



A GRAMMAR OF MUALANG:
AN IBANIC LANGUAGE OF
WESTERN KALIMANTAN,
INDONESIA

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Conventions and Abbreviations

[]	phonetic representation; contextual information (in sentence examples); chunks of clauses (e.g. in complement clauses)
()	additional information (as given in English translation for sentence examples)
//	phonemic representation
.	syllable boundary; symbol connecting English words in glosses for a single Mualang morpheme
=	clitic boundary
~	varies with
→	is realized as
Ø	zero or deleted sound (in phonology); zero or the gap (in relative clauses); zero anaphora (participant reference)
+	morpheme boundary
{ }	either environment in the curly brackets operates (phonology)
*	ungrammatical form; reconstructed proto form
?	questionable form (in front of an example sentence)
1d.excl	first person dual exclusive
1d.incl	first person dual inclusive
1p.excl	first person plural exclusive
1p.incl	first person plural inclusive
1s	first person singular
2d	second person dual
2p	second person plural
2s.fem	second person singular female
2s.hon	second person singular honorific
2s.masc	second person singular masculine
3d	third person dual
3p	third person plural
3s	third person singular
3s.indef.hum	third person singular indefinite human
3s.indef.nonhum	third person singular indefinite non-human
A	agent
ACT	active voice marker
adv	adverb
ADVR	adversative passive voice marker
ANPAS	antipassive voice marker
asp	aspectual marker
B	base form
C	consonant
CAUS	causative prefix
CLASS	classifier
conj	conjunction
CONT.NEG	contrastive negator

DEM	demonstrative
excl	exclamatory word; exclusive
EXIST.NEG	existential negator
FUT	future tense marker
HAB.INAB	habitual inability
illoc	illocutionary marker
INCH	inchoative voice marker
incl	inclusive
intr	interrogative word
IO	indirect object
LOC	locative; locative preposition
MEAS	measure word
MI	Mualang <i>Ili</i> ' (Downstream Mualang)
MID	unvolitional-resultative middle voice marker
mod	modal
MU	Mualang <i>Ulu</i> (Upstream Mualang)
N	noun; nasal morphophoneme; nasal phoneme
n	noun (used in the wordlist)
NEG	clausal negator
NOM	nominalizer (prefix)
NP	noun phrase
num	numeral
O	(direct) object
ORD	ordinal number marker
P	patient
part	particle
PASS	passive voice marker
PC	participial complement
PERF	perfect aspect marker
POSS	possessive marker
PP	prepositional phrase
PREC	precatatorial form
pref	prefix
PREP	preposition
PROG	progressive aspect marker
pron	pronoun
QP	quantifying phrase
quan	quantifier
RC	relative clause
RED	reduplication
REL	relativizer
S	subject
SVC	serial verb construction
TOA	term of address
TOP	topic marker
V	verb; vowel
vi/vt	intransitive/transitive verb
VP	verb phrase

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1 GENERAL INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents some general information regarding the Mualang language and its speakers. Details about the speakers and where they live will be given in section (1.1). Section (1.2) briefly sketches their daily activities and products of their culture, followed by a section on the genetic affiliation of Mualang (1.3). Dialectal variation and language use are discussed in (1.4). Then section (1.5) will describe previous linguistic studies on Mualang. While section (1.6) touches upon the aim of this study and its general theoretical framework, the final section (1.7) describes the method of collecting the data corpus and its analysis.

1.1 The speakers and their country

Mualang is a term that the people use to refer to themselves, the language they speak, and the land they dwell on. It is also used as an exonym. According to a legend (Paternus 2001:3), the name Mualang originates from the name of a person who died on the river which was then named after him, when the people of Mualang fled from *tem'away/tem'awang* 'the settlement' of *Tampun Juah*. The story of Tampun Juah¹ is a myth of origin well known among the people and shared also by surrounding ethnic groups. *Tampun Juah* was the place from where various related ethnic groups began to spread out, according to the story (see also Dunselman 1955:279). Dunselman mentioned that the location might be in the region of the Sai and Sekayam rivers, a bit further on the western side of the Mualang area.²

Although Mualang is also the name of a small river on the northern part of *kecamatan* Belitang Hulu, the people do not reside on it or even nearby. In fact, the people mainly dwell along the basin of the Ayak and Belitang rivers, tributaries of the Kapuas River. Administratively, the whole present Mualang-speaking area covers three different subdistricts (*kecamatan*s): Belitang Hilir, Belitang, and Belitang Hulu, which since 2003 belong to the newly-formed district (*kabupaten*) Sekadau of the province of West Kalimantan.³ Traditionally, the Mualang people have been associated with two general areas, namely Mualang *ili* 'downstream' and *ulu* 'upstream'. *Kecamatan* Belitang was an administrative subdivision of the

¹ According to one version of the story that I recorded, the *tem'away* Tampun Juah was named after Juah, a man, who was transfixated – *tampun* means 'to transfix' in Mualang – with Lemay, his wife, for having committed incest. Both were cousins, and marriage between cousins (and siblings) was (and still is) taboo (*mali*). As the story goes, they were punished to death for that.

² See also Drake (1996) and Ngiuk (2003) for an overview of the history of the Mualang people.

³ Formerly the three *kecamatan* were under the administration of *kabupaten* Sanggau.

upstream area. In the year 2000, the number of inhabitants in these three *kecamatan*, according to *Biro Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Sanggau* (cited in *Institut Dayakologi* 2004) was 19,878 persons in Belitang Hilir, 11,711 in Belitang, and 17,184 in Belitang Hulu. These figures probably include people with another ethnic background who live in the areas, such as the *Senganan* or Malay people, Chinese, Javanese, and groups who are ethnically Dayak.⁴

The exact number of Mualang speakers is therefore hard to give. However, if a rough 10% (as an average percentage for non-Mualang) is subtracted from the total number of the three *kecamatan*, the approximate number of Mualang speakers might reach 40,000 people.⁵ This number may include a few thousand speakers (on the average not more than 5,000 in each location) in other areas of West Kalimantan, notably in the old Sekadau area, the city of Pontianak, Kecamatan Sepauk, Kecamatan Sintang. Some have moved there permanently while others only temporarily.

The Mualang area is located about 300 km upstream on the Kapuas River from Pontianak, the capital of West Kalimantan province. It can be reached by land and/or water. However, during the rainy season villages become inaccessible or hard to reach. Also in the dry season they are isolated and lack modern facilities and infrastructure. Much of the area is hilly with clay roads or trails that become flooded and slippery when it rains. People have to walk for hours between places and because transportation is expensive, many hardly ever travel out of their area. Many people even have never been in the capital city of the province. Electricity is only available in the capital towns of the *kecamatan*s, and even there only from evening till morning. A few people own a generator running a few hours in the evening to watch television. Only a few places have an elementary school, whereas higher education is found only in the capital towns of the *kecamatan*s. Balai Sepuak has a theological school at senior high school level, founded by missionaries. Some Mualang people have acquired higher education⁶ and obtained various prominent positions in society (as teachers, university lecturers, medical doctors, priests, etc. – even, the present bishop of the Catholic Church of West Kalimantan is from downstream Mualang). A majority of the Mualang people have become Christians since the 1930's, with Catholics mostly in the Downstream area and members of the protestant *Gereja Kemah Injil Indonesia*, in the Upstream region.

⁴ In fact there are no exact figures. For example, in June 2002 I obtained the information that Kecamatan Belitang Hulu had 17,519 inhabitants (report on the population of the *kecamatan* to Kabupaten Sanggau in June 2002). This number had gone down to around 13,000 in June 2005 (pers. com. with the head of Kecamatan Belitang Hulu); whereas in the same year Kecamatan Belitang Hilir had about 11,000 inhabitants (pers. com. with the head of Kecamatan Belitang Hilir).

⁵ This number matched my prediction after consultation with several reliable sources such as local teachers, church pastors, heads of *kecamatan*s and villages. Other estimates are Dunselman (1955) with 8,000 speakers, Wurm and Hattori (1981) with 10,000, whereas Pungak (1976:5) recorded 30,000 people. Pungak's figure was based on a census in 1975, but outsiders may have been included in this figure.

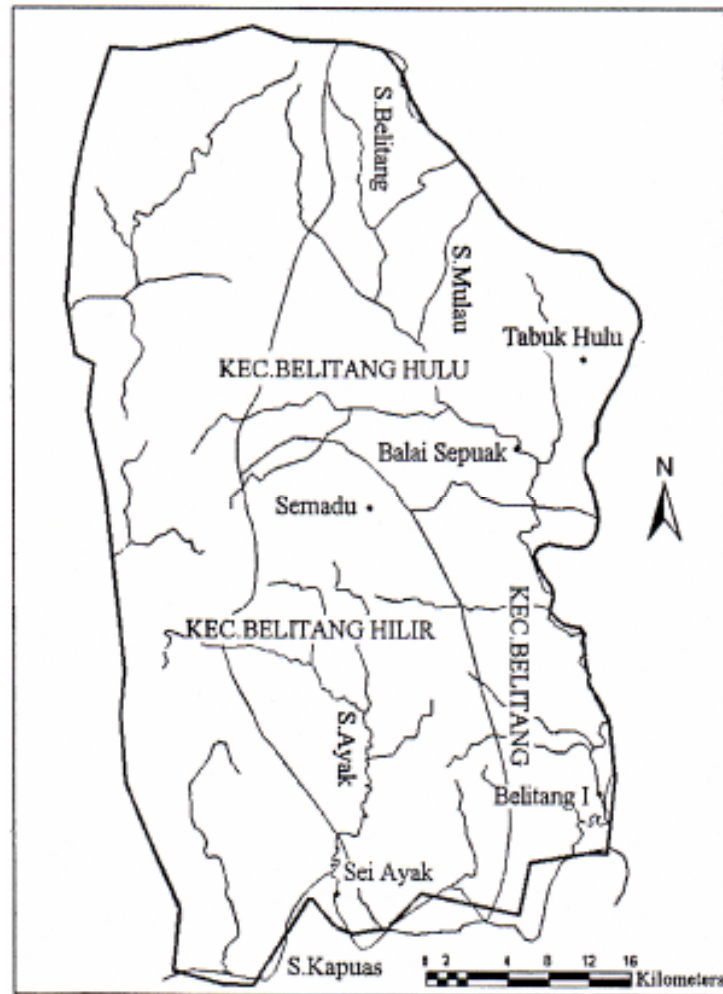
⁶ At the moment of writing one of them is pursuing a Ph.D. degree as I happen to know.

Map 1: West Kalimantan Province and Indonesia (inset)⁷



⁷ I am very grateful to, especially, Donald Holl and Jim Meyers for having provided me with the maps.

Map 2: Main Mualang-speaking Area



Note: Kab. = *kabupaten* (district); Kec. = *kecamatan* (subdistrict); S = *sungai* = river.

1.2 Daily life and culture

Most Mualang people still maintain a cyclic lifestyle focused on the forest, although its intensity has begun to decline due to various factors. They practise swidden cultivation and engage in other traditional activities in the forest and river, such as hunting and gathering. To some extent traditional customs and rites still accompany their activities, although with some adjustment to modern times and accommodation to their Christian religion. Approximately in July people start *nebas-nebang* ‘clearing bushes and cut down trees’, then *nunu* ‘burning’ a month later. Normally such activities cannot be done alone, and that makes people *baduruk* ‘carrying on mutual-cooperation in a group with others’. Within the next three months, around September through December, people make holes for seeds and do planting (*nugal* and *nam’ak*). As a rule the *uma* ‘dry rice field’ is planted with rice, corn, cassava and vegetables.⁸ Additional food is obtained from fishing in the river and hunting in the forest. Pigs are the main livestock. Additional sources of livelihood are primarily *mutung* ‘getting rubber saps’ and planting pepper. In some places people work at a palm oil plantation.

After harvest time, from May until June people celebrate the big *gaway* ‘feast, festival’ to thank God⁹ for the harvest, thus, completing the yearly cultivation cycle. Food (pork and chicken cooked in bamboo and delicacies made of rice) is provided for guests who go from house to house. The harvest period is also a perfect time for *gaway balaki-bini* ‘feast for marriage’, during which several traditional ceremonies are still performed, such as *nuntung* (or *b(a)any’ung* as it is called in the Downstream area) ‘picking up the bride by the groom at her place’ and *b(a)ajar* ‘giving advice (to the couple)’.

Most of the oral tradition is on the brink of disappearance. Various chanted stories, such as *kana*, *ladin*, *janihi*, *mayin pancung*,¹⁰ are now often only known to older generations. This also includes the tradition of *tunsun purih* ‘tracing the family’s descendants’. Only a few elder people still memorize the chains of descendants of families. Wickerwork is still practised by some for the production of various kinds of household utensils, fishing traps, etc. which are made from bamboo, rattan and *seng’ang* ‘k.o. bushes’,¹¹ such as *biday* ‘big rattan mat’, *terany’ang* ‘tall paddy basket (carried on the back)’, *kemansay* ‘rattan fish scoop’, *tampi* ‘winnow’.

Although nowadays the Mualang area is administratively divided according to regulations of the national government, people still have their *temeng’ung* ‘the elder expert on traditional adat (customs)’ and they still attempt to maintain traditional law including its fines in particular situations.

⁸ For further information on cultivation, see Drake (1982).

⁹ Before Christianity replaced the traditional beliefs, the feast was dedicated to the god *Petara* and to other gods, such as *Puyang Gana* ‘god of the land’.

¹⁰ See Dunselman (1954, 1955, 1959a, b) for more details.

¹¹ Paternus (2001) documents traditional wickerwork and other artefacts. Drake (1988) describes textile weaving among the Mualang people in former times. I have not seen nor heard whether people are still practicing these handicrafts, but I did see traditional ornamented containers and hats being used.

1.3 Genetic affiliation

Mualang has been classified as an Ibanic language together with Iban, Sebuyau, Kantu', Air Tabun, Seberuang (Hudson 1970, 1978). Besides these variants, the names of Desa and Ketungau are also mentioned (e.g. in Collins 2004:18). The members of this Ibanic group have been subclassified by various linguists as belonging to the Malayic group under the Western Malayo-Polynesian branch of the Austronesian language family (Hudson 1970, Blust 1981, Adelaar 1985, Nothofer 1988). However, an exact internal classification of the so-called Malayic subgroup (hence the validity of the term Malayic) has not yet been well established, and disputes continue as is apparent from the works just cited.¹²

The close relationship between these Ibanic varieties with those of Malay has long been noted, but the first observer who was explicit about it was Hudson (Hudson 1970), while Adelaar (1985) was the first important attempt to reconstruct their common ancestor, coined Proto Malayic. The languages of these two groups are structurally very similar. They also share a similar voice marking system, with variations in the inventory of voice operators. Major differences lie in the lexicon (cf. Adelaar, op.cit.). A well-known phenomenon that distinguishes the two groups is that words in Ibanic languages end with an offglide or an approximant, whereas their cognates in Malay mostly end with a stop. Furthermore, Ibanic languages generally lack suffixes, while these are quite productive in (standard) Malay.

Within the Ibanic group very little comparative information is available. The following preliminary differences are observed between Mualang and Ketungau Sajat of the Sekadai area on the one hand, and Iban of Sarawak on the other hand (the latter based on information in Asmah (1981). Phonologically, rather than displaying nasal pre- and postplosion as in Mualang, Ketungau Sajat tends to have lenition word-finally, in which the counterpart obstruent sounds in Mualang are realized as an offglide consisting of a corresponding vowel and obstruent (cf. *bagas* 'good looking' vs. *bagah* 'good'). The corresponding final *ŋ* in Mualang is manifested as an offglide of a nasalized vowel (cf. *gunūŋ* vs. *gunūã* 'mountain'). Also, the final mid rounded *o* corresponds to low vowel *a* in Mualang (cf. *umo* vs. *uma* 'rice field').¹³

Compared to Malay/Indonesian, Mualang is much more similar to Iban in lexicon and structure. Some striking differences between the latter two are phonological. In Iban mid vowels have a full status as phonemes, whereas in Mualang they are phonetic variants of high vowels. In contrast to Mualang, phenomena of nasal pre- and postplosion are absent in Iban. Morphologically, Iban has developed a transitivity suffix, *-ka*, whose function in Mualang is partially covered by the use of the preposition *ka*. Sociolinguistically, Iban is much better known throughout the region and hence is relatively familiar to speakers of Mualang. This may result in one-way intelligibility from Mualang to Iban.

¹² Cf. also an overview account on the use of nomenclature in Adelaar (2004; 2005c) and Collins (2004). A more recent account on the internal subgrouping is proposed in Ross (2004).

¹³ The data for Ketungau Sajat was obtained from an informant originating from Natai Ucong during a short field trip in 2000. Dialectal variation is quite common between Ketungau Sajat villages.

A more systematic comparison with Standard Malay/Indonesian and other Malayic languages would be interesting, also in view of the current discussions on the Malayic homeland and the subgrouping hypotheses of the Malayic language group, but that lies outside the scope of this synchronic descriptive thesis and has to be postponed to another occasion. At various places in this book, however, some comparisons have been made whenever considered interesting.

1.4 Sociolinguistic situation

1.4.1 Dialects

Generally Mualang people make a distinction between *Mualang ili* 'downstream Mualang territory' and *Mualang ulu* 'upstream Mualang territory'. They also realize that there is a distinction in the way the speakers of the other area speak. Structural differences, however, are restricted. There are some differences in pronunciation:

- a) the downstream speakers have a relatively flat intonation, whereas speech in the upstream regions has more intonational "ups and downs";
- b) high vowels in final open syllables are optionally lowered among the Upstream speakers (e.g. *kate* 'how'), whereas among Downstream speakers, they tend to remain high (e.g. *kati* 'how'). Other examples: *mate* vs. *mati* 'die', *bine* vs. *bini* 'wife'. It appears that speech style determines pronunciation in the Upstream variety;
- c) postploded nasals and nasal preplosion are in general less audible or "lighter" in the downstream speech compared to those in the upstream pronunciation.

Lexical differences are minor and the words in question are known to speakers of both areas. The differences include:

- a) a slight variation in pronunciation in a few words, e.g.:

<u>Downstream</u>	<u>Upstream</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
<i>jat</i>	<i>jay</i> (also: <i>jat</i>)	'bad'
<i>apay/mpay</i>	<i>apay</i>	'father'
<i>naday</i>	<i>naday/nday</i>	'no, not'
<i>tem'awang</i>	<i>tem'away</i>	'former, old settlement'
<i>ugan</i>	<i>ugal</i>	'nangka fruit'

- b) different forms for the same meaning, e.g.:

<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Downstream</u>	<u>Upstream</u>
'coconut scraper'	<i>bingkung</i>	<i>kelingkung</i>
'big pig'	<i>lang'u</i>	<i>kelimpay</i>

‘to pick up the bride’ *b(a)any’ung* *nuntung*

c) different meanings for the same form (interdialectal homonymy), e.g.:

<u>Form</u>	<u>Downstream</u>	<u>Upstream</u>
<i>mpapa’</i>	‘run helter-skelter’	k.o. wood
<i>bayik</i>	‘good, beautiful’	‘good’
<i>kelingkung</i>	‘roundabout route’	‘coconut scraper’
<i>lang’u’</i>	‘big pig; beginning of fruit’	‘beginning of fruit’

However, these are only minor differences. The analysis of the present study, particularly for the phonology, will be based mainly on the data and information gathered in the Upstream area. Insofar as differences are known, they will be addressed in the relevant chapters, but dialectal detail has not been the focus of this study.¹⁴

1.4.2 Language in use

The people of Mualang have a strong awareness of their ethnic identity and are proud of it. They realize the existence of other ethnic groups and frequently compare themselves with those groups, such as *Cina-Senganan* ‘the Chinese and Malay’, the people of Jangkang, Banyur, etc. This ethnic awareness is also depicted in their legends, such as the stories about *Keling* and *Kumang* (names of persons) and *Tampun Juah*. The disappearing tradition of *tunsun purih* ‘tracing one’s family’s descendants’ also reflected and supported this attitude. As with ethnicity, the people are also very well aware of their linguistic identity. In general they can identify similarities and dissimilarities of their speech form with those of others, and comment on intelligibility and learnability with regard to Ibanic varieties (such as Iban and Tabun), as against the difficulty of learning, for instance, the more distantly related Jangkang varieties (“Land Dayak”) in the western part of the Upstream area. It was said that Mualang villages located on the border with other groups get influenced linguistically.

The situations described above reflect an intensive daily use of Mualang by everyone from children to adults. Some teachers at an elementary school in a village once informed me that they are obliged to teach their pupils in Indonesian, but that they also resort to Mualang, otherwise the children would not quite understand the lessons given. Unlike those who grew up in more urban circumstances, many people who grew up in the Mualang area still speak the language even when they have moved to cities (such as Sanggau, Sintang and Pontianak) later in life. However, erosion of the language and culture inevitably takes place as development and globalization continue. Many forms of *bahasa dalam* ‘deep or old language’, a term

¹⁴ Several Mualang words listed in Collins (2004:33) are different from mine. Collins’ data were taken from a speaker of Menawai Tekam of the Downstream area. Although mine were primarily obtained in the Upstream area, I did collect some data from speakers from the Downstream area in the villages of Tapang Pulau and Semadu. There I did not find Collins’ final *y* after *i* as in *kakiy* ‘leg’, nor his *ə* offglide in *tupo^ək* ‘finger’. These differences suggest some phonological dialectal variation among the villages concerned.

that refers to older forms, have been replaced by equivalents from Malay/Indonesian, notably among the younger generations. Many words in traditional songs, such as *kana*, are not known anymore, except by a few older people who on the average are above 50 years of age, which is caused by, and reflects, the decline in the tradition of reciting or chanting stories. Besides by the socio-cultural factors mentioned above, the maintenance of the everyday language has been conditioned also by the relative isolation of the area. The landscape, clay or swampy roads in disrepair, expensive transportation, no electricity in the villages (only in the major towns of the *kecamatan*s in the evening) and economic conditions force most people to spend their life in their home villages. This situation causes the language to be relatively protected. As indicated above, non-Mualang outsiders form about 10% of the total population of each *kecamatan*; most of them reside in the capitals of the *kecamatan*. Transmigrants, who live close to the villages, are able to communicate well in the language, in any case in basic conversations. The language is relatively easy to learn for those who speak Malay/Indonesian. Non-Mualang outsiders in the capital towns of the *kecamatan*s speak Malay in inter-ethnic communication, mixed with a few basic Mualang expressions.

Recently conscious efforts have been made by the Mualang people to maintain their culture and language: in the provincial capital Pontianak an association of the *Ayung Mualang* ‘family of Mualang’ was formed; songs and chanted stories (*kana*) (on cassette and CD), books on culture (some were written by native people in Indonesian and Mualang (!)) were released by several organizations (e.g. *Yayasan Pancur Kasih* and *Institut Dayakologi* in Pontianak). Some cultural and linguistic studies have also been carried out by native speakers, e.g. Pungak (1976a, b) and Ngiuk (2003).

1.5 Previous studies

Thus far to my knowledge only Pungak (1976a) has dealt exclusively with the linguistic aspects of Mualang. Pungak provides an overview of the segmental phonology and a preliminary analysis of some morphological and syntactic features. Her being aware of the existence of the so-called postploded nasals and phonological alternation of high versus mid vowels in the language is particularly noted, since native people are usually not aware of these features. She must also be credited for her attempts to produce a lexicon of Mualang (Pungak 1976b).

Although not intended as grammatical studies, Dunselman’s works (1954, 1955, 1959a and b) present linguistic data which appeared helpful for my understanding of the language. They provide texts that are very accurately transcribed, despite some inconsistencies regarding high-mid vowel alternations. Especially his footnotes present much valuable information on various aspects (e.g. meaning, word-borrowing, pronunciation, etc.) regarding particular words or expressions. He was also aware of the contrast between words with “postploded nasals” versus those with plain ones. With those published later in Paternus (2001) Dunselman’s annotated texts are the only texts of Mualang’s oral tradition that have thus far been written down; they are the most extensive documentation of Mualang cultural heritage. Unfortunately, Dunselman’s works are available only in Dutch.

Some information on Mualang can also be found in Collins (2004). This preliminary work is helpful in providing a general picture on the current linguistic situation of the members of the Ibanic subgroup.¹⁵

1.6 Aims and theoretical framework

This grammar is an attempt to provide a comprehensive description of the structure of Mualang. It presents the major features of the phonology and morphosyntax of the language. Applying insights from the functional-typological approach to language, I have tried to be as neutral as possible with regard to theoretical orientation. As far as possible the terminology used is generally known, or is otherwise explained by definition or by reference to a particular quoted source. In particular I have benefited from discussions in Payne (1997) and Givón (2001a, b).

This grammar has been written with a deep concern for the need to document the languages in West Kalimantan, Indonesia. Linguistic research has been neglected in the region (Collins 1999, 2004; cf. also Cense and Uhlenbeck 1958). The region has been hypothesized by some as a candidate for the original homeland of Malay or Malayic languages/dialects (e.g. Adelaar 1995, Collins 1995). At the time of writing there has been no comprehensive grammatical study on any language in the area,¹⁶ even though languages of the area have been claimed to be significant for Malayic studies (see Adelaar 2004). Thus far within Malayic studies, it is Malay and its varieties that have gained fuller treatment. Within the Ibanic group, it is Iban of Sarawak that has been well studied, as can be seen in, among others, Asmah (1981) and Richards (1981). Other varieties are practically “forgotten”. In the meantime, however, we are facing an endangered language situation as reported in Collins (1995 and elsewhere), since globalization and the spread of Malay/Indonesian threatens to kill languages throughout Borneo. Various Ibanic languages are now experiencing a process of accelerated development. With the emergence of new *kabupatens* and *kecamatans*, development in economy and infrastructure cause more openness and exposure to outside influence. Linguistically, Ibanic varieties in the

¹⁵ In Collins (2004:18), Rahim (1997) is also cited as a study on Mualang in comparison with Iban and Kantuk. Unfortunately, I did not have access to Rahim’s work.

¹⁶ Since I wrote this chapter, the situation has begun to change: in 2005 Adelaar’s study on Salako of Sambas regency was published (Adelaar 2005b). Salako, a Kendayan dialect, displays many cognates with Mualang in its lexicon. Their structure is also similar, their voice system comparable. However, Salako is richer in terms of morphology, with suffixes and circumfixes. One striking difference is related with what I label here as passive and inverse constructions. The passive-like construction in Salako seems to have not fully developed as it has in Mualang or Malay/Indonesian. The Salako form *di* is still used as an agent marker besides being procliticized to the verb. Salako also seems to have some constructions closer to the one I have labeled inverse for Mualang, which not only highlight the “undergoer” but also emphasize the “actor”. However, the verb is marked differently than in Mualang. Phonologically, Salako lost schwa and *l* which do appear in the corresponding Mualang words. In contrast to Mualang, Salako has developed preploded nasals and mid vowels as full phonemes.

interior, including Mualang, are as yet less influenced by Malay than Iban (see also Nothofer 1988:50).¹⁷

I hope that this Mualang grammar will contribute to filling some of the gaps in our knowledge of the Ibanic linguistic scene.

1.7 Field methods and data base

In March 2002 I made a visit to Pontianak (the capital of the province of West Kalimantan), the Sekadau area (at that time still a part of *Kabupaten Sanggau*), and Sungai Ayak of Belitang Hilir to build contacts with local people and gather some preliminary linguistic information. Then, after moving with my family to Pontianak, in May 2002 to January 2003 I started to make a series of frequent fieldtrips to Mualang villages. During the first month I started learning to speak the language and collected preliminary data in the villages of Tapang Pulau and Merbang in Belitang Hilir, the Downstream area. Then, I moved to Belitang Hulu, the Upstream area, staying with the family of the village head (*kepala desa*) in the village of Tabuk Hulu as my base. One practical reason for choosing the Upstream speech as the basis for writing this grammar was phonological: the various nasal sounds and the lowering of high vowels are more prominent among the Upstream speakers (see Chapter 2). It was easier to observe the matters from the Upstream's point of view and then making a comparison with the Downstream speech, instead of doing it the other way around. *Kecamatan* Belitang Hulu has 12 main villages and many small settlements (*dusuns*). Tabuk Hulu is located downstream with regard to most of the other villages and is very close to Balai Sepuak, the capital of the *kecamatan*. Consequently, many people from the more upstream villages going to the capital would pass by the village on their way, which gave me good opportunities to meet speakers of various origins. From Tabuk I also made excursions to other villages (on the average 2 or 3 hours by motorcycle; a few places were also accessible by river) in order to ascertain their linguistic homogeneity. Data were also obtained in Pontianak from Mualang speakers who traveled frequently to the provincial capital. After I had left the Mualang area in January 2003, contacts in and on the language were continued with at least two speakers through regular mail, email and phone calls.

This grammar is based on a corpus of data that was gained by various means. First, I recorded texts and got them transcribed with the help of several native speakers. Some texts were also obtained by asking people to write down their stories. In this way I acquired 41 texts (about 100 typed pages) in total. Besides these texts, I also studied, with the help of several informants, some hundred pages of published materials in Mualang, namely Dunselman's works (1954, 1955) and Paternus (2001). These texts of Dunselman and Paternus were from the speech of the Downstream area. Field notes and participant observation while living in the area as well as elicitation were also used in getting data. Grammatical features were examined in these materials and checked with several informants. These features

¹⁷ This may be the reason why one Mualang speaker of the Upstream area who was going back and forth from his village to Sarawak for work could understand the Iban people whereas it was hard for them to understand him.

were furthermore studied through examining their usage from text to text. As indicated above I have also benefited from Pungak's work (1976a, b).

My research did not focus on dialectal or sociolectal variation, but as far as any information on such variation was available to me, it will be mentioned in the appropriate sections of the description. In general, I have limited myself to comparing the Upstream speech with the Downstream speech of some speakers of the villages of Tapang Pulau and Semadu. Also, some text materials were collected from speakers of the Downstream area. In addition, texts in Paternus (2001; from the Downstream area) were studied and compared.

The last trip made to the Mualang area was in June 2004, during which I gathered more materials, did elicitation for clarification and for filling in gaps revealed during the process of writing the initial drafts of this thesis. This return trip was really helpful as I was able to see the language as a whole after having analyzed it in parts.

2 PHONOLOGY

This chapter describes the major features of Mualang phonology. Section 2.1 presents the phoneme inventory of consonants and vowels with examples of contrasts. A more detailed segmental account of each individual phoneme follows in section 2.2. Major phonological processes are discussed under the corresponding phonemes. Before dealing with stress in section 2.4, the syllable structure is given in 2.3. Beyond phonology itself, morphophonemic processes are then provided in 2.5. Finally, the last section explains the orthography adopted in this grammar.

Typical for Mualang is that it only has four vowels: a high front /i/, a high back /u/, a mid central /ə/, and a central low /a/. With respect to consonants, nasals and their manifestations are the most salient feature in the phonology of the language. The case of the so-called pre- and post-ploded nasals, of which the analysis is notoriously problematic in some other Austronesian languages, appears in Mualang as well.¹ The postploded nasals are considered distinct phonemes in Mualang, whereas the preploded nasals are not.

Mualang has (N)(C)V(C) structure in initial syllables, and (C)V(C)(C) in non-initial syllables. The consonant cluster in (C)VCC occurs only word-finally in a few words, in which the final C is a glottal stop. Disyllabic roots are very common, followed by tri- and monosyllabic ones. By default, stress is penultimate, but it may shift to ultimate syllables under certain intonational contours.

There are some minor phonological dialectal variations in the *Ulu* (Upstream) and the *Ili'* (Downstream) speech. The present phonological analysis is primarily based on observations made among the speakers of the Upstream speech variety. Any salient variations encountered will be explained under the relevant sections.

2.1 Phoneme inventory

This section contains a phonetic account of the consonants and vowels of Mualang. Charts will be given to show the inventory of the phonemes. The consonants are described in 2.1.1 and vowels in 2.1.2. The phoneme charts are followed by examples of (near) minimal pair of similar sounds. A detailed phonetic account of individual phonemes in various attested positions follows.

