMP				
English free translation	There (are) already three grandchildren.				
30.					
JQ;					
Baba Malay IU	Lu jaga chuchu tak?				
Baba Malay words	Lu jaga chuchu tak				
English gloss	2.SG take.care grandchild NEG				
English free translation	Do you take care of your grandchildren?				
31.					
JQ;					
Baba Malay IU	Tak a lah tak gitu lah.				
Baba Malay words	Tak-a lah tak gitu lah				
English gloss	NEG-EXIST EMP NEG like.this EMP				
English free translation	No not like this.				

32.
 JQ;
 Baba Malay IU Se-ka se-kali dia orang mo kuluar,
 Baba Malay words Se-ka se-kali dia-orang mo kuluar
 English gloss one-time one-time 3-PL want go.out
 English free translation Once in a while they want to go out.

33.
 JQ;
 Baba Malay IU Dia panggay...mata- mata-kan.
 Baba Malay words Dia panggay mata-mata -kan
 English gloss 3.PL call eye-eye-TR
 English free translation They call me to watch over (the grandchildren).

34.
 JQ;
 Baba Malay IU Ah...mata-mata-kan lah.
 Baba Malay words Ah mata-mata-kan lah
 English gloss filler eye-eye-TR EMP
 English free translation (I) watch (them).

35.
 JQ;
 Baba Malay IU Satu dua jam macham lah.
 Baba Malay words Satu dua jam macham lah
 English gloss one two hour like.that EMP
 English free translation One (or) two hours like that.

36.
 JQ;
 Baba Malay IU Macham sahja orang tua gitu lah.
 Baba Malay words Macham sahja orang tua gitu lah
 English gloss like.this only people old like.this EMP
 English free translation Like this only, old people (do it) like this.

37.
 JQ;
 Baba Malay IU Boléh makan makan=,
 Baba Malay words Boléh makan makan
 English gloss can eat eat
 English free translation (If you) can eat, eat.

38.
 JQ;
 Baba Malay IU Boléh jalan jalan=.
 Baba Malay words Boléh jalan jalan
 English gloss can walk walk
 English free translation (If you) can walk, walk.

39.
 JQ;
 IU Be happy=,

40.						
JQ;						
Baba Malay IU		Toksa	sikit	sikit	marah.	
Baba Malay words		Toksa	sikit	sikit	marah	
English gloss		do.not.need	little	little	angry	
English free translation		(You) don't need to be angry over small things.				
41.						
JQ;						
Baba Malay IU		Apa sair lu siap-siap maki maid?				
Baba Malay words		Apa	sair	lu	siap-siap	maki maid
English gloss		what	reason	2.SG	perpetually	scold
English free translation		Why do you perpetually scold the maid?				
42.						
JQ;						
Baba Malay IU		Maid kun orang jugak.				
Baba Malay words		Maid	kun	orang	jugak	
English gloss			also	people	also	
English free translation		Maids (are) people also.				
43.						
JQ;						
Baba Malay IU		Abi gua téngok banyak= sair pi pasar.				
Baba Malay words		Abi	gua	téngok	banyak	sair pi pasar
English gloss		then	1.SG	see	many	indeed go pasar
English free translation		Then I see many going to the market.				
44.						
JQ;						
Baba Malay IU		Sumua= complain pasair maid.				
Baba Malay words		Sumua	complain	pasair	maid	
English gloss		all		matter		
English free translation		All complaining about maid matters.				
45.						
JQ;						
Baba Malay IU		Maid kun orang ini lah maid ini lah.				
Baba Malay words		Maid	kun	orang	ini lah	maid itu lah
English gloss			also	people	this EMP	that EMP
English free translation		Maid (are) also people, (maid) this and (maid) that.				
46.						
JQ;						
Baba Malay IU		Maid itu lah.				
Baba Malay words		Maid	itu	lah		
English gloss			that	EMP		
English free translation		The maid (does) that.				
47.						
JQ;						
Baba Malay IU		Tak-a satu chakap maid baik.				
Baba Malay words		Tak-a	satu	chakap	maid	baik
English gloss		NEG-EXIST	one	speak		good
English free translation		Not one says the maid (is) good.				

48.							
JQ;							
Baba Malay IU	Tak tau apa sair ni orang orang sumua.						
Baba Malay words	Tak tau apa sair ni orang orang sumua						
English gloss	NEG know what reason this people people all						
English free translation	Don't know why these people all.						
49.							
JQ;							
Baba Malay IU	Orang orang sumua.						
Baba Malay words	orang orang sumua						
English gloss	people people all						
English free translation	People all.						
50.							
JQ;							
IU	Huh?						
51.							
JQ;							
Baba Malay IU	Orang maid pun orang human being,						
Baba Malay words	Orang maid pun orang human being						
English gloss	people also people						
English free translation	The maids (are) also human beings,						
52.							
JQ;							
Baba Malay IU	Kalu tak-a maid datang sama lu krejar,						
Baba Malay words	Kalu tak-a maid datang sama lu krejar						
English gloss	if NEG-EXIST come with 2.SG work						
English free translation	If there are no maids to come work for you,						
53.							
JQ;							
Baba Malay IU	Orang chakap lu,						
Baba Malay words	Orang chakap lu						
English gloss	people speak 2.SG						
English free translation	People speak about you,						
54.							
JQ;							
Baba Malay IU	Misti mo ##,						
Baba Malay words	Misti mo						
English gloss	must want						
English free translation	Must ##,						
55.							
JQ;							
Baba Malay IU	Lu mia duit banyak besar bayar orang,						
Baba Malay words	Lu mia duit banyak besar bayar orang						
English gloss	2.SG POSS money many big pay people						
English free translation	Your money (is) very big (it) pays people,						

56.
JQ;
Baba Malay IU Su=mua bising= pasair maid.
Baba Malay words Sumua bising pasair maid
English gloss all noisy matter
English free translation All make a lot of noise about maid matters.
57.
JQ;
Baba Malay IU Dengar pun boring.
Baba Malay words Dengar pun boring
English gloss listen also
English free translation It is boring to even hear about this.
58.
(13.4)
59.
JQ;
Baba Malay IU Bila gua senang gua jalan jalan lah.
Baba Malay words Bila gua senang gua jalan jalan lah
English gloss when 1.SG free 1.SG walk walk EMP
English free translation When I (am) free I take walks.
60.
JQ;
Baba Malay IU Jalan pi Parkway Parade,
Baba Malay words Jalan pi Parkway Parade
English gloss walk go
English free translation Walk to Parkway Parade (shopping mall),
61.
JQ
Baba Malay IU Jalan jalan makan,
Baba Malay words Jalan jalan makan
English gloss walk walk eat
English free translation Walk a bit and eat,
62.
JQ;
Baba Malay IU Téngok baju=,
Baba Malay words Téngok baju
English gloss see clothes
English free translation See clothes,
63.
JQ;
Baba Malay IU Ah chanték kita beli satu lay=,
Baba Malay words Ah chanték kita beli satu lay
English gloss filler beautiful 1.PL buy one CLF.piece of fabric or paper
English free translation (If it is) pretty we buy one piece,

64.					
JQ;					
Baba Malay IU	Tak chanték jalan jalan=,				
Baba Malay words	Tak chanték jalan jalan				
English gloss	NEG beautiful walk walk				
English free translation	(If it is) not pretty (I) take a walk,				
65.					
JQ;					
Baba Malay IU	Minum kopi=,				
Baba Malay words	Minum kopi				
English gloss	drink coffee				
English free translation	Drink coffee,				
66.					
JQ;					
Baba Malay IU	Sama kawan kuluar=,				
Baba Malay words	Sama kawan kuluar				
English gloss	with friend go.out				
English free translation	Go out with friends,				
67.					
JQ;					
Baba Malay IU	Ada kali...gua mia friend kuluar,				
Baba Malay words	Ada kali gua mia friend kuluar				
English gloss	EXIST time 1.SG POSS friend go.out				
English free translation	There are times my friend go out,				
68.					
JQ;					
Baba Malay IU	From Australia panggay,				
Baba Malay words	From Australia panggay				
English gloss	call				
English free translation	From Australia (she) calls ,				
69.					
JQ;					
Baba Malay IU	Aunty kita pi,				
Baba Malay words	Aunty kita pi				
English gloss	1.PL go				
English free translation	Aunty we go ,				
70.					
JQ;					
Baba Malay IU	Pi Takashimaya= Orchard Road side,				
Baba Malay words	Pi Takashimaya Orchard Road side				
English gloss	go				
English free translation	Go to Takashimaya (shopping mall) at Orchard Road,				
71.					
JQ;					
Baba Malay IU	Jalan jalan=,				
Baba Malay words	Jalan jalan				
English gloss	walk walk				
English free translation	Take walk,				

72.					
JQ;					
Baba Malay IU	Téngok	téngok,			
Baba Malay words	Téngok	téngok			
English gloss	see	see			
English free translation	Take a look-see,				
73.					
JQ;					
Baba Malay IU	Kalu	téngok	barang	hak,	
Baba Malay words	Kalu	téngok	barang	hak	
English gloss	if	see	thing	suitable	
English free translation	If (we) see a suitable thing,				
74.					
JQ;					
Baba Malay IU	Kita	beli	lah.		
Baba Malay words	Kita	beli	lah		
English gloss	1.PL	buy	EMP		
English free translation	We buy.				
75.					
JQ;					
Baba Malay IU	Barang	tak	hak	tak	beli
Baba Malay words	Barang	tak	hak	tak	beli
English gloss	thing	NEG	suitable	NEG	buy
English free translation	(If) the thing (is) not suitable we won't buy.				EMP
76.					
JQ;					
Baba Malay IU	Pegi	Isetan,			
Baba Malay words	Pegi	Isetan			
English gloss	go				
English free translation	Go to Isetan (departmental store),				
77.					
JQ;					
Baba Malay IU	Pegi	Cold	Storage,		
Baba Malay words	Pegi	Cold	Storage		
English gloss	go				
English free translation	Go to Cold Storage (supermarket),				
78.					
JQ;					
Baba Malay IU	Gua	mia	kawan	suka	pi
Baba Malay words	Gua	mia	kawan	suka	pi
English gloss	1.SG	POSS	friend	like	go
English free translation	My friend likes to go to Isetan's,				Isetan nia go POSS
79.					
JQ;					
IU	Shopping	centre,			

80.
 JQ;
 Baba Malay IU Pasair dia mia meat very fresh.
 Baba Malay words pasair dia mia meat very fresh
 English gloss because 3.SG Poss
 English free translation Because its meat (is) very fresh.

81.
 JQ;
 Baba Malay IU Tapi mahal lah.
 Baba Malay words Tapi mahal lah
 English gloss but expensive EMP
 English free translation But it (is) expensive.

82.
 JQ;
 Baba Malay IU Dia mia barang mahal,
 Baba Malay words Dia mia barang mahal
 English gloss 3.SG POSS thing expensive
 English free translation Its things (are) expensive,

83.
 JQ;
 Baba Malay IU Tapi dia mia meat betul...fresh.
 Baba Malay words Tapi dia mia meat betul fresh
 English gloss but 3.SG POSS really
 English free translation But its meat (is) really fresh.

84.
 JQ;
 Baba Malay IU Chanték sekali.
 Baba Malay words Chanték sekali
 English gloss beautiful very
 English free translation Very beautiful.

85.
 JQ;
 Baba Malay IU Dia bikin ## steamboat,
 Baba Malay words Dia bikin steamboat
 English gloss 3.SG make
 English free translation She makes steamboat (hot pot),

86.
 JQ;
 Baba Malay IU Dia selalu pi sana.
 Baba Malay words Dia selalu pi sana
 English gloss 3.SG always go there
 English free translation She always goes there.

87.
 JQ;
 Baba Malay IU Dia tak beli kita market nia.
 Baba Malay words Dia tak beli kita market nia
 English gloss 3.SG NEG buy 1.PL REL
 English free translation She doesn't buy the ones that are at our markets.

88.
 JQ;
 Baba Malay IU Dia sudah used to it lah.
 Baba Malay words Dia sudah used to it lah
 English gloss 3.SG already EMP
 English free translation She (is) already used to it.

89.
 JQ;
 IU My Australia friend is like that,

90.
 JQ;
 Baba Malay IU Tapi ya lah betul betul fresh.
 Baba Malay words Tapi ya lah betul betul fresh
 English gloss but yes EMP really really
 English free translation But yes it is really really fresh.

91.
 JQ;
 Baba Malay IU Mahal sikit lah.
 Baba Malay words Mahal sikit lah
 English gloss expensive little EMP
 English free translation A little expensive.

92.
 JQ;
 Baba Malay IU Jalan jalan abi tu makan,
 Baba Malay words Jalan jalan abi tu makan
 English gloss walk walk finish that eat
 English free translation Take a walk and after that eat,

93.
 JQ;
 Baba Malay IU Lunch habi,
 Baba Malay words Lunch habi
 English gloss finish
 English free translation Lunch (is) over,

94.
 JQ;
 Baba Malay IU Jalan jalan habi,
 Baba Malay words Jalan jalan habi
 English gloss walk walk finish
 English free translation After taking a walk,

95.
 JQ;
 Baba Malay IU Dudok kopi house,
 Baba Malay words Dudok kopi house
 English gloss sit coffee
 English free translation Sit at the coffee house,

96.			
JQ;			
Baba Malay IU	Minum kopi lah.		
Baba Malay words	Minum kopi lah		
English gloss	drink coffee	EMP	
English free translation	Drink coffee.		
97.			
JQ;			
Baba Malay IU	Cappucino ka=,		
Baba Malay words	Cappucino	ka	
English gloss		or	
English free translation	Cappucino or,		
98.			
JQ;			
Baba Malay IU	Latte ka=,		
Baba Malay words	Latte	ka	
English gloss		or	
English free translation	Latte or,		
99.			
JQ;			
Baba Malay IU	Makan ## itu pancake share share,		
Baba Malay words	Makan itu pancake	share share	
English gloss	eat that		
English free translation	Share some pancake,		
100.			
JQ;			
Baba Malay IU	Macham lah.		
Baba Malay words	Macham	lah	.
English gloss	like.that	EMP	
English free translation	Like that.		
101.			
JQ;			
Baba Malay IU	Dudok= sampay pukol lima,		
Baba Malay words	Dudok sampay pukol	lima	
English gloss	sit until	strike five	
English free translation	Sit until five o'clock,		
102.			
JQ;			
Baba Malay IU	## Charék makan dinner,		
Baba Malay words	Charék makan	dinner	
English gloss	find eat		
English free translation	Find dinner to eat,		
103.			
JQ;			
Baba Malay IU	Abi itu pulang,		
Baba Malay words	Abi itu	pulang	
English gloss	finish that	return	
English free translation	After that (we) return,		

104.			
JQ;			
Baba Malay IU	Pulang sampay rumah,		
Baba Malay words	Pulang sampay rumah		
English gloss	return until house		
English free translation	(We) return home,		
105.			
JQ;			
IU	Seven eight or nine,		
106.			
JQ;			
Baba Malay IU	Pukol lapan pukol semilan		
Baba Malay words	Pukol lapan pukol semilan		
English gloss	strike eight strike nine		
English free translation	Eight or night o'clock.		
107.			
JQ;			
Baba Malay IU	macham lah.		
Baba Malay words	macham lah		
English gloss	like.that EMP		
108.			
JQ;			
Baba Malay IU	Balék rumah mandi=,		
Baba Malay words	Balék rumah mandi		
English gloss	return house bathe		
English free translation	Return home to bathe,		
109.			
JQ;			
Baba Malay IU	Dudok= téngok tv,		
Baba Malay words	Dudok téngok tv		
English gloss	sit see		
English free translation	Sit and watch tv,		
110.			
JQ;			
Baba Malay IU	Tv bagus=,		
Baba Malay words	Tv bagus		
English gloss	good		
English free translation	If the television show is good,		
111.			
JQ;			
Baba Malay IU	Téngok satu pukol dua belas.		
Baba Malay words	Téngok sampay pukol dua belas		
English gloss	see until strike two ten		
English free translation	Watch until twelve o'clock.		

112.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU	Tv tak bagus,
Baba Malay words	Tv tak bagus
English gloss	NEG good
English free translation	(if) the television show (is) not good,

113.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU	Se-belas tutup.
Baba Malay words	Se-belas tutup
English gloss	one-ten close
English free translation	Turn off at eleven.

114.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU	Pi tidor.
Baba Malay words	Pi tidor
English gloss	go sleep
English free translation	Go sleep.

115.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU	Then...pagi sudah mangun.
Baba Malay words	Then pagi sudah mangun
English gloss	morning already wake
English free translation	Then in the morning I already wake up.

116.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU	Sua tua= tak boléh tidor tau?
Baba Malay words	Sudah tua tak boléh tidor tau
English gloss	already old NEG can sleep know
English free translation	Already old (I am) cannot sleep (you) know?

117.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU	Kalu apa macham lambat,
Baba Malay words	Kalu apa macham lambat
English gloss	if what like late
English free translation	Even if (I sleep) late,

118.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU	Tidor pun tak boléh tidor.
Baba Malay words	Tidor pun tak boléh tidor
English gloss	sleep also NEG can sleep
English free translation	(I still) cannot sleep.

119.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU	Apa macham pukol lima lebéh sudah mangun.
Baba Malay words	Apa macham pukol lima lebéh sudah mangun
English gloss	what like.that strike five more already wake
English free translation	However (late I go to bed, I) wake up slightly after five.

120.					
JQ;					
Baba Malay IU	Mata sudah ter-bukak.				
Baba Malay words	Mata sudah ter-bukak				
English gloss	eye already MVT-open				
English free translation	Eyes already opened.				
121.					
JQ;					
Baba Malay IU	Sudah tak boléh tidor balék.				
Baba Malay words	Sudah tak boléh tidor	balék			
English gloss	already NEG can sleep	return			
English free translation	Already cannot return to sleep.				
122.					
JQ;					
Baba Malay IU	Orang kata,				
Baba Malay words	Orang kata				
English gloss	people say				
English free translation	People say,				
123.					
JQ;					
Baba Malay IU	boléh tidor pukol se-puloh lah.				
Baba Malay words	boléh tidor pukol se	puloh	lah		
English gloss	can sleep strike one	ten	EMP		
English free translation	(they) can sleep until ten o'clock.				
124.					
JQ;					
Baba Malay IU	Aye=,				
Baba Malay words	Aye				
English gloss	EXCLAM.surprise,				
English free translation	Goodness,				
125.					
JQ;					
Baba Malay IU	Ho mia,				
Baba Malay words	Ho mia				
English gloss	good life				
English free translation	Good life,				
126.					
JQ;					
Baba Malay IU	Gua tak boléh...pukol se-puloh,				
Baba Malay words	Gua tak boléh pukol	se-puloh			
English gloss	1.SG NEG can strike	one-ten			
English free translation	I cannot (sleep until) ten o'clock,				
127.					
JQ;					
Baba Malay IU	Amcham pun,				
Baba Malay words	Amcham pun				
English gloss	how also				
English free translation	However (much I try),				

128.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU

Pukul lima lebéh gua sudah mangun.

Baba Malay words

Pukul lima lebéh gua sudah mangun

English gloss

strike five more 1.Sg already wake

English free translation

After five I already wake up.

129.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU

Dia orang boléh tidor pukul se-puloh.

Baba Malay words

Dia-orang boléh tidor pukul se-puloh

English gloss

3-PL can sleep strike one-ten

English free translation

They can sleep (until) ten o'clock.

130.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU

Mata ari gemoh pantat pun tak boléh mangun.

Baba Malay words

Mata ari gemoh pantat pun tak boléh mangun

English gloss

eye day sun.dry buttocks also NEG can wake

English free translation

The sun shines on your backside (they) also cannot get up.

131.

(6.0)

132.

NL;

Baba Malay IU

Australia friend bila dia mo balék?

Baba Malay words

Australia friend bila dia mo balék

English gloss

when 3.SG want return

English free translation

When does your friend from Australia want to return?

133.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU

Bila dia pulang=,

Baba Malay words

Bila dia pulang

English gloss

when 3.SG return

English free translation

When she returns,

134.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU

Tiga minggu...macham dia balék lah.

Baba Malay words

Tiga minggu macham dia balék lah

English gloss

three week like.that 3.SG return EMP

English free translation

Three weeks or so she returns.

135.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU

Because dia Singaporean=.

Baba Malay words

Because dia Singaporean

English gloss

3.SG

English free translation

Because she (is) Singaporean.

136.									
JQ;									
Baba Malay IU	Pasair	dia	tinggal	Singapore,					
Baba Malay words	Pasair	dia	tinggal	Singapore					
English gloss	because	3.SG	live						
English free translation	Because	she	lives	in	Singapore,				
137.									
JQ;									
Baba Malay IU	Dia	kena	balék	for,					
Baba Malay words	Dia	kena	balék	for					
English gloss	3.SG	subjected.to	return						
English free translation	She	has	to	return	for,				
138.									
JQ;									
Baba Malay IU	Ini	apa?							
Baba Malay words	Ini	apa							
English gloss	this	what							
English free translation	This	what?							
139.									
JQ;									
Baba Malay IU	Chop	kan?							
Baba Malay words	Chop	kan							
English gloss		NEG							
English free translation	The	stamp	(on	the	passport)	no?			
140.									
JQ;									
Baba Malay IU	Ah...	balék	kat	Australia	lama,				
Baba Malay words	Ah	balék	kat	Australia	lama				
English gloss	filler	return	PREP		long.time				
English free translation	She	returned	to	Australia	for	a	long	time,	
141.									
JQ;									
IU	Seven	eight	years.						
142.									
JQ;									
Baba Malay IU	Macham	lah	se-ka	se-kali	dia	kuluair,			
Baba Malay words	Macham	lah	se-ka	se-kali	dia	kuluair			
English gloss	like.that	EMP	one-time	one-time	3.SG	go.out			
English free translation	Like	that	once	in	a	while	she	comes	out,
143.									
JQ;									
Baba Malay IU	Jalan	jalan=,							
Baba Malay words	jalan	jalan							
English gloss	walk	walk							
English free translation	Take	a	walk,						

144.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU	Dua tiga minggu=,
Baba Malay words	Dua tiga minggu
English gloss	two three week
English free translation	Two three weeks,

145.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU	Satu bulan dia pulang lah.
Baba Malay words	Satu bulan dia pulang lah
English gloss	one month 3.SG return EMP
English free translation	(After) one month she returns.

146.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU	Macham lah.
Baba Malay words	Macham lah
English gloss	like.that EMP
English free translation	Like that.

147.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU	Tapi dia orang tak suka Singapore.
Baba Malay words	Tapi dia-orang tak suka Singapore
English gloss	but 3-PL NEG like
English free translation	But she doesn't like Singapore.

148.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU	Manyak panas dia tak boléh tahan.
Baba Malay words	Manyak panas dia tak boléh tahan
English gloss	many hot 3.SG NEG can withstand
English free translation	She cannot stand that it is very hot.

