**PERFECTIVE ASPECT AND NEGATION IN**

**PONTIANAK TEOCHEW**

by

Yohana Veniranda

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fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics

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# LIST OF ABBREVIATION

PERF: Perfective

F: Female

M: Male

Do: Domain

TC: Teochew

I: Indonesian

E: English

H: Hakka

M: Mandarin

SA: Strongly Agree

A: Agree

N: Neutral

D: Disagree

SD: Strongly Disagree

Lit: Literally

Det: Determiner

CL: Classifier

1sg: first singular

2sg: second singular

Q: Question

Asp: Aspect

Prep: Preposition

CP: Complementizer Phrase

C: Complementizer

NP: Noun Phrase

vP: verb Phrase

VP: Verb Phrase

NP: Noun Phrase

# ABSTRACT

This research investigates Pontianak Teochew, a Chinese dialect that originated in the Chaoshan region of Guandong province in China. Pontianak is the capital city of West Kalimantan in Indonesia. The primary goal is to discuss perfective aspect and negation, and discuss the sociolinguistic backgrounds of the speakers of the language, which were obtained by interviews and questionnaires.

From the interviews, I draw the following conclusion: the choice of languages among the Teochew people in Pontianak has been influenced by four main factors. The first one is the language spoken by people at home, i.e. parents, grandparents, and care-takers. The second is the national policy. The third one is education, and the fourth is the language used by neighbors, friends, and co-workers. Each of these factors greatly affects the vitality of Pontianak Teochew.

The results of the questionnaires show that there has not been a significant reduction in the number of domains where Teochew is spoken from the older generation to the younger generation. Both the younger and the older groups have the same patterns of language use in thirty-two domains. In terms of language attitudes, both the young and older generations have positive attitudes about their mother tongue, formal Indonesian, English and other foreign languages.

Based on the extended scale proposed by Lewis and Simons (2010), Teochew in Pontianak can be described as level 6b. For UNESCO category, Teochew is "vulnerable" or level 4. Based on the speaker population, Teochew is "unsafe" or level 4. In terms of the amount and quality of documentation, it can be classified as level 0:

"undocumented." In terms of the material for language education and literacy, it can be classified as level 0: "no orthography available to the community" because the language is spoken at home and being transmitted with no written forms.

The analysis on the perfective markers show that *diau, dioʔ* and *lou* can be differentiated from the syntactic and semantic properties. The use of the perfective marker *lou* is generally selected by the features of [expected, positive] of the event. The predicates/events that take *diau* have the following general features [unexpected, negative, intransitive unaccusative], and the predicates/events that take *dioʔ* have the following features [unexpected, positive/ negative, transitive].

The analysis on the interactions show that: 1) None of the 'b' negative markers, i.e. *bo, boi, bue*, can co-occur with the perfective marker *lou,* 2) All of the 'm' negative markers can co-occur with all of the perfective markers, except for *m* and *dioʔ*, and 3) None of the perfective markers can co-occur with *bo*, except for *dioʔ.* In terms of the scope, the assumption is that *lou* is the perfective marker that takes the widest scope over all the negative markers. The negative markers *bo, boi,* and *bue,* which expresses the idea of not having something, or some event not happening is incompatible with the notion of perfectivity expressed by *lou.* In contrast, the co-occurrence of the *m* negative markers with *lou,* with *lou* taking the scope, results in the reading as 'already in the state of not being or doing such and such.' The incompatibility between *dioʔ* and *m* is caused by the difference in the types of the predicates. The marker *dioʔ* and *bo* is compatible because only the affirmative sentences with *dioʔ* can be emphasized using *u* 'exist.'

**Chapter 1**

**INTRODUCTION**

**1.1 Background**

This research investigates Pontianak Teochew, a Chinese dialect that

originated in the Chaoshan region of Guandong province in China. My study concerns

the variety of Teochew spoken in Pontianak, the capital city of West Kalimantan or

West Borneo in Indonesia. Teochew is romanized differently in different references,

such as Chaozhou, Teochiu, or Tio Ciu. As background information, I first briefly

present information about the country of Indonesia.  Geographically, Indonesia is an

archipelago that consists of thousands of islands. According to a survey done by the

National Institute of Aeronautics and Space (LAPAN)[1] in 2002, the Indonesian

archipelago has 18,306 islands. According to the CIA fact-book[2], there are 17,508

islands.  Among those islands, only half of them, i.e. around 8,844 islands, have been

named. Only around 922 islands have been permanently inhabited. In addition to

having a large number of islands, Indonesia is a country in which hundreds of

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[1] LAPAN stands for *Lembaga Penerbangan and Antariksa Nasional (*National Institute of Aeronautics and Space), the head quarter is in Jakarta, Indonesia. The website:  http://lapan.go.id

[2]*The World Factbook* 2013-2014. Washington, DC: Central Intelligence Agency (last updated June 22, 2014), retrieved October 26, 2014. The website: https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/id.html

languages are spoken by different ethnic groups. The number of individual languages listed for Indonesia is 719.[3]

Figure 1.1 Map of Indonesia[4]
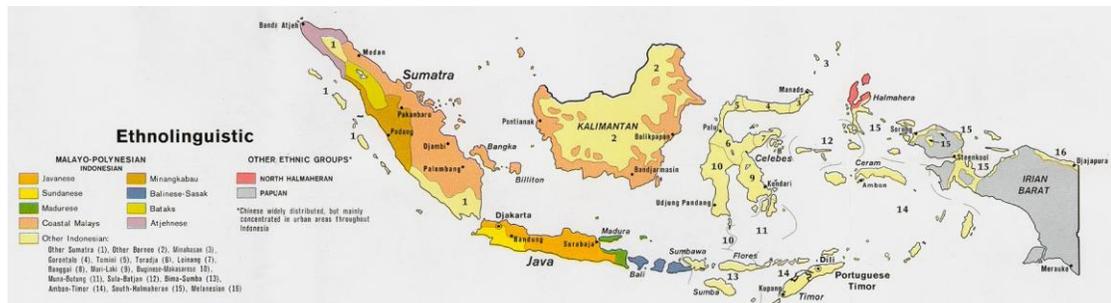
As this research concerns a variety of Teochew, which is a Chinese dialect, I also want to briefly discuss some information about the ethnic Chinese in Indonesia. In the different islands in Indonesia, there are local people who speak local languages. The Chinese people in Indonesia are immigrants from China. The great migration waves from the mainland of China occurred between 1850 and 1930. "They came almost entirely from the provinces of Fukien and Kwangtung, which were known in China for their great regional diversities" (Skinner, 1963, p. 110-112). "Chinese were directly imported, from the 1860s to the 1930s, as laborers on the plantation and in the mines producing commodities for Western markets" (Skinner, 1963, p.98). Over time, the immigrants spread to different islands in Indonesia. "A system of Chinese-

[3]https://www.ethnologue.com/country/ID (retrieved 05/08/2015)

[4]http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/middle_east_and_asia/indonesia_ethno_1972.jpg (retrieved 04/15/2015)

language schools and a Chinese-language press were developed after 1900" (Skinner, 1963, p.106).

According to 2010 census (Na'im & Syaputra, 2010, p.31), there are 2,832,510 Chinese people of the total 236,728,397 people in Indonesia. This is 1.2% of the total population of Indonesia. The census also identifies the location with the greatest numbers of the Chinese people, i.e. around *Jabodetabek* (which is an abbreviation for five different cities in the Western part of Java: Jakarta, Bogor, Depok, Tangerang, and Bekasi), West Borneo, and Bangka Belitung.  The following is some information about West Borneo, the province where this research was conducted.

According to 2010 census in West Borneo, the two main ethnic groups are the Dayaks and the Malays. There are 2,194,009 Dayaks and 814,550 Malays. Due to the government's transmigration program, which moved the people from Java island to other islands, according to the census, there are 427,333 Javanese in West Borneo. The fourth largest ethnic group is the Chinese, who comprise less than 10% of the population of the province, i.e. 358,451.  Pontianak, the city where the variety of Teochew is spoken and the city where this research was conducted, is the capital city of West Borneo. The published book of the 2010 census provides information on each of the 33 provinces, and not individual cities. I obtained information on Pontianak city from the local government's website. According to 2000 census,[5] the population of Pontianak is 554,764, with 31.2% Chinese, 26.1% Malays, 13.1% Buginese, 11.7% Javanese, 6.4% Madurese, 11.5% Dayaks and other ethnicities.

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[5]http://www.pontianakkota.go.id/?q=tentang/suku-bangsa  (retrieved March 19, 2013)

For people who are not Chinese, in the past, the Chinese people belong to two groups, the *totok* and the *peranakan*.[6] However, this differentiation is no longer used for the present day. For the Chinese people, there are smaller ethnic groups of Chinese who speak different Chinese dialects. According to Lim and Mead (2011, p.2), there are fourteen Chinese dialects in Indonesia: Hokkien, Cantonese, Hakka, Teochew, Hainan, Hokchiu, Henghua, Hokchia, Kwongsai, Chao An, Luichow, Shanghai, Ningpo, and Mandarin. I have met people who said they are Teochew, Hakka, Hokkien, Hokchia (or Fuzhou people), and Kuangfu/ Kuanghu (or Cantonese). The largest group among the Chinese people in Pontianak is the Teochew people. Thus, Teochew is the most prominent dialect in the city. There are also many Hakka people in the city who speak Hakka. There are few Hokkien in the city. Years ago, there was one Hokkien family in the neighborhood who came from Medan, Sumatra. There were no other Hokkien people as far as I remember.

I have so far discussed a brief description of the country, the province, and the city where the Teochew dialect examined in this research is spoken. I refer to the

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[6] In the 1980s and early 1990s, the Chinese people in Indonesia were differentiated into two groups: *Totok* and *Peranakan*. *Totok* are the Chinese born, pure blood of Chinese, and *peranakan* are the local born, mixed blood. Later, there was a shift of the definitions. *Totok* came to refer to Chinese-oriented upbringing, use Chinese as the medium of communication, even though born in Indonesia, and *peranakan* refers to Chinese with mixed ancestry and those pure-blood local born Chinese who cannot speak Chinese at all. However, after the assimilation program during the New Order, the distinction became blurred as the Chinese are Indonesianized by Indonesian-medium schools and speak Indonesian. Post-Soeharto or the New Order era, *totok-peranakan* no longer represents the identity (Skinner (1963), Suryadinata (1981), and Tan (1997) quoted by Hoon (2008, p.5).

variety of Teochew in this research as Pontianak Teochew because it is spoken in the city of Pontianak.

This research focuses on a discussion of two grammatical constructions in Pontianak Teochew, i.e. the perfective aspect and negation. I then analyze the interactions between the perfective aspect markers and negation. Before the discussion of the perfective aspect and negation, there is a separate chapter that discusses the sociolinguistic backgrounds of the speakers of Pontianak Teochew.

## 1.2 Previous Studies

The most current study on Indonesian Teochew is Peng (2012). Her research was based on three principle native speaker consultants, two of whom were from Jambi City, Sumatra. I was Peng's third native speaker consultant for her Pontianak Teochew data. Her study focused on Jambi Teochew, so the Pontianak Teochew data were secondary data used for comparison. There are no other studies on Teochew or any other Chinese dialects spoken in Indonesia. Two different studies were done by Cole and Lee (1997), and Cole, Hermon, and Lee (2001) on the Teochew spoken in Singapore. Other studies were about the Teochew spoken in China. Previously, Xu (2007) discussed the Teochew spoken in Jieyang in the Guandong province of China. Matthews, Xu, and Yip (2005) discussed two particular constructions, Passives and Unaccusatives, in Jieyang Teochew spoken in China.

Other works on Mandarin are also related to this study. These studies discussed the inability of the negative marker *bu* 'not' to co-occur with the perfective aspect marker *le* in Chinese Mandarin (Ernst, 1995; Li & Thompson, 1989; Lin, 2003; Po-lun & Pan, 2001).

There was a social study of the history of the Chinese people in West Borneo province written by Somers-Heidhues (2003) that discusses the demographic, economic, and political life during the 1980s and early 1990s. There have been a great number of social, political, and anthropological studies about the Chinese people in Indonesia since 1960s, such as Williams (1960), Somers (1974; 1966; 2003), Kwee (1969), Mozinggo (1976), Mackie (1976), Suryadinata (1978; 1992; 1997; 1999; 2005), Lindsey (2005), Tan (1991; 2005), Budiman (2005), Hoon (2008), Dawis (2009), Willmott (2009). There were social studies about the Chinese of specific towns, such as Semarang (Willmott, 1960), Cirebon (Hoadley, 1988), Pasuruan (Oetomo, 1987), Sukabumi (G. Tan, 1963). Kartawinata (1990) discussed the language choice of Chinese *Peranakan* Community. Oetomo (1987) discusses the language attitudes, class and ethnic identity, and he describes the syntactic and phonological features of the languages of the Chinese people of Pasuruan (in Eastern Java).

To my knowledge, no work that focuses on the linguistic aspect of Pontianak Teochew has been published. No previous studies have included a discussion of the sociolinguistic backgrounds of Pontianak Teochew speakers, the negation, the perfective aspect markers, or the interactions between the perfective aspect markers and negation in Pontianak Teochew.

**1.3 Methodology**

In this section, I discuss the methodology of how the data were obtained and how the analyses were done. There are two types of data in this study. The first are Pontianak Teochew sentences that are related to the discussion and analysis of the

perfective aspect and negation. The second type is the data for the discussion of the sociolinguistic backgrounds of Pontianak Teochew speakers.

At the beginning stage of this research, the elicited Pontianak Teochew sentences were derived from direct translation of the Mandarin sentences used by some authors, e.g. Li and Thompson (1989). In early observations, I found that Mandarin perfective aspect marker *le* is expressed differently using *diau, dioʔ* and *lou* in Pontianak Teochew. These first few examples of the difference between Teochew and Mandarin markers drew my interest about the perfective aspect. I then continued to find as many other further relevant examples as possible of sentences with the perfective aspect markers in Pontianak Teochew. More grammatical and ungrammatical examples were found as the discussion and analysis were developed. The analysis started with the examination of the kinds of verbs the markers co-occur with. Then the analysis continued with the study of the meaning the markers express. All of the perfective markers share the property of denoting a completed event. But the findings showed that they are not the same, as they have semantic and syntactic differences that cause them to not be interchangeable with one another. There is an interesting phenomenon discussed in the chapter on the perfective aspect, i.e. it is possible to combine two perfective markers in one simple sentence.

During the analysis of the perfective aspect, I found out that some authors, e.g. Huang (1988), Ernst (1995), and Lee and Pan (2001), analyzed the interactions between the perfective aspect and negation. The first examples of negation were derived from Mandarin *bu* and *mei,* which were expressed differently and in unpredictable patterns by *bo, boi, bue, m, mo,* and *min* in Pontianak Teochew. This first observation drew my interest about negation. Then, I found as many further

relevant examples as possible of sentences that contained negation in Pontianak Teochew. The first stage of the analysis was done with both the grammatical and ungrammatical examples. Then, through further observation and analysis, some generalizations were found.

Before discussing the grammatical constructions, I first discuss the backgrounds of the people speaking the language. The data for this discussion of the sociolinguistic backgrounds of Teochew speakers were obtained through interviews and questionnaires. The interviews were conducted with five Teochew speakers of different ages, and the questionnaires were distributed to thirty-one Teochew speakers of different ages. The discussion of the five interviewed speakers is in chapter 2, where I discuss the sociolinguistic backgrounds of Pontianak Teochew speakers.

For this research, I did not design the questionnaire myself. There was already a questionnaire designed for research on the language use in a certain scope of areas in Indonesia. The questionnaire is written in Indonesian and has detailed sections that can be used to obtain data about Teochew speakers.[7]  The questionnaire was taken from Cohn et.al. (2013)[8] and was also used in the collaborative research done by *Pusat Kajian Bahasa dan Budaya (PKBB)* (the Center for Language and Culture Studies),

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[7] Cohn et.al. (2013, p.3) used the questionnaire to investigate two questions: "1) Is Indonesia moving from a multilingual nation to a monolingual one? And 2) Is the use of Indonesian expanding into domains where previously local languages would be used (as is reported by Kurniasih (2006) and Smith-Hefner (2009) for Javanese)? Can we see this in apparent time?"

[8] Cohn et.al. (2013, p.3) stated that "Our questionnaire (*Kuesioner Penggunaan Bahasa Sehari-hari*) builds on previous questionnaires that have been developed for use in Indonesia and elsewhere (most notably the Middle Indonesia Project conducted by Errington (1986) with a questionnaire developed by Tadmor, as well as questionnaires by Kurniasih (2006) and Smith-Hefner (2009)."

Atmajaya Catholic University, the Jakarta Field Station, and the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology.  The original Indonesian version can be found in Appendix J.

The questionnaires distributed to the speakers were the original Indonesian version. The respondents were asked to answer the questions as instructed. However, in the discussion of the results, I focus on some selected sections of the questionnaires that are directly relevant to this research, i.e. to find out the language(s) or dialect(s) the respondents use in their daily activities and to find out their attitudes or opinions about the use of different languages.

As a speaker of Pontianak Teochew, I was involved directly as a person who also provides examples and grammatical judgments of sentences used in this research. I therefore briefly provide some information about my background in the next section.

## 1.4 Background of the Author

I was born in Pontianak. Both of my parents are Teochew. My father was born in Pontianak. My mother was born in Guandong province in China, and she came to Indonesia when she was around five years old with her mother and siblings.  I grew up in Pontianak and finished senior high school there.  I spoke Teochew at home and sometimes at school. Since starting school, I have also spoken Indonesian. I left Pontianak when I was nineteen years old. I continued my studies in Yogyakarta, a city in central Java. I have lived in Yogyakarta since I graduated college in 1994 with an English degree. Therefore, I have also learned to speak casual Javanese (Javanese Ngoko). I speak Teochew with my mother on the phone.  I often mix Teochew with Indonesian when I speak with my siblings on the phone. I have been teaching English to undergraduate students at the English education study program in *Universitas*

*Sanata Dharma* in Yogyakarta, Indonesia, so I have been using English as the medium of instruction in classes.

In the discussions of the perfective aspect and negation, when I needed some confirmation or a second opinion about some sentences, I often contacted another speaker of Teochew who has been living in Pontianak, e.g. my elder sister Yovita. Yovita is a Teochew speaker that I have consulted on sentences and grammatical judgments, including thinking of additional examples or explaining some differences in sentences. The communication was mostly done through email using Indonesian and English. For some Teochew vocabulary, I often consulted my mother. So far, I have been speaking the language without analyzing it. I never questioned myself whether a perfective aspect marker selects a certain predicate, or whether there is some difference between the markers. This research has given me a good opportunity to look into the language from a very different perspective.

I include this section because I believe my cultural background, experience, and observations influence the way I interpret and explain the results of this research.

**1.5 Orthography**

The orthography of Pontianak Teochew in this dissertation uses the IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet). However, when quoting examples of Jieyang Teochew and Mandarin, the orthography is the Wade Giles system such as that used in the sources. Aspiration is represented with a superscripted 'h' after the aspirated consonant. Teochew is a tone language, but since the description is about the syntax, the tones are not marked. Teochew words and sentences are italicized in the discussion paragraphs but not italicized in the numbered examples. Indonesian words are italicized to represent their borrowed origin in Teochew sentences.

**1.6 Organization of the Dissertation**

The primary goal of this dissertation is to discuss two constructions in Pontianak Teochew, i.e. the perfective aspect and negation, and to provide an analysis of the interactions between the perfective aspect markers and negation. The discussion of the perfective aspect focuses on the markers *diau, dioʔ* and *lou.* Before discussing the perfective aspect and negation, I first discuss the sociolinguistic backgrounds of the speakers of the language in Chapter 2. In this chapter, in addition to a brief discussion of the interviews with five speakers of the language, I also discuss the results of the questionnaires that were distributed to 31 speakers, whose ages ranged from 10 years old to 73 years old. The reasons for choosing the speakers are discussed in this chapter. The discussion of the language(s) used in daily activities and the opinions about the language used develops into a long and detailed discussion, which therefore appears in a separate chapter.

I discuss the perfective aspect in Chapter 3 and negation in Chapter 4. With the purpose being to show the similarities and differences between the three perfective aspect markers, the discussion stands as a separate chapter due to the complexities of the markers. Negation in Pontianak Teochew is expressed by different phrases: *bo, boi, bue, m, mo,* and *min*. The analysis of the interactions between the perfective aspect markers and negation is discussed in chapter 4. The discussion starts with the perfective aspect markers and the negative markers that can or cannot co-occur. The analysis is done on the characteristics of the markers that can co-occur and the markers that cannot co-occur. The results are some generalizations on the use of the markers. The last chapter, Chapter 5, is conclusion and summary. There will be several issues recommended for further research in this chapter. Data from the

questionnaires and the details of the calculation of statistical significance are included

in Appendix G.

## Chapter 2

## THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC DESCRIPTION OF PONTIANAK TEOCHEW

### 2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the sociolinguistic backgrounds of the speakers of Pontianak Teochew.  In the previous chapter, I discussed briefly information about the country, the province, and the city where Pontianak Teochew is spoken. As I mentioned in the previous chapter, before discussing the perfective aspect, negation, and the interactions between the perfective aspect and negation of Pontianak Teochew, I will first present research on the sociolinguistics of Pontianak Teochew. The sociolinguistics section is important because there is no previous research on it. There are efforts to document and describe local languages in Indonesia (e.g. by different *Pusat Bahasa* or language centers), but local Chinese varieties have been largely ignored because they are not considered 'local.'

The data about Teochew people have been collected using two methods, i.e. by interviews and by questionnaires. The purpose of the interviews was to find out relevant information and opinions about the current situations of language use and language choice. There are two main questions that I wanted to find out from the interview: 1) What are the native speaker consultants' opinions about the current situations of language use and language choice? 2) What are the factors that strengthen and weaken the use of the language? From the younger native speaker consultants, I obtained information about the language they use and thus I compared their experience with the older native speaker consultants' experience. From the older native speaker consultants, I obtained information about the political situations in the past that influenced their language use, and information about the current situations

why some Teochew children can still speak Teochew and why some others cannot speak Teochew. From the interviews, I concluded that the language use and language choice have been influenced by four main factors: 1) the people at home, i.e. parents, grandparents, and care-takers, 2) the national policy, 3) education, and 4) neighbors, friends, and co-workers.  Each of these factors can cause a strengthening and a weakening use of Teochew. The factors that strengthen Teochew speaking are the presence of grandparents who speak Teochew, the national policy in 1999 that abolished the ban of Chinese culture and language, Teochew speaking neighbors, and Teochew speaking friends. The factors that weaken Teochew speaking are the presence of baby-sitters who cannot speak Teochew, English speaking at home, the national policy in 1960s that banned Chinese culture and language, and Mandarin speaking co-workers. I discuss the results of the interview in detail in section 2.3.

The purpose of the questionnaires was to find out relevant information about the speakers of Teochew in terms of the demographic information, such as age, gender, religion, level of education, occupation, and information about their language use and language choice in different domains in their daily life. The information of the speakers of Teochew is represented by thirty-one Teochew respondents.

There are eight sections in this chapter. Section 2.2 discusses a brief history of the migration of the Chinese people to West Borneo. Section 2.3 discusses the results of the interviews with five Teochew speakers. Section 2.4 covers the explanation of the content of the questionnaire. The next section provides information about the respondents to the questionnaires. In the discussion of the personal information of the respondents, such as age, gender, and religion, the respondents are shown as one group. In the discussion of the results of the language choices in different domains, the

respondents are divided into two groups, i.e. a younger group aged ranging from 10 to 27 and an older group aged ranging from 41 to 73. The results of the questionnaires are discussed in two separate sections, i.e. sections 2.6 and 2.7. Section 2.6 shows the results of the questionnaires, particularly the language used in daily activities. In this section, the calculation of the difference using t-tests shows whether the difference between the two groups is significant or not. Although there are some basic statistical calculations in this section, this study is a qualitative rather than quantitative study. Section 2.7 discusses the results of the questionnaires, particularly about opinions regarding the use of mother tongues, the local languages, Indonesian, and English. In discussing the results, the respondents are divided into two groups based on their ages to discuss the different results between the younger generation and the older generation. After the sections of the results of the questionnaires, there is a discussion of the situations based on the UNESCO levels of vitality and endangerment. The last section provides a summary and conclusion.

One of the efforts to obtain more complete data that researchers usually take is to apply more than one technique for data collection. Two kinds of techniques in this research, i.e. the interviews and the questionnaires, were used in efforts to obtain a more comprehensive description of the sociolinguistic backgrounds of the language.

**2.2 A Brief History of the Chinese Migration to West Borneo**

In Borneo, "the Dayaks are the 'original' or indigenous inhabitants of the island" (Somers, 1974, p. 27; Somers-Heidhues, 2003, p. 23, 27). 'Dayak' is not an ethnicity, but rather a general term that outsiders use to describe the many ethnicities and languages which are indigenous to Borneo. The Chinese in West Borneo have been there as the results of the migration from China, and it was noted to have started

in the eighteenth century. Somers-Heidhues (2003) described the Chinese settlement

as follows:

> Unlike Chinese settlement in some parts of the Indonesian archipelago,
> a result of Dutch colonialism, Chinese migrants arriving in West
> Kalimantan usually organized their own migration, using their own
> networks. In the early days, local Malay rulers encouraged them to
> come, but neither colonial authorities (the Dutch) nor Western
> enterprises promoted their migration (Somers-Heidhues, 2003, p.11).

> It was even noted that the colonial authorities tried to stop the migration.

Further, Somers-Heidhues (2003) stated:

> The Chinese people in West Kalimantan are mostly small traders, shop
> owners, farmers and fishermen. Most of the Chinese in this province
> are neither *towkays*[9] nor tycoons. The Chinese of West Kalimantan,
> especially the Hakkas often form alliances with the Dayaks or
> indigenous people of the island through economic activities and family
> relations. Teochew dominate the urban community of Pontianak.
> Different from the ethnic Chinese in Java, who adopted the local
> languages and lost their ability to speak a Chinese language, the
> Chinese in West Kalimantan have remained "Chinese" as they still
> maintain speaking the Chinese dialects (Somers-Heidhues, 2003, p.11-
> 14).

Indonesia has a long history with Dutch colonialism. The first Dutch ships

arrived in the archipelago in 1595. VOC, the Dutch-run United East Indies Company

was established in 1602.[10] First, they looked for spices and natural resources before

they turned to take over the place. I will not discuss in detail the history of

colonialism, but I can briefly mention that the Dutch, starting from the VOC,

established control over Indonesia for about 347 years, starting in 1602 until 1949.

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[9] *Towkays* literally means big bosses (which means "successful businessmen").

[10] VOC stands for Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie (Frederick and Worden, 2011)

Indonesia was also colonized by the Japanese for three and a half years in 1942 until 1945 (Frederick & Worden, 2011). In the historical context, the migration of the Chinese to Indonesia and their lives in the early years were influenced by the Dutch's policies (Kwee, 1969).

In the next section, I will discuss the results of the interview with Teochew speakers. The interviews were conducted in June 2013. The details of the questions and answers can be found in Appendix I.

## 2.3 The Interview

The purpose of the interviews was to find out relevant information and opinions about the current situations of language use and language choice. In this section, I sum up the results of the interviews with five Teochew speakers: a 10-year-old girl (native speaker consultant Ya), a 12-year-old girl (native speaker consultant S), a 46-year-old woman (native speaker consultant Yo), a 72-year-old woman (native speaker consultant I) and a 73-year-old man (native speaker consultant H). The speakers were chosen based on two main criteria: whether he/she can speak Teochew and whether he or she has been living in Pontianak for a long time. All of them have been living in Pontianak for more than ten years. I also decided to choose different speakers to represent different ages, so information on the current situations from different perspectives can be obtained. Among the five speakers, two speakers represented young speakers, one speaker represented middle-aged speakers, and two speakers represented older speakers.

Based on my notes and recorded interviews with the speakers, I can draw the following conclusion: the choice of languages among the Teochew people in Pontianak, as experienced and observed by the different ages of native speaker

consultants, has been influenced by four main factors. The first one is the language spoken by people at home, i.e. parents, grandparents, and care-takers. The second is the national policy. The third one is education, and the fourth is the language used by neighbors, friends, and co-workers. Each of these factors greatly affects the vitality of Teochew. Each of them is discussed in the following four sections.

### 2.3.1 The people at home: parents, grandparents, and the care-takers

The interview revealed the very unsurprising fact that children who grow up in a household with Teochew speakers are more likely to speak Teochew. One 12-year-old speaker, for example, reported that she speaks good Teochew because her mother makes sure to speak Teochew with her at home. With this in mind, the prevalence of caretakers in Teochew homes, which has increased as a result of more mothers working outside of the home, has been detrimental to the vitality of Teochew, since among those baby-sitters available for hire, the vast majority are non-Chinese. In many cases care takers spend several years working for a single family, and as a result, the children in that family often become fluent in the language of the caretaker.

Although Chinese in Pontianak have a tradition of hiring a middle-aged Chinese care-taker to cook and take care of a mother following child delivery, such care takers are typically hired for only one month and charge much higher fees than non-Chinese caretakers. Due to the limited term of their employment, the presence of Chinese care-takers does not have a positive influence the children's acquisition of Teochew. Children who live in the same household as their grandparents living with them, report speaking Teochew more frequently and fluently, since many members of the older demographic are by far more likely to use Teochew at home. Three native speaker consultants: native speaker consultant Yo, native speaker consultant I, and

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native speaker consultant H, all express their observations about this phenomenon. They report that the presence of grandparents has reinforced the use and acquisition of Teochew at home, despite the daily presence of an Indonesian-speaking care-taker.

Surprisingly, a few interviewees reported that parents in Pontianak have decided to speak English with their children at home. This is what has happened with the 10-year-old speaker. Her mother has spoken English with her at home since she was a baby. Native speaker consultant Yo also reported that she once taught a private English language course where three of the students were mothers who wanted to learn English because their children spoke English with their fathers at home, and the children complained that their mother could not speak English.[11] Further study is needed to investigate how widespread this phenomenon is; however, to the extent that these reports are true, the use of English has become a factor which reduces the vitality of Pontianak Teochew.