2.1.1 Consonant inventory

Mualang has twenty three consonant phonemes, as displayed in Table 2.1 below:

¹ For pre- and postploded nasals in other languages, see for instance Blust 1997, Durie 1985 for Acehnese, and McGinn 1982 for Rejang.

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Voiceless stops	p	t	c	k	ʔ
Voiced stops	b	d	j	g	
Plain nasals	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
Postploded nasals	m'	n'	ɲ'	ŋ'	
Fricatives		s		ɣ	h
Lateral		l			
Approximants	w		y		

Table 2.1: Consonant phonemes

Below is a list of (near) minimal pairs attesting to phoneme status of adjacent sounds in word-initial, medial and final position. No voiced stops, postploded nasals, and /c/, /ɲ/ occur in word-final position. The glottals /ʔ/ and /h/ appear mostly word-finally (see the discussion in section 2.2.1.3). The approximants /w/ and /y/ occur in all positions in the word. Evidence for the opposition between the corresponding pairs of plain and postploded nasals will be given separately in list (2-2) after the examples of other (near) minimal pairs in (2-1). The contrast of the two kinds of nasals occurs in initial and medial position. The spelling of examples is phonemic.

(2-1)	/p/ vs /b/	puluh	unit of ten
		buluh	'bamboo'
		apa	'what?'
		abaʔ	'to follow; and; with'
	/m/	pulut	'glutinous rice'
		mulut	'lips'
		upa	'as, be like'
		uma	'dry rice field'
	/w/	idup	'alive'
		inum	'to drink'
		pam	k.o. cracker made from glutinous rice
		wan	'you' (2s. hon)
		sapa	'who?'
		sawaʔ	'python'
	/b/ vs /m/	biyah	k.o. (itchy and inedible) yam
		miyah	'red'
		sabak	'to cry'
		sama	'same'

		/w/	bay?	‘to bring; to summon’
			way	‘my!’ (interjection)
			sabak	‘to cry’
			sawa?	‘python’
/m/ vs /n/			maŋ(-maŋ)	‘suddenly’
			naŋ	‘don’t!’
			lama?	‘long (of time)’
			anak	‘child’
			lam	‘morning’
			dan	‘branch (of a tree)’
/t/ vs /d/			tua	‘we’ (2d.incl.)
			dua	‘two’
			ituŋ	‘to count’
			iduŋ	‘nose’
		/s/	tama?	‘to enter; deep wound’
			sama	‘same’
			nti?	‘if’
			nsia	‘human being’
		/c/	mit	‘small’
			mis	‘be finished’
			tayik	‘to pull’
			cayik	‘be torn apart’
			panti	‘thin bridge made of trunk or board’
			papci	‘beautiful’
/d/ vs /n/			di?	‘you’ (2s.fem.)
			ni?	‘grandmother’ (vocative)
			aday	‘to exist’
			inay	‘mother’
		/l/	dawun	‘leaf, vegetable’
			lawun	‘slow’
			padam	‘off (of light)’
			malam	‘night’
/n/ vs /l/			nam	‘six’
			lam	‘morning’
			ini?	‘grandmother’
			ili?	‘downstream’
			akan	‘son in law’
			akal	‘mind’
		/ŋ/	nak	‘child’ (vocative)
			ŋa?	‘to let, stop there’

		anak	‘child’
		aŋat	‘hot’
		ujan	‘rain’
		bujaŋ	‘young male’, term of address for a young male
	/ɲ/	nak	‘child’ (vocative)
		ɲaʔ	‘that’
		anak	‘child’
		apa	‘only’
/c/ vs /j/		caɣik	‘be torn apart’
		jaɣi	‘arm’
		pəcah	‘be broken’
		pəjah	‘to run down, to gossip’
/j/ vs /ɲ/		javaʔ	k.o. millet
		ɲawa	‘mouth’
		saja	‘incredibly’
		apa	‘only’
	/y/	bujaŋ	‘young male’, term of address for a young male
		puyaŋ	‘great grandfather’
/k/ vs /g/		kaliʔ	‘times’
		galiʔ	‘to lay down’
		saka	‘cross road’
		sagaʔ	‘enthusiastic’
	/h/, /ʔ/	tam’ak	‘to plant’
		tam’ah	‘to add’
		tamaʔ	‘to enter’
/g/ vs /ŋ/		guʔ	‘sound’
		ŋaw	‘to use; for; with’
		bagas	‘handsome’
		baŋah	k.o. fish
	/ɣ/	gaɣiʔ	‘worn out (of clothes); to change (of clothes)’
		ɣaɣi	‘to run (away)’
		sigat	‘fast’
		siyat	‘traditional loincloth’
/l/ vs /ʎ/		laŋkaw	‘hut’
		ɣaŋkay	‘dry’
		ulun	‘servant, slave’

		tuyun	‘to descend’
		akal	‘mind’
		akay	‘root’
(2-2)	/m/ vs /m’/	maʔ	‘to carry on the back’
		m’aʔ	term of address for young male
		amis	‘fishy (smell)’
		am’iʔ	‘to take’
	/n/ vs /n’/	nuʔ	‘to belong to’
		n’uʔ	term of address for young female
		aɲut	‘be swept away by water’
		in’uʔ	‘woman; female; mother (of animals)’
	/ɲ/ vs /ɲ’/	taɲaʔ	‘to ask’ ²
		tɲ’uk	‘finger; point finger; to point’
	/ŋ/ vs /ŋ’/	ŋaŋ	sound of dog’s barking
		ŋ’aŋ	‘hornbill’
		diŋa	‘to hear’
		tiŋ’iʔ	‘tall, high’

2.1.2 Vowel inventory

Table 2.2 displays the four vowels available in Mualang.

	front	central	back
high	i		u
mid		ə	
low		a	

Table 2.2: Vowel phonemes

In (2-3) (near) minimal pairs are presented in initial, medial and final position. The three vowels /i/, /u/, and /a/ occupy all positions in the word, whereas the schwa never appears word-initially, word-finally, and in the monosyllabic word.

² Word initially the frequency of the postploded nasals is low. Thus far I have not been able to find a valid contrast in word initial position for palatal nasals /ɲ/ and /ɲ’/.

(2-3)	/i/ vs /u/	ilaʔ	‘later’
		ulak	‘eddy’
		piaʔ	‘like that’
		puaʔ	k.o. traditional clothes made of tree bark
	/a/	asi	‘to take and give’
		asu	‘to hunt’
		igiʔ	classifier for round-shaped entities
		agiʔ	‘again, still’
		bilik	‘room’
		balik	‘to turn around’
		api	‘fire’
	/ə/	apa	‘what?’
		tibaŋ	k.o. rice container made of tree bark
		təbaŋ	‘to cut’
	/u/ vs /a/	ulu	‘upstream’
		alu	‘pestle’
		bulaʔ	‘to lie’
		bala	‘all (kinds)’
		balu	‘widow, widower’
	/ə/	puluh	‘unit of ten’
		pəluh	‘sweat’
	/a/ vs /ə/	labuh	‘to fall’
		ləbuh	‘to feel affection’

2.2 Segmental Phonology

This section will describe optional and conditioned variation in the realization of the sound segments given in the inventories in 2.1 above. The subsection 2.2.1 discusses the consonants and 2.2.2 the vowels.

2.2.1 Consonants

2.2.1.1 Stops

Of the stops, only /p, t, k/ can occur word-finally, in which position they are always unreleased. Release of the stops in initial and intervocalic positions is plain, never aspirated. In medial position only voiceless stops can follow nasals. The realization of stops in combination with nasals will be discussed in 2.2.1.2. Polysyllabic words are usually stressed on the penultimate syllable. In the phonetic notations stress will not be indicated, unless it is on another syllable than the penultimate.

/p/	[p]	voiceless bilabial stop	
		/piaʔ/	[piaʔ] ~ [piyaʔ] ‘so, like that’
		/apa/	[apa] ‘what?’
	[pʰ]	unreleased in word final position	
		/idup/	[idupʰ] ~ [idopʰ] ‘live, alive’
/t/	[t]	voiceless apico-dental stop	
		/tampak/	[tampakʰ] ‘bright’
		/kituʔ/	[kituʔ] ‘hither’
	[tʰ]	unreleased in word final position	
		/jat/	[jatʰ] ‘bad’
/c/	[c]	voiceless alveopalatal stop	
		/cəlap/	[cəlapʰ] ‘cold’
		/paŋci/	[paŋci] ‘beautiful’
/k/	[k]	voiceless dorso-velar stop	
		/kibaʔ/	[kibaʔ] ‘left’
		/pakay/	[pakay] ‘eat’
	[kʰ]	unreleased in word final position	
		/buk/	[bukʰ] ~ [bəkʰ] ‘hair’

There are a few cases in which /k/ and /g/ are interchangeable in word-initial position; such words are analyzed as doublets. The /g/ form is common among the older generations, whereas /k/ is probably due to Malay/Indonesian influence.

/kisah/	[kisah] ~ /gisah/	[gisah]	‘story’
/kumpul/	[kumpul] ~ /gumpul/	[gumpul]	‘to gather, have a church service’

The following cases are also found in which /k/ in intervocalic position after prefixation is alternatively voiced:

/ta-kalah/	[təkalah] ~ [təgalah]	‘be able to defeat, defeatable’
/da-kumay/	[dakumāy] ~ [dagumāy]	‘be called’

/ʔ/	[ʔ]	voiceless glottal stop
/gigaʔ/	[gigaʔ]	‘to look for’
/agiʔ/	[ageʔ]	‘again, still’

Glottal insertion: A glottal insertion occurs between vowels at a morpheme boundary. (See section 2.5.3 for further details).

/b/	[b]	voiced bilabial stop
/bulaʔ/	[bulaʔ]	‘to lie’
/abaʔ/	[abaʔ]	‘to follow; and; with’
/d/	[d]	voiced apico-alveolar stop ³
/datay/	[datay]	‘to come’
/duduk/	[dudɔkʷ]	‘to sit’
/j/	[j]	voiced alveopalatal stop
/jayi/	[jayi]	‘arm’
/ujan/	[uja ^h n] ~ [ujan]	‘rain’
/g/	[g]	voiced dorso-velar stop
/guʔ/	[gɔʔ]	‘sound’
/bagas/	[bagas]	‘handsome’

2.2.1.2 Nasals

There are two kinds of nasals in Mualang: 1) *plain nasals* /m/, /n/, /ɲ/, /ŋ/, and 2) *postploded nasals* /mʰ/, /nʰ/, /ɲʰ/, and /ŋʰ/. As with certain related languages in Sumatra and Borneo,⁴ the behavior of nasals is somewhat problematic, and therefore deserves a detailed discussion. The plain nasals will be described first.

2.2.1.2.1 Plain Nasals

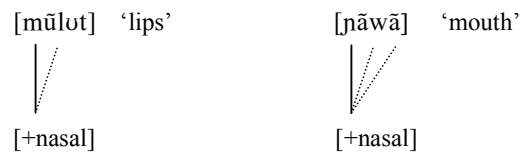
Plain nasals are ordinary nasals, whose nasality is capable of spreading to the following sounds with certain constraints. They can occupy all positions in words, except for /ɲ/ at final position. At syllable boundary they can only precede voiceless stops, not voiced stops. In a cluster nasal - stop, the nasal is always homorganic with the adjacent stop. In other words, the opposition between nasals is neutralized in such environment.

³ Once in extremely rapid speech, I heard /d/ occasionally pronounced as a flap [ɾ], as in /ti dabayʔ/ [terəbayʔ] ‘which is brought’.

⁴ See for example, McGinn (1982) on Rejang and Blust (1997) for Borneo languages.

/m/	[m]	voiced bilabial nasal	
		/malam/	[mãla ^p m] ~ [mãlam] ‘night’
		/mpu/	[mpu] ‘have’
		/amat/	[amãt ^ɿ] ‘true; very; although’
		/lam/	[la ^p m] ~ [lam] ‘morning’
/n/	[n]	voiced apico-alveolar nasal	
		/nama/	[nãmã] ‘name’
		/ntiʔ/	[ntɛʔ] ‘if’
		/anak/	[anãk ^ɿ] ‘child’
		/laban/	[laba ^h n] ~ [laban] ‘enemy’
/ɲ/	[ɲ]	voiced alveopalatal nasal	
		/ɲaw/	[ɲãw] ‘to die; already’;
			perfect marker
		/paɲay/	[paɲãy] ‘long’
/ŋ/	[ŋ]	voiced dorso-velar nasal	
		/ŋaw/	[ŋãw] ‘to use; for; with’
		/ŋkadah/	[ŋkadah] ‘to face (up)’
		/mualan/	[mũãla ^k ŋ] ~ [mũãlan] Mualang

Vowel nasalization. When the onset of a syllable is a plain nasal consonant, its nasality spreads progressively over the following vowels, irrespective of syllable boundaries, until blocked by consonants other than /w/, /y/, and /h/. Nasalization may indeed extend to the vowel(s) of a following word, even when the preceding word ends in a glottal stop /ʔ/.



Some examples:

/nəma/	[nẽmã]	‘because’
/mayuh/	[mãyõh]	‘many, much’
/bəŋawan/	[bəŋãwã ^h n] ~ [bəŋãwãn]	Bengawan

/nu? ia/	[nɔ? iã]	‘(it) belongs to him/her’
/pəN-jawuh ah/	[pəŋãwõh āh]	(NOM.far-ah) ‘the distance, for sure’

To some degree the quality of nasality varies idiolectally, i.e. some speakers produce stronger nasality than others. I have found cases with several Upstream speakers in which in words ending in /p, t, k/, the nasal spreading is so strong that its realization ends in a plain nasal while the stop is considerably reduced or even disappears, e.g.:

/gənap/	[gəŋãp ^ɿ] ~ [gəŋãm ^p] ~ [gəŋãm]	‘even, not less or more’
/mit/	[mĩt ^ɿ] ~ [mĩn ^t] ~ [mĩn]	‘small’
/nak/	[nāk ^ɿ] ~ [nãŋ ^k] ~ [nãŋ] ⁵	‘kid’ (vocative)

Consequently, a word final [N₁ŋN₂] (in which N₁ and N₂ are (identical) nasal consonants) may be the realization of /N₁V N₂/ or of /N V C/ (in which C is /p, t/, or /k/); but only in the latter case it alternates with the realizations [N ŋ C] and [N₁ŋ N₂ C].

Nasal Preplosion. Blust’s (1997) account on nasals and nasalization in Borneo languages has shed light on this subject.⁶ In this study his terms nasal pre- and postplosion will be adopted. Nasal preplosion in Mualang is not phonemic. It phonetically occurs in word-final closed syllables, including monosyllabic words.

The so-called final preploded nasals [p^m], [tⁿ], and [k^ŋ] occur optionally in the following environment:

$$[C V N] \rightarrow [C V N] \sim [C V {}^C N]$$

This rule states that a homorganic “short” voiceless stop is phonetically (i.e. not phonemically) inserted before the final nasal consonant in a closed final CVN-syllable (in which C is a non-nasal consonant). However, in order to facilitate the production of the final nasal, the inserted stop is usually not fully realized but considerably weakened (represented as a superscript C before the nasal consonant), preceded by a quick opening of the velum. In other words, before the point of articulation of the inserted voiceless stop is reached, a glottal stop may be heard. With some speakers this “transitional” glottal stop is more articulated than with others. The stop-insertion makes the corresponding syllable sound stronger. Nasal preplosion applies only before /m/, /n/, and /ŋ/ since they are the only ones that can appear syllable-finally. Some illustrative examples are:⁷

⁵ This latter realization is the only possible realization of /naŋ/ ‘don’t!’.

⁶ I also would like to thank Uri Tadmor for stimulating discussions on the languages of western Kalimantan, especially on the issue of nasality.

⁷ Unless other realizations are illuminating for the discussion at hand, I will only present one phonetic realization of such a final nasal consonant in the rest of this chapter.

/malam/	[mã.la ^p m] ~ [mã.lam]	‘night’
/kayin/	[ka.yí ^t n] ~ [ká.yin]	‘clothes’
/ujun/	[u.jo ^k ŋ] ~ [u.jon]	‘tip; end’

There is a strong phonetic correlation between the pressure of the air stream and the insertion of the homorganic stop. The stronger the initial air pressure, the more audible the insertion is:

/tuhan/	[tu.han] ~ [tu.ha ^t n] ~ [tu.hatn]	‘Lord’
	→ increasing air pressure	

Two factors need to be noted concerning the phonetic alternation [C V N] ~ [C V ^CN]. (Note that the present analysis of nasal preplosion is based on the Upstream speech variety.) First, it seems that the preplosion before the velar nasal is much clearer than the one before the bilabial and alveolar nasals. Secondly, there appears to be idiolectal variation: speakers who in their speech show influence from other languages, notably Malay/Indonesian, tend not to produce preplosion.⁸

(In the Downstream speech, nasal preplosion is only slightly noticeable before the velar nasal, whereas before bilabial and alveolar ones, it seems to be absent.⁹)

Preplosion also occurs in borrowings, e.g.:

[pəɣaturan] ~ [pəɣatura ^t n]	‘rules’ (from Indonesian <i>peraturan</i>)
[pəsətujuan] ~ [pəsətujuwa ^t n]	‘agreement’ (from Indonesian <i>persetujuan</i>)

Nasal preplosion does not occur if the onset of the final syllable is a plain nasal, i.e. in a /N V N/-syllable, e.g.:

/naŋ/	[nãŋ]	‘don’t!’
/amaŋ/	[amãŋ]	‘(I) think, maybe’
/ɲin/	[ɲĩn]	‘that over there’
/ŋaŋ/	[ŋãŋ]	sound of barking dog (onomatopoeia)

⁸ There may be some dialectal tendency between villages. However, this needs further investigation.

⁹ The situation in the Downstream speech also needs further study, as the present account on the Downstream speech is based on the analysis of a few speakers only, two of whom (from the villages of Semadu and Tapang Pulau) were in their sixties. I collected a few stories from them, and with one of them I had an interview and an elicitation session. It is interesting to note that the two older people (residing in the villages of Tapang Pulau of Belitang Hilir) with whom I made some recordings did not produce preploded nasals when telling stories, but one of them did produce them occasionally in a few chanted sayings. Pungak (1976a), a native speaker from the Downstream area, did not seem to notice the occurrence of this nasal preplosion in her analysis.

2.2.1.2.2 *Postploded Nasals*

Mualang displays so-called postploded nasals m^b, n^d, η^j, η^g in syllable-initial position. During the articulation, the nasal consonants are followed by a quick raising of the velum reaching the point of articulation of the homorganic stop. The stop is not fully realized, and at the same time is accompanied by a slight sub-glottal pressure. Postploded nasals are somewhat problematic in that in some cases it is hard to distinguish them from their plain nasal counterparts. This may create ambiguity or optionality in a number of lexical items. In some words, such as in the following, postplosion is clearly audible (a single quotation sign (‘) is used after the nasals to mark the postploded nasals; a dot (.) marks a syllable boundary):¹⁰

/tim’ak/	[ti.m ^b ak’]	‘to shoot’
/in’u?/	[i.n ^d ʊ’]	‘female, mother (of animals)’
/tup’uk/	[tu.ɲ ^j ʊk’]	‘finger, point finger, to point’
/tiŋ’i?/	[ti.ŋ ^g ɛ’]	‘tall, high’

Other helpful signs for identifying postploded nasals are the non-occurrence of nasal spreading and nasal preplosion (the asterisk (*) marks non-occurrence), e.g.:

/man’i?/	[ma.n ^d ɛ’] ~ *[ma.n ^d ɛ’]	‘take a bath’
/tin’uk/	[ti.n ^d ʊk’] ~ *[ti.n ^d ʊk’]	‘to sleep’
/tim’ak/	[ti.m ^b ak’] ~ *[ti.m ^b āk’]	‘shoot’
/kan’uŋ/	[ka.n ^d ʊk’]	‘female, mother (of animals)’
/aŋ’uŋ/	[a.ɲ ^j ʊk’]	‘finger, point finger, to point’
/piŋ’an/	[pi.ŋ ^g a’n]	‘tall, high’

As appears in the first three examples above, the following vowels do not undergo nasalization as one would expect for vowels that follow a plain nasal. Evidently the non-nasal segment, i.e. the postplosion, blocks the nasalization from occurring. It also triggers nasal preplosion, as in the last three examples above.

However, there are cases where it is hard to identify postploded nasals. This is especially the case when it is uncertain whether or not the vowel following the nasal consonant is subject to nasal spreading, while the nasal consonant seems to be articulated as plain. That may be the reason why older sources are sometimes at variance with my findings. Dunselman (1955) analyzes *ngaw* ‘to use, for, with’ and *ngay* ‘not want’, for example, with a postploded nasal, which is not corroborated by my data. For *meh*, Dunselman, and also Pungak (1976a), has a plain nasal with

¹⁰ Historically the post-ploded nasals derive from a nasal—voiced stop cluster, e.g. Proto Malayic **ambil* / *ambik* for *am’i?*, **mandi* for *man’i?*, **tupjuk* for *tup’uk* and **tinggi* for *tiŋ’i?*. (The asterisk here marks the proto form, taken from Adelaar 1992.) (Note that in the examples here and elsewhere the regular font type of the symbol ‘a’ appears as ‘a’ when being in italic).

somewhat “strange” mid front [e], written as è. In contrast to them, I have decided to have *m’ih* for ‘you (2s.masc)’, based on the following minimal contrast:¹¹

/kəmiħ/ [kə.mēħ] ‘urinate’ vs. /(kə) m’ih/ [(kə) m^bēħ] ‘(to) you (2s.masc)’

Contrast between plain and postploded nasals are not equally obvious for all native speakers. Pungak (1976a), for example, a native speaker of Downstream Mualang, concludes – only after having had a hard time considering the “contrasting” words – that there is a contrast between them. She also overlooks many words that should have a postploded nasal but are not marked as such. Similarly, Paternus (2001) uses a nasal—voiced stop in his orthography, but it only (inconsistently) appears in some words.¹² The majority of words are written with plain nasals. Finally, younger speakers only use plain nasals in writing.¹³ However, despite these problematic issues, postploded nasals clearly exist in the language as separate phonemes. They are not clusters of plain nasals and voiced stops, since such a cluster can be witnessed in the words /nday/ ‘no, not’ and /pandi/ ([pandē]) ‘Pandi (a person’s name)’, although I have found only two instances thus far. Thus, a monophonemic analysis of the postploded nasals is preferred, rather than positing an underlying cluster *nasal—voiced stop* that would undergo some regular phonological processes such as: 1) conflation of nasal and the stop, 2) resyllabification, in which the conflated nasal-stop becomes the syllable onset.

Current loan words that in the donor language contain a nasal—voiced stop cluster are adapted by collapsing the cluster into a preploded or plain nasal, which becomes the onset of the following syllable:

/im’iy/	[i.m ^b ēy] ~ [i.mēy]	‘bucket’ (cf. Indonesian <i>ember</i>)
/san’al/	[sa.n ^d al] ~ [sa.nal]	‘sandal’ (cf. Indonesian <i>sandal</i>)

2.2.1.3 Fricatives

/s/ [s] voiceless grooved alveolar fricative

/sampay/	[sampay]	‘to arrive; until’
/asu/	[asu]	‘to hunt’
/panus/	[panūs]	‘short’

¹¹ The high /i/ in *m’ih* is pronounced as an open mid [e]. This relatively low realization could be the effect of the pronunciation of the postploded /m’/, and this might be the reason why it sounded a bit “strange” and hence being marked by Dunselman with a grave accent.

¹² By listening to some speakers from the villages of Tapang Pulau and Semadu of the Belitang Hilir (Downstream region), it seems that the nasal postplosion in the Downstream speech is much “lighter” realized compared to that in the Upstream speech.

¹³ Specimens of their writing are fan letters sent to a radio program. I thank Kaben and Nico Bohot of the *Radio Dermaga Persada* in Sekadau for having kindly given me permission to use these letters.

/ɣ/	[ɣ]	voiced velar fricative	
/ɣəmpah/	[ɣəmpah]		‘side dish’
/daɣuŋ/	[daɣɔ ^k ŋ] ~ daɣɔŋ]		‘valley’
/sabay/	[sabay]		‘fence for trapping fish’

The phoneme /ɣ/ is articulated rather slightly more vibrant in intervocalic position.

/h/	[h]	voiceless glottal fricative	
/padah/	[padah]		‘to say, to tell’
/ɣuɣuh/	[ɣuɣɔh]		‘to fall’

Thus far /h/ is found to appear syllable-initially only in [hay], [ohay] ‘My!’ and [haja] ‘incredibly’.

2.2.1.4 Lateral

/l/	[l]	voiced apico-alveolar lateral	
/labuh/	[labɔh]		‘to fall’
/alam/	[ala ^p m] ~ [alam]		‘inside’
/bakal/	[bakal]		‘wound’

2.2.1.5 Approximants

/w/	[w]	voiced bilabial approximant	
/y/	[y]	voiced palatal approximant	
/wan/	[wan]		‘you’ (2s.hon)
/gaway/	[gaway]		‘feast’
/inaw/	[ināw]		‘to look for’
/kaya/	[kaya]		‘loud’
/naday/	[nāday]		‘no, not’

Approximant insertion. Approximants are optionally inserted between vowels at the syllable boundary. The [w] insertion occurs in the sequence /ua/, whereas [y] insertion occurs in /ia/ and /iu/.¹⁴

/dua/	[dua] ~ [duwa]	‘two’
/tuay/	[tuay] ~ [tuway]	‘old’
/piaʔ/	[piaʔ] ~ [piyaʔ]	‘like that’

¹⁴ Unless it is relevant for the discussion at hand to mention other realizations, only one phonetic realization of such vowel clusters will be given in the rest of this chapter.

/kəliaʔ/	[kəliaʔ] ~ [kəliyaʔ]	‘previous time’
/ɣiu/	[ɣiu] ~ [ɣiyu]	‘to long for’
/sium/	[sium] ~ [siyum] ~ [siyupm]	‘to kiss’

In the case of *ayi*, *awu* and *uwi*, the occurrence of approximants between the vowels is obligatory. Therefore, the approximants are considered full phonemes in that environment. Some examples are:

/bayik/	[bayɛkʰ]	‘good, beautiful’
/kayit/	[kayitʰ]	‘to hook’
/gawuk/	[gawɔk]	‘to long for’
/jawuh/	[jawɔh]	‘far’
/duwit/	[duwitʰ]	‘money’
/bəɣuwiʔ/	[bəɣuwɛʔ]	k.o. bird

In open syllable-final position, I have found only two instances in which the approximant is optionally dropped, especially in rapid speech:

/buwi/	[buwi] ~ [bui]	Buwi (name of person)
/uwi/	[uwi] ~ [ui]	‘rattan’ (the short form [wi] is also heard in rapid speech)

Approximant replacement. In word-initial position the high vowel /i/ is optionally realized as /y/ in the sequence *iu* and *ia*. Similarly /u/ may be realized as /w/ in the sequence *ua*.

/iu/	[iu] ~ [iyu] ~ [yu]	‘shark’
/ia/	[ia] ~ [iya] ~ [ya]	‘he, she’ (3s)
/uay/	[uay] ~ [uway] ~ [way]	‘My!’ (interjection)

2.2.2 Vowels

Mualang has four vowels: a high front unrounded vowel /i/, a high back rounded /u/, a mid central unrounded /ə/, and a low central unrounded /a/. High vowels are always lowered in certain positions. Idiolectal and dialectal differences with respect to the lowering will be addressed below.

Vowels are nasalized when preceded by a plain nasal consonant (see section 2.2.1.2.1 above). There is no phonemic contrast between oral and nasal vowels, however. High vowels are optionally realized as approximants (see “approximant replacement” in 2.2.1.5 above). In 2.2.2.2 a brief discussion is given to clarify the status of diphthongs.

A description of each individual (non-nasalized) vowel phoneme follows here:

/i/ is realized as follows:

[i]	close high front unrounded vowel
[ɪ]	open high front unrounded vowel
[e]	close mid front unrounded vowel
[ɛ]	open mid front unrounded vowel

/u/ is realized as follows:

[u]	close high back rounded vowel
[ʊ]	open high back rounded vowel
[o]	close mid back rounded vowel
[ɔ]	open mid back rounded vowel

The close high vowels [i] and [u] occur in open and closed non-final syllables, and in open final syllables, e.g.:

/iniʔ/	[inɛʔ]	'grandmother'
/bini/	[binɪ]	'wife'
/intu/	[intu]	'to take care of, to look after'
/kiayaʔ/	[kiayaʔ]	'banyan tree'
/ulun/	[ulʊ ^t n] ~ [ulʊn]	'slave'
/dua/	[dua] ~ [duwa]	'two'
/unsay/	[unsay]	'to sprinkle'

Vowel lowering. High vowels tend to become lowered in final closed syllables, including closed monosyllabic words. The phonetic alternations of high vowels therefore fall within the range of high to mid sounds. Phoneme /i/ is perceived as [i] ~ [ɪ] ~ [e] ~ [ɛ], and /u/ as [u] ~ [ʊ] ~ [o] ~ [ɔ]. The degree of lowering tends to be greater before the posterior consonants /k/, /h/, /ʔ/, /ŋ/, /ɣ/ and the approximant /y/ than before the anterior consonants /p/, /t/, /m/, /n/, /s/, /l/, e.g.:¹⁵

/m'ih/	[m ^b ɛh]	'you (2s.masc)'
/pən'ɪŋ/	[pən ^d ɛ ^k ŋ]	'ear; to eardrop'
/bayik/	[bayɛk]	'good; beautiful'
/pikiɣ/	[pikeɣ]	'to think'
/tikiʔ/	[tikeʔ]	'to climb, to descend'
/buk/	[bɔk]	'hair'
/labuh/	[labɔh]	'to fall'
/lamuɣ/	[lamɔɣ]	'sunset sky'
/tuʔ/	[tɔʔ]	'this'
/gusuŋ/	[gusɔ ^k ŋ]	'to follow, to meet'
/ukuy/	[ukoy]	'dog'
/uy/	[oy]	'hay!' (interjection)

¹⁵ In the remainder of this chapter only the more commonly heard realization will be given in the examples, unless other realizations are relevant for the discussion at hand.

/idup/	[idup]	‘to live, alive’
/cukup/	[cukup]	‘enough’
/mit/	[mĩt]	‘small’
/sawut/	[sawut]	‘to reply’
/musim/	[mũsɨm]	‘season’
/sium/	[siom]	‘to kiss’
/kin/	[kɨˈn]	‘thither (far)’
/səŋkit/	[səŋkɨt]	‘usual’
/jun/	[jũn]	‘that far away’
/amis/	[amĩs]	‘be finished’
/jəbul/	[jəbʊl]	‘bottle’
/panus/	[panũs]	‘short’
/kayil/	[kayɨl]	‘fish hook; to fish’
/gumpul/	[gumpʊl]	‘to gather; church service’

It should be kept in mind, however, that the degree of lowering is not absolute. Mid realizations of high vowels before anterior consonants have also been observed. Some examples are:¹⁶

/səŋkit/	[səŋket]	‘usual’
/idup/	[idop]	‘to live, alive’
/kin/	[ken] ~ [keˈn]	‘thither (far)’
/amis/	[amēs]	‘be finished’
/jəbul/	[jəbʊl]	‘bottle’
/gumpul/	[gumpʊl]	‘to gather; church service’

In final open syllables high vowels are optionally lowered to open high vowels or to mid vowels. Upstream speakers tend to have such lowered vowels more often, while it is also the case that an emotional overtone (e.g. anger or annoyance) can have its impact on the phenomenon. Some examples:

/bini/	[binĩ] ~ [binē]	‘wife’
/mati/	[mati] ~ [mate]	‘to die’
/kati/	[kati] ~ [kate]	‘how’
/tunu/	[tunũ] ~ [tunō]	‘to burn’
/jəlu/	[jəlu] ~ [jəlo]	‘animal’

¹⁶ Surrounding sounds may also have their influence on the degree of lowering. For instance, I noticed that the high front vowel in the closed final syllable of *sisigi* in *sisigi ia* (from *s-igi* – *s-igi ia* ‘ONE-CLASS RED that’) was pronounced with an open high instead of a mid sound: [sisigiʔ] since the following word *ia* begins with a high front.