149.

NL;

Baba Malay IU	Dia toksa jaga chuchu ah?
Baba Malay words	Dia toksa jaga chuchu ah
English gloss	3.SG do.not.need take.care grandchild filler
English free translation	She doesn't have to take care of her grandchildren?

150.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU	Dia tak boléh tahan panas.
Baba Malay words	Dia tak boléh tahan panas
English gloss	3.SG NEG can withstand hot
English free translation	She cannot stand that it is hot.

151.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU	Dia sendiri pi jalan suka pi aircon.
Baba Malay words	Dia sendiri pi jalan suka pi aircon
English gloss	3.SG self go walk like go
English free translation	She herself likes to go to airconditioned places when she walks.

152.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU	Makan itu foodcourt,
Baba Malay words	Makan itu foodcourt
English gloss	eat that
English free translation	Eat at that foodcourt,

153.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU	Dekat tengah jalan foodcourt dia tak masuk.
Baba Malay words	Dekat tengah jalan foodcourt dia tak masuk
English gloss	PREP middle walk 3.SG NEG enter
English free translation	The foodcourt in the middle of the road she doesn't enter.

154.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU	Dia pegi # aircon mia foodcourt.
Baba Malay words	Dia pegi aircon mia foodcourt
English gloss	3.SG go REL
English free translation	She goes to foodcourts that are air-conditioned.

155.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU	Foodcourt foodcourt pun dia seldom,
Baba Malay words	Foodcourt foodcourt pun dia seldom
English gloss	also 3.Sg
English free translation	She also seldom (even goes to) the foodcourt,

156.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU	Dia téngok ma=na nia foodcourt.
Baba Malay words	Dia téngok mana nia foodcourt
English gloss	3.SG see which REL
English free translation	She sees which foodcourt it is.

157.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU	Takashimaya nia foodcourt ka apa.
Baba Malay words	Takashimaya nia foodcourt ka apa
English gloss	POSS or what
English free translation	Takashimaya's foodcourt or what.

158.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU	Lain nia dia tak pi.
Baba Malay words	Lain nia dia tak pi
English gloss	other REL 3.SG Neg go
English free translation	Others she does not go.

159.

NL;

Baba Malay IU	Ada apa tak sama?
Baba Malay words	Ada apa tak sama
English gloss	EXIST what NEG same
English free translation	What is different?

160.
 JQ;
 Baba Malay IU Hot panas dirty lah.
 Baba Malay words Hot panas dirty lah
 English gloss hot EMP
 English free translation Hot, dirty.
161.
 JQ;
 Baba Malay IU Tempat tu ko=tor=.
 Baba Malay words Tempat tu kotor
 English gloss place that dirty
 English free translation That place (is) dirty.
162.
 JQ;
 Baba Malay IU Kular nia tak bagus kotor.
 Baba Malay words kular nia tak bagus kotor
 English gloss outside REL NEG good dirty
 English free translation (Those) that are outside are not good, dirty.
163.
 JQ;
 Baba Malay IU Dia orang sudah biasa macham.
 Baba Malay words Dia-orang sudah biasa macham
 English gloss 3-PL already used.to.it like.that
 English free translation She is already used to it like that.
164.
 JQ;
 Baba Malay IU Kita apa court pun ma=sok lah.
 Baba Malay words Kita apa court pun masok lah
 English gloss 1.PL what also enter EMP
 English free translation We enter whatever court it is.
165.
 JQ;
 IU Small court big court,
166.
 JQ;
 Baba Malay IU Sumua ma=sok lah.
 Baba Malay words Sumua masok lah
 English gloss all enter EMP
 English free translation All (we) enter.
167.
 JQ;
 Baba Malay IU Ada radat,
 Baba Malay words Ada radat
 English gloss Exist greed.vular
 English free translation (We) have greed (vulgar),

168.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU

Baba Malay words

English gloss

English free translation

Cher=kek sudah cher=kek lah.

Cherkek sudah cherkek
eat.vulgar already eat.coarse

lah
EMP

Already eaten (we) eat more.

169.

JQ;

IU

@ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ .

170.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU

Baba Malay words

English gloss

English free translation

Macham lah apa mo bikin,

Macham lah apa mo bikin
like.that EMP what want make

Like that what (do we) want to do,

171.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU

Baba Malay words

English gloss

English free translation

Human being macham lah.

Human being macham lah
like.that EMP

Human beings are like that.

172.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU

Baba Malay words

English gloss

English free translation

Dia sudah biasa,

Dia sudah biasa
3.SG already used.to.it

She (is) used to it,

173.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU

Baba Malay words

English gloss

English free translation

From young macham,

From young macham
like.that

From young like that,

174.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU

Baba Malay words

English gloss

English free translation

Kita ini tak ah kita ini chin=chai lah.

Kita ini tak ah kita ini chinchai lah
1.PL this NEG filler 1.PL this not.fussy EMP

We (are) not we (are) not fussy.

175.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU

Baba Malay words

English gloss

English free translation

Ma=na pun dudok ma=kan lah.

Mana pun dudok makan lah
where also sit eat EMP

Anywhere we sit and eat.

176.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU

Baba Malay words

English gloss

English free translation

Orang panggay makan ma=kan lah.

Orang panggay makan makan lah
people call eat eat Emp

(If) people call us to eat (we) eat.

177.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU

Baba Malay words

English gloss

English free translation

Ada #...ini saya makan,

Ada ini saya makan
EXIST this 1.SG eat

(If) there is this, I (will) eat,

178.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU

Baba Malay words

English gloss

English free translation

Itu tak tau makan.

Itu tak tau makan
that NEG know eat

That (you) do not know how to eat.

179.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU

Baba Malay words

English gloss

English free translation

Bodoh mo mampus.

Bodoh mo mampus
stupid want EXCLAM.dead

Stupid (until I) want to die. [humorous intent]

180.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU

Baba Malay words

English gloss

English free translation

Stupid sekali tak tau makan.

Stupid sekali tak tau makan
very NEG know eat

Very stupid (if you) do not know how to eat. [humorous intent]

181.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU

Baba Malay words

English gloss

English free translation

Ini tak tau makan,

Ini tak tau makan
this NEG know eat

This (you) do not know how to eat,

182.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU

Baba Malay words

English gloss

English free translation

Ada kali kawan pun sama,

Ada kali kawan pun sama
EXIST time friend also same

There are times friends (are) also the same,

183.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU

Baba Malay words

English gloss

English free translation

Nasik ulam dia tak tau makan.

Nasik ulam dia tak tau makan
cooked.rice mixed.herbs.anchovies 3.PL NEG know eat

Mixed herbs rice with shredded anchovies they do not know how to eat.

184.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU	Nasik goreng pun tak tau makan.
Baba Malay words	Nasik goreng pun tak tau makan
English gloss	cooked.rice fry also Neg know eat
English free translation	Fried rice too (they) do not know how to eat.

185.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU	A=pa nia Peranakan?
Baba Malay words	Apa nia Peranakan
English gloss	what REL Peranakan
English free translation	What kind of Peranakan? [humorous intent]

186.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU	Tak sepekah.
Baba Malay words	Tak sepekah
English gloss	Neg acceptable
English free translation	Not proper.

187.

NL;

Baba Malay IU	Aunty Jane suka masak tak?
Baba Malay words	Aunty Jane suka masak tak
English gloss	like cook NEG
English free translation	Aunty Jane likes to cook?

188.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU	Su=ka=.
Baba Malay words	Suka
English gloss	like
English free translation	(I) like.

189.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU	Tapi selalu gua chakap,
Baba Malay words	Tapi selalu gua chakap
English gloss	but always 1.SG speak
English free translation	But I always say,

190.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU	Lain kali kalau gua mati ah,
Baba Malay words	Lain kali kalau gua mati ah
English gloss	other time if 1.SG die filler
English free translation	Next time if I die,

191.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU	Kalu chutsi gua tak mo angkat pot.
Baba Malay words	Kalu chutsi gua tak mo angkat pot
English gloss	if born 1.SG NEG want carry
English free translation	If reborn I do not want to carry the pot.

192.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU	Tak mo angkat pen.
Baba Malay words	Tak mo angkat pen
English gloss	NEG want carry
English free translation	I do not want to carry the pen.

193.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU	Hari hari tak bikin apa,
Baba Malay words	Hari hari tak bikin apa
English gloss	day day NEG do what
English free translation	Everyday (I) do not do anything ,

194.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU	Ma=sak sahja.
Baba Malay words	Masak sahja
English gloss	cook only
English free translation	Only cook.

195.

NL;

Baba Malay IU	Angkat pen?
Baba Malay words	Angkat pen
English gloss	carry
English free translation	Carry the pen?

196.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU	Angkat pot pen sumua tak mo.
Baba Malay words	Angkat pot pen sumua tak mo
English gloss	carry all Neg want
English free translation	Carry the pot pen I do not want all.

197.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU	Mo angkat duit kuluar.
Baba Malay words	Mo angkat duit kuluar
English gloss	want carry money out
English free translation	(I) want to carry money out (when reborn). [humorous intent]

198.

NL;

IU	@ @ @ @ @ .
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199.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU	Tony gua chakap,
Baba Malay words	Tony gua chakap
English gloss	1.SG speak
English free translation	My Tony said,

200.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU

Baba Malay words

English gloss

English free translation

Tony gua chakap,

Tony gua chakap

1.SG speak

My Tony said,

201.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU

Baba Malay words

English gloss

English free translation

Oh...lu Catholic ada chutsi eh=?

Oh lu Catholic ada chutsi eh

Filler 2.SG have born filler

Oh you Catholic have the concept of rebirth? [humorous intent]

202.

JQ;

Baba Malay IU

@@@@@,

<T=372.70>

Pantuns by Albert Ku

The following are *pantuns* composed by Albert Ku from Malacca. The *pantun* is a traditional Malay verse with an *abab* rhyme scheme. The main message of the *pantun* is embedded in the third and fourth lines. Peranakan *pantuns* often relate to Peranakan subject matters, although it is interesting that the Malay language is followed closely. Pantuns can be composed on the spot, exchanged between performers (see verses in C), and sung to a tune called the *dondang sayang* ‘melody (of) love’. The art of singing *pantun* to the *dondang sayang* is endangered, but there are still cultural associations such as the Gunong Sayang Association in Singapore that preserve this tradition. The following pantuns were written, and have no recordings associated with them.

A.	<p>Apa ada di gunung api Nampak api merah menjulang Sudah lama gua tabor budi Emas juga di pandang orang</p>	<p>1. Apa ada di gunung api what Exist PREP mountain fire ‘What exists on top of fire mountain?’</p> <p>2. Nampak api merah menjulang see fire red tower ‘See the towering red fire’</p> <p>3. Sudah lama gua tabor budi already long.time 1.SG sow character ‘I have given my respect for a long time.’</p> <p>4. Emas juga di-pandang orang gold also PASS-view people ‘Gold is still looked at by people.’</p>
B.	<p>Dari Melaka ka Pulau Daik Mau beli sakati kerang Kalau baka pokok itu baik Ranting jatuh di pungot orang</p>	<p>5. Dari Melaka ka Pulau Daik from Malacca to Island ‘From Malacca to Daik Island’</p> <p>6. Mau beli sa-kati kerang want buy one-catty clam ‘Wanted to buy one catty of clams’</p> <p>7. Kalau baka pokok itu baik if lineage tree that good ‘If the lineage of that tree is good’</p> <p>8. Ranting jatuh di pungot orang branch fall PASS pick.up people ‘A fallen branch will be picked up by people.’</p>

C.	<p>Diberi hendak tak hendak Walau pun si ayer susu Tahun ini kawinkan anak Tahun depan timang chuchu</p> <p>Walaupun si ayer susu Susu dibeli rumah chek Ah Tan Tahun depan dapat chuchu Gua harap chuchu jantan</p> <p>Susu dibeli rumah chek Ah Tan Beli labu buat kua Kalau dapat chuchu jantan Jangan lupa chiah gua</p>	<p>9. Di-beri hendaktak hendak PASS-give want Neg want ‘Given something whether you want it or not’</p> <p>10. Walau pun si ayer susu although also PERSON water milk ‘Even though it is a person with milk’</p> <p>11. Tahun ini kawin-kan anak year this marry-TR child ‘This year (you) marry off your child’</p> <p>12. Tahun depan timbang chuchu year front balance grandchild ‘Next year (you) balance your grandchild (on your lap.)’</p> <p>13. Walau pun si ayer susu although also Person water milk ‘Even though it is a person with milk’</p> <p>14. Susu di-beli rumah chek Ah Tan Milk PASS-buy house uncle ‘Milk bought from the house of Uncle Ah Tan’</p> <p>15. Tahun depan dapat chuchu year front get grandchild ‘Next year (you) get a grandchild.’</p> <p>16. Gua harap chuchu jantan 1.Sg hope grandchild male ‘I hope for a grandson.’</p> <p>17. Susu di-beli rumah chek Ah Tan milk PASS-buy house uncle ‘Milk bought from the house of Uncle Ah Tan’</p> <p>18. Beli labu buat kua buy pumpkin make gravy ‘Buy pumpkin to make gravy’</p> <p>19. Kalau dapat chuchu jantan if get grandchild male ‘If you get a grandson’</p>
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		20. Jangan lupa chiah gua do.not forget invite 1.SG 'Do not forget to invite me.'
D.	<p>Apa ada di Gunong Daik</p> <p>Nampak api merah menjulang</p> <p>Jika ada budi yang baik</p> <p>Sampai mati dikenang orang</p>	<p>21. Apa ada di Gunong Daik what Exist Prep mountiain 'What exists on Daik Mountain?'</p> <p>22. Nampak api merah menjulang see fire red tower 'See the towering red fire'</p> <p>23. Jika ada budi yang baik if have character Rel good 'If (you) have a good character'</p> <p>24. Sampai mati di-kenang orang until die Pass- reminisce people 'Until (you) die you will be remembered by people.'</p>
E.	<p>Bibik Tengah sudah pulang</p> <p>Kena hujan baju basah</p> <p>Apa guna banyak wang</p> <p>Kalau tidak berbudi bahasa</p>	<p>25. Bibik Tengah sudah pulang Bibik middle already return 'Middle Bibik has already returned'</p> <p>26. Kena hujan baju basah PASS rain clothes wet '(She) was rained on (so her) clothes are wet'</p> <p>27. Apa guna banyak wang what use many money 'What is the use of a lot of money?'</p> <p>28. Kalau tidak ber-budi bahasa if Neg Poss-character respect 'If (one) does not have a respectable character'</p>
F.	<p>Kain di ikat dengan benang</p> <p>Letak mari di kayu Jati</p> <p>Sembilan laut-an dah gua berenang</p> <p>Belum dapat kehendak hati</p>	<p>29. Kain di-ikat dengan benang cloth PASS-tie with thread 'Cloth tied with thread'</p> <p>30. Letak mari di kayu jati place come PREP wood teak 'Come to the place with the teak wood'</p>

		<p>31. Sembilan laut-an dah gua berenang Nine sea-NOM already 1.SG swim 'I have swam nine oceans'</p> <p>32. Belum dapat ke-hendak hati not.yet get NOM-want heart 'I have not gotten what the heart wants'</p>
G.	<p>Pergi pasar beli manga Mangga di beli dari chek Dara Kalau lu dah berumah tangga Jangan pulak lupa saudara mara</p>	<p>33. Pergi pasar beli manga go market buy mango 'Went to the market to buy mangoes'</p> <p>34. Mangga di-beli dari Chek Dara mango Pass-buy from uncle 'Mangoes bought from Uncle Dara'</p> <p>35. Kalau lu dah ber-rumah tangga if 2.SG already POSS-house ladder' 'If you get married'</p> <p>36. Jangan pulak lupa saudara mara do.not instead forget relations relatives 'Do not forget (your) relatives instead.'</p>
H.	<p>Pergi kedai beli arang Beli juga sa ikat buah Kalau ada di negeri orang Jangan pulak lupa kan gua</p>	<p>37. Pergi kedai beli arang go shop buy charcoal 'Went to a shop to buy charcoal'</p> <p>38. Beli juga sa-ikat buah buy also one-tie fruit 'Also bought a bundle of fruit.'</p> <p>39. Kalau ada di negeri orang if EXIST PREP country people 'If (you) are in (other) people's country'</p> <p>40. Jangan pulak lupa-kan gua do.not instead forget-TR 1.SG 'Do not forget me.'</p>
I.	<p>Sakit jari kena sembilu Sembilu kena di Tiang Dua</p>	<p>41. Sakit jari kena sembilu pain finger Pass prick 'Pain in the finger from a prick'</p>

	<p>Emak Bapak besar kan lu Jangan berdusta bila besar</p>	<p>42. Sembilu kena di Tiang Dua prick Pass Prep pillar two 'Pricked at Pillar Two'</p> <p>43. Emak Bapak besar-kan lu mother father big-TR 2.SG '(Your) parents raised you.'</p> <p>44. Jangan berdusta bila besar do.not betray when big 'Do not betray them when you are old'</p>
J.	<p>Dari Dali ka Tiong Baru Mau beli ikan keli Sekarang ini dunia baru Cinta di hati mulai sekali</p>	<p>45. Dari Dali ka Tiong Baru From to Center New 'From Dali to New Center'</p> <p>46. Mau beli ikan keli want buy fish catfish 'Wanted to buy catfish'</p> <p>47. Sekarang ini dunia baru now this world new 'Now this is a new world'</p> <p>48. Cinta di hati mulai sekali love Prep heart from very 'Love from the heart is most important.'</p>

Appendix C: Vocabulary

Singapore Baba Malay-English

A

- a** [a] var. of **ada**
- a'us** [a.ʔus] var. of **ha'us**
- abi** [a.bi] var. of **habis**
- abis** [a.bis] var. of **habis**
- abu** [a.bu] (Malay) *n* ash
- ada** [a.da] (var. **a**) (Malay) *v* **1** have **2** PROG **3** EXIST **4** PFV **5** COP **6** HAB
- adék** [a.deʔ] (Malay) *n* **1** sibling **2** younger sibling der. **adék beradék**
- adék beradék** [a.deʔ bæ.ra.deʔ] (Malay) (der. of **adék**) *n* **1** siblings **2** younger siblings **pangkat adek beradek**
- agak** [a.gaʔ] (Malay) *v* estimate **agak agak**
- agak agak** [a.gaʔ a.gaʔ] (Malay) (**agak**) *adv* roughly
- aiya** [aj.ja] (Hokkien) EXCLAM annoyance
- aiyo** [aj.jo] (Hokkien) EXCLAM irritation
- ajair** [a.dʒɛ] refined var. of **ajar**
- ajar** [a.dʒar] (var. **ajair**) (Malay) *v* teach (coarse)
- akair** [a.kɛ] refined var. of **akar**
- akar** [a.kar] (var. **akair**) (Malay) *n* root (coarse)
- ala** [a.la] (English) EXCLAM regret
- alamak** [a.la.maʔ] (English), (Malay) EXCLAM dismay
- aloji** [a.lo.dʒi] (Portuguese) *n* **1** small clock **2** wrist watch
- amboi** [am.boj] source uncertain EXCLAM surprise
- ambun** [am.bun] (Malay) *n* tapioca
- amcham** [am.tʃam] var. of **apa macham**
- amék** [a.meʔ] (Malay) *v* take
- ampun** [am.pun] (Malay) **1** *v* forgive **2** *n* forgiveness
- an** [-an] (Malay) Nom
- anak** [a.naʔ] (Malay) *n* child
- ancheng** [an.tʃəŋ] (Hokkien) *n* blessing of the marital bed
- angin** [a.ŋin] (Malay) *n* wind
- angkat** [aŋ.kat] (Malay) *v* **1** lift **2** hold **3** pick up **4** carry
- angpau** [aŋ.paw] (Hokkien) *n* red packet of monetary gift
- anjing** [an.dʒing] (Malay) *n* dog
- ano** [a.no] (English) *adj* anonymous
- anting-anting** [an.tiŋ-an.tiŋ] (Malay) *n* earrings
- apa** [a.pa] (Malay) *interrog* what **amcham** , comp. **apa cham** , comp. **apa macham** , comp. **apa pasal** , contr. **apa sair**
- apa cham** [a.pa.tʃam] var. of **apa macham**
- apa macham** [a.pa ma.tʃam] (var. **apa cham**; var. **amcham**) (Malay) (comp. of **apa**, **macham**) *interrog* how
- apa pasair** [a.pa pa.sɛ] refined var. of **apa pasal**
- apa pasal** [a.pa pa.sal] (var. **apa pasair**) (Malay) (comp. of **apa**, **pasal**) *interrog* why (coarse)
- apa sair** [a.pa sɛ] (Malay) (contr. of **apa**, **sair 1**) *interrog* why (refined)
- api** [a.pi] (Malay) *n* fire
- arap** [a.rap] var. of **harap**
- arat** [a.rat] (Malay) *n* alcohol
- arga** [ar.ga] var. of **harga**
- ari** [a.ri] var. of **hari** comp. **mata ari** sun
- arimo** [a.ri.mo] var. of **harimo**
- asam** [a.sam] (Malay) **1** *n* tamarind **2** *adj* sour
- asap** [a.sap] (Malay) *n* smoke
- asién asin** [a.sjen asin] (Malay) (der. of **asin**) *adj* somewhat salty
- asin** [a.sin] (Malay) *adj* salty comp. **mulot asin** , der. **asién asin atas** [a.tas] (Malay) *prep* top
- ati** [a.ti] var. of **hati** comp. **ati baik** kind , comp. **ati**

busok cruel, comp. **jantong ati** beloved, id. **ati it gor it chap** nervous

ati baik [a.ti bajʔ] (Malay) (comp. of **ati**, **baik**) *adj* kind

ati busok [a.ti bu.soʔ] (Malay) (comp. of **ati**, **busok**) *adj* cruel

ati it gor it chap [a.ti it ɡo it tʃap] (Malay), (Hokkien) (id. of **ati**, **it**, **gor**, **chap**) *adj* nervous

auban [aw.ban] (Hokkien) *adj* selfish

awan [a.wan] (Malay) *n* cloud

ayam [a.jam] (Malay) *n* chicken comp. **mulot pantat ayam**

ayé [a.je] (Malay) *n* water **mata ayé**, comp. **buang ayé**, comp. **buang ayé besair**, comp. **buang ayé kechik**

ayi [a.ji] source uncertain EXCLAM surprise

B

ba [ba] (Hokkien) (contr. of **Baba**) *n* son

ba'u [ba.ʔu] (Malay) *n* smell

baba [ba.ba] var. of **bapak**

Baba [ba.ba] (Hokkien) *n* **1** Peranakan male **2** son contr. **ba**

babi [ba.bi] (Malay) *n* pig

bacha [ba.tʃa] (Malay) *v* read

badan [ba.dan] (Malay) *n* body

bagi [ba.gi] (Malay) *adv* similar to

bagus [ba.gus] (Malay) *interj* good

bahasa [ba.ha.sa] (Malay) *n* language

bahu [ba.hu] (var. **bau**) (Malay) *n* shoulder

baik [bajʔ] (Malay) *adj* good comp. **ati baik**, comp. **naik baik**

baju [ba.dʒu] (Malay) *n* clothes

bakair [ba.ke] refined var. of **bakar**

bakar [ba.kar] (var. **bakair**) (Malay) *v* burn (coarse)

bakol [ba.kol] (Malay) *n* basket

baku [ba.ku] (Malay) *adj* standard

balay-balay [ba.le-ba.le] Indonesian *n* resting platform

baldi [bal.di] (Malay) *n* pail

balék [ba.leʔ] (Malay) **1** *v* return **2** *v* turn over **3** *adv* back **4** *adv* again

bangkit [baŋ.kit] (Malay) *n* coconut cookie

bangkuang [baŋ.kwaŋ] (Hokkien) *n* turnip

bapak [ba.paʔ] (var. **baba**) (Malay) *n* father **mak bapak**

barang [ba.raŋ] (Malay) *n* thing

baring [ba.riŋ] (Malay) *v* lie down

baru [ba.ru] (Malay) **1** *adj* new **2** *adv* just

basi [ba.si] (Malay) *adj* stale

batang [ba.taŋ] (Malay) *clf* long and thin

batu [ba.tu] (Malay) **1** *n* rock **2** *n* stone **3** *n* cave

bau [baw] var. of **bahu**

bawah [ba.wah] (Malay) *prep* under

bawak [ba.waʔ] (Malay) *v* bring

bawang [ba.waŋ] (Malay) *n* onion

bayair [ba.je] refined var. of **bayar**

bayang [ba.jaŋ] (Malay) *n* shadow

bayar [ba.jar] (var. **bayair**) (Malay) *v* pay (coarse)

bedék [bə.deʔ] (Malay) *v* pummel

bédék [be.deʔ] (Malay) *v* tell a lie

bég [beʔ] (English) *n* bag

begi [bə.gi] (Malay) (contr. of **begitu**) *adv* like that

begitu [bə.gi.tu] (var. **gitu**) (Malay) *adv* like that contr.