### 2.3.2 The national policy

In the interviews with both the 72 year-old (Native speaker consultant I) and 73-year-old (Native speaker consultant H), these individuals discussed their experiences as school children. They recall that during the early 1960s, there were Mandarin schools in Pontianak. When the national policies officially forced the closure of Mandarin schools in 1966, Indonesian became the primary language at schools starting in kindergarten until college. Everyone attending schools since that time has been able to speak and write Indonesian. The ban on Chinese culture and language which led to the closure of Mandarin schools, also had the effect of reducing

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[11] (Native speaker consultant Yo, personal communication, April 18, 2015).

the vitality of Teochew use because at school, which previous to the ban, was used informally between pupils in the school context.

Although both native speaker consultant I and native speaker consultant H did not specifically know the details of the policy, they remembered the impact when Mandarin schools were closed. My research into the historical policies regarding to Chinese in Indonesia revealed that starting in the 1950s, policies were put in place in various parts of the archipelago regarding Chinese language and culture. "In the summer 1957, the military commanders in East Indonesia,[12] eager to put an end to foreign ideologies, closed all Chinese-language schools,  and in April 1958, a military decree banned the publication of newspapers or periodicals in the Chinese language" (Skinner, 1963, p.113-114).

The one that was officially national about Chinese religion, beliefs, and tradition was the Presidential Instruction No. 14/1967 (*Inpres No.14/1967*). The policy required all rituals or activities that are related to Chinese be done internally within the family and not in public.

For more than thirty years, Teochew, as one Chinese dialect, was explicitly discouraged at Indonesian-medium schools. My experience of schooling from 1976 until 1989 in Pontianak was different from the experience of the two young native speaker consultants. My teachers would encourage the use of Indonesian and would discourage the use of mother tongues at school. Native speaker consultant S said, "I heard my teacher spoke Hakka." Native speaker consultant Ya said, "My teachers does not care whether we speak Teochew or not."

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[12] East Indonesia (Negara Indonesia Timur) is not the same as Indonesia, but rather refers to a separate country which only later joined RI.

The political situations changed. The period from 1966 until 1999 is known as the New Order era. The year 1999 marked the end of the New Order era. The new president, Abdurrahman Wahid (or known as Gus Dur), initiated the change for the Chinese by the cancellation of the national policy issued in 1967. It was done by Presidential Decision No.6/2000 (*Keppres No.6/2000*). It was followed by another policy that influenced the Chinese, namely, Presidential Decision No.19/2002 (*Keppres No.19/2002*), issued by the next president Megawati Soekarnoputri, that decided the lunar (Chinese/ *Imlek*[13]) New Year as a national holiday. Since then, people have been more open to accept and express the Chinese culture and language. As Mandarin is taught again at schools, Teochew is no longer as strictly banned as before. The main language is Indonesian, and Mandarin is taught two hours per week as an obligatory course. It is more likely to find teenagers who can speak Mandarin than any twenty or fifty-year-old man or woman because of the country's New Order era. If someone around these ages speaks or understands Mandarin, he/she has had some private courses outside of formal schooling. Both of the 72 and 73-year-old native speaker consultants can speak perfect Teochew, good Mandarin and good Indonesian because they experienced both Mandarin and the Indonesian schooling. The change of the national policy in 1999 has been a strengthening factor for Teochew speaking.

### 2.3.3 Education

Today, most schools are using Indonesian as the medium of instruction. A few schools name themselves "national-plus," include the use of English in classroom

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[13]*Imlek* is an Indonesian word for Chinese New Year.

instruction. In the majority of schools in Indonesia, the children are taught in Indonesian. There is a bilingual school in Pontianak that was established in 1999. The teachers use Indonesian and English in their instruction. Nowadays, many schools, both private and public, have introduced English and Mandarin starting at kindergarten levels through university levels. Native speaker consultant Yo[14] said. "All private schools in all levels have Mandarin subject. Many public schools have Mandarin subject, including some Moslem's based schools. Due to the limited number of teachers, some public schools cannot provide Mandarin classes. "Many parents have sent their children to attend English and Mandarin private courses outside of the formal schools. At the college level, students in English departments speak English. Some of them then speak English with their children. "Some parents have sent their children to study Mandarin abroad. As a result, among the older Mandarin teachers in Pontianak, there are now young Mandarin teachers. They have returned to Pontianak after finishing their education from countries, such as China and Taiwan," said native speaker consultant Yo. I conclude that education has been influencing the language of the people.

### 2.3.4    The neighbors, friends, and co-workers

The youngest native speaker consultant, native speaker consultant Ya, said that although her mother speaks English with her at home, she found out that no one in the neighborhood or at school speaks English. She has adapted herself and has learnt to speak Teochew and Indonesian with their neighbors and friends at school. The oldest native speaker consultant, native speaker consultant H, talked about his wife. His wife

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[14] (Personal communication, April 18, 2015).

is a Kuangfu (Cantonese) from Singapore. "The neighborhood in Pontianak speaks Teochew, so she speaks Teochew now. She speaks Mandarin at work with her co-workers who also teach Mandarin," said native speaker consultant H. Native speaker consultant I said that at the beginning of her arrival in Pontianak in 1948, her Teochew language consisted of more obvious high and low tones. She still carried the original tones from the Teochew spoken in Guandong. She also remembered that her neighbors commented on her tones, and as a result, she said that she then adapted herself and her Teochew language has become more 'flat,' like most of the Teochew speakers in Pontianak. It is not obvious why the Teochew in Pontianak does not have obvious high and low tones.[15] A friend from Riau (Sumatra) and another friend from Jambi speak Teochew with more obvious high and low tones. Both of them commented that my Teochew does not have obvious tones. Their obvious high and low tones remind me of the way my grandfather spoke.

These are the factors that have influenced and will continue influencing the choice of languages among Teochew speakers in Pontianak. The following is the summary of the factors that have caused the strengthening and weakening of Teochew speaking in Pontianak:

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[15] I suspect that Teochew speakers in Pontianak are more strongly influenced by the local language, Pontianak Malay, in terms of the tones, and slowly lost the obvious high and low tones, which are of the original Teochew, like the Teochew speakers in Riau or Jambi. However, Peng (2012) found out that Jambi Teochew is influenced more by the local Malay syntactically than Pontianak Teochew.

Table 2.1 The factors that strengthen and weaken Teochew speaking

| | Factors | Strengthening | Weakening |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Increasing employment of baby-sitters who cannot speak Teochew | - | √ |
| 2. | The presence of grand-parents who speak Teochew | √ | - |
| 3. | English speaking at home | - | √ |
| 4. | The national policy in 1960s that banned Chinese culture and language | - | √ |
| 5. | The national policy in 2000 that abolished the ban | √ | - |
| 6. | Teochew speaking neighbors | √ | - |
| 7. | Teochew speaking friends | √ | - |
| 8. | Mandarin speaking co-workers | - | √ |

The interviews I conducted provided some insight into the experiences, attitudes and observations of Teochew speakers themselves. Having drawn some general conclusions about the factors that strengthen/weaken the vitality of Teochew based on the interviews, I would now like to present the results of a more detailed questionnaire dealing with language use. Before I present and analyze the responses to this questionnaire, I shall briefly summarize the content and aims of the questionnaire.

**2.4 The Questionnaire**

For this dissertation, I used the *Kuesioner Penggunaan Bahasa Sehari-hari,*[16] a questionnaire developed in order to investigate language shift in Indonesia. The questions contained in this questionnaire investigate the many complex dimensions of

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[16] It means 'A Questionnaire about Daily Language Use.' The original questionnaire can be seen in Appendix J.

language use, and provide us with a highly detailed picture of Teochew language use in Pontianak. The questionnaire was taken from Cohn, et.al. (2013), and was used in the collaborative research between *Pusat Kajian Bahasa dan Budaya (PKBB)* (the Center for Language and Culture Studies), Atmajaya Catholic University, and the Jakarta Field Station of the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology.[17]

The original version of the questionnaire, which was used in this study, was written in Indonesian; thus the participants in this study provided responses in Indonesian. The original version of the questionnaire is shown in Appendix J. In this discussion, I translate the questionnaire into English. There are ten sections in the questionnaire, all of which I discuss in this section. Later, in the results section, my discussion focuses only on the sections that I consider most important to understanding Teochew language use in Pontianak (I omit, for example, discussion of information about the respondents' grandparents, the use of computer/ laptop/ tablet, cell-phone and internet, and the frequency of family gathering).

The first section asks for information about the respondent in terms of the year of birth, gender, the place he grew up, the religion, the ethnic group, the person he grew up with, occupation before retired, current address, and information on how long he has lived at the address. The second set of questions asks about the educational background that shows the location of his primary school, junior high school and senior high school, college, and provides information on whether the school is public or private. The third set of questions asks about the language(s) or dialect(s) that the respondent masters. The information includes the name of the language(s) or

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[17]The questionnaire can be retrieved from
http://lingweb.eva.mpg.de/jakarta/socio/kuesionerbahasakita2013.pdf

dialect(s), the age he first acquired/learnt it and the place he speaks it (at home, at school, at work, in the neighborhood, etc.), and it also asks for information on the mastery in understanding, speaking, reading, and writing each of the language/dialect. At the end of this section, there is some space for the respondent to write down other languages/dialects spoken in the surrounding areas regardless of the fact that he may not be able to speak or understand it.

The fourth section of the questionnaire asks about the language use in different domains. There are thirty-four domains given and the respondent can fill in the space with the language(s) or dialect(s) he uses in each domain. The thirty-four domains listed are: with mothers, fathers, siblings, grand-parents, spouses, uncles and nieces, neighbors, maids, when angry, in dreams, while counting, texting family members, texting friends, texting spouse, writing on social media (e.g. Facebook), praying silently, praying in public worship places, at home, at work, in the market, at nearby kiosks, in the bank, at the post office, with teachers in primary school, with friends at primary school, with teachers at senior high school, with friends at senior high school, in public transportation, reading books, reading newspapers, reading magazines, listening to music, listening to radio, and watching television.

Section 5 of the questionnaire asks for information about parents of the respondent and includes the year of birth, ethnic group, the first language/dialect spoken, other language(s) or dialect(s) spoken, religion, highest level of education, occupation before retired, the place he/she grew up, language spoken in six different domains, i.e. during childhood, at home, with spouse, at work, with relatives (uncles, aunts, cousins, etc.), and with their neighbors.  Section 6 asks for information about

both sets of their grandparents, with the same questions in turn asked about their parents.

Section 7 asks about the respondent's spouse and children, if the respondent is married and/or has children. This section covers the same questions asked about the respondents' parents.

Section 8 asks about the respondent's language attitudes. There are fourteen statements in this section, i.e. 1) Mastering your parents' language is important, 2) Mastering the local language is important, 3) Your children need to be fluent in your first language, 4) Speaking in your local language in front of someone who does not understand the language is impolite, 5) When someone is not fluent in the local language, it is better he does not use it, 6) Speaking in the local language is old-fashioned, 7) If someone wants to be a part of your ethnic group, the person, who is of the same ethnic group with you, has to be fluent in the ethnic language, 8) Mastering formal Indonesian is important for you, 9) If someone wants to be successful in his job, he has to master formal Indonesian, 10) If someone wants to continue his studies at school, he has to master formal Indonesian, 11) Mastering English is important for you, 12) If someone wants to live a better and more successful life in the future, he has to master English, 13) If someone wants to understand a more advanced, wider, and global world, he has to master English, and 14) Mastering other foreign languages in addition to English is important.

Reading the statements above, the respondent is asked to put a tick (√) on a scale from one to five to indicate whether he/she 'strongly agrees,' 'agrees,' 'is neutral,' 'disagrees,' and 'strongly disagrees' with each of the statement.

The next section in the questionnaire, section 9, asks 3 additional yes/no questions: 1) Do you have a computer/laptop/tablet? 2) Do you have a smart phone (a cell phone that can have internet access)? And 3) Do you use internet?

In the same section, the respondent is asked how often they have gathering with relatives: 0, 1-2 times, 3-5 times, 6-12 times, 12-24 times, more than 24 times. Finally, each questionnaire is dated and signed with information about the location where it was filled out, and space is provided if the respondent wants to provide additional information, including their opinions/suggestions about the questionnaire.

Now that I have discussed the contents of the questionnaire, I will briefly discuss the demographic characteristics of the respondents based on their responses.

## 2.5 The Respondents to the Questionnaires

This section provides information about the respondents. Originally, the questionnaire was developed with the purpose of investigating the language(s) or dialect(s) spoken in a certain region. In this research, the questionnaires were distributed only to Teochew speakers, and only to those who had been living in Pontianak for several years (at least four years). I had to exclude six respondents for one or more of the following reasons: 1) he/she did not speak Teochew, but spoke another Chinese dialect only,[18] 2) he/she has just moved to Pontianak (less than four years ago), 3) his/her mastery of Teochew was 2-3 on a scale of 5 scale (according to self-evaluation), and 4) he/she was only temporarily staying in Pontianak for college. In what follows, I first present the data, and then I discuss some possible relevant facts

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[18] Native speaker consultant Yo said that some students misunderstood the instruction and thought they could participate as long as they spoke one Chinese dialect.

about the conditions of the respondents. At this point, I discuss the personal information of the respondents as a single group, because I do not need to compare opinions between different generations.

All respondents were chosen based on two criteria: whether they could speak Teochew, and whether they had been living in Pontianak for a long time (more than four years). Among the younger group, one class at the department of Business English at the Polteq (*Politeknik Tonggak Equator*) Pontianak was chosen to fill in the questionnaires. The department was chosen because there were not any Chinese people at other departments in the institution, i.e. Food Technology and Food Plants Cultivation. Respondents were sought at other universities; however, my request to distribute the questionnaire was not accepted due to the length of time needed to complete all questions. In addition to the students of Polteq, two other members of the younger group of speakers were lecturers at Polteq. My two young nieces, who are representative of very young speakers and have lived in Pontianak their whole life, also filled in the questionnaire.

The older generation respondents were chosen by a slightly different procedure, since they could not be gathered at a single location. They were also chosen based on the two criteria: whether they could speak Teochew, and whether they had been living in Pontianak for more than four years. As part of the efforts to choose representative samples, I tried to choose the respondents who had different backgrounds and lived at different locations in Pontianak. Among them were my mother, my elder sister, the neighbors of my mother (around Tanjungpura Street) and the neighbors of my sister (around Sultan Abdurrahman Street). I also contacted two of my senior high school friends who had been living in Pontianak. There were some

people who were among my mother's Buddhist friends, my sister's colleagues, one of my junior high school teachers, and one of my juniors in undergraduate studies who had returned to Pontianak after his graduation. There were not many friends I could contact because most of my senior high school friends no longer reside in Pontianak. Considering the length of the questionnaires, I had to make sure if the respondents found it difficult to write, there was someone in his or her family who could help him/her to fill in answers. With their diverse backgrounds, I consider the respondents I chose for this study constitute representative samples of Pontianak Teochew speakers. The respondents filled in the questionnaires between May 26, 2014 and June 26, 2014.

Personal information about the respondents (i.e. ages, genders, religions, occupations, languages, and education) is shown in the following table.

Table 2.2 The respondents' ages, genders, religions and occupations

| Age (years old) | Gender | Religion | Occupation |
|---|---|---|---|
| 10 | F | Catholicism | Student |
| 12 | F | Catholicism | Student |
| 20 | F | Catholicism | Student |
| 20 | F | Protestantism | Student |
| 21 | F | Protestantism | Student |
| 21 | M | Protestantism | Student |
| 21 | M | Catholicism | Student |
| 21 | M | Catholicism | Student |
| 21 | M | Catholicism | Student |
| 21 | M | Buddhism | Student |
| 21 | M | Buddhism | Student |
| 21 | M | Buddhism | Student |
| 21 | M | Catholicism | Student |
| 22 | F | Confucianism | Student |
| 25 | M | Catholicism | Student |
| 27 | F | Catholicism | Employee |
| 27 | M | Catholicism | Employee |
| 41 | F | Buddhism | Employee |
| 42 | M | Catholicism | Employee |
| 43 | F | Catholicism | house wife |
| 44 | M | Catholicism | self-employed |
| 46 | F | Catholicism | Lecturer |
| 46 | F | Confucianism | house wife |
| 47 | M | Catholicism | Lecturer |
| 52 | M | Protestantism | self-employed |
| 58 | F | Catholicism | Teacher |
| 59 | M | Protestantism | government employee (employee) |
| 71 | F | Buddhism | house wife |
| 71 | F | Buddhism | Employee |
| 73 | M | Buddhism | head of construction projects (employee) |
| 73 | M | Catholicism | Employee |

There were seventeen male and fourteen female respondents in this research. The religions of the respondents are as follows:

Table 2.3 The religions of the respondents

| Religion | Number | % |
|---|---|---|
| Catholicism | 17 | 55% |
| Protestantism | 5 | 16% |
| Buddhism | 7 | 23% |
| Confucianism | 2 | 6% |
| | 31 | 100% |

The majority of the respondents, i.e. 17 respondents, or 55%, are Catholics. I believe this fact is related to the fact that Catholic schools are the most common private schools in Pontianak, whereas there are no Buddhist schools.  All public or government schools at the elementary and secondary levels are conducted based on Islam.  A few Chinese have become Moslems in Pontianak. In this study, none of the respondents are Moslems.  A few respondents who attended public elementary, junior or senior high schools are Catholics or Protestants.

In terms of occupation, most of the respondents (15 individuals) are students. The respondents who are twenty, twenty-one, and twenty-two years old are all college students.

Table 2.4 Occupations of the respondents

| Occupation | Number |
|---|---|
| students | 15 |
| employee[19] | 8 |
| house-wife | 3 |
| teacher/lecturer | 3 |
| self-employed | 2 |
| | 31 |

Working as an employee is the most common occupation among those who have gone to work. Eight respondents are employees. A few of them are house-wives, teachers/lecturers, or self-employed.

Regarding the language(s) or dialect(s) the respondents speak, because this research investigates Teochew speakers, all the respondents speak Teochew; however, none of them speak only Teochew. Indonesian is the medium of instruction at school at all levels, from kindergarten to college; thus, all the respondents speak Indonesian. In fact, all respondents can speak at least three languages/dialects. Counting only those languages in which respondents claimed to be fluent to very fluent, respondents fit into three groups based on the number of languages they speak: trilingual (three languages/dialects), tetra-lingual (four languages/dialects), and penta-lingual (five languages/dialects). Despite some differences between Indonesian and Malay, I consider Indonesian and Malay to be one language in the discussion in this section. The following table shows the number of respondents based on the number of languages they speak.

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[19] *Karyawan* 'employee' is a general term used for anyone who work for other people, e.g. in a store, in an office, at school (if not an academic position). To be more specific, the questionnaire can provide options of different occupations.

Table 2.5 The number of trilingual, tetra-lingual, and penta-lingual respondents

| Respondents | Number |
|---|---|
| Trilingual | 12 |
| Tetra lingual | 18 |
| Penta lingual | 1 |
|  | 31 |

The trilingual respondents mostly speak Teochew and Indonesian, and one more language, i.e. either English or Mandarin.  The list of the details of the languages/dialects of each respondent can be found in the Appendix A.

As previously mentioned, the fact that not many Chinese men or women between the ages of twenty and fifty speak Mandarin is due to the political situations under president Soeharto, who issued bans on Chinese language and culture from 1965 to 1998, purportedly for the purpose of assimilation, Chinese schools and books were banned. After the riots in May 1998 that brought the end of his presidency, many of these policies were changed. Starting 1999, many schools started including Mandarin as an extra-curricular activity as well as one of the obligatory subjects.

Therefore, people who attended school before 1965 speak some Mandarin, in addition to Indonesian, while people who attended school after 1965 typically speak Indonesian, but tend to not speak Mandarin.  Nowadays, Mandarin, in those cases where it is included at school, it is usually as an extra-curricular activity or an obligatory subject that is taught two hours per week. Indonesian is still the main language of instruction at all schools.

Regarding the type of school attended, most of the respondents attended private schools, i.e. 83% of all grade levels, and only 17% have been attended in public schools. Among thirty-one respondents, twenty-three respondents, or 74%, attended college. Two of the respondents, or 6%, attended graduate school.

In this section, I described the respondents in terms of their ages, genders, religions, occupations, languages, and education backgrounds. In the next section, I discuss responses to the fourth set of questions in the questionnaires. The discussion of the results is focused on two main issues: the language used in various domains (section 2.6), and respondents' opinions regarding the use of their mother tongue, the local language where they live, Indonesian and English (section 2.7).

## 2.6 The Results of the Questionnaires: the language used in daily activities

This section describes patterns of language/dialect use spoken in thirty-four domains. Thirty-one respondents were divided into two groups. Group 1 consists of seventeen respondents aged 10 to 27 years old, and group 2 consists of fourteen respondents aged 41 to 73 years old.[20] In the discussion of the results, Group 1 is mostly referred to as 'the younger generation' or 'the younger group' and group 2 is referred to as 'the older generation' or 'the older group.'

This section discusses one-by-one the results of the questionnaires. Some percentages were calculated based on the total number of the languages the respondents use in a particular domain. This percentage is referred to as the

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[20] The consideration of the division of the age and of adding more respondents for the older group was consulted with Yanti and Cohn (through Yanti) (personal communication, June 2, 2013).

'percentage of communication'. Another calculation was based on the number of respondents which used a particular language in a particular domain, so the percentage is referred to as the 'percentage of the respondents.' The discussion begins with a discussion of the entire data set from the section of the questionnaire concerning all domains. Following this general discussion, I take a closer look at responses regarding the thirty-four domains of language use, such as written communication, praying activities, etc.

The data I present below support the hypothesis that there is no significant difference between the older generation and the younger generation in terms of the language they use. As I shall discuss in depth, in some domains, e.g. when sending written communication, such as texting family members, texting friends, texting spouse, writing on social media (e.g. posting on Facebook), praying silently and praying in public worship places, both generations use mostly Indonesian.

The list of the language(s)/dialect(s) used by the respondents is shown in the following table. The languages spoken by the respondents are TC (Teochew), I (Indonesian), E (English), H (Hakka), and M (Mandarin).

Among the younger group, 31% speak Teochew, and 56.10% speak Indonesian, while among the older group, 29.70% speak Teochew, and 51.72% speak Indonesian. The older group has higher percentages for English (1.5% higher), Hakka (1.66% higher), and Mandarin (2.9% higher) than the younger group. When a basic statistical t-test (2 tails, type 2, with $p<0.05$) was performed on the two sets of data, the result was 0.7726, which shows that the difference between the two sets of data is not significant. I chose 2 tails because I did not predict the direction of the increase. I chose type 2 because the sets of data were independent or unpaired.

Table 2.6 The language(s) or dialect(s) the respondents use in the 34 domains.

| | GROUP 1 (Below 40 years old) | | | | | | GROUP 2 (Above 40 years old) | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Do | TC | I | E | H | M | | TC | I | E | H | M | |
| 1. | 16 | 3 | 2 | | | | 10 | | | 4 | | |
| 2. | 15 | 3 | | 2 | | | 10 | 1 | | 3 | | |
| 3. | 15 | 4 | | 1 | | | 10 | | | 3 | | |
| 4. | 15 | 1 | | 2 | | | 8 | | | 3 | | |
| 5. | 1 | 1 | | | | | 11 | 1 | | | | |
| 6. | 14 | 4 | | 3 | | | 10 | 3 | | 4 | | |
| 7. | 12 | 9 | | 2 | | | 10 | 7 | | 1 | | |
| 8. | 1 | 6 | | | | | 1 | 6 | | | | |
| 9. | 13 | 9 | | | | | 8 | 5 | 2 | | | |
| 10. | 7 | 8 | | | | | 5 | 4 | | 1 | | |
| 11. | 10 | 10 | | | | | 10 | 3 | 2 | 3 | | |
| 12. | 1 | 17 | | | | | | 12 | 2 | | 1 | |
| 13. | 3 | 15 | 2 | | | | | 12 | 2 | | 1 | |
| 14. | 1 | 2 | | | | | | 8 | 2 | | 1 | |
| 15. | | 11 | 7 | | | | | 7 | 1 | | | |
| 16. | 3 | 15 | 2 | | | | 3 | 10 | 2 | | 1 | |
| 17. | 3 | 14 | | | | | 4 | 10 | | | 1 | |
| 18. | 15 | 4 | 3 | | | | 12 | 4 | 2 | 1 | | |
| 19. | 11 | 9 | | 4 | | | 3 | 10 | 2 | 2 | | |
| 20. | 12 | 13 | | 4 | | | 10 | 10 | | 2 | | |
| 21. | 11 | 13 | | 4 | | | 11 | 9 | | 1 | | |
| 22. | 3 | 16 | | | | | 3 | 14 | | | | |
| 23. | | 15 | | | | | | 14 | | | | |
| 24. | | 17 | 1 | | | | 1 | 11 | | | 1 | |
| 25. | 8 | 12 | | 2 | | | 7 | 9 | | | 1 | |
| 26. | 1 | 14 | 1 | | | | | 9 | | | 1 | |
| 27. | 11 | 12 | | | | | 7 | 7 | | | 1 | |
| 28. | 1 | 17 | | | | | 1 | 14 | | | | |
| 29. | | 17 | 3 | | | | | 13 | 3 | | 3 | |
| 30. | | 17 | 1 | | | | | 13 | 3 | | 1 | |
| 31. | | 15 | 3 | | | | | 13 | 3 | | 1 | |
| 32. | | 11 | 6 | | 7 | | | 5 | 8 | | 7 | |
| 33. | | 14 | | | 1 | | | 12 | 4 | | 1 | |
| 34. | | 15 | 11 | | 6 | | | 14 | 4 | | 5 | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | TC | I | E | H | M | | TC | I | E | H | M | |
| | 203 | 363 | 42 | 24 | 14 | 646 | 155 | 270 | 42 | 28 | 27 | 522 |
| | 31% | 56.10% | 6.50% | 3.70% | 2.10% | 100% | 29.70% | 51.72% | 8% | 5.36% | 5% | 100% |

After discussing the language(s) or dialect(s) the respondents use in the thirty-four domains, I discuss each of the domains one-by-one. The details of the thirty-four

domains and the language(s) or dialect(s) of each respondent are shown in the Appendices (from Appendix B to Appendix F). In the discussion, the thirty-four domains are grouped into seven sections. The first section covers the first eight domains, i.e. the language the respondents use when speaking with the closest people around them: their parents (mothers and fathers), siblings, grandparents, spouses (if they have one), relatives (uncles, cousins), neighbors, and maids (if they have one).

### 2.6.1 The language spoken with mothers, fathers, siblings, grandparents, spouses, relatives, neighbors, and maids

In both groups, Teochew is the main dialect the respondents use with their mothers, fathers, siblings, grandparents, and relatives (uncles, nieces). Among the older generation, four respondents, or 28%, speak Hakka with their mothers, and three of the four respondents also speak Hakka with their fathers, siblings, grandparents, and neighbors. There are no Hokkien speakers among the respondents. There are two respondents in the younger generation who speak English, Teochew, and Indonesian with their mothers. English is not found to be a language spoken with the parents among the older generation. In the older generation, there are more respondents who speak Hakka with their siblings (23% of them) and relatives (27% of them). Of the respondents in the younger generation, 5% speak Hakka with their siblings, and 11% speak Hakka with their relatives.

Since among the younger generation most of the respondents are not yet married, I do not report the language spoken with spouses. Among the older generation, only one respondent speaks Indonesian with his spouse. All the others speak Teochew with their spouses. It is interesting to observe that even some of the

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respondents who speak Hakka with their parents, siblings, and relatives, speak Teochew with their spouses.

The language spoken with the neighbors is mostly Teochew in both the younger and the older generations. The next most common language is Indonesian among both generations. Hakka is spoken by one respondent among the younger generation, and one respondent among the older generation.  There are two respondents among the younger generation who speak only Teochew with their parents and siblings, but speak Hakka and Teochew with their neighbors. The data also suggest that the neighborhood where one lives also influences the language someone speaks. Indonesian is rarely spoken at home, but the data show that it is used more often with neighbors. Four respondents among the younger generation, and five respondents among the older generation, who speak only Teochew with their parents and siblings, speak Teochew and Indonesian with neighbors.  Four respondents in the younger generation and five respondents in the older generation speak mostly only Teochew with their neighbors. When calculated as a percentage, respondents in the younger generation are using 52% Teochew, 39% Indonesian, and 8% Hakka with their neighbors, while the respondents in the older generation speak 55% Teochew, 38% Indonesian, and 5% Hakka. There is a slight decrease in the use of Teochew and a slight increase in the use of Indonesian among the younger group when compared to the older group.

Next, among the few respondents in the younger generation who have maids, Indonesian is used by 86% of them and Teochew is used 14% of them. There is only one respondent, among the six respondents, who speaks a combination of Teochew and Indonesian with his maid. Five others use Indonesian only. Among the seven

respondents in the older generation, only one respondent uses Teochew with his maid. Six others use only Indonesian with their maids. The role of the maids is increasingly influencing the language that children speak. In the past, around 30 or 40 years ago, mothers mostly did not work outside the house. Nowadays, with increasing working mothers in Pontianak, the house-maids and baby-sitters have taken part in influencing the children's language. Children hear and then speak Indonesian earlier before entering school.

Before continuing with the results, I want to highlight some facts about the eight domains that have been discussed so far. The data show that some parents among the younger generation have begun speaking English to their children at home, whereas English was not spoken at home for the older generation. This fact is influenced by changes in the education system. In the 1980s, English was taught beginning in junior high school (middle school), or the seventh grade. Beginning around the 1990s, to make themselves more competitive, schools began teaching English to much younger pupils, as young as kindergarten or even preschool. People express the opinion that certain schools are better because English is taught at the earliest grade levels. The results of the questionnaires about the respondents' attitudes towards English confirms that this opinion is prevalent.