/ə/ [ə] mid central unrounded vowel

/kəmi ^h /	[kə ^m ē ^h]	'urinate'
/təpayan/	[təpayə ¹ n] ~ [təpayan]	'jar'

The phoneme /ə/ never occurs in stressed or final syllables. Phonetically it is shorter compared to other vowels. Consequently, it is often subject to syncopation between particular consonants (see section 2.3). In the initial syllable of trisyllabic roots, [ə] may be in free variation with [a] (see also section 2.5.1). The latter phoneme may be found to occur in careful speech (e.g. when the word is emphasized) or in citation form. For a phonemic, and hence orthographic, representation, I have opted for a schwa for the following reasons:

- in natural speech schwa is the normal realization;
- in borrowed words the alternation does not occur, such as in [kayaŋan] ~ *[kəyaŋan] 'heaven';
- the two phonemes are not in free variation in disyllabic words. E.g. [kəyaʔ] ~ *[kəyaʔ] 'long-tailed macaque';
- due to a stress shift, a stressed /a/ may become unstressed, but it is not reduced to /ə/. E.g. [labóh] ~ *[ləbóh] 'fall'. Some examples of ə ~ a alternation in trisyllabic roots are:¹⁷

/pətataw/	[pətataw] ~ [patataw]	'riddle'
/gəyamaʔ/	[gəyamāʔ] ~ [gayamāʔ]	'crab'
/pətaya/	[pətaya] ~ [pataya]	'deity'

/a/ [a] low central unrounded vowel

/amuʔ/	[amōʔ]	'plan'
/alam/	[ala ^p m] ~ [alam]	'inside'
/diŋa/	[diŋā]	'hear'

[a] alternates with [ə] in some circumstances, see the above paragraph and section 2.5.1.

¹⁷ Quadrisyllabic roots with schwa are less attested in my corpus. However, in elicitation the following roots displayed an ə ~ a alternation in the initial and second syllable: /təbəlian/ [təbəlian] ~ [tabəlian] 'k.o. wood'; /kələmpətaŋ/ [kələmpətaŋ] ~ [kaləmpətaŋ] 'k.o. wood.'

In the rest of this chapter, there is only one phonetic realization of this alternation that will be provided for the examples given, unless mentioning of the other realization is relevant for the discussion at hand.

2.2.2.1 Vowel sequences

In section 2.2.1.5 vowel sequences have been addressed. In roots the vowel sequences *iu*, *ia*, and *ua* are attested, in which a specific approximant is optionally inserted. I have not posited sequences *ai*, *au*, and *ui*, because the approximant which occurs between the two vowels is obligatory.

At a morpheme boundary, a vowel sequence may undergo vowel deletion or insertion of a glottal stop (see section 2.5 for this).

2.2.2.2 Status of diphthongs

Mualang has three ambiguous word-final segment clusters that could in principle be interpreted as diphthongs. They are *ay*, *aw* and *uy*. Some examples are:

/naday/	[nāday]	‘no, not’
/isaw/	[isaw]	‘machete’
/ukuy/	[ukoy]	‘dog’

It has to be decided whether such segments constitute one single unit (a diphthong) or two units (a sequence of VV or VC). The VV-segmental structure interpretation can be eliminated since the second segment in the cluster is (phonetically) articulated as a glide, rather than as a high vowel. This leaves the other two possibilities: a diphthong or a VC interpretation. In this grammar I have opted for a VC interpretation rather than for a diphthong, based on the following considerations:

- a) The occurrence of such segments is restricted to word-final position. And, if we consider the overall syllable structure of the language, the CVC sequence is dominant, especially at word-final position. A random sample of 1500 words showed that 76% of the words ended in (C)VC, 15% in (C)V, and 9% in a vowel plus a glide. These figures favor a VC interpretation rather than a diphthong interpretation for *ay*, *aw* and *uy*.
- b) A qualitative argument is the fact that both segments are fully articulated. That is, monophthongization, a process frequently encountered with diphthongs, appears to be exceptional. Thus far I have only encountered two cases where *ay* optionally becomes [i, ɪ, e]: [tay] ~ [ti, tɪ, te] (relativizer) and [utay] ~ [utey, uti, utɪ, ute] ‘thing’. This is in line with the idea that Mualang predominantly displays fortition.¹⁸

¹⁸ Comparison with Ketungau Sesat, another Ibanic variety mainly spoken in the area of the old subdistrict of Sekadau, suggests that Mualang dominantly displays a fortition in final closed-syllables, as is the case with the nasal prelosion, whereas Ketungau Sesat regularly displays a lenition in final closed-syllables ending mostly with an obstruent. For instance, an offglide usually precedes /h/ or /ʔ/, e.g. [takuʔʔ] ‘afraid’ (cf. Indonesian and Mualang *takut*), [buŋkuʔh] ‘wrap’ (cf. Indonesian and Mualang *bungkus*). Compare also the centralization of a final *a* to *o*: [səmuo] ‘all’ (cf. Indonesian *səmuā*). Space restrictions preclude an exhaustive explanation of all relevant rules, but suffice it to say that the two phenomena are typical for

- c) The absence of diphthongs keeps the vowel inventory simple.

2.2.2.3 Curious clusters

A few words, ending in the segments [-awʔ] ~ [-auʔ] and [-ayʔ] ~ [-aiʔ] are analyzed phonemically as ending in /-awʔ/ and /-ayʔ/:

/awʔ/	[awʔ]	or	[auʔ]	‘yes’
/tawʔ/	[tawʔ]	or	[tauʔ]	‘to know (how); can’
/bawʔ/	[bawʔ]	or	[bauʔ]	‘a group of fish that comes out of the water’
/nitawʔ/	[nitawʔ]	or	[nitauʔ]	‘not know; can’t’
/kətauʔ/	[kətauʔ]	or	[kətauʔ]	‘to get caught; to become known unexpectedly’
/ayʔ/	[ayʔ]	or	[baiʔ]	‘water’
/bayʔ/	[bayʔ]	or	[baiʔ]	‘to bring’
/kəlayʔ/	[kəlayʔ]	or	[kəlaiʔ]	‘sign’
/jayʔ/	[jayʔ]	or	[jaiʔ]	‘bad’ (esp. in the Upstream speech)
/tayʔ/	[tayʔ]	or	[taiʔ]	‘excrement, feces’

This vowel-glide analysis, instead of a vowel cluster interpretation, is based on the following considerations:

- phonetically the sequences [aw] and [ay] before [ʔ] sound similar to final [aw] and [ay] without a following glottal stop, such as in /kətauʔ/ ‘to harvest’, /bədawʔ/ ‘not yet’, and /jalayʔ/ ‘road’;
- the duration of words like /awʔ/, /bayʔ/, and /tawʔ/, differs less from the duration of a regular CVC syllable than from a bisyllabic sequence CVVC;
- Analysis of [awʔ] ~ [auʔ] and [ayʔ] ~ [aiʔ] as /auʔ/, /aiʔ/ would be at variance with the finding that a high vowel before a posterior consonant is lowered, and that there are no (other) sequences /a/ and a high vowel without an intervening glide.

Words having such final segment clusters are really few. Thus far I have only counted ten such words in my corpus of more than 2000 words and in Pungak’s (1976b) wordlist which comprises approximately 3000 entries.¹⁹

The final segment cluster /-uyʔ/ has not been found. However, the form [bəyʊwɛʔ] (/bəyʊwiʔ/) ‘k.o. bird’ exists.

these two Ibanic varieties, and that they determine the shape of the syllable structures. This preliminary analysis of Ketungau Sesat is based on field notes taken during several trips into the old Sekadau area during the years 2001-2002. The above quoted data were obtained from an informant from the village of Natai Ucong.

¹⁹ I also searched Dunselman’s texts that contain some 3000 verses (Dunselman 1955).

2.3 Syllable and root structure

The basic syllable structure in Mualang is (C)(C)V(C)(C). This structure is realized in normal speech or citation, but it may be changed in allegro speech. In what follows, unless stated otherwise, the description is based on normal speech, which I consider as the basic form.

The only complex word-final CC cluster that exists in the language consists of an approximant w or y followed by a glottal stop such as in *bay?* ‘bring’, *taw?* ‘know, can, may’ (cf. section 2.2.2.3. above). The complex word initial cluster CC, however, may be a plain nasal followed by a homorganic voiceless stop mp, nt, ꞑc, ꞑk or a plain nasal n followed by a fricative ns. Therefore, below I will use the frame (N)(C₁)V(C₂) as a basic syllable structure, where N represents a nasal consonant, C₁ a non-nasal consonant if preceded by a nasal, or otherwise – like C₂ – any consonant. The nasal – voiceless obstruent appears in word-initial and –medial position, e.g.:

mpat	‘four’
nti?	‘if’
ꞑcik	‘tiny’
ꞑkadah	‘to face up’
nsana	‘the day before yesterday’
ampiꞑ	‘almost’
antu	‘supernatural being, ghost’
paꞑci	‘beautiful’
ꞑaꞑkay	‘dry’
pansa?	‘pass’

In the last five examples above, the nasal consonant in word-medial position is the coda of the first syllable and the homorganic obstruent the onset of the next one.²⁰

The (C)V(C) pattern can appear word-initially, -medially and -finally, with restrictions on the following phonemes: 1) schwa never appears as a nucleus of the final syllable; 2) the glottal stop only appears in final position phonemically; 3) /h/ mostly appears in final position, except for a very few cases where it is found word-initially; 4) voiced stops never occur syllable-finally; 5) /n/ never appears syllable-finally; 6) postploded nasals only occur syllable-initially.

Possible combinations of syllable arrangements in roots are as follows (syllable boundaries are indicated in the examples; the spelling of examples is phonemic):

Monosyllabic roots:

CV	ni	‘which?’
VC	uy	‘hey!’
CVC	buk	‘hair’
NCV	mpu	‘have’

²⁰ There is no heterorganic cluster across syllable boundaries, thus e.g. *bunsu* ‘youngest born’, not **bugsu*, as in Malay.

NCVC	ntiʔ	‘if’
VCC	awʔ	‘yes’
CVCC	bayʔ	‘to bring’

Disyllabic roots:

V.V	ia	‘he, she’ (3s)
V.CV	apa	‘what?’
V.VC	iaʔ	‘that’
V.CVC	anak	‘child’
VN.CV	antu	‘supernatural being, ghost’
VN.CVC	ampiʔ	‘almost’
CV.V	dua	‘two’
CV.VC	miak	‘child’
CV.CV	pagi	‘tomorrow’
CV.CVC	pajak	‘to put in’
CV.CVCC	kəlayʔ	‘sign’
NCV.V	ntua	‘parents in law’
NCV.VC	mpias	‘sprinkle of driven rain or water’
NCV.CV	nsana	‘the day before yesterday’
NCV.CVC	mpuluy	‘inner part of tree’
CVN.CV	bansa	‘tribe’
CVC.CV	pəsta	‘party, feast’
CVN.CVC	biŋkuŋ	‘coconut scraper’
CVC.CVC	bəʔsih	‘clean’

Trisyllabic roots:

CV.V.CV	kuali	‘cooking pan’
CV.V.CVC	kiaʔaʔ	‘banyan tree’
CV.CV.V	kəmuə	2d.excl.
CV.CV.VC	bəʔuaŋ	‘bear’
CV.CV.CV	səgala	‘all kinds’
CV.CV.CVC	gəʔamaʔ	‘crab’
CV.CVN.CV	səmənta	‘randomly’
CV.CVN.CVC	kəlampuʔ	k.o. tree
CVN.CV.V	mənsia	‘human’
CVC.CV.CV	gəʔgasi	‘name of a ghost’
CVN.CV.CVC	səŋkukuy	Sengkukur (name of person)
NCV.CV.CVC	mpəʔəcit	‘to squirt’

Quadrisyllabic roots:

CV.CV.CV.VC	pəʔəkuan	‘wrist’
CV.CV.CV.VC	kələmpətan	‘backside of knee’
CV.CVC.CV.VC	kələnsuaŋ	‘to starve’
CV.CVC.CV.CVC	kələmpəpat	‘firefly’

The majority of Mualang roots are disyllabic, but mono- and trisyllabic roots are also quite common. Quadrisyllabic roots, however, are scarce.²¹ The CV and CVC types are by far the most frequent syllable types.

/ə/-syncope. Other types of consonant clusters in roots can also be derived via the process of ə-syncope. As a consequence, resyllabification occurs, as shown below:

(N) C₁ ə C₂ V (C₃) → (N) C₁ C₂ V (C₃)

This pattern shows that a schwa may be deleted when being in between consonants in which C₁ is less sonorous than C₂, except when C₁ is a fricative *s*. This is in line with the so-called sonority hierarchy (e.g. Hooper 1976) in the syllable structure. Hooper proposes a scale of sonority from vowels as the most sonorous, followed by glides, liquids, nasals, continuants and finally plosives as the least sonorous. A complete list of possible derived clusters is as follows (the spelling of examples is phonemic):

pn'	pn'ɪŋ	'ear'
mpl	mpliaw	'(tail-less) gibbon'
py	pyaw	'proa'
tl	tlap'an	'nude'
ty	tyay	'to try'
cl	clap	'cold'
cɣ	cɣita	'story'
kb	kban	'kind'
km	kmih	'to urinate'
kn	kniŋ	'eyebrow'
ks	ksay	'very dry'
kɣ	kɣan	'to like, often'
kl	klat	'taste of astringent'
ŋkɣ	ŋkɣaŋan	'sand'
bn	bnih	'seed'
bs	bsay	'big'
bɣ	bɣam	'sweet traditional alcohol made of sticky rice'
bl	blutuk	k.o. <i>rambutan</i> fruit
dɣ	dɣas	'fast'
jɣ	jɣami?	'former field that has been harvested and left to grow'
jl	jlu	'animal'

²¹ There are only four quadrisyllabic roots in a corpus of 1500 (relatively commonly found) words taken from elicited stories and sentences. It seems that the quadrisyllabic roots historically comprise a frozen prefix with a trisyllabic root or a frozen combination of two disyllabic roots. Pungak (1976a:55ff) provides three more types of CV structure, to wit: CV.CV.CV.CVC, e.g. *kə.lə.kə.nat* 'tadpole', CV.CVC.CV.VC, e.g. *kə.lən.su.an* 'the burnt part of a field prepared for planting', CV.VC.CV.CVC, e.g. *ku.aŋ.ka.kuk* 'k.o. bird'. Several other CV types that she presents seem to be derivations historically.

gy	gyiŋ-gyiŋ	‘feeling of becoming feverish’
gl	glamay	k.o. delicacy made from sticky rice
mn	mnua	‘country’
my	mɣay	Meraï
ml	mlay	k.o. grass
nl	nlay	k.o. tree
ɲl	ɲliʔ	‘corn’
ŋl	ŋlay	Ngelai (name of village)
sp	spawuk	Sepauk (name of river/kecamatan (subdistrict))
st	stəgal	‘a while’
sc	scaya	‘by (manner)’
sk	kəska	Keseka (name of person)
sb	sbut	‘to mention’
sd	sdua	‘you/they two’ (2d or 3d)
sg	sgay	‘full, satisfied (of food)’
sm	smayu	‘first’
sn	snikuʔ	‘you/they two’ (2d or 3d)
sɲ	sɲulan	‘a span measured from tip of thumb to tip of point finger’
sŋ	sŋabut	‘continuously’
sɣ	sɣuaʔ	k.o. fish trap
sl	slabuk	‘to hide’

Some clusters occur frequently due to the fact that they are easy to pronounce. In these clusters, syncopation occurs relatively independent of speech tempo, while also some of the clusters seem to be considered as genuine consonant clusters by native speakers rather than reduced syllables. Examples of these are *mpliaw* ‘(tail-less) gibbon’, *pyaw* ‘proa’. A few such clusters occur at syllable boundary, initiated by the fricatives /s/ and /ɣ/, e.g.: /pəsta/ ‘feast’, /bəɣsih/ ‘clean’, /bəɣkat/ ‘blessing’, /təɣbay/ ‘to fly’, /kəɣja/ ‘to work’, /gəɣgasi/ ‘name of a ghost’. As the examples *mpliaw* and *ŋkragan* show, even sequences of three consonants occur when a root already contains a sequence nasal—voiceless stop, hence NC₁C₂V₂; another example is /mplawak/ ‘spider’. In such cases the nasal either becomes syllabic or is less manifested.

Two consecutive syllables with the onset /s/ or /c/ are a sign of influence from Malay/Indonesian, e.g.: /cucuk/ ‘suitable, match’, /səsət/ ‘to get lost’. Phonotactically such consonants have originally undergone dissimilation, as is witnessed by the speech of the older generations, in which the corresponding alveolar stop fills the first C’s slot, e.g.: /tucuk/, /təsət/, /dɒn’i/ ‘promise’ (< **janji*).

2.4 Stress

Mualang shows variation in stress, that is, relative prominence in duration and pitch with concomitant changes in vowel timbre. It is either the ultimate or penultimate syllable that receives the primary stress; the penultimate syllable cannot be stressed if the nucleus of the syllable is /ə/. The variation is due to the non-phonemic nature

of stress and the “overriding” of intonational patterns.²² Mualang stress is assigned depending on syntactic context, i.e. in isolated words (“word stress”), or on context (“stress beyond the word”). The word stress is assumed as the default, basic one, because it is normally found in citation. If words occur in context, intonational patterns can override this default stress. Ultimate stress is typical of words that are pragmatically focused in the clause. A concomitant phenomenon with ultimate stress is that nasal prelosion sounds stronger. For example, the word /tuhan/ ‘Lord’ in (2-4) below was uttered with ultimate stress, with a strong nasal prelosion [tuháʔn] in order to contrast it with /buʔuŋ tǝmpaʔ/ ‘the Forging Bird’:

- (2-4) *jadi, kisah uyaŋ tuay N-padah mənua tuʔ*
 So story person old ACT-say world this
- da-tǝmpaʔ buʔuŋ tǝmpaʔ. ntiʔ masa tuʔ mah,*
 PASS-forge Bird Forge if time this mah
- tuhan tay N-pulah dunia.*
 Lord REL ACT-make world
 ‘Thus, the story of the older people says that this world was forged by the Forging Bird. (But) now (we know), it was GOD who made the world.’

However, in other contexts, the same word /**tuhan**/ was also found with a penultimate stress, as in (2-5) below in which it is pronounced as [túhan]. The utterance is a neutral statement that God knows how things we do not know, without making any contrast with some other entity.

- (2-5) *tuhan ɣa-tawʔ, tuhan ɣa-tawʔ.*
 Lord ACT-know Lord ACT-know
 ‘God knows, God knows.’

Different intonational patterns conveying different overtones (e.g. emotion, expectation, etc.) also trigger shift of word stress. For instance, an ultimate stress on [nadáy] ‘no, not’ is likely to occur in a neutral situation, whereas penultimate stress expresses the speaker’s strong rejection.

Especially in quadrisyllabic words, the main stress is clearly penultimate with a secondary stress on the initial syllable. Primary stress and secondary stress differ in intensity. In the following examples of default stress patterns (ˈ) marks secondary stress and (ˑ) primary stress:

tǝmpaˑʔ	‘to forge’
uˑma	‘dry rice field’
kǝmˑuˑa	2d.excl.
pǝtataw	‘riddle’

²² Recent experimental studies on (word) stress and (sentence) accent have shown a similar variation in the case of Malay/Indonesian (see Odé and Van Heuven 1994).

suáyak	‘divorce’
tə̀bəlían	‘ironwood’
kuaŋkákuk	sound made by a particular bird (onomatopoeia)

2.5 Morphophonemics

This section will discuss morphophonemic processes that occur in prefixation and cliticization. Mualang has prefixes, but no suffixes. Nominal prefixes are *pə(N)-*, *pəy-*, *kə-*, *sə-*, and verbal prefixes are *N-*, *da-*, *ba-*, *pə-*, *tə-* and *kə-*.²³ Fusion with a following noun can occur with the prepositions *da* ‘LOC’ and *ka* ‘to’.²⁴ In the following subsections morphophonemic processes pertaining to those prefixes and prepositions will be described: Alternation of vowel segments in prefixes and prepositions (2.5.1), Vowel deletion in prefixes (2.5.2), Glottal stop insertion (2.5.3), Nasal assimilation (2.5.4), Alternate forms of individual prefixes (2.5.5), and finally, Fusion of the prepositions *da* and *ka* with a following noun (2.5.6).

2.5.1 Alternation of vowel segments in prefixes and prepositions

Alternations *a ~ ə* and *ə ~ a* occur in the pronunciation of prefixes and prepositions. The following prefixes and prepositions are phonemically represented as containing a phoneme /a/: *da-*, *ba-*, *da*, and *ka*. In these prefixes and prepositions /a/ can be realized either as [a] or [ə] in normal tempo; however, in case of careful speech (e.g. when the speaker emphasizes the word) [a] tends to occur, whereas in case of allegro speech, [ə] is regularly found. Some examples of such a phonetic alternation are:²⁵

/da- + kayit/	[dakayit] ~ [dəkayit]	(PASS-hook) ‘to be hooked’
/ba- + uma/	[baʔumã] ~ [bəʔumã]	(ANPAS-rice.field) ‘work in the rice field’
/da uma/	[da umã] ~ [də umã]	(LOC rice.field) ‘in the rice field’
/ka ku/	[ka ku] ~ [kə ku]	(to 1s) ‘to me’

The following prefixes are best considered to be phonemically represented with a schwa: *pə(N)-*, *pəy-*, *kə-*, *sə-*, *pə*, *tə-*, *ŋə-* (one realization of the nasal prefix *N-*) and *kə-*. In these prefixes schwa is the common realization in normal speech. The realization of [a] has been occasionally found in careful speech (for instance in citation form or when the word was otherwise emphasized). Some examples of *ə ~ a* alternation are:

²³ A description of these prefixes is given in Chapters 4 and 7.

²⁴ See Chapter 5 for a description of the prepositions.

²⁵ In the rest of this chapter, there will be only one phonetic realization of prefixes provided for the examples given, unless alternative realizations are relevant for the discussion at hand.

/pəN- + pakay/	[pəməkay] ~ [pamākay] (NOM-eat) ‘food’
/sə- + sənti/	[/səsənti] ~ [sasənti] (ONE-centimeter) ‘a centimeter’
/tə- + tin’uk/	[tətin ^d uk] ~ [tatin ^d uk] (MID-sleep) ‘fall a sleep’
/ŋə- + tawʔ/	[ŋə-tawʔ] ~ [ŋātawʔ] (ACT-know) ‘know’

The phenomenon of alternating realizations of the vowel in the prefixes and prepositions described in this paragraph can also be seen in trisyllabic lexical roots: in these roots too the opposition between the central vowels [ə] and [a] appears to be neutralized in the antepenult with [ə] as the most common realization in normal speech (see section 2.2.2).

The alternation between the two central vowels in prefixes and prepositions as [a] ~ [ə] or [ə] ~ [a] reflects the relative transparency of the construction in question: the more lexicalized the construction, the more common the realization [ə]. Prepositional phrases and productive patterns of prefixation on the other hand tend to be pronounced with [a] in normal speech.

2.5.2 Vowel deletion

Especially in less careful speech, prefixes with a CV shape can undergo vowel deletion before base forms beginning with a vowel, thus:

V → ∅	/C__ + V	/da- + am’iʔ/	[dam ^b εʔ]	(PASS-take) ‘be taken’
		/pə- + uma/	[pumā]	(CAUS-rice.field) ‘cultivate (land) as a rice field’
		/ba- + inum/	[binōm]	(ANPAS-drink) ‘have a drink’
		/sə- + aʔi/	[saʔi]	(ONE-day) ‘a day’

In careful speech glottal stop insertion may take place instead of vowel deletion (see section 2.5.3 below).

Vowel deletion seems to be obligatory with the prefix *sə-* when it is combined with classifiers (see Chapter 4) beginning with a vowel, e.g.:

/s- + utiʔ/	[suteʔ]	(ONE-CLASS) ‘a/one long-shaped entity’
/s- + igiʔ/	[sigeʔ]	(ONE-CLASS) ‘a/one round-shaped entity’
/s- + ikuʔ/	[sikəʔ]	(ONE-CLASS) ‘a/one animate entity’

If the vowel is preserved, leaving a vowel sequence, a non-phonemic glottal stop has to be inserted. Thus, a (phonetic) glottal insertion rule is required if there is a

sequence of vowels across a morpheme boundary (see following section on glottal stop insertion).²⁶

Before bases beginning with a consonant, vowel deletion can also occur if the resultant cluster fulfills the structural condition described in section 2.2.3 above about *a*-syncope (or *a*-syncope): This is often the case in rapid or less careful speech, e.g.:

$V \rightarrow \emptyset$	/C__ + C	/ba- + ʎan'aw/	[bʎan ^d aw]	(ANPAS-visit) 'have a visit, play around'
		/pəʎ- + ati/	[pʎati]	(CAUSE-heart) 'to pay attention to'
		/ŋə- + lalin/	[ŋlalin]	(ACT-plait) 'plait'
		/sə- + bilik/	[sbilek]	(ONE-room) 'one room'

2.5.3 Glottal stop insertion

A non-phonemic glottal stop may be inserted in between a CV-prefix and the base if the base begins with a vowel. This usually occurs in careful speech, or if the word is being focused and the vowel part of the prefix is fully pronounced:

$\emptyset \rightarrow ?$	/CV__ + V	/ba- + uma/	[bəʔumā]	(ANPAS-rice.field) 'work in the rice field'
		/da- + am'iʔ/	[dəʔam ^b εʔ]	(PASS-take) 'be taken'
		/da- + intu/	[dəʔintu]	(PASS-take.care) 'be taken care of'

In less careful speech vowel deletion takes place instead of glottal stop insertion (see 2.5.2 above).

2.5.4 Nasal assimilation in *N*-prefixation

Since both the nominalizer *pə(N)*- and the active prefix *N*- contain a nasal segment that undergoes largely the same processes of nasal assimilation when attached to their host, I will analyze them together. The nasal segment (symbolized *N*) of the prefixes is underspecified for the place of articulation. Its actual manifestations, *m*, *n*, *ɲ*, *ŋ* and *ŋə*, come through assimilation with the initial segment of the base form, i.e. the form of the host to which the prefix is attached. A post-assimilation obstruent deletion takes place if the base form begins with a stop or fricative, except for the palatal /c/, irrespective of voicing.²⁷ The complete list of changes is as follows:

²⁶ In other positions an approximant is optionally inserted (see the "approximant insertion" in 2.2.1.5).

²⁷ One anomalous form shows no post-assimilation obstruent deletion, namely: *m-bela* 'ACT-defense'. This is clearly a case of Indonesian influence, in which the base *bela* (with the non-native *e*) is still considered a foreign word.

a) *Homorganic nasal assimilation and obstruent deletion followed by vowel nasalization*

Considering the case of the voiceless palatal /c/ that is not deleted after the assimilation has taken place, it can be argued that there are three separate processes occurring in the nasal assimilation, which may be formulated as follows:

- 1) homorganic nasal assimilation.²⁸ This by itself excludes all sonorants, since they are the sounds that phonotactically cannot form a cluster with a nasal;
- 2) obstruents deletion, with the exception of /c/;
- 3) vowel nasalization.

N → n/___	{ t d }	/N- + tunu/	→	/nunu/	[nũnũ]	‘burn’
		/N- + diŋa/	→	/niŋa/	[nĩŋã]	‘hear’
		/pə(N)- + tin’uk/	→	/pənin’uk/	[pənin ^d ɔk]	‘bed’
		/pə(N)- + duduk/	→	/pənuduk/	[pənũdɔk]	‘sitting place’
N → m/___	{ p b }	/N- + pasaw/	→	/masaw/	[māsaw]	‘set up’
		/N- + bunuh/	→	/munuh/	[mũnɔh]	‘kill’
		/pə(N)- + pakay/	→	/pəmakay/	[pəməkay]	‘food’
		/pə(N)- + bəsay/	→	/pəməsay/	[pəməsɔy]	‘size’
N → ŋ/___	{ j s }	/N- + juaʔ/	→	/ŋuaʔ/	[ŋũãʔ]	‘give’
		/N- + sabak/	→	/ŋabak/	[ŋãbak ^ɿ]	‘cry’
		/pə(N)- + jawuh/	→	/pəŋawuh/	[pəŋãwɔh]	‘distance’
		/pə(N)- + sakit/	→	/pəŋakit/	[pəŋãkɪt]	‘sickness’
N → ŋ/___	{ k g }	/N- + kampuɣ/	→	/ŋampuɣ/	[ŋãmpɔɣ]	‘chat’
		/N- + gusuŋ/	→	/ŋusuŋ/	[ŋũsɔ ^k ŋ]	‘chase’
		/pə(N)- + kawut/	→	/pəŋawut/	[pəŋãwɔt]	‘scoop’
		/pə(N)- + gaga/	→	/pəŋaga/	[pəŋãga]	‘gladness’

b) *Homorganic nasal assimilation without /c/-deletion*

N → ŋ/___ c	/N- + cuɣi/	→	/ŋcuɣi/	[ŋcuɣi]	‘steal’
	/pə(N)- + cuɣi/	→	/pəŋcuɣi/	[pəŋcuɣi]	‘thief’

c) *Before a vowel N is realized as a velar [ŋ]:*

N → ŋ/___ V	/N- + iliʔ/	→	/ŋiliʔ/	[ŋĩleʔ]	‘go downstream’
	/N- + ukuɣ/	→	/ŋukuɣ/	[ŋũkɔɣ]	‘measure’
	/N- + apa/	→	/ŋapa/	[ŋãpa]	‘why?’

²⁸ The term for this process following Katamba (1989:90).

/pə(N)- + ipaʔ/	→	/pəŋipaʔ/	[pəŋĩpaʔ]	‘place of peeking’
/pə(N)- + umpan/	→	/pəŋumpan/	[pəŋũmpa¹n]	‘food’

d) *Before a nasal consonant, ʏ, and l the realization of N in the prefixation with N- prefix differs from that with pə(N)- prefix.*

Before all these phonemes, *N* in the prefix *N-* is realized as [ŋə], whereas in the prefix *pə(N)-* it is realized as [ŋə̃] only before nasal consonants. Before /ʏ/ and /l/, *pə(N)-* occurs without a nasal assimilation; thus its variant *pə-* takes place.

N→ŋə/___	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} N \\ ʏ \\ l \end{array} \right\}$	/N- + maʔ/	→	/ŋəmaʔ/	[ŋə̃māʔ]	‘carry on the back’
		/N- + ŋaʔ/	→	/ŋəŋaʔ/	[ŋə̃ŋāʔ]	‘let go’
		/N- + lalin/	→	/ŋəlalin/	[ŋə̃lali¹n]	‘weave’
		/N- + yawut/	→	/ŋəyawut/	[ŋə̃yawut¹]	‘to scrape (with a knife)’
		/pə(N)- + maʔ/	→	/pəŋəmaʔ/	[pəŋə̃māʔ]	‘backpack’
		/pə- + luah/	→	/pəluah/	[pəluah]	‘size’
		/pə- + ʏayɿ/	→	/pəʏayɿ/	[pəʏayɿ]	‘(the) run’

However, there are some exceptions to the above rules. With a very few words, prefixation with *N-* and *pə(N)-* shows unexpected results:

- 1) the allomorph *ŋə* occurs with monosyllabic roots, e.g. with *tan* ‘to hold’, *ʏut* ‘to forbid’.
- 2) the regular nasal assimilation is absent in *pə(N)-* prefixation with several roots; the following are attested in my corpus: *pə-jalay* (not **pə-nalay*) ‘walk, trip’, *pə-guyaw* (not **pə-ŋuyaw*) ‘joke, tease’.