begi

belachu [bə.la.tʃu] (Malay) *n* unbleached cotton outfit used for mourning

belah [bə.lah] (Malay) *prep* side

belair [bə.lɛ] refined var. of **belas**

belajair [bə.la.dʒɛ] var. of **belajar**

belajar [bə.la.dʒar] (var. **belajair**) (Malay) *v* learn (coarse)

belakang [bə.la.kəŋ] (Malay) *prep* behind
belanda [bə.lan.da] (Malay) **1** *n* (Dutch) **2** *adj* (Dutch) comp. **kuching belanda**
belangkat [bə.laŋ.kat] (Malay) *v* crawl
belanja [bə.lan.dʒa] (Malay) *v* **1** spend **2** treat
belas [bə.las] (refined var. **belair**) (Malay) *cardnum* ten (coarse)
beli [bə.li] (Malay) *v* buy
beliak [bə.ljaʔ] (Malay) *v* glare **mata beliak**
belián [bə.ljen] (Malay) *n* diamond
bélok [be.loʔ] (Malay) *v* turn
belom [bə.lom] (Malay) *adv* **1** not yet **2** before
benair [bə.nɛ] refined var. of **benal**
benal [bə.nal] (var. **benair**) (Malay) *adj* rational (coarse)
bengis [bə.ŋis] (Malay) **1** *adj* fierce **2** *adj* serious
béngok [be.ŋoʔ] (Malay) *adj* twisted comp. **mulot béngok**
bérak [be.raʔ] (Malay) *v* defecate
beramay [bə.ra.me] (Malay) *adj* crowded
berapa [bə.ra.pa] (Malay) **1** *interrog* how many **2** *adv* some
berat [bə.rat] (Malay) *adj* heavy comp. **mulot berat**
berenang [bə.rə.naŋ] (Malay) *v* swim
bergerak [bə.r.gə.raʔ] (Malay) *v* move
bergetair [bə.r.gə.tɛ] refined var. of **bergetar**
bergetar [bə.r.gə.tar] (var. **bergetair**) (Malay) *v* tremble (coarse)
berkelay [bə.r.kə.le] (Malay) *v* quarrel
berléiléi [bə.r.lej.lej] (Malay) *v* drip
bersi [bə.r.si] (Malay) *v* clean
bertengkair [bə.r.təŋ.kɛ] refined var. of **bertengkar**
bertengkar [bə.r.təŋ.kar] (var. **bertengkair**) (Malay) *v* argue (coarse)
beruang [bə.r.waŋ] (Malay) *n* bear
beruba [bə.ru.ba] (Malay) *v* repent
berus [bə.rus] (English) *v* brush
besair [bə.sɛ] refined var. of **besar** comp. **buang ayé**

besair defecate
besar [bə.sar] (var. **besair**) (Malay) *adj* big
besi [bə.si] (Malay) *n* iron
bésok [be.soʔ] (Malay) *adv* tomorrow
betol [bə.tol] (Malay) **1** *adj* correct **2** *adj* true **3** *adv* really
biasa [bja.sa] (Malay) *adj* used to it
bibik [bi.biʔ] (Malay) *n* older Peranakan woman
bijik [bi.dʒiʔ] (Malay) **1** *clf* small and round **2** *n* seed comp. **bijik mata**
bijik mata [bi.dʒiʔ ma.ta] (Malay) (comp. of **bijik, mata**) *n* favourite child
bikin [bi.kin] Indonesian *v* **1** make **2** do
bila [bi.la] (Malay) *adv* when
bilang [bi.laŋ] (Malay) *v* tell
bilék [bi.leʔ] (Malay) *n* room
bilis [bi.lis] (Malay) *n* anchovy
bini [bi.ni] (Malay) *n* wife
binpo [bin.po] (Hokkien) *n* handkerchief
bintang [bin.taŋ] (Malay) *n* star
bising [bi.siŋ] (Malay) *adj* noisy
bocho [bo.tʃo] (Malay) *adj* leaky comp. **mulot bocho**
bodoh [bo.doh] (Malay) *adj* stupid comp. **buat bodoh**
bohong [bo.hoŋ] (Malay) *n* lie
boik [bojk] (Hokkien) *n* socks
bok-bok [boʔ-boʔ] (Hokkien) (contr. of **embok-embok**) *n* traditional Peranakan elder
boléh [bo.leh] (Malay) *v* can **bongsu** [boŋ.su] (Malay) *adj* youngest (only for familial relations)
botak [bo.taʔ] (Malay) *adj* bald
botol [bo.tol] (English) *n* bottle
bresi [bre.si] var. of **bersi**
buah [bwah] (Malay) *n* fruit
buang [bwaŋ] (Malay) *v* throw comp. **buang ayé**, comp. **buang ayé besair**, comp. **buang ayé kechik**, comp. **buang buang**, comp. **buang mata**, comp. **buang mulot**, comp. **buang sebelah**, comp. **buang segan**, comp. **buang tebiét**
buang ayé [bwaŋ a.je] (Malay) (comp. of **buang, ayé**) *v*

urinate
buang ayé besair [bwaŋ a.je bæ.sɛ] (Malay) (comp. of **buang, ayé, besair**) *v* defecate
buang ayé kechik [bwaŋ a.je kə.chiʔ] (Malay) (comp. of **buang, ayé, kechik**) *v* urinate
buang buang [bwaŋ bwaŋ] (Malay) (comp. of **buang**) *v* exorcise
buang mata [bwaŋ ma.ta] (Malay) (comp. of **buang, mata**) *v* keep an eye on someone or something
buang mulot [bwaŋ mu.lot] (Malay) (comp. of **buang, mulot**) *v* convey by speaking (as opposed to writing)
buang sebelah [bwaŋ sə.bə.lah] (Malay) (comp. of **buang**) *adv* aside from
buang segan [bwaŋ sə.gan] (Malay) (comp. of **buang, segan**) *v* stretch upon waking up
buang tebiét [bwaŋ tə.bjet] (Malay) (comp. of **buang, terbiat**) *v* throw tantrum
buat [bwat] (Malay) *v* **1** do **2** make comp. **buat bodoh**, comp. **buat mahal**, comp. **buat malu**, comp. **buat mungka**, comp. **buat suay**, comp. **buat tak dengair**
buat bodoh [bwat bo.doh] (Malay) (comp. of **buat, bodoh**) *v* feign ignorance
buat mahal [bwat ma.hal] (Malay) (comp. of **buat, mahal**) *v* play hard to get
buat malu [bwat ma.lu] (Malay) (comp. of **buat, malu**) *v* cause embarrassment
buat mungka [bwat muŋ.ka] (Malay) (comp. of **buat, mungka**) *v* be sour-faced
buat suay [bwat swe] (Malay), (Hokkien) (comp. of

buat, suay) *v* cause misfortune
buat tak dengair [bwat taʔ dəŋ.ɛ] (Malay) (comp. of **buat, tak, dengair**) *v* pretend to not hear
bubor [bu.bɔ] (Hokkien) *n* porridge
budak [bu.daʔ] (Malay) *n* child
budi [bu.di] (Malay) *n* character
bukak [bu.kaʔ] (Malay) *v* open
bukak kun [bu.kaʔ kun] (Malay), (Hokkien) *n* bride's assistant for kneeling and general help
bukan [bu.kan] (var. **kan**) (Malay) **1** *interj* no **2** Neg (noun)
bukit [bu.kit] (Malay) *n* hill
buku [bu.ku] (Malay) *n* book
bulan [bu.lan] (Malay) *n* **1** moon **2** month
bulat [bu.lat] (Malay) *adj* round
bulu [bu.lu] (Malay) *n* **1** feather **2** fine hair
bunbong [bun.boŋ] (Malay) *n* roof
bunchit [bun.tʃit] (Malay) *n* distended stomach
bunga [bu.ŋa] (Malay) *n* flower
bungkus [buŋ.kus] (Malay) *n* bundle
bunuh [bu.noh] (Malay) *v* kill
buntut [bun.tot] (Malay) *n* **1** tail **2** backside
bunyi [bu.ɲi] (Malay) *n* sound
burok [bu.roʔ] (Malay) *adj* ugly
burong [bu.roŋ] (Malay) *n* bird
busok [bu.soʔ] (Malay) *adj* smelly comp. **ati busok**, comp. **mulot busok**
buta [bu.ta] (Malay) *adj* blind

C

chabot [tʃa.bot] (Malay) *v* pull out
chaiki [tʃaj.ki] (Hokkien) *n* banner
chaiteng [tʃaj.təŋ] (Hokkien) *n* nunnery that serves vegetarian food
chaiyen [tʃaj.jen] (Hokkien) *n* jelly
chakap [tʃaj.kap] (Malay) *v* speak

chakiak [tʃa.kjaʔ] (Hokkien) *n* clogs
cham 1 [tʃam] (Hokkien) *v* observe
cham 2 [tʃam] (Malay) (contr. of **macham**) *adv* like
champor [tʃam.por] (Malay) *v* mix
chanab [tʃa.nab] (Hokkien) *n* decorative altar stand
changkay [tʃaŋ.ke] (Malay) *n* cup

chanték [tʃan.teʔ] (Malay) *adj* beautiful
chap [tʃap] (Hokkien) *cardnum* ten id. **ati it gor it chap**
charék [tʃa.reʔ] (Malay) *v* find
chau [tʃaw] (Hokkien) *n* elder sister's husband
chauhah [tʃaw.kah] (Hokkien) *n* bad sport
chauhuan [tʃaw.kwan] (Hokkien) *n* bad type of person
chay [tʃe] (Hokkien) *n* beginning of lunar month
chay-em [tʃe.əm] (Hokkien) *n* mother-in-law (indirect address)
chék [tʃeʔ] (Hokkien) *n* father's younger brother
chék-gong [tʃeʔ-goŋ] (Hokkien) *n* grandfather's younger brother
chekék [tʃə.keʔ] (Malay) *v* strangle
chelop [tʃə.lop] (Malay) *v* dip in dye
chepat [tʃə.pat] (Malay) *adj* quick
chepuat [tʃə.pwat] (Hokkien) *n* family
cherdék [tʃər.deʔ] (Malay) *adj* streetwise
cherita [tʃə.ri.ta] (Malay) *n* story
cherkek [tʃər.keʔ] (Malay) *v* eat (vulgar)
cherki [tʃər.ki] (Hokkien) *n* Peranakan card game
chia [tʃja] (Hokkien) *n* car
chiam [tʃjam] (Hokkien) *n* divination stick
chichi [tʃi.tʃi] (Malay) *n* great-grandchild
chilaka [tʃi.la.ka] Javanese **EXCLAM** cursed one
chim [tʃim] (Hokkien) *n* father's younger brother's wife

chin [tʃin] (Hokkien) *adj* close to one another
China [tʃi.na] (Malay) *adj* Chinese
chinchai [tʃin.tʃaj] (Hokkien) *adj* not fussy
chinchang [tʃin.tʃaŋ] (Malay) *v* mince
chingkay [tʃiŋ.ke] (Hokkien) *n* **1** parent-in-law **2** father-in-law (indirect address)
chit [tʃit] (Hokkien) *cardnum* seven
chiwan [tʃi.wan] source unknown *n* toilet
cho [tʃo] (Hokkien) *n* **1** great-grandparent **2** great-grandmother **mak-cho**, comp. **gong-cho**
cho-cho [tʃo-tʃo] (Hokkien) *n* great-grandmother
cho-gong [tʃo-goŋ] (Hokkien) *n* great-grandfather
cho-po [tʃo-po] (Hokkien) *n* great-grandaunt
chobak [tʃo.baʔ] (Malay) *v* taste
chobék [tʃo.beʔ] (Malay) *adj* long-jawed
chonténg [tʃon.teŋ] (Malay) *v* draw
chu-lang [tʃu.laŋ] (Hokkien) *n* bridegroom's family's host
chuchi [tʃu.tʃi] (Malay) *v* wash
chuchu [tʃu.tʃu] (Malay) *n* grandchild
chuikuéh [tʃwi.kweh] (Hokkien) *n* rice cake
chukop [tʃu.kop] (Malay) *adv* enough
chupak [tʃu.paʔ] (Malay) *clf* cylindrical measure of quarter gallon of rice
chutsi [tʃut.si] (Hokkien) *n* birth

D

dadair [da.dɛ] refined var. of **dadar**
dadar [da.dar] (var. **dadair**) (Malay) *n* omelette (coarse)
dagin [da.gin] (Malay) *n* meat
dahi [da.hi] (var. **dai**) (Malay) *n* forehead
dai [daj] var. of **dahi**
dalam [da.lam] (Malay) *prep* inside
daoun [da.own] (Malay) *n* leaves

dapat [da.pat] (Malay) *v* **1** get **2** receive
dapor [da.pɔ] (Malay) *n* kitchen
darah [da.rah] (Malay) *n* blood comp. **naik darah**
dari [da.ri] (Malay) *prep* from
datang [da.taŋ] (Malay) *v* come
degil [dɛ.gil] (Malay) *adj* stubborn
dekat [dɛ.kat] (var. **kat**) (Malay) **1** *prep* at **2** *prep* near **3** *prep* Prep

dengair [də.ŋɛ] refined var. of **dengar** comp. **buat tak dengair** pretend to not hear

dengar [də.ŋar] (var. **dengair**) (Malay) *v* listen (coarse)

depan [də.pan] (Malay) *prep* front

di [di] (Malay) *prep* Prep comp. **diluar**

dia [dja] (Malay) **1** *pro* 3.SG; **2** *pro* 3.PL

diam [djam] (Hokkien) *adj* quiet

diam diam [djam djam] (Hokkien) *adv* quietly

dia-orang [dja-o.raŋ] (Malay) 3. PL *pro*

diluar [di.lwar] (var. **duluar**) (Malay) (comp. of **di**, **keluar**) *prep* outside

diri [di.ri] (Malay) *v* stand

dit [dit] var. of **duit**

dondang [don.daŋ] *n* melody

dua [dwa] (Malay) *cardnum* two

dudok [du.doʔ] (Malay) *v* **1** sit **2** stay

duit [dwit] (var. **dit**) (Dutch) *n* money

dulu [du.lu] (Malay) *adv* **1** before **2** long ago **3** first

duluar [du.lwar] var. of **diluar**

dunya [du.ja] (Arabic) *n* world comp. **mulot dunya**

E

éh [eh] source unknown EXCLAM jibe

ékor [e.kor] (Malay) *clf* animal

éla [e.la] var. of **helay**

em [əm] (Malay) *n* **1** father's elder brother's wife **2** old aunty **sangkék-em**

embair-embair [əmbɛ-əmbɛ] (Malay) *adj* half-cooked (refined)

embar-embar [əmbar-əmbar] (Malay) *adj* half-cooked (coarse)

embok-embok [əm.boʔ-əm.boʔ] (Hokkien) *n* traditional Peranakan elder contr. **bok-bok**

empat [əm.pat] (Malay) *cardnum* four

enam [e.nam] (Malay) *cardnum* six

eng- [əŋ] (Hokkien) honorific prefix for familial relations

G

gaga [ga.ga] (Hokkien) *adj* daring

gambair [gam.bɛ] refined var. of **gambar gambar** [gam.bar] (var. **gambair**) (Malay) *n* picture (coarse)

ganjil [gan.jil] (Malay) *adj* odd-numbered

gantang [gan.taŋ] (Malay) *clf* cylindrical measure of one gallon of rice

gantong [gan.toŋ] (Malay) *v* hang

gaou [ga.ow] (Malay) *v* mix

garam [ga.ram] (Malay) *n* salt

garang [ga.raŋ] (Malay) *adj* fierce

gasak [ga.saʔ] (Malay) *v* guess

gatair [ga.tɛ] refined var. of **gatal** comp. **mulot gatair** uncontrollable mouth

gatal [ga.tal] (var. **gatair**) (Malay) *adj* itchy (coarse)

gau [gaw] (Hokkien) *cardnum* nine

gaya [ga.ja] (Malay) *v* splurge

gedebak-gedebuk [gə.də.baʔ-gə.də.buʔ] (Malay) onomatopoeia thudding of the heart

gedebang-gedebong [gə.də.baŋ-gə.də.boŋ] (Malay) onomatopoeia loud noises

gelang [gə.laŋ] (Malay) *n* bracelet

gelap [gə.lap] (Malay) *adj* dark comp. **mata gelap**

geléték [gə.le.teʔ] (Malay) *v* tickle comp. **naik geléték**

gemoh [gə.moh] (Malay) *v* sun dry
gemok [gə.moʔ] (Malay) *adj* fat
geram [gə.ram] (Malay) *adj* furious comp. **naik geram**
gerang [gə.raŋ] (Malay) *n* enthusiasm
gerja [gər.dʒa] (var. **greja**) (Portuguese) *n* church
gerong [gə.roŋ] (Malay) *v* scratch
gertak [gər.taʔ] (var. **gretak**) (Malay) *v* threat
gigi [gi.gi] (Malay) *n* tooth
gigit [gi.git] (Malay) *v* bite
gila [gi.la] (Malay) *adj* mad comp. **naik gila**
gitu [gi.tu] var. of **begitu**
gonchang [gon.tʃaŋ] (Malay) *v* shake
gong [goŋ] (Hokkien) **1** *n* grandparent **2** grandfather
 comp. **gong-cho**
gong-cho [goŋ-tʃo] (Hokkien) (comp. of **gong, cho**) *n*
 ancestors

gonggong [goŋ-goŋ] (Malay) *v* bark
gor [gɔ] (Hokkien) *cardnum* five id. **ati it gor it chap**
gorblok [gɔ.bloʔ] Indonesian *adj* stupid
goréng [go.reŋ] (Malay) *v* fry
gostan [go.stan] (English) *v* reverse
goyang [go.jaŋ] (Malay) **1** *vi* rock **2** *vt* shake
greja [grə.dʒa] var. of **gerja**
gretak [grə.taʔ] var. of **gertak**
gua [gwa (coarse)] (Hokkien) *pro* 1.Sg
guék [gweʔ] (Hokkien) *n* lunar month
gugol [gu.gol] (Malay) *n* dried fruit
gui [gwi] (Hokkien) *v* kneel
gula [gu.la] (Malay) *n* sugar
guna [gu.na] (Malay) **1** *v* use **2** *n* use
gunong [gu.noŋ] (Malay) *n* mountain

H

ha'us [ha.ʔus] (var. **a'us**) (Malay) *adj* **1** thirsty **2** worn out
habis [ha.bis] (var. **abis**; var. **abi**) (Malay) **1** *v* finish 1.1)
adv finish **2** *conn* finish
hak [haʔ] (Hokkien) *adj* suitable
halo [ha.lo] (Malay) *v* chase away
hantok [han.toʔ] (Malay) *v* bang
harap [ha.rap] (var. **arap**) (Malay) *v* hope
harga [ha.rga] (var. **arga**) (Sanskrit) *n* price
hari [ha.ri] (var. **ari**) (Malay) *n* day **tengah hari**
harimo [ha.ri.mo] (var. **arimo**) (Malay) *n* tiger
hati [ha.ti] (var. **ati**) (Malay) *n* **1** heart **2** liver
haulam [haw.lam] (Hokkien) *n* male mourner
hauli [haw.li] (Hokkien) *n* female mourner
helay [hə.le] (var. **lay**; var. **éla**) (Malay) *clf* sheet
héran [he.ran] (Malay) *v* wonder
hia [hja] (Hokkien) *n* elder brother
hidong [hi.doŋ] (var. **idong**) (Malay) *n* nose

hijo [hi.dʒo] (var. **ijo**) (Malay) *adj* green
hilang [hi.laŋ] (Malay) *v* lose
hitam [hi.tam] (var. **itam**) (Malay) *adj* black
ho [ho] (Hokkien) *adj* good
homia [ho.mja] (Hokkien) *interj* good life (comp. of **ho, mia**)
hormat [hor.mat] (var. **ormat**) (Malay) *v* respect
horpau [hor.paw] (var. **orpau**) (Hokkien) *n* purse
hu [hu] (Hokkien) *n* amulet
huahi [hwa.hi] (Hokkien) *adj* happy
huantiok [hwan.tjoʔ] (Hokkien) *v* meet ill spiritual forces
huat [hwat] (Hokkien) *v* **1** expand **2** prosper
huésio [hwe.sjo] (Hokkien) *n* monk
hujan [hu.dʒan] (var. **ujan**) (Malay) *n* rain
hutan [hu.tan] (var. **utan**) (Malay) *n* jungle
huyi [hu.ji] (Hokkien) *n* fishball