Among those who reported speaking English, the younger generation learned English earlier than those in the older generation. Some respondents of the older generation, i.e. individuals around fifty years old, had never learned English.

In Pontianak, nearly all Chinese speak Teochew, while in the surrounding suburbs and towns, the most widely spoken language among Chinese is Hakka. In other towns nearby Pontianak that I have visited, such as Siantan or Singkawang,

Teochew people learn to speak Hakka with their neighbors. The total number of Hakka people in West Borneo is more than Teochew people. I was unable to obtain current information about the composition of sub-ethnic groups of Chinese, but Somers-Heidhues (2003, p.31) reports the following results of 1930 census of sub-ethnic groups of Chinese in West Borneo: "38,313 Hakka, 21,699 Teochew, 2,961 Cantonese, 2,570 Hokkien, and 1,257 others, a total of 66,700." Hakka people are found as the majority of sub-ethnic group of Chinese in all other areas in West Borneo, such as Mempawah, Sambas, Ngabang, Sanggau, Sintang, Putusibau, Nangapinoh, and Sekadau.

Figure 2.1 The Map of West Borneo[21]



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[21]http://sinarborneo.com/sintang-kalimantan-barat/ (retrieved 04/13/2015)

From the data, Teochew and Indonesian are the two main languages the respondents speak with their neighbors. The responses also indicate that Indonesian is the most common language used by Teochew speakers when communicating with maids.

I now continue with the results of the next set of questions, i.e. the language(s) or dialect(s) used by the respondents in the next three domains.

## 2.6.2 The language used when they are angry, they are in dreams, and while they are counting[22]

Among the younger group, mostly only Teochew and Indonesian are used when they are angry, in dreams or while counting. Among the older group, there is more variability in language choice within these three domains. The older respondents use Teochew, Indonesian, English, Hakka, and Mandarin.

There are five respondents among the younger generation who use Indonesian, in addition to Teochew, in all three activities. There is only one respondent in the older generation who uses Indonesian in all three activities. The use of Teochew is the same: 52% among the younger and the older generations. However, the use of

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[22] When someone learns a foreign language, his or her teachers usually challenge the students if they have dreamt in the language they are learning. To dream in a language means the person feels most comfortable with the language. People also count in the language they feel most comfortable. Despite different languages I speak, I only count in Teochew. That is the quickest way I count, but people will only see me mumbling. If I have to count aloud in front of my students, I count in English. Getting angry is a different situation. Someone usually gets angry with someone else. The language the person uses depends on the person he/she is angry with. I interpret the "when angry" question is not getting angry with oneself.

Indonesian is 47% among the younger respondents, but only 27% among the older respondents.

The data show that both the younger and older groups use mainly Teochew when they are angry. The data also show that to roughly the same extent, both the younger and older groups dream in Indonesian and Teochew. However, there is a difference between the two groups in the domain of counting. The respondents in the older group use mostly Teochew, while the respondents in the younger group use Teochew and Indonesian to the same extent.

Personally, although I speak Indonesian, English and Javanese, when I count silently, I use Teochew. When I count in front of my class, I use English. When I count in front my children, I use Indonesian. The question of what language one uses when angry is difficult to answer because in a society in which people speak different languages, the language someone uses when they are angry often depends on the person he/she is angry with.

The next section in the questionnaire asks about the language(s) or dialect(s) the respondents use in written communication, such as texting and writing on social media (e.g. Facebook).

**2.6.3 The language used in written communication: texting family members, texting friends, texting spouse, and writing on social media (e.g. Facebook)**

In written communication, Indonesian is the most dominant language used among both the younger and older generations. Among the younger generation, 78% of their communication uses Indonesian, and 16% of their communication uses Teochew. Among the older generation, the respondents use 79% of Indonesian, while no respondent uses Teochew in written communication. Mandarin is used by 6% of

the respondents and English is used by 13% of the respondents. The most obvious reason why speakers do not write in Pontianak Teochew is that there is no writing system. Some of the respondents of the younger generation say they use the Latin alphabets to write Teochew; however, it is clear that, in written communication, Indonesian is the preferred language among both the younger and older generation. The next two activities are praying silently and praying in public worship places.

### 2.6.4 Praying activities: praying silently and praying in public worship places

For prayer, Indonesian is again the most common language the respondents use. Among the younger generation, fourteen out of seventeen, or 82% of the respondents, use Indonesian in both public and private prayer. Two respondents, or 12%, use Teochew in both contexts. For the older generation 64% use Indonesian in public worship and silent prayer, while 21% of respondents in this group use Teochew in these contexts. I believe this fact is related to how people in Pontianak have been introduced to different religions. Most of them have been introduced to religions at school, where the language used in lessons has been Indonesian.

The next seven daily activities have been classified based on the location where communication takes place.

### 2.6.5 Activities classified based on seven locations: at home, at work, in the market, at nearby kiosks, in the bank, at the post-office, and in public transportation

Teochew is still the dominant language used at home by both generations. However, there are differences in the most dominant language used at work by the younger group and the older group. In contrast, in the bank and at the post office, Indonesian is the most dominant language used by both groups of respondents. I

discuss the details of the languages used in these seven places and the differences and similarities between the two generations and try to provide some relevant facts to account for the data.

It is understandable that Teochew is the dominant language at home of both groups of respondents. This fact is relevant to the results of the first part of the questionnaire. Teochew is the most dominant language the respondents use with their parents and with their siblings. However, some respondents speak Teochew with their parents, but they do not speak Teochew with their children. They speak English with their children. There was no respondent who speaks English with their parents among the older generation, but there were two respondents who speak English at home among the older generation. These respondents speak English with their children.

Fifteen respondents among the seventeen respondents, or 88%, of the younger generation speak Teochew at home. In addition to Teochew, two of these respondents also speak English and Indonesian, so this means that these speakers use three languages at home. In addition to Teochew, one respondent also speaks Indonesian, and another one speaks English at home. This means one of them speaks Teochew and Indonesian, and another one speaks Teochew and English.  Two respondents do not speak Teochew at home. One of them speaks Hakka only at home and another speaks Indonesian only at home. The same patterns of language are found among the older generation. In addition to Teochew, two respondents also speak English and Indonesian. Two respondents do not speak Teochew at home.

I could communicate with two respondents who speak English at home with their children. One respondent, who is an English teacher, said that the reason she speaks English at home with her younger daughter is because she wants her daughter

to be accustomed to hearing English starting at a young age, so that she will not have trouble understanding English later on. Another respondent explained that the reason she spoke English with both of her children at home when they were babies was because she had been advised by her college professor that it is good to teach as many languages as possible to children because younger children are able to acquire languages more quickly than older people. At the time when the questionnaire was completed, her children were twelve and fourteen years old and they continue to speak English at home, but also speak Indonesian and Teochew with their friends.

At work, the most dominant language used among the younger generation is Teochew, but the most dominant language used among the older generation is Indonesian. Four respondents from the older generation speak only Indonesian at work. This indicates that the past government policies of mandating Indonesian still have an effect on the language choices of the older generation at work. The prevalence of Teochew among the younger group at work is rather surprising, but illustrates the far reaching effects that the 1999 national policy changes have had on younger speakers.

In the market, among both the younger and older generations, about 50% use Teochew and 50% use Indonesian. While shopping at nearby kiosks, the younger generation is slightly more likely to use Indonesian, while the older generation is slightly more likely to use Teochew. The "market" in English can be interpreted as the supermarket or the traditional market. However, since the questionnaire is in Indonesian, and the term is "*pasar*," there is only one interpretation for the respondents: the traditional market.

Sixteen out of seventeen respondents, or 94% of the respondents, among the younger generation use Indonesian in the bank. In addition to Indonesian, two of them use Teochew. One of them uses only Teochew in the bank. All respondents among the older generation use Indonesian in the bank. In addition to Indonesian, three of them use Teochew. In the bank, it is also very common to speak Indonesian. It is shown in both groups. The familiar terms in the banks are in Indonesian (for example, *tabungan* 'saving,' *kartu kredit* 'credit cards,' *bunga* 'interest,' *deposito* 'long term saving,' *transfer* 'transfer,' *cek* 'checks'). It is possible that the respondents who speak Teochew in the bank are customers of private banks. In governmental banks, bank employees are civil servants, the vast majority of whom are non-Chinese. Based on my personal observations, the Chinese people in Pontianak usually prefer to work at their own small businesses or in private companies that are not government institutions.

Like in the bank, at the post office, all respondents among the younger and the older generations use Indonesian only. There are no other languages used at the post office. The terms of the different kinds of mail are in Indonesian, such as *Kilat* 'Express Mail,' *kilat khusus* 'special express mail,' *perangko* 'stamp,' *amplop* 'envelope.'

The final question in this section is about language use in public transportation. All respondents in the younger and older group use Indonesian in public transportation. In addition to Indonesian, one respondent in each of both age groups also uses Teochew. Although most drivers employed in public transportation are non-Chinese, some Chinese drivers are employed for a certain route in town, such as Gajah

Mada Route. The communication that occurs in public transportation is usually about the destination and the fee, both of which are typically discussed in Indonesian.

The next section concerns the language used by respondents with friends and teachers at schools of various levels.

### 2.6.6 The language used with teachers and friends at school

The next four questions ask about the language used when talking with teachers and among friends at primary school and at senior high school. There is a similar pattern between the younger and older generation in the language they use with their teachers and friends. When talking with the teachers, both in primary school and senior high school, the most dominant language the respondents use is Indonesian, while with friends, the percentage of Teochew and the percentage of Indonesian use are more or less the same regardless of grade level.

The language used in leisure activities: reading books, reading newspapers, reading magazines, listening to music, listening to radio, and watching television

The last six questions in the questionnaire ask about the respondents' hobbies. The respondents have to answer what language(s) or dialect(s) of the materials when they are reading books, newspapers, magazines, listening to music, listening to radio, and watching television. The data show that Indonesian, English, and Mandarin are the languages found as the materials for their leisure activities. Teochew or Hakka is not found because the dialects do not have written forms.[23]

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[23] I received a confirmation from native speaker consultant I that when she writes, she writes in Mandarin (September 9, 2015)

All respondents in the younger group read Indonesian books. Three of the respondents also read English books. All respondents in the older group read Indonesian books. Three of these respondents also read English books, and two respondents also read books in Mandarin. One respondent reads Indonesian, English, and Mandarin books.

All respondents in the younger group read Indonesian newspapers. One respondent also reads English newspapers. All respondents in the older group read Indonesian newspapers. Three of them also read English newspapers, and one of the respondents also reads Mandarin newspapers.

All respondents in the younger group read Indonesian magazines. Three respondents also read English magazines. All respondents in the older group read Indonesian magazines. Three also read English magazines, and one of the respondents also reads Mandarin magazines.

English language music was the most commonly listed to for both the younger and older generation. Indonesian music is the second most common for the younger generation and Mandarin is the second most common for the older generation.

Although not all the young respondents listen to the radio, all of those who do listen to broadcasts in Indonesian. One of these respondents says that he also listens to Mandarin language radio stations. Almost all respondents in the older group say that they listen to Indonesian radio. Four of them also listen to English language radio. Only one respondent says she only listens to Mandarin language radio.

Fifteen out of seventeen young respondents watch Indonesian television. Eleven of them also watch English television. Four of them also watch Mandarin television. Two respondents in this young group who do not watch Indonesian

television watch only Mandarin television. All respondents in the older generation watch Indonesian television. Four of the older respondents also watch English television. Four others also watch Mandarin television. One respondent watches television in all three of these languages: Indonesian, English, and Mandarin.

Based on the responses to the questionnaire, I conclude that there are three main factors that contribute to the respondents' preference of Indonesian. In written communication, Indonesian is preferred over Teochew because the later does not have an orthography. The second reason is because the place is a governmental office. In governmental offices, the people working there are civil servants. Civil servants are usually non-Chinese. The third reason is because the vocabulary used at the location the communication occurs at are mostly known in Indonesian. Indonesian is used mostly at the post office, in the bank, and in public transportation.

The next section discusses respondents' opinions about the use of their mother tongue, the local language, Indonesian and English.

## 2.7 The Results of the Questionnaires: opinions of the use of mother tongues, the local language, Indonesian, and English

In this part of the questionnaire, respondents were asked whether they 'strongly agree' (SA), 'agree' (A), 'neutral' (N), 'disagree' (D), and 'strongly disagree' (SD) with a number of statements about language use. In discussing the results, I group the opinions 'strongly agree' or SA and 'agree' or A as one opinion, i.e. that the respondent agrees with the statement. The opinion 'neutral' indicates the respondent neither agrees nor disagrees, so I consider he is in a neutral position. The last two options 'disagree' or D and 'strongly disagree' or SD can be considered as

one opinion that the respondents basically disagree with the statement. The discussion of the opinions of the fourteen statements is divided into four sections.

### 2.7.1    Opinions about the use of their mother tongue

Different terms are used to refer to the mother tongue: your parents' language, your first language, the ethnic language. The majority of both the younger and older respondents agree that mastering their mother tongues for themselves and for their children is important. However, there are some differences in attitudes between the young generation and the older generation with regard to requiring someone else to speak the mother tongue. The majority of respondents from the young generation disagree that someone should be fluent in their ethnic language to be a part of their ethnic group. The majority of respondents of the older generation agree that being fluent in the mother tongue of an ethnic group is a basic requirement of belonging to an ethnic group. The responses to this section of the questionnaire are presented as percentage values in the table below:

Table 2.7 Opinions of the respondents about the use of their mother tongue

| Statements | GROUP 1 Below 40 years old | GROUP 2 Above 40 years old |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Mastering your parents' language is important | SA14, A 2, N 1 Agree: 94% Neutral: 6% | SA9, A 4, N 1 Agree: 93% Neutral: 7% |
| 3. Your children need to be fluent in your first language | SA13, A 3, D 1 Agree: 94% Disagree:6% | SA8, A 6 Agree: 100% |
| 7. If someone want to be a part of your ethnic group, the person, who is of the same ethnic group with you, has to be fluent in the ethnic language | SA1, A 3, N 3, D 4, SD 6 Agree:23% Neutral:18% Disagree: 59% | SA2, A 7, N 1, D 3, SD 1 Agree: 64% Neutral: 7% Disagree: 29% |
| Abbrev: SA: Strongly Agree, A: Agree, N: Neutral, D: Disagree, SD: Strongly disagree | | |

Both the young and older generations agree that it is important for them and their children to master their mother tongue. The young generation has a less strict attitude than the older generation with regard to requiring someone to be fluent in their ethnic language to be considered part of their ethnic group. These attitudes reflect the fact that Teochew will still be maintained in the family because both the younger and older generations consider it is important to master their parents' language and their children also need to be fluent in their first language. The next set of questions asks about the attitudes about the local language.

### 2.7.2 Opinions about the use of the local language

In Pontianak, local Malay is generally considered to be the local language. However, because of how this question was worded, it is possible that respondents had various interpretations of the term 'local language'. There are different languages that can be considered local languages, such as Teochew, Hakka, Malay, a variety of

Dayak languages, Madurese, Buginese, etc. With this understanding of different

interpretations, I have a problem in discussing the results of the attitudes toward local

languages. I show the results in the following table, but I have to skip discussing the

results because of the differences in interpreting the local language.

Table 2.8 Opinions of the respondents about the use of the local language

| Statements | GROUP 1<br>Below 40 years old | GROUP 2<br>Above 40 years old |
|---|---|---|
| 2. Mastering the local language is important | SA 12, A 4, N 1 | SA6, A 5, N 3 |
| | Agree: 94%<br>Neutral: 6% | Agree 79% Neutral: 21% |
| 4. Speaking in your local language in front of someone who does not understand the language is impolite | SA3, A 4, N 7, D 3 | SA3, A 8, D 2 SD 1 |
| | Agree: 41%<br>Neutral: 41%<br>Disagree: 8% | Agree:79%<br>Disagree:21% |
| 5. When someone is not fluent in the local language, it is better he does not use it | SA1, A 5, N 3, D 2, SD 6 | SA3, A 3, N 3, D 5 |
| | Agree: 35%<br>Neutral: 8%<br>Disagree:47% | Agree: 43%<br>Neutral:21%<br>Disagree: 36% |
| 6. Speaking in the local language is old-fashioned | SA1, N 1, D 1, SD 14 | D 1, SD 13 |
| | Agree:6%<br>Neutral:6%<br>Disagree: 88% | Disagree: 100% |
| Abbreviations:<br>SA: Strongly agree, A: Agree, N: Neutral, D: Disagree, SD: Strongly Disagree | | |

In some areas in Indonesia, the interpretation of the mother tongue, parents'

language, and local language can be the same. Whatever the interpretations of the

respondents in this research, most of them agree that mastering the local language is

important and disagree that speaking in the local language is old-fashioned. These results show that the respondents have positive attitudes toward local languages.

The next set of questions asks about the respondents' attitude towards Indonesian.

### 2.7.3   Opinions about the use of Indonesian

The majority of both the young and older respondents agree that mastering formal Indonesian is important. The majority of both groups also agree that if someone wants to continue his studies, he has to master formal Indonesian. There are some differences in the attitudes of the young and older respondents. The majority of the older respondents, i.e. 93%, agree that mastering formal Indonesian is important if someone wants to be successful in his job.  The young generation has some different opinions about the relationship between mastering Indonesian and being successful at work.  The young respondents show that now they believe that to be successful, it is also important to master English and other foreign languages. This opinion is reflected in the answers for the next set of questions.

Table 2.9 Opinions of the respondents about the use of Indonesian

| Statements | GROUP 1 Below 40 years old | GROUP 2 Above 40 years old |
|---|---|---|
| 8. Mastering formal Indonesian is important for you | SA10, A 7 | SA7, A 7 |
| | Agree: 100% | Agree: 100% |
| 9. If someone wants to be successful in his job, he has to master formal Indonesian | SA5, A 5, N 5, D 1, SD1 | SA5, A 8, N 1 |
| | Agree: 59% Neutral:29% Disagree 11% | Agree: 93% Neutral:7% |
| 10. If someone wants to continue his studies at school, he has to master formal Indonesian | SA7, A 6, N4 | SA6, A 8 |
| | Agree: 76% Neutral:24% | Agree: 100% |
| Abbreviations: CA: Strongly agree, A: Agree, N: Neutral, D: Disagree, SD: Strongly disagree | | |

The next section concerns opinions about the use of English.

### 2.7.4 Opinions about the use of English

All of the young respondents agree with the following three statements: mastering English is important for them, if someone wants to understand a more advanced, wider, and global world, he/she has to master English, and mastering other foreign languages in addition to English is important. Sixteen out of seventeen young respondents, or 94%, agree if someone wants to live a better and more successful life in the future, he has to master English. All of the older respondents agree with the following two statements: If someone wants to live a better and more successful life in the future, he has to master English, and mastering other foreign languages in addition to English is important. There are around 93% of the older respondents who agree that mastering English is important for you, and if someone wants to understand a more advanced, wider, and global world, he has to master English.

The data show that both generations consider English and other foreign languages to be important. The data are in line with the findings of the interviews, in which some people expressed the opinion that nowadays parents encourage their young children to master English and other foreign languages. For the current context, in addition to English, schools in Pontianak includes Mandarin as an obligatory subject.

Table 2.10 Opinions of the respondents on the use of English

| Statements | GROUP 1 Below 40 years old | GROUP 2 Above 40 years old |
|---|---|---|
| 11. Mastering English is important for you | SA12, A 5 | SA8, A 5, N 1 |
| | Agree: 100% | Agree: 93% Neutral: 7% |
| 12. If someone wants to live a better and successful life in the future, he has to master English | SA12, A 4, D 1 | SA8, A 6 |
| | Agree:94% Disagree:6% | Agree:100% |
| 13. If someone wants to understand a more advanced, wider, and global world, he/she has to master English | SA12, A 5 | SA7, A 6, N 1 |
| | Agree: 100% | Agree:93% Neutral:7% |
| 14. Mastering other foreign languages in addition to English is important | SA10, A 7 | SA5, A 9 |
| | Agree: 100% | Agree: 100% |
| Abbreviations: CA: Strongly agree, A: Agree, N: Neutral, D: Disagree, SD: Strongly disagree | | |

This section presented the results of the questionnaires. The main purpose of the questionnaire was to investigate the demographics of Pontianak Teochew speakers and their patterns of language choice in various domains daily life.

The results of the questionnaires on the languages used in different domains can be summed up as follows:

1. The respondents in both the younger and older groups use mainly Teochew in the following eight domains: with their mothers, fathers, siblings, grandparents, spouse, relatives (uncles, nieces), when they are angry, and at home.

2. The respondents in both the younger and older groups use mainly Indonesian in the following seventeen domains: with maids, texting family members, texting friends, texting spouse, writing on social media, praying silently, praying in public worship places, in the bank, at the post office, with teachers at primary schools, with teachers at senior high schools, in public transportation, reading books, reading newspapers, reading magazines, listening to radio, and watching television

3. The respondents in both the younger and older groups use more or less the same amount of Teochew and Indonesian in the following six domains: with their neighbors, when they are in dreams, in the market, at nearby kiosks, with friends at primary school, and with friends at senior high school.

4. The respondents in both groups listen to Indonesian, English, and Mandarin music.

5. There are significant differences between the language choices of the two groups in two domains: while counting and while at work. The younger group uses the same amount of Teochew and Indonesian while they are counting, while the older group uses mostly Teochew. At the work place,

the most dominant language used among the younger generation is
Teochew, but the most dominant language used among the older generation
is Indonesian.

These results show that there has not been a significant reduction in the
number of domains where Teochew is spoken from the older generation to the
younger generation. Teochew is still spoken in eight domains, while Indonesian is
spoken in seventeen out of thirty-four domains by both younger and older generations.
Surprisingly, Teochew is spoken among the younger generation at work, a domain
where older speakers typically speak only Indonesian. Both the younger and the older
groups have the same patterns of language use in thirty-two domains in terms of where
Teochew is mostly used, where Indonesian is mostly used, and where Teochew and
Indonesian are both used.

In terms of language attitudes, both the young and older generations agree that
it is important for them and their children to master their mother tongue. These
positive attitudes reflect the fact that Teochew will still be maintained in the family
because both the younger and older generations consider it is important to master their
parents' language and their children also need to be fluent in their first language.  The
majority of both the young and older respondents agree that mastering formal
Indonesian is important. The data show that both generations consider English and
other foreign languages to now be important. These results suggest that Teochew
speakers will continue to be multilingual.

Having discussed the results of the questionnaires. I now turn to the discussion of the endangerment status of Teochew in Pontianak. In the final section of this chapter, I provide a summary and conclusions.

## 2.8 The endangerment status of Teochew in Pontianak

Brenzinger, et.al. (2003) stated, "There is no single factor alone that can be used to assess a language's vitality or its need for documentation. Language communities are complex and diverse and it is difficult to assess the number of actual speakers of a language." This same study identifies six factors to evaluate a language's vitality and state of endangerment, two factors to assess language attitudes, and one factor to evaluate the urgency for documentation. Taken together, there are nine factors that can be useful for characterizing a language's overall sociolinguistic situations. Based on the results of the questionnaires and interviews, four of the factors are discussed in this section, i.e. the intergenerational language transmission, speaker population, community member attitudes toward their own language, and amount and quality of documentation.[24] Other factors require further research.

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[24] The nine factors of Language Vitality Assessment:

- Major Evaluative Factors of Language Vitality:
Factor 1. Intergenerational Language Transmission,
Factor 2. Absolute Number of Speakers
Factor 3. Proportion of Speakers within the Total Population
Factor 4. Trends in Existing Language Domains
Factor 5. Response to New Domains and Media
Factor 6. Materials for Language Education and Literacy
- Language Attitudes and Policies: Dominant and Non-dominant Language
Communities:
Factor 7: Governmental and Institutional Language Attitudes and Policies
Including Official Status and Use,
Factor 8. Community Members' Attitudes toward their Own Language,

UNESCO framework of the degree of endangerment in terms of the inter-generational language transmission is divided into six levels:

Table 2.11 UNESCO Framework (UNESCO 2009) (Brenzinger, et.al. 2003)

| Degree of endangerment | | Intergenerational Language Transmission |
|---|---|---|
| Safe | 5 | The language is spoken by all generations; intergenerational transmission is uninterrupted |
| Vulnerable | 4 | Most children speak the language, but it may be restricted to certain domains (e.g., home) |
| Definitely endangered | 3 | Children no longer learn the language as mother tongue in the home |
| Severely endangered | 2 | The language is spoken by grandparents and older generations; while the parent generation may understand it, they do not speak it to children or among themselves |
| Critically endangered | 1 | The youngest speakers are grandparents and older, and they speak the language partially and infrequently |
| Extinct | 0 | There are no speakers left |

Lewis and Simons (2010) developed the degrees and expand the 6 levels into thirteen levels. The following intergenerational disruption scale has a numbered level starting from 0 and there are "a" and "b" levels for level 6 and level 8. Therefore, there are thirteen levels from 0 to 10. There is a label for each level. The table also identifies the corresponding UNESCO endangerment categories on the rightmost column. The scale was adapted from previous work by Fishman (1991).

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- Urgency for Documentation:
Factor 9. Amount and Quality of Documentation

From the results of the interviews and questionnaires, it is not easy to classify Pontianak Teochew into one level of the thirteen levels of the intergenerational disruption scale proposed by Lewis and Simons (2010). Teochew is losing users, but this process appears to be taking place very slowly, and with contradictory strengthening factors, e.g. language policy changes positively affecting the use of Chinese languages following the fall of Soeharto. Therefore, the current status of the language can be described by the category "threatened" (level 6b): "The language is used for face-to-face communication within all generations, but it is losing users." In terms of the UNESCO scale, Pontianak Teochew can be classified as the "vulnerable" or level 4.

Table 2.12   Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (Lewis and Simons 2010) (adapted from Fishman 1991)

| Level | Label | Description | UNESCO |
|---|---|---|---|
| 0 | International | The language is widely used between nations in trade, knowledge exchange, and international policy. | Safe |
| 1 | National | The language is used in education, work, mass media, and government at the national level. | Safe |
| 2 | Provincial | The language is used in education, work, mass media, and government within major administrative subdivisions of a nation. | Safe |
| 3 | Wider Communication | The language is used in work and mass media without official status to transcend language differences across a region. | Safe |
| 4 | Educational | The language is in vigorous use, with standardization and literature being sustained through a widespread system of institutionally supported education. | Safe |
| 5 | Developing | The language is in vigorous use, with literature in a standardized form being used by some though this is not yet widespread or sustainable. | Safe |
| 6a | Vigorous | The language is used for face-to-face communication by all generations and the situation is sustainable. | Safe |
| 6b | Threatened | The language is used for face-to-face communication within all generations, but it is losing users. | Vulnerable |
| 7 | Shifting | The child-bearing generation can use the language among themselves, but it is not being transmitted to children. | Definitely Endangered |
| 8a | Moribund | The only remaining active users of the language are members of the grandparent generation and older. | Severely Endangered |
| 8b | Nearly Extinct | The only remaining users of the language are members of the grandparent generation or older who have little opportunity to use the language. | Critically Endangered |
| 9 | Dormant | The language serves as a reminder of heritage identity for an ethnic community, but no one has more than symbolic proficiency. | Extinct |
| 10 | Extinct | The language is no longer used and no one retains a sense of ethnic identity associated with the language. | Extinct |

The endangerment status of Teochew in Pontianak in terms of speaker population can be discussed based on UNESCO six degrees of endangerment (Brenzinger, et.al. 2003).

Table 2.13   The UNESCO Degrees of Endangerment based on the speaker population (Brenzinger, et.al. 2003)

| Degree of Endangerment | Grade | Speaker Population |
|---|---|---|
| *safe* | 5 | The language is used by all ages, from children up. |
| *unsafe* | 4 | The language is used by some children in all domains; it is used by all children in limited domains. |
| *definitively endangered* | 3 | The language is used mostly by the parental generation and up. |
| *severely endangered* | 2 | The language is used mostly by the grandparental generation and up. |
| *critically endangered* | 1 | The language is used mostly by very few speakers, of great-grandparental generation. |
| *extinct* | 0 | There exists no speaker. |

I agree with Peng (2012) that based on the speaker population, Teochew in Pontianak is "unsafe" or level 4: "the language is used by some children in all domains; it is used by all children in limited domains." Peng classified Jambi Teochew to level 3.

About language attitudes, Brenzinger et.al. (2003, p.14) stated:

"When members' attitudes towards their language are very positive, the language may be seen as a key symbol of group identity. Just as people value family traditions, festivals and community events, members of the community may see their language as a cultural core value, vital to their community and ethnic identity. If members view their language as

hindrance to economic mobility and integration into mainstream society, they may develop negative attitudes toward their language.

Most Teochew speakers support language maintenance, so the grade for this factor is 4 from the grades 0 to 5.

In terms of the amount and quality of documentation, Pontianak Teochew can be classified as 0 "undocumented." In terms of the material for language education and literacy, Pontianak Teochew can be classified as 0 because there is no orthography available to the community. The language is spoken at home and being transmitted with no written forms.

## 2.9 Summary and Conclusion

From the interviews with five Teochew speakers, I conclude there are four factors that have influenced and will continue influencing the choice of language for Teochew speakers in Pontianak. The first one is the language spoken by people at home, i.e. parents, grandparents, and care-takers. The second is the national policy. The third one is education, and the fourth is the language used by neighbors, friends, and co-workers. The factors which have increased the vitality of Teochew include the presence of grandparents who speak Teochew, the national policy changes which were instituted in 1999 to lift the ban of Chinese culture and language, Teochew speaking neighbors, and Teochew speaking friends. The factors that have threatened Pontianak Teochew include the increasing employment of baby-sitters who cannot speak Teochew, increased use of English at home, increased use of Mandarin speaking in the workplace, and the national policy in 1960s that banned Chinese culture and language.