2.5.4.1 Nasal assimilation in partial reduplication

Partial reduplication with nasal assimilation only applies to nominal derivation with the prefix *pə(N)-* (see section 4.3.2 in Chapter 4). When the derived noun is reduplicated partially, it is only the base which gets reduplicated, but the effect of nasalization is copied in the reduplicated base, e.g.:

/pə(N)- + bəsay/ + RED	→	/pəməsay-məsay/	‘very big size’
/pə(N)- + paŋay/+ RED	→	/pəmaŋay-maŋay/	‘very great length’
/pə(N)- + tiŋ¹iʔ/ + RED	→	/pəniŋ¹iʔ-niŋ¹iʔ/	‘very great height’
/pə(N)- + jawuh/ + RED	→	/pənaɰuh-naɰuh/	‘very great distance’

2.5.4.2 Problem of *ŋəN-* form

The following irregular words are attested in my corpus. They display “anomalies” in prefixation with *pə(N)-* and *N-*, in which the variant *ŋə* of the morphophoneme *N*

appears before the initial consonant of the base which has changed into a homorganic nasal with some roots; the corresponding passive or inverse voice forms with some of those roots have an initial formative *kə* and/or *kəN*.

<u>Roots</u>	<u>N-prefixation</u>	<u>Forms occurring with <i>da-</i> passive / inverse voice</u>
<i>bay?</i> ‘to bring’	<i>ηə-may?</i>	<i>da-bay?</i> / <i>bay?</i> (not * <i>kə-bay?</i>)
<i>jat</i> ‘bad’	<i>pəηə-ŋat</i> ‘badness’	
<i>buah</i> ‘fruit’	<i>ηə-muah</i> ‘look for/collect fruit’	No form * <i>kəbuah</i>
<i>jabaw</i> ‘bamboo shoots’	<i>ηə-ŋabaw</i> ‘collect bamboo shoots’	No form * <i>kəjabaw</i>
<i>bula?</i> ‘to cheat s.o.’	<i>ηə-mula?</i>	<i>da-kə-bula?</i> / <i>kə-mula?</i>
<i>jadi</i> ‘to become’	<i>ηə-ŋadi</i> ‘make to become s.t.’	<i>da-kə-ŋadi</i> (<i>da-kə-jadi</i> (?))
<i>duduk</i> ‘to sit’	<i>ηə-nuduk</i> ‘make s.o. sit’	(?)
<i>bəsay</i> ‘big’	<i>ηə-məsay</i> ‘make bigger’	<i>bəsay</i> , <i>kə-bəsay</i> , <i>kə-məsay</i>
cf. <i>panus</i> ‘short’	<i>manus</i> ‘make s.t. shorter’	<i>panus</i>
<i>tiŋ’i?</i> ‘tall, high’	<i>ηə-niŋ’i?</i> or <i>nŋ’i?</i> ‘make higher’	<i>tiŋ’i?</i> (not * <i>kə-tiŋ’i?</i>)

Compare also the following forms:

<i>taw?</i> ‘to know’	<i>ηə-taw?</i> (not * <i>ηənaw?</i>) ‘know s.t.’	<i>da-kə-taw?</i> (not * <i>da-taw?</i>) cf. <i>kə-taw?</i> (INCH-know) ‘get caught’
<i>labuh</i> ‘to fall’	<i>ηə-labuh</i> ‘make s.t. fall’	<i>da-labuh</i> , <i>da-kə-labuh</i>

The existence of the form *kə-* in the passive or inverse voice forms may have arisen by analogy. Presumably (some) native speakers perceive *ηə-* in active forms as being derived through nasal assimilation of an initial *kə* of the base. This is corroborated by the inconsistent answers different informants gave me as to whether the passive or inverse forms contain *kə* or not. However, over time some forms seem to have frozen lexically so that the *kə* part may not be any longer considered a kind of prefix. This includes cases such as *kətaw?* ‘to know s.t.’ (cf. *kə-taw?* (with the inchoative prefix *kə-*, see Chapter 7) means ‘to get caught, to become known unexpectedly’), *kəbula?*/*kəmula?* ‘to cheat s.o.’ (with nasalization of the initial consonant of the base).²⁹

²⁹ We can see a similar case in some other seemingly frozen forms with other prefixes, e.g.: *banucu?* (*ba-n-ucu?* = ANPAS-N-grandchild) ‘have a grandparent-grandchild family relationship’; *kəminay* (*kə-N-pinay* = NOM-N-betel nut) ‘ingredients (betel nut, betel and lime (from shell)) for chewing’; *kəmansay* (*kə-N-pansay* = NOM-N-scoop) ‘rattan fish scoop’.

2.5.5 Alternate forms of prefixes and prepositions

In the previous subsections I have dealt with morphophonemic phenomena that generally apply to some or all prefixes or prepositions. In this subsection I will discuss remaining morphophonemic phenomena pertaining to some of the prefixes. Unless otherwise indicated the variants discussed are those which occur in normal speech.

2.5.5.1 Antipassive *ba-*

The use of prefix *ba-* will be discussed in 7.2.7 of Chapter 7. It has two alternate forms: *bal-* and *bay-*. Their occurrence is merely lexically conditioned and not productive. The form *ba-* is productively used. *bal-* has thus far been found to appear only in a single case with the base *ajay* ‘to teach’: *bal-ajay* ‘learn’. *bay-* appears with a few words, which all begin with the vowel /a/, e.g.: *bay-asal* ‘originate’, *bay-anak* ‘have child; give birth to’, *bay-ayun* ‘swing (e.g. in a swing)’.

2.5.5.2 Passive *da-*

The use of prefix *da-* will be discussed in 7.2.4 of Chapter 7. As indicated above the realization with schwa of this prefix only occurs in rapid speech. The prefix has another alternate form: *di-*, which occurs in normal and rapid speech. There is no morphophonemic condition that motivates the occurrence of these forms. One possibility is that the *di-* form is a borrowing from Malay/Indonesian.³⁰

2.5.5.3 Middle *tə-*

The use of *tə-* will be described in 7.2.8 in Chapter 7. It has the alternate form *təy-* that appears only with very few roots. The form *təy-* is not productive and is lexically determined. Thus far I have only found two cases: *təy-apuŋ* (but *tə-apuŋ* was also heard) ‘get floated’, and *təy-(ə)-gali?* (with an optional epenthesis [ə]) ‘get laid down’.

2.5.5.3 Causative *pə-*

The use of causative *pə-* will be discussed in 7.1.3.1 of Chapter 7. Its alternate forms are *pəy-* and *pəl-*. These variants occur only rarely in my corpus. From the existing data, including those available in Pungak (1976a:78-79), one may conclude that the

An analogy to such alternation is available in Indonesian words such as *mengemukakan* ‘to put forward’, (which could be derived from the base *muka* ‘face, front’, the preposition phrase *ke muka* ‘to front’, or the complex derived verb *kemuka* ‘to go forward’) or *mengesampingkan* ~ *mengenyampingkan* ~ *menyampingkan* (*meN-(ke)-samping* ‘ACT-to-side’) ‘to put aside’; cf. also: *cek* (**kecek*) ‘to check’ → *mencek* ~ *mengecek*.

³⁰ A weakening of the vowel /a/ to [ə] is also heard in some other (marginal) words, such as in *mah* → [məh] ‘illocutionary particle’, *udah* → [udəh] ‘already’.

form *pə-* is probably more productive compared to the other two forms and can appear with roots beginning with both a vowel or a consonant, whereas the other two forms seem to be lexically conditioned and occur only before a base beginning with a vowel. Some examples are:

uma ‘rice field’	→ p(ə)-uma ‘to cultivate a land as a rice field’
duduk ‘sit’	→ pə-duduk ‘to cause to sit’
ati ‘heart’	→ pəy-ati ‘to pay attention to’
ay’ ‘water’	→ pəl-ay’ ‘to contain much water, juicy’
aŋ’uŋ ‘escort’	→ pə(y)-aŋ’uŋ ‘to escort in a mass/more than one object’
ay’ ‘water’	→ pəl-ay’ ‘to give or add water to something’ (e.g. food)

2.5.5.3 Preposition *da*

Preposition *da* has the same phonetic variations as the prefix *da-*. Thus, the alternate form *di* appears as well. The discussion regarding the phonetic alternation of the prefix *da-* holds also for the preposition *da*.

2.5.6 Fusion of the prepositions *da* and *ka* with a following noun

Especially in less careful or fast speech, the prepositions *da* ‘LOC’ and *ka* ‘to’, which act as proclitics, fuse with their host if the latter begins with a vowel. The process results in a deletion of the vowel segment of the preposition, and the preposition and its host are pronounced as a single unit. Some examples are given below:

da ataw	→ d=ataw ‘on the top, above’
da alam	→ d=alam ‘inside’
ka ulu	→ k=ulu ‘to the upstream part (or direction)’
ka ukuy	→ k=ukuy ‘to the dog’

2.6 Orthography

For this grammar I have adopted a spelling which is basically phonemic, hence abstracting away from variation motivated by generational, dialectal, or stylistic differences. As yet there is no standard orthography available for Mualang, although for the past few years people have been enthusiastically writing stories, songs, etc. in their own language.³¹ Even though the language is relatively close to standard Indonesian, some important basic problems exist. When writing, Mualang people often inconsistently represent the allophonic variations of /i/, /u/, /ə/, /a/, final /k/

³¹ With a native speaker’s insight, Pungak (1976a, b) has initiated a good start for the orthography. Although many words were inconsistently represented, she has come to realize basic important phonological facts such as, among others, the phonemic status of high vowels, postploded nasals, differences between the voiceless velar stop [k] and the glottal stop [ʔ].

and /h/, and postploded nasals. In making a decision one should take into account dialectal variations across generations, geographical areas, and speech styles. Although I have attempted to come close to what most speakers have said about their language, e.g. regarding the putative phonemic status of the lowered realizations of /i/ and /u/, to wit [e] and [o], I have decided to ignore their native intuition regarding the status of these segments. Thus, I will continue to represent all allophonic variations of /i/ and /u/ as i and u, respectively. The postploded nasals will not be written as a nasal—oral cluster (e.g. mb, nd, nj, ŋg); instead, a nasal followed by a single quote (') will be used to mark them. The symbols used in the phonemic representations so far will also be used in the rest of this grammar, except in the following instances:

- a) /ə/ is written as *e*;
- b) /ɲ/ is written as *ny*;
- c) /ŋ/ is written as *ng*;
- d) /ʔ/ is written as ';
- e) /ɣ/ is written as *r*;
- f) and as indicated above, a single quote (') is used after a plain nasal to indicate the corresponding postploded nasal.

Throughout the examples in the following chapters, stems undergoing regular nasal assimilation will be simply labeled with the morphophoneme *N-*, e.g. *N-pulah* 'ACT-make' for *mulah*. However, in order to avoid confusion, deviating allomorphs will be presented in straightforward "phonemic" notation, e.g. rather than presenting *N-taw* 'ACT-know' (to avoid the reader of generating the incorrect form **naw*'), the form *nge-taw* [ŋə̃tawʔ] will be given instead.

3 THE LEXICON

This chapter provides a broad picture of the lexicon of Mualang. Its main purpose is to identify the *parts of speech* (section 3.3) of the language, providing semantic and morphosyntactic properties that characterize each word class. The description first starts with the definition of the basic morphological formatives found in the language, i.e. *word*, *particle*, *clitic*, *root*, *affix* and *stem* (3.1). The next section (3.2) summarizes the morphosyntactic processes that are employed in the language. Whenever relevant cross-references are made to a more detailed discussion of the topic(s) concerned. This chapter therefore is also an introduction to the next chapters.

3.1 Morphological units

In this section the morphological units of *word*, *particle*, *clitic*, *root*, *stem* and *affix* will be characterized. I will make use of the notions of phonological and morphosyntactic (in)dependence outlined in Bowden (2001). First, *word* is a free formative that carries a primary stress. Its occurrence is independent from other morphological units. In example (3-1), for instance, *ia* and *nitaw'* are words, hence they can stand alone, for example, as an answer to a question:

- (3-1) *Ia nitaw' bada'.*
 3s not.know bada' ¹
 'He doesn't know.'

A separate category of *particles* has to be distinguished in Mualang. Phonologically, particles are similar to words in that they carry a primary stress in careful speech. However, they cannot have the status of a full word due to their obligatory co-occurrence and sometimes fusion with another word. The *illocutionary markers* (see 9.4 in Chapter 9) such as *bada'* in (3-1) behave in such a way. Conjunctions (e.g. *isa'* 'so that', *keba'* 'therefore'), aspect and modality markers (e.g. *nyaw* 'perfect marker', *tengan* 'progressive marker'), and prepositions (e.g. *ari* 'from', *upa* 'as, like') also show characteristics of particles.

A *clitic*, like an affix, does not bear stress. However, a clitic differs from an *affix* in that it functions beyond the word level, that is, at phrase level. By definition, then, some prepositions, such as *da* and *ka* (see 2.5 in Chapter 2), can be treated as clitics.

¹ Elements that are not glossed have a pragmatic function. These will be discussed in later chapters.

Semantically, they do not derive new meanings when combining with their hosts, as affixes typically do.

Since Mualang employs inflectional and derivational morphology, words can be segmented into a *root*, that is “an unanalyzable form that expresses the basic lexical content of the word” (Payne 1997:24), and an *affix*. Roots may stand alone as a word. By way of illustration, the word *ba-guay* (ANPAS-run) ‘run’ comprises the prefix *ba-* and the root *guay* ‘run’.

In addition to *roots*, it is important to also recognize *stems* in Mualang. A stem consists minimally of a root. It may also comprise a root and a derivational prefix (as in *baguay*). The concept stem is useful when discussing words that have two “layers” of prefixation, e.g. the word *daperati* ‘be paid attention to’, which is composed of the passive prefix *da-* and the stem *perati* ‘pay attention’ which in its turn comprises the causative prefix *pe-/per-* and the root *ati* ‘liver’.

3.2 Morphological processes

Mualang employs three main morphosyntactic processes: prefixation (3.2.1), reduplication (3.2.2), and compounding (3.2.3). Reduplication and compounding may involve prefixation.

3.2.1 Prefixation

Typologically Mualang includes for the most part characteristics of an agglutinative language in its morphology, with prefixation as the only process employed. Mualang has no suffixes, while infixes are synchronically relic. The prefixes are nominal: *pe(N)-*, *per-*, *ke-*, and *se-*, and verbal: *pe-*, *N-*, *da-*, *ba-*, *ke-*, *te-*. The prefixes *pe(N)-*, *per-*, and *ke-* are nominalizers that will be discussed in section 4.2 of Chapter 4, whereas the numeral prefix *se-* will be explained in subsection 4.1.2.2.1 in Chapter 4. The causative *pe-* (with variant *per-*) is a verbalizer, whereas the rest of the verbal prefixes function as voice markers. All these prefixes will be given a full treatment in Chapter 7.

Operating on stems in the same way as these prefixes are “zero derivation” (7.1.3.1 in Chapter 7), “zero marking” (7.2.2 in Chapter 7) and the auxiliary verb *kena*’ (see 7.2.10).

3.2.2 Reduplication

Reduplication is a morphological process that can modify the meaning of the base (cf. Payne 1997:29). Bases that are productively reduplicated are primarily those of common nouns and verbs, whereas bases of pronouns, numerals, quantifiers, and adverbs are less frequently reduplicated. The most common functions performed by reduplication are to indicate plurality for nouns (e.g. *uma* ‘rice field’ → *uma-uma* ‘rice fields’), intensity of quality for (adjective-like) verbs (e.g. *bayik* ‘good’ → *bayik-bayik* ‘good in many respects’ (or ‘carefully’ when used adverbially), and repetitive or continuous action or process for other verbal stems (e.g. *guay* ‘to run’ → *baguay-guay* ‘run and run, keep running’, *tugal* ‘to dibble holes for seed’ → *tugal-batugal* ‘continuously do hole-dibbling for planting seeds one after another’). In these latter examples reduplication is combined with prefixation. A detailed

discussion of nominal reduplication will be given in 4.3 in Chapter 4, while verbal reduplication will be discussed in 8.3 in Chapter 8.

3.2.3 Compounding

Compounding is another common strategy of word formation in Mualang. A compound is formed from two different words. Compounds are phonologically and structurally parallel to phrases. In practice it is therefore often hard to make a distinction between the two categories. For example, *rumah panyay* (lit. ‘house long’) means 1) ‘a (traditional) longhouse’ (a compound), and 2) ‘a long house’ (a phrase). Compounds are either nominal (see section 4.4 in Chapter 4) or verbal (see section 8.2 in Chapter 8).

3.3 Word classes

This section defines word classes or parts of speech proposed for Mualang by providing grammatical evidence for each of them. The evidence includes prototypical semantic and morphosyntactic criteria or properties (Givón 2001a:49ff, Payne (1997:33ff). A general account on prototypical semantic properties of major word classes, such as nouns and verbs, has been proposed in Givón (2001a), which includes such concepts as stability, complexity, concreteness and spatial compactness. Morphosyntactic properties are concerned with the functional distribution of words in phrases and clauses, and with the internal structure of words.

While major open categories, noun and verb, exist, it is assumed that the class of adjectives is absent in Mualang.² On the other hand, the “unusual category” of illocutionary markers has been included in the following list,³ an inventory of word classes proposed for Mualang:

1. Nouns (including common nouns, proper names, pronouns, and terms of address)
2. Verbs
3. Adverbs
4. Quantifiers (including numerals, non-numeral quantifiers and quantifying auxiliaries)
5. Demonstratives
6. Prepositions
7. Pragmatic markers (including focus, topic, illocutionary, negative, question, and exclamative markers)
8. Connectives

² The classic issue surrounding the existence or absence of adjectives in Malay/Indonesian holds for Mualang as well. For a discussion on Indonesian, see, for example, Steinhauer (1986) and Teeuw (1962); notice also Minde (1997) for Ambonese Malay.

³ As pointed out in Durie (1985:45), the inclusion of the category of illocutionary markers in the grammatical description of Indonesian languages is not common. It was Kridalaksana’s (1986) “phatic markers” that first drew my attention to the importance of describing such markers.

In the following, word classes discussed individually.

3.3.1 Nouns

3.3.1.1 Semantic properties

Semantically, prototypical nouns include words that express the most time-stable concepts (Givón 2001a:51), e.g. *rumah* 'house'. Within the class of common nouns the feature countability or individuation is relevant for the distinction between count nouns and mass nouns, since they display differences in the way they can be combined with quantifiers. Count nouns such as fruits, persons, animals, etc. can be counted individually. When counted, they usually take a classifier together with a numeral (see 3.3.4 below). Mass nouns cannot be counted, but are normally quantified (with non-numeral quantifiers or with measure auxiliaries) without any classifiers associated with them. Such nouns usually include substances like liquids, e.g. *ay* 'water', *darah* 'blood', and abstract concepts, e.g. *pemikir* 'thought'.

3.3.1.2 Syntactic properties

The main syntactic distributional characteristics of nouns are that:

- they can function as an argument of a verb (see Chapter 7), e.g.:

Ini' N-padah ka ucu'
 grandmother ACT-say to grandchild
 'The grandmother said to the grandchild'

Ia N-am'i' ay'.
 3s ACT-take water
 'He is getting water.'

- they can function as the object of a preposition (see Chapter 5), e.g.:

da utan
 LOC forest
 'in the forest'

- they can function as a modifier of another noun (see Chapter 4), e.g.:

rumah aki'
 house grandfather
 'grandfather's house'

- they are not negated by the negator *naday*, but by *ukay* instead (see 9.5.2 in Chapter 9), e.g.:

*Ukay/*naday* *in'u'*
 CONT.NEG/NEG female
 ‘(It’s) not a female.’

e) they can be extended into noun phrases (see Chapter 4), e.g.:

manuk *tu'*
 chicken this
 ‘this chicken’

3.3.1.3 Morphological properties

3.3.1.3.1 Derivational morphology: nominalization

Mualang has the possibility of deriving nouns from verbal roots. There is no nominal inflectional morphology. There are three nominalizing prefixes, *pe(N)-*, *per-*, and *ke-*. Some illustrative examples are given below, while the detailed treatment of form and function of the derivations will be provided in 4.2 in Chapter 4.

tin'uk ‘to sleep’ → *penin'uk* ‘bed’
ayun ‘to swing’ → *perayun* ‘a swing (as for a baby) (instrument)’
turun ‘descend’ → *keturun* ‘descendant’

The semantic and morphosyntactic characteristics jointly determine the class membership of a word. The nominalizing prefix *ke-*, for example, is homonymous with the verbal prefix *ke-* (see 7.2.9 in Chapter 7), and only by its semantic and syntactic properties can the membership of the derived word in question be disambiguated. Likewise words derived by means of the nominalizing prefix *pe(N)-* also display ambiguity with those with the verbal *pe-* (Chapter 7 section 7.1.3.1), e.g.: *guraw*⁴ → *peguraw* ‘joke, tease; toy; place of playing’; also → *peguraw* ‘to make joke (or fool) of s.o.’

3.3.1.4 Subclasses of nouns

The above semantic and morphosyntactic properties typically apply to the major subclass of nouns, i.e. common nouns. However, there are several other subclasses included within the category noun due primarily to their functional similarity with common nouns. They are: proper names, pronouns, and terms of address. These subclasses are further described below.

⁴ The form *guraw* is a so-called precategorial form, i.e. a form that is never used on its own (see section 3.5 in this chapter).

3.3.1.4.1 *Proper names*

Proper names are nouns used to address or refer to specific individuals or places. For person names, Mualang Hulu nowadays mostly adopts “modern” or Christian names, such as *Dapit* (*David*), *Danil*, *Sulaiman*, whereas in the Hilir area some people still preserve traditional names such as *Demung*, *Jeragam*, *Patik*. Examples of place names are *Tabu’* (a village name), *Menaway* (name of a river). Traditionally, the Mualang only have one single name, but for recognition or administrative purposes they usually add their father’s name after their personal name. Person names may be combined with a term of address, e.g. *Jang Danil*, for a male younger than the speaker (see 3.3.1.4.3 for the terms of address). The particle *si* is also often used with a person name, e.g. *si Demung*. It is used in the (assumed) absence of the person in question, who usually is younger or of the same age/status as the speaker.

3.3.1.4.2 *Pronouns*

Pronouns consist of personal and reflexive ones. For personal pronouns, Mualang has a system of dual pronouns, in addition to singular and plural, for all three persons (first, second and third). Further distinctions are made for gender, inclusiveness, politeness (status), definiteness, and collectiveness. A complete list of personal pronouns is given in Table 3.1 below, followed by an explanation of their meaning. Their functions in phrases and clauses will be discussed in Chapter 4 and 9, respectively. Forms in parentheses are variants which are less frequent (to be discussed below).

		Number	Singular	Dual	Plural
Person	1	Inclusive	-	<i>tua</i>	<i>kita</i>
		Exclusive	<i>ku</i>	<i>kemua</i>	<i>kami</i>
2	+higher status		<i>wan (uwan)</i>	<i>sedua (senua/ seniku’)</i>	<i>kita’</i>
	-higher status	male	<i>m’ih</i>		
		female	<i>di’</i>		
3			<i>ia (ya)</i>		<i>sida’ (sa’)</i>

Table 3.1 Pronouns

First person

The pronouns *ku*, *tua* and *kemua* are neutral in the sense that they can be used in all circumstances.⁵ *Kita* may also be used instead of a second person pronoun, with the effect that the addressee (usually (an) outsider[s]) will not feel excluded.

⁵ *Tua* looks like a historical contraction of *kita* and *dua* ‘two’, whereas *kemua* seems to have been derived from *kami* + *dua*.

Second person

The polite *wan* is also pronounced as *uwan*. The latter form has only been found in citation, whereas *wan* is normally heard in all circumstances. It is used towards a person (male or female) who is older in age or higher in status than the speaker.

Di' and *m'ih*: among members of the Ibanic group, Mualang is perhaps the only variety that has grammaticalized gender in its second person pronoun.⁶ *Di'* is used towards a female addressee whereas *m'ih* is used towards a male addressee; in both cases the addressee is of the same age or status or younger or lower in status than the speaker. The use of *di'* as a second singular female pronoun may have its origin in a truncated form of *adi'* 'younger sibling'. In Pontianak and surrounding areas including the Sanggau and Sintang regencies, the short form *di'* is commonly used as a term of address in the local varieties of Malay towards a female of lower status or younger than the speaker (e.g. between husband and wife). The origin of *m'ih* is as yet unclear.

Sedua has alternate forms *senua* and *seniku'*. The form *sedua* is much more commonly used than *senua* and *seniku'*. The latter two forms seem to be used more by the older generation. No semantic differences have been found to exist. These forms can also be used as a dual third person pronoun.

The neutral *kita'* is used towards at least two people, normally of the same or lower age or status than the speaker.

Third person

Ia is used regardless of the age or status of the referent. It has a short form *ya*, notably heard in rapid speech.

Sida' is used to refer to at least two people. *Sa'* seems to be a short form of *sida'*, since it is more often found in rapid than in careful or normal speech. *Sida'* and *sa'* also are used as a kind of plural marker when followed by a person's name, meaning 'that person and those associated with him (family, friends, etc.)', e.g.:

- (3-2) *Nya' rumah sida' Dapit.*
 that house 3p David
 'That's the house of David and his family (David's family).'

All pronouns described above are primarily used for human beings and occur in all syntactic functions (such as subject, object, object of prepositions). Occasionally special non-human entities such as a dog may also be referred to with *ia* '3s', but in general pronouns are not used for non-human entities. Instead the noun (phrase) or a nominal paraphrase is used. A demonstrative such as *ia'* 'that' (see 3.3.5 below) can also be employed in place of the noun.

Reflexive *diri'*

The use of the reflexive pronoun *diri'* 'self' in noun phrases will be discussed in Chapter 4, whereas its syntactic positions in clauses will be treated in 7.2.11 in Chapter 7. The following example is an illustration of its usage:

⁶ A gender opposition does not seem to appear in the Iban language of Sarawak (cf. Asmah 1981).

- (3-3) *Ia N-tapuk diri' ari bini ia.*
 3s ACT-hide self from wife 3s
 'He hid himself from his wife.'

Indefinite pronouns

Mualang employs *anu'* and *sanu'* to refer to indefinite entities. *Anu'* refers to non-human entities and is used for something which is unknown or which for some reason cannot be mentioned by the speaker. It is often used in the middle of an utterance for replacing a topic that is out of the speaker's mind at the moment of speaking. It is translatable in English as 'what's it?', 'wuchamacallit/whatchacallit'. It may be used on its own (3-4), with a prefix (3-5), or attributively (3-6):

- (3-4) *Dini anu', ia' tadi'?*
 where indef.nonhum that a.while.ago
 'Where is, what's it, that thing a while ago?'

- (3-5) *Ia N-anu' diri'.*
 3s ACT-indef.nonhum self
 'He did what's it to himself.'

- (3-6) *Waktu masa anu' tih*
 when time indef.nonhum tih
 'When the time of what's it'

The human counterpart of *anu'* is *sanu'* 'whosit', 'what's-his/her/their-name?'. Historically it seems to be derived from *si* + *anu'*, with vowel syncope, typical of Mualang.⁷ E.g.:

- (3-7) *Kita N-pikir sanu' tu', sanu' ia'*
 1p ACT-think indef.hum this indef.hum that
 'We would think that this what's-his-name or that what's-his-name'

It also can be used attributively, e.g.: *jang sanu'* ... 'brother whosit...', *sida' sanu'* 'they, what's-their-name ...'

3.3.1.4.3 *Terms of address*

Terms of address (henceforth TOA) are used to address someone. They do not function in place of a noun or noun phrase as pronouns do. A TOA differs from a pronoun mainly in that it can be used as a vocative, hence it frequently has a short variant form. The TOA class in Mualang is divided into two sets: 1) TOA based on family and social (e.g. age, status) relationships between the speech participants, and 2) TOA of *kumay kasih* (lit. 'call passion') 'a loving/sweetheart calling', based on

⁷ Cf. also Jakarta/Betawi Malay *si anu* with a similar meaning. My thanks to Helen Miehle, Ph.D. for having provided me with the corresponding English expressions for *anu'* and *sanu'*.

the (assumed) physical appearance or behavior of the addressee, and always implying intimacy. Some terms are more commonly used in the Downstream than in the Upstream area, and vice versa. Some commonly used terms are listed below.⁸

1) TOA based on family and social relationships between speech participants:

aki (short form: *ki*) 'grandfather' is primarily used by an *ucu* 'grandchild' to his/her grandfather. Outside the family circle it is also used to address a man (approximately above 50 years old) who is or appears to be (relatively) much older than the speaker.

ini (*ni*) 'grandmother' is the gender opposite of *aki*.

ucu (*cu*) 'grandchild' is the age opposite of *aki* and *ini*.

apay (*pay*) 'father'.⁹

inay (*nay*) 'mother' is the gender opposite of *apay*.

apa (*pa*) is used to address one's father-in-law. Outside the family circle it is also used towards a male sufficiently older than the speaker, but not old enough to be called *aki*.

ibu (*bu*) is the gender opposite of *apa*.

All TOA mentioned above may be descriptively used in combination with a person's name, e.g. *Apay Aji* 'Mr. Hajj', *Pa' Gu* 'Mr. Gu'.

2) TOA of *kumay kasih*

Among family members, especially between parents and children, there are favorite terms that the members of the family use to address each other. The terms used are based on the particular characteristics attached to the addressee, mainly regarding physical appearance (beautiful, handsome) and behavior (good, bad). There are various such terms employed for male and female, the choice of which varies from person to person, depending on his/her personal preference. In general, *kumay kasih* may be translated as 'boy', 'sweetheart', and the like. Some terms still have their lexical meaning. Some TOA used for younger males are (*a*)*was* (meaning 'good, wise'), *antus* (likewise meaning 'good, wise'), (*bu*)*jang* 'boy, young man', (*ba*)*gas* (meaning 'handsome'; more frequent in the Downstream region), *juy* (more frequent in the Upstream area), and *m'a*. TOA used for young female are among others: *ayik*, *dara*, *dayang*, *ratu* (all are more common in the Downstream region); whereas the ones that are more frequently heard in the Upstream region: *anci*, *duy*, *daruy*, *nyay*, *muy*, *n'u*. All these words refer to characteristics of a 'young sweet girl'. Persons with bad behavior are, for example, called *isu* (for a male) and *dingay* (for a female). Although terms of *kumay kasih* are primarily used among family members, a few people were also found to use them with people from outside the family for reasons of intimacy.

⁸ Separate detailed research is necessary for a comprehensive survey of the use of the various terms of address.

⁹ In the Downstream district, *mpay* is more common for both forms.

3.3.2 Verbs

3.3.2.1 Semantic properties

Prototypically verbs express the least time-stable concepts, e.g. various events (such as *shoot*, *leave*) and temporary states (such as *dream*, *sleep*) (Givón 2001a:52). In Mualang also words expressing more permanent states are classified as – static intransitive – verbs (see section 7.1.2). Verbs are characterized semantically by the existence of obligatory semantic roles (e.g. *agent*, *patient*, *dative*) of the participants in the event or state they encode (Givón 2001a:105). In Mualang, semantically defined types of verb also differ in their capability of taking particular voice prefixes (Chapter 7) and prepositions (Chapter 5). Some illustrative examples of kinds of verbs are:

states: *pedih* ‘sick, sad’, *pan’ay* ‘smart’, *celap* ‘cold’, *ting’i* ‘tall, high’,
bayik ‘good, beautiful’;
 processes: *tum’uh* ‘grow’, *idup* ‘live’, *mati* ‘die’;
 motion: *datay* ‘come’, *angkat* ‘go, take off’, *pulay* ‘go home’, *rari* ‘run (away)’,
labuh ‘fall, drop’, *terbay* ‘fly’, *turun* ‘descend’, *tiki* ‘climb’;
 emotion: *gaga* ‘glad’, *takut* ‘afraid’, *pedih* ‘sad’;
 cognition: *taw* ‘know’, *pikir* ‘think’;
 sensation: *peda* ‘see’, *dinga* ‘hear’, *sium* ‘smell, kiss’;
 utterance: *padah* ‘say’, *tanya* ‘ask’, *kumay* ‘call’;
 action: *bunuh* ‘kill’, *palu* ‘hit’, *pulah* ‘make’, *am’i* ‘take’, *buay* ‘throw away’.