I

idong [i.doŋ] var. of **hidong**

ijo [i.dʒo] var. of **hijo**

ikan [i.kan] (Malay) *n* fish comp. **mata ikan**

ikat [i.kat] (Malay) *v* tie

ikot [i.kot] (Malay) *v* follow

ilang [i.laŋ] (Malay) *v* lose

ingat [i.ŋat] (Malay) *v* **1** remember **2** think

ini [i.ni] (Malay) *dem* this contr. **ni**

intan [in.tan] (Malay) *n* diamond chip

iris [i.ris] (Malay) *v* slice

isi [i.si] (Malay) *n* flesh

it [it] (Hokkien) *cardnum* one id. **ati it gor it chap**

itam [i.tam] var. of **hitam**

iték [i.teʔ] (Malay) *n* duck

itu [i.tu] (Malay) *dem* that contr. **tu**

J

ja.ou [dʒa.ow] (Malay) *adj* far

jadi [dʒa.di] (Malay) *v* **1** happen **2** become

jaga [dʒa.ga] (Malay) *v* **1** guard **2** take care of someone or something

jahat [dʒa.hat] (Malay) *adj* evil comp. **mulot jahat**

jait [dʒajt] (Malay) *v* sew

jalan [dʒa.lan] (Malay) *v* walk **tengah jalan**

jam [dʒam] (Malay) *n* **1** time **2** hour

jambu [dʒam.bu] (Malay) *n* Syzygium fruit (pink)

jangan [dʒa.ŋan] (Malay) *adv* do not

jantan [dʒan.tan] (Malay) *n* male

jantung [dʒan.toŋ] (Malay) *n* heart comp. **jantung ati**

jantung ati [dʒan.toŋ a.ti] (Malay) (comp. of **jantung, ati**) *n* beloved

jarang [dʒa.raŋ] (Malay) *adv* seldom

jari [dʒa.ri] (Malay) *n* finger

jati [dʒa.ti] (Malay) **1** *n* teak **2** *adj* pure

jatoh [dʒa.toh] (Malay) *v* **1** fall **2** drop

jawab [dʒa.wab] (Malay) *v* answer

ji [dʒi] (Hokkien) *cardnum* two

jin [dʒin] (Hokkien) *v* recognize

jinak [dʒi.naʔ] (Malay) *adj* tame

jodoh [dʒo.doh] (Malay) *n* match of love

jogét [dʒo.get] (Malay) *v* stylised dance

juair [dʒwɛ] refined var. of **jual**

jual [dʒwal] (var. **juair**) (Malay) *v* sell (coarse)

judi [dʒu.di] (Malay) *v* gamble

jugak [dʒu.gaʔ] (Malay) *adv* also

juling [dʒu.liŋ] (Malay) *adj* squinty comp. **mata juling**

jumoh [dʒu.moh] (Malay) *v* dry in the sun

jumpa [dʒum.pa] (Malay) *v* meet

K

ka [ka] (Hokkien) *conn* or

kabair [ka.be] refined var. of **kabar**

kabar [ka.bar] (var. **kabair**) (Arabic) *n* news (coarse)

kacho [ka.tʃo] (Malay) *v* disturb

kachua [ka.tʃwa] (Hokkien) *n* cockroach
kain [kajn] (Malay) *n* cloth
kaki [ka.ki] (Malay) *n* **1** leg **2** friend
kala [ka.la] (Malay) *n* time **sinjakala**
kalah [ka.lah] (Malay) *v* lose (opposed to win)
kalang-kabot [ka.laŋ-ka.bot] (Malay) *v* fumble
kali [ka.li] (Malay) *n* time
kalo [ka.lo] var. of **kalu**
kalu [ka.lu] (var. **kalo**) (Malay) *conn* if
kambing [kam.biŋ] (Malay) *n* **1** goat **2** sheep
kampong [kam.poŋ] (Malay) *n* village
kamsiah [kam.sjah] (Hokkien) *interj* thank you
kamtiok [kam.tjoʔ] (Hokkien) *v* develop an illness
kamwan [kam.wan] (Hokkien) *adj* satisfied
kan [kan] var. of **bukan**
-kan [kan] (Malay) Tr
kanan [ka.nan] (Malay) *adv* right
kangkong [kaŋ.koŋ] (Malay) *n* water spinach
kapair [ka.pɛ] refined var. of **kapal**
kapal [ka.pal] (var. **kapair**) (Malay) *n* ship (coarse)
kasair [ka.sɛ] refined var. of **kasar**
kasar [ka.sar] (var. **kasair**) (Malay) *adj* coarse (coarse)
kasi [ka.si] Indonesian *v* **1** give **2** let
kasot [ka.sot] (Malay) *n* shoe
kat [kat] var. of **dekat**
kata [ka.ta] (Malay) *v* say
katék [ka.teʔ] (Hokkien) *adj* short
kawan [ka.wan] (Malay) *n* friend
kawin [ka.win] (Hokkien) *v* marry
kaya 1 [ka.ja] (Malay) *adj* rich
kaya 2 [ka.ja] (Hokkien) *n* coconut jam
kayu [ka.ju] (Malay) *n* wood
kebaya [kə.ba.ja] (Malay) *n* traditional blouse
kebun [kə.bun] (Malay) *n* garden
kechik [kə.tʃiʔ] (Malay) *adj* small comp. **buang ayé**

kechik keday [kə.de] (Malay) *n* shop
kejair [kə.dʒɛ] refined var. of **kejar**
kejar [kə.dʒar] (var. **kejair**) (Malay) *v* chase (coarse)
kejut [kə.dʒut] (Malay) *adj* shock
kék [keʔ] (English) *n* cake
kéksim [keʔ.sim] (Hokkien) *adj* unhappy
kelaka [kə.la.ka] (Malay) *v* joke
kélék.kélék [kəleʔ.kəleʔ] (Malay) *v* blink
keluak [kə.lwaʔ] (Malay) *n* *Pangium.edule* (black fruit with hard shell)
keluar [kə.lwar] (refined var. **kuluair**; var. **kuluar**) (Malay) *v* go out (coarse) comp. **diluar**
kemair [kə.mɛ] refined var. of **kemas**
kemantin [kə.man.tin] (Malay) *n* bride
kemas [kə.mas] (var. **kemair**) (Malay) *v* tidy (coarse)
kena [kə.na] (Malay) **1** *v* Pass **2** *v* subjected to
kenair [kə.nɛ] (Malay) *v* (refined var. **kenal**)
kenal [kə.nal] (Malay) *v* know a person (coarse)
kenang [kə.naŋ] (Malay) *v* reminisce
kenonay [kə.no.ne] source unclear *adj* proper
kenyang [kə.ŋaŋ] (Malay) *adj* full from eating
kepala [kə.pa.la] (Malay) *n* head
kepék [kə.peʔ] (Malay) *v* pinch
kepéng [kə.peŋ] (Malay) *clf* piece
kepok [kə.poʔ] (Malay) *n* box
kerair [kəɾɛ] refined var. of **keras**
keras [kəras] (var. **kerair**) (Malay) *adj* hard (coarse)
kerekot [kə.re.kot] (Malay) *adj* bent and curled up
keréta [kə.re.ta] (Malay) *n* car
kering [kə.rin] (Malay) **1** *n* hay **2** *adj* dry comp. **mulot kering**
kerja [kə.r.dʒa] (var. **kreja**) (Malay) **1** *v* work **2** *n* work
kerosi [kə.ro.si] (Malay) *n* chair
kertair [kə.r.tɛ] refined var. of **kertas**
kertas [kə.r.tas] (var. **kertair**) (Malay) *n* paper (coarse)

ketawa [kə.ta.wa] (Malay) *v* laugh
ketok [kə.toʔ] (Malay) *n* knock
kéwat [ke.wat] source unknown *adj* fussy
kiam [kjam] (Hokkien) *adj* stingy
kiamchai [kjam.chaj] (Hokkien) *n* preserved vegetables
kiansiap [kjam.sjap] (Hokkien) *adj* miserly
kiasai [kjasaj] (Hokkien) *n* **1** son-in-law **2** groom
kim [kim] (Hokkien) *n* mother's brother's wife
kipas [ki.pas] (Malay) *n* fan
kita [ki.ta] (Malay) *pro* 1.Pl
ko 1 [ko] (Hokkien) *n* father's sister **mak-ko**
ko 2 [ko] (Hokkien) *n* elder brother (non-familial)
kochék [ko.tʃeʔ] (Malay) *n* pocket
kodok [ko.doʔ] (Malay) *n* frog
koktok [kɔʔ.tɔʔ] (Hokkien) *v* ill-treat
kolomi [ko.lo.mi] (Hokkien) *n* type of noodles
konchi [kon.tʃi] (Malay) *n* key
kopék [ko.peʔ] (Hokkien) *v* peel
kopi [ko.pi] (Hokkien) *n* coffee
kopiah [ko.pjah] source unknown *n* hat
kopiau [ko.pjaw] (Hokkien) *n* paternal cousins
kotor [ko.tor] (Malay) *adj* dirty
koya [ko.ja] (Malay) *n* green bean cookies
koyak [ko.jaʔ] (Malay) *adj* torn
kreja [krə.dʒa] var. of **kerja**
ku 1 [ku] (Hokkien) *n* tortoise
ku 2 [ku] (Hokkien) *n* mother's brother comp. **ku-ku**
ku-ku [ku-ku] (Hokkien) (comp. of **ku 2**) *n* mother's eldest brother
kua 1 [kwa] (Malay) *n* gravy
kua 2 [kwa] (Hokkien) *n* father-in-law
kuat [kwat] (Hokkien) *adj* strong

kuatay [kwa.te] (Malay) *v* worry **kuching** [ku.tʃiŋ]
 (Malay) *n* cat comp. **kuching belanda**, comp. **mata kuching**
kuching belanda [ku.tʃiŋ bælanda] (Malay) (comp. of **kuching, belanda**) *n* rabbit
kuda [ku.da] (Malay) *n* horse
kudut [ku.dut] (Malay) *adj* crumpled
kuéh [kweh] (Hokkien) *n* traditional cakes comp. **kuéh-yi**
kuéh-yi [kweh-ji] (Hokkien) (comp. of **kuéh, yi 1**) *n* glutinous rice balls
kuku [ku.ku] (Malay) *n* fingernail
kukus [ku.kus] (Malay) *v* steam
kulit [ku.lit] (Malay) *n* skin
kuluair [ku.lwɛ] refined var. of **keluar**
kuluar [ku.lwar] var. of **keluar**
kun 1 [kun] (Hokkien) *n* skirt
kun 2 [kun] var. of **pun**
kunang [ku.naŋ] source unclear *adj* under the influence of black magic
kuning [ku.niŋ] (Malay) *adj* yellow
kuntum [kun.tum] (Malay) *clf* bloom
kupas [ku.pas] (Malay) *v* peel
kuping [ku.piŋ] (Portuguese) *n* ear
kupu-kupu [ku.pu-ku.pu] (Malay) *n* butterfly
kura-kura [ku.ra-ku.ra] (Malay) *n* tortoise
kurang [ku.raŋ] (Malay) *adv* less
kuro [ku.ro] (Malay) *n* threadfin fish
kurus [ku.rus] (Malay) *adj* thin
kus semangat [kus sə.ma.ŋat] (Malay) EXCLAM cry to a dead spirit
kuya [ku.ja] (Hokkien) *n* groom's boy assistant

L

labi-labi [la.bi-la.bi] (Malay) *n* turtle

lagik [la.giʔ] (Malay) **1** *adv* more **2** *adv* still **3** *adv* again

lagu [la.gu] (Malay) *n* song
lah [lah] (Hokkien) *prt* EMP
lain [lajn] (Malay) *adv* other
lak [laʔ] (Hokkien) *cardnum* six
laki [la.ki] (Malay) (contr. of **lelaki**) *n* husband
lalu [la.lu] (Malay) *v* pass
lama [la.ma] (Malay) *adj* long time
lambat [lam.bat] (Malay) *adj* late
lambong [lam.boŋ] (Malay) *v* toss
lampu [lam.pu] (Dutch) *n* lamp
lanchang [lan.tʃaŋ] (Malay) *adj* fluent
langgair [laŋ.gɛ] refined var. of **langgar**
langgar [laŋ.gar] (var. **langgair**) (Malay) *v* crash (coarse)
lawan [la.wan] (Malay) *v* race
lay [le] var. of **helay**
lebat [lə.bat] (Malay) *adj* heavy
lebéh [lə.beh] (Malay) *adv* more
léihéi [lej.hej] (Malay) *n* neck
lekair [lə.kɛ] refined var. of **lekas**
lekas [lə.kas] (var. **lekair**) (Malay) *adj* quick (coarse)
lelaki [lə.la.ki] (Malay) *n* boy contr. **laki**
lemak [lə.maʔ] (Malay) *adj* cooked in coconut milk comp.
naik lemak
lembéh [ləm.beh] (Malay) *adj* soft
lembu [ləm.bu] (Malay) *n* cow comp. **mata lembu**
lembut [ləm.but] (Malay) *adj* supple
lémo [le.mo] (Malay) *n* lemon
lentang [lən.taŋ] (Malay) *v* fall backwards
lepas [lə.pas] (Malay) *prep* after
letak [lə.taʔ] (Malay) *v* park
letay [lə.te] (Malay) *adj* exhausted
liar [ljar] (Malay) *n* wildness
lichin [li.tʃin] (Malay) *adj* smooth

langit [la.ŋit] (Malay) *n* sky
langkék [laŋ.keʔ] (Hokkien) *n* guest
langsong [laŋ.soŋ] (Malay) *adv* straightaway
lantay [lan.te] (Malay) *n* floor
lapair [la.pɛ] refined var. of **lapar**
lapan [la.pan] (Malay) *cardnum* eight
lapar [la.par] (var. **lapair**) (Malay) *adj* hungry (coarse)
lapchai [lap.tʃaj] (Hokkien) *n* wedding gift exchange ceremony
lari [la.ri] (Malay) *v* run
lauk [lawʔ] (Malay) *n* cooked food
laut [lawt] (Malay) *n* **1** sea **2** pond
lawa [la.wa] (Malay) *adj* stylish
lidah [li.dah] (Malay) *n* tongue
lihai [li.haj] (Hokkien) *adj* cunning
lima [li.ma] (Malay) *cardnum* five
lio [ljo] (Malay) *n* saliva
lipat [li.pat] (Malay) *v* fold
lobang [lo.baŋ] (Malay) *n* hole
lochéng [lo.tʃeŋ] (Hokkien) *n* bell
logong [lo.goŋ] (Malay) *v* carry baby
lompat [lom.pat] (Malay) *v* jump
longkang [loŋ.kan] (Malay) *n* drain
lontong [lon.toŋ] (Malay) *n* rice cake served in spicy gravy
lor [lor] (Hokkien) EMP
loténg [lo.teŋ] (Hokkien) *adv* upstairs
lu [lu] (Hokkien) *pro* 2.Sg
luan [lwan] (Hokkien) *adj* messy
luka [luka] (Malay) **1** *adj* wounded **2** *n* wound
lun [lun] (Hokkien) *adj* intercalary
lun-guék [lun.gweʔ] (Hokkien) *n* intercalary month
lupa [lu.pa] (Malay) *v* forget

M

mabok [ma.boʔ] (Malay) *adj* giddy
macham [ma.tʃam] (Malay) **1** *adv* like **2** *adv* seems **3** *adv* like that **amcham**, comp. **apa cham**, comp. **apa macham**, contr. **cham 2**
magam [ma.gam] (Malay) *adj* overripe
mahal [ma.hal] (Malay) *adj* expensive comp. **buat mahal**
main [majn] (Malay) **1** *v* play **2** *v* perform
mair [mɛ] refined var. of **mas**
mak [maʔ] (Hokkien) *n* mother **mak bapak**, **mak-cho**, **mak-ko**, **mak-yi**
mak bapak [maʔ ba.paʔ] (Hokkien), (Malay) (**mak, bapak**) *n* parents
mak-cho [maʔ-tʃo] (Hokkien) (**mak, cho**) *n* great-grandmother
mak-ko [maʔ-ko] (Hokkien) (**mak, ko 1**) *n* father's eldest sister
mak-yi [maʔ-ji] (Hokkien) (**mak, yi 2**) *n* second mother
makan [ma.kan] (Malay) **1** *v* eat **2** *n* food
maki [ma.ki] (Malay) *v* scold
malair [ma.lɛ] refined var. of **malas**
malam [ma.lam] (Malay) *n* night **malas** [ma.las] (var. **malair**) (Malay) *adj* lazy (coarse)
malu [ma.lu] (Malay) *adj* embarrassed comp. **buat malu**
mamak [ma.maʔ] (Hokkien) *n* grandmother
mampus [mam.pus] (Malay) EXCLAM dead
mana [ma.na] (Malay) *interrog 1* where **2** which
mandi [man.di] (Malay) *v* bathe
manék [ma.neʔ] (Malay) *n* bead
mangkok [maŋ.koʔ] (Malay) *n* bowl
mangun [ma.ŋun] (Malay) *v* wake
manis [ma.nis] (Malay) *adj* sweet comp. **mulot manis**
manyak [ma.ŋaʔ] (Malay) *adv* many
marah [ma.rah] (Malay) *adj* angry
mari [ma.ri] (Malay) *v* come let us
mas [mas] (var. **mair**) (Malay) *n* gold (coarse)
masak [ma.saʔ] (Malay) **1** *v* cook **2** *adj* ripe
masok [ma.soʔ] (Malay) **1** *v* enter **2** *v* put in

mata [ma.ta] (Malay) *n* eye **mata ayé**, **mata beliak**, comp. **bijik mata**, comp. **buang mata**, comp. **mata ari**, comp. **mata gelap**, comp. **mata ikan**, comp. **mata juling**, comp. **mata kuching**, comp. **mata lembu**, comp. **mata piso**, comp. **tanda mata**
mata ari [ma.ta a.ri] (Malay) (comp. of **mata, ari**) *n* sun
mata ayé [ma.ta a.je] (Malay) (**mata, ayé**) *n* sweetheart
mata beliak [ma.ta bə.ljaʔ] (Malay) (**mata, beliak**) *n* protruding eyes
mata gelap [ma.ta gə.lap] (Malay) (comp. of **mata, gelap**) *n* detective
mata ikan [ma.ta i.kan] (Malay) (comp. of **mata, ikan**) *n* wart
mata juling [ma.ta dʒu.liŋ] (Malay) (comp. of **mata, juling**) *n* cockeyed
mata kuching [ma.ta ku.tʃiŋ] (Malay) (comp. of **mata, kuching**) *n* longan fruit
mata lembu [ma.ta ləm.bu] (Malay) (comp. of **mata, lembu**) *n* fried egg with yolk intact
mata piso [ma.ta pi.so] (Malay) (comp. of **mata, piso**) *n* blade of knife
mati [ma.ti] (Malay) **1** *v* die **2** *adj* dead
mayang [ma.jaŋ] (Malay) *n* palm blossom
méh [meh] (Hokkien) *n* night (when referring to lunar dates)
méja [me.dʒa] (Malay) *n* table
melekat [mə.lə.kat] (Malay) *adj* sticky
mémang [me.maŋ] (Malay) *adv* indeed
memisék [mə.mi.seʔ] (Malay) *v* whisper
menang [mə.naŋ] (Malay) *v* win
menangis [mə.na.ŋis] (Malay) *v* cry
mengantok [mə.ŋan.toʔ] (Malay) **1** *v* yawn **2** *adj* sleepy
mengintar [mə.ŋin.tar] (Malay) *v* shiver
menidi [mə.ni.di] (Malay) *adj* boiling
menjéla [mən.dʒe.la] (Portuguese) *n* window
mentah [mən.tah] (Malay) *adj* raw
mentéga [mən.te.ga] (Portuguese) *n* butter
menyalap [mə.ŋa.lap] (Malay) *v* howl
menyanyi [mə.ŋa.ŋi] (var. **nyanyi**) (Malay) *v* sing

mérah [me.rah] (Malay) *adj* red
mesti [məs.ti] (Malay) *v* must
mia [mja] (Hokkien) *n* life
1
mia [mja] (Malay) (contr. of **punya**) **1**) *v* POSS **2**) REL
2
mimpi [mim.pi] (Malay) *v* dream
mincharok [min.tʃa.roʔ] (Malay) *v* curse
minggu [miŋ.gu] (Malay) *n* week
minit [mi.nit] (English) *n* minute
mintak [min.taʔ] (Malay) *v* ask sincerely
minum [mi.num] (Malay) *v* drink
minyak [mi.jak] (Malay) *n* **1**) grease **2**) oil
miskin [mis.kin] (Malay) *adj* poor **mo** [mo] (Malay) *v* want
mudah [mu.dah] (Malay) *adj* young
muilang [mwi.laŋ] (Hokkien) *n* matchmaker
mula [mu.la] (Malay) *adj* original
mula mula [mu.la mu.la] (Malay) *adv* originally
mulot [mu.lot] (Malay) *n* mouth comp. **buang mulot** , comp. **mulot asin** , comp. **mulot béngok** , comp. **mulot berat** , comp. **mulot bocho** , comp. **mulot busok** , comp. **mulot dunya** , comp. **mulot gatair** , comp. **mulot jahat** , comp. **mulot kering** , comp. **mulot manis** , comp. **mulot pantat ayam** , comp. **mulot ringan**
mulot asin [mu.lot a.sin] (Malay) (comp. of **mulot**,

asin) *n* ability to make accurate predictions
mulot béngok [mu.lot be.ŋoʔ] (Malay) (comp. of **mulot**, **béngok**) *n* twisted mouth
mulot berat [mu.lot bæ.rat] (Malay) (comp. of **mulot**, **berat**) *n* inability to express oneself
mulot bocho [mu.lot bo.tʃo] (Malay) (comp. of **mulot**, **bocho**) *n* inability to keep a secret
mulot busok [mu.lot bu.soʔ] (Malay) (comp. of **mulot**, **busok**) *n* bad breath
mulot dunya [mu.lot du.nia] (Malay), (Arabic) (comp. of **mulot**, **dunya**) *n* public opinions
mulot gatair [mu.lot ga.tɛ] (Malay) (comp. of **mulot**, **gatair**) *n* uncontrollable mouth
mulot jahat [mu.lot dʒa.hat] (Malay) (comp. of **mulot**, **jahat**) *n* caustic mouth
mulot kering [mu.lot kə.riŋ] (Malay) (comp. of **mulot**, **kering**) *n* inability to say more
mulot manis [mu.lot ma.nis] (Malay) (comp. of **mulot**, **manis**) *n* ability to speak sweetly
mulot pantat ayam [mu.lot pan.tat a.jam] (Malay) (comp. of **mulot**, **pantat**, **ayam**) *n* deceitful mouth
mulot ringan [mu.lot ri.ŋan] (Malay) (comp. of **mulot**, **ringan**) *n* polite character
mungka [muŋ.ka] (Malay) *n* face comp. **buat mungka**
musim [mu.sim] (Arabic) *n* season