These results show that there has not been a significant reduction in the number of domains where Teochew is spoken from the older generation to the younger generation. Teochew is still spoken in eight domains, while Indonesian is

spoken in seventeen out of thirty-four domains by both younger and older generations. Surprisingly, Teochew is spoken among the younger generation at work, a domain where older speakers typically speak only Indonesian. Both the younger and the older groups have the same patterns of language use in thirty-two domains.

In terms of language attitudes, both the young and older generations agree that it is important for them and their children to master their mother tongue. These positive attitudes reflect the fact that Teochew will still be maintained in the family because both the younger and older generations consider it is important to master their parents' language and their children also need to be fluent in their first language. The majority of both the young and older respondents agree that mastering formal Indonesian is important. The data show that both generations consider English and other foreign languages to now be important. These results suggest that Teochew speakers will continue to be multilingual.

Based on the extended intergenerational disruption scale proposed by Lewis and Simons (2010), Teochew in Pontianak can be described with the level 6b: "The language is used for face-to-face communication within all generations, but it is losing users." For UNESCO corresponding category for the level of endangerment based on the intergenerational disruption (Brenzinger, et.al. 2003), Pontianak Teochew can be classified as the "vulnerable" level or level 4. For the UNESCO Degrees of Endangerment based on the speaker population, Pontianak Teochew can be classified as level 4 "unsafe." About language attitudes, most Teochew speakers support language maintenance, so the grade for this factor is 4 from the grades 0 to 5. In terms of the amount and quality of documentation, Pontianak Teochew can be classified as 0 "undocumented." In terms of the material for language education and literacy,

Pontianak Teochew can be classified as 0 because there is no orthography available to the community. The language is spoken at home and being transmitted with no written forms.

Indonesian is the national language used in instruction at school, in government offices, on televisions, on most printed media, and all public services. Teochew is neither a national language nor a formal language. Teochew in Pontianak has been transmitted from generations to generations through spoken communication at home. Since 1980s, English has been the only foreign language taught at schools, until 2000s, Mandarin starts to be another foreign language taught at schools in Pontianak. Teochew does not have any official written forms, so it will not occupy any space in the curriculum at school. However, the results of the questionnaires about the language attitudes of the speakers suggest that Teochew will still be spoken in Pontianak for next generations, even though with more and more Indonesian words will be mixed into Teochew.

# Chapter 3

## PERFECTIVE ASPECT MARKERS IN PONTIANAK TEOCHEW

### 3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze the use of the perfective aspect markers in Pontianak Teochew (henceforth Teochew). Using a perfective marker is only one of a variety of ways to express the perfective aspect in Teochew.[25] This chapter does not examine these different ways of expressing the perfective aspect, but rather focuses upon the perfective markers in the language.

What does the perfective marker really express? 1) that the event is completed; 2) that the event is expressed as though it had no internal structure; 3) that the expression of the event does not indicate the continuing present relevance of the past event. In Teochew, for example, if someone says a sentence like the following, without any adverbial phrase, auxiliary, or aspect marker, the sentence is potentially ambiguous.

(1)   *Anna kʰə potʰau* (lit. 'Anna go market')

The sentence can mean that the event of going to the market is in progress or that the event is completed. Speakers of the language use an adverbial phrase, an auxiliary, or an aspect marker to indicate the temporal properties of the event (whether it is

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[25] For instance, one way to express perfectivity is by using the adverbial phrase *ho* 'finished' (lit.' good') and *liau* 'finished'.  The perfective aspect can also be expressed by adding a past time adverbial phrase, such as *tsaudʒit* 'yesterday,' *tsio loi pai* 'last week,' etc. Another way to express the perfective aspect is by using the auxiliary *u* 'exist' to express the meaning that some event occurred.

habitual, on-going, future, or completed).  An example of the use of a perfective

aspect marker is as follows:

> (2)   Anna kʰə potʰau  lou
>        Anna go market PERF'
>        Anna went to the market.'

       With a perfective marker, e.g. *lou*, the sentence means 'Anna went to the

market.' The perfective marker *lou* in the sentence indicates the temporal property of

the event, i.e. that it is a completed event.

       The perfective aspect contrasts with both the imperfective aspect and the

prospective aspect. Imperfective aspect presents an event as having internal structure,

such as ongoing or habitual, while the prospective aspect describes impending actions

or events. Like the perfective aspect, the imperfective aspect can also be expressed by

using different markers, adverbs of time, and auxiliaries. The distinction between the

perfective aspect and imperfective aspect can be shown in Russian, for example,

> (3)   a. *onpročital* (perfective)
>
>        b. *on čital* (Imperfective)

       Both are translatable into English as 'he read;' however, some idea of the

difference can be given by translating the imperfective as 'he was reading,' or 'he used

to read' (Comrie, 1976, p.1). The distinction between 'he read,' 'he was reading,' and

'he used to read' is related to the aspects, i.e. a completed event, an on-going event, or

a habitual event, respectively.

       Additionally, many linguists confuse the perfective aspect with the perfect

aspect. The perfect aspect indicates the continuing present relevance of a past event

(Comrie, 1976, p.12, 15). An example of the perfect aspect in English is:

(4) I have had my lunch.

The sentence above implicates a present relevance, for example, 'now I am full.' Another example is:

(5) I have lost my keys.

The sentence above implicates the meaning that 'I still cannot find my keys and I cannot open the door.'

In both examples, it is ungrammatical to add a past time marker such as *yesterday* or *last week* to the sentences that contain the perfect aspect, for example,

(6) a. *I have had my lunch yesterday.

   b. *I have lost my keys last week.

In Teochew, there is no such a distinction. Thus, it is grammatical to add a past time marker to a verb in the perfective aspect.

(7)  ua  ŋo  dioʔ pʰeŋ-iu (tsau dʒit)
     1sg meet PERF friend (yesterday)
     'I met a friend (yesterday).'

The perfective aspect expresses only the fact that the event occurred without indicating whether or not the past event continues to be relevant.

I now turn to the discussion of the properties of the perfective aspect markers found in Teochew. In Teochew, there are three such markers: *lou*, *diau*, and *dioʔ*. All of them share the property of denoting a completed event. I will, however, show that the three perfective aspect markers are not the same. They are not interchangeable with one another because they have semantic and syntactic differences.

The use of the markers when they occur individually is examined first, and then, their use when they occur in combinations with each other is considered. When two perfective markers are combined in one simple sentence, an interesting phenomenon occurs. The results of the combinations show that one of the markers overrides the other with respect to meaning, but in the combinations, both of the markers are active with respect to grammatical restrictions. There are cases where there appears to be a semantic incompatibility between the aspect markers; however, despite this, both of the markers can co-occur, one of the markers is dominant, and the sentence is grammatical. In contrast, when there is a grammatical clash between two markers in terms of selecting predicates with certain types of grammatical characteristics, the presence of two prima facie incompatible perfective markers leads to ungrammaticality. I will show how the principle of compositionality would make a different prediction from what is found. The principle of compositionality is violated. After the discussion of the semantic features in terms of the speaker's perspectives and the syntactic dimensions in terms of the predicate selections, the syntactic dimensions in terms of the positions of the markers will also be shown.

## 3.2 The Perfective Aspect Markers in Teochew: *diau, lou, and dioʔ*

The following set of examples shows that there are three perfective aspect markers in Teochew, i.e. *diau, lou,* and *dioʔ*:[26]

    (8)   Anna lai    lou/*diau/*dioʔ.
             Anna come PERF/ PERF/ PERF
             'Anna came/arrived.'

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[26]The data in this chapter are based on a combination of my own judgments and those of a number of other native speakers, whom I consulted.

(9)  Hi tiau tsun tim diau/ʔlou/*dioʔ.[27]
     Det Cl ship sink PERF/ PERF/ PERF
     'The ship sank.'

(10) a. Ua    ŋo   dioʔ/*lou/*diau pʰeŋ-iu.
        1SG meet PERF/PERF/PERF friend
        'I met a friend.'

     b. Ua ŋo pʰeŋ-iu lou.
        1SG meet PERF/PERF/PERF friend
        'I met a friend.'

The examples above show that the markers are not interchangeable in general. The ungrammaticality of *lou* in the sentence above is not because *lou* cannot co-occur with a transitive verb, such as *ŋo* 'meet', but rather it is because of the position of the marker in the sentence. The marker *lou* should be sentence final. There is a difference in meaning between the sentence that uses *dioʔ* and *lou* in (10a) and (10b). The difference between the sentences that use *diau* or *dioʔ* with the ones that use *lou* is explained in more detail later in this chapter.

The discussion in this section shows that although all three markers express the perfective aspect, they can be differentiated along several parameters. The first difference has to do with whether the event described is 'expected' or 'unexpected.' The three markers are used to express different meanings, which can be divided in terms of an 'expected' or an 'unexpected' event, according to the speaker's point

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[27] I explain why I put a question mark for the use of *lou* in this sentence when I explain sentence (15).

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view.[28] An event is 'expected' if the event is wanted, planned, and anticipated to occur by the speaker. An event is 'unexpected' when the speaker considers the event as unplanned and unanticipated. DeLancey (1997) refers to such a category as Mirative or Admirative.[29] An unexpected event contains a 'surprise' to the speaker. The 'surprise' can be either good or bad.

Therefore, in addition to considering whether the event is expected or unexpected, identifying whether the events are good or bad, or positive or negative from the speaker's point of view helps to distinguish among the three markers. An event is considered positive if the speaker considers the event favorable for him/her. An event is considered negative if the speaker considers the event unfavorable for him/her.

Further, the markers are distinguished by the types of the predicates with which they co-occur, i.e. transitive or intransitive. These terms are defined with

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[28] The discussion in this research focuses on root-clauses. The evidence that the events show the speaker's point of view can be derived from examples of embedded clauses, with the verb, such as *believe*:

John siangsin hi tiau tsun tim diau
John believe Det CL ship sink PERF
'John believes the ship sank.'

The speaker's attitude shifts to the local attitude holder, i.e. John.

[29] While Mirative refers to the grammatical category of sentences that is surprising to the speaker, deLancey (2012, p.547) quoting Grunow-Hårsta (2007, p.175) stated, "A non-mirative statement simply conveys information, making no claims as to its novelty or the speaker's psychological reaction to it." Since *lou* expresses the speaker's psychological reaction, i.e. the event is expected, I will not refer to *lou* as non-mirative. Nguyen (2013) mentioned the term "anti-mirative" about the language Bih, which has a mirative that can be replaced by an anti-mirative. Anti-mirative is considered the opposite of mirative.

English examples. A transitive verb is a verb that has one or more objects, e.g. *bring,*
*meet,* and *kick*, while an intransitive verb is a verb that has no direct object, e.g. *die,*
*become, fall down, sleep*. These types of predicates are considered in distinguishing
the markers.

To sum up, the perfective markers can be differentiated based on three
parameters, i.e. 1) whether the event is considered expected or unexpected by the
speaker, 2) whether the event is considered positive or negative by the speaker, and 3)
the types of predicates the markers can co-occur, i.e. whether the predicate is transitive
or intransitive. Two different kinds of intransitive, i.e. intransitive unaccusative and
intransitive unergative are also considered to further differentiate the markers. After
the differences above are discussed, the differences in the structure or position of the
markers in sentences will be shown.

In the following paragraphs, the markers are discussed individually. I then turn
to the properties of combinations of markers, and show that contrary to expectation, it
is possible to combine the *unexpected* perfective markers with the *expected* marker. It
would be expected that such combinations would be semantically ill-formed, but in
fact they are grammatical and they result in an *expected/ planned* meaning.

I now turn to the properties of the markers when used individually. In sentence
(7), the perfective marker *lou* expresses the meaning that the event is completed, and it
also expresses the fact that the event is expected. In addition, the event is usually
considered something positive by the speaker. Other examples of events that
commonly appear with *lou,* that are positive and expected are shown in (10). The
examples in (11) and (12) show that *lou* can be used with a transitive or an intransitive
predicate.

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(11) a. ua kai mak-li kʰui-hue lou.
1sg POSS jasmine open-flower PERF
'My jasmine blossomed.'

b. Anna pek-ɲiap lou.
Anna graduate PERF
'Anna graduated.'

c. O-ŋa ut lou
baby sleep PERF
'The baby slept.'

The marker '*lou*' often appears with the adverbial phrases *ho* 'finished' (lit.

'good') and *liau* 'finished,' which also express a positive and expected event. The

examples in (12) show the use of *lou* with *ho* 'finished' and *liau* 'finished.'[30]

(12) a. Ua soi (ho) hi put sa-kʰou lou.
1sg wash (finished) Det CL shirt-pants PERF
'I (already) washed my clothes'

b. Hi pan hak-seng pai     (ho)      tui   lou
Det CL student arrange (finished) line PERF
'The group/ class of students (already) stood in line.'

c. i kʰau (liau) tse lou
3sg exam (finished) book PERF
'S/he finished the final exams.'

As shown in the examples above, *lou* can be used with a transitive or an intransitive

predicate, and there are optional adverbial phrases that can co-occur with *lou.*

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[30] The word *ho* 'good' is used separately without *lou* to indicate that an event is finished without the necessity that the event is a good or positive event. If someone says, "*i thai ho sa naŋ tu cau diau"* ('he killed 3 people and ran away'), it expresses the meaning that the action of killing was finished, without indicating that it is 'good' or 'bad,' although the literal meaning of *ho* is 'good.' *Ho* is an example of a lexical (an adverbial phrase) that can be used to express the perfective aspect.

The second perfective marker is *diau*. This marker expresses meanings that are the opposite of those associated with *lou.* The marker *diau* expresses the meaning that the event is unexpected, unplanned, and negative. However, it can be used to describe events that are neutral, which means that depending on the context, these descriptions can express either a positive or a negative meaning. An example of such event is *ut* 'sleep'. For such an event, the context determines whether it is positive or negative. In sentence (11c), the use of *lou* means that for the baby to sleep is expected and good. In another situation, for example, when the father of the baby wants to take a picture of the baby and he expects that the baby is wide awake, with his eyes wide open, then if the baby falls asleep during that time, the father can use *diau* instead of *lou,* to express the meaning: 'Unfortunately, the baby fell asleep.' In general, the events that appear with *diau* are considered negative and unexpected events from the speaker's point of view, and the predicates that appear with *diau* are intransitive verbs, as also shown in the following sentences:

(13) a.  ua kai ɲiau si **diau**.
        1sg POSS cat die PERF
        'My cat died.' (I'm so sad).

     b.  ua kai mak-kia pit **diau**.
        1sg POSS eye-glass break PERF
        'My glasses broke.' (I accidently sat on them).

In general, the marker *diau* expresses the meaning that the speaker does not expect the event to occur, and it is a negative event from his perspective.

The third perfective marker is *dioʔ.* Similar to *diau, dioʔ* also denotes an *unexpected* and *unplanned* event.  However, different from *diau,* which generally expresses the meaning that an event is negative from the speaker's perspective, *dioʔ* does not have an implicit value with respect to whether it is a positive or negative

event. The marker *dioʔ* depends on the context to determine whether an event is positive or negative from the speaker's perspective.

In terms of the type of predicates, in general, the predicates with which *dioʔ* co-occur are transitive predicates. Examples of intransitive predicates that are ungrammatical to co-occur with *dioʔ* are shown in Table 3.1. Sentence (10) expresses the meaning that *meeting a friend* was unexpected and unplanned, but whether it is positive or negative depends on the context and the speaker's point of view about the event. It can express a positive meaning if the person intends to say, 'It was an unexpected surprise, but I was happy' (an unexpected but a positive event).   In another context, if the speaker intends to say that he was in a hurry and he did not expect to meet anyone, the speaker is saying that 'meeting a friend at that moment' was an unfavorable event or a negative event for him.  There are other unexpected or unplanned events that use *dioʔ,* which can be positive or negative, such as the following examples:

(14)  a.  Asiang leŋ **dioʔ**   noŋkia.
      Asiang push PERF child
      'Asiang pushed a child.'

      b.  Asiang niam **dioʔ**   lui-sen.
      Asiang pick PERF money-coin
      'Asiang found some coin.'

Sentence (14a) can be generally interpreted as negative, and an event such as (14b) can be generally interpreted as positive. It shows that the perfective marker *dioʔ* does not have a specified positive or negative meaning. It can implicate either a positive or negative meaning, depending the speaker's point of view of the context.

The beginning part of this section has shown that the marker *lou* can occur with a transitive or an intransitive predicate. There have been examples that contain *diau* and *dioʔ* that show *diau* is compatible with an intransitive unaccusative verb *si* 'die'; in contrast, *dioʔ* is compatible with a transitive verb *leng noŋkia* 'push a child.' This generalization is applicable to other intransitive predicates for *diau* and transitive verbs for *dioʔ*. Other examples of predicates are shown in the following table.

Table 3.1 The distinction between the use of *diau* and *dioʔ*

| diau (PERF) with intransitive unaccusative verbs | dioʔ (PERF) with transitive verbs |
|---|---|
| tim **diau** 'sank'  *tim **dioʔ**<br>si **diau** 'died'  *si **dioʔ**<br>ou **diau** 'became black' *ou **dioʔ**<br>pek **diau** 'became white'*pek **dioʔ**<br>pit **diau** 'broke'  *pit **dioʔ**<br>ut **diau** 'fell asleep'  *ut **dioʔ**<br><br>**Exception:**<br>m kitit **diau** ua kai mia, *m kitit **dioʔ** ua kai mia 'forgot my name'<br><br>**Intransitive Unergative:**<br>*kʰa-tian diau, *kʰa-tian dioʔ[31] 'telephoned'<br>*lai diau,*lai dioʔ 'came'<br>*ʤiau diau, *ʤiau dioʔ 'ran'<br>*kʰə diau, *kʰə dioʔ 'left'<br>*siu tsui diau, siu tsui dioʔ 'swam' | ŋo **dioʔ** pʰeŋ-iu 'met a friend'<br>*ŋo **diau** pʰeŋ-iu<br>pʰi **dioʔ** ʧau bi 'smelled smt bad'<br>*pʰi ʧau bi **diau**<br>tʰoi **dioʔ** no naŋ 'saw two people'<br>*tʰoi no naŋ**diau**<br>ʧi **dioʔ** ʤuak ʤuak 'felt smt hot'<br>*ʧi ʤuak ʤuak **diau**<br>niam **dioʔ** lui 'picked up some money'<br>*niam **diau** lui<br>tʰat **dioʔ** piak 'kicked the wall accidently/ unexpectedly'<br>*tʰat **diau** piak<br>pʰak **dioʔ** tʰau 'hit the head unexpectedly' *phai **diau** thau<br>leŋ **dioʔ** noŋkia 'pushed a child unexpectedly' *leŋ **diau** noŋkia<br><br>**Exception:**<br>puaʔ **dioʔ** 'fell down'  *puaʔ **diau** |

[31] The verb kʰa-tian 'telephone' is used as an intransitive verb here. This verb can be used as a transitive verb, e.g. kʰa-tian i tse 'telephone his elder sister,' and the perfective marker that can co-occur with the verb is *lou*. Verbs that can be transitive and intransitive have different patterns of co-occurrence with perfective markers. I do not discuss such verbs.

All the intransitive verbs in the left column in the table above are grammatical with *diau,* but not *dioʔ.* All the transitive verbs in the right column in the table above are grammatical with *dioʔ*, but not *diau.* To sum up, *diau* is used with intransitive unaccusative, but not intransitive unergative, while *dioʔ* is used with transitive and dynamic verbs. The type of the intransitive verb needs to be specified because all the examples show that *diau* is only grammatical when it is used with an intransitive unaccusative verb, such as *tim diau* 'sink,' *si diau* 'die,' but not an intransitive unergative verb, such as *\*kʰa-tian diau* 'telephone,' *\*lai diau* 'come,' *\*dʑiau diau* 'run.'[32]

To sum up, each of these three markers expresses certain meanings from the speaker's point of view and each of them is used with a different group of verbs, such as transitive, or intransitive verbs. The marker *lou* expresses the meaning that the speaker expected this event to occur and that it was positive from his perspective. The marker *lou* can co-occur with either a transitive, or an intransitive predicate. The markers *diau* and *dioʔ* are similar in the sense that both are used to express the meaning that the speaker considers the event as 'unexpected.' However, the marker *diau* in general expresses the meaning that the event is a negative event from the speaker's perspective; in contrast, *dioʔ* is neutral because the meaning depends on the context with respect to whether it is positive or negative from the speaker's perspective. The markers *diau* and *dioʔ* are in a complementary distribution in the syntactic properties of the predicates: the marker *diau* is used with an intransitive unaccusative verb, while *dioʔ* is used with a transitive and dynamic predicate.

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[32] Intransitive unergative predicates have agentive subjects that can actively initiate the action of the verb.

Having examined each of the perfective markers, I shall next examine the possible combinations of the markers. Looking at the distributions of the meanings and the predicates of each of the markers, I expected that only the most compatible markers, in terms of the meanings, could be combined. The possible combinations would be between the two markers that express the meaning that the event is unexpected, i.e. *diau* and *dioʔ*. According to the principle of compositionality, the meaning of a complex expression is determined by the meaning of its constituent expressions. Both *diau* and *dioʔ* express the meaning that the speaker considers the event as an 'unexpected' event. There is, however, some difference between them. The marker *diau* expresses a 'negative' meaning only, while *dioʔ* is neutral. A neutral marker, when combined with a marker that expresses a negative meaning, the neutral marker would be influenced by the negative marker, and the combination would express a negative meaning. With this assumption, I predicted that *diau* and *dioʔ* should be able to be combined. Furthermore, the markers with the contradictory meanings of 'expected' (*lou*) and 'unexpected' (*diau* or *dioʔ*) could not be combined grammatically. The principle of compositionality would predict that the markers that mean 'unexpected' can be combined with the one that means 'unexpected' or one that is neutral as there is no contradiction in meanings. The results of the combinations, however, contradict this expectation. The generalization is that a contradiction between the semantic expectations related to the markers is grammatical, but a violation of the grammatical selectional restrictions on the markers, i.e. the predicate selections, is ungrammatical. The marker that selects a transitive predicate cannot co-occur with the marker that selects an intransitive predicate.

The examples that contain two perfective markers show that it is grammatical to combine *diau* and *lou*, and *dioʔ* and *lou*, but **not** *diau* and *dioʔ*. The account for the fact that the two markers *diau* and *dioʔ* cannot co-occur is not from the shared 'unexpected' or 'negative' meanings, but from the fact that the markers have different types of predicates with which they can co-occur. In general, *diau* is used with an intransitive predicate, and *dioʔ* often appears with a transitive predicate. The possible grammatical combinations of the markers are shown in the following sentences:

(15) a. Hi tiau tsun tim **diau lou**
       Det Cl ship sink PERF PERF
       'The ship already sank.'

   b. Ua  ŋo   **dioʔ** pʰeŋ-iu **lou**
       1SG meet PERF friend PERF
       'I already met a friend.'


Since each of the perfective markers has its own meaning, each is expected to contribute some meanings to the combinations. However, the combinations show that the meaning of *lou* is more dominant than the other perfective markers. When the sentences use *diau* only or *dioʔ* only, the sentences express the meaning from the speaker's point of view that the events, 'the sinking of the ship' and 'the meeting a friend,' are both unexpected. When the sentences use *lou* only, the events are 'expected' from the speaker's point of view. The addition of *lou* to the sentences that already contain *diau* or *dioʔ* results in the meaning that the events, 'the sinking of the ship' and 'the meeting a friend,' are expected.

The marker *lou* itself can even change the meaning of the sentences into *expected or planned*, from the events that are in general considered as unexpected or negative.

(16) a. Hi tiau tsun tim **lou**.
Det Cl ship sink PERF
'The ship sank.' (The event is expected. It may not occur very often, because usually people do not expect a ship to sink. Under a certain circumstance, for example, the ship has been rusty and damaged and occupied a lot of space at the side of the harbor, and it is so big, that people do not know how to deal with it, so when it sank, the speaker is happy, the sinking of the ship is expected and favorable from the speaker's point of view).

b. Ua ŋo    (ho)       pʰeŋ-iu **lou**.
1sg meet (finished) friend PERF
'I already met a friend.'(as expected and planned)

The two sentences in (16) express the meaning that the events, *the sinking of the ship* and *the meeting a friend,* are expected. Now the question is whether there are differences in meanings between the sentences that have the combinations of two perfective markers (*diau lou*, *dioʔ lou*) and the sentences that have only one marker *lou*. The event is expected when the sentence uses *lou,* with or without the optional *diau* or *dioʔ*.

The previous paragraphs where *diau* and *dioʔ* were discussed have shown that *diau* and *dioʔ* express the meaning that the speaker considers the event as an unexpected event. The prediction is that it should not be good to have such combinations (of *diau lou* or *dioʔ lou*) because they would appear to lead to a contradiction. In fact, however, the combinations are well-formed. When these combinations occur, the marker meaning 'expected' still has its normal effect as indicating that the event is expected, but the marker meaning 'unexpected' no longer has its usual semantic effect. However, the markers *diau* and *dioʔ* cannot replace one another in the combinations of *diau lou* and *dioʔ lou*. In these combinations, if *diau* is replaced with *dioʔ, or* vice versa, the sentences are ungrammatical. In the combinations, only *lou* contributes to the meaning of the whole combinations, but the

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presence of *diau* and *dioʔ* in the combinations is important to make the sentences grammatical. Therefore, even though the expected ill-formedness of combinations between the markers that are semantically incompatible does not occur, contradictions in the grammatical selection lead to ill-formedness.

(17) a. Hi tiau   tsun tim diau/*dioʔ   lou.
        Det Cl ship sink PERF/ PERF PERF
        'The ship sank.'

    b. Ua ŋo    *diau/dioʔ  pʰeŋ-iu lou.
        1sg meet PERF/PERF friend PERF
        'I met a friend.'

The examples above show that although *diau* and *dioʔ* do not function to deliver the meaning that the event is unexpected, their presence is not interchangeable with each other. The ungrammaticality of *dioʔ* in (17a) and *diau* in (17b) is caused by the incompatibility between *tim* 'sink' *(intransitive)* and *dioʔ*, and between *ŋo* 'meet' (transitive) and *diau*. The grammatical predicate selection should be *dioʔ* with a transitive predicate, and *diau* with an intransitive predicate. The examples above show that the use of *lou* expresses a consistent meaning of 'expected or planned.' The combinations of *diau lou* and *dioʔ lou* express the meaning that the event is expected, despite the fact that *diau* and *dioʔ* individually express the meaning that the event is unexpected. This finding is interesting because the combinations do not follow the principle of compositionality. Furthermore, in the sentences that have the predicates that are generally considered as unexpected and negative, the use of *lou* changes the meaning into an event that is expected from the speaker's point of view.

When the predicates with the markers *diau* and *dioʔ* are combined with *lou* at the end of the sentences, there is a change of meaning, i.e. what is expressed by the

event becomes something expected/planned from the speaker's point of view. This meaning can also be obtained by replacing all the *diau* and *dioʔ* directly with *lou*. It is shown in the table that for all of the intransitive predicates, *diau* cannot be replaced by *dioʔ* and for all the transitive predicates *dioʔ* cannot be replaced by *diau*. At this point, the distribution of *diau*, *dioʔ* and *lou* are defined by the predicate types and meanings of 'expected or unexpected' from the speaker's point of view. The distribution of *diau* and *dioʔ* is defined by the transitivity and stativity or dynamicity of the predicates.[33]

There are exceptions to the intransitive *\*kʰa-tian diau* 'telephone' *\*kʰa-tian dioʔ*, *\*lai diau* 'come' *\*lai dioʔ*, *\*dʒiau diau* 'run,' *\*dʒiau dioʔ*. It is ungrammatical for all these intransitives to co-occur with either *diau* or *dioʔ*. These predicates, which belong to one group, called intransitive unergative (the subject is an agentive subject that can actively initiate the action of the verb), can only occur with *lou* (*kʰa tian lou* 'telephone,' *lai lou* 'come,' and *dʒiau lou* 'run').

There are other predicates that can take *lou,* but in general not *dioʔ* or *diau*: the stative verb *siangsin lou* 'believe' and verbs of accomplishments *kʰi ho ʧu lou* 'build a house' and *tso ho kau-i lou* 'make a chair.'

> (18) Anna siangsin (\*dioʔ/\*diau) lə lou.
> Anna believe (PERF/ PERF) 2sg PERF
> Anna believed you.' (She didn't believe you before)

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[33] There is an exception to this distribution, i.e. the verb *puaʔ diok* 'fall'. Since there are no other intransitive verbs that take *diok*, this verb is considered as an exception to the distribution. There is no obvious reason why this is the only one intransitive verb that takes *diok,* because the patterns show all other intransitive verbs take *diau.*

(19)  Ahai kʰi    (ho) (*dioʔ/*diau) ʧu lou.
      Ahai build (finish) (PERF/ PERF) house PERF
      'Ahai built a house.'

I have shown that all the verbs that can be used with *diau* and *dioʔ* can be used with *lou,* and there is a change of meaning from an unexpected event to an expected event.[34] I have also shown in the examples above (sentences 18 and 19) that verbs of accomplishments are used with *lou* and such verbs are not used with *diau* or *dioʔ*. A further explanation will be provided after the following table (table 3.2), that under certain circumstances, i.e. when there is an unexpected object, there are exceptions that these verbs of accomplishments can use *dioʔ* to express the meaning that the events are unexpected from the speaker's point of view.

## 3.3 Combinations of Markers

When collecting all possible sentences that used each of the three markers, I came up with grammatical sentences that used combinations of the markers. In the early stage of my research, when focusing on each of the markers, I had to put aside such sentences. After examining each marker, I then looked into the sentences that have combinations of markers. The question that arose was why certain markers can be combined, but certain markers cannot be combined.

The grammatical co-occurrence between an intransitive predicate with *diau* and between a transitive predicate with *dioʔ* remains grammatical when I add *lou* to

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[34] At the beginning of this chapter, I showed that *lou* in the sentence, *Ua ŋo diok/*lou/*diau pʰeŋ-iu* 'I met a friend' is ungrammatical. At the exact position of *diok, lou* cannot replace *diok*. If we want to express the meaning that the event is expected, we can use *lou* at the end of the sentence: *Ua ŋo pʰeŋ-iu lou.*

the sentences that already contain either *dioʔ* or *diau*. The grammatical co-occurrence of two perfective aspect markers is shown in the following examples.