3.3.2.2 Syntactic properties

The main syntactic distributional characteristics of verbs include: 1) their function as heads of verb phrases in which they can be modified for aspectual and modal distinctions (Chapter 8); (2) their function as predicates of clauses (Chapter 7 and 8); 3) their being negated by the clausal negator *naday* (Chapter 9).

3.3.2.3 Morphological properties

3.3.2.3.1 Voice marking

Voice marking will be treated in detail in Chapter 7. In clauses verbs are marked with voice prefixes: the stative zero marking, active *N-*, passive *da-*, antipassive *ba-*, inchoative *ke-*, middle *te-*, and adversative *kena*’. In (3-8) below, the active voice marking for the verb *peda* ‘to see’ is given as an example:

- (3-8) *Ku N-peda’ urang.*
 1s ACT-see person
 ‘I saw a person.’

3.3.2.3.2 Derivational morphology

Derivational morphology that derives verbs from noun roots or changes the transitivity of verb roots will be described in Chapter 7. Morphological operators employed for derivation are zero marking and the causative *pe-*, both will be discussed in section 7.1.3.1. As illustrative examples, consider:

(3-9)	Verbal derivation	
	<i>tusuy</i> ‘a story’	→ <i>tusuy</i> ‘to tell (a story and the like)’
	<i>pen’ing</i> ‘ear’	→ <i>pen’ing</i> ‘to listen to’
	<i>besay</i> ‘big’	→ <i>besay</i> ‘to make bigger, be the same size as’
	<i>uma</i> ‘rice field’	→ <i>p-uma</i> ‘cultivate (land) as a field’
	<i>diri</i> ‘stand’	→ <i>pe-diri</i> ‘erect (many objects)’

3.3.3 Adverbs

Adverbs function at clausal level and modify the entire clause, verbs or verb phrases. Syntactically their position in clauses is flexible. There is no particular morphology that appears in this word class. Together with adverbials (i.e. word combinations with the same function as adverbs) the adverbs may be divided into several subclasses, namely: a) manner (e.g. (*ngaw*) *bayik* ‘in a good way’), b) time (e.g. *ila* ‘later’), c) location/direction (e.g. *ditu* ‘here’, *kitu* ‘to here’), d) instrumental (e.g. *ngaw sangkuh* ‘with a spear’), and e) others such as *anya* ‘only’ (delimitative), *agi* ‘again’ (aspectual). Adverbial notions may be expressed by lexical adverbs, by stative verbs (e.g. *bayik* ‘good’), components of serial verb constructions, or by prepositional phrases. A detailed discussion of adverbs and adverbial constructions will be provided in section 8.4.4 of Chapter 8.

3.3.4 Quantifiers

Included in the class of quantifiers are numerals (3.3.4.1), non-numeral quantifiers (3.3.4.2), and quantifying auxiliaries (3.3.4.3). The latter consists of classifiers and measure words. The reason for grouping these various subclasses under the label quantifiers is mainly functional, i.e. they are all used primarily in counting. While their use in phrases will be deferred until Chapter 4 (section 4.1.1.3 and 4.1.2.2), their general meanings are provided below.

3.3.4.1 Numerals

For counting in Mualang the following cardinal numerals are used:

<i>sat</i> , <i>sa</i> ’	1
<i>dua</i>	2
<i>tiga</i>	3
<i>mpat</i>	4
<i>lima</i> ’	5
<i>nam</i>	6
<i>tujuh</i>	7

<i>lapan</i>	8
<i>semilan</i>	9

The free form *sa* occurs only in counting and is mostly found in folk stories. In daily use the form *satu* is employed. In a quantifying phrase with a classifier or in forming higher numerals (see below), the numeral prefix *se-* is used instead (see Chapter 4 in 4.1.2.2.1).

For higher numerals the following bases are directly added to the unit numerals and the prefix *se-*: *belas* 'number between 10 and 20', *puluh* 'unit(s) of ten', *ratus* 'unit(s) of a hundred', *ribu* 'unit(s) of one thousand', *juta* 'unit(s) of one million'. Some examples of the higher and complex numerals are as follows:

<i>sepuluh</i>	10
<i>nam puluh</i>	60
<i>nam puluh satu</i>	61
<i>sebelas</i>	11
<i>mpat belas</i>	14
<i>seratus</i>	100
<i>lima ratus</i>	500
<i>seribu</i>	1000
<i>sepuluh ribu</i>	10000
<i>sejuta</i>	1000000
<i>tiga juta</i>	3000000

Ordinal numerals are formed by prefixing *ke-* to the cardinal bases, except for *sa*, e.g. *kedua* 'second', *kempat* 'fourth'. For 'first', *pertama* and *semaru* are used. The latter is rarely used. The former may be borrowed through or from Malay/Indonesian.

A system of fraction numerals does not exist. The most common-used expression is *se-tengah* 'half'. Pungak (1976a:130) provides another example *dua tengah tiga* 'two third' (literally 'two middle three').

3.3.4.2 Non-numeral quantifiers

Non-numeral quantifiers are *uga* 'all', *mayuh* 'many, much', *banyaw* 'lots', *bala* 'all (kinds)', *berapa* 'several', *mimit* or *sikit* 'a few, a little', *setiap/tiap* 'every, each', *mansing* 'each'. The use of quantifiers in quantifying phrases will be explained in Chapter 4 section 4.1.2.2.

3.3.4.3 Quantifying auxiliaries

In this grammar, quantifying auxiliaries include the so-called *classifiers* and *measure words*, which are referred to here as generic and specific quantifying auxiliaries, respectively. The reason for calling them quantifying auxiliaries is that, syntactically both classifiers and measure words are used only in the presence of a numeral. (A more detailed explanation in relation to their use in phrases will be suspended until Chapter 4 section 4.1.2.2).

The generic quantifying auxiliaries or classifiers, some of which are clearly derived from common nouns, are used to classify nouns that are counted or quantified. The classification is based on the inherent physical shape of the counted entity such as its length, roundness, thickness, and the like. There is only one classifier used for both humans and animals, that is *iku*, which also means 'tail'. The most common used classifiers for inanimate objects are *igi* and *uti*. The classifier *igi*, which also means 'seed', is used for round entities such as *buah* 'fruit' and *beras* 'uncooked rice', whereas *uti* is the classifier for long and round objects such as *tugal* 'stick used to make holes for seeds'. New adopted objects are classified according to their similarity to the established members of a class. Thus, a car and a table are associated with round objects, whereas a motorcycle and a pen are long and round. Unclassifiable entities like non-physical things and things that are not so clear in their shapes are usually classified as belonging to the *uti*-class, e.g. *lagu* 'song', *adat* 'custom'.

Other classifiers are *bilah* 'entities with a flat plane', such as *uma* 'rice field', *buah* 'a "catch-all" classifier, similar to *uti*',¹⁰ *lamar* 'for flat thin entities', such as *dawun* 'leaf', *singkap* 'vertical arrangement of ceramic dishes', such as plates, bowls and cups. Several other classifiers are listed in Pungak (1976a:130-134). Some objects may be viewed as belonging to more than one class, e.g. *sangkuh* 'spear' belongs to the *igi*-class and also to the *bilah*-class (the class for flat-shaped objects like *isaw* 'machete').

The specific quantifying auxiliaries or measure words, most of which are nouns, are used with numerals to measure the amount of an object. Many traditional measurement standards are nowadays rarely used in daily activities, or are used only in relation to traditional culture (e.g. ceremonies, traditional law, or oral tradition). When setting a traditional fine, the value, e.g. one *tayil* (see the list below), has to be converted to current standards such as money. Some other traditional measurements are only used in estimating the measure of an entity, such as a pig, whereas for other purposes, when an accurate measurement is required, people will turn to modern standards such as kilogram. In any case, the use of many traditional measurements in current daily activities decreases.

The use of measure words, similar to classifiers, depends on the physical characteristics of the entities. Traditionally, not all things used to be measured. Typical among those that are often measured are big and socio-culturally valued animals. The ways of measuring are various. For example, the size of a pig is measured in *renti* (one *renti* being 'the length from the tip of the thumb sticking out laterally from an otherwise clinched fist to the heel of the fist'). This is done by first determining the length of the circle of the front part of the pig's chest by putting a rope around it right under the armpit of the front legs. The rope required to do so is then put around the head of an adult person. The difference in length between the circle of the pig's chest and that of the adult person's head is then measured in *renti*, that is, 'a length of one *renti* means 'a pig of one *renti*'.¹¹ More examples: a *kekura* 'tortoise' is measured by placing one's foot on its hard back from the mouth part

¹⁰ I am not so sure whether this is a borrowing from Indonesian, where it has a similar function; the word *buah* 'fruit' itself does exist in the language.

¹¹ One informant estimated that a young pig of one *renti* equals approximately 21-22 kilograms, while an old one about 25 kilograms.

(not including the head), then a whole length from the heel to the toes' tips is calculated as one *dejak*. A *lelabi* 'a big freshwater turtle' is measured in *jingkal* 'a span from one's thumb to the tip of one's middle finger' over its back from side to side. Additional measuring may be done with the palm of one's hand (*tempap*).

In what follows, a list of semantic categories of the measure words found in the language is given, each with a number of examples.¹²

1. lengths, widths, and heights

depa 'a length of both hands outstretched to the sides of the body'

senyiku 'measure for less than a *depa*', that is length from one hand stretching to the side of the body to the end of the elbow of another hand which is folded at the elbow and put horizontally across the chest'

satengah depa 'length from one hand stretching to the side of the body to the middle of the chest'

jingkal 'a span from one's thumb to the tip of one's middle finger'

sengawul 'a span from one's thumb to the joint of one's middle finger' (or: 'less than a *jingkal*')

pencuay 'height by standing upright with raised arms, measured from one's toes to the tip of one's middle finger'

gawang 'measure of a small circle formed by touching together the tips of both one's thumbs and one's middle fingers'

senyulan 'similar to *gawang*, but using thumbs and pointing finger'

senyintik 'half of a *gawang*'

dejak 'measure from one's heel to the tip of one's toes'

tempap 'the width of one's hand from the side of the palm of the hand to the other side'

sinti 'centimeter'

mitir 'meter'

kilu 'kilometer'

renti 'length from the tip of the thumb sticking out laterally from an otherwise clinched fist to the heel of the fist'

2. Weights

gram 'gram'

kilu 'kilogram'

3. Volumes

kulak or *gantang* 'a traditional wooden container' (equals 10 *ling* or 2½ kg)

ling or *muk* 'a small condensed milk can' (1 *ling* = ¼ kg)

4. Extents of time

ari 'day'

bulan 'month'

lam 'morning'

¹² Drake (1982) is a special research on the economic substances in Mualang society that involved, among other things, various relevant methods of measuring. The definitions of *renti* given here is his (p.312).

lega 'dry season'
ming'u 'week'
rama 'rainy season'
tawun 'year'

5. Collections, parts and sections

kerat 'a small slice of meat'
kumpal 'a big slice of meat'
ruas 'clump (of bamboo)'
belayan 'bush (of bamboo)'
piak 'part'

6. Terms for kinds

keban 'kind, group'
leman 'kind'
keba 'all kinds'

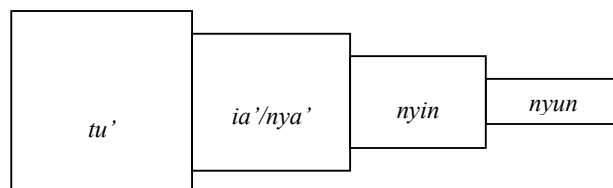
7. Value

rupiah 'rupiah, Indonesian currency'
tayil 'an amount of five porcelain bowls' (formerly used as a traditional fine)¹³

3.3.5 Demonstratives

Demonstratives are used for pointing to an object or a place. Mualang has four demonstratives: *tu'*, *ia'/nya'*, *nyin* and *nyun*. The primary relevant parameter that defines their use is distance from a point of reference. The reference point may be a speech participant, the moment of speech, or a constituent of a clause. This will be further discussed in Chapter 4. For the present purpose, a general meaning is provided, with the relative distance as its parameter, schematically pictured in Figure 3.2. (Note: PR₁ = speaker, PR₂ = hearer)

Figure 3.2: *Demonstratives in relation to relative distance from the point of reference*



Tu' means 'this', implying that the object is close to the relevant point of reference (PR), that is PR₁, or the speaker. *Ia'* or *nya'* means 'that', indicating that the object is relatively far from PR₁, but it may also be near PR₂, the hearer. *Nyin* means 'that over there', the object is relatively far from all speech participants. The farthest is *nyun* 'that far away'. *Tu'* and *ia'/nya'* tend to directly point to the object due to its

¹³ Other typical traditional fines are *te(m)payan* 'a traditional clay jar' and *babi* 'pig'.

proximity to the PR. *Nyin* and *nyun*, on the other hand, are more pointing to the location of the object rather than the object itself, due to the relative big distance of the object to the PR. The “locative” pointing is actually still apparent to some degree in *tu’* and *nya’*. For example, on many occasions, in answer to a question where something is located, the brief reply is *tu’!*, without any gesture of pointing, which may be interpreted as “this” or “here”. Similarly, as in the following example, *nya’* is best interpreted as pointing to the location than to the object per se:

- (3-10.) *Nya’ mah ia!*
 that mah 3s
 ‘There he is! (finally, after having waited for so long)’

Such a use of *nya’* in a sudden change of situation as in (3-10) is one of the slight differences between its use and *ia’*. However, for the most part the two are used interchangeably with the same meaning. Idiolectically some speakers tend to use *ia’* more frequent than *nya’* while others do the opposite.

The overlap of *ia’/nya’* – *nyin* – *nyun* in figure 3.2 symbolizes that distance is relative. In some situations these demonstratives may be used interchangeably depending on the speaker’s, partly pragmatic, intention. (In)visibility does not seem to make any difference in the choice between *nyin* and *nyun*. In the example below both *nyin* and *nyun* may be used, depending on the speaker’s point of view:

- (3-11) *urang dasungay Sepan nyin/nyun*
 person LOC river S that.over.there/that.far.away
 ‘the people at the Sepan River there/far over there’

In (3-11) the Sepan River was out of sight for the speech participants. *Nyin* is basically “neutral”, since the position of the river and the speech participants was relatively far away. However, *nyun* would be used if the speaker would personally feel that the distance is really far away – more than the hearer could imagine. The big distance expressed by *nyin* and *nyun* have a further consequence in discourse, namely that they cannot be used to anaphorically refer to any aforementioned constituent. It is only *tu’* and *ia’/nya’* that can be used for this kind of purpose. These and other functions of the demonstratives will be discussed in Chapter 4 (subsections 4.1.1.2 and 4.1.2.1), which deals with pronominal, attributive, and temporal use in noun phrases, as well as in Chapter 9 (subsections 9.1.1 and 9.3.1), which is concerned with demonstratives as a pragmatic device.

3.3.6 Prepositions

Forms and basic meanings of prepositions are given below, while their detailed usages in phrases will be described in Chapter 5. (See also section 2.5 in Chapter 2 for the phonological behavior of the prepositions *da* and *ka*.) Prepositions form a closed list; they function as heads of prepositional phrases, in which they specify the semantic role of the following noun phrase. As regards form, there are only three short, monosyllabic and mostly unstressed, prepositions, that is, *da*, *ka* and *ngaw*, while the rest are disyllabic prepositions that often bear stress:

- (3-12)
- a. Locative
 - da* 'LOC'
 - ka* 'to'
 - ari* 'from'
 - ntara* 'between'
 - sampay/nyantuk* 'until'
 - b. Instrument, Recipient, Manner
 - ngaw* 'with'
 - c. Source of action/event
 - ulih* 'by, as a result of (someone's) doings'
 - d. Similarity
 - upa* '(be) like, as'
 - e. Accordance
 - nuna* 'according to'
 - f. Orientation
 - ngusung* 'to'

Some prepositions seem to have arisen from a verbal component of a serial verb construction (see Chapters 5 and 10). Some are used as conjunctions as well (see Chapter 10).

3.3.7 Pragmatic markers

Pragmatic markers express "pragmatic statuses", such as focus, topic, etc. Chapter 9 will be wholly devoted to discussing this subject. Including in this word class are topic marker (*tu*'), illocutionary markers (e.g. *bada*', *jara*'), negators (e.g. *naday* 'no, not', *bedaw* 'not yet'), question words (e.g. *sapa* 'who', *dini* 'where'), exclamatory words (e.g. *buh* 'come on!', *akay* 'my!').

3.3.8 Connectives

Connectives or conjunctions connect words, phrases, or clauses, with equal or different syntactic function (respectively coordinating and subordinating connectives). In Mualang they are mostly particles that can function on their own (simple connectives) or they consist of a combination of morphemes (complex connectives). A detailed description of these connectives will be discussed in Chapter 10. Some illustrative examples of connectives are given below:

- (3-13)
- a. Simple connectives
 - aba* 'and', *ulih* 'but', *kali* 'or', *baru* 'then', *nti* 'if'

b. Complex connectives

ulih amat pia 'nevertheless', *udah ia* 'after that', *puku' ia* 'in short'

3.4 Multiple membership

Some words can be assigned to more than one word class, e.g. *bedaw* 'not yet' (negation), 'before' (conjunction); *buah* 'fruit' (noun), also a classifier; *iku* 'tail' (noun), also a classifier; *ulih* 'get' (verb), 'because' (conjunction), 'by' (preposition); *jadi* 'thus' (conjunction), 'become', 'be married to' (verb); *anti* 'wait' (verb), 'if' (conjunction); *ka* 'want' (verb), also a future marker.

3.5 Precategoriality

There are a number of roots that never stand on their own but have to co-occur with particular prefixes or roots in order to be used in discourse. Such roots may be considered precategorial in the sense that they are undetermined for their categorial membership. Examples of precategorial roots with prefixes are: *ba-guraw* 'have a joke', *pe-guraw* 'joke' (with the nominalizer *pe(N)-*), *pe-guraw* 'to make joke or fool of s.o.' (with the causative *pe-*). Some precategorial roots do not appear with any prefix but with other roots forming compounds, which are nominal (see section 4.4 in Chapter 4) and verbal (section 8.2 in Chapter 8). Some examples of such precategorial roots are *ampah* as in *tanah ampah* 'all lands'; *biras* as in *ipar biras* 'siblings-in-law'; *belanyih* as in *putih belanyih* 'very white'; *barah* as in *barah buruh* 'be in a hurry'.

3.6 Doublets of lexical items

For a number of concepts, Mualang displays lexical doublets. This is due to influence or borrowing from Malay/Indonesian. Some items change according to phonological patterns of Malay/Indonesian, e.g. *gisah* ~ *kisah* 'story', *tesat* ~ *sesat* 'get lost', *lebaw* ~ *lebat* 'dense; heavy', *laban* ~ *lawan* 'enemy, rival; oppose', *tepayan* ~ *tempayan* 'jar'. The former pronunciation is native to the language as it is still witnessed in the production of the older generation. Furthermore it can be noticed in texts of Dunselman (1955) that doublets appear for a rhythmic purpose, e.g. *ujan* ~ *ujay* 'rain', *apay* ~ *apang* 'father', *Senganan* ~ *Senganay* 'Malay people'.

4 NOUN PHRASES

In Chapter 3 individual word classes were presented without explanation about their structure and function within phrases or clauses. Subsequent chapters will treat these matters in detail. First, this chapter will discuss the morphosyntax and function of constituents of noun phrases (NPs). Subsection (4.1) will deal with the constituency and word order in NPs, which includes heads (4.1.1) and their modifiers (4.1.2). The next three subsections will treat morphosyntactic operations applied in NPs, namely nominalization (4.2), reduplication (4.3), and nominal compounding (4.4).

4.1 Constituency and word order in the noun phrase

The relative order of constituents within a NP can be represented as in (4-1) below. The quantifying phrase (QP) and terms of address (TOA) may precede or follow the head noun. The other modifiers are obligatorily postnominal. In the order of their potential co-occurrence are noun (N), participial complement (PC), verb phrase (VP), quantifying phrase (QP), prepositional phrase (PP), relative clause (RC), and demonstrative (DEM). The slash (/) indicates that there is an option for the filler of that particular slot. The NPs' constituency in Mualang is recursive; that is, a modifying noun can be modified by another modifier within the same NP.

(4-1) Constituent order of NP

NP = (QP/TOA) N (N/PC) (VP) (QP) (PP) (RC) (DEM)

The subsections (4.1.1) and (4.1.2) hereafter will describe the heads and modifiers of noun phrases.

4.1.1 Heads of NP

The head of a NP may be a (common) noun, a pronoun or a proper name, a demonstrative, or a quantifier. However, as pointed out by Givón (2001b:1), unlike nouns, pronouns as well as the other NP heads are seldom modified due to the inherent nature of their referentiality. The same is true for names (see section 3.3.1.4.1). Therefore, the following subsections will deal first with the use of pronouns, demonstratives and quantifiers functioning as heads in noun phrases, whereas the use of (common) nouns will be given specific attention in section 4.1.2.

4.1.1.1 Pronouns

Basic meanings of pronouns have been explained in section 3.3.1.4.2. Here their possible occurrences within noun phrases will be described. Personal pronouns may appear as a single head, occupying all syntactic positions, e.g. as subject in (4-2) or object in (4-3):

- (4-2) *Ku nitaw' bada'.*
 1s not.know bada'
 'I don't know' (or 'I have no idea').
- (4-3) *Aw', pia', kati kami N-kumay m'ih ah?*
 yes like.that how 1p.excl ACT-call 2s.masc ah
 'Ok, as you said, how do we call for you (to come) then?'

Personal pronouns can also be modified post-nominally, such as with a numeral (4-4), a relative clause (4-5), or a proper name (4-6):

- (4-4) *[Kita' nam] sunyi' kah!*
 2p six quiet kah
 'The six of you be quiet please!'
- (4-5) *[sida' tay ba-bagi ramu nya']*
 3p REL ANPAS-devide property that
 'they who were dividing up property (among themselves)'
- (4-6) *Malam datay agi' [sida' Puyang Gana].*
 night come again 3p P G
 'In the night Puyang Gana and his associates came again.'

The use of a personal name after a pronoun as in (4-6) is a typical construction to mean the person and others associated with him/her.¹ Pronouns can also be reduplicated for an emphatic purpose (see section 4.3.4 below).

The reflexive pronoun *diri'* 'self' can appear as a single head, occupying various syntactic positions (see section 7.2.11):

- (4-7) *Ia N-tapuk diri' ari bini ia.*
 3s ACT-hide self from wife 3s
 'He hid himself from his wife.'
- (4-8) *Udah ia' diri' ti ba-laki-bini N-padah*
 already that self REL ANPAS-husband-wife ACT-say
 'After that they themselves who are going to marry say....'

¹ This construction is similar to constructions known from varieties of Malay in Eastern Indonesia, such as Ambonese Malay *Buce dong* (B.3p) 'Buce and his associates/friends', and *dong Patti* (3p.P) 'the Pattis'. (cf. Minde 1997:169-170 for Ambonese Malay).

- (4-9) *Diri' ari ni?*
 self from which
 'Where are you yourself from?'

The use of *diri'* as subject of the clause as in (4-8) and (4-9) usually refers to the second or third person. Such a use is contrastively emphatic, i.e. it is focused on the referent of *diri'* in contrast to someone else, e.g. you yourself or they themselves (and not others).

4.1.1.2 Demonstratives

The basic meanings of demonstratives have been described in (3.3.5). In clauses demonstratives can function as a head or a modifier of a NP. Demonstratives functioning as a modifier will be discussed in section 4.1.2.7 below. Single demonstrative heads can have either anaphoric or cataphoric reference:

- (4-10) ***Tu'ia'*** *ti da-beri' sida'.*
 this/that REL PASS-give 3p
 'This/that is what was given by them.'
- (4-11) ***Nya'*** *tay pemenaw ku.*
 that REL knowledge 1a
 'That is what my knowledge is. (That's all I know).'
- (4-12) ***Tu'*** *ku N-padah ka m'ih*
 this 1s ACT-say to 2s.masc
 'Here I am going to tell you'
- (4-13) a. *Belitang Ulu aba' tay semak nya'*
 B U and REL close that
 '(The region of) Belitang Ulu and that which is close by'
- b. *Belitang Ulu aba' tay semak nyin*
 B U and REL close that.over.there
 '(The region of) Belitang Ulu and that which is over there....'

(4-10) and (4-11) are anaphoric usages, and also in (4-11) the demonstrative *nya'* refers back to the whole story just told. It is only *tu'* that can be used cataphorically; see example (4-12). *Nya'* and *nyin* in (4-13a and b) are two more examples of anaphoric use. The choice between *nya'* and *nyin* show how the speaker as a first point of reference (PR₁) determines the next point of reference (PR₂). The use of *nya'* in (a) means that the subdistrict of *Belitang Ulu* was chosen as the PR₂ by the speaker (PR₁), whereas with *nyin* in (b), it was the hearer and the speaker that were chosen as the PR₂; both of them were distantly located from the place and its surrounding area.

4.1.1.3 Quantifiers

Quantifiers can also function as a NP head. In such cases the quantifiers actually anaphorically refer to a NP in context. The quantifier heads are bold typed in the examples below, which consist of a numeral plus a classifier in (4-14), a numeral and the universal quantifier in (4-15), and a non-numeral quantifier in (4-16):

- (4-14) ***S-iku'*** *da-pulah* *ia, nama ia Am'un* *Menurun.*
 ONE-CLASS PASS-make 3s name 3s A M
- S-iku'*** *ti* *in'u'* *nama Pukat Bengawan.*
 ONE-CLASS REL female name P B
 'One was made by him, his name was Am'un Menurun. The other one that was female was named Pukat Bengawan.'
- (4-15) *Putus* ***tujuh***, *amis* ***uga'***.
 broken seven finished all
 'The seven (scarves) were broken, all was finished.'
- (4-16) ***Mayuh*** *agi'* *ti* *da-tam'ak* *dia'*.
 many again REL PASS-plant there.(near)
 'There are many more (kinds of plants) that are planted there.'

4.1.1.4 Nouns

As the head of a NP consists most typically of a noun, and since the modifiers discussed in section 4.1.2 deal with noun-headed NPs, the reader is referred to relevant examples in subsequent sections.

4.1.2 Modifiers of the NP

Modifiers of the NP will be discussed according to their relative position in (4-1) above, namely: Quantifying phrases (4.1.2.1), Nouns (4.1.2.2), Participial phrases (4.1.2.3), Verb phrases (4.1.2.4), Prepositional phrases (4.1.2.5), Relative clauses (4.1.2.6), and Demonstratives (4.1.2.7). As for the terms of address, the reader is referred to section 3.3.1.4.3.

4.1.2.1 Quantifying phrases

Quantifying phrases involve the use of numerals, non-numeral quantifiers, and quantifying auxiliaries in the following internal structure:

- (4-17) Internal structure of the Quantifying Phrase (QP)

QP = Numeral/Non-numeral quantifier (quantifying auxiliary)

As mentioned in section 3.3.4.3, the label quantifying auxiliary covers the so-called *classifiers* and *measure words*.² The reason for adopting this label is that syntactically both classifiers and measure words are used only in the presence of a numeral. However, semantically classifiers and measure words show some differences. Classifiers have the function of counting individuated entities, based on animacy and physical characteristics (size, shape) of the entity.³ In other words, these major semantic features of nouns are syntactically marked in Mualang only in relation to counting. The classifiers grammatically distinguish count or individuated nouns from mass nouns (i.e. groups of individuals or indivisible masses,⁴ including abstract concepts). The classifiers are not used with mass nouns, and are obligatory with non-mass nouns (however, see further explanation below).

(4-18) *dua* **(iku')* *babi*
 two CLASS pig
 'two pigs'

(4-19) *mayuh ay'*
 much water
 'much water'

(4-20) *mayuh* **(iku')* *babi*
 many (CLASS) pig
 'many pigs'

Unlike count nouns (such as *babi* 'pig' in (4-18)), mass nouns are modified by quantifiers without a classifier (such as *ay'* 'water' in (4-19)). A classifier can neither be used if the word *babi* 'pig' refers to a group of individuals (as in (4-20)), because the feature "individuation" is absent.

In contrast to classifiers that refer to the generic, basic appearance of an entity as a whole, measure nouns refer more to a specific part of the entity or to the substance of the entity (or to the entity as substance). Thus, *babi* 'pig', for example, may be quantified in two ways: with a classifier, as in (4-18) above, to count it as (an) individuated entity/entities, or to specify the amount or size of it with a kind of measurement as in (4-21):

(4-21) a. *dua renti* *babi*
 two MEAS pig
 'a pig measuring two *renti*'⁵

 b. *dua kilu* *babi*

² The idea of categorizing classifiers and measure words under the label of quantifying auxiliaries was taken from the discussion in Alieva et al. (1997:224ff) concerning Indonesian; the authors consider the Indonesian classifiers to be *kata bantu bilangan* ('numeral auxiliaries') that grammatically behave largely like measure words.

³ For the major semantic features of nouns, see Givón (2001a:55-59).

⁴ These terms are taken from Givón (2001a:57).

⁵ See section 3.3.4.3 for an explanation of *renti* and other measure words.

two MEAS pork
 ‘two kilograms of pork’

These examples show that the quantifying auxiliaries have a disambiguating function in combination with polysemous nouns: with the measure noun *renti*, *babi* means ‘pig’, with *kilu* it has to be interpreted as ‘pork’.

The classifiers are nearly always used, and in cases where they are not, dropping of the classifier seems to occur with nouns that are not potentially ambiguous, such as *darung* ‘valley’ and *bukit* ‘hill’ in (4-22). Also, as with the second mention of the two frogs in (4-23), the context may make the quantifying auxiliary superfluous:

- (4-22) *tujuh (buah) darung tujuh (buah) bukit*
 seven CLASS valley seven CLASS hill
 ‘seven valleys and seven hills’

- (4-23) *Naday mang-mang datay [dua iku’ kacung nyaruh].*
 NEG suddenly come two CLASS frog strange

[Dua kacung] N-lompat gaga.
 two frog ACT-jump happy
 ‘There suddenly came two strange frogs. The two frogs were jumping happily.’

Time concepts, such as *ari* ‘day’, *bulan* ‘month’ and *tawun* ‘year’, are exceptions: semantically they can be counted like other individuated nouns. However, they are modified directly without any quantifying auxiliary, presumably because they do not have physical appearance:

- (4-24) *s-ari*
 ONE-day
 ‘one day’

 (4-25) *mpat tawun*
 four year
 ‘four years’

4.1.2.1.1 *The numeral prefix se-*

As for numerals, the use of *sa*’ is worth noting. This form, however, is now obsolete and is only occasionally heard in old stories and ritual texts. *Sa*’ is only used as a number, i.e. for counting but not for quantifying the amount of an entity. For the latter use, the numeral prefix *se-*, with an obligatory quantifying auxiliary, is used instead. In the following examples and elsewhere *se-* is glossed as ‘ONE’; the form *s-* results from a vowel deletion process (see section 2.5.2):

- (4-26) *s-iku’ urang*

- ONE-CLASS person
 1) 'one person'
 2) 'a person'

The obligatory use of *se-* with a classifier also serves as an indefinite marker (see Chapter 9), as seen in the second interpretation in (4-26). It can also modify a time noun, in which case the classifier *uti* 'is used:

- (4-27) *s-uti* *waktu*
 ONE-CLASS time
 'one time'

- (4-28) *s-uti* *ari*
 ONE-CLASS day
 'one day'

The derived forms comprising *se-* and a classifier are also lexicalized into a more general meaning 'one'. This is apparent in short replies. Thus, for such questions such as: *How many people are there?* or *How many days are you going to stay there?*, the replies are *siku* 'one (person)' and *suti* 'one (day)' (or *sari* = *se-ari* 'one day') respectively. In these contexts *sa* 'cannot be used.