N

na [na] (Hokkien) *interj* here you go
naik [najʔ] (Malay) *v* **1**) climb **2**) rise **3**) ascend comp. **naik baik** , comp. **naik darah** , comp. **naik geléték** , comp. **naik geram** , comp. **naik gila** , comp. **naik lemak** , comp. **naik pangkat** , comp. **naik sedap** , comp. **naik seram**
naik baik [najʔ bajʔ] (Malay) (comp. of **naik**, **baik**) *v* change for good
naik darah [najʔ da.rah] (Malay) (comp. of **naik**,

darah) *v* be angry
naik geléték [najʔ gə.le.teʔ] (Malay) (comp. of **naik**, **geléték**) *v* be up to mischief
naik geram [najʔ gə.ram] (Malay) (comp. of **naik**, **geram**) *v* be furious
naik gila [najʔ gi.la] (Malay) (comp. of **naik**, **gila**) *v* be mad
naik lemak [najʔ lə.maʔ] (Malay) (comp. of **naik**, **lemak**) *v* be up to mischief

naik pangkat [naj? paŋ.kat] (Malay) (comp. of **naik**, **pangkat**) *v* be promoted
naik sedap [naj? sə.dap] (Malay) (comp. of **naik**, **sedap**) *v* be satisfied
naik seram [naj? sə.ram] (Malay) (comp. of **naik**, **seram**) *v* be frightened
nama [na.ma] (Malay) *n* name
nampak [nam.pa?] (Malay) *v* see
nang [naŋ] var. of **yang**
nangis [na.ŋis] (Malay) *v* cry
nanti [nan.ti] (Malay) *adv* later
napas [na.pas] (Malay) *n* breath
napsu [nap.su] (Malay) **1** *v* desire **2** *n* desire

nasik [na.si?] (Malay) *n* cooked rice
nganga [ŋa.ŋa] (Malay) *adj* mouth agap
ngéngé [ŋe.ŋe] (Hokkien) *adj* obstinate
ni [ni] (Malay) (contr. of **ini**) *dem* this
nia [ɲa] (Malay) (**punya** **1**) *v* POSS **2** REL
nio [ɲjo] (Hokkien) *n* mother-in-law
nua [nwa] (Hokkien) *adj* smashed up
number [num.boɾ] (English) *n* number
nya [ɲa] (Portuguese) (contr. of **Nyonya**) *n* **1** mother **2** daughter
nyanyi [ɲa.ɲi] var. of **menyanyi**
Nyonya [ɲo.ɲa] (Portuguese) *n* Peranakan female contr. **nya**

O

onéng.onéng [o.neŋ.o.neŋ] (Malay) *n* great-great grandchild
opan [o.pan] (Hokkien) *n* freckles
orang [o.raŋ] (Malay) *n* **1** people **2** person
ormat [or.mat] var. of **hormat**

orna [or.na] (Malay) *n* colour
orpau [or.paw] var. of **horpau**
otak [o.ta?] (Malay) *n* brain

P

paderi [pa.də.ri] (Portuguese) *n* priest
pagi [pa.gi] (Malay) *n* morning
paiséh [paj.seh] (Hokkien) *adj* embarrassed
pait [pajt] (Malay) *adj* bitter
pak [pa?] (Malay) *n* male person
pak-chindék [pa?-tʃin.de?] (Malay) *n* groom's ceremonial assistant
pakay [pa.ke] (Malay) *v* **1** wear **2** use
paksa [pa?.sa] (Malay) *v* force
paku [pa.ku] (Malay) *n* nail

panair [pa.nɛ] refined var. of **panas**
panas [pa.nas] (var. **panair**) (Malay) *adj* hot (coarse)
panday [pan.de] (Malay) *adj* clever
panggang [paŋ.gaŋ] (Malay) *v* roast
panggay [paŋ.ge] (Malay) *v* call
panggong [paŋ.goŋ] (Malay) *n* stage
pangkat [paŋ.kat] (Malay) *n* rank **pangkat adek beradek**, comp. **naik pangkat**
pangkat adek beradek [paŋ.kat a.de? bæ.ra.de?] (Malay) (**pangkat**, **adék beradék**) *n* cousins

panjang [pan.dʒaŋ] (Malay) *adj* long
panjat [pan.dʒat] (Malay) *v* climb
pantang [pan.taŋ] (Malay) *adj* superstitious **pantat** [pan.tat] (Malay) *n* buttocks comp. **mulot pantat ayam**
parang [pa.raŋ] (Malay) *n* chopper
pasair 1 [pa.sɛ] refined var. of **pasar**
pasair 2 [pa.sɛ] refined var. of **pasal** contr. **sair 1** matter reason
pasal [pa.sal] (var. **pasair 2**) (Malay) *n* **1** matter (coarse) **2**) reason comp. **apa pasal**
pasang 1 [pa.saŋ] (Malay) *v* use
pasang 2 [pa.saŋ] (Malay) *clf* pair
pasar [pa.sar] (var. **pasair 1**) (Malay) *n* market (coarse)
paser [pa.ser] (Malay) *n* sand
patah [pa.tah] (Malay) *v* snap
pati [pa.ti] (Malay) *n* first cream of coconut
paya [pa.ja] (English) *n* papaya
payong [pa.joŋ] (Malay) *n* umbrella
pe'él [pe?e] (Arabic) *n* good character
pechah [pə.tʃah] (Malay) *v* break
pégang [pe.gaŋ] (Malay) *v* hold
pegi [pə.gi] (Malay) *v* go contr. **pi**
pék [pe?] (Hokkien) *n* father's elder brother
pék-pék [pe?-pe?] (Hokkien) *n* father's eldest brother
pekak [pə.ka?] (Malay) *adj* deaf
pekara [pə.ka.ra] (Malay) *n* matter
pekat [pə.kat] (Malay) *adj* thick (describing liquid)
pekék [pə.ke?] (Malay) *v* shout
pékji [pe?.dʒi] (Hokkien) (**puay**) *n* eight characters of Chinese horoscope
pelan [pə.lan] (Malay) *adj* slow comp. **pelan pelan**
pelan pelan [pə.lan pə.lan] (Malay) (comp. of **pelan**) *adv* slowly
peléchok [pə.le.tʃo?] (Malay) *v* to twist one's foot
penat [pə.nat] (Malay) *adj* tired
péndék [pen.de?] (Malay) *adj* short

pengapéék [pəŋ.ga.pe?] (Malay) *n* bride's girl assistant
pengat [pə.ŋat] (Malay) *n* sweet dessert of thick coconut milk with banana chunks
péngsan [peŋ.san] (Malay) *v* faint
penoh [pə.noh] (Malay) *adj* full
perah [pə.rah] (Malay) *v* wring
perama [pə.ra.ma] (Malay) *adj* polite
Peranakan [pə.ra.na.kan] (Malay) *n* Straits-born Chinese
peranjat [pə.ran.dʒat] (Malay) *adj* surprised comp. **terperanjat**
perchaya [pə.r.tʃa.ja] (Malay) *v* trust
periok [pə.rjo?] (Malay) *n* cooking pot
pernah [pə.nah] (Malay) *adv* ever
perompuan [pə.rom.pwan] (Malay) *n* female
perot [pə.rot] (Malay) *n* **1** belly **2**) stomach
pertama [pə.ta..a] (Malay) *adj* first
pésan [pe.san] (Malay) *v* instruct
petang [pə.taŋ] (Malay) *n* evening
petay [pə.te] (Malay) *n* flat bean
peték [pə.te?] (Malay) *v* pluck
pi [pi] (Malay) (contr. of **pegi**) *v* go
piara [pja.ra] (Malay) *v* raise children
pikay [pi.ke] (Arabic) *v* think
piléh [pi.leh] (Malay) *v* choose
pilu [pi.lu] (Malay) *n* sorrow
pinggan [piŋ.gan] Persian *n* plate
pinggang [piŋ.gaŋ] (Malay) *n* waist
pinjak [pin.dʒa?] (Malay) *v* step on
pinjam [pin.dʒam] (Malay) *v* lend
pintu [pin.tu] (Malay) *n* door
pisang [pi.saŋ] (Malay) *n* banana
pisu [pi.so] (Malay) *n* knife comp. **mata pisu**
po [po] (Hokkien) *n* grand-aunt
pokok [po.ko?] (Malay) *n* tree
popiah [po.pjah] (Hokkien) *n* spring roll with turnip
potong [po.toŋ] (Malay) *v* cut
puay [pwe] (Hokkien) *cardnum* eight **pékji**

pukol [pu.kol] (Malay) *v* **1** hit **2** strike
pulak [pu.laʔ] (Malay) *adv* instead
pulang [pu.laŋ] (Malay) *v* return
puloh [pu.loh] (Malay) *cardnum* ten
pulot [pu.lot] (Malay) *n* glutinous rice
pun [pun] (var. **kun 2**) (Malay) *adv* also

punggot [puŋ.got] (Malay) *v* pick up
punya [pu.ja] (Malay) **1** *v* POSS **2** REL **nia** , contr. **mia**
2
purot [pu.rot] (Malay) *n* stomach
pusing [pu.siŋ] (Malay) *v* **1** whirl **2** turn
putéh [pu.teh] (Malay) *adj* white

R

raba [ra.ba] (Malay) *v* touch
radat [ra.dat] (Malay) *adj* greed (vulgar)
raja [ra.dʒa] (Sanskrit) *n* king
rambat [ram.bat] (Malay) *n* hallway
rambot [ram.bot] (Malay) *n* **1** hair **2** coarse hair
ranjang [ran.dʒaŋ] (Malay) *n* bed
rasa [ra.sa] (Sanskrit) **1** *v* feel **2** *v* think
ratus [ra.tus] (Malay) *cardnum* hundred
rebus [rə.bus] (Malay) *v* boil
rendah [rən.dah] (Malay) *adj* low
renjis [rən.dʒis] (Malay) *v* to water plants
reti [rə.ti] (Malay) *v* understand

ribu [ri.bu] (Malay) *cardnum* thousand
rindu [rin.du] (Malay) *v* miss
ringan [ri.ŋan] (Malay) *adj* slim comp. **mulot ringan**
riyang [ri.jaŋ] (Malay) *adj* lively
ronggég [roŋ.geŋ] (Malay) *n* faster version of jogét
rosak [ro.saʔ] (Malay) *adj* spoilt
roti [ro.ti] (Sanskrit) *n* bread
ruboh [ru.boh] (Malay) *v* collapse
rumah [ru.mah] (Malay) *n* house
rumpot [rum.pot] (Malay) *n* grass
rupa [ru.pa] (Sanskrit) *n* appearance
rusak [ru.saʔ] (Malay) *adv* day after tomorrow

S

sa [sa] (Hokkien) *cardnum* three
sahja [sa.dʒa] (Malay) *adv* only
sair 1 [sɛ] (Malay) (contr. of **pasair 2**) **1** *n* matter **2**) *n*
reason contr. **apa sair**
sair 2 [sɛ] (Malay) *prt* Confirmative
sakit [sa.kit] (Malay) *adj* sick
salah [sa.lah] (Malay) **1** *n* mistake **2**) *adj* wrong
salat [sa.lat] (Malay) *n* custard rice
salin [sa.lin] (Malay) *v* transfer
sama [sa.ma] (Sanskrit) **1** *adj* same **2**) *conn* and **3**) *prep*
with

sambal [sam.bal] (Malay) *n* chilli paste made with shrimps
or anchovies
sampay [sam.pe] (Malay) **1** *prep* until **2**) *v* reach
samplang [sam.plaŋ] source uncertain *adj* promiscuous
samséng [sam.seŋ] (Hokkien) *n* offering of three meats
sana [sa.na] (Malay) *adv* there
sandah [san.dah] (Malay) *v* lean
sangat [sa.ŋat] (Malay) *adv* very
sangka [saŋ.ka] (Malay) *v* expect
sangkék-em [saŋ.keʔ-əm] (Hokkien) (**em**) *n* bride's
ceremonial assistant

sapu [sa.pu] (Malay) *v* sweep
satu [sa.tu] (Malay) *cardnum* one contr. **se**
saya (Sanskrit) *pers* 1.Sg (refined)
sayang [sa.jaŋ] (Malay) **1** *v* care **2** *n* care **3** *interj* pity
sayor [sa.jor] (Malay) *n* vegetables
sayup [sa.jup] (Malay) *adj* faint
se [sə] (Malay) (contr. of **satu**) *cardnum* one
sebelair [sə.bə.lɛ] refined var. of **sebelas**
sebelas [sə.bə.las] (var. **sebelair**) (Malay) *cardnum* eleven (coarse)
seberang [sə.bə.raŋ] (Malay) *v* cross
sébok [se.boʔ] (Malay) *adj* busy
sedang [sə.daŋ] (Malay) *adj* medium
sedap [sə.dap] (Malay) *adj* delicious comp. **naik sedap**
sedéh [sə.deh] (Malay) *adj* sad
segan [sə.gan] (Malay) *adj* shy comp. **buang segan**
séhjit [seh.dʒit] (Hokkien) *n* birthday
séisema [sej.sə.ma] (Malay) *n* cold
sejok [sə.dʒoʔ] (Malay) *adj* cold
sekair [sə.ke] (Malay) *adv* indeed (refined) (unsystematic variant of sekali)
sekali [sə.ka.li] (Malay) *adv* **1** very **2** indeed
sekarang [sə.ka.raŋ] (Malay) *adv* now
sekejab [sə.kə.dʒab] (Malay) *adv* awhile
sekolah [sə.ko.lah] (Dutch) *n* school
selalu [sə.la.lu] (Malay) *adv* always
selamat [sə.la.mat] (Arabic) *adj* safe
seluar [sə.lwar] (var. **suluar**) (Malay) *n* pants (coarse)
semayang [sə.ma.jaŋ] (Malay) *v* pray
semilan [sə.mi.lan] (Malay) *cardnum* nine
semonyet [sə.mo.net] (Malay) *v* hide
sempang [səm.paŋ] (Malay) *n* traffic junction
senang [sə.naŋ] (Malay) **1** *adj* easy **2** *adj* free
sendiri [sən.di.ri] (Malay) *n* self
séndok [sen.doʔ] (Malay) *n* spoon
sengbuay [səŋ.bwe] (Hokkien) *n* sour plums
séngét [se.ŋeʔ] (Malay) *adj* crooked

séngkang [seŋ.kaŋ] (Malay) *v* block
senyap [səŋap] (Malay) *adj* silent
senyum [sə.ɲum] (Malay) **1** *v* smile **2** *n* smile
sepekah [sə.pə.kah] (Malay) *adj* acceptable
seram [sə.ram] (Malay) *adj* frightening comp. **naik seram**
seronoh [sə.ro.noh] (Malay) *adj* proper
setuju [sə.tu.dʒu] (Malay) *v* agree
shiok [ʃjoʔ] (Punjabi) **1** *adj* satisfied feeling **2** EXCLAM satisfaction
si 1 [si] Indonesian *dem* Person
si 2 [si] (Hokkien) *cardnum* four
siang [sjaŋ] (Malay) **1** *adj* early **2** *n* day
siap [sjap] (Malay) *v* prepared
siap-siap [sjap-sjap] (Malay) *adv* perpetually
siapa [sja.pa] (Malay) *interrog* who
sién [sjen] (Hokkien) *n* Chinese.immortal
sihat [si.hat] (Malay) *adj* healthy
siki [si.ki] (Hokkien) *n* death anniversary
sikit [si.kit] (Malay) *adv* little
simpan [sim.pan] (Malay) *v* keep something safe
sini [si.ni] (Malay) *adv* here
sinjakala [sin.dʒa.ka.la] (Malay) (**kala**) *n* dusk
sinkék [sin.keʔ] (Hokkien) *n* newcomer from China
siram [si.ram] (Malay) *v* flush with water
siséh [si.seh] Indonesian *n* comb **sisék** [si.seʔ] (Hokkien) *n* four colours cardgame
siut [sjut] (Hokkien) *v* singe
so 1 [so] (Hokkien) *v* burn **so.hio**
so 2 [so] (Hokkien) *n* elder brother's wife
so.hio [sohjo] (Hokkien) (**so 1**) *v* burn incense
sua [swa] (Malay) (contr. of **sudah**) *adv* already
suap [swap] source unclear *v* feed
suay [swe] (Hokkien) *adj* unlucky comp. **buat suay**
sudah [su.dah] (Malay) *adv* already contr. **sua**
suka [su.ka] (Malay) *v* like
suluar [su.lwe] refined var. of **suluar**

suluar [su.lwar (coarse)] (var. *suluair*) var. of **seluar**
sumua [su.mwa] (Arabic) *adv* all
sunggay [suŋ.ge] (Malay) *n* river
sunggu [suŋ.gu] (Malay) *adv* really

sup [sup] (English) *n* soup
surat [su.rat] (Malay) *n* letters
susah [su.sah] (Malay) *adj* difficult
susu [su.su] (Malay) *n* milk

T

tachi [ta.tʃi] (Hokkien) *n* elder sister
tadi [ta.di] (Malay) *adv* just
tahan [ta.han] (Malay) *v* withstand
tait [tajt] (Malay) *n* excrement
tak [taʔ] (Malay) *adv* Neg verb comp. **buat tak dengair**
takot [ta.kot] (Malay) *v* afraid
taman [ta.man] (Malay) *n* garden
tambah [tam.bah] (Malay) *v* add on
tampair [tam.pe] refined var. of **tampal**
tampal [tam.pal] (var. **tampair**) (Malay) *v* mend (coarse)
tanah [ta.nah] (Malay) *n* **1** soil **2** ground **3** earth
tanam [ta.nam] (Malay) *v* plant
tanda [tan.da] (Malay) *n* sign comp. **tanda mata**
tanda mata [tan.da ma.ta] (Malay) (comp. of **tanda**,
mata) *n* heirloom
tandok [tan.doʔ] (Malay) *n* horn
tangan [ta.ŋan] (Malay) *n* hand
tangchék [taŋ.tʃeʔ] (Hokkien) *n* Winter Solstice
tangga [taŋ.ga] (Malay) *n* **1** ladder **2** stairs
tangkap [taŋ.kap] (Malay) *v* capture
tanya [tan.ja] (Malay) *v* ask
taoun [ta.own] (Malay) *n* year
tapay [ta.pe] (Malay) *n* fermented rice dessert
tapi [ta.pi] (Sanskrit) *conn* but
tapis [ta.pis] (Malay) *v* filter
tarék [ta.reʔ] (Malay) *v* pull
tarok [ta.roʔ] (Malay) *v* put
tau [taw] (Malay) *v* know

taukay [taw.ke] (Hokkien) *n* boss
tauyu [taw.ju] (Malay) *n* dark soya sauce
tawair [ta.wɛ] refined var. of **tawar**
tawar [ta.war] (var. **tawair**) (Malay) *adj* tasteless (coarse)
téh [teh] (Hokkien) *n* tea
teloh [tə.loh] (Malay) *n* egg
téloh [te.loh] (Malay) *n* accent
témbok [tem.boʔ] (Malay) *n* wall
tempat [təm.pat] (Malay) *n* place
tendang [tən.daŋ] (Malay) *v* kick
tengah [tə.ŋah] (Malay) *adj* middle **tengah hari**,
tengah jalan tengah hari [tə.ŋah ha.ri] (Malay)
(**tengah, hari**) *n* midday
tengah jalan [tə.ŋah dʒa.lan] (Malay) (**tengah, jalan**)
n road
tenggelam [təŋ.gə.lam] (Malay) *v* sink
téngok [te.ŋoʔ] (Malay) *v* see
tentu [tən.tu] (Malay) *adj* definite
tepi [tə.pi] (Malay) **1** *n* side **2** *adv* side
tepok [tə.poʔ] (Malay) *v* clap
ter- [tər] (Malay) **1** accidental **2** movement comp.
terperanjat
terang [tə.raŋ] (Malay) *adj* **1** bright **2** clear
terbang [tər.baŋ] (var. **trebang**) (Malay) *v* fly
terbantot [tər.ban.tot] (Malay) *adj* unripe
terbiat [tər.bjat] (Malay) *n* attitude comp. **buang tebiét**
teriak [tə.rjaʔ] (Malay) *v* call out
terima [tə.ri.ma] (Malay) *v* accept
terlalu [tə.la.lu] (Malay) *adv* too

terok [tə.roʔ] (Malay) *adj* terrible
terompak [tə.rom.paʔ] (Malay) *n* slippers
terperanjat [tər.pə.ran.dʒat] (Malay) (comp. of **ter-**, **peranjat**) *adj* be shocked
terus [tə.rus] (Malay) *adj* straight
téték [te.teʔ] (Malay) *n* breast
ti-gong [ti-goŋ] (Hokkien) *n* sky-deity (Jade Emperor)
tiap [tjap] (Malay) *adv* every
tiarap [tja.rap] (Malay) *v* fall on one's front
tidor [ti.dor] (Malay) *v* sleep
tiga [ti.ga] (Malay) *cardnum* three
tikam [ti.kam] (Malay) *v* **1** stab **2** bet
tim [tim] (Hokkien) *v* double-boil
timbang [tim.baŋ] (Malay) *v* weigh
timbol [tim.bol] (Malay) *v* float
timun [ti.mun] (Malay) *n* cucumber
tinggair [tiŋ.ge] refined var. of **tinggal**
tinggal [tiŋ.gal] (var. **tinggair**) (Malay) *v* **1** live (coarse) **2** stay (coarse)
tinggi [tiŋ.gi] (Malay) *adj* tall
tio [tjo] (Hokkien) *n* parent's sister's husband
tio-tio [tjo-tjo] (Hokkien) *n* **1** parents' eldest sister's husband **2** second father
tiop [tjop] (Malay) *v* blow
tipu [ti.pu] (Malay) *v* cheat
titék [ti.teʔ] source unclear *n* spice paste (for papaya soup)
tok [toʔ] (Hokkien) *n* table
toksa [toʔ.sa] (Malay) *v* do not need

tolak [to.laʔ] (Malay) *v* push
tolong [to.loŋ] (Malay) *v* help
tompang [tom.paŋ] (Malay) *v* hitch (a ride)
tongchit [toŋ.tʃit] (Cantonese) *v* eat all (mahjong term)
tongkat [toŋ.kat] (Malay) *n* walking stick
tork [toʔ] (Hokkien) *adj* **1** poisonous **2** evil (used in particular for describing stepmothers)
trebang [trə.baŋ] var. of **terbang**
tu [tu] (Malay) (contr. of **itu**) *dem* that
tua [twa] (Hokkien) *adj* **1** old **2** big
tuaban [twa.baŋ] (Hokkien) *adj* handsome
tuakang [twa.kaŋ] (Hokkien) *adj* generous
tuan [twan] (Malay) *n* boss
tuang [twaŋ] (Malay) *v* pour and serve
tujoh [tu.dʒoh] (Malay) *cardnum* seven
tukair [tu.ke] refined var. of **tukar**
tukang [tu.kaŋ] (Malay) *n* laborer
tukar [tu.kar] (var. **tukair**) (Malay) *v* change (coarse)
tulang [tu.laŋ] (Malay) *n* bone
tulis [tu.lis] (Malay) *v* write
tumbok [tum.boʔ] (Malay) *v* pound
tumis [tu.mis] (Malay) *v* saute spices
tumpus [tum.pus] (Malay) *adj* blunt **tunggang** [tuŋ.gaŋ] (Malay) *v* ride
tunggu [tuŋ.gu] (Malay) *v* wait
tunjok [tun.dʒoʔ] (Malay) *v* show
turun [tu.run] (Malay) *v* descend
tutup [tu.top] (Malay) *v* close