(20) a. Hi tiau tsun tim **diau**.
Det Cl ship sink PERF
'The ship sank.' (unexpectedly)

b. Hi tiau tsun tim **diau lou**.
Det Cl ship sink PERF PERF
'The ship sank.' (expectedly)

(21) a. Ua ŋo **dioʔ** pʰeŋ-iu.
1sg meet PERF friend
'I met a friend.' (unexpectedly)

b. Ua ŋo **dioʔ** pʰeŋ-iu **lou**.
1sg meet PERF friend PERF
'I met a friend.' (expectedly)

The examples above show that adding *lou* to grammatical sentences that already have the markers *diau* and *dioʔ* does not cause the sentences to be ungrammatical. The sentences with combined markers *diau lou* and *dioʔ lou* result in the meaning that the speaker considers the event as *expected or planned*.

The previous table has shown that *diau* is grammatical with intransitive verbs, but not transitive verbs, and *dioʔ* is grammatical with transitive verbs, but not intransitive verbs. The following table shows more examples that the addition of *lou* does not change the grammaticality of the sentences. Intransitive verbs that are grammatical with *diau* remain grammatical with the addition of *lou*. Transitive verbs that are grammatical with *dioʔ* remain grammatical with the addition of *lou*.

The ungrammatical co-occurrence between intransitive verbs and *dioʔ* remains ungrammatical with the addition of *lou*. The ungrammatical co-occurrence between transitive verbs and *diau* remains ungrammatical with the addition of *lou*.

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(22) a. *Hi tiau tsun tim **dio?**.
Det Cl ship sink PERF
Intended: 'The ship sank.' (unexpectedly)

b. *Hi tiau tsun tim **dio? lou**.
Det Cl ship sink PERF PERF
Intended: 'The ship already sank.' (expectedly)

(23) a. *Ua  ŋo **diau** pʰeŋ-iu.
1sg meet PERF friend
Intended: 'I met a friend.' (unexpectedly)

b. *Ua  ŋo   **diau** pʰeŋ-iu **lou**.
1sg meet PERF friend PERF
Intended: 'I met a friend.' (expectedly)

The examples above show that adding *lou* to sentences that have ungrammatical uses of *diau* and *dio?* does not make the sentences grammatical.

The examples above also show that compositionality holds with respect to the grammatical properties of the markers, but not with respect to the meanings. This means that if grammatically incompatible parts are combined the result will not be grammatical because the grammatical features will be incompatible. Similarly, 'semantic compositionality' would predict that if semantically incompatible items are combined, the result will be ill-formed semantically. In fact, with respect to the perfective markers the combination of semantically incompatible markers is grammatical. Two perfective markers that have incompatible meanings can be combined. In the combinations, one of the markers does not contribute its meaning.

The grammatical properties, i.e. the predicate selection, of *diau* and *dio?* remain when they are combined with *lou,* but not the semantic properties because *diau* and *dio?* lose the 'unexpected' meaning in sentences that have the combined markers. The following table shows more examples of this fact.

Table 3.2 The addition of *lou* and the replacement of *diau* and *dioʔ* to derive the
meaning that the event is expected/planned

| lou (PERF) | lou (PERF) |
|---|---|
| tim diau lou, tim lou 'sank' | ŋo dioʔ[35] pʰeŋ-iu lou 'met a friend' |
| *tim dioʔ lou | *ŋo diau pʰeŋ-iu lou |
| si diau lou, si lou 'died' | pʰi dioʔ ʧau bi lou 'smelled smt bad' |
| *si dioʔ lou | *pʰi ʧau bi diau lou |
| ou diau lou, ou lou 'became black' | tʰoi dioʔ no naŋ lou 'saw 2 people' |
| *ou dioʔ lou | *tʰoi no naŋ diau lou |
| pek diau lou, pek lou 'became white' | ʧi dioʔ dʒuak dʒuak lou 'felt smt hot' |
| *pek dioʔ lou | *ʧi dʒuak dʒuak diau lou |
| m kitit diau lou, m kitit lou 'forgot' | niam dioʔ lui lou 'picked up some money' |
| *m kitit dioʔ lou | *niam diau lui lou |
| pit diau lou, pit lou 'broke' | tʰat dioʔ piak lou 'kicked the wall' |
| *pit dioʔ lou | *tʰat diau piak lou |
| ut diau lou, ut lou 'fell asleep' | pʰak dioʔ tʰau lou 'hit the head' |
| *ut dioʔ lou | *pʰak diau tʰau lou |
| | leŋdioʔ noŋkia lou 'pushed a child' |
| | *leŋ diau noŋkia lou |
| | |
| | Exception: |
| | puaʔ dioʔ lou 'fell down' |
| | *puaʔ diau lou |

As I mentioned earlier, there are examples of predicates of accomplishments
that normally do not take *diau* or *dioʔ,* but can only take *lou,* e.g. *siangsin* 'believe'
and *kʰi ʧu* 'build a house'. The marker *lou* is a perfective marker that expresses the
meaning that the event is 'expected.' For events that are not normally unexpected, and
generally expected, only *lou* is grammatical. *To believe someone* and *to build a house*
usually happen expectedly, so they generally do not appear with *diau* or *dioʔ*. The
markers *diau* and *dioʔ* express the meaning that the event is 'unexpected.' If under

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[35] All the *diok* in this column can be replaced with the word *ho* 'PERF'.

certain circumstances, a speaker uses *dioʔ* for these events (*believe someone and build a house*), the speaker expresses the attitude that the events are 'unexpected' for the speaker. The speaker can express the unexpectedness because of the object of the verb *believe,* for example, a wrong person, a professional criminal or someone that the speaker considers untrustworthy, or the object of the verb *build,* for example*,* is unexpected for the speaker in terms of the number of the house, say, six houses, while the speaker expects it to be less than six, or only one house, while the speaker expects it to be more than one. These are not commonly used, but possible examples of the co-occurrence of the verbs of accomplishments with *dioʔ.*

The three markers have been differentiated based on the speaker's point of view and predicate selections. The discussion has shown that *lou* always occupies a sentence final position. The marker *dioʔ* occupies the position between the verb and the object of the verb, while *diau* occupies the position after an intransitive unaccusative verb. The marker *lou* does not select a certain type of verbs, but rather takes the whole proposition. Both *diau* and *dioʔ* selects a certain type of predicates. Therefore, the most logical position for *lou* is at the CP level, while *diau* and *dioʔ* are at the vP level. Since either *diau* or *dioʔ* can co-occur with *lou,* the following figures show the co-occurrence:

Figure 3.1 The position of *dioʔ* and *lou* in the sentence *Aling ŋo dioʔ pʰeŋ-iu lou*
  'Aling met a friend.'

```
                        CP
                         \
                          C'
                         /  \
                       IP     C
                      /  \     lou
                   NPi    I'
                   /\    /  \
               Aling   I    AspP1
                             |
                           Asp1'
                          /    \
                      Asp1      AspP2
                (a preverbal asp marker)  |
                                        Asp2'
                                       /    \
                                   Asp2j     vP
                                   ŋo-dio    /  \
                                 'meet PERF' NP   v'
                                             ti  /  \
                                                v    VP
                                                tj  /   \
                                                  ti     V'
                                                        /  \
                                                       V    NP
                                                       tj   /\
                                                          pheŋ-iu
```
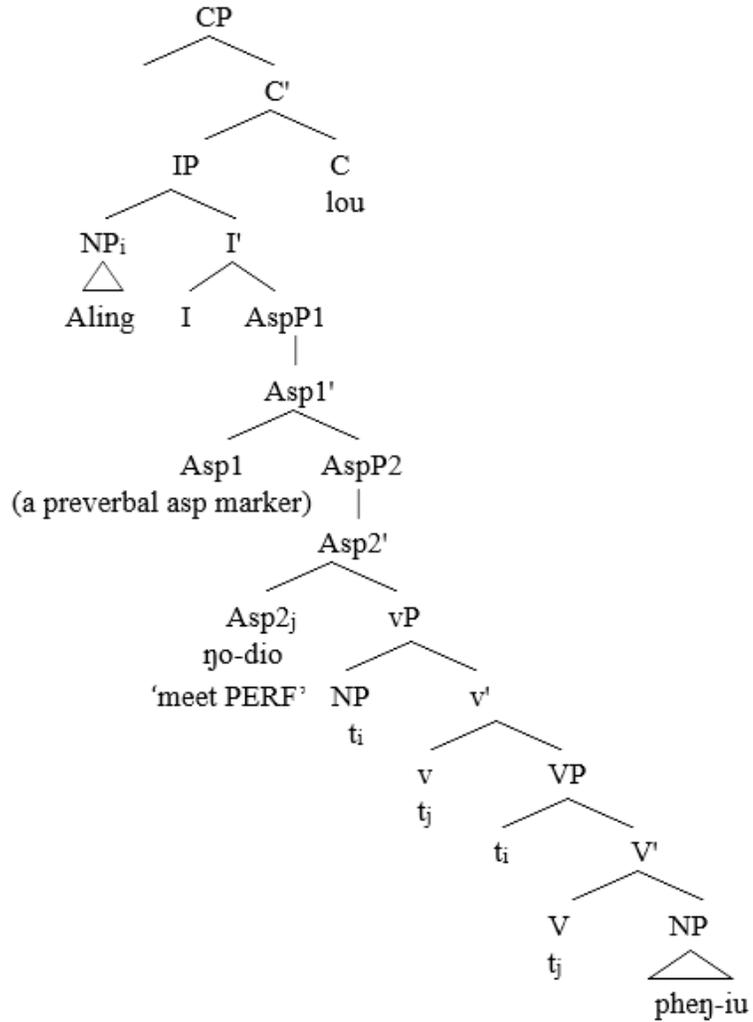
There can be a preverbal aspect marker that is not the concern here. The verb *ŋo* 'meet' is in the V, then moves to v, and then adjoined to the marker *dioʔ* to form *ŋo dioʔ.* Aling is in the specifier of vP and then moves to the specifier of the XP. The position of *diau* is the same as *dioʔ,* while the difference is in the complement of the verb. Since *diau* selects an intransitive verb, there is no verbal complement.

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**3.4 Summary and Conclusion**

The three markers *lou, diau,* and *dioʔ* express a completed event, and they have different meanings from the speaker's point of view, and they select different predicates in terms of transitivity. There are similarities and differences between the three markers. The summary of the meanings of the perfective markers is shown in the following table:

Table 3.3 The meanings of the three perfective markers

| The perfective markers | Meanings | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | positive | negative | expected | unexpected |
| *lou* | √ | - | √ | - |
| *diau* | - | √ | - | √ |
| *dioʔ* | √ | √ | - | √ |
| *diau lou* | √ | - | √ | - |
| *dioʔ lou* | √ | - | √ | - |

The summary of the types of the predicates with which the markers can co-occur is as follows:

Table 3.4 The types of the predicates the perfective markers can co-occur[36]

| The perfective markers | The Predicates | | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| | transitive | intransitive[37] | |
| | | unaccusative | unergative |
| *lou* | √ | √ | √ |
| *diau* | - | √ | - |
| *dioʔ* | √ | - | - |
| *diau lou* | - | √ | - |
| *dioʔ lou* | √ | - | - |

To sum up this chapter, the perfective marker *lou* expresses the meaning that the event is completed, and it also expresses the fact that the event is expected from the speaker's point of view. In addition, the event is usually considered something positive or favorable by the speaker. In general, the marker *diau* expresses the meaning that the speaker does not expect the event to occur, and it is a negative event from his perspective. Similar to *diau, dioʔ* also denotes an *unexpected* and *unplanned* event. However, different from *diau, dioʔ* is neutral with respect to whether it is positive or negative from the speaker's perspective.

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[36]This is the division of the perfective markers based on the meanings from the speaker's point of view. Peng (2012) analyses aspect markers based on the positions in the sentences, i.e. pre-verbal, post-verbal, and sentence-final. Her discussions include all aspect markers, i.e. bounded aspects: perfective, experiential, delimitative, tentative, and unbounded aspects: progressive and continuous aspect markers.

[37]*Lou* can occur with both intransitive-unaccusative and intransitive unergative verbs, but *diau* can occur only with intransitive unaccusative verbs. I include the inchoative verbs, verbs that express the change of state, e.g. *become white, become old,* as the intransitive predicates. Inchoative verbs can co-occur with either *lou* or *diau,* but not *diok.*

This chapter has shown that it is possible to combine two perfective markers. It is possible to combine two markers which express the meaning that an event is unexpected (*dioʔ* or *diau)* with the one that expresses the meaning that an event is expected (*lou*). In the combinations, the meaning of *lou* is more dominant than the other perfective marker. When the sentences use *diau* only or *dioʔ* only, the sentences express the meaning from the speaker's point of view that the events are unexpected. When the sentences use *lou* only, the events are 'expected' from the speaker's point of view. In the combinations, *diau lou* and *dioʔ lou*, the sentences express the meaning that the events are expected from the speaker's point of view. When talking about a pleasant surprise, it is an unexpected event. Therefore, the markers used are either *diau* or *dioʔ*. When talking about an expected misfortune, the marker used is *lou,* because it is after all an expected event (for example, the sinking of a ship, the collapse of a wall, or the death of a fish).

In terms of argument structure, *lou* can be used with a transitive or an intransitive predicate. *Lou* can occur with an intransitive-unaccusative or an intransitive unergative verb. There is a complementary distribution between *diau* and *dioʔ* in terms of the features of the predicates that are used with the markers. The predicates that appear with *diau* are intransitive unaccusative verbs, while *dioʔ* is compatible with transitive verbs. In the combinations of the perfective markers, *diau lou* and *dioʔ lou*, the grammatical properties, i.e. the predicate selections, of *diau* and *dioʔ* still apply.

The discussion has shown that the perfective aspect marker *lou* is always sentence final. This marker does not select for a specific predicate type. Different from *lou, dioʔ,* and *diau* have predicate selections. Based on these facts, it is most logical to

consider *lou* in a high position that does not select its predicates, i.e. the CP level. The marker *lou* is like a sentence-final particle (e.g. *ma* in Mandarin Chinese), which is allowed to appear in the right periphery even in head initial languages. It is also reasonable to consider *dioʔ* and *diau* in the position that selects their predicates, i.e. the vP level. The marker *lou* does not impose selectional restrictions on predicate types because its semantic argument is propositional.

## Chapter 4

## NEGATION AND ITS INTERACTIONS WITH PERFECTIVE ASPECT IN PONTIANAK TEOCHEW

### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the use and meanings of each of the negative markers, i.e. ***bo, boi, bue,***[38] ***m, mo,*** and ***min*** and I show that the negative markers have selectional restrictions with respect to perfective aspect markers. I first show how the negative markers work in isolation in detail. There is a complicating factor, that the negative markers in Teochew are combined in most cases with auxiliaries. Therefore, there is no way to discuss the negative markers without first showing how the various forms are composed (of a negative plus an auxiliary).

Before examining the compatibility and incompatibility between the negative markers and the perfective aspect markers in Teochew, it is important to examine the nature of the negative forms in sentences without perfective markers. After examining the nature of the negative markers, we can see if the restrictions on combination follow from the properties of the negative markers individually plus the properties of the perfective markers in isolation, or if the effect of combination fails to follow from the simple combination of negation with perfective markers. In addition, the negative markers are discussed in detail because the negative markers in Pontianak Teochew have not been described previously.

The following discussion shows that certain negative markers negate certain types of predicates, in terms of the features transitive or intransitive, intransitive

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[38] The spelling represents the pronunciation transcription in the IPA [b], not [p].

unaccusative or intransitive unergative. The difference between an intransitive unaccusative and an intransitive unergative predicate depends on the subject of the verb. If the subject is an agentive subject that can actively initiate the action of the verb, the verb is defined as an intransitive unergative, e.g. *telephone, come,* or *run.* Intransitive unergative verbs entails volitional and willed acts. If the subject of the verb is not an agentive subject, that is, it does not actively initiate the action of the verb, the verb is labeled as an intransitive unaccusative, e.g. *die, fall,*[39] or *sink.* Intransitive unaccusative verbs entails unwilled and non-volitional acts. Perlmutter (1978, p. 160) stated, "An unaccusative stratum contains a 2-arc but no 1-arc, while an unergative stratum contains a 1-arc but no 2-arc." It is important to identify the selection between the negative markers and the predicates so as not to confuse the sentences that are ill-formed because of the interactions between the negative markers and the perfective markers and those that are ungrammatical because of the interactions between the negative markers and certain predicates.

## 4.2 The Negative Markers in Teochew

In general, the negative markers can be divided into two kinds, those that begin with 'b' and those that begin with 'm.' Some of the negative markers can synchronically be decomposed into two morphemes, but some of the markers cannot.

The following is a description of the conditions under which people use the negative markers in Teochew, including the meanings and the types of the predicates with which they can co-occur.

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[39] These verbs are generally included as unaccusative, although some people may argue that there are cases where the subject can be an agent who initiates the actions.

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### 4.2.1 *bo* 'not exist'

This negative marker derives from the morpheme *b* 'not' (a bound negative marker that cannot stand on its own) and *u* 'exist, have.' On the basis of its meaning, *bo* should be closer in meaning to *mei (you)* 'not exist, not have' in Mandarin. By examining the form *bo*, I hypothesize that the form is the result of some phonological process of vowel lowering: /b + u/ → [bo]. Like the morpheme *you* in Mandarin, the morpheme *u* in Teochew can express 'possession' or 'have':

(24) a. Ua u     lui
        1sg have money
        'I have some money.'

     b. Ua  bo     lui
        1sg not.have money
        'I don't have money.'

(25) a. i    u   lau  chiu
        3sg exist grow beard
        'He has/grows beard.'

     b. i   bo     lau   chiu
        3sg not.exist grow beard
        'He does not have/ grow beard.'

Besides denoting possession, the pair *u* and *bo* also denote existence. The auxiliary <u>*u*</u> 'exist' denote the meaning that an event occurred in the declarative sentence. The negative marker *bo* 'not exist' expresses the meaning that an event did not occur.

(26) a. I    u   kʰə thak tsə.
        3sg exist go read book
        'He went to school.'

     b. I   bo     kʰə thak tsə.
        3sg not.exist go read school
        'He did not go to school.'

(27) a.  Anna   u    lai   (tsiopi)
         Anna exist come (here).
         'Anna came (here).'

    b.  Anna   bo    lai (tsiopi).
        Anna not.exist come (here)
        'Anna did not come (here).'


    The examples above show that the negative marker *bo* can negate an event that has an affirmative form of *u* 'exist'.[40] Since this negative marker expresses the meaning of a past event that did not occur, it is natural to say sentences (28a) and (28b):

(28) a.  Ua u   ŋo   pʰeŋ-iu.
         1sg exist meet friend
         "I met a friend.'

    b.  Ua bo      ŋo  pʰeŋ-iu
        1sg not.exist meet friend
        'I did not meet a friend.'

    c.  *Hi tiau tsun  u   tim.
        Det CL ship exist sink
        Intended meaning: 'The ship sank.'

    d.  *Hi tiau tsun bo     tim.
        Det CL ship not.exist sink
        Intended meaning: 'The ship did not sink.'


    Sentences (28c) and (28d) are ungrammatical because there is a missing aspect marker, not because of the phrase *u* or *bo.* These sentences with the verb *tim* 'sink' are

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[40]*u* 'exist' has an emphatic function when it is in the optional contexts. When it is obligatory, it means possession. Without any perfective aspect marker, the use of the auxiliary *u* 'exist' expresses the meaning that an event occurred.

ungrammatical without any aspect markers,[41] and it is ungrammatical to just use the auxiliary *u* 'exist.' The negation with *bo* is also ungrammatical. By examining these examples, I can conclude that when the negative marker *bo* 'not exist' expresses the meaning that the event did not occur, the predicate can be transitive or intransitive unergative (e.g. the verb *lai* 'come'), but not intransitive unaccusative (like the verb *tim* 'sink').

### 4.2.2 *boi* '**not**'

I hypothesize that the negative marker *boi* is derived from two morphemes, *b* 'not' and *oi* 'can/able, or possible'. The morpheme *b* is a bound morpheme that cannot stand on its own. This negative marker expresses inability and negates epistemic modality (Xu 2007).The declarative form that uses *oi* 'able' can show some ability, and it has the negative counterpart *boi* that means 'unable':

> (29) a.  I    oi  siu-cui
>          3sg can swim
>          'He can swim.'
>
>      b.  I    boi siu-cui
>          3sg cannot swim
>          'He cannot swim.'

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[41]To be grammatical, the sentence needs a perfective aspect maker *diau: hi tiau tsun tim diau* 'The ship sank.' I also observe that other intransitive unaccusative predicates, e.g. *si* 'die,' *pit* 'break,' *io* 'melt' also need an aspect marker to make it grammatical. For example,

a)*i si (3sg die) Intended meaning: 'He died.' b)*hi kai pua pit (det CL plate break) Intended meaning: 'The plate broke.'

To be grammatical, both of these sentences need *diau* 'PERF:' a) i si diau 'He died.' b) hi kai pua pit diau 'The plate broke.' c) hi kai seŋko io diau 'The ice-cream melted.'

The declarative form that uses *oi* 'possible' also shows possibility, and it has the

negative counterpart *boi* that means 'not possible':

(30) a. Matsa     oi  lok-hou
       tomorrow can  rain
       'Tomorrow can possibly rain.'

   b. Matsa     boi    lok-hou
      tomorrow cannot rain
      'Tomorrow cannot possibly rain.'

From the examples above, the opposite meanings of *oi* and *boi* provide the evidence

that *boi* is derived from *b* and *oi.*

There is another modal auxiliary to express ability, i.e. *hiau*. The affirmative

sentence is the same as (29) with the *oi* replaced by *hiau*, and the negative form is *boi*

*hiau*. There is some slight difference between the affirmative sentence that uses *oi* and

the one that uses *hiau,* although people may think that they are the same.  The

speakers consider that *hiau* indicates a higher level of skill than *oi*, if the sentences are

about ability. Therefore, when people describe the ability that is not just an ordinary

ability, e.g. *jip lok-tut kʰue* 'enter the medical school,' *sai pue-ki* 'drive an airplane,' or

*kʰiok it mia* 'to be the best student,' it is most natural to use '*hiau*.' However, if the

sentences are about possibility, such as sentence (30), only *oi* 'can,' not *hiau* 'can,' are

used.[42] I am not going to discuss *hiau* further, but I mention it to show that there is another expression for 'ability.'[43]

The use of *boi* in Teochew is also generally found with adjectival predicates, and *boi* means 'not.' However, the affirmative forms of the sentences can be more naturally expressed without the positive form *oi* 'can.'

> (31) a. tsi tiau sa (*oi) hiok ɲa
> Det CL shirt (possible) very beautiful
> 'This shirt is very beautiful.'
>
> b. tsi tiau sa boi ɲa
> Det CL shirt not beautiful
> 'This shirt is not beautiful.'

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[42] Other examples of predicates that *oi (/*hiau) pit* 'can possibly break.' *Oi (/*hiau) kui me?* 'possibly expensive?'

[43] There can be another difference when both 'oi' and 'hiau,' are used in the following examples:

  a. Le tsiak **oi** pa me?
     2sg eat can full Q
     Are you full? (Politely ask 'Did you eat until you are full? The speaker wants to make sure that the person eats enough).

  b. Le tsiak **hiau** pa me?
     2sg eat can full Q
     Can you be full? (Angrily ask "Why can't you be full?). If it is not expressed in real annoyance or anger, it is used to tease someone for eating too much.

(32) a. I   (ʔoi)      ʧoŋmeŋ
3sg (?possible) intelligent
'He is intelligent.'  (To express the idea that there is a possibility he
is intelligent, the use of *u kʰo neŋ* 'possible' is more natural. This
phrase is more straightforward to express possibility than *oi*).

b. I   boi ʧoŋmeŋ
3sg not intelligent
'He is not intelligent.'

The examples above show that there is a limitation for the pair *oi-boi* to form
declarative-negative sentences pair. It is ungrammatical or uncommon for adjectival
predicates to occur with *oi* in declarative sentences. However, the negative marker *boi*
negates adjectival predicates in general. In such sentences, the negative marker
denotes the meaning 'not.'

Since the negative marker *boi* expresses 'inability or impossibility,' it is
common to find it with an intransitive or a transitive predicate without any aspect
markers:

(33) a. Anna *oi/boi*   lai (both ability and possibility vs. inability and
impossibility)
Anna can/cannot come
'Anna can/cannot come.'

**oi** *means* 'Anna is able to come.' (She knows the bus route and the
subway).
'It is possible that Anna will come.' (She told me she will).

**boi** *means* 'Anna is unable to come.' (She cannot drive and she
does not know the route of public transportation to come here).
It is not possible that Anna will come.' (She does not even know
this address).

b. Hi  tiau tsun oi/boi      tim. (possibility and impossibility)
Det CL ship can/cannot sink
'The ship can/cannot sink.'

*oi:* 'It is possible that the ship will sink.'

*boi*: 'It is not possible that the ship will sink.'

*c.* Ua oi/ boi      ŋo    pʰeŋ-iu. (ability and inability)
1sg can/cannot meet friend
'I can/cannot meet a friend.'

*oi* means 'I can meet a friend.' (I have some friends around here).
*boi* means 'I cannot meet a friend.' (There is no one I know around
here that knows this language).

The negative marker *boi* can grammatically negate transitive, intransitive unaccusative
or intransitive unergative predicates.

### 4.2.3   *bue* 'not yet'

Even though *bue* looks like it derives from two morphemes, *b* and *ue*, it does
not. Whatever the diachronic source of *bue* may be, synchronically there is no way to
decompose it to two morphemes, as *\*ue* is not a meaningful morpheme. Therefore,
*bue* is morphologically opaque. There is a *b* element that means 'not' and there is
another abstract morpheme that derives the word *bue* to mean 'not yet.'

When examining the other two negative markers *bo* and *boi,* I showed the
counterpart declarative forms *u* and *oi.* In the discussion of the negative marker *bo,* the
hypothesis is that the form is the result of some phonological process of vowel
lowering: /b + u/ → [bo]. Thus, there were examples of declarative sentences that use
*u* and the negative sentences that use *bo.* For the negative marker *boi,* I analyzed the
form as having been derived from [*b* + *oi*]. There were examples of declarative
sentences that use *oi* and the negative sentences that use *boi.* Discussion of a

combination of a negative marker with a perfective aspect has not been included in this section. The discussion focused on showing a declarative sentence and its counterpart negative sentence. The following examples show a declarative sentence that uses *lou* and its counterpart negative sentence that uses the marker *bue*.

(34) a. Anna lai    lou.
        Anna come PERF
        'Anna came.'

     b. Anna bue     lai.
        Anna not.yet come
        'Anna hasn't come.'

From the examples above, I found that the hypothesis that *bue* 'not yet' is formed by the negative *b* and the affirmative form *lou* is quite compelling. The negative marker *bue* is also used in yes-no questions:

(35) Anna lai    bue?
      Anna come not.yet
      'Has Anna come?
      Answer: Bue lai 'not yet' or I lai lou 'she has.'

By considering these answers to the yes/no question that contains *bue* 'not yet,' again, I find the pair for yes-no with *lou* and *bue*. However, I will not follow this reasoning, as the form *bue* is not decomposable or morphologically opaque, and *b-lou* is not found as a negative form in the language. Another reason that I will not speculate that *bue* is derived from the negative element [b + *lou*] is because *bue* appears in negative sentences that have different perfective markers, namely *diau* or *dioʔ,* in the counterpart declarative sentences. In the following example, I show that the sentence with an intransitive unaccusative verb *tim* 'sink' without any aspect marker is ungrammatical. Therefore, the counterpart declarative sentence for the negative sentence uses *diau.*

(36) a. Hi tiau tsun   tim *(diau).
        Det CL ship sink PERF
        'The ship sank.'

     b. Hi tiau tsun bue      tim.
        Det CL ship not.yet sink
        'The ship has not sunk.'

*Bue* is also grammatical when used to negate the transitive verb that uses the

perfective marker *diok.* The following example shows that negating a transitive

predicate is also grammatical:

(37) a. Ua ŋo *(dioʔ) pʰeŋ-iu.
        1sg meet PERF friend
        'I met a friend.'

     b. Ua bue      ŋo   pʰeŋ-iu.
        1sg not.yet meet friend
        'I have not met a friend.'

Thus, the negative marker *bue* 'not yet' grammatically negates a transitive, intransitive

unaccusative, or intransitive unergative predicate.

So far, I have examined three *b* negative markers, i.e. *bo, boi, bue.* Two of

these markers, i.e. *bo* and *boi,* can be analyzed as consisting of two morphemes, one is

the negative element *b,* which is a bound morpheme, and the other one is a free

morpheme: *u* for *bo,* and *oi* for *boi.* However, I analyzed *bue* as a single word with a

'b' element and an abstract morpheme. These three negative markers have similarities

in that they are grammatical when co-occurring with transitive and intransitive

unergative predicates. The negative markers *boi* and *bue* also co-occur with

intransitive unaccusative predicates. There is an exception for one marker, i.e. *bo.*  It is

ungrammatical for *bo* to co-occur with intransitive unaccusative predicates. In terms

of meanings, these three markers express the following meanings: *bo* means 'not have'

and 'not exist,' *boi* means 'not able' and 'not possible,' while *bue* means 'not yet.' These syntactic and semantic properties of the negative markers will be considered in the analysis of the interactions between the negative markers and perfective aspect. The next negative markers are the ones that have the 'm' element in them.

### 4.2.4   *m* 'not'

The *m* 'not' itself is a free morpheme that can stand on its own. This negative marker can negate certain verbal or adjectival predicates. The verbs are stative verbs, verbs that refer to a state or condition which is static and unchanging, e.g. *know, believe.* In the following examples, *m* negates the declarative sentences:

(38)  a.  I     cai
          3sg know
          'He knows.'

      b.  I     m    cai
          3sg not know
          'He doesn't know.'