For higher quantification of count nouns containing the amount of 'one', e.g. twenty one, sixty one, the numeral *satu* is normally used (instead of *se-* plus a classifier), e.g.:

- (4-29) *nam puluh satu iku* *nsia*
 six ten one CLASS human
 'sixty one people'

The primary meaning of the numeral *se-* has further developed in combination with nouns which refer to a relatively large location, such as *jalay* 'road', *kampung* 'forest, village', *rumah* 'house'. In such constructions, it has the meaning 'one and the same', 'the entire N':

- (4-30) *Urang se-kampung nya* *ba-pakay* *ba-inum*.
 person ONE-village that ANPAS-eat ANPAS-drink
 '(All) the people of one and the same village had a party (lit. had all kinds of food and drink).'

- (4-31) *Ba-jerita aba' diri' se-bilik*.
 ANPAS-story with self ONE-room
 'Have a conversation with those (staying) in the same house as you(rself).'

- (4-32) *Sida' diaw se-rumah*.
 3p stay ONE-house

‘They live in the same house.’

- (4-33) *Kita se-jalay aba’ sida’.*
 1p.incl ONE-way with 3p
 ‘We were on the same line with them.’

Constructions like *urang sekampung* in (4-30) mirror measure phrases of ‘*se-* + a small container’, e.g. *beras se-kulak* ‘a *kulak* (2½ kg) of rice’. However, with relatively large containers the interpretation of measurement does not hold. In (4-31) *se-bilik* modifies nominal *diri*’ and then it refers to sameness of location. The same goes for (4-32), where *se-rumah* modifies a verb, while in (4-33) *se-jalay* serves as a predicate.

A few temporal conjunctions (see Chapter 10), e.g. *sebedaw* ‘before’, *selama* ‘during’, *sesudah-sudah* ‘after’ seem to be historically derived from forms with the prefix *se-*.⁶

Interestingly, a few measure words seem to be historically derived from a combination of prefix *se-* with *N*-derived stems. Such forms are a bit unique in that *se-* is simply attached (or cliticized) to a *N*-derived stem that denotes an action. Thus, literally such measure words mean ‘measure as the outcome of performing action X’, e.g.:

- (4-34) *siku* ‘elbow’ → *senyiku* ‘measure for less than a *depa*’, that is, length from one arm stretching to the side of the body to the end of the elbow of another arm which is folded at the elbow and put horizontally across the chest’

gigit ‘to bite’ → *sengigit* ‘a length or height measured from one’s feet up to one’s teeth when in standing position’

Roots for the following similar measure words have not been attested in the corpus: *senyulan* ‘measure of a circle formed by touching thumb and pointing finger of both hands’; *senyintik* ‘measure of a half circle formed with thumb and middle finger of a hand’; *sengawul* ‘a span from one’s thumb to the joint of one’s middle finger (or less than a *jingkal*)’ (see section 3.3.4.3).

4.1.2.1.2 Floating quantifying phrases

When modifying a noun, quantifying phrases may float in pre- or post-nominal position. For counting individuated nouns, except for time nouns, the modifying quantifying phrase may float, either to the left (4-35) or to the right (4-36) of the head noun. Emphasis is on the quantity when QP precedes the head noun (4-35), whereas it is on the entity when it follows the head noun (4-36).

- (4-35) *N-tebas agi’ sida’ pe-lantang tay udah tih, tujuh*

⁶ Synchronically the historical form **se-* is considered here as having been lexicalized in these conjunctions. Therefore it is no longer considered as a prefix.

ACT-cut again 3p NOM-large REL already *tih* seven

buah bukit tujuh buah darung ga'.

CLASS hill seven CLASS valley also

'Again they cut down an area as large as the one they had done already, seven hills and seven valleys.'

- (4-36) *Upa tih da-am'i' ia tulang rusuk Pukat Bengawan*
as *tih* PASS-take 3s bone rib P B

bung ka kiba' s-uti'.

part to left ONE-CLASS

'That being the case, he took one of Pukat Bengawan's ribs from the left side (of his chest).'

Non-numeral quantifiers that denote "indivisible collective" meanings such as *uga* 'all', *mayuh* 'many, much', *bala* 'all kinds', *mimit*, *sikit* 'a little, a few', behave in the same way, whereas those that imply "individuals" such as *berapa* 'several', *tiap*, *masing* 'every, each' can only occupy prenominal position.

The *ke-* derived numerals have two meanings: prenominally they express a definite group of entities of the same kind, e.g. *ke-dua urang* 'the two people', *ke-nam menyadi* 'the six siblings'. Postnominally they function as ordinal numbers, e.g. *urang ke-dua* 'second person', *miak ke-nam* 'the sixth child'.

With time concepts, the ordinal concept is expressed differently: prenominally numerals refer to a time span, e.g. *dua tawun* 'two years', *lapan bulan* 'eight months'; postnominally they function as ordinal numerals, e.g. *bulan nam* 'the sixth month', *ari lima* 'the fifth day'.⁷

Two numbers are usually simply juxtaposed without a conjunction to denote non-specificness or an alternative '... (number) or ... (number); some'; optionally the numerals are preceded by an adverb such as *bansa* 'approximately', e.g.:

- (4-37) *Jadi N-pantap kayu tiga mpat uti'.*
so ACT-cut wood three four CLASS
'So, cut the wood into three or four pieces.'

- (4-38) *Baru' N-tebas bansa dua tiga depa' dulaw.*
then ACT-slash about two three MEAS first
'After that (we) first slash (small trees and bush) about two to three *depa* (fathoms).'

4.1.2.2 Nouns

A noun or noun phrase can also modify another noun or noun phrase. Various interpretations may be given to the semantic relation between the head and its modifier in such noun phrases:

⁷ With *suti*, the meaning varies a bit: *suti' ari* can mean 'a day or one (particular) day', while *ari suti* can also mean 'the next day'.

- a) possessive: generally this includes possession – possessor relationships, in which N_2 refers to the possessor and N_1 to the possession. The possessor slot may also be filled by a personal name or a pronoun. For some examples, consider:

(4-39) [tulang rusuk] N_1 [Pukat Bengawan] N_2
 bone rib P B
 ‘Pukat Bengawan’s rib’

(4-40) [uma] N_1 [ia] N_2
 rice.field 3s
 ‘his/her rice field’

- b) part-whole relationships: N_1 is part of N_2 , e.g.:

(4-41) [baruh] N_1 [peraw] N_2
 bottom.part proa
 ‘the bottom part of the proa’

(4-42) [daerah ulu] N_1 [sungay Ketungaw] N_2
 area upstream river K
 ‘the upstream area of the Ketungaw River’

- c) descriptive: N_2 describes a comparatively salient property of N_1 (e.g. substance, source, location), e.g.:

(4-43) [urang] N_1 [laki] N_2
 person male
 ‘a male (person)’

(4-44) [din’ing] N_1 [kelibak] N_2
 wall tree.bark
 ‘wooden bark wall’

(4-45) [jelu] N_1 [ay’] N_2
 animal water
 ‘water animal’

- d) N_2 is a specification of the category of N_1 , e.g.:

(4-46) [sungay] N_1 [Ketungaw] N_2
 river K
 ‘the Ketungaw River’

- (4-47) [*pun*]N₁ [*kiara* 'N₂
 tree banyan
 'banyan tree'

e) N₂ is an argument (agent or patient) of a deverbal N₁:

- (4-48) [*peN-datay*]N₁ [*agama Katulik*]N₂ (N₂ = agent)
 NOM-come religion K
 'the coming of Catholicism'

- (4-49) [*peN-kuasa*]N₁ [*tanah*]N₂ (N₂ = patient)
 NOM-power land
 'authority over land'

4.1.2.3 Participial attributes

A participial attribute is a clause (usually subjectless) which is used attributively with a noun head, without any overt marker of nominalization. In the following examples the participial attributes are in brackets:

- (4-50) *Adat* [*N-pulah rumah baru*] *tu*'...
 custom ACT-make house new this
 'The traditional custom of building a new house'
- (4-51) *Adat* [*N-kubur anak ajang*] *mudah*.
 custom ACT-grave child death.at.young.age easy
 'The custom of burying a child that dies at an early age is easy.'
- (4-52) *Masalah* [*ba-uma-bataya*'],
 problem ANPAS-rice.field-precategorial

 [*ba-kebun-ba-tanam*]
 ANPAS-garden-ANPAS-plant
 'The matter of working rice fields and working gardens'

In (4-50 and 4-51) the verb *mulah* and *ngubur* appear with the prefix *N-* and in (4-52) all verbs are derived with the prefix *ba-*. However, the nouns preceding the verbs in these examples cannot be taken as their subject. Instead the verb phrases behave if they were nominalizations. The semantic relationship between the NP head and the following clause or VP is a genitive. The label "participial attribute" results from this interpretation. The implied or explicit subject of the clause or VP in question is usually impersonal or generic, and the event or action itself is mostly habitual. In the following examples the implied subject can be inserted by using the impersonal or generic *urang* 'people' (lit. 'person'):

- (4-53) *Ka*' *N-kisah kati cara (urang) ba-uma*

want ACT-story how way person ANPAS-rice.field

ba-pin'ah-pin'ah.

ANPAS-move-RED

‘(I) want to tell a story of the way to do slash-and-burn cultivation /
(... the way people do ...).’

- (4-54) *Adat tu' ngaw (urang) N-kubur anak ajang.*
custom this for person ACT-grave child death.at.young.age
‘The custom is for people to bury a child that dies at an early age.’

4.1.2.4 Verb phrases

Verb phrases can attributively be used to describe the state of the head, such as human propensities, size, color, etc. Such meanings are usually encoded by stative verbs (4-55 and 4-56), *ba*-derived verbs denoting states (4-57 and 4-58), and some non-finite or “zero marked” transitive verbs (4-59 to 4-62) (for the latter see section 7.2.2):

- (4-55) *s-iku' babi kerampak*
ONE-CLASS pig egotistic
‘an egotistic pig’

- (4-56) a. *tepayan itam besay*
jar black big
‘big black jar’
b. *tepayan besay itam*
jar big black
‘big jar that is black’ (lit. ‘black big jar’)

- (4-57) *sedua ba-duay⁸ nya'*
3d.coll ANPAS-sibling.in.law that
‘those two having a sibling-in-law relationship’

- (4-58) *urang ba-nama ia'*
person ANPAS-name that
‘that famous person’ (lit. ‘that person having name’)

- (4-59) *ubi tunu*
cassava bake
‘baked cassava’

- (4-60) *pisang sumay*
banana cook
‘boiled banana’

⁸ *Ba-duay* is family relationship between husbands of women who are siblings.

- (4-61) *kemansay* *lalin*
 rattan.fish.scoop plait
 ‘plaited rattan fish scoop’

- (4-62) *jelu* *piara*
 animal domesticate
 ‘domesticated animal’

Syntactically such noun phrases resemble a full-fledged clause, and it is only the intonation that distinguishes them. In a clause, there is a short falling intonation contour between the subject of the clause and its predicate, whereas in a phrase the contour is just flat throughout. Semantically such noun phrases as (4-55 to 4-58) also resemble relativized NPs (see section 10.5). More than one static intransitive verb can modify a head, as in (4-56).⁹ In such a case the one that appears closer to the head constitutes the primary attribute of the head.

In descriptive noun phrases (4-59 – 4-62) the use of non-finite verbs describes the state the head noun is in. In such noun phrases, the typically transitive verbal roots are not inflected at all, and so are used “inactively” or in a stative sense (see Chapter 9). In clauses it is commonly found that morphologically unmarked transitive verbs imply a stative or passive-like meaning. The above noun phrases are structurally analogous to clauses (4-63) below. However, the type of the modifying verb in phrases such as (4-59 – 4-62) seem to be restricted to those of activity-process verbs that inherently are durative. Verbs like *palu* ‘hit’ seem not to occur, since they cannot be used in a stative sense.¹⁰

- (4-63) *Ubi* (*udah*) *tunu.*
 cassava PERF bake
 ‘The cassava has been baked.’
 or ‘The cassava (someone) has baked.’

4.1.2.5 Prepositional phrases

The various prepositions and their functions will be discussed separately in Chapter 5. Here the modifying function of prepositional phrases (PP) within NPs is addressed. PPs can function both at the clausal and phrasal level. At the phrasal level PPs modify the reference of a NP head; in a clause PPs either have predicate function, or as adjuncts they provide additional, background information. In certain contexts there is ambiguity whether a PP functions at phrasal or clausal level. To deal with this ambiguity, the following clues are observed:

- a) context;
- b) structure: the modifying PP obligatorily directly follows the modified NP.
 At clausal level, however, the PP is floating;

⁹ Static intransitive verbs refer to adjectival-like verbs; see section 7.1.2 for such verbs.

¹⁰ For the inherent boundedness and duration of verbs, see for example Givón (2001a:287ff).

- c) intonation: the whole NP, including the modifying PP, are uttered under a single flat contour. In a clause, for example, containing a PP predicate (see Chapter 6), either a slight rising or falling contour on the subject NP demarcates the subject NP from the PP predicate.

Attested in the data are PPs that restrict the NP head in terms of spatial relationships *da* 'location' (4-64), *ka* 'direction' (4-65), *ari* 'source' (4-66 and 4-67), and purposive *ngaw* 'for' (4-68) (the whole PP-modified NP is put in brackets):

- (4-64) *Padah ka [sida' da rumah] ti N-tung'u' ia.*
 say to 3p LOC house REL ACT-wait 3s
 'Tell them at home who is waiting for her!'
- (4-65) *Upa tih da-am'i' ia tulang rusuk Pukat Bengawan*
 as tih PASS-take 3s bone rib P B
 [bung ka kiba' s-uti'].
 part to left ONE-CLASS
 'That being the case, he took one of Pukat Bengawan's ribs from the left side (of his chest).'
- (4-66) *Keban [raja ari nya'] ka' N-pinta' ia*
 all.kind king from that want ACT-ask 3s
 'All kings from there wanted to propose her'
- (4-67) *... ngaw [peti' ari buluh].*
 use k.o.animal.trap from bamboo
 '... use an animal trap (made) of bamboo.'
- (4-68) *[Kemansay ngaw N-ulih ikan tu'] da-pulah ari uwi.*
 fish.scoop for ACT-get fish this PASS-make from rattan
 'This fish scoop for getting fish is made of rattan.'

Semantically such PP-modified NPs resemble NPs that are modified by a relative clause whose restricting clause comprises a prepositional phrase (see section 10.5).

4.1.2.6 Relative clauses

Included in nominal modifiers are relative clauses (RCs). However, since there are some clause-level issues, such as syntactic functions (e.g. subject, object) and types of predicates (see Chapter 6) that are required for the description of their internal structure and functions, a full treatment of relative clauses is deferred until Chapter 10 (section 10.5). As an illustration, some examples are given below (the restricting relative clause with *tay* or *ti* as a relativizer marker is in brackets):

- (4-69) *urang [tay N-padah ka ku]*
 person REL ACT-say to 1s

‘the person who said to me’

- (4-70) *kita* [*tay in 'u*]
 ip.incl REL female
 ‘we who are female’

- (4-71) *tajaw* [*tay besay*]
 jar REL big
 ‘a jar that is big’

4.1.2.7 Demonstratives

When modifying a head post-nominally, demonstratives (*tu* ‘this’, *ia* / *nya* ‘that’, *nyin* ‘that over there’, and *nyun* ‘that far away’; see section 3.3.5) perform three different functions:

1) *pointing to the actual “utterance-external” location of the entity*, e.g.:

- (4-72) *Dini sida' ia' diaw?*
 where 3p that stay
 ‘Where do they (those people) stay?’

- (4-73) *Semua urang da sungay Sepan nyin.*
 all person LOC river S that.over.there
 ‘All people on the Sepan River over there.’

2) *marking definiteness*, i.e. anaphorically referring to a referent. *Nyin* ‘that over there’ and *nyun* ‘that far away’ cannot function in this way. Some examples are:

- (4-74) *Ia', mpu ku tanah ia'.*
 that have 1s land that
 ‘That means I have that land / the land is mine.’

- (4-75) *Baru' urang ti ba-ajar nya'*
 then person REL ANPAS-teach that
 ‘Then the person who gave the advice (for the bride and the groom)
 ’

- (4-76) *Aday kisah urang tuay kelia' tih, kisah mula-mula*
 exist story person old old.time tih story beginning-
 REDworld this

da-pulah urang.
 PASS-make person
 ‘There is a story from our ancestors from olden times, a story of how this world was made by somebody in the beginning.’

In (4-74) the first *ia*’ pronominally refers to the aforementioned statements. The second one modifies the land just being talked about in previous sentences. In (4-75) *nya*’ refers back to a person doing the activity of giving (lit. teaching) advice. In (4-76) *tu*’ defines the “world” based on the shared-knowledge of the speech participants involved, although the world was actually not mentioned before.

3) *topicalizing a NP*. This function is performed by the demonstrative *tu*’. A discussion of this pragmatic use of the demonstrative will be given in section 9.3.1.1. In the illustrative example below, *tu*’ does not modify the preceding nouns in the way the other demonstratives modify the NPs in clauses (4-72 – 4-76) above. Rather *tu*’ marks the NP as a topicalized constituent. There is a slight intonational rise on the marker *tu*’ followed by a short break.

(4-77) *Beram tu’ da-pulah ari beras pulut.*
 k.o.alcohol TOP PASS-make from rice glutinous.rice
 ‘The *beram* [it] is made from glutinous rice.’

4.1.2.7.1 Temporal orientation

As in many other languages (see Givón 2001a:97), the spatial orientation of Mualang demonstratives is also expanded into a temporal orientation. The distance in space of these demonstratives is reflected in time. It is represented as follows (parentheses indicate relative boundaries):

----- past (*tih*)----- present ----- future (*lah*)-----
 |-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
 (nyun) (nyin) (nya’/ia’) (tu’) (nya’/ia’) (nyin) (nyun)

When used on its own, *tu*’ may mean ‘now, presently’:

(4-78) *Tu’ ba-balik udih kisah ku tu’.*
 this ANPAS-turn.back udih story 1s this
 ‘Now my story turns back again (to the main line).’

(4-79) *Keba’, sampay ka tu’ aday tanah badi*
 therefore until to this exist soil curse
 ‘Therefore, until now there are cursed soils’

Whether one should favor a locative or temporal interpretation of *tu'* is usually disambiguated by context. In (4-78) the speaker was talking about something else and now he turns back to his main story. In (4-79) the speaker is talking about breaking a particular taboo in the past that still has implications for the present. Compare also *tu'* in example (4-81) below, where a time interpretation does not match the context, since *tu'* refers cataphorically to what the speaker is about to tell next.

When time nouns such as *ari* 'day', *bulan* 'month', *tawun* 'year' are modified by a demonstrative, *tu'* and *nya'* add a feature [proximate], while *nyin* and *nyun* a feature [distant]. The time expressions using demonstratives alone express future reference, as in (4-80a). The illocutionary marker *lah* can optionally be added to the future temporal expressions to emphasize the upcoming time. For past reference, the illocutionary marker *tih* is obligatorily added to the time expressions using demonstratives, as in (4-80b).

(4-80) a. Past reference with demonstratives

<i>bulan</i>	<i>nya'</i>	<i>tih</i>	'last month'
<i>bulan</i>	<i>nyin</i>	<i>tih</i>	'more than a month ago'
<i>bulan</i>	<i>nyun</i>	<i>tih</i>	'months ago'

b. Present and future reference with demonstratives

<i>bulan</i>	<i>tu'</i>		'this month'
<i>bulan</i>	<i>nya'</i>	(<i>lah</i>)	'next month'
<i>bulan</i>	<i>nyin</i>	(<i>lah</i>)	'more than a month ahead from now'
<i>bulan</i>	<i>nyun</i>	(<i>lah</i>)	'months ahead from now'

4.1.3 Appositive and conjoined noun phrases

Examples of appositive noun phrases are given in brackets as in (4-81 – 4-83):

- (4-81) *Tu' ku N-kisah cara kita* [Mualang] ...
 this 1s ACT-story way 1p.incl M
 'This, I am telling the way we, the Mualang,'

- (4-82) *Kikay m'ih [Apay Aluy]?*
 to.where 2s.masc father A
 'Where are you going, Aluy's father?'

- (4-83) *Da kampung bukay, [kampung raja]*
 LOC village other village king
 'In another village, the king's village'

Besides being a conjunction at clause level (see section 10.6.1.1), *aba'* 'and' functions at the phrase level to conjoin several coordinate NPs:

- (4-84) *Semak kubur [urang tuay aba' ayung-gempung].*
 near grave person old and family-PREC
 'It was close to the parent's and families' graves.'

- (4-85) *Kisah [beruang aba' kekura].*
 story bear and tortoise
 'The story of the bear and the tortoise.'

4.2 Nominalization

Nouns can be derived from several word classes via the nominalizing prefixes *peN-*, *per-*, and *ke-*. The bases they attach to are mostly verbs; only in some cases do they combine with quantifiers, nouns, and precategorial forms. The resulting derived nouns refer to the participants (e.g. agent, patient, location, instrument, result) of the activity or process referred to by the base or a participant typically associated with it. The derivation is framed in (4-86) (adapted from Payne 1997:225) (B = Base, N = noun):

- (4-86) Verbal derivation to noun

B → NPARTICIPANT of B

Prefixes *peN-*, *per-*, and *ke-* are discussed in the following sections.

4.2.1 *Pe(N)-*

The prefix *pe(N)-* is the most productive nominalizer in Mualang. See Chapter 2 for rules of nasalization. Given that *pe(N)-* is the only really productive nominal prefix available, its functional load is high. It can derive an array of participant nominalizations, even with verbs of the same semantic category, as shown in the following examples:

- (4-87) *Pe(N)-*nominalizations with verbal base:

- a) static intransitive (or adjectival-like stative) verbs: result nominalization

<i>lantang</i> 'large'	<i>pelantang</i>	'largeness'
<i>ting'i</i> 'high, tall'	<i>pening'i</i>	'height'
<i>tuay</i> 'old'	<i>penuay</i>	'oldness'
<i>bayik</i> 'good; beautiful'	<i>pemayik</i>	'goodness; beauty'
<i>putih</i> 'white'	<i>pemutih</i>	'white, whiteness'
<i>gaga</i> 'happy'	<i>pengaga</i>	'happiness'
<i>pedih</i> 'sad; sick'	<i>pemedih</i>	'sadness; sickness'

- b) intransitive verbs of position: location (and incidentally other meanings)

<i>duduk</i> 'sit'	<i>penuduk</i>	'place used for sitting (e.g. chair)'
<i>diaw</i> 'stay, live; quiet'	<i>peniaw</i>	'place of living; a calm person; calmness'
<i>tin'uk</i> 'sleep'	<i>penin'uk</i>	'bed; person who just sleeps all the time'
<i>gali</i> 'lie down'	<i>pengali</i>	'place for lying down; the lying down'

c) intransitive verbs of state: patient, experiencer

<i>mati</i> 'dead'	<i>pemati</i>	'death; deceased person'
<i>idup</i> 'alive'	<i>pengidup</i>	'domestic animals; life'
<i>mabuk</i> 'drunk'	<i>pemabuk</i>	'drunkard'

f) intransitive verbs of motion: action, result, location

<i>terbay</i> 'fly'	<i>penerbay</i>	'flight; flying'
<i>rari</i> 'descend'	<i>perari</i>	'the run'
<i>turun</i> 'descend'	<i>penurun</i>	'the descending (of a road)'
<i>datay</i> 'come'	<i>penatay</i>	'arrival; place one comes from, place of origin'

g) transitive verbs of perception, cognition, utterance: result, experiencer

<i>padah</i> 'say, tell'	<i>pemadah</i>	'saying'
<i>pikir</i> 'think'	<i>pemikir</i>	'thought; thinker'
<i>peda</i> 'see'	<i>pemeda</i>	'sight'

h) transitive action verbs: various meanings (patient, agent/instrument, action, location)

<i>tam'ak</i> 'plant'	<i>penam'ak</i>	'plant'
<i>pakay</i> 'eat'	<i>pemakay</i>	'food'
<i>sumay</i> 'cook'	<i>penyumay</i>	'food'
<i>bantu</i> 'help'	<i>pemantu</i>	'helper; help'
<i>palu</i> 'beat, hit'	<i>pemalu</i>	'the beat; hammer'
<i>beri</i> 'give'	<i>pemeri</i>	'gift; giver; giving'
<i>ipa</i> 'peek'	<i>pengipa</i>	'place of peeking; person who peeks'

In the following attested examples, the bases are not verbs but a quantifier, a noun, and a precatatorial root, respectively:

<i>mayuh</i> 'many, much'	<i>pemayuh</i>	'amount'
<i>jalay</i> 'road'	<i>pejalay</i> (* <i>penyalay</i>)	'the walk, trip', ¹¹
<i>guraw</i> (precatatorial)	<i>peguraw</i> (* <i>penguraw</i>)	'joke, tease; toy; place of playing', ¹²

¹¹ Formatively, the derived form *pejalay* can be said to have a noun base *jalay*. However, semantically it might plausibly be considered as being derived from the event *bajalay* 'to walk'.

¹² Pungak (1976:63) also listed *pengkelubang* (the root *lubang* 'hole' occurs) 'a trapping hole for wild animals', and *pengkeriu* (cf. the root *riu* 'to long for') 'k.o. magic'. Such forms also display unusual morphophonemic and morphological patterns, which suggest lexicalization. I also found the following "doublets": *ramu* and *peramu* 'things, property', *lawang* and

4.2.1.1 The use of *pe(N)*- for comparison and exclamation

Pe(N)- derivation with bases of static intransitive verbs are used for comparison and exclamation. Since such usages are better illustrated in their clausal contexts, they will be treated separately in Chapter 6 (sections 6.1.2 and 6.1.3).

4.2.2 *Per*-

The derivation with *per*- is less productive. The base it attaches to is that of transitive verbs. The following examples are attested:

- (4-88)
- | | |
|------------------------------|---|
| <i>mpu</i> ‘have’ | <i>perempu</i> ‘possession’ (patient nominalization) ¹³ |
| <i>ulih</i> ‘gain’ | <i>perulih</i> ‘gain’ (patient nominalization) |
| <i>atur</i> ‘order, arrange’ | <i>peratur</i> ‘rule’ (result nominalization) |
| <i>ayun</i> ‘swing’ | <i>perayun</i> ‘swing’ (as for a baby) (instrument nominalization) |
| <i>anyut</i> ‘swept away’ | <i>peranyut</i> ‘the being swept away (by water)’ (action nominalization) |

4.2.3 *Ke*-

The prefix *ke*- is much less productive compared to the prefix *per*-. Generally it derives abstract nouns from intransitive verbs. (This nominal *ke*- should not be confused with its homonym verbal inchoative *ke*- discussed in Chapter 7.) The following examples are attested:

- (4-89)
- | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>turun</i> ‘descend’ | <i>keturun</i> ‘descendant’ |
| <i>kaya</i> ‘rich’ | <i>kekaya</i> ‘wealth’ |
| <i>rusak</i> ‘damaged’ | <i>kerusak</i> ‘damage’ |
| <i>biasa</i> ‘habitual’ | <i>kebiasa</i> ‘habit’ |
| <i>dua</i> ‘(pre)category’ | <i>kedua</i> ‘part’ |
| <i>putus</i> ‘broken’ | <i>keputus</i> ‘decision’ |

Two *ke*-derivations (with optionally reduplicated bases) are used to introduce time adverbial clauses (see also section 10.4):

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| <i>panyay</i> ‘long (distance)’ | <i>kepanyay(-panyay)</i> ‘after so long (in distance or time)’ |
| <i>lama</i> ‘long (time)’ | <i>kelama’(-lama)’</i> ‘after so long (in time)’ |

The following two cases show unusual *ke*-derivations:

- (4-90)
- | | |
|------------------------------|--|
| <i>pansay</i> ‘scoop (fish)’ | <i>kemansay</i> ‘k.o. rattan basket used to scoop fish’ |
| <i>pinang</i> ‘betelnut’ | <i>keminang</i> ‘ingredients (betel nut, betel and lime (from shell)) for chewing’ |

pelawang ‘door, house, household’. All of them are nouns; but it seems to me that the forms with *pe*- have a nuance of plurality.

¹³ Note that the *e* (schwa) in *perempu* is an epenthetic vowel added to conform to the canonical syllable structure.

Thus far, the nasalization of the bases with *ke-* prefixation has only been found in these two forms. The case is similar to *se-* derivation exemplified in (4-34) above (section 4.1.2.1.1). It seems that the prefix *ke-* is attached not to the base but to the stem prefixed with *N-*. One possibility of dealing with such forms is to consider them as lexically frozen, that is, *ke-* in those forms no longer serves as a prefix but constitutes a syllable of the lexical root.¹⁴

4.3 Non-verbal reduplication

Reduplication is a structural repetition of a root or a stem, with or without sound changes. A root or stem of most words may potentially undergo reduplication, and as a consequence the reduplicated forms may vary in meaning depending on the basic or primary meaning of their roots. Below we will see that anomalous meanings and irregular forms occur in various paradigms. Reduplication is discussed on the basis of word class: nouns (4.3.1), derived nouns (4.3.2), quantifiers (4.3.3), and pronouns (4.3.4). Verbal reduplication is deferred until Chapter 8 (section 8.3).

4.3.1 Noun reduplication

As an open-ended word class, nouns (besides verbs) are the most likely to undergo reduplication. The primary, productive meaning that results from noun reduplication is to make plurality explicit, that is, to express the unspecified quantity of more than one item. Note that plurality in itself may imply diversity; however, the latter feature is not the primary function expressed or intended by noun reduplication. That is, if a speaker says *urang-urang* ‘person + RED’, he/she simply intends to say that there is more than one person, rather than stating that there is a variety of people (of age, race, sex, etc.). Thus, in (4-91) below, the reduplication of *batu* ‘stone’ and *dan* ‘branch’ indicates that more than one of the individual items were taken. In contrast, unreduplicated *ikan* ‘fish’ in (4-92) designates a generic meaning, and not plurality, although “generic” may also imply plurality.

- (4-91) *Da-kumpul* *batu-batu,* *da-susun* *aba’ dan-dan*
 PASS-gather stone-RED PASS-arrange with branch-RED
- kayu, baru’ da-pulah upa pagar.*
 tree then PASS-make like fence
 ‘Stones were gathered, they were arranged with tree branches, then
 they were constructed like a fence.’
- (4-92) *Kemansay ngaw N-ulih ikan tu’ da-pulah ari uwi.*
 fish.scoop for ACT-get fish this PASS-make from rattan

¹⁴ See also footnote 31 in Chapter 2.