U

udang [u.daŋ] (Malay) *n* prawn
ujan [u.dʒan] var. of **hujan**
ulam [u.lam] (Malay) *n* mixed herbs rice with shredded anchovies

ular [u.lar] (var. **uluair**) (Malay) *n* snake (coarse)
uluair [u.lɛ] refined var. of **ular**
umor [u.mor] (Arabic) *n* age
untok [un.toʔ] (Malay) *adv* for

utan [u.tan] var. of **hutan**

W

wak [waʔ] (Malay) *n* elderly Malay person

wangi [wa.ŋi] (Malay) *adj* fragrant

wayang [wa.jaŋ] (Malay) *n* play

wilo [wi.lo] (Hokkien) *n* hot pot for lunar new year reunion dinner

Y

ya [ja] (Malay) *interj* yes

yang [jaŋ] (var. **nang**) (Malay) REL

yauguai [jaw.gwaj] (Hokkien) *n* demon

yaukin [jau.kin] (Hokkien) *adj* important

yénchi [jen.tʃi] (Hokkien) *n* rouge

yi 1 [ji] (Hokkien) *n* food in the shape of a ball comp. **kuéh-yi**

yi 2 [ji] (Hokkien) *n* mother's sister **mak-yi**

yi-yi [ji-ji] (Hokkien) *n* mother's eldest sister

yok.hun [joʔ.hun] (Hokkien) *n* Chinese medicinal powder

English-Singapore Baba Malay

1

1.PL kita [ki.ta] *pro*

1.SG (refined) gua [gwa] *pro*

1.SG (refined) saya *pro*

2

2.SG lu [lu] *pro*

3

3.SG dia [dja] *pro*

3.PL dia [dja] *pro*; dia-orang [dja-o.raŋ] *pro*

A

ability to make accurate predictions mulot asin [mu.lot a.sin] (comp. of mulot, asin) *n*

ability to speak sweetly mulot manis [mu.lot ma.nis] (comp. of mulot, manis) *n*

accent téloh [te.loh] *n*

accept terima [tə.ri.ma] *v*

acceptable sepekah [sə.pə.kah] *adj*

accidental ter- 1 [tər] (comp. terperanjat)

add on tambah [tam.bah] *v*

afraid takot [ta.kot] *v*

after lepas [lə.pas] *prep*

again balék 4 [ba.leʔ] *adv*; lagik 3 [la.giʔ] *adv*

age umur [u.mor] *n*

agree setuju [sə.tu.dʒu] *v*

alcohol arat [a.rat] *n*

all sumua [su.mwa] *adv*

already sua [swa] (contr. of sudah) *adv*; sudah [su.dah]

adv

also jugak [dʒu.gaʔ] *adv*; kun 2 [kun] (var. of pun) *adv*;
pun [pun] *adv*

always selalu [sə.la.lu] *adv*

amulet hu [hu] *n*

ancestors gong-cho [goŋ-tʃo] (comp. of gong, cho) *n*

anchovy bilis [bi.lis] *n*

and sama 2 [sa.ma] *conn*;

angry marah [ma.rah] *adj*

animal ékor [e.kor] *clf*

anonymous ano [a.no] *adj*

answer jawab [dʒa.wab] *v*

appearance rupa [ru.pa] *n*

argue (coarse) bertengkar [bər.təŋ.kar] *v*

argue (refined) bertengkair [bər.təŋ.kɛ] *v*

ascend naik 3 [najʔ] *v* (comp. naik baik comp. naik darah
comp. naik geléték comp. naik geram comp. naik gila

comp. naik lemak comp. naik pangkat comp. naik
sedap comp. naik seram)
ash abu [a.bu] *n*
aside from buang sebelah [bwaŋ sə.bə.lah] (comp. of
buang, sebelah) *adv*
ask tanya [tan.ja] *v*

ask sincerely mintak [min.taʔ] *v*
at dekat 1 [də.kat] (var. kat) *prep*
attitude terbiat [tər.bjat] *n* (comp. buang tebiét)
awhile sekejab [sə.kə.dʒab] *adv*

B

back balék 3 [ba.leʔ] *adv*
backside buntot 2 [bun.tot] *n*
bad breath mulot busok [mu.lot bu.soʔ] (comp. of mulot,
busok) *n*
bad sport chaukah [tʃaw.kah] *n*
bad type of person chaukuan [tʃaw.kwan] *n*
bag bég [beʔ] *n*
bald botak [bo.taʔ] *adj*
banana pisang [pi.saŋ] *n*
bang hantok [han.toʔ] *v*
banner chaiki [tʃaj.ki] *n*
bark gonggong [goŋ-goŋ] *v*
basket bakol [ba.kol] *n*
bathe mandi [man.di] *v*
be angry naik darah [najʔ da.rah] (comp. of naik, darah)
v
be frightened naik seram [najʔ sə.ram] (comp. of naik,
seram) *v*
be furious naik geram [najʔ gə.ram] (comp. of naik,
geram) *v*
be mad naik gila [najʔ gi.la] (comp. of naik, gila) *v*
be promoted naik pangkat [najʔ paŋ.kat] (comp. of naik,
pangkat) *v*
be satisfied naik sedap [najʔ sə.dap] (comp. of naik,
sedap) *v*
be shocked terperanjat [tər.pə.ran.dʒat] (comp. of ter-,
peranjat) *adj*
be sour-faced buat mungka [bwaʔ muŋ.ka] (comp. of
buat, mungka) *v*
be up to mischief naik geléték [najʔ gə.le.teʔ] (comp. of

naik, geléték) *v*; naik lemak [najʔ lə.maʔ] (comp. of
naik, lemak) *v*
bead manék [ma.neʔ] *n*
bear beruang [bə.rwaŋ] *n*
beautiful chanték [tʃan.teʔ] *adj*
become jadi 2 [dʒa.di] *v*
bed ranjang [ran.dʒaŋ] *n*
before belom 2 [bə.lom] *adv*; dulu 1 [du.lu] *adv*
beginning of lunar month chay [tʃe] *n*
behind belakang [bə.la.kan] *prep*
bell lochéng [lo.tʃeŋ] *n*
belly perot 1 [pə.rot] *n*
beloved jantung ati [dʒan.toŋ a.ti] (comp. of jantung,
ati) *n*
bent and curled up kerekot [kə.re.kot] *adj*
bet tikam 2 [ti.kam] *v*
big besar [bə.sar] (var. besair) *adj*; tua 2 [twa] *adj*
big (refined) besair [bə.sə] (var. of besar) *adj* (comp.
buang ayé besair)
bird burong [bu.roŋ] *n*
birth chutsi [tʃut.si] *n*
birthday séhjit [seh.dʒit] *n*
bite gigit [gi.git] *v*
bitter pait [pajt] *adj*
black hitam [hi.tam] (var. itam) *adj*; itam [i.tam] *adj*
blade of knife mata piso [ma.ta pi.so] (comp. of mata,
piso) *n*
blissing of the marital bed ancheng [an.tʃəŋ] *n*
blind buta [bu.ta] *adj*

blink kélék.kélék [kələ?.kələ?] *v*
block séngkang [seŋ.kan] *v*
blood darah [da.rah] *n* (comp. naik darah)
bloom kuntum [kun.tum] *clf*
blow tiop [tjop] *v*
blunt tumpus [tum.pus] *adj*
body badan [ba.dan] *n*
boil rebus [rə.bus] *v*
boiling menidi [mə.ni.di] *adj*
bone tulang [tu.lan] *n*
book buku [bu.ku] *n*
boss taukay [taw.ke] *n*; tuan [twan] *n*
bottle botol [bo.tol] *n*
bowl mangkok [maŋ.ko?] *n*
box kepok [kə.po?] *n*
boy lelaki [lə.la.ki] *n* (contr. laki)
bracelet gelang [gə.lan] *n*
brain otak [o.ta?] *n*
bread roti [ro.ti] *n*
break pechah [pə.tjah] *v*
breast téték [te.te?] *n*
breath napas [na.pas] *n*

bride kemantin [kə.man.tin] *n*
bridegroom's family's host chu-lang [tʃu.lan] *n*
bride's assistant for kneeling and general help bukak kun
 [bu.ka? kun] *n* (comp. of kun 2)
bride's ceremonial assistant sangkék-em [saŋ.ke?-əm] *n*
 (comp of em)
bride's girl assistant pengapék [pəŋ.ga.pe?] *n*
bright terang 1 [tə.raŋ] *adj*
bring bawak [ba.wa?] *v*
brush berus [bə.rus] *v*
bundle bungkus [buŋ.kus] *n*
burn so 1 [so] *v* (comp. sohio)
burn (coarse) bakar [ba.kar] *v*
burn (refined) bakair [ba.kε] *v*
burn incense sohio [sohjo] (comp of so 1)
busy sébok [se.bo?] *adj*
but tapi [ta.pi] *conn*
butter mentéga [mən.te.ga] *n*
butterfly kupu-kupu [ku.pu-ku.pu] *n*
buttocks pantat [pan.tat] *n* (comp. mulot pantat ayam)
buy beli [bə.li] *v*

C

cake kék [ke?] *n*
call panggay [paŋ.ge] *v*
call out teriak [tə.rja?] *v*
can boléh [bo.leh] *v*
capture tangkap [taŋ.kap] *v*
car chia [tʃja] *n*; keréta [kə.re.ta] *n*
care sayang 1 [sa.jan] *v*; sayang 2 [sa.jan] *n*
carry angkat 4 [aŋ.kat] *v*
carry baby logong [lo.goŋ] *v*
cat kucing [ku.tʃiŋ] *n* (comp. kucing belanda comp.
 mata kucing)
cause embarrassment buat malu [bwat ma.lu] (comp. of
 buat, malu) *v*

cause misfortune **buat suay** [bwat swe] (comp. of buat,
 suay) *v* **caustic mouth** mulot jahat [mu.lot dʒa.hat]
 (comp. of mulot, jahat) *n*
cave batu 3 [ba.tu] *n*
chair kerosi [kə.ro.si] *n*
change (coarse) tukar [tu.kar] *v*
change (refined) tukair [tu.kε] *v*
change for good naik baik [naj? baj?] (comp. of naik,
 baik) *v*
character budi [bu.di] *n*
chase (coarse) kejar [kə.dʒar] *v*
chase (refined) kejair [kə.dʒε] *v*
chase away halo [ha.lo] *v*

cheat tipu [ti.pu] *v*
chicken ayam [a.jam] *n* (comp. mulot pantat ayam)
child anak [a.naʔ] *n*; budak [bu.daʔ] *n*
chilli paste made with shrimps or anchovies sambal
[sam.bal] *n*
Chinese China [tʃi.na] *adj*
Chinese medicinal powder yok.hun [joʔ.hun] *n*
Chinese immortal sién [sien] *n*
choose piléh [pi.leh] *v*
chopper parang [pa.raŋ] *n*
church gerja [gər.dʒa] (var. greja) *n*; greja [grə.dʒa] *n*
clap tepok [tə.poʔ] *v*
clean bersi [bər.si] (var. bresi) *v*; bersi [bər.si] *n*
clear terang 2 [tə.raŋ] *adj*
clever panday [pan.de] *adj* ever
climb naik 1 [najʔ] *v* (comp. naik baik comp. naik darah
comp. naik geléték comp. naik geram comp. naik gila
comp. naik lemak comp. naik pangkat comp. naik
sedap comp. naik seram); panjat [pan.dʒat] *v*
clogs chakiak [tʃa.kjaʔ] *n*
close tutop [tu.top] *v*
close to one another chin [tʃin] *adj*
cloth kain [kajn] *n*
clothes baju [ba.dʒu] *n*
cloud awan [a.wan] *n*
coarse (coarse) kasar [ka.sar] *adj*
coarse (refined) kasair [ka.sɛ] *adj*
coarse hair rambot 2 [ram.bot] *n*
cockeyed mata juling [ma.ta dʒu.liŋ] (comp. of mata,
juling) *n*
cockroach kachua [ka.tʃwa] *n*
coconut cookie bangkit [ban.kit] *n*
coconut jam kaya 2 [ka.ja] *n*
coffee kopi [ko.pi] *n*
cold séisema [sej.sə.ma] *n*; sejok [sə.dʒoʔ] *adj*
collapse ruboh [ru.boh] *v*

colour orna [or.na] *n*
comb siséh [si.seh] *n*
come datang [da.taŋ] *v*
come let us mari [ma.ri] *v*
Confirmative sair 2 [sɛ] *prt*
convey by speaking (as opposed to writing) buang mulot
[bwaŋ mu.lot] (comp. of buang, mulot) *v*
cook masak 1 [ma.saʔ] *v*
cooked food lauk [lawʔ] *n*
cooked in coconut milk lemak [lə.maʔ] *adj*
cooked rice nasik [na.siʔ]
cooking pot periok [pə.rjoʔ] *n*
COP ada 5 [a.da] (var. a) *v*
correct betol 1 [bə.tol] *adj*
cousins pangkat adek beradek [paŋ.kat a.deʔ bə.ra.deʔ]
(comp. of pangkat, adék beradék) *n*
cow lembu [ləm.bu] *n* (comp. mata lembu)
crash (coarse) langgar [laŋ.gar] *v*
crash (refined) langgair [laŋ.ge] *v*
crawl belangkat [bə.laŋ.kat] *v*
crooked séngét [se.ŋeʔ] *adj*
cross seberang [sə.bə.raŋ] *v*
crowded beramay [bə.ra.me] *adj*
cruel ati busok [a.ti bu.soʔ] (comp. of ati, busok) *adj*
crumpled kudut [ku.dut] *adj*
cry menangis [mə.na.ŋis] *v*; nangis [na.ŋis] *v*
cucumber timun [ti.mun] *n*
cunning lihai [li.haj] *adj*
cup changkay [tʃaŋ.ke] *n*
curse mincharok [min.tʃa.roʔ] *v*
custard rice salat [sa.lat] *n*
cut potong [po.toŋ] *v*
cylindrical measure of one gallon of rice gantang
[gan.taŋ] *clf*
cylindrical measure of quarter gallon of rice chupak
[tʃu.paʔ] *clf*

D

daring gaga [ga.ga] *adj*
dark gelap [gə.lap] *adj* (comp. mata gelap)
dark soya sauce tauyu [taw.ju] *n*
daughter nya 2 [na] (contr. of Nyonya) *n*
day ari [a.ri] (var. of hari) *n* (comp. mata ari); hari [ha.ri]
 (var. ari) *n* (comp. tengah hari); siang 2 [sjaŋ] *n*
day after tomorrow rusak [ru.saʔ] *adv*
dead mati 2 [ma.ti] *adj*
deaf pekak [pə.kaʔ] *adj*
death anniversary siki [si.ki] *n*
deceitful mouth mulot pantat ayam [mu.lot pan.tat
 a.jam] (comp. of mulot, pantat, ayam) *n*
decorative altar stand chanab [tʃa.nab] *n*
defecate bérak [be.raʔ] *v*; buang ayé besair [bwaŋ a.je
 bæ.sɛ] (comp. of buang, ayé, besair) *v*
definite tentu [tən.tu] *adj*
delicious sedap [sə.dap] *adj* (comp. naik sedap)
demon yauguai [jaw.gwaj] *n*
descend turun [tu.run] *v*
desire napsu 1 [nap.su] *v*; napsu 2 [nap.su] *n*
detective mata gelap [ma.ta gə.lap] (comp. of mata,
 gelap) *n*
develop an illness kamtiok [kam.tjoʔ] *v*
diamond belién [bə.ljen] *n*
diamond chip intan [in.tan] *n*
die mati 1 [ma.ti] *v*
difficult susah [su.sah] *adj*

dip in dye chelop [tʃə.lop] *v*
dirty kotor [ko.tor] *adj*
distended stomach bunchit [bun.tʃit] *n*
disturb kacho [ka.tʃo] *v*
divination stick chiam [tʃjam] *n*
do bikin 2 [bi.kin] *v*; buat 1 [bwat] *v* (comp. buat bodoh
 comp. buat mahal comp. buat malu comp. buat
 mungka comp. buat suay comp. buat tak dengair)
do not jangan [dʒa.ŋan] *adv*
do not need toksa [toʔ.sa] *v*
dog anjing [an.dʒing] *n*
door pintu [pin.tu] *n*
double-boil tim [tim] *v*
drain longkang [loŋ.kan] *n*
draw chonténg [tʃon.teŋ] *v*
dream mimpi [mim.pi] *v*
dried fruit gugol [gu.gol] *n*
drink minum [mi.num] *v*
drip berléléli [bər.lej.lej] *v*
drop jatoh 2 [dʒa.toh] *v*
dry kering 2 [kə.riŋ] *adj* (comp. mulot kering)
dry in the sun jumoh [dʒu.moh] *v*
duck iték [i.teʔ] *n*
durian flesh uluair 2 [u.lɛ] (var. of ular) *clf*
dusk sinjakala [sin.dʒa.ka.la] (comp. of kala) *n*
Dutch belanda [bə.lan.da] (comp. kuching belanda)

E

ear kuping [ku.piŋ] *n*
early siang 1 [sjaŋ] *adj*
earrings anting-anting [an.tiŋ-an.tiŋ] *n*
earth tanah 3 [ta.nah] *n*
easy senang 1 [sə.naŋ] *adj*
eat makan 1 [ma.kan] *v*
eat (vulgar) cherkek [tʃər.keʔ] *v*

eat all (mahjong term) tongchit [toŋ.tʃit] *v*
egg teloh [tə.loh] *n*
eight lapan [la.pan] *cardnum*; puay [pwe] *cardnum* (comp.
 pékji)
eight characters of Chinese horoscope pékji [peʔ.dʒi]
 (comp. of puay) *n*
elder brother hia [hja] *n*
elder brother (non-familial) ko 2 [ko] *n*

elder brother's wife so 2 [so] *n*
elder sister tachi [ta.tʃi] *n*
elder sister's husband chau [tʃaw] *n*
elderly Malay person wak [waʔ] *n*
eleven (coarse) sebelas [sə.bə.las] *cardnum*
eleven (refined) sebelair [sə.bə.lɛ] *cardnum*
embarrassed malu [ma.lu] *adj* (comp. buat malu); paiséh [paj.seh] *adj*
EMP lah [lah] *prt*; lor [lor] *prt*
enough cukup [tʃu.kop] *adv*
enter masok 1 [ma.soʔ] *v*
enthusiasm gerang [gə.raŋ] *n*
estimate agak [a.gaʔ] *v* (comp. agak agak)
evening petang [pə.taŋ] *n*
ever pernah [pər.nah] *adv*
every tiap [tiap] *adv*
evil jahat [dʒa.hat] *adj* (comp. mulot jahat)
evil (used in particular for describing stepmothers) tork 2 [tɔʔ] *adj*
EXCLAM annoyance aiya [aj.ja]
EXCLAM cry to a dead spirit kus semangat [kus

sə.ma.ŋat]
EXCLAM cursed one chilaka [tʃi.la.ka]
EXCLAM dead mampus [mam.pus]
EXCLAM dismay alamak [a.la.maʔ]
EXCLAM irritation aiyo [aj.jo]
EXCLAM jibe éh [eh]
EXCLAM regret ala [a.la]
EXCLAM satisfaction shiok 2 [ʃjoʔ]
EXCLAM surprise amboi [am.boj]; ayi [a.ji]
excrement tait [tajt] *n*
exhausted letay [lə.te] *adj*
EXIST ada 3 [a.da] (var. a) *v*
exorcise buang buang [bwaŋ bwaŋ] (comp. of buang) *v*
expand huat 1 [hwat] *v*
expect sangka [saŋ.ka] *v*
expensive mahal [ma.hal] *adj* (comp. buat mahal)
eye mata [ma.ta] *n* (comp. bijak mata comp. buang mata comp. mata ari mata ayé mata beliak comp. mata gelap comp. mata ikan comp. mata juling comp. mata kucing comp. mata lembu comp. mata piso comp. tanda mata)

F

face mungka [muŋ.ka] *n* (comp. buat mungka)
faint péngsan [peŋ.san] *v*; sayup [sa.jup] *adj*
fall jatoh 1 [dʒa.toh] *v*
fall backwards lentang [lən.taŋ] *v*
fall on one's front tiarap [tja.rap] *v*
family chepuat [tʃə.pwat] *n*
fan kipas [ki.pas] *n*
far ja.ou [dʒa.ow] *adj*
faster version of jogét ronggéng [roŋ.geŋ] *n*
fat gemok [gə.moʔ] *adj*
father baba [ba.ba] (var. of bapak) *n*; bapak [ba.paʔ] *n* (comp. mak bapak)
father-in-law kua 2 [kwa] *n*
father-in-law (indirect address) chingkay 2 [tʃiŋ.ke] *n*

father's elder brother pék [peʔ] *n*
father's elder brother's wife em 1 [əm] *n* (comp. sangkékem)
father's eldest brother pék-pék [peʔ-peʔ]
father's eldest sister mak-ko [maʔ-ko] (comp. of mak, ko 1) *n*
father's sister ko 1 [ko] *n* (comp. mak-ko)
father's younger brother chék [tʃeʔ] *n*
father's younger brother's wife chim [tʃim] *n*
favourite child bijak mata [bi.dʒiʔ ma.ta] (comp. of bijak, mata) *n*
feather bulu 1 [bu.lu] *n*
feed suap [swap] *v*
feel rasa 1 [ra.sa] *v*

feign ignorance buat bodoh [bwat bo.doh] (comp. of buat, bodoh) *v*
female perompuan [pə.rom.pwan] *n*
female mourner hauli [haw.li] *n*
fermented rice dessert tapay [ta.pe] *n*
fierce bengis 1 [bə.ŋis] *adj*; garang [ga.raŋ] *adj*
filter tapis [ta.pis] *v*
find charék [tʃa.reʔ] *v*
fine hair bulu 2 [bu.lu] *n*
finger jari [dʒa.ri] *n*
finger nail kuku [ku.ku] *n*
finish abi [a.bi] (var. of habis) *conn*; abis [a.bis] (var. of habis) *v*; habis [ha.bis] 1 *v*; habis 2 [ha.bis] *adv*
fire api [a.pi] *n*
first dulu 3 [du.lu] *adv*; pertama [pəɾ.ta.ma] *adj*
first cream of coconut pati [pa.ti] *n*
fish ikan [i.kan] *n* comp. mata ikan
fishball huyi [hu.ji] *n*
five gor [gɔ] *cardnum* id. ati it gor it chap; lima [li.ma] *cardnum*
flat bean petay [pə.te] *n*
flesh isi [i.si] *n*
float timbol [tim.bol] *v*
floor lantay [lan.te] *n*
flower bunga [bu.ŋa] *n*
fluent lanchang [lan.tʃaŋ] *adj*
flush with water siram [si.ram] *v*
fly terbang [təɾ.baŋ] (var. trebang) *v*; trebang [trə.baŋ] *v*
fold lipat [li.pat] *v*

follow ikot [i.kot] *v*
food makan 2 [ma.kan] *n*
food in the shape of a ball yi 1 [ji] *n* (comp. kuéh-yi)
force paksa [paʔ.sa] *v*
for untok [un.toʔ] *adv*
forehead dahi [da.hi] (var. dai) *n*; dai [daj] *n*
forget lupa [lu.pa] *v*
forgive ampun 1 [am.pun] *v*
forgiveness ampun 2 [am.pun] *n*
four empat [ə.m.pat] *cardnum*; si 2 [si] *cardnum*
four colours cardgame sisék [si.seʔ] *n*
fragrant wangi [wa.ŋi] *adj*
freckles opan [o.pan] *n*
free senang 2 [sə.naŋ] *adj*
fried egg with yolk intact mata lembu [ma.ta ləm.bu] (comp. of mata, lembu) *n*
friend kaki 2 [ka.ki] *n*; kawan [ka.wan] *n*
frightening seram [sə.ram]
frog kodok [ko.doʔ] *n*
from dari [da.ri] *prep*
front depan [də.pan] *prep*
fruit buah [bwah] *n*
fry goréng [go.reŋ] *v*
full penoh [pə.noh] *adj*
full from eating kenyang [kə.ŋaŋ] *adj*
fumble kalang-kabot [ka.laŋ-ka.bot] *v*
furious geram [gə.ram] *adj* (comp. naik geram)
fussy kéwat [ke.wat] *adj*