(39)  a.  I   siaŋsin ua
          3sg believe 1sg
          'He believes me.'

      b.  I    m   siaŋsin ua
          3sg not believe 1sg
          'He doesn't believe me.'

The negative marker *m* negates the copula *si*. The affirmative forms have an optional copula *si*. The difference between the one that uses *si* and the one that does not use *si* is that the one that uses *si* adds emphasis to the predicate, as in 'I AM a student' in English.

(40) a.  Ua (si) hak-seŋ.
         1sg SI student
         'I am a student.'

     b.  Ua m *(si) hak-seŋ
         1sg not (SI) student
         'I'm not a student.'

In the negative form, *si* is obligatory. Omitting *si* in the negative sentence will result in ungrammaticality. The negative marker *m* cannot directly negate the nominal predicate without the copula *si*. The negative marker can also negate the modal *hiau* 'can' to form *m hiau* 'cannot.'[44] The examples above show that *m* cannot take a nominal predicate, but it has to take an element that is either an adjective or a verb, or has the feature [+verbal].

Note that while (40b) is ungrammatical, the following example with an adjectival predicate is grammatical:

(41) a.  I    huahi
         3sg happy
         'He is happy.'

     b.  I    m huahi
         3sg not happy
         'He is not happy.'

However, this negative marker does not negate many other adjectival predicates: *\*m kui* (intended meaning: 'not tall'), *\*m ɲa* (intended meaning: 'not beautiful'), *\*m tua* (intended meaning: 'not big'), *\*m pʰi* (intended meaning: 'not cheap'), *\*m siau* (intended meaning: 'not crazy'). There are a limited number of adjectives that can be negated with *m*: *m tioʔ* 'not right' and *m kaʔ* 'not fit (too

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[44]I feel that there are no different meanings between *m hiau siu cui* and *boi hiau siu cui*. Both refer to the inability to swim or 'cannot swim.'

small).'I do not examine further the categories of adjectival predicates that can or cannot co-occur with *m,* but I think this negative marker has an obvious restriction in predicate selection.[45] The adjectives that can be negated with *m* can also be negated with *boi*: *m huahi* 'not happy' and *boi huahi* 'not happy,' and they have the same meanings. The adjectives that cannot be negated with *m,* can be grammatically negated with *boi: boi kui* 'not tall,' *boi tua* 'not big.'

I have shown that the negative marker *m* usually negates stative verbs: *m cai* 'not know,' *m siang sin* 'not believe,' *m hun meŋ* 'not understand,' *m pat* 'not recognize,' *m jian* 'not resemble.' There is an exception: \**m u* 'not exist/ not have.' The following examples show that this negative marker cannot negate non-stative verbs:

(42)  a.   \*Anna m lai.
Intended meaning: 'Anna does/did not come.'

b.   \*Hi tiau tsun m tim.
Intended meaning: 'The ship does/did not sink.'

c.   \*Ua m ŋo pʰeŋ-iu.
Intended meaning: 'I do/did not meet a friend.'

All the sentences above are ungrammatical. It can be concluded that this negative marker *m* is restricted to stative verbs and only a limited number of adjectival predicates. It cannot negate *lai* 'come,' *tim* 'sink,' or *ŋo* 'meet,' as these verbs are

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[45] Xu (2007:220) mentioned the use of the negative marker *m* for ungradable adjectives, but I found that it requires a further look at the definitions of gradable and ungradable adjectives. The adjective *huahi* 'happy' is gradable, but it is grammatical to co-occur with *m* in Pontianak Teochew. I will leave it for further research. Gradability refers to the possibility to say the adjectives in comparative *more* or *less,* or superlative *most*, e.g. *happier, the happiest.*

examples of dynamic verbs, the opposite of stative verbs. In other words, *m* in general cannot negate a transitive, an intransitive unaccusative, or an intransitive unergative predicate.

One negative marker that contains the *m* element and it has been mostly used as a single word is *mai*. Since this negative marker is derived from two morphemes *m* 'not' and *ai* 'want,' the meaning of the compound is 'not want'. Since it expresses an intention, any subjects that can have intentions can occur with *ai* 'want' and *mai* 'not want.' The following examples show the declarative sentences that use *ai* 'want' have their counterpart negative sentences that use *mai* 'not want.'

(43) a. Ua ai ŋo pʰeŋ-iu.
   1sg want meet friend
   'I want to meet a friend.'

   Ua mai ŋo pʰeŋ-iu.
   1sg not.want meet friend
   'I don't want to meet a friend.'

c. Anna ai lai.
   Anna want come
   'Anna wants to come.'

d. Anna mai lai.
   Anna not.want come
   'Anna does not want to come.'

It is grammatical for the negative markers to occur with a transitive verb *ŋo* 'meet' and an intransitive unergative verb *lai* 'come' because the subjects are agents that can have intentions.

It is semantically anomalous for the intransitive unaccusative *tim* 'sink' to occur with *ai* 'want' or *mai* 'not want' because the subjects of the sentences are not the entities or agents that can have intentions. The syntactic subjects are base-

generated as the objects of the verb, which means they are the entities that are the *causees* rather than the *causers*. Therefore, the following examples (44a) and (44b) are ungrammatical.

(44) a.  \*Hi tiau tsun ai tim.
         Det CL ship want sink
         \*The ship wants to sink.'

     b.  \*Hi tiau tsun mai      tim.
         Det CL ship not.want sink
         'The ship does not want to sink.'

However, the generalization that *ai* 'want' and *mai* 'not want' cannot select an intransitive unaccusative is not accurate. With other examples of intransitive unaccusative, such as *si* 'die,' or *puaʔ* 'fall,' the sentences will not be semantically anomalous. Therefore, the restriction on the use of the negative marker *mai* 'not want' is not on the intransitive unaccusative verb, but rather on the subject that can or cannot have intention. That someone died is a natural event, and 'died' is unaccusative. However, when someone says he or she wants to die, or does not want to die, the theta role 'Agent' assigned to the subject of the sentence is assigned by the verb 'want.' Therefore, for the declarative and negative sentences with *ai* and *mai,* the subjects are Agents assigned by 'want' or 'not want.'

In contrast, the following examples are grammatical because the subjects of intransitive unergative predicates are Agents that can have an intention.

(45) a.  I    ai    siu-tsui.
         3sg want swim
         'S/he wants to swim.'

     b.  I    mai    siu-tsui.
         3sg not.want swim.
         'S/he does not want to swim.'

The examples above show the sentences that can use *ai* or *mai* are the sentences that have agentive Subjects that can have an intention. The syntactic subjects of the intransitive unaccusative verb *sink* is not the Agents that actively initiate the event. However, the negative marker *mai* can co-occur with other intransitive unaccusative verbs. To sum up, the negative marker *mai* 'not want' co-occurs with transitive verbs, intransitive unergative verbs, or with intransitive unaccusative verbs, as long as the subject can have or not have intentions. Although *mai* is discussed under one section of *m,* in the discussion of the interactions with the perfective markers, *mai* is considered as a separate negative marker from *m*. Further more, *mai* is also used in expressing prohibition. The examples are discussed in the following section, i.e. *mo*. The next negative marker *mo* has an *m* element, but the predicate selection is different from *m*.

### 4.2.5 *m-ho= mo* 'don't,' 'mustn't,' 'not allowed'

Literally *ho* means 'good, yes, okay, allowed.' I hypothesize that *mo* is derived from two morphemes, and then there is a phonological deletion of the weak phoneme [h]: /m + ho/ → [mo]. The following examples show that the declarative sentences that use *ho* 'allowed' have their counterpart negative sentences that use *mo* 'not allowed.'

(46) a. Anna  ho    lai (tsio-pi).
Anna allowed come (here)
'Anna can come here.'(She is allowed to come here. She has the permission to come here).

b. Anna   mo     lai  (tsio-pi).
Anna not.allowed come (here)
'Anna is not allowed to come here.' (She mustn't come. She is prohibited to come here).

    c.  Ua ho        ŋo  pʰeŋ-iu.
        1sg allowed meet friend
        'I am allowed to meet a friend.'

    d.  Ua mo          ŋo  pʰeŋ-iu.
        1sg not.allowed meet friend
        'I am not allowed to meet a friend.'

The negative marker *mo* also expresses the preference that something had better not happen. In a context, for example, that meeting a friend is not good for me at this time, as I need to get a lot of work done. Sentence (46d) can also mean 'it is better that I don't meet a friend' or 'it is not good if I meet a friend.'

The following sentence also shows that *mo* can be used to express the preference that something had better not happen:

  (47)  Hi tiau tsun mo      tim.
        Det CL ship not.good sink
        'It is not good if the ship sinks. It is better that the ship does not sink.'

The sentence above can be used in a context, for example, 'if the ship sinks, it is a pity that a lot people working in the ship will lose their jobs.'

    *Mo* is also used in negative imperatives. Like the imperatives in English, the implied subject 'you' is not pronounced.  The positive imperatives do not use *ho,* but directly start with the verb.

  (48)  a.  Lai  (tsio-pi) ah!
            Come (here) PRT (PRT: a particle)
            'Come (here)!'

        b.  Mo   lai     (tsio-pi)!
            'Don't come (here)!'

    There is an alternative way to express prohibitions, i.e. by the use of *mai*. It is common to hear, for example, a mother shouting to her child:

(49)   Mo ʤiau! or Mai ʤiau!
       "Don't run!"

In other situations, it is common to say:

(50)  Mo keŋ tsiaŋ! or Mai keŋ tsiaŋ!
      "Don't panic!"

Another example, in the library, someone says:

(51)   Mo ta we tua-tua sia! or Mai ta we tua-tua sia!"
       "Don't speak loudly!"

The examples above show that using *mai* is an alternative way of expressing

prohibitions. However, the more common and strict expression of prohibition is the

use of *mo,* as in:

(52)  a.  Mo    jip!
          Don't enter!

      b.  Mo   kuʔ-hun    to    tsio pi!
          Don't smoke PREP here!

In expressing such prohibitions, speakers will tend to use *mo* rather than *mai,* because

using *mo* is more straightforward.[46] To sum up, with the various meanings 'don't,

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[46] This maybe just like the way people express the prohibition in Mandarin, *bu yao lai (wo bu yao ni lai)* 'don't come here' (I don't want you to come here) or *bie lai* 'Don't come here.' People in Taiwan recognize *bie* as a contraction for *bu yao*, but the contraction *bie* is less commonly used. The *bu yao* in Mandarin is like *mai* in Teochew, and *bie* is like *mo* in Teochew. It is possible that there is a difference of preference for expressing a prohibition in the northern China where Teochew is spoken, that the form *mo,* that is like *bie,* is more commonly used. There is an alternative way of expressing a prohibition, i.e. *boisai.[46]* I will not discuss this word further here.

must not, not allowed,' *mo* negates a transitive, an intransitive unaccusative as well as an intransitive unergative.

### 4.2.6   *min* 'no need'

*Min* is also morphologically opaque, as there is an *m* element that means 'not,' but *\*in* is not a meaningful morpheme.  *Min* means 'no need' and this negative marker expresses a lack of need or requirement. The affirmative form is *dioʔ,* which means 'must, should.' This *dioʔ* 'must, should' is different from the perfective marker *dioʔ* 'PERF.' *Dioʔ* that means 'must, should' precedes the verb, while *dioʔ* that is a perfective aspect marker follows the verb. Both of them have the same tones. One might speculate that the possible negative form is *m* 'not' and *dioʔ* 'must, should,' but this combination cannot express the meaning 'should not.'[47]From the surface form, it is easy to be drawn to the hypothesis that the word *min* is derived from the negative marker *m* and another morpheme *\*in.* A morpheme has a meaning.  Since *\*in* does not have a meaning, I choose to consider *\*in* as an abstract morpheme. It is synchronically impossible to deconstruct the word.

The use of the affirmative *dioʔ* 'should' and the negative form *min* 'no need' are shown in the following examples:

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[47] I tried to construct a sentence using *m-diok* and I can say, "*I m dioʔ lai ko tsa*?" 'Shouldn't s/he come earlier?' The phrase *m dioʔ* has a function more as a question (a rhetorical question). The sentence is not the negation of *i diok lai ko tsa* 's/he should come earlier.'  The natural negation of this sentence is *i min lai ko tsa* 's/he need not come earlier.' A prohibition is also possible: *i mo lai ko tsa* 's/he shouldn't/ must not come earlier.'

(53)  a.  Anna dioʔ lai.
          Anna should come.
          'Anna should/must come.' (e.g. she needs to talk directly with the
          professors).

      b.  Anna min      lai.
          Anna no.need come
          'Anna doesn't need to come.' (e.g. Anna is not required to come, as
          we can email her the results later).

(54)  a.  Ua dioʔ   ŋo   pʰeŋ-iu.
          1sg should meet friend
          'I should meet a friend.' (e.g. because I need a second opinion for
          my paper).

      b.  Ua min       ŋo  pʰeŋ-iu.
          1sg no.need meet friend
          'I don't need to meet a friend.'  (e.g. I'm familiar with the town, I
          won't get lost).

Besides occurring with transitive and intransitive unergative verbs, the pair of the

auxiliary *dioʔ* 'should' and the negative marker of need or requirement *min* 'no need'

can also occur with intransitive unaccusative verbs, such as *tim* 'sink'.

(55)  a.  Hi tiau tsun dioʔ tim.
          Det CL ship should sink
          'The ship should sink.' (e.g. It belongs to some drug smugglers).

      b.  Hi tiau tsun min   tim.
          Det CL ship no.need sink
          'The ship does not need to sink.' (e.g. We can still attract the
          attention of the local authority/ government using other ways).

The examples above show that *min* 'no need' can occur with a transitive, an

intransitive unergative, or an intransitive unaccusative predicate. To sum up, these 'm'

negative markers express the meanings 'not,' 'not want,' 'don't,' 'mustn't,' 'not

allowed,' and 'no need.'

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I have shown the meanings and the predicate selection of seven negative markers in Teochew, as well as examples of uses of the markers. In the next section, these negative markers are paired with the three perfective markers to demonstrate their interactions.

## 4.3 Interactions between Negation and Perfective Aspect

In chapter 3, the meanings and the types of the predicates with which the perfective markers can co-occur were examined, and the use of the negative markers was discussed in detail in the previous sections of this chapter. In this section, the interactions between the perfective markers and the negative markers are examined. The term 'interactions' refers to the results of the co-occurrence of the negative markers and the perfective aspect markers. In describing the interactions between the negative markers and the perfective aspect markers, the terms 'compatible' and 'incompatible' are used. The term 'compatible' is used when their co-occurrence is grammatical, and the term 'incompatible' is used when their co-occurrence is ungrammatical. On initial observation, the interactions between the three perfective aspect markers and each of the seven negative markers seemed random. It was quite challenging to find out that one of the perfective markers can co-occur with most of the negative markers, but not all, and that some of the negative markers can co-occur with all of the perfective markers, and so on, as will be described in detail below.

### 4.3.1 The Patterns of Compatible Co-occurrence of the Perfective Aspect and Negation

The examination of all the existing compatible and incompatible co-occurrences between a perfective marker and a negative marker shows that there are

three main patterns. The patterns are in the following tables. The examples that show

the patterns are provided after the tables.

**4.3.1.1 None of the 'b' negative markers, i.e. *bo, boi, bue*, can co-occur with the
perfective marker *lou*.**

The first pattern is shown by the negative markers that can or cannot co-occur

with the perfective aspect marker *lou.*

Table 4.1 The pattern of interactions between the negative markers with*lou*

| perfective markers negation | *lou* |
|---|---|
| bo | - |
| boi | - |
| bue | - |
| m | √ |
| mai | √ |
| mo | √ |
| min | √ |

The pattern is that none of the "b" negative marker can co-occur with the

perfective aspect marker *lou.*

**4.3.1.2 All of the 'm' negative markers, i.e. _m_ 'not,' _mai_ 'not want,' _mo_ 'don't,'**
**_min_ 'no need' can co-occur with all of the perfective markers, except**
**for _m_ and _dio?_:**

Table 4.2 The pattern of interactions between the "m" negative markers with the
perfective aspect markers

| perfective markers / negation | _lou_ | _diau_ | _dio?_ | _ge_ |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| m | √ | √ | - | √ |
| mai | √ | √ | √ | √ |
| mo | √ | √ | √ | √ |
| min | √ | √ | √ | √ |

The pattern is that all of the 'm' negative markers can co-occur with all of the

perfective markers, except for _m_ and _dio?_.

**4.3.1.3 None of the perfective markers can co-occur with _bo_, except for dio?:**

Table 4.3 The interactions between the negative marker _bo_ with the perfective aspect
markers

| perfective markers / negation | lou | diau | dio? | ge |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| bo | - | - | √ | - |

The pattern is that none of the perfective markers can co-occur with _bo_, except

for _dio?_.

The patterns of interactions between the markers that are shows in the tables above have been derived from the examination of the list of examples that contain each pair of the markers.

The compatibility and incompatibility were examined by grammaticality judgments. In the process, each of the negative markers was put in the same sentence with each of the perfective aspect markers. Then a grammaticality judgment was provided. The results of these grammaticality judgments are shown as statements in brackets at the end of each of the sentences. The order of discussion of the perfective markers is as follows: *lou, diau,* and *dio?.* The order of discussion of the negative markers follows the order of the negative markers discussed in the previous section. They are the ones with the "b": *bo, boi, bue,* and then the ones with "m": *m, mai, mo,* and *min*.

The following sentences use the perfective marker *lou.* All the 'b' negative markers *bo, boi, bue* are incompatible with *lou,* while all the 'm' negative markers *m, mai, mo, min* are compatible with *lou*:

(56) a. *Anna bo      lai      lou. (*bo* is incompatible with lou)
        Anna not.exist come PERF
        Intended meaning: 'Anna did not come.'

    b. *Anna boi lai      lou. (*boi* is incompatible with *lou*)
        Anna not come PERF
        Intended meaning: Anna did not come.

    c. *Anna bue      lai      lou. (*bue* is incompatible with lou)
        Anna not.yet come PERF
        Intended meaning: Anna did not come.

    d. Anna m siangsin lou. (*m* is compatible with *lou*)
        Anna not believe PERF
        'Anna does not believe anymore,' or 'Anna is already in the state of

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not believing; she used to believe, but she changed her mind to not believing.'

e. Anna mai     lai   lou. (*mai* is compatible with *lou*)
Anna not.want come PERF
'Anna does not want to come anymore,' or 'Anna is already in the state of not wanting to come; she used to want to come.'

f. Anna mo     lai   lou. (*mo* is compatible with *lou*)
Anna must.not come PERF
'Anna must not come anymore,' or 'Anna is already in the state of not being obliged to come; she used to be obliged to come.'

g. Anna min     lai   lou. (*min* is compatible with *lou*)
Anna not.need come PERF
'Anna does not need to come anymore,' or 'Anna is already in the state of being necessary to come.'

To avoid the ungrammaticality of sentence (56d) that is caused by the incompatibility between *m* and *lai*, the verb *lai* is replaced with a stative verb *siangsin* 'believe.'

Next examples show the co-occurrence between the negative markers with the perfective aspect marker *diau*. The negative marker *bo* is the only one that is incompatible with *diau*. All the others negative markers grammatically co-occur with *diau*:

(57) a. *Hi tiau tsun bo     tim diau. (*bo* is incompatible with *diau*)
Det CL ship not.exist sink PERF
Intended meaning: 'The ship did not sink.'

b. Hi tiau tsun boi tim diau. (*boi* is compatible with *diau*)
Det CL ship not sink PERF
'The ship did not sink.' (It is not true/not possible that the ship sank).

c.  Hi tiau tsun bue    tim diau. (*bue* is compatible with *diau*)
    Det CL ship not.yet sink PERF
    'The ship has not sunk yet.' (It has not happened that the ship sank)

d.  I    m  kitit       diau. (*m* is compatible with *diau*)
    3sg not remember PERF
    'He forgot.' (Lit. 'He became not remember')

e.  I     mai    ut      diau. (*mai* is compatible with *diau*)
    3sg not.want sleep PERF
    'S/he does not want to fall asleep.'

f.  Hi tiau tsun mo        tim diau. (*mo* is compatible with *diau*)
    Det CL ship must.not sink PERF
    'The ship must not sink.'

g.  Hi tiau tsun min      tim diau. (*min* is compatible with *diau*)
    Det CL ship not.need sink PERF
    'The ship does not need to sink.' (e.g. to force the pirates to give up)

To avoid the inanimate subjects that cause the anomaly of intention, the subjects of sentences (57d) and (57e) above are replaced with *i* '3sg.'The negative marker *m* requires a stative verb and the negative marker *mai* requires a subject that can have intention. Therefore, the predicates of the two sentences are replaced with the predicates that are compatible with the negative markers. The purpose of the examples is to examine the compatibility between the negative markers and the perfective aspect markers, so incompatibility between the verb and the negative marker has to be avoided first.

Turning to the next set of examples, the following sentences are sentences with the perfective marker *dioʔ* with the negative markers with the transitive verb *ŋo pʰeŋ-iu* 'meet a friend'. Only the negative marker *m* is incompatible with *dioʔ*. All the other negative markers are grammatical with *dioʔ*:

(58) a. Ua  bo  ŋo   dioʔ pʰeŋ-iu. (*bo* is compatible with *dioʔ*)
        1sg not meet PERF friend
        'I did not meet a friend.'

    b. Ua   boi ŋo   dioʔ pʰeŋ-iu. (*boi* is compatible with *dioʔ*)
        1sg not meet PERF friend
        It is not possible that I will meet a friend.

    c. Ua   bue     ŋo dioʔ pʰeŋ-iu. (*bue* is compatible with *dioʔ*)
        1sg not.yet meet PERF friend
        'I have not met a friend.'

    d. *Ua m   ŋo   dioʔ pʰeŋ-iu. (*m* is incompatible with *dioʔ*)
        1sg not meet PERF friend
        Intended meaning: 'I did not meet a friend.'

    e. ua   mai      ŋo   dioʔ pʰeŋ-iu. (*mai* is compatible with *dioʔ*)
        1sg not.want meet PERF friend
        'I did not want to meet a friend.'

    f. Ua  mo       ŋo   dioʔ pʰeŋ-iu. (*mo* is compatible with *dioʔ*)
        1sg must.not meet PERF friend
        'I must not meet a friend.' (e.g. I was disguising as a bus driver to
        investigate a murder).

    g. Ua  min      ŋo dioʔ    pʰeŋ-iu. (*min* is compatible with *dioʔ*)
        1sg not.need meet PERF friend
        'I did not need to meet a friend.'  (Some people I did not know
        helped me)

All the sentences above are grammatical except (58d), which shows the

incompatibility between *m* and *dioʔ*.

There is an emphatic perfective marker that occurs only in some negative

sentences, i.e. *ge*.  The discussion of this marker is included because when the

negative markers and this perfective aspect marker co-occurs, *ge* appears as a marker

that behaves similarly to the other three perfective aspect markers. Although *ge* has

the function to emphasize the negative sentence that uses the marker *bue*, *ge* cannot

always co-occur with other negative markers. The marker *ge* can be considered as an

emphatic perfective aspect marker because without the marker *ge*, the negative

sentence that uses *bue* is still grammatical. This marker can be considered as a

perfective aspect marker because when it is absent in the sentences, the sentences lose

their perfective meaning. There are negative markers that cannot co-occur with *ge*.

The marker *ge* is interesting because *ge* is not used in declarative sentences.

Another homophonic *ge* meaning 'again' is used in declarative sentences, for

example, *ta ge* 'say again,' *tsiak ge* 'eat again,' which is not the concern of this

chapter. The most common use of *ge* is in negative sentences with *bue*. The negative

markers *bo* and *boi* are ungrammatical with *ge*. The following examples show the co-

occurrence between *ge* and the negative markers.

 (59) a. *Anna bo tsai ge. (*bo* is incompatible with *ge*)
     Anna not know PERF
     Intended meaning: 'Anna does not know yet.'

   b. *Anna boi tsai ge. (*boi* is incompatible with *ge*)
     Anna not know PERF
     Intended meaning: 'Anna does not know yet, or it is not possible
     Anna knows.'

   c. Anna bue  tsai ge. (*bue* is compatible with *ge*)
     Anna not.yet know PERF
     'Anna has not known yet.'

   d. Anna m tsai ge. (*m* is compatible with *ge*)
     Anna not know PERF
     'Anna does not know yet.'

   e. Anna mai  tsai ge. (*mai* is compatible with *ge*)
     Anna not.want know PERF
     'Anna still does not want to know.'

   f. Anna mo  tsai ge. (*mo* is compatible with *ge*)
     Anna must.not know PERF
     'Anna still must not know.' (We still have to make sure Anna does
     not know).

g. Anna min      tsai  ge. (*min* is compatible with *ge*)
   Anna not.need know PERF
   'Anna still does not need to know.'

In addition to *bue, ge* is also grammatical when co-occurring with *m, mai, mo*, and

*min*.

Although *ge* is not one of the three perfective aspect markers that are the main

focus of this research, *ge* is included in the analysis of its interactions with the

negative markers because this emphatic aspect marker has compatibility and

incompatibility with the negative markers.

Now is the discussion on the results of the grammaticality judgments of the

compatibility and incompatibility of the co-occurrence of the negative markers and the

perfective aspect markers.

1.   The negative markers with the perfective aspect marker *lou*

The sentences in (56) show that *bo, boi* and *bue* are incompatible with the

perfective marker *lou*. When there is no *lou*, *bo* and *boi* can negate the verb, as shown

in sentence (26) and (32). The negative markers *m, mo, mai,* and *min* are compatible

with *lou.*

2.   The negative markers with the perfective aspect marker *diau*

In (57a), *bo* is ungrammatical to co-occur with *diau*.  The negative marker *boi*

is compatible with *diau,* because it negates the epistemic modality. Other negative

markers *bue* 'not yet,' *mo* 'must not' or 'don't' (let it happen), *mai* 'not want,' *min* 'no

need' can co-occur with *diau*.

3.   The negative markers with the perfective aspect marker *dioʔ*

The sentences in (58) show that all the negative markers can co-occur with

*dioʔ,* except for *m.* The reason for this pattern will be discussed in the Analysis

section.

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4. The negative markers with the perfective aspect marker *ge*

The sentences in (59) show that only *bo* and *boi* are incompatible with *ge*. The other negative markers: *bue*, *m, mo, mai, min* can co-occur with *ge*. The use of *ge* is grammatical with all the predicates above with one requirement, i.e. the predicates are negated with *bue* 'not yet.' The combination of *bue* and *ge* is the most natural and common. The function of *ge* is to emphasize the 'not yet' meaning of *bue*.

The following conclusions can be drawn from the results of the grammaticality judgments: First, among all the perfective aspect markers, the perfective marker *lou* has the most restriction with regard to which forms of negation it is compatible with. It cannot co-occur with any the 'b' negative markers *bo, boi,* and *bue*. The next two conclusions are drawn from the restrictions on a specific negative marker, i.e. *bo* 'not exist' and a group of negative markers that are not restricted at all to co-occur with all the perfective markers. Second, among all the negative markers, the negative marker *bo* has the most restriction to occur in sentences that contain the perfective markers. It cannot co-occur with *lou, diau*, and *ge*. It has been shown that *bo* can only co-occur with *dioʔ*. Thirdly, the negative markers *mai* 'not want,' *mo* 'must not,' and *min* 'no need' can co-occur with all the perfective markers. The markers that are used to negate the intention (*mai*), to express prohibition (*mo*), and to negate the necessity for some event that happened (*min*) are not restricted at all, because these markers are compatible with *lou, diau, dioʔ* and *ge*.

In this section, by examining all the existing compatible and incompatible co-occurrences between a perfective marker and a negative marker, the conclusion is that there are three general patterns of the interactions between the perfective markers and the negative markers. The general patterns do not indicate whether the negative

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markers select for the perfective markers or vice versa. It is not very obvious which direction the markers are selected: whether the perfective aspect markers select for the negative markers or whether the negative markers select for the perfective aspect markers. Nonetheless, this section has shown that certain perfective aspect markers can be negated by certain negative markers and in the other direction, certain negative markers can negate certain perfective aspect markers. In the following section, the patterns are further analyzed and explanations for the patterns are provided.

### 4.3.2  The Analysis

In this section, the patterns found regarding the compatibility of co-occurrences between negative markers and perfective aspect markers are analyzed. In analyzing the general patterns, the first step is examining the markers to find out the unique characteristics of a specific marker and the groups of the negative markers and the perfective markers that behave in the same way in a particular pattern. The unique characteristics of a particular negative marker that separates it from the group of the negative markers are identified. The unique characteristics of the marker(s) in the patterns can be understood in the following ways: 1) by considering the meanings of the markers, 2) by comparing the grammaticality between the affirmative emphatic forms (the declarative sentences with the perfective markers and the emphatic marker *u* 'exist') and the counterpart negative forms (the sentences with the negative markers and the perfective markers), and 3) by considering the types of the predicates with which the negative markers and the perfective markers can co-occur.