<i>pe(N)-datay</i>	(NOM-come)	<i>penatay-penatay</i> ‘arrivals, places of origin’
<i>pe(N)-palu’</i>	(NOM-hit)	<i>pemalu’-pemalu’</i> ‘hammers’

2. Partial reduplication, in which it is only the base which is reduplicated. (Nasalization may apply to the base beginning with particular consonants; see section 2.5.4.1). The derived form expresses intensity of the meaning of the base and is used in exclamatory clauses (see section 6.1.3). For some illustrative examples, consider:

pe(N)- + panyay ‘long’ + RED → *pemanyay-menyay* ‘great length’
pe(N)- + bula ‘lie’ + RED → *pemula’-mula’* ‘big liar’
pe(N)- + putih ‘white’ + RED → *pemutih-mutih* ‘very white color’
pe(N)- + nitaw ‘stupid’ + RED → *penitaw’-nitaw’* ‘big stupidity’
pe(N)- + panci ‘beautiful’ + RED → *pemanci-manci* ‘great beauty’
pe(N)- + lemah ‘weak’ + RED → *pelemah-lemah* ‘the very weakness’

3. Partial reduplication in the pattern of *pe-CV-root*, where *CV* is the first syllable of the reduplicated base, which may have undergone nasalization. It seems that this type of partial reduplication is an alternative phonetic realization of the partial reduplication of type 2 above. It is often found in very rapid speech and seems to be applicable only with regard to some reduplicated forms. A more detailed examination is needed for this phenomenon.¹⁵ Some examples are:

gaga ‘glad’ → *pengaga-ngaga* → *pengengaga* ‘great joy’
deray ‘bright’ → *peneray-neray* → *peneneray* ‘great brightness (of flame)’
lemah ‘weak’ → *pelemah-lemah* → *pelelemah* ‘the very weakness’
baik ‘kind, good, beautiful’ → *pemayik-mayik* → *pemamayik* ‘great kindness/goodness/beauty’

4.3.3 Quantifier reduplication

Numeral reduplication denotes a distributive amount of the item in question, i.e. the same amount on each occasion:

- (4-97) *ba-jalay* *s-iku’-s-iku’*
 ANPAS-road ONE-CLASS-RED
 ‘walk one by one’

- (4-98) *am’i’* *dua-dua*
 take two-RED
 ‘take two by two (each time in the amount of two)’

¹⁵ I noticed that if reduplication results in a word with more than four syllables, it is likely to undergo truncation, especially in rapid speech, e.g. *sekali-sekali* ‘sometimes’ becomes *sese kali*.

With non-numeral quantifiers, reduplication also affects a distributive meaning, although it can convey an emphatic meaning, e.g.:

- (4-99) *am 'i' mayuh-mayuh*
 take many-RED
 'take as many as you can' (i.e. large amounts taken on each occasion)
- (4-100) *am 'i' mimit-mimit*
 take little-RED
 'take little by little'

The partitive quantifier *tiap* 'each' is also reduplicated, with only a slight difference in meaning, e.g. *tiap urang* 'each person' vs. *tiap-tiap urang* 'each and every person'. There is also a form *se-tiap* (ONE-each) which is also close in meaning, but does not have an emphatic sense. The meaning of *tiap-tiap* is also close to *masing-masing* 'every (individually)'.

4.3.4 Pronoun reduplication

Semantically pronouns are specified for number. They refer to uncountable concepts, so, for instance, we cannot say that there are two persons of the same individual. Reduplication of pronouns results in repetitive emphasis, which implies that an event is emphatically pertinent to the individual(s) referred to by the pronoun, e.g.:

- (4-101) *Tem'u' ku ka ku ti da-suruh.*
 end 1s to 1s REL PASS-order
 'At the end it is me and me again that will be ordered (to do it).'
- (4-102) *Nsia mulay ari tem'away Labay Laway sampay ka*
 human begin from settlement L L until to
- Tampun Juah nisi' da-padah sida' sanu'-*
 T J EXIST.NEG PASS-tell 3p 3.INDEF-
- sida' sanu'....*
 RED
 '(The migration story of) people from the settlement of Labay Laway
 to Tampun Juah has not been told by those very people from there
 '

In (4-101) a syntactic reduplication with the preposition *ka* is used.

4.4 Nominal Compounding

Compounding may be nominal or verbal. Here I will give a description of nominal compounds; a detailed discussion of verbal compounding will be given in Chapter 8. Compounds are commonly found in Malayic languages, yet the boundary between them and “regular” phrases is not always clear.¹⁶ The classic problem revolves around whether examples such as the following should be treated as compounds or noun phrases:

(4-103)	<i>din'ing batu</i>	‘stone wall’
	<i>din'ing papan</i>	‘board wall’
	<i>din'ing kayu</i>	‘wooden wall’
	<i>din'ing kelibak</i>	‘bark wall’
	<i>rumah panyay</i>	‘long house; (traditional) longhouse’
	<i>urang tuay</i>	‘old person; parent’
	<i>kapal terbay</i>	‘airplane’

One way of dealing with the difficulty is to compare what is possibly compounding with reduplication on the one hand and noun phrases on the other, both from a syntactical and semantic perspective. For Mualang, I propose two general types of nominal compounds, which are labeled here on semantic grounds:

- a) generic compounds
- b) specific compounds

4.4.1 Generic compounds

The following discussion has benefited from the description in Pawley (1993:99ff) and Pungak (1976:65ff). Generic compounding in Mualang is a grammatical strategy used in a similar fashion as described by Pawley (1993:100) for Kalam, a language of the New Guinea Highlands: “... to form a generic nominal by stringing together the names of some or all of (the most salient) members of the class, normally without intervening pause or intonation juncture. The resulting expression is a true nominal compound because the constituents stand in a coordinate relation.” Also, “The Kalam compounds can be compared with such English collocations as *brothers and sisters*; *men, women and children*; and *sheep and cattle*, which in some contexts are pragmatically equivalent to and may be preferred to the single word labels *sibling*, *people* and *stock*.” Some Kalam examples Pawley gives are *aps-basd* (grandmother-grandfather) ‘grandparents’, *kaj-kayn-koby* (pig-dog-cassowary) ‘large animals’, *kmn-as-kopyak* (game.mammals-small.edible.furry.animals-rats) ‘animals’. Consider the formal and semantic similarities between the Kalam and Mualang examples in (4-104) below (for sake of clarity, a hyphen is inserted between the elements in the compounds):

(4-104)	<i>apay-inay</i> (father-mother)	‘parents’
	<i>aki'-ini</i> (grandfather-grandmother)	‘grandparents’

¹⁶ Cf. Minde 1997:81ff for Ambonese Malay.

<i>umpan-rempah</i> (rice/food-sidedish)	‘meal, food’
<i>babi-manuk</i> (pig-chicken)	‘stock’
<i>reta-ben’a</i> (treasure-thing)	‘treasure, wealth’
<i>buah-layah</i> (fruit-precategorial)	‘(all kinds of) fruits’
<i>peN-sakit-peN-pedih</i> (NOM-sick–NOM-sick)	‘(all kinds of) sickness’
<i>rampang-umang</i> (shavings-skin)	‘traces, remnants’
<i>tikay-biday</i> (mat-k.o.mat)	‘all kinds of mats’

From these examples it transpires that plurality and diversity are inherent features of generic compounds. The feature diversity is apparent in case near synonyms are coordinated. Also, compounds are stylistically marked. Functional generic (sub)categories of particular culture-related items are formed through selective pairing of items. Some examples below are taken from Pungak (1976:66-67):

(4-105) Functional generic (sub)categorizations in compounds

- 1) animals (cf. single words: *jelu* ‘animal’, *peN-idup* (NOM-live) ‘domestic animals’):
 - a) stock (e.g. when talking of food, offerings): *babi-manuk* (pig-chicken)
 - b) large animals causing damage in the rice field: *babi-rusa* ‘(pig-deer)
 - c) animals living on trees causing damage: *beruk-keru* ‘(short-tailed macaque–long-tailed macaque)
 - d) small animals causing damage: *tupay-bunya* ‘(kinds of rodents)
- 2) Cooking utensils:
 - a) plate-related tools: *ping’an-mangkuk* (plate-bowl)
 - b) cooking containers: *kuali-periuk* (frying pan-boiling pot)
 - c) spoons: *sengkidaw-catuk* (rice.spoon-eating.spoon)
- 3) Kinship affiliation:
 - a) relatives: *ayung-gempung* (family-precategorial)
 - b) family: *bilik-lawang* (room-house)
 - c) grandparent: *aki’-ini* ‘(grandfather-grandmother)
 - d) parent: *apay-inay* (father-mother)
 - e) spouses: *laki-bini* (husband-wife)
 - f) sibling: *menyadi’-senih* (sibling-precategorial)

Given the meaning of generic compounds, the important question is how productive is it as a grammatical process in contemporary Mualang? In contrast to reduplication, it is completely unproductive; it does not generate new items (see also Pungak’s (1976:66) observation). In specific contexts, however, such as the oral tradition *kana*, creative story-tellers still make use of it. The only generic compounds used nowadays are those related to socio-culturally established things, as listed above. New items most likely come in via borrowing, from Malay/Indonesian. Some constituents of compounds have become frozen, giving rise to what has been referred to as “precategorial forms”, e.g. *gempung* of *ayung-gempung* ‘relatives’, *senih* of *menyadi’-senih* ‘siblings’.

Although the process itself is close to become obsolete, the resulting compounds have to be accounted for anyway, due to their different semantic behavior from “free expression” phrases. The most typical feature of regular phrases is that the head noun is modified by other constituents, whereas in compounds the constituents are in a coordinate relationship. Such coordinate relationship also obtains in the juxtaposition of two clauses as in (4-106 – 109), and perhaps such structures are at the basis of this type of nominal compounds:¹⁷

(4-106) *M'ih tay mpu tapang mpu lalaw.* = *tapang-lalaw*
 2s.masc REL have k.o.tree have k.o.tree
 (said to a god) ‘You who have all kinds of (big) trees.’

(4-107) *M'ih tay mpu sungay mpu lanaw.* = *sungay-lanaw*
 2s.masc REL have river have river
 (said to a god) ‘You who have all kinds of rivers.’

(4-108) *M'ih tay mpu tanah mpu ampah.* = *tanah-ampah*
 2s.masc REL have earth have PREC
 (said to a god) ‘You who have the earth and everything on it.’

(4-109) *gaway N-bunuh babi N-bunuh manuk* = *babi-manuk*
 feast ACT-kill pig ACT-kill chicken
 ‘feast where people kill pigs and chicken’

Although the constituents of generic compounds are coordinative, their order in compounds is fixed, reflecting their relative cultural tendency. *Babi* ‘pig’, for instance, plays a paramount important role in Mualang cultural activities. So do male over female (*apay-inay*), large over small items (*kuali-periuk*), etc. Words coding such items would be mentioned first in the order.¹⁸

¹⁷ The choice between using a compound or a clausal juxtaposition may be motivated by the fact that in the former emphasis is on the objects, whereas in the latter emphasis is on the action or event.

Examples (4-106 – 4-108) display the use of parallelism in Mualang ritual texts. Many paired correspondences have, however, nowadays become lexical compounds. Borneo has been noted as one of the areas that still maintains parallelism (Fox 1988:9, 306). For Mualang, Fox also noticed abundant use of parallelism in Dunselman’s texts (cf. 1954, 1955, 1959a, 1959b). In addition, ritual texts in Paternus (2001) pertaining to offerings to gods also present examples of parallelism. I noticed that parallelism is prominent when people are praying most likely to intensify their prayers in order to “persuade” gods.

¹⁸ Cooper and Ross (1975) (cited in Givón 2001b:17) have noted such a culturally-governed preference in various languages.

4.4.2 Specific compounds

Noun phrases can be lexicalized and specified semantically, thus referring to a particular single entity. Such cases result in specific compounds.¹⁹ Specific compounds can be derived from genitive noun phrases (i.e. those that have a modifying noun as in (4-110 – 4-111)) and descriptive noun phrases (i.e. those that have a modifying static intransitive verb as in (4-112 – 4-114)):

- (4-110) *ay'-mata*
 water-eye
 'tears'
- (4-111) *anak-buah*
 child-fruit
 'helper'
- (4-112) *rumah-panyay*
 house-long
 '(traditional) longhouse' (cf. with phrasal structure 'long house')
- (4-113) *ben'a-tuay*
 thing-old
 'antique (object)' (cf. with phrasal structure 'old thing')
- (4-114) *ay'-idup*
 water-alive
 'uncooked water'

Such forms resemble regular noun phrases, but cannot undergo the same grammatical processes as regular phrases. For example, their "frozen modifying" constituents cannot be reduplicated since they are no longer modifiers (*rumah panyay-panyay* results in a completely different meaning, e.g. "houses that on the average are long", see section 8.3). The frozen "modifier" is fixed in its position, namely directly following the "head" noun. If its position changes, the meaning of the compound will change, e.g. **rumah besar panyay* ('a long big house').²⁰ However, the distinctive grammatical behaviour of noun phrases and the compounds derived from noun phrases are not always clear, since there is much overlapping between them. A certain kind of ambiguity arises due to the fact that some collocations are made via metaphorical analogy with the primary meanings of their constituents. For example the use of *buah* 'fruit' in *buah-lengan* (fruit-arm) 'upper arm (above the elbow), biceps', *buah-darah* (fruit-blood) 'heart', *buah-buk* (fruit-hair) 'small hard part of hair that looks like a seed', and *buah pedara* (fruit-offering) 'words of offerings', is based on the physical or functional similarity to the

¹⁹ Such lexicalization is also found in reduplicated forms, e.g. *kekura* 'tortoise', *reribu* 'k.o. tree' (in Pungak (1976b:136), where it is said that the word is derived from *ribu* 'thousand', and that it symbolizes a long life).

²⁰ Similar cases occur in English as well (cf. Givón 2001b).

original entity “fruit” as in *buah pisang* (fruit banana) ‘banana fruit’. The closest derivative meaning may be as in *buah pedara*’, while the rest may be considered figurative. Such cases are not easy to deal with and need in-depth semantic study.

In contrast to generic compounds, specific compounds are relatively productive or are currently used via borrowings from Malay/Indonesian, e.g.:

- (4-115) *senapang* *patah*
 gun broken
 ‘(k.o.) rifle’
- (4-116) *sekolah* *Alkitab*
 school Bible
 ‘theological school’
- (4-117) *banyak* *tanah/buk*
 oil soil/hair
 ‘kerosene/pomade’

5 PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES

This chapter describes the prepositional phrase, which comprises a preposition as the head and its headed noun phrase. The simple prepositions available in Mualang are given first and explained individually in terms of their function. For the sake of convenience, the prepositions are categorized as locative prepositions (5.1), which are *da*, *ka*, *ari*, *ntara*, *sampay*, and *nyantuk*; and non-locative prepositions (5.2), which are *ngaw*, *aba'*, *ulih*, *upa*, *nuna'*, and *ngusung*. Locative prepositions share a common semantic feature expressing location or direction of the noun or noun phrase they head, although, their function can be extended to other uses as well. Some of the prepositions have clearly developed from verbs and still co-exist with their verbal counterparts, which occasionally may lead to semantic ambiguity, notably when they are used with another verb in a serial verb construction (SVC). Grammatical features of SVC's will be discussed later in Chapter 10. However, in this chapter it will be shown that there are at least three grammatical clues that are associated with the prepositional function, namely coreferentiality of clausal arguments, word order, and morphological reduction. In SVC's, both verbs share the same subject, but such an interpretation does not apply to prepositions, thus (5-1) cannot be interpreted as 'he ate and followed me somewhere'.

- (5-1) *Ia N-pakay aba' ku.*
 3s ACT-eat with/follow 1s
 'He ate with me.'

Typically as an adjunct, the word order of a prepositional phrase within a clause may be changed (for focus), as in (5-2) or (5-3):

- (5-2) *Ia aba' ku N-pakay.*
 3s with 1s ACT-eat
 'It was with me, that he ate.'
- (5-3) *Aba' ku ia N-pakay.*
 with 1s 3s ACT-eat
 'He ate with me (rather than with someone else).'

Several prepositions even now retain the inflected prefix of the verb as in *ngusung* (from *gusung* 'to meet, to go after') and *nuna'* (from *tuna'* 'to follow').¹

¹ It is hard to make any comments about *aba'*, *ngaw* and *sampay* since they always appear in their bare form.

After discussing the locative and non-locative prepositions in 5.1 and 5.2 respectively, I will proceed to complex prepositions in 5.3.

5.1 Locative prepositions

5.1.1 The preposition *da*

The preposition *da* 'LOC' has *di* as its variant. Their phonological manifestations have been discussed in Chapter 2 (section 2.5). Its functions are as follows:

- a) to express a locative role of the headed noun or noun phrases. Pronouns, names and demonstratives may be headed as well.

- (5-4) *Ia diaw da padung.*
3p stay LOC attic
'He stayed quiet in the attic.'
- (5-5) *Amang ku, utay ia' aday da ia/Apay Aluy.*
think 1s thing that exist LOC 3s/AA
'I think, the thing is on him/Aluy's father.'
- (5-6) *Agi' nam da ku.*
still six LOC 1s
'There are still six of them with me.'
- (5-7) *Nya', da ia'/da tu'.*
that LOC that/LOC this
[while pointing] 'There it is.' (lit. 'at that/at this')
- b) to specify a particular point in time:
- (5-8) *Udah ia', ku diaw ditu', da tawun 1970.*
already that 1s stay here LOC year 1970
'After that, I lived here, in 1970.'
- (5-9) *Da jaman kelia' tih, naday isi' semprut.*
LOC time old.time tih NEG content spray
'In the past, there was no pesticide.'
- c) to mark a locative oblique participant:
- (5-10) *Sida' N-pesaw da ku tih.*
3p ACT-order LOC 1s tih
'They told me the message.'

- (5-11) *Jadi, ia' da-ke-ingat kah, baik da di',*
 so that PASS-INCH-remember kah good LOC 2s.fem.
n'u', m'ih, gas,
 TOA 2s.masc TOA
 'So, remember that, whether it's on you, young lady, or you, young man,' [if your body gets sick, your bones get tired, you take a rest]

5.1.2 The preposition *ka*

The preposition *ka* can be pronounced as [ka], [kə], or [k] (see Chapter 2 section 2.5). It has three functions: directional, temporal and marking non-argument participants of the clause.

- a) As a directional preposition, it expresses locational orientation of the headed noun or noun phrase, e.g.:

- (5-12) *urang Mualang k=ili'/k=ulu*
 person M to=downstream/to=upstream
 'the Mualang from the downstream/upstream (area)'
- (5-13) *Ku ka' kin, ka rumah sida' ia'.*
 1s want thither.far to house 3p that
 'I want to go over there, to their house (there).'
- (5-14) *Ia ba-jalay mansang ka pian bang ka jalay.*
 1s ANPAS-road go.to to bathing.place part to road
 'He walked going toward the bathing place of the part leading to the road.'
- (5-15) *Da-buay ka ia.*
 PASS-throw to 3s
 '(It was) thrown to him.'
- (5-16) *N-tebuk kayu, tama' ka ia' ...*
 ACT-make.hole wood enter to that
 'He made a hole in a tree, (and) entered into it ...'

- b) As a temporal preposition, it describes a direction to a particular point in time, e.g.:

- (5-17) *ari jaman kelia' sampay ka tu'*
 from time old.time until to this
 'from olden times until the present'

- (5-18) *ari lam-lam sampay ka malam ari*
 from morning-RED until to night day
 ‘from early morning until night’

c) The preposition *ka* is also used to indicate semantic roles of non-argument or oblique participants. Its allative function is apparent as in (5-19 – 5-21), in which it shows the direction toward a participant upon which the event or action is carried out (semantic roles are further explained in Chapter 7):

- (5-19) *Semua ti ku padah ka kita' nya'*
 all REL 1s say to 2p that
 ‘All that I have told to you all’

- (5-20) *Baru' sida' N-kisah ka ia.*
 then 3p ACT-story to s
 ‘Then they told the story to him.’

- (5-21) *... baru' bar-anak ka utay ia',*
 then ANPAS-child to thing that
 ‘... then she gave birth to that thing, ...’

The use of *ka* in the following examples is interesting, as its function is more bleached. Such cases will be dealt with in more detail in sections 7.2.8 and 7.3 of Chapter 7.

- (5-22) *Udah ia' da-bungkus ka dawun pisang, baru'*
 already that PASS-wrap to leaf banana then

 da-jua' ka miak ia'.
 PASS-give to child that
 ‘After that (it) was wrapped in a banana leaf, then given to the child.’

- (5-23) *Naday antu te-inum ka darah.*
 NEG ghost MID-drink to blood
 ‘The ghosts were not able to drink (up) the blood.’

- (5-24) *Kami dulaw beri' ka darah.*
 1p.excl first give to blood
 ‘We first were given the blood.’

e) The preposition *ka* is used in syntactic verbal reduplication to indicate continuity (see section 8.3.2), e.g.:

<i>besay</i> ‘big’	<i>besay ka besay</i>	‘become bigger and bigger’
<i>mit</i> ‘small’	<i>mit ka mit</i>	‘become smaller and smaller’
<i>ting’i</i> ‘high, tall’	<i>ting’i ka ting’i</i>	‘become higher/taller and higher/taller’
<i>ba-jalay</i> ‘ANPAS-road’	<i>bajalay ka bajalay</i>	‘keep walking and walking’
<i>rari</i> ‘run’	<i>rari ka rari</i>	‘keep running and running’
<i>N-sabak</i> ‘ACT-cry’	<i>nyabak ka nyabak</i>	‘keep crying and crying’

5.1.3 The preposition *ari*

The basic meaning of the preposition *ari* ‘from’ is to express source, a departing point, from which something comes or is removed. Prepositional phrases with *ari* may indicate:

a) location:

- (5-25) *PeN-jawuh ah Balay Sepuak ari Tabu’?*
 NOM-far ah B S from T
 ‘Is Balai Sepuak far from Tabuk?’

- (5-26) *Ku ari Ijuk.*
 1s from I
 ‘I am from (the village of) Ijuk.’

- (5-27) *Lekas kita angkat ari tu’!*
 fast 1p.incl go from this
 ‘Let’s quickly go from here!’

- (5-28) *Baru’ sida’ angkat, ili’ ari ia’.*
 then 3p go go.downstream from that
 ‘Then they started off, going downstream from there.’

b) time:

- (5-29) *Ari masa ia’ agama mulay datay.*
 from time that religion begin come
 ‘Since that time religion began to come in.’

- (5-30) *Ari dulaw sampay ka tu’.*
 from past.time until to this
 ‘From former times until now.’

c) a participant, from which the event or action takes place:

- (5-31) *Ia N-tapuk diri' ari bini ia.*
 3s ACT-hide self from wife 3s
 'He hid himself from his wife.'

- (5-32) *Kami tu' ba-labuh ari Bejit Manay.*
 1p.excl TOP ANPAS-fall from B M
 '(As for us) we originated from (the ancestor) Bejit Manai.'

d) a substance or entity something is made of or originated from:

- (5-33) *peti' ari buluh aba' ari kayu*
 k.o.animal.trap from bamboo and from wood
 'peti' (made) from bamboo and from wood'

- (5-34) *tincin ari mas*
 ring from gold
 'ring of gold'

- (5-35) *jimut ari pulut*
 k.o.snack from glutinous.rice
 'jimut made of pulut'

- (5-36) *din'ing ari kelibak*
 wall from bark
 'wall made of bark'

- (5-37) *Ku ka' N-kisah sejarah ari kita Mualang.*
 1s FUT ACT-story history from 1p.incl M
 'I am going to tell the history of us, the Mualang.'

- (5-38) *ke-turun ari Am'un Menurun*
 NOM-descend from A M
 'descendant of Am'un Menurun'

e) an entity compared to which some other entity has a quality to a higher degree (discussed in section 6.1.2):

- (5-39) *Sapa urang menua tu' ti ba-kuasa ari ia?*
 who person continent this REL ANPAS-power from 3s
 'Who is it in this world that is more powerful than he is?'

- (5-40) *Nisi' tuay ari ku.*
 EXIST.NEG old from 1s
 'Nobody is older than I am.'
- (5-41) *Sampay dia'=m gisah, nisi' lebih ari nya' agi'.*
 until there.near=m story EXIST.NEG more from that again
 'It's just until that point that the story goes, it doesn't go any further than that.'

5.1.4 The preposition *ntara*

The preposition *ntara* means 'between, among', e.g.:

- (5-42) *S-iku' ntara sida' menyadi' mimpi.*
 ONE-CLASS among they siblings dream
 'One among those siblings dreamt.'
- (5-43) *N-dinga pia' Aji Melayu ntara dua peN-pikir.*
 ACT-hear like.that haji M between two NOM-think
 'Hearing this, Haji Melayu was of two opinions.'
- (5-44) *Sedang aba' antu ga' kita se-peN-peda' rumah,*
 whereas with ghost also 1p.incl ONE-NOM-see house

cuma ntara pian.
 only between bathing.place
 'Whereas with the ghosts, we lived close to each other.' (lit. 'we were of one house sight (we could see each other's house), only with the bathing place in between)
- (5-45) *ntara lam-lam sampay tawas ari*
 between morning-RED until day.time day
 'between early morning and noon'

5.1.5 The preposition *sampay* and *nyantuk*

Both *sampay* and *nyantuk* mean 'until'. *Sampay* is commonly used, whereas *nyantuk* is seldom found. It is still used mostly by the older generation. Both express location and time, e.g.:

- (5-46) *Ia ba-jalay ari Tabu' nyantuk Balay Sepuak.*
 3s ANPAS-road from T until B S
 'He walked from Tabuk to Balai Sepuak.'

- (5-47) *Ia' pia' cara urang Mualang ba-uma-*
that like.that way person M ANPAS-rice.field–
bataya' ari lama' kelia' nyantuk ka pitu' bah.
PREC (?) from long old.time until to like.this bah
‘That’s how the people of Mualang work their rice fields from long
ago in the past until the present time.’
- (5-48) *Tung'u' s-uti' sampay dua bulan.*
wait ONE-CLASS until two month
‘Wait for one or as much as two months.’ (Lit. ‘wait for one to two
months’)
- (5-49) *...kira-kira lapan ratus sampay dua kilu mitir ari*
approximate eight hundred until two kilo meter from
kampung.
village
‘... about 800 meters to 2 kilometers from the village.’

Unlike *nyantuk*, *sampay* is also a verb and a conjunction (see 10.4.4). As a main verb it means ‘arrive’, ‘reach’:

- (5-50) *Sampay da sabar bubu Aji Melayu,*
arrive LOC fish.trapping.fence k.o.fish.trap haji M
‘Arriving at/reaching the fish trap of Haji Melayu’
- (5-51) *Bila sampay ditu'?*
when arrive here
‘When did you arrive here?’

5.2 Non-locative prepositions

5.2.1 The preposition *ngaw*

The word *ngaw* by itself can stand alone as a main verb to mean ‘use’:

- (5-52) *Sempang ia' sampay ka pitu' agi' da-ngaw urang.*
proverb that until to like.this still PASS-use person
‘The proverb is still used by people until now.’
- (5-53) *Nema urang tuay kelia' tih ngaw kampil.*
because person old old.time tih use k.o.traditional backpack
‘Because the elders in the past used a backpack.’

The preposition *ngaw* appears to have been derived historically from the use of the verb *ngaw* in serial verb constructions (see section 10.2). *Ngaw* also functions as a connective (see 10.4.4). The following prepositional phrases can be distinguished, indicating:

a) Instrument ‘with, by’:

(5-54) *Nang ba-bunuh ngaw sangkuh!*
 don’t ANPAS-kill with spear
 ‘Don’t kill each other with spears!’

(5-55) *Ia pulay ka rumah ngaw tungkat.*
 3s go.home to house with stick
 ‘He went home with a stick.’

(5-56) *Baru’ sida’ ili’ ngaw praw.*
 then 3p go.downstream with proa
 ‘Then they went downstream by proa.’

b) Manner ‘with, by’:

The use of *ngaw* in this sense is closely related to the previous one, in that in both cases the way the event or action is carried out is expressed, i.e. with an aid (instrument) or in a particular manner, e.g.:

(5-57) *Jaku’ ia ngaw suara ba-getar.*
 say 3s with voice ANPAS-tremble
 ‘He spoke with a trembling voice.’

(5-58) *Ia N-lompat ngaw kaki se-piak.*
 3s ACT-jump with foot ONE-part
 ‘He jumped on one foot.’

(5-59) *Ia angkat ngaw nyamay.*
 3s go with comfortable
 ‘He went happily.’

(5-60) *M’ih alah ba-kerja (ngaw) baik.*
 2s.masc must ANPAS-work (with) good
 ‘You must work well.’

The use of *ngaw* to mark manner is optional in some cases, as in (5-60). An explanation of this case will be provided in Chapter 8 (subsection 8.4.4.1) in relation to other types of adverbial constructions found in the language.

c) Purpose ‘for, to be used (as)’:

- (5-61) *Asa pia' ku bay' pulay ngaw rempah da rumah.*
if like.that 1s bring go.home for side.dish LOC house
'If so, I will take it home for a sidedish at home.'

- (5-62) *Bini m'ih naday ngaw kuli.*
wife 2s.masc NEG for coolie
'Your wife is not to be (treated as) a coolie.'

d) Benefactive 'for (the benefit of)':

- (5-63) *Baru' asa aday tan'a pia', baru' dia' lah*
then if exist sign like.that then there.near lah

uma ku ngaw tawun tu'.
rice.field 1s for year this
'Then if such a sign exists, then that is where my rice field will be for this year.'

- (5-64) *Lagu tu' ngaw keban bala peN-dinga.*
song this for all.kinds all NOM-hear
'This song is for all kinds of listeners.'

- (5-65) *Ngaw Bujang Jat tu' ku beri' ka buah kemayaw.*
for TOA Bad TOP 1s give to fruit k.o.fruit
'As for Brother Baddie, I'd give (him) a kemayaw fruit.'

- (5-66) *Tu' ngaw m'ih.*
this for 2s.masc
'This is for you.'

5.2.2 The preposition *aba'*

As with *ngaw*, the preposition *aba'* 'with' is also derived from a lexical verb, namely *aba'* 'follow' presented in the following examples:

- (5-67) *Buh, tua aba' urang gaway!*
come.on 1d.incl follow person feast
'Let's join the people for the feast!'

- (5-68) *Ngapa naday aba'?*
why NEG follow
'Why didn't you follow (them)?'

- (5-69) *Ku aba' m'ih.*
1s follow/with 2s.masc
'I will follow you' or 'You and I.'

Note that in (5-69) *aba'* exhibits ambiguity as to whether it is a verb or a conjunction. The latter is yet another function to be described later in Chapter 10 (subsection 10.6.1.1).

As a preposition, *aba'* has an associative or comitative function, as in (5-70) through (5-72):

- (5-70) *Ia diaw aba' ini' ia.*
 3s stay with grandmother 3s
 'She stayed with her grandmother.'
- (5-71) *Sida' ia' naday ba-kamuh aba' urang bukay.*
 3p that NEG ANPAS-mix with person other
 'Those people did not mix with other people.'
- (5-72) *Ah, payah aba' di' tu' dah!*
 uh hard with 2s.fem this dah
 'Uh, everything is just so hard with you!'

Unlike Malay/Indonesian or English, for example, Mualang makes a clear distinction between the prepositions with instrumental vs. associative (or comitative) functions, that is, between *ngaw* and *aba'*, respectively. The possible semantic development of both verbs can be schematized as follows:

- (5-73) a. *ngaw*: 'use' – instrument – manner – benefactive (to be used for) –
 purposive (to be used as)
 b. *aba'*: 'follow' – associative – inclusion

The functions most closely related semantically are those of instrument and associative:

- instrumental *ngaw* heads an inanimate and non-human NP, by use of which the event or action is carried out;
- associative *aba'* heads an animate (human/non-human) NP, as an *accompaniment* to the subject/agent, as in (5-70 – 5-72), or in *idup aba'* 'live with', *pakay aba'* 'eat with', *datay aba'* 'come with'. Accompaniment includes a party in reciprocal actions, e.g. *ba-perang aba'* (ANPAS-war) 'wage a war with', *ba-bintih aba'* (ANPAS-fight.with.shinbone) 'fight with shinbone (a kind of game) with', *ba-sium aba'* (ANPAS-kiss) 'engage in kissing with', *ba-laya' aba'* (ANPAS-quarrel) 'have a quarrel with'.

