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

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Abstrak

Bakatik ialah bahasa Dayak darat yang digunakan di daerah pedalam Kalimantan Barat, Indonesia dan sebagian di Sarawak, Malaysia. Bahasa ini unik, tidak hanya dari segi mekanisme gramatikalnya tetapi juga dari segi sistem penamaannya. Tidak seperti namanama bahasa di sekitarnya seperti bahasa Melayu/Indonesia, nama bahasa ini tidak dapat diambilkan dari nama wilayah atau nama suku bangsa. Bila dianalisis daripada aspek gramatikalnya, nama bahasa "Bakatik" dicipta dari awalan ba- dan bentuk dasar katik. Setelah dikaji secara mendalam, bentuk katik, yang berfungsi sebagai pemarkah negative, terbentuk dari ka dan tik yang direduksi daripada pemarkah larangan kayak dan bentuk itik. Bentuk itik sendiri dapat dikategorikan sebagai kata kerja, kata sifat, dan partikel. Dari hasil analisis kata kerja dan kata sifat dalam bahasa Bakatik memiliki kesamaan karena dinegasikan dengan partikel katik. Dua jenis kata ini juga dapat dibedakan dengan pemarkah negatif lain iaitu, enynya. Pemarkah ini digunakan untuk menegasikan kata sifat dan kata nama, namun tidak dapat menegasikan kata kerja. Disamping itu, juga ditemukan daripada analisis gramatika nama bahasa ini seperti cara membuat kata nama, membentuk kata kerja, dan menganalisis kata yang secara fonologis merupakan satu kata, namun bila dilihat dari morfosintak dapat berupa kata komplek atau bahkan merupakan frasa atau klosa. Dengan demikian, hasil analisis yang demikian dapat dimanfaatkan untuk membuat prediksi bentuk-bentuk gramatikal bahasa Bakatik.

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

Abstract

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

Introduction

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

Bakatik native speakers mostly practice a shifting farming system. They typically live in homogeneous kampongs with strong practice of traditions in terms of divine belief, social order, laws, territory, and leadership.

Living in such a socio-economic cultural setting, they still maintain their native language for daily interaction among themselves. Most of them are at least bilinguals because they have a good interaction with the speakers of other languages. They generally speak Bakatik and Indonesian.



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

Scope, Hypothesis and Purpose of Study

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

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

(be+nyaduk) spoken in Sintang, and Banadai (ba+nadai) spoken in Kapuas Hulu (Sudarsono, 2002: 10).

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

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

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

About Names

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

Jeshion (2004: 591) classifies names into ostensive and descriptive ones. They respectively refer to the names "whose reference was fixed via ostension" and to the

names "whose reference was fixed exclusively with the use of a definite description". According to him, these two terminologies do not involve the discussion about "the semantic content or how we think with names contributes to identifying them as ostensive or descriptive".

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

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

Based on their themes, names can be monothematic or dithematic. The term "dithematic" here is not necessarily understood as two separate words. It may refer to the reduced forms like bynames, names developed on other names, lall names, and names formed with non-names (Anderson, 2007: 107).

Investigating a name is not simple. It includes a variety of subjects like linguistics, anthropology, sociology, literature, demography, ethnography, and history. It may also cover big and various terms like "proper / first / personal / given / adopted / Christian name / forename / font-name, pet name / short name / pet name [sic], second name / middle name, last name / family name / surname, by-name / to-name, nickname / soubriquet/ substitute name, makeshift or sham name, place-name / toponym, patronymic/ metronymic, pseudonym / pen name / stage name / nom de plume / nom de guerre, eponym, epithet, double-barrelled name, oath-name, imperative name, ornamental name / arbitrary name, brand name / trademark / proprietary name, company name, fun name, namesake, metonym, etc" (Anderson, 2007: 77).

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

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

Bakatik = Ba + Katik

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

(1)	kuluk <i>blanket</i>	\rightarrow	bakuluk to wear a blanket
(2)	ongan <i>body</i>	\rightarrow	baongan \rightarrow bongan to have a body
(3)	adeih sweat	\rightarrow	baradeih to be sweaty

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

- (4a) *Obet tanem supaya katik katn naa neneh.Obet (hide) in.order not PART person seeObet is hiding to make sure nobody sees him.
- (4b) Obet batanem supaya katik katn naa neneh. Obet BA-(hide) in.order not PART person see
 Obet is hiding to make sure nobody sees him. The group of ba-intransitive verbs commonly carries the meaning of 'have, possess what is designated by [the stem]' and 'use, wear [the stem]' as seen below.
- (5) Mak Asong **baramin** ka Lumar ogak. Mr. Asong BA-house in Lumar also Mr. Asong also has a house in Lumar.
- (6) Farhan katik **balawar**. Farhan not BA-pants Farhan doesn't wear pants.

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

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

In a limited context, this prefix can function as an inflectional tool. It only enables the stem to occur in a particular syntactic slot without affecting the lexical identity of the

root. In this context the prefix **ba**- is applied inflectionally to comply with grammatical need. Adjectival predicator **sontok** *poor* cannot stand without prefix **ba**- after the syntactic forms like **bokan main** *terribly* are not acceptable grammatically to occur in a resultative clause as shown below.

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

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

Katik = Ka + Tik

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

- (9) Induk arak/rak mari japo ge ikuk. mother will buy shirt for 1SG Mother will buy a shirt for me.
- (10) Ikuk noo **ka uma/ kuma**. 1SG go to-dry.field I am going to the dry field.
- (11) Ikuk katik panne naa **da amba/ damba** dikuh. 1SG not know person who-old that I don't know him. (Lit. I don't know that person who is old.)