### 4.3.2.1 The reason none of the 'b' negative markers (i.e. *bo, boi, bue*) can co-occur with the perfective marker *lou.*

The incompatibility between the 'b' negative markers and the perfective marker *lou* can be understood by considering the meanings of all the markers. As I have discussed in the previous section, the sentences in (56) show that none of the 'b' negative markers can co-occur with the perfective marker *lou,* while all of the 'm' negative markers can co-occur with the perfective marker *lou.* To understand this pattern, the markers are examined and what specific characteristics that *lou* has that separates it from the other perfective markers are identified. In terms of meaning, the marker *lou* is the only perfective marker that has the 'expected' meaning. The pattern shows that this 'expected' meaning is incompatible with the meanings of the 'b' negative markers that express the meanings 'not exist,' 'not possible,' or 'not yet.' It is incompatible to say that something that happened expectedly did not exist, or was not possible, or did not yet happen. In other words, to say 'something that did not exist, or was not possible, or did not yet happen happened expectedly' is incompatible in meanings. However, all the 'm' negative markers are compatible with the perfective marker *'lou'.* Negating the intention, negating some prohibition, and negating the need or requirement for some event that happened are not incompatible with the 'expected' meaning of *lou.* The groups of the negative markers that are compatible and incompatible with *lou* can be explained by the different types of the linguistic modality the negative markers express.[48]

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[48] The negative markers that are compatible with *lou* are the ones that express deontic modality, while the ones that are incompatible are the ones that express epistemic modality. Deontic modality indicates how the world ought to be, according to certain norms, expectations, and the speaker's desire. Epistemic modality concerns an estimation of the likelihood that a certain state of affairs is/has been/will be true (or false) in the context of the possible world under consideration. There are other

In terms of the scope, the assumption is that *lou* is the perfective marker that takes the widest scope over all the negative markers. With this assumption, the notion of expectedness should not be incompatible with the negated proposition; not having something can be expected. A more promising idea is not having something or some event not happening is incompatible with the notion of perfectivity. The negative markers *bo, boi,* and *bue,* which expresses the idea of not having something, or some event not happening is incompatible with the notion of perfectivity expressed by *lou.* Therefore, sentences (56a) to (56c) are ungrammatical. In contrast, the co-occurrence of the *m* negative markers with *lou,* with *lou* taking the scope, results in the reading as 'already in the state of not being or doing such and such.' The co-occurrence of the *m* markers and the marker *lou* is compatible. Therefore, sentences (56d) to (56f) are grammatical.

### 4.3.2.2 The reason *m* cannot co-occur with *dioʔ*

In analyzing the restriction of co-occurrence between *m* and *dioʔ,* the types of the predicates with which the negative marker and the perfective marker can co-occur are examined. The negative marker *m* can negate very few kinds of predicates. Previous discussion has shown that in general, *m* selects a non-dynamic or stative predicate. Therefore, it is not compatible with *dioʔ* that selects a transitive verb, which is in general non-stative predicate (Although there are exceptions such as a stative verbs that can be transitive verbs, e.g. *believe, understand,* or *know something*). For example, the predicate *ŋo dioʔ pʰeŋ-iu* 'met a friend' cannot be negated by *m: *m ŋo*

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subtypes of modality. I think I will leave the discussion about modality to future research.

*dioʔ pʰeŋ-iu* (Intended meaning: 'did not meet a friend'). When the predicate is replaced by a predicate that can take *m* as the negative marker, the predicate is still ungrammatical because predicates that can take *m,* usually cannot take *dioʔ*, e.g. *m huahi* 'not happy,' **huahi dioʔ, *m huahi dioʔ*, m pe* 'not flat,' **pe dioʔ, *m pe dioʔ*. In a specific circumstance, the negative form *m cai* 'not know' can have the declarative form *cai dioʔ* 'unexpectedly knew or found out,' but the combination is ungrammatical: **m cai dioʔ* (intended meaning: 'unexpectedly did not know'). In conclusion, the incompatibility between *m* and *dioʔ* is caused by the difference in the types of the predicates in terms of the stativity or dynamicity of the predicates.

### 4.3.2.3 The reason none of the perfective markers can co-occur with *bo*, except for *dioʔ*.

In analyzing the sentences to find out why only *bo* is compatible with *dioʔ,* the grammaticality between the affirmative emphatic forms (the declarative sentences with the perfective markers and the emphatic marker *u* 'exist') and the counterpart negative sentences (the sentences with the negative markers and the perfective markers) are compared. Only the sentences that can be emphasized using the auxiliary *u* 'exist'[49] can be negated using *bo* 'not exist.' Previous discussion of the negative markers shows that *bo* 'not exist' can be decomposed to */b + u/* 'not + exist.' The affirmative or declarative sentence that contains the perfective marker *dioʔ* can be

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[49] The word *u* can function as a verb that means possession or 'have.' As an auxiliary, *u* 'exist' is used to express the perfective aspect, i.e. an event occurred, e.g. i u kʰe po thau 's/he went to the market.' When there is already a perfective aspect marker *diok* 'PERF' in the same sentence, *u* 'exist' has an emphatic function.

emphasized by *u* 'exist,' but those with other perfective markers cannot, as shown in the following set of examples:

(60) a. Ua u ŋo dioʔ pʰeŋ-iu
1sg exist meet PERF friend
'I did meet a friend.'

b. *I u lai lou
3sg exist come PERF
Intended meaning: 'S/he did come.'

c. *Hi tiau tsun u tim diau
Det CL ship exist sink PERF
Intended meaning: 'The ship did sink.'

d. *Anna u cai ge
Anna exist know PERF
Intended meaning: 'Anna did know.'

In conclusion, the reason why *dioʔ* can be negated by *bo* 'not exist' is because only the affirmative sentences with *dioʔ* can be emphasized using *u* 'exist.' It is ungrammatical to use *u* 'exist' to emphasize the other affirmative sentences with the other perfective markers: *lou, diau,* or *ge*. In other words, when *u* 'exist' has the function as an auxiliary that denotes perfective aspect, *u* can co-occur with *dioʔ,* but not other aspect markers. The negation counterpart of *u,* i.e. *bo,* can co-occur with *dioʔ* but not other aspect markers either. This explanation is in line with the explanation of Xu (2007) for Jieyang Teochew, although she did not analyze the interactions between negation and perfective aspect, she explained that the emphatic use of *u* can be negated using the negative markers *bo*.

In summary, the results of the analysis show that none of the 'b' negative markers are compatible with the perfective marker *lou* because of the 'expected' meaning of the perfective aspect *lou*. To say that something happened expectedly did

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not exist (*bo* 'not exist')*,* or was not possible (*boi* 'not possible')*,* or did not yet happen (*bue* 'not yet') is semantically contradictory, and hence ill-formed. In other words, it is semantically odd to say that something that did not exist, or was not possible, or did not yet happen then happened expectedly. However*,* all the 'm' negative markers are compatible with the perfective marker *'lou'.* Negating the intention (*mai* 'not want'), negating some prohibition (*mo* 'don't'), and negating the need or requirement for some event that happened (*min* 'no need') are not incompatible with the 'expected' meaning of *lou*.

In terms of the scope, the assumption is that *lou* is the perfective marker that takes the widest scope over all the negative markers. The negative markers *bo, boi,* and *bue,* which expresses the idea of not having something, or some event not happening is incompatible with the notion of perfectivity expressed by *lou.* In contrast, the co-occurrence of the *m* negative markers with *lou,* with *lou* taking the scope, results in the reading as 'already in the state of not being or doing such and such.' The co-occurrence of the *m* markers and the marker *lou* is compatible.

The analysis of the incompatibility between the perfective marker *dioʔ* and *m* shows that they are incompatible because of the difference in types of the predicates with which they co-occur in terms of the stativity or dynamicity. In general, among all the negative markers, only *m* selects a non-dynamic or stative predicate. Therefore, it is not compatible with *dioʔ* that selects a transitive and dynamic predicate. The analysis of the compatibility between the perfective marker *dioʔ* and the negative marker *bo* 'not exist' shows that only the perfective marker *dioʔ* is compatible with the negative marker *bo* 'not exist' because only the affirmative sentences with *dioʔ* can be emphasized using *u* 'exist.'

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The reason I started this research was because while trying to express some sentences that had *le* in Mandarin Chinese, I came up with different markers in Teochew. Many earlier authors have discussed the inability of the negative marker *bu* 'not' to co-occur with the perfective aspect marker *le* in Chinese Mandarin (see also Li and Thompson, 1981; Huang, 1988; Ernst, 1995; and Lee and Pan, 2001). Li and Thompson (1981, p.205) stated that "*le* does not occur in negative sentences because the meaning of negative sentences – that some event does not take place or that some state of affairs does not obtain - is incompatible with the meaning of -*le*, which is to signal a completed event."

The results of the examination of the compatibility and incompatibility between the negative markers and perfective aspect markers in Teochew show that the interactions involve additional considerations, because in Teochew, there are several perfective aspect markers, each of which expresses different meanings. In addition, there are more different negative markers in Teochew than there are in Mandarin. Furthermore, the negative markers contain various auxiliaries that are possible and impossible to deconstruct synchronically.

## 4.4    Summary and Conclusions

This chapter has discussed in detail the negative markers in Pontianak Teochew and their interactions with perfective aspect markers. In the section of the negative markers, there are several generalizations that can be highlighted:

1. Besides denoting 'not have,' the negative marker *bo* 'not exist' expresses the meaning that the event did not occur. When the negative marker *bo* expresses the meaning that the event did not occur, the predicate can be transitive or intransitive

unergative (e.g. the verb *come*), but not intransitive unaccusative (e.g. the verb *sink).*

2. Without any aspect marker, the negative marker *boi* 'not' (not able, not possible) can grammatically negate the transitive, intransitive unaccusative and intransitive unergative predicates.

3. The negative marker *bue* 'not yet' grammatically negates transitive and intransitive (unaccusative and unergative) predicates without any aspect markers.

4. The negative marker *m* is restricted to stative verbs and a few kinds of adjectival predicates.

5. The negative marker *mai* 'not want' selects animate subjects, i.e. subjects that can have or not have an intention.

6. With the various meanings 'don't, must not, not allowed,' *mo* negates a transitive, an intransitive unaccusative as well as an intransitive unergative predicate.

7. *Min* 'no need' negates a transitive, an intransitive unaccusative as well as an intransitive unergative predicate.

   From the examinations of all the existing compatible and incompatible co-occurrence between the perfective markers and the negative markers, there are three main patterns observed:

1. None of the 'b' negative markers, i.e. *bo, boi,* bue, can co-occur with the perfective marker *lou.*

2.  The negative marker *m* cannot co-occur with the perfective maker *dioʔ,* while all of the 'm' negative markers, i.e. *m* 'not,' *mai* 'not want,' *mo* 'don't,' *min* 'no need,' can co-occur with all of the perfective markers.

3.  None of the perfective markers can co-occur with *bo*, except for *dioʔ*.

The results of the analysis show that the incompatibility between the 'b' negative markers with the perfective marker *lou* is caused by the 'expected' meaning of the perfective aspect *lou.* In terms of the scope, the assumption is that *lou* is the perfective marker that takes the widest scope over all the negative markers. The negative markers *bo, boi,* and *bue,* which expresses the idea of not having something, or some event not happening is incompatible with the notion of perfectivity expressed by *lou.* In contrast, the co-occurrence of the *m* negative markers with *lou,* with *lou* taking the scope, results in the reading as 'already in the state of not being or doing such and such.' The co-occurrence of the *m* markers and the marker *lou* is compatible.

The analysis of the incompatibility between the perfective marker *dioʔ* and the negative marker *m* shows that the incompatibility is caused by the difference in the types of the predicates with which the markers co-occur in terms of the stativity or dynamicity. The analysis of the compatibility between the perfective marker *dioʔ* and the negative marker *bo* shows that *dioʔ* can be negated by *bo* because only the affirmative sentences with *dioʔ* can be emphasized using *u* 'exist.'

# Chapter 5

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This research focuses on a discussion of two grammatical constructions in Pontianak Teochew, i.e. the perfective aspect and negation. I analyzed the interactions between the perfective aspect markers and negation. In addition, there is a separate chapter that discusses the sociolinguistic backgrounds of the speakers of Pontianak Teochew.

The results of the interviews can be summed up as follows: 1) The factors that strengthen Teochew speaking are the presence of grandparents, the national policy in 2000, Teochew speaking neighbors and friends, 2) The factors that weaken Teochew speaking are the presence of baby-sitters, English speaking at home, the national policy in 1960s. The results of the questionnaires show that there is not a significant shrink of domains when and where Teochew is spoken. Teochew is still spoken in eight domains, while Indonesian is spoken in seventeen out of thirty-four domains by both younger and older generations. In terms of language attitudes, both the young and older generations have positive attitudes about their mother tongue, formal Indonesian, English and other foreign languages.

Teochew is losing its users and domains, but very slowly because there are still strengthening factors, i.e. the political situations that changed since 1999 and the language is still spoken by many young people. Based on the extended scale proposed by Lewis and Simons (2010), Teochew in Pontianak can be described as level 6b: "The language is used for face-to-face communication within all generations, but it is losing users." For UNESCO category, Pontianak Teochew can be classified as "vulnerable" or level 4.

The endangerment status of Teochew in Pontianak in terms of the speaker population can be discussed based on UNESCO six degrees of endangerment (Brenzinger, et.al. 2003). I agree with Peng (2012) that based on the speaker population, Teochew in Pontianak is "unsafe" or level 4. The description of "unsafe" is "the language is used by some children in all domains; it is used by all children in limited domain." Peng classified Jambi Teochew as level 3.

In terms of the amount and quality of documentation, Pontianak Teochew can be classified as level 0: "undocumented." In terms of the material for language education and literacy, Pontianak Teochew can be classified as level 0: "no orthography available to the community" because the language is spoken at home and being transmitted with no written forms.

In Indonesia, the national language is Indonesian. Indonesian is the language used in instruction at school, in government offices, on televisions, on most printed media, and all public services. Teochew is neither a national language nor a formal language. Teochew in Pontianak has been transmitted from generations to generations through spoken communication at home. Since 1980s, English had been the only foreign language taught at schools, until 2000s, when Mandarin became another foreign language taught at schools in Pontianak and Jakarta. Teochew does not have any official written forms, so it will not occupy any space in the curriculum at schools. However, I believe that Teochew will still be spoken in Pontianak for the next generations, with more and more Indonesian words mixed into Teochew.

The findings about the semantic features of the events and syntactic features of the predicates with which the perfective markers co-occur can be summed up as follows:

1. The use of the perfective marker *lou* is generally selected by the features of [expected, positive] of the event. The feature [expected] is not cancellable, while [positive] is conversational. Therefore, *lou* is also used in expressing expected misfortunes. Since both transitive and intransitive predicates can take *lou*, the NP in the following pattern is in brackets, indicating that the NP is present when the sentence has a transitive predicate, but absent when the sentence has an intransitive predicate. In general, *lou* has the following features:

$$[_{IP}NP\ VP \begin{pmatrix} expected \\ positive \\ transitive/intransitive \end{pmatrix} (NP)\ lou]$$

There is a complementary distribution between *diau* and *dioʔ,* but both are used in an event that expresses an 'unexpected' nature from the speaker's point of view or expresses a grammatical category called Mirative (DeLancey, 1997):

2. The predicates/events that take *diau* have the following general features:

$$\begin{bmatrix} unexpected \\ negative \\ intransitive\ unaccusative \end{bmatrix}$$

The feature [negative] is conversational. However, *diau* is not found for [positive] events. This [negative] feature is a consistent feature of *diau.*

3. The predicates/events that take *dioʔ* have the following features:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{unexpected} \\ \text{positive/negative} \\ \text{transitive} \end{bmatrix}$$

      I include the results of the grammatical judgments for the emphatic perfective marker *ge,* and the results show that:

4. The perfective marker *ge* is compatible with the negative markers that express the following meanings:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{not yet} \\ \text{not want} \\ \text{not need} \\ \text{don't (negative imperative)} \end{bmatrix}$$

5. The predicate/event that takes *diau lou* has the following features:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{expected} \\ \text{positive} \\ \text{intransitive unaccusative} \end{bmatrix}$$

6. The predicate/event that takes *dioʔ lou* has the following features:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{expected} \\ \text{positive} \\ \text{transitive} \end{bmatrix}$$

The examinations of the sentences with the perfective markers have shown that:

1. *lou* can optionally co-occur with *diau* and *dioʔ*. When they co-occur, *diau* and *dioʔ* are semantically inactive but grammatically active. The pairs of *diau lou* and *dioʔ lou* are not interchangeable, due to the differences in the predicate features that occur with *diau* and *dioʔ*.

2. *dioʔ* and *diau* cannot co-occur, because they are selected by different predicate features.

The chapter on the perfective aspect markers has shown that the markers in Teochew implicate different meanings from the speaker's point of view, and the markers select different types of predicates. The negative markers, on the other hand, have different meanings that contain auxiliaries, and the markers select different types of predicates. The interaction between the markers cannot be simply stated as 'What occurred (expressed by the perfective marker) did not occur (expressed by the negative markers),' but the effects of the different meanings of the perfective markers result in a new formulation of restrictions that consider the 'expected' or 'unexpected' meanings of the perfective markers, and the predicate selection of the perfective and negative markers. The restrictions of the co-occurrence of the negative markers and the perfective markers confirm the importance of looking at the different semantic and syntactic dimensions of the perfective and the negative markers.

The results of the combinations of two perfective markers show that one of the markers overrides the other with respect to meaning, but in the combinations, both of the markers are active with respect to grammatical restrictions. I have shown that the

cases where there appears to be a semantic incompatibility between the aspect markers, one is dominant. In contrast, when there is a grammatical clash between two markers in terms of selecting predicates with certain types of grammatical characteristics, the presence of two prima facie incompatible perfective markers leads to an ungrammaticality.

Incompatibilities between the meanings of negative markers and perfective markers cause the sentences to be ill-formed. This contrasts with what we saw regarding to incompatibilities between the semantic properties of perfective markers with other perfective markers.

Like Jambi Teochew, Pontianak Teochew has a perfective aspect marker that is before the verb, between the verb and the direct object of the verb, and in the sentence-final position, i.e. after the verb and the direct object. In terms of the scope, *lou* takes the scope over negation. However, *diau* and *dioʔ* interacts differently with the negative markers. The sentences with *mai, mo, min* which co-occur with *diau* (sentences 57e, f, g) show that negation takes the scope over perfective aspect. However, the sentence with *m* and *diau* (sentence 57d) shows perfective aspect takes the scope over negation. I will leave the discussion on scope to further research.

Published works on Teochew show there are differences between Teochew in different locations, for example, the discussion of question marker *ka* in Singapore Teochew. I do not recognize there is such a marker in Pontianak Teochew. In the discussion of Jieyang Teochew, passive sentences are used for adversative events, while it is common to use passive constructions using *kʰeʔ-i*, which literally means 'give 3sg,' for adversative or non adversative events in Pontianak Teochew. Such differences are interesting to investigate further.

There is another interesting phenomenon which is not investigated in detail in this research, i.e. the restriction of the declarative sentences of intransitive unaccusative to occur without any aspect marker, adverbial phrase, auxiliary, or any negative marker. I leave this issue to further research.

In the chapter that discusses negative markers, I have shown that the markers can negate adjectival predicates. Although there was a finding (Xu, 2007) that *bo* negates ungradable adjectives, there can be further research to look at the types of adjectives in Teochew. The types of adjectives are interesting, because gradable or ungradable can be different concepts in different languages. I have to leave it to further research.

Finally, there is a list of verbs in English that can be both transitive and intransitive, such as *read, sing, eat, run.* These verbs are not easily expressed in Teochew as pairs of transitive and intransitive. Such verbs behave differently with the perfective aspect markers. I leave this list of verbs to further research.

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# Appendices

Appendix A

## THE LANGUAGES THE RESPONDENTS SPEAK

The following list shows the language(s)/dialect(s) each of the respondents master:
Table A.1 The details the language(s) or dialect(s) the respondents speak[50]

| Dialect/language spoken |
| --- |
| English, Teochew, Indonesian, Mandarin |
| Teochew, English, Indonesian, Mandarin |
| Teochew, Indonesian, English, Mandarin |
| Teochew, Malay/Indonesia, Hakka |
| Hakka, Teochew, Indonesian, English |
| Teochew, Hakka, Indonesian, English |
| Teochew, Indonesian, English |
| Teochew, Hakka, Indonesian, English |
| Teochew, Indonesian, Hakka, English |
| Teochew, Hakka, Indonesian, English |
| Teochew, Indonesian, English, Hakka |
| Teochew, Indonesian, Hakka, English |
| Teochew, Indonesian, English |
| Teochew, Hakka, Indonesian, English |
| Teochew, Indonesia, English, Hakka |
| Teochew , Indonesian, English |
| Teochew, Indonesian, English |
| Teochew, Indonesian, English |
| Hakka, Teochew, Malay, Dayak |
| Teochew, Indonesian, English |
| Teochew, Indonesian, English, Hakka |
| Teochew, Indonesian, English, Mandarin |
| Teochew, Indonesian, Mandarin |
| Hakka, Teochew, Indonesian, English |
| Hakka, Indonesian, Teochew, English |
| Teochew, Indonesian, English, Mandarin |
| Hakka, Indonesian, Teochew |

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[50] I list the languages/dialects in English. The respondents wrote in Indonesian: *Tio Ciu* for Teochew, *Khek* for Hakka, *Indonesia* for Indonesian, and *Inggris* for English.

| |
|---|
| Teochew, Mandarin, Indonesian |
| Teochew, Indonesian, Hakka |
| Teochew, Indonesian, Mandarin |
| Teochew, Hakka, Mandarin, Indonesian, Buginese |

# THE LANGUAGES SPOKEN WITH PEOPLE AROUND

| with mother | with father | with siblings | with grand parents | with spouses | with uncles and nieces | with neighbors | with maids |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| E, TC, I | I | TC, I | TC | | I | | |
| I. TC, E | TC, I | TC, I | TC, I | | I | TC, I | |
| TC | TC | TC | TC | TC | TC | TC | I |
| TC, I | TC, I | TC, I | TC | | TC, I | TC, I | |
| H | H | H | H | | TC | H | I |
| TC | TC | TC | TC | | TC, H, I | TC, I | TC, I |
| TC | TC | TC | TC | | TC | TC, I | I |
| TC | TC | TC | TC | | H | TC | |
| TC | TC, H | TC | | | TC | I | |
| TC | TC | TC | TC | | TC | TC, H | |
| TC | TC | TC | TC | | TC | I | |
| TC | TC | TC | TC | | TC | TC | |
| TC | TC | TC | TC | | TC | TC, I | |
| TC | TC | TC | TC, H | | TC, H | TC, H | |
| TC | TC | I | TC | I | TC | I | I |
| TC | TC | TC | TC | | TC | TC | |
| TC | TC | TC | TC | | TC | TC, I | I |
| TC=16, I=3 | TC=15, I=3 | TC=15, I=4 | TC=15, I=1 | TC=1, I=1 | TC=14, I=4 | TC=12, I=9 | I=6, TC=1 |
| E=2 | H=2 | H=1 | H=2 | | H=3 | H=2 | |
| with mother | with father | with siblings | with grand parents | with spouses | with uncles and nieces | with neighbors | with maids |
| TC | TC | TC | TC | | TC | TC | I |
| H | H | H | H | | H | TC | I |
| TC | TC | TC | | TC | TC | TC, I | |
| TC | TC | TC | | TC | TC | TC, I | |
| TC | TC | TC | TC | TC | TC | | |
| TC | TC | TC | TC | TC | TC | TC | I |
| H | H | H | H | TC | H | H | |
| H | H | H | H | TC | H | TC | I |
| H | I | I | | TC | I | I | I |
| TC | TC | TC | TC | I | TC | TC, I | |
| TC | TC | TC | TC | TC | TC, I, H | I | TC |
| TC | TC | TC | TC | TC | TC | TC | I |
| TC | TC | TC | TC | TC | TC, I | TC, I | |
| TC | TC | TC | TC | TC | TC | TC, I | |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| TC=10, H=4 | TC=10, H=3, I=1 | TC=10, H=3 | TC=8, H=3 | TC=11, I=1 | TC=10, H=4, I=3 | TC=10, I=7, H=1 | TC=1, I=6 |

Appendix C

## THE LANGUAGES SPOKEN WHEN ANGRY, IN DREAMS, WHILE COUNTING, AND IN WRITTEN FORMS

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I, TC | I | I, E | I | I | | |
| TC | TC, I | I | I | I, E | | |
| I, TC | TC | I, TC | I | I, TC | TC, I | I, E |
| I, TC | I, TC | I | I | I | | I, E |
| I | I | I | I | I | | E |
| TC, I | TC, I | TC, I | I | I | | I |
| I, TC | | TC | I | I | | I |
| I | | I | I | E | | E |
| I | I | I | I | I | | I |
| TC | I | TC | I | I | | I, E |
| TC | | I | I | I | | I |
| TC | TC | TC | I, TC | TC | | I |
| TC | TC | TC | I | I | | E |
| TC | TC | TC | I | I, TC | | I, E |
| TC | I | TC | I | I | I | I |
| TC, I | | TC, I | I | I | | |
| | | TC | I | I | | I |
| TC=13, I=9 | TC=7, I=8 | TC=10 | TC=1, I=17 | TC=3, I=15, E=2 | TC=1, I=2 | I=11, E=7 |
| | | I=10 | | | | |
| when angry | in dreams | counting | texting family members | texting friends | texting spouse | social media (e.g.Facebook) |
| TC | TC | TC | I | I | | I |
| I | I | H | I | I | | I |
| TC, I, E | | TC, I, E | I, E | I, E | I, E | |
| TC, I, E | | TC, I, E | I, E | I, E | I, E | |
| | | TC | I | I | I | I, E |
| TC | TC | TC | I | I | I | I |
| | | H | I | I | I | I |
| H | H | H | I | I | I | I |
| I | I | I | I | I | I | I |
| I | I | TC | I | I | | |
| TC | TC | TC | I | I | | |
| TC | TC | TC | I | I | I | |
| TC | TC, I | TC | M | M | M | |
| TC | | TC, M | | | | |
| 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 |
| TC=8, I=5 E=2 | TC=5, I=4 H=1 | TC=10 H=3 I=3, E=2, M=1 | I=12, E=2, M=1 | I=12, E=2, M=1 | I=8, E=2, M=1 | I=7, E=1 |

# Appendix D

## THE LANGUAGES USED WHEN PRAYING AND AT DIFFERENT LOCATIONS

| praying silently | Pray in public worship places | at home | at work-place | in the market | in nearby kiosks | in the bank | at the post office |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| E, I | I | I, E, TC | | I | I | I | I |
| I, TC | I | I, TC, E | | TC, I | I, TC | I | I |
| I | I | TC | TC | I, TC, H | I, TC | I | I |
| I | I | TC, I | TC, I | TC, I | I, TC | I | I |
| I | I | H | I | I | I | I | I |
| I | I | TC | TC,H, I | TC, H, I | TC, H, I | TC, I | I |
| I | I | TC | TC | TC, I | TC, I | I | I |
| I | I | TC, E | TC, H | H | H | I | I |
| I | I | I | I | I | I | I | I |
| I | I | TC | TC, E | TC, I | TC, H | TC | I |
| TC | TC | TC | TC, H, I | TC, I | TC, I | I | I |
| TC | TC | TC | TC | TC | TC | I | |
| I | I | TC | I | I, TC | I | I | I |
| I, E | TC | TC | TC, H | TC, H | TC, H | I | |
| I | I | TC | I | I | I | I | I |
| I | I | TC | I, TC | I, TC | I, TC | I | I |
| I | I | TC | TC, I | TC, I | TC, I | TC, I | I |
| I=15, E=2, TC=3 | TC=3, I=14 | TC=15, I=4 | TC=11, I=9 | TC=12, I=13 | TC=11, I=13, H=4 | TC=3, I=16 | I=15 |
| | | E=3 | H=4 | H=4 | | | |
| praying silently | Pray in public worship places | at home | at work-place | in the market | in nearby kiosks | in the bank | at the post office |
| TC | TC | TC | E, I | TC, I | TC, I | I | I |
| I | I | H | I | TC | TC | I | I |
| I, E | I | TC, I, E | TC, I | TC, I | TC, I | TC, I | I |
| I, E | I | TC, I, E | TC, I, H | TC, I, H | TC, I | TC, I | I |
| I | I | TC | I, E | TC | TC | I | I |
| I | TC | TC | TC | I | TC | I | I |
| I | I | TC | I | H, TC | H, TC | I | I |
| I | I | TC | H | I | I | I | I |
| I | I | TC, I | I | I | I | I | I |
| I | I | I | I | I | I | I | I |
| I | I | TC | | TC, I | I, TC | I | I |
| TC | TC, I | TC | I | TC, I | TC, I | I | I |
| TC | TC | TC | I | TC, I | TC, I | I | I |
| M | M | TC | | TC | TC | TC , I | I |
| 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 |
| TC=3, I=10, E=2 | TC=4, I=10, M=1 | TC=12, I=4 | TC=3, I=10, | TC=10, I=10 | TC=11, I=9, H=1 | TC=3, I=14 | I=14 |
| M=1 | | H=1,E=2 | E=2,H=2 | H=2 | | | |

# Appendix E

## THE LANGUAGES USED AT SCHOOL, AND IN PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION

| with teachers at primary school | with friends at primary school | with teachers at senior high school | with friends at senior high school | in public transportation |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| I, E | I | | | I |
| I | I | | | I |
| I | I, TC | I | I, TC | I |
| I | I | I | I | I |
| I | H | I | TC | I |
| I | I | I | I, TC | I |
| I | I | I | I | I |
| I | TC | TC, E | TC, I | I |
| I | I | I | I | I |
| I | I, TC | I | I, TC | I |
| I | TC, I | I | TC, I | I |
| I | I | I | TC | I |
| I | TC | I | TC | I |
| I | TC, H | I | TC, I | I |
| I | I | I | I | I |
| I | TC | I | I, TC | I |
| I | TC, I | I | TC, I | TC, I |
| I=17, E=1 | TC=8, I=12, H=2 | I=14, TC=1, E=1 | TC=11, I=12 | TC=1, I=17 |
| with teachers at primary school | with friends at primary school | with teachers at senior high school | with friends at senior high school | in public transportation |
| I | I | I | TC | I |
| I | TC | I | TC, I | I |
| I | TC, I | I | TC, I | I |
| I | TC, I | I | TC, I | I |
| I | I | I | I, TC | I |
| I | I | | | I |
| I | TC | I | TC | I |
| I | I | I | I | I |
| I | I | I | I | I |
| I | I, TC | I | TC, I | I |
| TC | TC | | | TC, I |
| I | I | | | I |
| M | TC | M | M | I |
| M | M | | | I |
| 24 | 25 | 26 | 27 | 28 |
| TC=1, I=11, M=1 | TC=7, I=9, M=1 | I=9, M=1 | TC=7, I=7, M=1 | TC=1, I=14 |