G

gamble judi [dʒu.di] *v*
garden kebun [kə.bun] *n*; taman [ta.man] *n*
generous tuakang [twa.kan] *adj*
get dapat 1 [da.pat] *v*
giddy mabok [ma.boʔ] *adj*
give kasi 1 [ka.si] *v*

glare beliak [bə.ljaʔ] *v* (comp. mata beliak)
glutinous rice pulot [pu.lot] *n*
glutinous rice balls kuéh-yi [kweh-ji] (comp. of kuéh, yi 1) *n*
go pegi [pə.gi] *v* contr. pi; pi [pi] *v*
go out (coarse) keluar [kə.lwar] (var. kuluar) (comp.

diluar); kular [ku.lwar] *v*
go out (refined) kuluar [ku.lwɛ] *v*
goat kambing 1 [kam.biŋ] *n*
gold (coarse) mas [mas] *n*
gold (refined) mair [mɛ] *n*
good bagus [ba.gus] *interj*; baik [bajʔ] *adj* (comp. ati baik, comp. naik baik); ho [ho] *adj* (comp. homia)
good character péél [peʔe] *n*
good life homia [ho.mja] *interj* (comp. of ho, mia)
grand-aunt po [po] *n*
grandchild chuchu [tʃu.tʃu] *n*
grandfather gong 2 [gɔŋ] (comp. gong-cho)
grandfather's younger brother chék-gong [tʃeʔ-gɔŋ] *n*
grandmother mamak [ma.maʔ] *n*
grandparent gong 1 [gɔŋ] *n* comp. gong-cho
grass rumpot [rum.pot] *n*
gravy kua 1 [kwa] *n*
grease minyak 1 [mi.nak] *n*
great-grandaunt cho-po [tʃo-po] *n*

great-grandchild chichi [tʃi.tʃi] *n*
great-grandfather cho-gong [tʃo-gɔŋ] *n*
great-grandmother cho 2 [tʃo] *n* (comp. gong-cho, mak-cho); cho-cho [tʃo-tʃo] *n*; mak-cho [maʔ-tʃo] (comp. of mak, cho) *n*
great-grandparent cho 1 [tʃo] *n* (comp. gong-cho mak-cho)
great-great grandchild onéng.onéng [o.neŋ.o.neŋ] *n*
greed (vulgar) radat [ra.dat] *adj*
green hijo [hi.dʒo] (var. ijo) *adj*; ijo [i.dʒo] *adj*
green bean cookies koya [ko.ja] *n*
groom kiasai 2 [kjasaj] *n*
groom's ceremonial assistant pak-chindék [paʔ-tʃin.deʔ] *n*
groom's boy assistant kuya [ku.ja] *n*
ground tanah 2 [ta.nah] *n*
guard jaga 1 [dʒa.ga] *v*
guess gasak [ga.saʔ] *v*
guest langkék [laŋ.keʔ] *n*

H

HAB ada 6 [a.da] (var. a) *v*
hair rambot 1 [ram.bot] *n*
half-cooked (coarse) embar-embar [əmbaɾ-əmbaɾ] *adj*
half-cooked (refined) embair-embair [əmbɛ-əmbɛ] *adj*
hallway rambat [ram.bat] *n*
hand tangan [ta.ŋan] *n*
handkerchief binpo [bin.po] *n*
handsome tuaban [twa.ban] *adj*
hang gantong [gan.tɔŋ] *v*
happen jadi 1 [dʒa.di] *v*
happy huahi [hwa.hi] *adj*
hard (coarse) keras [kəras] *adj*
hard (refined) kerair [kəɾɛ] *adj*
hat kopiah [ko.pjah] *n*
have a [a] (var. of ada) *v*; ada 1 [a.da] (var. a) *v*
hay kering 1 [kə.riŋ] *n* comp. mulot kering

head kepala [kə.pa.la] *n*
healthy sihat [si.hat] *adj*
heart ati 1 [a.ti] (var. of hati) *n* (comp. ati baik, comp. ati busok, comp. jantung ati (id. ati it gor it chap); hati 1 [ha.ti] *n*; jantung [dʒan.tɔŋ] *n* (comp. jantung ati)
heavy berat [bə.rat] *adj* (comp. mulot berat); **lebat** [lə.bat] *adj*
heirloom tanda mata [tan.da ma.ta] (comp. of tanda, mata) *n*
help tolong [to.loŋ] *v*
here sini [si.ni] *adv*
here you go na [na] *interj*
hide semonyet [sə.mo.ŋet] *v*
hill bukit [bu.kit] *n*
hit pukol 1 [pu.kol] *v*
hitch (a ride) tompang [tom.paŋ] *v*

hold angkat 2 [aŋ.kat] *v*; pégang [pe.gaŋ] *v*
hole lobang [lo.baŋ] *n*
honorific prefix for familial relations eng- [əŋ]
hope arap [a.rap] (var. of harap); harap [ha.rap] *v*
horn tandok [tan.doʔ] *n*
horse kuda [ku.da] *n*
hot (coarse) panas [pa.nas] *adj*
hot (refined) panair [pa.nɛ] *adj* hot
hot pot for lunar new year reunion dinner wilo [wi.lo] *n*
hour jam 2 [dʒam] *n*
house rumah [ru.mah] *n*

how (coarse) amcham [am.tʃam] (var. of apa cham [a.pa.tʃam]; apa macham [a.pa ma.tʃam], comp. of apa, macham) *interrog*
how (refined) apa pasair [a.pa pa.sɛ] *interrog*
how many berapa 1 [bɛ.ra.pa] *interrog*
howl menyalap [mɛ.na.lap] *v*
hundred ratus [ra.tus] *cardnum*
hungry (coarse) lapar [la.par] *adj*
hungry (refined) lapair [la.pɛ] *adj*
husband laki [la.ki] (contr. of lelaki) *n*

I

if kalo [ka.lo] (var. of kalau) *conn*; kalau [ka.lu] *conn*
ill-treat koktok [kɔʔ.tɔʔ] *v*
important yaukin [jau.kin] *adj*
inability to express oneself mulot berat [mu.lot bɛ.rat] (comp. of mulot, berat) *n*
inability to keep a secret mulot bocho [mu.lot bo.tʃo] (comp. of mulot, bocho) *n*
inability to say more mulot kering [mu.lot kɛ.rɪŋ] (comp. of mulot, kering) *n*
indeed mémang [me.maŋ] *adv*; sekali 2 [sɛ.ka.li] *adv*
indeed (refined) (unsystematic variant of sekali) sekair

[sɛ.kɛ] *adv*
inside dalam [da.lam] *prep*
instead pulak [pu.laʔ] *adv* instead instead
instruct pésan [pe.san] *v* instruct instruct
intercalary lun [lun] *adj* intercalary intercalary
intercalary month lun-guék [lun gweʔ] *n* (comp. of lun, guék)
iron besi [bɛ.si] *n* iron iron
itchy (coarse) gatal [ga.tal] *adj* itchy
itchy (refined) gatair [ga.tɛ] *adj* (comp. mulot gatair)

J

jelly chaiyen [tʃaj.jen] *n*
joke kelaka [kɛ.la.ka] *v*
jump lompat [lom.pat] *v*

jungle hutan [hu.tan] (var. utan) *n*; utan [u.tan] *n*
just baru 2 [ba.ru] *adv*; tadi [ta.di] *adv*

K

keep an eye on someone or something buang mata [bwaŋ

ma.ta] (comp. of buang, mata) *v*

keep something safe simpan [sim.pan] *v*
key konchi [kon.tʃi] *n*
kick tendang [tən.dɑŋ] *v*
kill bunoh [bu.noh] *v*
kind ati baik [a.ti bajʔ] (comp. of ati, baik) *adj*
king raja [ra.dʒa] *n*
kitchen dapur [da.pɔ] *n*

kneel gui [gwi] *v*
knife piso [pi.so] *n* (comp. mata piso)
knock ketok [kə.toʔ] *v*
know tau [taw] *v*
know a person (coarse) kenal [kə.nal] *v*
know a person (refined) kenair [kə.nɛ] *v*

L

laborer tukang [tu.kɑŋ] *n*
ladder tangga 1 [taŋ.ga] *n*
lamp lampu [lam.pu] *n*
language bahasa [ba.ha.sa] *n*
late lambat [lam.bat] *adj*
later nanti [nan.ti] *adv*
laugh ketawa [kə.ta.wa] *v*
lazy (coarse) malas [ma.las] *adj*
lazy (refined) malair [ma.lɛ] *adj*
leaky bocho [bo.tʃo] *adj* (comp. mulot bocho)
lean sandah [san.dah] *v*
learn (coarse) belajar [bə.la.dʒar] *v*
learn (refined) belajair [bə.la.dʒɛ] *v*
leaves daoun [da.own] *n*
leg kaki 1 [ka.ki] *n*
lemon lémo [le.mo] *n*
lend pinjam [pin.dʒam] *v*
less kurang [ku.raŋ] *adv*
let kasi 2 [ka.si] *v*
letters surat [su.rat] *n*
lie bohong [bo.hoŋ] *n*
lie down baring [ba.riŋ] *v*
life mia 1 [mja] *n*
lift angkat 1 [aŋ.kat] *v*
like suka [su.ka] *v*
like cham 2 [tʃam] (contr. of macham) *adv*; macham 1

[ma.tʃam] *adv* (comp. apa cham, comp. apa macham)
like that macham 3 [ma.tʃam] *adv* (comp. apa cham
comp. apa macham)
like that begi [bə.gi] (contr. of begitu), gitu [gi.tu] (contr.
of begitu) *adv*; begitu [bə.gi.tu] *adv*,
listen (coarse) dengar [də.ŋar] *v*
listen (refined) dengair [dəŋ.ɛ] *v* (comp. buat tak
dengair)
little sikit [si.kit] *adv*
live (coarse) tinggal 1 [tiŋ.gal] *v*
live (refined) tinggair 1 [tiŋ.gɛ] *v*
lively riyang [ri.jaŋ] *adj*
liver ati 2 [a.ti] (var. of hati) *n* (comp. ati baik, comp. ati
busok, id. ati it gor it chap, comp. jantung ati); hati 2
[ha.ti] *n*
long panjang [pan.dʒaŋ] *adj*
long ago dulu 2 [du.lu] *adv*
long and thin batang [ba.taŋ] *clf*
long time lama [la.ma] *adj*
longan fruit mata kuching [ma.ta ku.tʃiŋ] (comp. of
mata, kuching) *n*
long-jawed chobék [tʃo.beʔ] *adj*
lose hilang [hi.laŋ]; ilang [i.laŋ] *v*
lose (opposed to win) kalah [ka.lah] *v*
low rendah [rən.dah] *adj*
lunar month guék [gweʔ] *n*

M

- mad** gila [gi.la] *adj* (comp. naik gila)
- make** bikin 1 [bi.kin] *v*; buat 2 [bwat] *v* (comp. buat bodoh, comp. buat mahal, comp. buat malu, comp. buat mungka, comp. buat suay, comp. buat tak dengair)
- male** jantan [dʒan.tan] *n*
- male mourner** haulam [haw.lam] *n*
- male person** pak [paʔ] *n*
- many** banyak [ma.ŋaʔ] *adv*
- market (coarse)** pasar [pa.sar] *n*
- market (refined)** pasair 1 [pa.sɛ] *n*
- marry** kawin [ka.win] *v*
- match of love** jodoh [dʒo.doh] *n*
- matchmaker** muilang [mwi.laŋ] *n*
- matter** perkara [pə.ka.ra] *n*; sair 1 [sɛ] (contr. of pasair 2) *n* (comp. apa sair)
- matter (coarse)** pasal 1 [pa.sal] *n* (comp. apa pasal)
- matter (refined)** pasair 2 [pa.sɛ] *n* (contr. sair 1)
- meat** daging [da.gin] *n*
- medium** sedang [sə.daŋ] *adj*
- meet** jumpa [dʒum.pa] *v*
- meet ill spiritual forces** huantiok [hwan.tjoʔ] *v*
- melody** dondang [don.daŋ] *n*
- mend (coarse)** tampal [tam.pal] *v*
- middle** tengah [tə.ŋah] *adv* (comp. tengah jalan)
- milk** susu [su.su] *n*
- mince** chinchang [tʃin.tʃaŋ] *v*
- minute** minit [mi.nit] *n*
- miserly** kiamsiap [kjam.sjap] *adj*
- miss** rindu [rin.du] *v*
- mistake** salah 1 [sa.lah] *n*
- mix** champor [tʃam.por] *v*; gaou [ga.ow] *v*
- mixed herbs rice with shredded anchovies** ulam [u.lam] *n*
- money** dit [dit] (var. of duit) *n*; duit [dwit] *n*
- monk** huésio [hwe.sjo] *n*
- month** bulan 2 [bu.lan] *n*
- moon** bulan 1 [bu.lan] *n*
- more** lagik 1 [la.giʔ] *adv*; lebéh [lə.beh] *adv*
- morning** pagi [pa.gi] *n*
- mother** mak [maʔ] *n* (comp. mak bapak, mak-cho, mak-ko, mak-yi); nya 1 [ŋa] (contr. of Nyonya) *n*
- mother-in-law** nio [njo] *n*
- mother-in-law (indirect address)** chay-em [tʃe.əm] *n*
- mother's brother** ku 2 [ku] *n* (comp. ku-ku)
- mother's brother's wife** kim [kim] *n*
- mother's eldest brother** ku-ku [ku-ku] (comp. of ku 2) *n*
- mother's eldest sister** yi-yi [ji-ji] *n*
- mother's sister** yi 2 [ji] *n* (comp. mak-yi)
- mountain** gunung [gu.noŋ] *n*
- mouth** mulot [mu.lot] *n* (comp. buang mulot, comp. mulot asin, comp. mulot béngok, comp. mulot berat, comp. mulot bocho, comp. mulot busok, comp. mulot dunya, comp. mulot gatair, comp. mulot jahat, comp. mulot kering, comp. mulot manis, comp. mulot pantat ayam, comp. mulot ringan)
- mouth agape** nganga [ŋa.ŋa] *adj*
- move** bergerak [bər.gə.raʔ] *v*
- movement** ter- 2 [tər] (comp. terperanjat)
- must** mesti [məs.ti] *v*

N

nail paku [pa.ku] *n*
name nama [na.ma] *n*
near dekat 2 [də.kat] (var. kat) *prep*
neck léihéi [lej.hej] *n*
Neg kan [kan] (contr of bukan 1) *interj*; tak [taʔ] *adv*
 (comp. buat tak dengair)
Neg (noun) bukan 2 [bu.kan]
nervous **ati it gor it chap** [a.ti it gɔ it tʃap] (id. of ati, it, gor, chap) *adj*
new baru 1 [ba.ru] *adj*
newcomer from China sinkék [sin.keʔ] *n*
news (coarse) kabar [ka.bar] *n*
news (refined) kabair [ka.bɛ] *n*

night malam [ma.lam] *n*
night (when referring to lunar dates) méh [meh] *n*
nine gau [gaw] *cardnum*; semilan [sə.mi.lan] *cardnum*
no bukan 1 [bu.kan] (var. kan) *interj*
noisy bising [bi.sinj] *adj*
Nom -an [-an]
nose hidong [hi.doŋ] (var. idong) *n*; idong [i.doŋ] *n*
not fussy chinchai [tʃin.tʃaj] *adj*
not yet belom 1 [bə.lom] *adv*
now sekarang [sə.ka.raŋ] *adv*
number nambor [num.bor] *n*
nunnery that serves vegetarian food chaiteng [tʃaj.təŋ] *n*

O

observe cham 1 [tʃam] *v*
obstinate ngéngé [ŋe.ŋe] *adj*
odd-numbered ganjil [gan.jil] *adj*
offering of three meats samséng [sam.seŋ] *n*
oil minyak 2 [mi.nak] *n*
old tua 1 [twa] *adj*
old aunty em 2 [əm] *n* (comp. sangkék-em)
older Peranakan woman bibik [bi.biʔ] *n*
omelette (coarse) dadar [da.dar] *n*
omelette (refined) dadair [da.dɛ] *n*
one it [it] *cardnum* (id. ati it gor it chap); satu [sa.tu] *cardnum* (contr. se [sə])
onion bawang [ba.waŋ] *n*

only sahja [sa.dʒa] *adv*
onomatopoeia loud noises gedebang-gedebong
 [gə.də.baŋ-gə.də.boŋ]
onomatopoeia thudding of the heart gedebak-gedebuk
 [gə.də.baʔ-gə.də.buʔ]
open bukak [bu.kaʔ] *v*
or ka [ka] *conn*
original mula [mu.la] *adj*
originally mula mula [mu.la mu.la] *adv*
other lain [lajn] *adv*
outside diluar [di.lwar] (var. duluar) (comp. of di, keluar) *prep*; duluar [du.lwar] (var. of diluar) *prep*
overripe magam [ma.gam] *adj*

P

pail baldi [bal.di] *n*
pair pasang 2 [pa.saŋ] *clf*
palm blossom mayang [ma.jaŋ] *n*
Pangium.edule (black fruit with hard shell) keluak

[kə.lwaʔ] *n*
pants (coarse) suluar [su.lwar] (var. seluair) *n*
pants (coarse) seluar [sə.lwar] *n*
pants (refined) suluair [su.lwɛ] *n*

papaya paya [pa.ja] *n*
paper (coarse) kertas [kær.tas] *n*
paper (refined) kertair [kær.tɛ] *n*
parent-in-law chingkay 1 [tʃiŋ.ke] *n*
parents mak bapak [maʔ ba.paʔ] (comp. of mak, bapak) *n*
parents' eldest sister's husband tio-tio 1 [tjo-tjo] *n*
parent's sister's husband tio [tjo] *n*
park letak [lə.taʔ] *v*
pass lalu [la.lu] *v*
PASS kena 1 [kə.na] *v*
paternal cousins kopiau [ko.pjaw] *n*
pay (coarse) bayar [ba.jar] *v*
pay (refined) bayair [ba.jɛ] *v*;
peel kopék [ko.peʔ] *v*; kupas [ku.pas] *v*
people orang 1 [o.raŋ] *n*
Peranakan female Nyonya [ŋo.ŋa] *n* (contr. nya)
Peranakan male Baba 1 [ba.ba] *n* (contr. ba)
Peranakan card game cherki [tʃɛr.ki] *n*
perform main 2 [majn] *v*
perpetually siap-siap [sjap-sjap] *adv*
person orang 2 [o.raŋ] *n*
PERSON si 1 [si] *dem*
PFV ada 4 [a.da] (var. a) *v*
pick up angkat 3 [aŋ.kat] *v*; punggot [puŋ.got] *v*
picture (coarse) gambar [gam.bar] *n*
picture (refined) gambair [gam.be] *n*
piece kepéng [kə.peŋ] *clf*
piece of fabric or paper lay [le] (var. of helay) *clf*
pig babi [ba.bi] *n*
pinch kepék [kə.peʔ] *v*
pity sayang 3 [sa.jaŋ] *interj*
place tempat [təm.pat] *n*
plant tanam [ta.nam] *v*
plate pinggan [piŋ.gan] *n*
play main 1 [majn] *v*; wayang [wa.jaŋ] *n*
play hard to get buat mahal [bwat ma.hal] (comp. of buat, mahal) *v*
pluck peték [pə.teʔ] *v*

pocket kochék [ko.tʃeʔ] *n*
poisonous tork 1 [tɔʔ] *adj*
polite perama [pə.ra.ma] *adj*
polite character mulot ringan [mu.lot ri.ŋan] (comp. of mulot, ringan) *n*
pond laut 2 [lawt] *n*
poor miskin [mis.kin] *adj*
porridge bubor [bu.bɔ] *n*
POSS mia 2 [mja] (contr. of punya) *v*; nia 1 [ŋa] *v*; punya 1 [pu.ŋa] *v*
pound tumbok [tum.boʔ] *v*
pour and serve tuang [twaŋ] *v*
prawn udang [u.daŋ] *n*
pray semayang [sə.ma.jaŋ] *v*
PREP dekat 3 [də.kat] (var. kat) *prep*; di [di] *prep* (comp. diluar); kat [kat] *prep*
prepared siap [sjap] *v*
preserved vegetables kiamchai [kjam.chaj] *n*
pretend to not hear buat tak dengair [bwat taʔ dəŋ.ɛ] (comp. of buat, tak, dengair) *v*
price arga [ar.ga] (var. of harga) *n*; harga [har.ga] *n*
priest paderi [pa.də.ri] *n*
PROG ada 2 [a.da] (var. a) *v*
promiscuous samplang [sam.plaŋ] *adj*
proper kenonay [kə.no.ne] *adj*; seronoh [sə.ro.noh] *adj*
prosper huat 2 [hwat] *v*
protruding eyes mata beliak [ma.ta bə.ljaʔ] (mata, beliak) *n*
public opinions mulot dunya [mu.lot du.ŋia] (comp. of mulot, dunya) *n*
pull tarék [ta.reʔ] *v*
pull out chabot [tʃa.bot] *v*
pummel bedék [bə.deʔ] *v*
pure jati 2 [dʒa.ti] *adj*
purse horpau [hor.paw] (var. orpau) *n*; orpau [or.paw] *n*
push tolak [to.laʔ] *v*
put tarok [ta.roʔ] *v*
put in masok 2 [ma.soʔ] *v*