The base form of **katik** is also constructed of the reduced forms. They are **ka** of **kayak** that translates well in Malay *jangan* and **tik** of **itik** respectively. Note that the reduced form of **ka** can still stand by itself, and thus it is syntactically interchangeable with **kayak** as shown below.

- (12a) **Ka/kayak** ngakal! PROH deceive Don't deceive [someone]!
- (12b) Akepm ka/kayak morak, Pak!
 2 PROH enter sir
 You are not permitted to enter [the operation room], Sir!

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

Linguistic from of "ITIK"

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

• As an existential verb

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

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

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

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

A noun phrase functioning as subject must be indefinite and does not refer to the previous noun phrase mentioned before when it follows the verb **itik** to exist.

Thus, the specific noun phrase like **ramin ikuk** my house shown in (15) is ungrammatical.

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

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

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

• As a linking verb

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

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

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

• As a possessive verb

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

(18a)	Omar itik	ramin	ka	Sintang.
	Omar have	house	in	Sintang.
	Omar has a ho	ouse in Sint	tang.	_

(18b) Omar ramin ka *Sintang*. Omar house in *Sintang*. Omar has a house in *Sintang*.

• As an adjective

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

(19a)	3	neneh see proud of his	pangamba parent RP rich parents.	da rich	itik.	
(19b)	Ade	neneh	pangamba	da	koat	iti

(19b)	Ade	neneh	pangamba	da	koat	itik.
	3	see	parent	RP	very	rich
	He is j					

• As a particle

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

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

(21) *Dakngade **itik** ngamih **kasuk ikuk da senget** ka detn taretn 3PL INT kill dog 1SG LIG black in inside forest They really killed my black dog in the forest. As an intensifier, the form **itik** can occur before the subject, too. In (22) **itik** occurs before the subject **akak** *older sibling*.

(22) Lalu, **itik** akak basarak ka bencong-bencong. then INT older.sibling BA-word to REDUP:transvestite Then, [our] older sister really spoke to the transvestites.

• With time noun phase to from time complement

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

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

Negating "ITIK" – Headed Predicate

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

- (24a) **Katik** palisi ka diah. not police in here There is no police here.
- (24b) ***Katik itik** palisi ka diah. not exist police in here There is no policeman here.
- (25a) Runtih **katik** ongkos ure ka Singkawang. Runtih not fare return to Singkawang Runtih doesn't have any money to return to Singkawang.
- (25b) *Runtih **katik itik** ongkos ure ka Singkawang. Runtih not **have** fare return to Singkawang Runtih doesn't have any money to return to Singkawang.
- (26a) Bambang **katik** ka ramin ngaa nyaberetn. Bambang not in house already NYA-month Bambang hasn't been home for a month.

- (26b) *Bambang **katik itik** ka ramin ngaa nyaberetn. Bambang not Link-V in house already NYA-month Bambang hasn't been home for a month
- (27a) Toak ade **katik** ogak. uncle 3 not also His uncle isn't rich, either.
- (27b) *Toak ade katik itik ogak.
 uncle 3 not rich also
 His uncle isn't rich, either.
 When the predicator is non-itik, it must be maintained as shown below.
- (28a) Ontong, ade **katik** nyampah kaca. lucky 3 not MAN-(collide) glass Luckily, she didn't hit the glass.
- (28b) *Ontong, ade **katik** kaca. lucky 3 not glass Luckily, she didn't hit the glass.

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

- (29) **Katik bapalisi** ka diah. not BA-police in here There is no police here.
- (30) Martinus **katik baongkos** ure ka Singkawang. Martinus not BA-fare return to Singkawang Martinus doesn't have any money to return to Singkawang.

When **itik** is categorized as an adjective functioning as a predicator, the word **itik** is substituted by its synonym **kaye** (31a) borrowed from Malay/Indonesian. If it is maintained, the negative marker will be replaced by **enynya** (31b) that shares with nounheaded predicate (Sudarsono, 2002: 289).

- (31a) Toak ade **katik kaye** ogak. uncle 3 not rich also His uncle isn't rich, either.
- (31b) Toak ade **enynya itik** ogak. uncle 3 not rich also His uncle isn't rich, either.

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

- (32a)Amakkokatik /*enynyanookumamatekdiah.Father-1SGNEGgoto-dry fieldtodayMy father does not go to the dry field today.
- (32b) Ade *katik / enynya amakko 3SG NEG father-1SG He is not my father.
- (32c) Barak dikuh **katik / enynya** *ansak*. banana that not ripe That banana isn't ripe.

Conclusion

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

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

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

Although **katik** was derived from prohibitive particle **kayak** and the form **itik**, it already lost its prohibitiveness but still maintain its itik-ness particularly when negating **itik** predicate head. This grammatical form may also be predicted that it still has the potential function to negate the class-words of **itik**, that is, verbs and adjectives. Based on the

above discussion, verbs in Bakatik may be distinguished from adjectives by the negative marker. The former are negated by **katik** and the latter by either **katik** or **enynya**.

Katik may not negate a noun-headed predicate because **kayak** is not permitted to negate such a predicate. Under this context it may be predicted that verbs and nouns in Bakatik do not share the same property. They are negated by different negative markers. On the other hand, adjectives share property with verbs, being negated by **katik** and with nouns, being negated by **enynya**.

- (33a) Imuk ka/kayak agetn ka dikuh.
 2 PROH stand in that Don't stand over there.
- (33b) Imuk katik agetn ka dikuh.2 NEG stand in that Don't stand over there.
- (34a) *Induk dikuh **ka/kayak** guru. Mrs. That PROH teacher *That lady does not a teacher.
- (34b) *Induk dikuh **ka/katik** guru. Mrs. That NEG teacher That lady is not a teacher.
- (34c) Induk dikuh **enynya** guru. Mrs. That NEG teacher That lady is not a teacher.

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

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