# THE LANGUAGES IN LEISURE ACTIVITIES

| reading books | reading news-papers | reading magazines | listen to music | listen to radio | WatchTV |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I, E | I |  | E, M, I |  | E, I, M |
| I, E | I | I | E |  | I, E |
| I | I | I | I, E | I | I, E, M |
| I | I | I, E | I, E, M | I | I, E, M |
| I | I | I | E | I | E, I |
| I | I | I | I, E, M | I | I |
| I | I | I | I, E | I | I |
| I | I | I, E | E | I | E, I |
| I | I | I | E, I | I | E, I |
| I | I | I | E, M | I | I, E |
| I | I | I | I, M, E | I | I, E, M |
| I | I |  | M |  | M |
| I, E | I, E | I, E | E | I | I, E |
| I | I | I | I, E | I, M | I |
| I | I | I | I, E, M | I | M |
| I | I | I | I, E | I | I, E |
| I | I | I | I, E | I | I |
| I=17, E=3 | I=17, E=1 | I=15, E=3 | I=11, E=16, M=7 | I=14, M=1 | I=15, M=6, E=11 |
| reading books | reading newspapers | reading magazines | listen to music | listen to radio | watch TV |
| I | I | I | E | E, I | I, E, M |
| I | I | I | I | I | I |
| I, E | I, E | I, E | I, E | I, E | I, E |
| I, E | I, E | I, E | I, E | I, E | I, E |
| I | I, E | I, E | I, E | I, E | I, E |
| I | I | I | M, E | M | M, I |
| I | I | I | E, M | I | I |
| I | I | I | M | I | M, I |
| I | I | I | M, I, E | I | I |
| I, E, M | I | I | E, M | I | M, I |
| M, I | I | I | M | I | I, M |
| I | I | I |  | I | I |
| M, I | M, I | M, I | M, I | I | I |
|  |  |  |  |  | I |
| 29 | 30 | 31 | 32 | 33 | 34 |
| I=13, E=3, M=3 | I=13, E=3, M=1 | I=13, E=3, M=1 | I=5, E=8, M=7 | I=12, E=4, M=1 | I=14, E=4, M=5 |

Appendix G

# THE CALCULATION OF SIGNIFICANCE

| | GROUP 1 (<40 years old) | | | | | | GROUP 2 (>40 years old) | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | A | B | C | D | E | | H | I | J | K | L | |
| | TC | I | E | H | M | | TC | I | E | H | M | |
| 1. | 16 | 3 | 2 | | | | 10 | | | 4 | | |
| 2. | 15 | 3 | | 2 | | | 10 | 1 | | 3 | | |
| 3. | 15 | 4 | | 1 | | | 10 | | | 3 | | |
| 4. | 15 | 1 | | 2 | | | 8 | | | 3 | | |
| 5. | 1 | 1 | | | | | 11 | 1 | | | | |
| 6. | 14 | 4 | | 3 | | | 10 | 3 | | 4 | | |
| 7. | 12 | 9 | | 2 | | | 10 | 7 | | 1 | | |
| 8. | 1 | 6 | | | | | 1 | 6 | | | | |
| 9. | 13 | 9 | | | | | 8 | 5 | 2 | | | |
| 10. | 7 | 8 | | | | | 5 | 4 | | 1 | | |
| 11. | 10 | 10 | | | | | 10 | 3 | 2 | 3 | | |
| 12. | 1 | 17 | | | | | | 12 | 2 | | 1 | |
| 13. | 3 | 15 | 2 | | | | | 12 | 2 | | 1 | |
| 14. | 1 | 2 | | | | | | 8 | 2 | | 1 | |
| 15. | | 11 | 7 | | | | | 7 | 1 | | | |
| 16. | 3 | 15 | 2 | | | | 3 | 10 | 2 | | 1 | |
| 17. | 3 | 14 | | | | | 4 | 10 | | | 1 | |
| 18. | 15 | 4 | 3 | | | | 12 | 4 | 2 | 1 | | |
| 19. | 11 | 9 | | 4 | | | 3 | 10 | 2 | 2 | | |
| 20. | 12 | 13 | | 4 | | | 10 | 10 | | 2 | | |
| 21. | 11 | 13 | | 4 | | | 11 | 9 | | 1 | | |
| 22. | 3 | 16 | | | | | 3 | 14 | | | | |
| 23. | | 15 | | | | | | 14 | | | | |
| 24. | | 17 | 1 | | | | 1 | 11 | | | 1 | |
| 25. | 8 | 12 | | 2 | | | 7 | 9 | | | 1 | |
| 26. | 1 | 14 | 1 | | | | | 9 | | | 1 | |
| 27. | 11 | 12 | | | | | 7 | 7 | | | 1 | |
| 28. | 1 | 17 | | | | | 1 | 14 | | | | |
| 29. | | 17 | 3 | | | | | 13 | 3 | | 3 | |
| 30. | | 17 | 1 | | | | | 13 | 3 | | 1 | |
| 31. | | 15 | 3 | | | | | 13 | 3 | | 1 | |
| 32. | | 11 | 6 | | 7 | | | 5 | 8 | | 7 | |
| 33. | | 14 | | | 1 | | | 12 | 4 | | 1 | |
| 34. | | 15 | 11 | | 6 | | | 14 | 4 | | 5 | |
| | TC | I | E | H | M | | TC | I | E | H | M | |
| | 203 | 363 | 42 | 24 | 14 | 646 | 155 | 270 | 42 | 28 | 27 | 522 |
| | 31% | 56.10% | 6.50% | 3.70% | 2.10% | 100% | 29.70% | 51.72% | 8% | 5.36% | 5% | 100% |
| | 5.58 % of | TC and I | goes to | | | | | → | 1.5 E | 1.66 H | 2.9 M | |

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Appendix H

## JIEYANG TEOCHEW

This section is a brief look at the perfective markers in Jieyang Teochew, and a brief discussion of how they are different from or the same as Pontianak Teochew. (Xu 2007) discussed the perfective aspect in Jieyang Teochew by three different means, i.e. by the marker *liau*, lexical complements, and by auxiliaries. She divides the use of *liau* in two positions:

Verb final in a single clause that is transcribed as liau $_{suf}$ (suffix), and in cases where the verb is an intransitive verb, the marker occurs sentence-finally and phonologically reduced to *lau*. When it is transitive, it remains as *liau*.

Clause-final perfective in a complex sentence where it appears at the end of the subordinate clause, and transcribed as liau $_{sub}$.

The verb-final liau$_{suf}$ that is expressed as *lau* is the same as *lou* in Pontianak Teochew. I know that my grandfather and grandmother used *lau* in their speech, e.g. *tsau kʰi lau* 'get up PERF,' *kue si lau* 'die PERF,' *tsiak peŋ lau* 'eat rice PERF' but younger generations use *lou*. In Pontianak Teochew, the phrase *kue si lou* and *kue si diau* have the expected and unexpected difference. There is no discussion of this in Jieyang Teochew. In the transitive predicate, the perfective *liau* is used as follows (Xu 2007, p.127):

(61) I    tsiak liau sa    ua puŋ
    3sg eat   PERF three CL cooked.rice
    'He ate three bowls of rice.'

To express the same meaning as the sentence above, Pontianak Teochew uses *diau* instead of *liau*.  Using *liau* contains the emphasis of the literal meaning of *liau*,

i.e. finish, so the meaning becomes 'He finished/ate up three bowls of rice.' There is an additional meaning of *nothing is left*.

About the clause-final perfective liau~sub~, the example of Jieyang Teochew (62) is most naturally replaced by ho 'good' in Pontianak Teochew (63):

(62) Tsau ki **liau** soi meŋ, soi meŋ **liau** tsiaʔ mue,
get up PERF wash face, wash face PERF eat porridge,
tsiaʔ mue **liau** tsia ts'uʔ k'ɯ
eat porridge PERF then out go
'After getting up, wash your face; after washing your face, eat the porridge; after eating the porridge then go out.'

(63) Tsau ki **ho** soi min, soi min **ho** tsiaʔ mue,
get up finished wash face, wash face finished eat porridge,
tsiaʔ mue **ho** tsaŋ ʧut kʰə
eat porridge finished then out go
'After getting up, wash your face; after washing your face, eat the porridge; after eating the porridge then go out.'

Another way to express the perfective aspect is by using a lexical complement, labeled as RVC or Resultative Verb Complement. Some of the examples in Jieyang Teochew are *mueʔ pʰua* 'make broken,' *tsiak pa* 'eat full,' *tui tek* 'pull straight (of strings or wires)'. These expressions are also found in Pontianak Teochew. I do not include these RVC in the discussion in this research, as this research focuses on the three perfective aspect markers, *lou, diau,* and *dioʔ*.

The third part of the discussion of perfective aspect, Xu (2007) includes the use of the auxiliary *u* that expresses the meaning of possession and existence. It is translatable as 'did' in its emphatic use. A single clause perfective *liau* marks a complete event. Therefore, I hypothesize that *u* is the same as *liau* in indicating a perfective viewpoint. The difference is that *liau* cannot occur in negative sentences, but *u* can be negated using *bo*, to negate the occurrence of the event. This part of

discussion of the Jieyang Teochew can shed a light to the reason why *bo* cannot co-occur with *lou* and *diau,* but it can co-occur with *dioʔ* in Pontianak Teochew.  The sentences that use *lou* or *diau* cannot be emphasized using *u*, but the sentences that use *dioʔ*, can be emphasized by using *u*. The sentences that can be emphasized by the auxiliary *u* can be negated by *bo* but those that cannot be emphasized by *u*, cannot be negated by *bo*. The negative marker negates the occurrence of the event.

Appendix I

**THE QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS IN THE INTERVIEWS**

**I.1   The Interviews with five Teochew Speakers**

Prior to the distribution of the questionnaires, I interviewed five Teochew speakers from three different generations. They were native speaker consultant Ya, a 10-year-old girl, native speaker consultant S, a 12-year-old girl, native speaker consultant Yo, a 46-year-old woman, native speaker consultant C, a 72-year-old woman, and native speaker consultant H, a 73- year-old man.

The purpose of the interview was to obtain information about the young native speaker consultants' language use at school and with older native speaker consultants, I could ask for their opinions about current situations and other relevant comments about language choice and language use. The interviews were conducted in casual conversations. At first, I considered that there were parts about their family situations that were irrelevant to my questions. Later, I realized that information on their situations represented the changes that were going on with the language use in the family of Teochew speakers.  In this section, I discuss the questions in the interviews and information obtained from the speakers.

There were some main questions that I prepared, but then after they answered, the questions could develop to other questions. With the young native speaker consultants, the main questions were: 1) What language do you speak at school with your friends? 2) What is your teacher's reaction if he or she hears you speak your mother tongue? With the 46-year-old native speaker consultant, the questions were: 1) What language do you speak at home? 2) What language do you speak with your children? 3) What is your opinion about the use of Teochew among the young

generation now? With the 72 and 73-year-old native speaker consultants, the questions were: 1) What age did you arrive in Indonesia? 2) What language did you speak with your parent and siblings? 3) What language did you speak with your children? 4) Is there a difference between the Teochew you spoke in the past and now? 5) What is your opinion about the use of Teochew among the young generation now? 6) How do you feel that Teochew now is mixed with Indonesian?

Their answers are summed up as follows:

### I.2    Native speaker consultant Ya and Native speaker consultant S

The first question I asked them was what language they spoke with their friends at school. Native speaker consultant Ya said she usually spoke Teochew with her friends. I asked native speaker consultant Ya if her teachers would be angry if they heard Teochew, she said, "It is not whether her teachers are angry or not, they don't care." Even though her teachers do not understand Teochew, they do not mind the students speaking Teochew. Native speaker consultant S said she speaks Indonesian with her friends. Native speaker consultant S thought it was better for her to speak Indonesian at school, but some of her friends would speak Teochew loudly. Native speaker consultant S said she sometimes speaks Teochew with her friends when the teachers are not around. She said she feels it is better to speak Indonesian at school. She said once she heard two of her teachers speak Hakka in the teachers' office and they laughed loudly. There were no other teachers in the office, just the two teachers at that time. I asked native speaker consultant Ya if she considered her Teochew as pure Teochew, she said her Teochew was often mixed with Indonesian.

### I.3    Native speaker consultant Yo

I asked native speaker consultant Yo what language she speaks at home. She said she speaks Teochew at home, but when she started school, she started speaking Indonesian and when she started attending college majoring English, she started speaking English. Native speaker consultant Yo has two kids. The elder one speaks Teochew at home and her Teochew is good, in fact native speaker consultant Yo thinks her daughter's Teochew is better than the Teochew of anyone else of her classmates.  However, native speaker consultant Yo speaks English with her younger daughter.  She started speaking English with her younger daughter when she was little. I asked her why she did that. Native speaker consultant Yo said that it was because she saw that most of her students had so much trouble in English listening skills. She believed that it is better to let her daughter listen to English since she was a baby. Her daughter's English is now better than anyone else's English in her class. However, there have been some consequences of this decision. Native speaker consultant Yo sees that her Teochew is not good. Native speaker consultant Yo said that sometimes the elder daughter teaches her younger sister Teochew.

I asked native speaker consultant Yo what is her opinion about Teochew children nowadays in Pontianak. She said that few children maintain Teochew speaking at home. She estimated only around 50% of her students who are 17 to 19 years old speak Teochew these days. Even if they do, their Teochew is no longer as good as she expects. I asked her if she has some ideas why the situations are so. She believed the situations are caused by the fact that nowadays many children are taken care of by baby-sitters. She said, "Baby-sitters do not speak Teochew, they speak Indonesian. Once their baby-sitters have left, the parents try to speak Teochew with their children, but it is difficult. The children usually do not understand what the

parents say. Parents are impatient when they have to repeat saying something all the time using Teochew, then the parents will just speak Indonesian with the children." She also said that if the neighbors ask the parents why they do not speak Teochew with their children, the parents would just answer, "They do not understand Teochew." I asked native speaker consultant Yo if she thinks later Teochew will slowly be gone. In native speaker consultant Yo's opinion, it has started to happen gradually.

There is one interesting phenomenon in Pontianak that I observed during my visit to Pontianak, i.e. many parents send their children to attend private Mandarin courses. I asked her if Mandarin is an extra-curricular activity at school. She said that Mandarin is now an obligatory subject at school. She also said that most parents do not know Mandarin, so they send their children to Mandarin private courses. I asked if the teachers of Mandarin are in general very old people. She said that since 2010, many young people have returned from Taiwan after they have finished their education. There are a lot of young Mandarin teachers nowadays.

I asked native speaker consultant Yo if she sees the tendency of people start speaking more and more Mandarin. She believed that people in Pontianak have started to think that Mandarin is more useful than Teochew. In her opinion, it is more possible to go abroad and visit some countries where the people speak Mandarin than to find any place that people speak Teochew. She heard some people say that Teochew is not as useful as Mandarin when they go abroad.

I asked native speaker consultant Yo if she remembers the situations in the past at school when the teachers reminded the students not to speak Teochew. Native speaker consultant Yo said she remembers the time in the past some teachers asked the students to speak Indonesian at school. She said that now the teachers do not mind if

the students speak Teochew. She said that since the Chinese New Year was declared as one of the national holidays, the situations have changed. Speaking Teochew or Mandarin has so much been different from the time before the year of 2000.

**I.4    Native speaker consultant C and Native speaker consultant H**

Native speaker consultant C is a 72-year-old woman who came from Guandong (Kuantung or Kengtang in Teochew) province when she was 5 years old. She attended Mandarin school for four years when she was 10 years old until she was 13 years old. She stopped for a while because the school was closed, and then when she was 16 years old, she continued school again, and the instruction was not in Mandarin any more, but in Indonesian. She studied for one year. She remembers when she came to Indonesia, at first people laughed at her accent that was too strong. Slowly she adapted herself to speak less strong accent.

I asked native speaker consultant C for her opinion about Teochew speakers in Pontianak nowadays. She said that sometimes if she speaks pure Teochew, people do not understand and she has to find an Indonesian term for some words. In her opinion, it is not a problem to speak a mixed Teochew-Indonesian language. She also said that some Chinese children who are taken care of by baby-sitters cannot speak Teochew anymore. However, even the children are taken care of by baby-sitters, but if their grandfather and grandmother are living with the family, the children can still speak Teochew. She said that when grandparents are still around, even some families she knows move to Jakarta and live in Jakarta, the children can still speak Teochew. Native speaker consultant C believed the presence of the grandparents has been important to maintain Teochew speaking among the grandchildren.

Native speaker consultant H is 73 years old and he remembered he arrived in Indonesia in 1950 when he was 10 years old. He also remembers that he came from Guandong province. He arrived in Indonesia with her mother and elder sister. He attended Mandarin school until Junior High and then went to Jakarta for 2 years. He said the political situations were unstable, so he returned to Pontianak and attended Indonesian school for 2 years. He thought he had had enough school to be able to work. In work, he spoke Teochew and Indonesian. I asked him if he mixed his language with Hakka, Hokkien, Madurese or Dayak languages. He said that in town the majority of Chinese people are Teochew people and so even Hakka or Hokkien people speak Teochew in Pontianak. He said he has never mixed his language with Hakka or other languages, except Indonesian.

I asked native speaker consultant H how he feels about this mixed language of Teochew and Indonesian. He said that it is a natural process and all adaptation is fine, he sees no problem in it. I asked native speaker consultant H what language he speaks with his children and he said that when the children were little they all spoke Teochew. Now, as they have grown up, they have usually spoken Mandarin now. Only his eldest daughter, who is in Pontianak, speaks a combination of Teochew and Indonesian.

One of his sons came back from Taiwan and is married with a Taiwanese woman. All his son's children speak Mandarin now. His son's profession is teaching Mandarin in Jakarta. The other son also speaks Mandarin now as he works in Jakarta and lives together with many other co-workers who come from Taiwan and China. Another daughter is also teaching Mandarin. Native speaker consultant H's wife is a

Chinese of the sub-ethnic Kuangfu (Cantonese) from Singapore. She is teaching Mandarin in Pontianak. She speaks Teochew at home.

Native speaker consultant H said that three of his four children are now speaking Mandarin because of their education and jobs. His grandchildren in Jakarta are speaking Mandarin and no Teochew and they are attending international school that requires them to speak English.  His grandchildren in Pontianak speak Teochew and Indonesian. He believes Teochew is still maintained in Pontianak, but not in a city like Jakarta. Native speaker consultant H believes Teochew can still last for a long time as a language spoken in Pontianak, though it is gradually mixed with more and more Indonesian.

From the young native speaker consultants, I found out that Teochew is no longer very restricted or forbidden at school now. Teachers at school do not seem to bother to remind their students not to speak a certain language. From all the interviews, I see some information in common among all the native speaker consultants.  They all see that Teochew is gradually mixed with Indonesian, but all of them do not mind. Both of the older native speaker consultants experienced the time when their Mandarin-medium schools closed and both of them also experienced attending Indonesian-medium schools. Native speaker consultant Yo remembered when the lunar new year was declared a national holiday, Teochew and Mandarin have been more openly used compared to previous years. There has been some increase demand of learning Mandarin at school as it is now an obligatory course and it has caused Mandarin private courses bloom. Some children do not speak Teochew because they have been taken care of by baby-sitters. I sum up the information above

as factors that strengthen and weaken Teochew speaking in Pontianak and will discuss these factors in the next section.

# THE QUESTIONNAIRE

## Kuesioner Penggunaan Bahasa Sehari-hari

Kita semua mengetahui bahwa ada banyak sekali bahasa yang digunakan di Indonesia. Seiring dengan meningkatnya peran bahasa Indonesia dalam setiap aspek kehidupan masyarakat Indonesia, tidak dapat dipungkiri bahwa bahasa daerah secara terus-menerus memberikan warna tersendiri terhadap situasi kebahasaan dan budaya masyarakat Indonesia.

Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian kolaboratif yang dilakukan oleh para peneliti di Pusat Kajian Bahasa dan Budaya (PKBB), Unika Atma Jaya dan Jakarta Field Station, Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. Kami mengucapkan terima kasih atas kesediaan Anda mengisi kuesioner ini sehingga kami dapat memahami bagaimana orang Indonesia berkomunikasi dalam kehidupan sehari-hari.

Mohon mencantumkan nama samaran (alias): _____ dan sedapat mungkin mengisi seluruh pertanyaan dalam kuesioner ini. Anda boleh mengisi lebih dari satu jawaban dan bila ada pertanyaan yang tidak dapat dijawab, Anda bisa mengabaikannya. Apabila ada masukan atau informasi tambahan, Anda dapat mengisi kolom khusus di halaman terakhir.

Dengan mengisi kuesioner ini, Anda telah memberikan izin kepada kami untuk menggunakan informasi ini untuk tujuan penelitian. Kami akan merahasiakan identitas Anda dan tidak akan menyalahgunakan informasi yang Anda berikan.

Setelah Anda mengisi kuesioner ini, silakan mengirimkannya ke pos-el:
**kuesionerbahasakita@gmail.com**

atau mengembalikannya ke orang yang menyebarkan kuesioner ini.

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# Kuesioner Penggunaan Bahasa Sehari-hari

**I. Informasi tentang Anda**

| | |
|---|---|
| tahun lahir | |
| jenis kelamin | |
| tumbuh dan besar di mana? kabupaten/kotamadya | |
| provinsi | |
| agama | |
| suku | |
| ketika Anda tumbuh dan besar, dengan siapa Anda tinggal? | |
| pekerjaan (sebelum pensiun) | |
| tempat tinggal sekarang: kabupaten/kotamadya | |
| provinsi | |
| sudah berapa lama Anda tinggal di tempat sekarang? | |

**II. Latar belakang pendidikan Anda**

| | tempat | negeri | swasta |
|---|---|---|---|
| SD | | ☐ | ☐ |
| SMP | | ☐ | ☐ |
| SMA/SMU | | ☐ | ☐ |

| | perguruan tinggi | jurusan |
|---|---|---|
| SI | | |
| gelar lain | | |
| gelar lain | | |

## III. Informasi tentang bahasa/dialek yang Anda kuasai

| | Nama bahasa /dialek | Usia waktu pertama belajar | Tempat belajar (rumah, sekolah, kantor, tetangga, dll) | Tingkat penguasaan bahasa pada saat ini | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | Sangat lancar | Lancar | Agak lancar | Sedikit lancar | Tidak bisa |
| Bahasa/ Dialek Pertama | | | | Mengerti | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| | | | | Berbicara | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| | | | | Membaca | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| | | | | Menulis | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| | | | | | Sangat lancar | Lancar | Agak lancar | Sedikit lancar | Tidak bisa |
| Bahasa/ Dialek Kedua | | | | Mengerti | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| | | | | Berbicara | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| | | | | Membaca | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| | | | | Menulis | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| | | | | | Sangat lancar | Lancar | Agak lancar | Sedikit lancar | Tidak bisa |
| Bahasa/ Dialek Ketiga | | | | Mengerti | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| | | | | Berbicara | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| | | | | Membaca | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| | | | | Menulis | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| | | | | | Sangat lancar | Lancar | Agak lancar | Sedikit lancar | Tidak bisa |
| Bahasa/ Dialek Lain | | | | Mengerti | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| | | | | Berbicara | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| | | | | Membaca | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| | | | | Menulis | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |

Sebutkan bahasa/dialek lain yang digunakan di lingkungan Anda (walaupun Anda tidak menguasainya):

## IV. Pola penggunaan bahasa  Bahasa apa yang Anda gunakan dalam situasi atau ketika berkomunikasi:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| dengan ibu | | | di rumah | |
| dengan bapak | | | di tempat kerja | |
| dengan kakak/adik | | | di pasar | |
| dengan nenek dan kakek | | | di warung | |
| dengan suami/istri (kalau sudah menikah) | | | di bank | |
| dengan sanak saudara (tante, om, sepupu, dll) | | | di kantor pos | |
| dengan tetangga | | | di SD dengan guru | |
| dengan pembantu | | | di SD dengan teman sekelas | |
| apabila marah | | | di SMA dengan guru | |
| dalam mimpi | | | di SMA dengan teman sekelas | |
| berhitung | | | di kendaraan umum | |
| kirim sms ke keluarga | | | membaca novel/buku cerita | |
| kirim sms ke teman | | | membaca koran | |
| kirim sms ke suami/istri | | | membaca majalah | |
| dalam jejaring sosial (FB) | | | mendengar musik | |
| berdoa dalam hati | | | mendengar radio | |
| berdoa di tempat ibadah | | | menonton TV | |

## V. Informasi tentang orang tua (apabila tahu; bila sudah almarhum, isi informasi terakhir)

| | Ibu | Bapak |
|---|---|---|
| tahun lahir (kira-kira) | | |
| suku | | |
| bahasa/dialek pertama | | |
| bahasa/dialek lain | | |
| agama | | |
| pendidikan terakhir | | |
| pekerjaan (sebelum pensiun) | | |
| tumbuh dan besar di mana? | | |
| tempat tinggal sekarang/terakhir | | |
| **[Bahasa yang beliau gunakan]:** di rumah waktu beliau kecil | | |
| di rumah sekarang | | |
| dengan suami/istri | | |
| tempat kerja | | |
| dengan sanak saudara (tante, om, sepupu, dll) | | |
| dengan tetangga | | |

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**VI.** Informasi tentang **kakek dan nenek** (apabila tahu; bila sudah almarhum, isi informasi terakhir)

|  | Ibu dari ibu | Bapak dari ibu | Ibu dari bapak | Bapak dari bapak |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| tahun lahir (kira-kira) |  |  |  |  |
| suku |  |  |  |  |
| bahasa/dialek pertama |  |  |  |  |
| bahasa/dialek lain |  |  |  |  |
| agama |  |  |  |  |
| pendidikan terakhir |  |  |  |  |
| pekerjaan (sebelum pensiun) |  |  |  |  |
| tumbuh dan besar di mana? |  |  |  |  |
| tempat tinggal sekarang/terakhir |  |  |  |  |
| **[Bahasa yang beliau gunakan]:** di rumah waktu beliau kecil |  |  |  |  |
| di rumah sekarang |  |  |  |  |
| dengan suami/istri |  |  |  |  |
| tempat kerja |  |  |  |  |
| dengan sanak saudara (tante, om, sepupu, dll) |  |  |  |  |
| dengan tetangga |  |  |  |  |

**VII.** Informasi tentang **istri/suami dan anak:** (kalau sudah menikah/punya anak)

|  | Istri/Suami | Anak pertama | Anak kedua | Anak ketiga |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| tahun lahir (kira-kira) |  |  |  |  |
| suku |  |  |  |  |
| bahasa/dialek pertama |  |  |  |  |
| bahasa/dialek lain |  |  |  |  |
| agama |  |  |  |  |
| pendidikan terakhir |  |  |  |  |
| pekerjaan (sebelum pensiun) |  |  |  |  |
| tumbuh dan besar di mana? |  |  |  |  |
| tempat tinggal sekarang |  |  |  |  |
| **[Bahasa yang dia gunakan]:** di rumah waktu dia kecil |  |  |  |  |
| di rumah sekarang |  |  |  |  |
| dengan orang tua |  |  |  |  |
| tempat kerja |  |  |  |  |
| dengan sanak saudara (tante, om, sepupu, dll) |  |  |  |  |
| dengan tetangga |  |  |  |  |

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## VIII. Sikap terhadap bahasa

Apakah Anda setuju dengan "pernyataan" berikut ini?
Beri tanda benar (√) pada kolom yang menurut Anda paling sesuai

|  | Sangat Setuju | Setuju | Biasa Saja | Kurang Setuju | Tidak Setuju |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Menguasai bahasa orang tua Anda itu penting |  |  |  |  |  |
| Menguasai bahasa daerah asal (setempat) Anda itu penting |  |  |  |  |  |
| Anak-anak Anda perlu menguasai bahasa pertama Anda |  |  |  |  |  |
| Berbicara dalam bahasa daerah Anda di depan orang yang tidak mengerti bahasa tersebut tidak sopan |  |  |  |  |  |
| Bila seseorang tidak lancar berbicara dalam bahasa daerah Anda, lebih baik dia tidak menggunakannya |  |  |  |  |  |
| Berbicara dalam bahasa daerah Anda itu kuno |  |  |  |  |  |
| Kalau mau menjadi bagian dari suku Anda, seseorang dari suku Anda perlu menguasai bahasa tersebut |  |  |  |  |  |
| Menguasai bahasa Indonesia resmi bagi Anda itu penting |  |  |  |  |  |
| Kalau mau berhasil di tempat kerja, seseorang perlu menguasai bahasa Indonesia resmi |  |  |  |  |  |
| Kalau mau melanjutkan pendidikan di sekolah, seseorang perlu menguasai bahasa Indonesia resmi |  |  |  |  |  |
| Menguasai bahasa Inggris bagi Anda itu penting |  |  |  |  |  |
| Kalau mau hidup yang lebih maju dan sukses di masa yang akan datang, seseorang perlu menguasai bahasa Inggris |  |  |  |  |  |
| Kalau mau memahami dunia yang lebih maju, luas dan global, seseorang perlu menguasai bahasa Inggris |  |  |  |  |  |
| Menguasai bahasa asing selain bahasa Inggris itu penting |  |  |  |  |  |

## IX. Pertanyaan lain

|  | ya | tidak |
|---|---|---|
| Apakah Anda mempunyai komputer/laptop/tablet? |  |  |
| Apakah Anda mempunyai smart phone (HP yang bisa internet)? |  |  |
| Apakah Anda menggunakan internet? |  |  |

|  | 0 | 1-2 kali | 3-5 kali | 6-12 kali | 12-24 kali | lebih dari 24 kali |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Berapa kali dalam satu tahun Anda berkumpul dengan sanak saudara? |  |  |  |  |  |  |

Kuesioner ini diisi:

Tanggal: [                    ]          Tempat: [                              ]

## X. Informasi lain yang ingin Anda tambahkan, termasuk pendapat Anda tentang kuesioner ini

--Terima kasih--

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