Q

quarrel berkelay [bər.kə.le] *v*

quick chepat [tʃə.pat] *adj*

quick (coarse) lekas [lə.kas] *adj*

quick (refined) lekair [lə.ke] *adj*

quiet diam [djam] *adj*

quietly diam diam [djam djam] *adv*

R

rabbit kuching belanda [ku.tʃiŋ bələnda] (comp. of kuching, belanda) *n*

race lawan [la.wan] *v* race racerain hujan [hu.dʒan] (var. ujan) *n*; ujan [u.dʒan] *n*

raise children piara [pja.ra] *v*

rank pangkat [paŋ.kat] *n* (comp. naik pangkat, pangkat adek beradek)

rational (coarse) benal [bə.nal] *adj*

rational (refined) benair [bə.nɛ] *adj*

raw mentah [mən.tah] *adj*

reach sampay 2 [sam.pe] *v*

read bacha [ba.tʃa] *v*

really betul 3 [bə.tol] *adv*; sungguh [suŋ.gu] *adv*

reason (refined) pasair 2 [pa.sɛ] *n* (contr. sair 1); sair 1 [sɛ] (contr. of pasair) *n* (comp. apa sair)

reason (coarse) pasal 2 [pa.sal] *n* (comp. apa pasal)

receive dapat 2 [da.pat] *v*

recognize jin [dʒin] *v*

red mérah [me.rah] *adj*

red packet of monetary gift angpau [aŋ.paw] *n*

Rel mia 2 [mja] (contr. of punya), nia 2 [nja] (contr. of punya) *rel*, punya 2 [pu.na] *rel*; nang [naŋ] (var. of yang) *rel*; yang [jaŋ] *rel*

remember ingat 1 [i.ŋat] *v*

reminisce kenang [kə.naŋ] *v*

repent beruba [bə.ru.ba] *v*

respect hormat [hor.mat] (var. ormat) *v*; ormat [or.mat] *v*

resting platform balay-balay [ba.le-ba.le] *n*

return balék 1 [ba.leʔ] *v*; pulang [pu.laŋ] *v*

reverse gostan [go.stan] *v*

rice cake chuikuéh [tʃwi.kweh] *n*

rice cake served in spicy gravy lontong [lon.toŋ] *n*

rich kaya 1 [ka.ja] *adj*

ride tunggang [tuŋ.gaŋ] *v*

right kanan [ka.nan] *adv*

ripe masak 2 [ma.saʔ] *adj*

rise naik 2 [najʔ] *v* (comp. naik baik, comp. naik darah, comp. naik geléték, comp. naik geram, comp. naik gila, comp. naik lemak, comp. naik pangkat, comp. naik sedap, comp. naik seram)

river sunggay [suŋ.ge] *n*

road tengah jalan [tə.ŋah dʒa.lan] (comp. of tengah, jalan) *n*

roast panggang [paŋ.gaŋ] *v*

rock batu 1 [ba.tu] *n*

rock goyang 1 [go.jaŋ] *v*

roof bunbong [bun.boŋ] *n*

room bilék [bi.leʔ] *n*

root (coarse) akar [a.kar] *n*

root (refined) akair [a.ke] *n*

rouge yénchi [jen.tʃi] *n*

roughly agak agak [a.gaʔ a.gaʔ] (agak) *adv*

round bulat [bu.lat] *adj*

run lari [la.ri] *v*

S

- sad** sedéh [sə.deh] *adj*
- safe** selamat [sə.la.mat] *adj*
- saliva** lio [ljo] *n*
- salt** garam [ga.ram] *n*
- salty** asin [a.sin] *adj* der. asién asin comp. mulot asin
- same** sama 1 [sa.ma] *adj*
- sand** paser [pa.ser] *n*
- satisfied** kamwan [kam.wan] *adj*
- satisfied feeling** shiok 1 [ʃjoʔ] *adj*
- saute** spices tumis [tu.mis] *v*
- say** kata [ka.ta] *v*
- school** sekolah [sə.ko.lah] *n*
- scold** maki [ma.ki] *v*
- scratch** gerong [gə.ronŋ] *v*
- sea** laut 1 [lawt] *n*
- season** musim [mu.sim] *n*
- second father** tio-tio 2 [tjo-tjo] *n*
- second mother** mak-yi [maʔ-yi] (comp. of mak, yi 2) *n*
- see** nampak [nam.paʔ] *v*; téngok [te.ŋoʔ] *v*
- seed** bijak 2 [bi.dziʔ] *n* (comp. bijak mata)
- seems** macham 2 [ma.tʃam] *adv*; amcham (comp. of apa cham), (comp. apa macham, contr. cham 2)
- seldom** jarang [dʒa.raŋ] *adv*
- self** sendiri [sən.di.ri] *n*
- selfish** auban [aw.ban] *adj*
- sell** (coarse) jual [dʒwal] *v*
- sell** (refined) juair [dʒwɛ] *v*
- serious** bengis 2 [bə.ŋis] *adj*
- seven** chit [tʃit] *cardnum*; tujuh [tu.dʒoh] *cardnum*
- sew** jait [dʒajt] *v*
- shadow** bayang [ba.jaŋ] *n*
- shake** gonchang [gon.tʃaŋ] *v*; goyang 2 [go.jaŋ] *v*
- sheep** kambing 2 [kam.biŋ] *n*
- sheet** éla [e.la] (var. of helay) *clf*; lay [le] (var. of helay); helay [hə.le] *clf*
- ship** (coarse) kapal [ka.pal] *n*
- ship** (refined) kapair [ka.pɛ] *n* ship
- shiver** mengintar [mə.ŋin.tar] *v*
- shock** kejut [kə.dʒut] *adj*
- shoe** kasot [ka.sot] *n*
- shop** keday [kə.de] *n*
- short** katék [ka.teʔ] *adj*; péndék [pen.deʔ] *adj*
- shoulder** bahu [ba.hu] (var. bau) *n* shoulder shoulder; bau [baw] *n*
- shout** pekék [pə.keʔ] *v*
- show** tunjok [tun.dʒoʔ] *v*
- shy** segan [sə.gan] *adj* comp. buang segan
- sibling** adék 1 [a.deʔ] *n* (der. adék beradék)
- siblings** adék beradék 1 [a.deʔ bə.ra.deʔ] (der. of adék) *n* (comp. pangkat adek beradek)
- sick** sakit [sa.kit] *adj*
- side** belah [bə.lah] *prep*; tepi 1 [tə.pi] *n*; tepi 2 [tə.pi] *adv*
- sign** tanda [tan.da] *n* (comp. tanda mata)
- silent** senyap [səŋap] *adj*
- similar** to bagi [ba.gi] *adv*
- sing** menyanyi [mə.ŋa.ŋi] (var. nyanyi) *v*; nyanyi [ŋa.ŋi] *v*
- singe** siut [sjut] *v*
- sink** tenggelam [təŋ.gə.lam] *v*
- sit** dudok 1 [du.doʔ] *v*
- six** enam [e.nam] *cardnum* six six; lak [laʔ] *cardnum*
- skin** kulit [ku.lit] *n*
- skirt** kun 1 [kun] *n*
- sky** langit [la.ŋit] *n*
- sky-deity** (Jade Emperor) ti-gong [ti-goŋ] *n*
- sleep** tidor [ti.dor] *v*
- sleepy** mengantok 2 [me.ŋan.toʔ] *v*
- slice** iris [i.ris] *v*
- slim** ringan [ri.ŋan] *adj* (comp. mulot ringan)

slippers terompak [tə.rom.paʔ] *n*
slow pelan [pə.lan] *adj* (comp. pelan pelan)
slowly pelan pelan [pə.lan pə.lan] (der. of pelan) *adv*
small kechik [kə.tʃiʔ] *adj* (comp. buang ayé kechik)
small and round bijik 1 [bi.dʒiʔ] *clf* (comp. bijik mata)
small clock aloji 1 [a.lo.dʒi] *n*
smashed up nua [nwa] *adj*
smell ba'u [ba.ʔu] *n*
smelly busok [bu.soʔ] *adj* (comp. ati busok, comp. mulot busok)
smile senyum 1 [sə.num] *v*; senyum 2 [sə.num] *n*
smoke asap [a.sap] *n*
smooth lichin [li.tʃin] *adj*
snake (coarse) ular [u.lar] *n* snake
snake (refined) uluair 1 [u.lɛ] *n*
snap patah [pa.tah] *v*
socks boik [bojk] *n*
soft lembéh [ləm.beh] *adj*
soil tanah 1 [ta.nah] *n*
some berapa 2 [bə.ra.pa] *adv*
somewhat salty asién asin [a.sjen asin] (der. of asin) *adj*
son ba [ba] (contr. of Baba) *n*; Baba 2 [ba.ba] *n*
song lagu [la.gu] *n*
son-in-law kiasai 1 [kjasaj] *n*
sorrow pilu [pi.lu] *n*
sound bunyi [bu.ni] *n*
soup sup [sup] *n*
sour asam 2 [a.sam] *adj*
sour plums sengbuay [səŋ.bwe] *n*
speak chakap [tʃaj.kap] *v*
spend belanja 1 [bə.lan.dʒa] *v*
spice paste (for papaya soup) titék [ti.teʔ] *n*
splurge gaya [ga.ja] *v*
spoilt rosak [ro.saʔ] *adj*
spoon séndok [sen.doʔ] *n*
spring roll with turnip popiah [po.pjah] *n*
squinty juling [dʒu.liŋ] *adj* (comp. mata juling)
stab tikam 1 [ti.kam] *v*
stage panggong [paŋ.gon] *n*

stairs tangga 2 [taŋ.ga] *n*
stale basi [ba.si] *adj*
stand diri [di.ri] *v*
standard baku [ba.ku] *adj*
star bintang [bin.taŋ] *n*
stay dudok 2 [du.doʔ] *v*
stay (coarse) tinggal 2 [tiŋ.gal] *v* stay
stay (refined) tinggair 2 [tiŋ.gɛ] *v*
steam kukus [ku.kus] *v*
step on pinjak [pin.dʒaʔ] *v*
sticky melekat [mə.lə.kat] *adj*
still lagik 2 [la.giʔ] *adv*
stingy kiam [kjam] *adj*
stomach perot 2 [pə.rot] *n*; purot [pu.rot] *n*
stone batu 2 [ba.tu] *n*
story cherita [tʃə.ri.ta] *n*
straight terus [tə.rus] *adj*
straightaway langsung [laŋ.son] *adv*
Straits-born Chinese Peranakan [pə.ra.na.kan] *n*
strangle chekék [tʃə.keʔ] *v*
streetwise cherdék [tʃər.deʔ] *adj*
stretch upon waking up buang segan [bwaŋ sə.gan] (comp. of buang, segan) *v*
strike pukol 2 [pu.kol] *v*
strong kuat [kwat] *adj*
stubborn degil [də.gil] *adj*
stupid bodoh [bo.doh] *adj* (comp. buat bodoh); gorblok [gə.bloʔ] *adj*
stylised dance jogét [dʒo.get] *v*
stylish lawa [la.wa] *adj*
subjected to kena 2 [kə.na] *v*
sugar gula [gu.la] *n*
suitable hak [haʔ] *adj*
sun mata ari [ma.ta a.ri] (comp. of mata, ari) *n*
sun dry gemoh [gə.moh] *v*
superstitious pantang [pan.taŋ] *adj*
supple lembut [ləm.but] *adj*
surprised peranjat [pə.ran.dʒat] *adj* (comp. terperanjat)
sweep sapu [sa.pu] *v*

sweet manis [ma.nis] *adj* (comp. mulot manis)
sweet dessert of thick coconut milk with banana chunks
pengat [pə.ŋat] *n*

sweetheart mata ayé [ma.ta a.je] (comp. of mata, ayé) *n*
swim berenang [bə.rə.naŋ] *v*
Syzygium fruit (pink) jambu [dʒam.bu] *n*

T

table méja [me.dʒa] *n*; tok [toʔ] *n*
tail buntot 1 [bun.tot] *n*
take amék [a.meʔ] *v*
take care of someone or something jaga 2 [dʒa.ga] *v*
tall tinggi [tiŋ.gi] *adj*
tamarind asam 1 [a.sam] *n*
tame jinak [dʒi.naʔ] *adj*
tapioca ambun [am.bun] *n*
taste chobak [tʃo.baʔ] *v*
tasteless (coarse) tawar [ta.war] *adj*
tasteless (refined) tawair [ta.wɛ] *adj*
tea téh [teh] *n*
teach (coarse) ajar [a.dʒar] *v*
teach (refined) ajair [a.dʒɛ] *v*
teak jati 1 [dʒa.ti] *n*
tell bilang [bi.laŋ] *v*
tell a lie bédék [be.deʔ] *v*
ten chap [tʃap] *cardnum* (id. ati it gor it chap); puloh
[pu.loh] *cardnum*
ten (coarse) belas [bə.las] *cardnum*
ten (refined) belair [bə.lɛ] *cardnum*
terrible terok [tə.roʔ] *adj*
thank you kamsiah [kam.sjah] *interj*
that itu [i.tu] *dem* (contr. tu)
there [sa.na] *adv*
thick (describing liquid) [pə.kat] *adj*
to twist one's foot peléchok [pə.le.tʃoʔ] *v*
to water plants renjis [rən.dʒis] *v*
toilet chiwan [tʃi.wan] *n*
tomorrow bésok [be.soʔ] *adv*
tongue lidah [li.dah] *n*

thin kurus [ku.rus] *adj*
thing barang [ba.raŋ] *n*
think ingat 2 [i.ŋat] *v*; pikay [pi.ke] *v*; rasa 2 [ra.sa] *v*
thirsty a'us 1 [a.ʔus] (var. of ha'us) *adj*; ha'us 1 [ha.ʔus]
adj
this ini [i.ni] *dem* (contr. ni)
thousand ribu [ri.bu] *cardnum*
threadfin fish kuro [ku.ro] *n*
threat gertak [gər.taʔ] (var. gretak) *v*; gretak [grə.taʔ] *v*
three sa [sa] *cardnum*; tiga [ti.ga]
throw buang [bwaŋ] *v* (comp. buang ayé, comp. buang
ayé besair, comp. buang ayé kechik, comp. buang
buang, comp. buang mata, comp. buang mulot, comp.
buang sebelah, comp. buang segan, comp. buang
tebiét)
throw tantrum buang tebiét [bwaŋ tə.bjet] (comp. of
buang, terbiat) *v*
tickle geléték [gə.le.teʔ] *v* (comp. naik geléték)
tidy (coarse) kemas [kə.mas] *v* tidy
tidy (refined) kemair [kə.mɛ] *v*
tie ikat [i.kat] *v*
tiger arimo [a.ri.mo] (var. of harimo) *n*; harimo
[ha.ri.mo] *n*
time jam 1 [dʒam] *n*; kala [ka.la] *n* (comp. sinjakala); kali
[ka.li] *n*
tired penat [pə.nat] *adj*
too terlalu [tə.la.lu] *adv*
tooth gigi [gi.gi] *n*
top atas [a.tas] *prep*
torn koyak [ko.jaʔ] *adj*
tortoise ku 1 [ku] *n*; kura-kura [ku.ra-ku.ra] *n*

toss lambong [lam.boŋ] *v*
touch raba [ra.ba] *v*
TR -kan [kan]
traditional blouse kebaya [kə.ba.ja] *n*
traditional cakes kuéh [kweh] *n* . (comp. kuéh-yi)
traditional Peranakan elder bok-bok [boʔ-boʔ] (contr. of embok-embok) *n* ; embok-embok [əm.boʔ-əm.boʔ] *n*
traffic junction sempang [səm.paŋ] *n*
transfer salin [sa.lin] *v*
treat belanja 2 [bə.lan.dʒa] *v*
tree pokok [po.koʔ] *n*
tremble (coarse) bergetar [bər.gə.taɾ] *v*

tremble (refined) bergetair [bər.gə.tɛ] *v*
true betol 2 [bə.tol] *adj*
trust perchaya [pər.tʃa.ja] *v*
turn bélok [be.loʔ] *v*; **pusing** 2 [pu.siŋ] *v*
turn over balék 2 [ba.leʔ] *v*
turnip bangkuang [baŋ.kwaŋ] *n*
turtle labi-labi [la.bi-la.bi] *n*
twisted béngok [be.ŋoʔ] *adj* (comp. mulot béngok)
twisted mouth mulot béngok [mu.lot be.ŋoʔ] (comp. of mulot, béngok) *n*
two dua [dwa] *cardnum*; ji [dʒi] *cardnum*
type of noodles kolomi [ko.lo.mi] *n*

U

ugly burok [bu.roʔ] *adj*
umbrella payong [pa.joŋ] *n*
unbleached cotton outfit used for mourning belachu [bə.la.tʃu] *n*
uncontrollable mouth mulot gatair [mu.lot ga.tɛ] (comp. of mulot, gatair) *n*
under bawah [ba.wah] *prep*
under the influence of black magic kunang [ku.naŋ] *adj*
understand reti [rə.ti] *v*
unhappy kéksim [keʔ.sim] *adj*

unlucky suay [swe] *adj* (comp. buat suay)
unripe terbantot [tər.ban.tot] *adj*
until sampay 1 [sam.pe] *prep*
upstairs loténg [lo.teŋ] *adv*
urinate buang ayé kechik [bwaŋ a.je kə.chiʔ] (comp. of buang, ayé, kechik) *v* ; buang ayé [bwaŋ a.je] (comp. of buang, ayé) *v*
use guna 1 [gu.na] *v* ; guna 2 [gu.na] *n* ; pakay 2 [pa.ke] *v* ; pasang 1 [pa.saŋ] *v*
used to it biasa [bja.sa] *adj*

V

vegetables sayor [sa.jor] *n*
very sangat [sa.ŋat] *adv v*; sekali 1 [sə.ka.li] *adv*

village kampong [kam.poŋ] *n*

W

waist pinggang [piŋ.gaŋ] *n*
wait tunggu [tuŋ.gu] *v*

wake mangun [ma.ŋun] *v*
walk jalan [dʒa.lan] *v* (comp. tengah jalan)

walking stick tongkat [toŋ.kat] *n*
wall témbok [tem.boʔ] *n*
want mo [mo] *v*
wart mata ikan [ma.ta i.kan] (comp. of mata, ikan) *n*
wash chuchi [tʃu.tʃi] *v*
water ayé [a.je] *n* (comp. buang ayé, comp. buang ayé besair, comp. buang ayé kechik, mata ayé)
water spinach kangkong [kaŋ.koŋ] *n*
wear pakay 1 [pa.ke] *v*
wedding gift exchange ceremony lapchai [lap.tʃaj] *n*
week minggu [miŋ.gu] *n*
weigh timbang [tim.baŋ] *v*
what apa [a.pa] *interrog* (comp amcham, comp. apa cham, comp. apa macham, comp. apa pasal, contr. apa sair)
when bila [bi.la] *adv*
where mana 1 [ma.na] *interrog*
which mana 2 [ma.na] *interrog*
whirl pusing 1 [pu.siŋ] *v*
whisper memisék [mə.mi.seʔ] *v*
white putéh [pu.teh] *adj*
who siapa [sja.pa] *interrog*
why (coarse) apa pasal [a.pa pa.sal] (comp. of apa, pasal) *interrog*

why (refined) apa sair [a.pa sɛ] (contr. of **apa**, **sair 1**) *interrog* why
wife bini [bi.ni] *n*
wildness liar [ljaɾ] *n*
win menang [mə.naŋ] *v*
wind angin [a.ŋin] *n*
window menjéla [mən.dʒe.la] *n*
Winter Solstice tangchék [taŋ.tʃeʔ] *n*
with sama 3 [sa.ma] *prep*
withstand tahan [ta.han] *v*
wonder héran [he.raŋ] *v*
wood kayu [ka.ju] *n*
work kerja 1 [kəɾ.dʒa] (var. kreja) *v*; kerja 2 [kəɾ.dʒa] (var. kreja) *n*; kreja 1 [krə.dʒa] *v*; kreja 2 [krə.dʒa] *n*
world dunya [du.ŋa] *n* (comp. mulot dunya)
worn out ha'us 2 [ha.ʔus] (var. a'us) *adj*; a'us 2 [a.ʔus] *adj*
worry kuatay [kwa.te] *v*
wound luka 2 [luka] *n*
wounded luka 1 [luka] *adj*
wring perah [pə.rah] *v*
wrist watch aloji 2 [a.lo.dʒi] *n*
write tulis [tu.lis] *v*
wrong salah 2 [sa.lah] *adj*

Y

yawn mengantok 1 [mə.ŋan.toʔ] *v*

year taoun [ta.own] *n*

yellow kuning [ku.niŋ] *adj*

yes ya [ja] *interj*

young mudah [mu.dah] *adj*

younger sibling adék 2 [a.deʔ] *n* (der. adék beradék)

younger siblings adék beradék 2 [a.deʔ bæ.ra.deʔ] (der. of adék) *n*

youngest (only for familial relations) bongsu [boŋ.su]

Appendix D: Sociophonetics post-matched guise listening survey

Post-listening Questionnaire

RESPONDENT NO:

1. Do you have any known auditory impairment? YES NO
2. What is your age? _____
3. What is your gender? FEMALE MALE
4. Rate your proficiency in Baba Malay from 1 to 5, 1 extremely weak, 5 being extremely proficient.
1 2 3 4 5
5. What language(s) did you speak from birth? (Circle the appropriate response(s))
 - a. Baba Malay
 - b. English
 - c. Mandarin
 - d. Bahasa Melayu
 - e. Tamil
 - f. Hokkien
 - g. Teochew
 - h. Cantonese
 - i. Hakka
 - j. Other(s): _____
6. What are other languages that you speak? (Circle the appropriate response(s))
 - a. Baba Malay
 - b. English
 - c. Mandarin
 - d. Bahasa Melayu
 - e. Tamil
 - f. Hokkien
 - g. Teochew
 - h. Cantonese
 - i. Hakka
 - j. Other(s): _____
7. What are the other languages that you understand? (Circle the appropriate response(s))
 - a. Baba Malay
 - b. English
 - c. Mandarin
 - d. Bahasa Melayu

- e. Tamil
 - f. Hokkien
 - g. Teochew
 - h. Cantonese
 - i. Hakka
 - j. Other(s): _____
8. If you have children, would you want your children to speak Baba Malay?
YES NO
9. If a person does not speak Baba Malay, can that person be Peranakan?
YES NO
10. Do you feel that Baba Malay is endangered?
YES NO
11. Are you worried that Baba Malay is endangered?
YES NO

END OF POST-LISTENING QUESTIONNAIRE