With such fine distinctions, verbs that are able to take more than one preposition can be clearly contrasted by means of the subtle differences between their PP constituents, e.g. as with *padah* 'say':

- (5-74) *padah [ngaw ku]_{BENEFACTIVE}* 'say (it) for me/on my behalf'
 padah [aba' ku]_{ASSOCIATIVE} 'say (it) with me'
 padah [ka ku]_{ALLATIVE} 'say (it) to me'

In Malay/Indonesian the semantic functions of instrument, manner and associative are all covered with the preposition *dengan* ‘with’, which is historically related to *ngaw*. It is perhaps due to the influence of Malay/Indonesian that some Mualang speakers have started to mix up the use of prepositions in a case such as (5-74). For example, *ngaw* is used instead of the allative *ka* in (5-75 – 5-77), and of the associative *aba*’ in (5-78):

- (5-75) *Antu tu’ mulai pedih ati ngaw kita.*
ghost TOP begin sick liver with 1p.incl
‘The ghosts began to get irritated with us.’
- (5-76) *N-peda’ pia’ ba-tanya’ udih sedua ngaw petara Senta.*
ACT-see like.that ANPAS-ask udih 3d with god S
‘Seeing this, both of them questioned god *Senta*.’
- (5-77) *Padahal ku tu’ mpu kuasa ngaw tanah-ampah tu’.*
in.contrast 1s TOP have power with land-PREC this
‘Contrary to this, I am the one who has the authority over the lands and everything on them.’
- (5-78) *Nema kita naday cucuk ngaw sida’ ia’.*
because 1p.incl. NEG fit with 3p that
‘Because we did not go along with them (those people).’

Note that *aba*’ also functions as an inclusive conjunction that operates both at the phrase and clause level as in (5-79 and 5-80) (see Chapter 10):

- (5-79) *Udah temu cara aba’ akal*
after find way and trick
‘After having found some method and trick’
- (5-80) *Ukuy aba’ nyawung ti da-bunuh*
dog and cat REL PASS-kill
‘The dog and cat that were killed’

5.2.3 The preposition *ulih*

As a verb base, the word *ulih* means ‘get, gotten’, as in the following examples:

- (5-81) *Ikan ti ulih bubu rari.*
fish REL gotten k.o.fish.trap run
‘The fish that was gotten by the *bubu* trap ran away.’

- (5-82) *N-gali angkis d=alam lubang, angkis*
 ACT-dig k.o.porcupine LOC=inside hole k.o.porcupine
ulih, ari pun malam.
 get day pun night
 ‘Digging in the hole for a porcupine, (when) getting the porcupine, the day turns night.’ [a riddle]
- (5-83) *Urang aday b-ulih babi.*
 person exist ANPAS-get pig
 ‘People did get pigs (from hunting).’

As a preposition, *ulih* means ‘by’ to mark an agent phrase in a passive construction (5-84 – 5-85) or it means ‘because of’ to mark a causer in clauses with a stative verb, in which the causer is said to be responsible for the event (5-86 – 5-87):

- (5-84) *Tu’ da-bay’ ulih dua urang.*
 this PASS-bring by two person
 ‘This was brought by two people.’
- (5-85) *Asa pia’, tiki’ ulih m’ih!*
 if like.that climb by 2s.masc
 ‘If so, you climb it (the tree)!’
- (5-86) *Nyawa ia penuh ulih pipit ti da-pakay ia.*
 mouth 3s full by sparrow REL PASS-eat 3s
 ‘His mouth was full of the sparrows he was eating.’
- (5-87) *Asa pia’, naday nyamay kita’ ulih ku.*
 if like.that NEG comfortable 2p by 1s
 ‘If so, you all do not feel comfortable because of me.’

5.2.4 The preposition *upa*

Besides being used at the clause level (see 10.4.3 in Chapter 10), the preposition *upa* ‘like, such as’ functions also at the phrase level:

- (5-88) *Burung naday mawa upa m’ih tu’.*
 bird NEG stupid as 2s.masc this
 ‘The bird is not stupid like you here.’
- (5-89) *Sedua idup upa urang menyadi’.*
 3d live like person sibling
 ‘They two lived like siblings.’

- (5-90) *Mayuh agi' tay da-tam'ak dia', upa ubi,*
 many again REL PASS-plant there.near as cassava
arum, ntimun, nyeli'
 spinach cucumber corn
 'There are still many other things that are planted there such as
 cassava, spinach, cucumber, corn ...'

5.2.5 The preposition *nuna'*

As a verbal base, *tuna'* means 'follow', e.g.:

- (5-91) *Ia ka' N-tuna' Dara Jantung cara idup bayik.*
 3s want ACT-follow D J way live good
 'She wanted to follow Dara Jantung in living well.'

- (5-92) *Tuna' apa ti ku padah!*
 follow what REL 1s say
 'Follow what I've said!'

In the preposition, *nuna'* 'according to' the inflected verbal form is lexicalized. E.g.:

- (5-93) *Aday ga' pentik² da-pulah nuna'*
 exist also small.wooden.statue PASS-make according.to
pe-mayuh urang se-bilik.
 NOM-many person ONE-house
 'It happened also that *pentik* were made according to the number of
 people of the whole household.'
- (5-94) *Sida' angkat ari nya' nuna' dany'i se-mula.*
 3p go from that according.to promise ONE-beginning
 'They went from there according to the original promise.'
- (5-95) *Nuna' tusuy urang tuay kelial ah,*
 according.to story person old past.time ah
 'According to the very story told by the old people in the past,'

When following a main verb as in (5-93 – 5-94), the use of *nuna'* is ambiguous as to whether it is a verb or a preposition. However, as a preposition the verbal meaning is reduced. Thus, in (5-94), for example, the people did not go literally following the instructions already stated in the promise, but rather they had to proceed based on the promised statement.

² *Pentik* is a small wooden statue made for magic or ritual purposes.

The word *nurut* is also heard in addition to the preposition *nuna'*, with the same meaning. However, it is difficult to decide whether it is a Mualang word or a Malay/Indonesian borrowing.³

5.2.6 The preposition *ngusung*

The word *ngusung* is derived from *N-* + *gusung* 'meet, catch up with'. The use of *gusung* as a main verb is illustrated in the examples below:

- (5-96) *Ku ka' pulay ka kampung kami agi', ka'*
 1s want go.home to village 1p.excl again want
N-gusung anak-bini ku.
 ACT-meet child-wife 1s
 'I am going back again to our village, I want to meet my family (lit. my wife (and) child.'
- (5-97) *Ila' ku N-gusung m'ih.*
 later 1s ACT-meet 2s.masc
 'I'll meet/catch up with you later.'

In a serial verb construction, *gusung* usually follows motion verbs such as *datay* 'come', *pulay* 'go home', *ba-ran'aw* 'have a visit, chat', *temuay* 'have a visit', *any'ung* 'escort', for example as in (5-98 – 5-100):

- (5-98) *...isa' antu nitaw' N-tiki' N-gusung ia.*
 so.that ghost cannot ACT-climb ACT-meet 3s
 '... so that the ghost could not climb up to get him.'
- (5-99) *Ia N-temuay N-gusung apay-inay.*
 3s ACT-visit ACT-meet father-mother
 'He visited his parent.'
- (5-100) *Ba-ran'aw N-gusung Bujang Jat agi' da studiu.*
 ANPAS-PREC ACT-meet TOA bad again LOC studio
 'Have a visit again with Brother Baddie at the (broadcasting) studio.'

In serial verb constructions, the verbal meaning of *N-gusung* appears to be reduced, as seen, at least, in the English translations of (5-98 – 5-100). Yet its status as a preposition in these examples is doubtful. However, I have thus far found the following examples where its "true" prepositional use seems to be quite apparent.⁴

³ Cf. Malay/Indonesian verbal root *turut* 'follow' and the derived preposition *menurut* 'according to'.

⁴ The examples were obtained from a story written by an informant from the village of Sungai Antu in the Upstream area. He is in his fifties and has been away from his village of origin for many years.

- (5-101) *Kita' arus N-pinta' ngusung ku dulaw.*
 2p must ACT-ask.for unto 1s first
 'You must ask for it from me first.'
- (5-102) *Ba-tanya' sedua agi' ngusung Petara Senta nya'*
 ANPAS-ask 2d again unto deity S that
 'Both of them asked again of the god Senta ...'
- (5-103) *Mayuh basa adat tay da-ajar ngusung kita.*
 much norms custom REL PASS-teach unto 1p.icnl
 'Many were the norms and customs that were taught to us.'

Note that the original inflectional *N-gusung* is already reduced functionally to the prepositional *ngusung* in (5-101 – 5-103). In (5-101) traces of a serial verb construction are still apparent, in (5-102) and (5-103) this is no longer the case, since there is no subject coreferentiality between the main verbs and the following *ngusung* (if interpreted as a verb), which is the prerequisite for a serial verb construction (see section 10.2).

5.3 Complex prepositional phrases

Some prepositions can be used in combination with other prepositions, yielding phrases of the structure PREP PREP NP. Prepositions can also be combined with a locative noun, yielding phrases of the shape PREP N_{loc} (NP), in which NP is optional. The locative noun and the following NP exhibit a “possessive” relationship, the N_{loc} indicating a part of the referent of the headed NP.

a) The structure PREP PREP is attested in *da ntara* ‘in between/among’ (5-104), *ari ntara* ‘(from) among/between’ (5-105) and *sampay ka* ‘up until’ (5-106 – 5-107):

- (5-104) *Nyaw ke-lama' aday dih da ntara urang*
 after NOM-long exist dih LOC among/between person

tay N-padah
 REL ACT-say
 'After a long time, there was (someone) among the people who said'
- (5-105) *Baru' s-iku' (ari) ntara sida' menyadi'*
 then ONE-CLASS from among/between 3p sibling

tay N-am'i'
 REL ACT-take
 'Then there was one (from) among the siblings who took'

- (5-106) *Ba-pinta' kita Mualang tu' sampay ka tengah*
 ANPAS-ask 1p.incl M this until to middle
malam. Naday putus malam, sampay ka ari pagi.
 night NEG broken night until to day tomorrow
 'As for us, the Mualang, making a marriage proposal is done until the middle of the night. If no decision is made that night, it continues until the following morning.'
- (5-107) *Baru' ntawa' tu' tadi', kisah tih, da-tikam*
 then k.o.fruit this a.while.ago story tih PASS-throw
ari pucuk ntawa' sampay ka gang'ang⁵.
 from point k.o.tree until to balcony
 'Then the *ntawa'* fruit (mentioned a while ago), the story goes, was thrown from the top of the *ntawa'* tree to the balcony.'

Notice that in (5-105), *ari* is optional. As for *sampay*, it may appear without the preposition *ka* such as in (5-48) and (5-49). Without *ka*, that is *sampay X*, it indicates the presence of the event in a spatial or temporal span of which X is the final border; whereas with *ka* the indication is that the event reaches its termination at X. Thus, in (5-107), for example, the absence of *ka* yields an ungrammatical sentence since the event *tikam* 'throw' cannot last in the spatial span. Rather it is the object, the *ntawa'* fruit that passes the span and reaches the end point. Stative and process verbs, then, are the most likely to be used with *sampay* without *ka*.

b) A complex prepositional phrase of the structure PREP N_{loc} (NP) consists of the preposition *da*, *ka*, or *ari* and a locative noun followed optionally by a noun phrase. The locative noun refers to a part of an entity, among which the body. Examples are *ataw* 'top, upper part/side', *baruh* 'bottom or lower part/side' (also 'low'; 'short'), *luar* 'outside', *alam* 'inside', *mua* 'face, front part/side', *belakang* 'back (of body), back part/side', *tisi*⁶ 'side (part)', *tengah* 'middle, center part', *ili* 'downstream part', *ulu* 'upstream part'. The construction specifies the location or movement of an entity or activity vis-à-vis the specific part of another entity. The following examples illustrate their use:⁷

- (5-108) *Ia N-tiki' ka ataw padung.*
 3s ACT-climb to upper.part attic
 'He climbed up to the attic.'

⁵ *Gang'ang* is an unroofed open part of a house, spacious enough for household activities such as drying things (rice, etc.).

⁶ Beside *tisi*, *sisi* is often heard as well, but the latter is clearly Malay/Indonesian (see Chapter 2). Cf. also *tusu* ~ *susu* 'breast, milk'. Forms like *tisi* are mostly produced by persons of the elder generation.

⁷ The prepositions *da* and *ka* may undergo cliticization, see section 2.5.6.

- (5-109) *Da-simpan da baruh tikay peN-tin'uk*
 PASS-keep LOC bottom.part mat NOM-sleep
 '(It) was kept under the sleeping mat'

Ili and *ulu* are commonly used with the name of a river:

- (5-110) *da ili'ulu Belitang*
 LOC downstream/upstream B
 'at the downstream/upstream part of the Belitang River'

The complex prepositions *da alam* 'in(side)' and *da ataw* 'above, on top of' may be reduced to *alam* and *ataw*, respectively.⁸

- (5-111) *Upa tih aday nsia alam nya'.*
 as tih exist human in that
 'Apparently there was a person inside of it.'

- (5-112) *Aday buah ntawa' ataw nyin.*
 exist fruit k.o.fruit above that.over.there
 'There's a *ntawa*' fruit up there.'

Another more complex structure is the double preposition *sampay ka* followed by a locative noun, as in (5-106) above and (5-113) below:

- (5-113) *Ari dan sampay ka baruh da-bingkis kulit*
 from branch until to bottom.part PASS-peel skin

isa' licin.
 so.that slippery
 'The bark (of the tree) was peeled off from the branches until down under so that it was slippery.'

This latter sentence is also an example of a *N_{loc}* which is not followed by a NP.

⁸ The complex preposition *da dalam* 'in(side)' is also heard. This is probably a case of influence from Malay/Indonesian, where the equivalent is *di dalam*.

6 PREDICATE NOMINALS AND RELATED CONSTRUCTIONS

In Chapters 4 and 5 I have dealt specifically with noun phrases and prepositional phrases. This chapter will continue the discussion of the use of these kinds of phrases at the higher, that is, the clause-level. In Mualang, as in other languages, predicates and their obligatory arguments are the core constituents of the clause. In general, the predicate slot can be occupied by 1) a verb (or a verb phrase) or 2) a non-verb form, such as a noun or noun phrase or prepositional phrase. Discussion of the first type of predicate will be deferred until Chapter 7, whereas the second one will be my concern here. I will use the term “predicate nominals” (section 6.1) to refer to clauses in which the main semantic content of the predication is embodied in a noun (which category for the purpose of the present discussion includes pronouns, quantifiers and demonstratives) or a noun phrase. Closely related to predicate nominals are predicate locative, existential, and possessive clauses (Payne 1997:111ff), each of which will be discussed below in sections 6.2, 6.3, and 6.4 respectively. Although the last two constructions usually involve a verbal predicate, they will be covered in this chapter due to their structural and semantic interaction with other predicate types. The interrelationship between all these predicate types has been well proven across languages (see e.g. Lyons (1968:388ff), Clark (1978), Freeze (1992)).

So-called “attributive” or “adjective” clauses, which are equivalent to English attributive clauses, are also often included in the description of predicate nominals. The Mualang equivalents of these clause types will be discussed in Chapter 8 on intransitive clauses since “adjective” is not considered to be a separate word class in the grammar of Mualang. However, in subsection 6.1.2 the use of static intransitive (or “adjective-like”) verbs will be touched upon in relation to comparative clauses.

6.1 Predicate nominals

Clauses with predicate nominals have the structure NP (NEGATION-ASPECT) NP without an intervening copula. The NP predicate may be a single noun, pronoun, demonstrative, quantifier, or a noun phrase. The occurrence of a negation or aspectual marker is optional. The structure of the clause may be the same as that of a NP, e.g. *uma ia* ‘can mean ‘that rice field’ (a NP) or ‘the rice field is that (one)’ (a clause). In a clause, a slight intonational pause after the NP subject demarcates it from the predicate, whereas within a NP no such pause intervenes between the constituents. In terms of word order, SUBJECT PREDICATE is the unmarked one, although the reversed order occurs as well. The reverse word order is clearly marked by a rising intonation contour on the whole NP predicate, indicating focus on the

predicate part. There are three main notions that can be accomplished through predicate nominal constructions: equation (6.1.1), comparison (6.1.2), and exclamation (6.1.3).

6.1.1 Equative clauses

In equative clauses the subject is a given entity and the predicate asserts (usually new) information about it. If the main semantic content of the predicate is a noun phrase (6-1), pronoun (6-2) or demonstrative (6-3), they are coreferential with the subject of the clause. If the predicate is a quantifier, as in (6-4), it is functionally descriptive of the subject:

- (6-1) *Adat ia' babi tujuh iku'.*
 custom that pig seven CLASS
 'The custom (to fine an infringement) is seven pigs.'

- (6-2) *Nya' ia.*
 that 3s
 'That's him.'

- (6-3) *Uma ku nya', ukay tu'.*
 rice.field 1s that CONT.NEG this
 'My rice field is that one, not this'

- (6-4) *Sida' mayuh.*
 3p many
 'They are many.' (or: 'There are many of them.')

In some cases the determination of which constituent constitutes the subject and which one the predicate would at first glance be questionable, especially when a demonstrative occupies a syntactic position as in (6-2 and 6-3). However, by definition, the constituent that presents the new information is considered the predicate. In (6-3) the negation indicates what is the predicate, namely *tu'* 'this', since only predicates can be negated. As for the subject, it can be marked as "topical", that is with *tu'* 'TOP' (see further section 9.3 in Chapter 9), e.g.:

- (6-5) *Juah tu' nama nsia.*
 J TOP name human
 'As for Juah, it is a human's name.'

The nature of negation in predicate nominals is different from the one in predicate verbals. As negation will be treated more fully in Chapter 9, it is mentioned here only briefly. If the predicate contains a referent of the subject, as in (6-1 to 6-3), it is negated by the negator *ukay*, as seen in (6-3). If the predicate is descriptive of the subject as in (6-4), it is negated by *naday*. Note, however, that the

negator *ukay* can also be used instead of *naday* to lend contrastive focus to the predicate: ‘not A (but B)’. Compare for instance (6-6a and b):

- (6-6) a. *Kubur Aji Melayu naday s-iku’.*
grave haji M NEG ONE-CLASS
‘Haji Melayu did not have just one grave.’ (lit. ‘Haji Melayu’s grave was not just one.’)
- b. *Kubur Aji Melayu ukay s-iku’.*
grave haji M CONT.NEG ONE-CLASS
‘It wasn’t (only) **one** grave that Haji Melayu had.’

(6-6a) is a clausal negation, containing the speaker’s negative assertion that the number of Haji Melayu’s grave is more than one; whereas in (b) the speaker counter-asserts someone’s (e.g. the hearer’s) mistaken belief about the number of Haji Melayu’s grave.

Clausal modification for aspect and modality are always possible with descriptive predicates as in (6-4). For other predicates such a modification seems to operate only with nouns that potentially imply some physical or temporal change or development. E.g. *dara* ‘young woman’ (6-7), *miak* ‘child’ (6-8) and *tawas* ‘noon’ (6-9):

- (6-7) *Lama’ ka lama’ ia tih nyaw dara.*
long to long 3s tih PERF young.woman
‘With the passing of time she had become a young woman.’
- (6-8) *Ia agi’ miak.*
3s still child
‘She was still a child.’
- (6-9) *Ari nyaw tawas.*
day PERF noon
‘It was already noon.’

6.1.2 Comparative clauses

Mualang uses different grammatical strategies for comparison of an entity having a gradable quality to some other entity with the quality in the same degree and in a higher degree. In this section I will discuss three types of comparative constructions distinguished in Mualang: comparison of equivalence (6.1.2.1), of higher degree (6.1.2.2), and of maximal degree (superlative) (6.1.2.3). There are four main elements that typically appear in a comparative construction (cf. Payne 1997:89): 1) the *subject* of the clause; 2) the *standard*, against which the subject is compared; 3) the *marker* of comparison, and; 4) the comparative *quality*.

6.1.2.1 Comparative clauses of equivalence

Basically there are three kinds of syntactic structural patterns that can be used to express comparison of equivalence: a) comparison with equative clauses (6.1.2.1.1), b) comparison with attributive clauses (6.1.2.1.2), and c) comparison with active clauses (6.1.2.1.3).

6.1.2.1.1 *Comparative equative clauses of equivalence*

In this type of comparison, the quality of the subject is compared to that of the “standard” element by using the marker *sebel*’/’*bel*’ or *sama* ‘same’. *Sama* is a Malay/Indonesian borrowing. For the sake of convenience, I will only use *bel*’ in the examples below to represent these markers. The quality itself is expressed in possessive noun phrases in which the entities under comparison are the possessor of the possessed quality. Since quality is coded in a verb, it must be nominalized with the nominalizer *pe(N)*-. The whole construction, thus, appears as follows:

POSSESSIVE.NP_[QUALITY/SUBJECT]-MARKER-POSSESSIVE.NP_[QUALITY/STANDARD]

Some examples are:

- (6-10) *[PeN-besay ia]_{NP} bel*’ *aba*’ *[peN-besay ku]_{NP}*.
 NOM-big 3s same with NOM-big 1s
 QUALITY/SUBJECT MARKER QUALITY/STANDARD
 ‘He is as big as me.’ (lit. ‘His bigness is the same compared with my bigness.’)

Some syntactically reduced structures occur beside the “full-fledged” construction of (6-10) each with its own semantic nuance:

- (6-11) a. *PeN-besay ia bel*’ *peN-besay ku*.
 NOM-big 3s same NOM-big 1s
 ‘He is as big as me.’ (lit. ‘His bigness is the same as my bigness.’)
- b. *PeN-besay ia bel*’ *aba*’ *ku*.
 NOM-big 3s same with 1s
 ‘His size is the same as mine.’ (lit. ‘His bigness is the same compared with me.’)
- c. *Ia bel*’ *peN-besay aba*’ *ku*.
 3s same NOM-big with 1s
 ‘He is of the same size compared with me.’)
- d. *Ia bel*’ *peN-besay ku*.
 3s same NOM-big 1s
 ‘He is of the same size as me.’ (lit. ‘He is the same as my bigness.’)

- e. *Ia peN-besay ku.*
 3s NOM-big 1s
 'He is my size.' (lit. 'He is my bigness.')

- f. *PeN-ting'i' ku urang ia'.*
 NOM-tall/high 1s person that
 'Of my length is that person.'

Form (e) is the smallest structure possible, in which the quality of the standard element becomes the quality compared. The use of the prefix *peN-* here is obligatory and may therefore be viewed as marker of comparison (cf. **Ia besay ku* '3s-big-1s' etc. is not grammatical). Example (f) differs from (e) and the other examples in that it has the order predicate-subject, emphasizing the predicate, also intonationally focus.

6.1.2.1.2 Comparative attributive clauses of equivalence

In comparative attributive clauses the use of the marker *sebelah/bela'* or *sama* 'same' and the preposition *aba'* 'with' are obligatory. The quality appears in the form of a verb stem. For example:

- (6-12) a. *Ia bela' ting'i' aba' ku.*
 3s same tall/high with 1s
 SUBJECT MARKER QUALITY STANDARD
 'He is equally tall as me.'
- b. **Ia bela' ting'i' ku.*
 3s same tall 1s
- c. **Ia ting'i' (aba') ku.*
 3s tall with 1s

The verb stem may also appear in initial clause position if focussed:

- (6-13) *Besay ia bela' aba' ku.*
 big 3s same with 1s
 'Equally big is he compared with me.'

6.1.2.1.3 "Dynamic" comparative active clauses of equivalence

The present description of this type of comparison should be considered as a preliminary and tentative note which needs to be reexamined with a larger number of speakers. The comparative construction in (6-14) below was found in a story; in it, the comparative quality is expressed with a static intransitive verb marked with the active prefix *N-*; the structure looks like: NP_{SUBJECT} N-V_{MARKER-QUALITY} NP_{STANDARD}:

- (6-14) *Dulaw tih [besay gerama'] [N-besay]*
 previously *tih* big crab ACT-big
 SUBJECT MARKER-QUALITY

[kuali s-igi'].
 cooking.pan ONE-CLASS
 STANDARD

'In the past the size of crabs was as big as a cooking pan.' (or possibly:
 'In the past the size of crabs equaled a cooking pan in size.')

In elicitation, the following clause with the quality *besay* 'big' appeared to be also acceptable:

- (6-15) *Kera' N-besay mpliaw.*
 long.tailed.macaque ACT-big tail-less.gibbon
 'The *ker*a' is as big as the *mpliaw*.' (or: 'The *ker*a' equals the *mpliaw*
 in size.')

It seems that the verb *besay* 'big' in such active comparative clauses expresses a general idea about size. The majority of the speakers that I questioned about it judged the use of static intransitive verbs other than *besay* 'big' in such a comparative construction as ungrammatical, e.g.:

- (6-16) **Pun tu' N-ting'i' pun ia'.*
 tree this ACT-tall tree that
 'This tree is as tall as that tree.'

Two young speakers (aged between 24 to 30 years old) accepted clauses like (6-16) with the comparative meaning as grammatical as long as they do not involve a human subject, since in that case *N-ting'i'* would be interpreted as a causative:

- (6-17) *Urang tu' N-ting'i' pun ia'ku.*
 tree this ACT-tall tree that/1s
 'This person made that tree/me higher.' (*'This person is taller than that tree/me')

6.1.2.1.4 "Absolute" comparative attributive clauses of equivalence

If the elements compared serve both as and the standard of comparison, i.e. "X and Y are of the same Quality", the marker *bela/sebela* 'same' will obligatorily be used and the quality appears either as a verbal stem (6-19) or with the nominalizer *peN-* (6-18), e.g.:

- (6-18) a. *Kemua bela' peN-baruh.*
 1d.excl same NOM-low
 'Both of us are equally short.'
- b. *Bela' peN-besay rumah seniku' ia'.*
 same NOM-big house 3d that
 'Of the same size – are the houses of the two of them.'
- c. *PeN-ting'i' sida' ia' bela'.*
 NOM-high 3p that same
 'The height of them is the same.'
- (6-19) a. *Sida' ia' bela' ting'i'.*
 3p that same high
 'They are of the same height.'
- b. *Bela' ting'i' sida' ia'.*
 same high 3p that
 'Of the same height – they are.'

6.1.2.2 Comparative clauses of higher degree

The order of the elements in the comparative construction of higher degree is SUBJECT-QUALITY-MARKER-STANDARD. This differs from the comparative construction of equivalence in the absence of a marker that precedes the quality and in the presence of the preposition *ari* 'from' before the standard. The subject may be in clause-initial position, which is the unmarked position (6-20a, 6-21 and 6-22), or it may follow the expression of the quality, which then becomes focused, as in (6-20b):

- (6-20) a. *Pasak besay ari tiang.*
 peg big from pole
 SUBJECT QUALITY MARKER STANDARD
 'The peg is bigger than the pole.' (a proverb meaning one's consumption is bigger than one's gain)
- b. *Besay pasak ari tiang.*
 big peg from pole
 QUALITY SUBJECT MARKER STANDARD
 'It is bigger – the peg than the pole.'

- (6-21) *Batang ting'i' ari tung'ul.*
 trunk high from tree.stump
 SUBJECT QUALITY MARKER STANDARD
 'The trunk is higher than the stump.' (a proverb meaning acting beyond one's rights or limits; being higher in position than one deserves to be)

- (6-22) *Nisi' tay tuay ari ku.*
 EXIST.NEG REL old from 1s
 SUBJECT QUALITY MARKER STANDARD
 'There is no one who is older than I am.'

In some instances the marker *lebih* 'more' is used before the quality element as in (6-23). However, such a use of *lebih* is most likely a case of Malay/Indonesian influence, since the construction without *lebih* as described for (6-20 – 6-22) is much more frequent in texts of elder speakers. Note that *lebih* is not used in (6-20) and (6-21) which are traditional sayings/proverbs. Besides, the use of *lebih* seems to be semantically redundant in Mualang:¹

- (6-23) *Tung ku lebih galak ari tung m'ih.*
 part 1s more fertile from part 2s.masc
 SUBJECT QUALITY MARKER STANDARD
 'My part (a tree) grows more fertile than your part.'

In contrast to the comparison of higher degree, no special grammatical marker is employed for a comparison of a lesser degree. It is simply lexical, that is, another static verb with the opposite meaning would be used, for example, *mit* 'small' over *besay* 'big', e.g.:

- (6-24) *Pipit mit ari manuk renyaw.*
 sparrow small from chicken rooster
 'Sparrows are smaller than roosters.'

6.1.2.3 Superlative clauses

There are two types of superlative constructions, namely those with the marker *paling*, secondly those with a cleft construction using the relativizer *tay/ti*.²

- (6-25) *Ia paling/ti ting'i' da kampung tu'.*
 3s very/REL tall LOC village this
 'He is very tall/the tallest in this village.'

¹ In contrast to Mualang, standard Indonesian typically employs *lebih* as the marker in comparative constructions of higher degree.

² The marker *paling* might be a Malay/Indonesian loan.

- (6-26) *Ia paling/ti panay da ntara sida' menyadi'.*
 3s very/REL smart LOC between 3p sibling
 'He is very smart/the smartest among those siblings.'

Although the construction with *tay/ti* is a cleft construction, the superlative reading can be understood via the context and the existence of the quality expression together with the locative phrase, which evokes a picture of the standard of comparison. The use of cleft constructions for comparison is most likely due to their contrastive function (see section 9.2.3 in Chapter 9). In superlative comparison, the element under focus is compared with other elements of the same group, e.g. with "all people in the village" in (6-25) or "the other siblings" in (6-26).

6.1.3 Exclamatory clauses

Formally, exclamatory clauses are expressed by nominalization of verbal clauses, yielding a possessive NP in which the subject of the corresponding/original clause has become possessor and the nominalized static intransitive verb is the possessed element. Such a form is illustrated in (6-29), in comparison to the ordinary verbal clause (6-27) and the regular possessive NP (6-28):

- (6-27) *Nsia ia' baik.*
 human that good
 'That man is kind.'
- (6-28) *Kira aday urang N-peda' peN-baik ku.*
 wish exist person ACT-see NOM-good 1s
 'I wish there would be someone who would see my kindness.'
- (6-29) *PeN-baik nsia ia'!*
 NOM-good man that
 'How kind that man is!'

Syntactically the possessive form in (6-28) is a constituent NP, whereas in (6-29) the whole form is a complete utterance. In (6-29) a typical long, high pitch falls on the final syllable of the nominalized verb indicating an emotional overtone. The rationale behind this usage of the possessive form is something like "the X's quality is such that I could say no more".

The nominalized form is often reduplicated and followed by the demonstrative *nya* 'that' to add more intensity. The associated pitch now shifts to *nya*.³

³ The use of a possessive NP construction for exclamatory clauses is not unusual. The Muna language, which is also a Western Malayo-Polynesian language, spoken in southeastern Sulawesi, exhibits a similar phenomenon as in Mualang (see Berg 1989:172ff for Muna). This phenomenon is also found in various Malay varieties. Indonesian utilizes *nya*, generally meaning '3s.non-subject', as in (i). Ambonese Malay, chiefly spoken in the central Moluccas, employs the possessive marker *pung*, as in (ii) (cf. Minde 1997:322). In all of these languages a special intonation marks the exclamatory rendering.

- (6-30) *PeN-besay-N-besay nya' rumah ia'!*
 NOM-big-N-RED that house that
 'How big that house is!' ('That house is HUGE!')

- (6-31) *PeN-bula'-N-bula' nya' m'ih!*
 NOM-lie-N-RED that 2s.masc
 'What a big liar you are!'

- (6-32) *Pe-nitaw'-nitaw' nya'!*
 NOM-stupid-RED that
 'How very stupid!'

For pragmatic focus on the subject, the subject may be fronted. Compare, e.g. (6-30) and (6-31) with (6-33) and (6-34) respectively:

- (6-33) *Rumah ia' peN-besay-N-besay nya'!*
 house that NOM-big-N-RED that
 'That house is so big!'

- (6-34) *M'ih peN-bula'-N-bula' nya'!*
 2s.masc NOM-lie-N-RED that
 'You're such a liar!'

6.2 Predicate locatives

A predicate locative is simply a juxtaposition of NP and (NEGATION-ASPECT) PP without any intervening copula (6-35). The PP predicate can be fronted for focus (6-36):

- (6-35) *Inay da pian.*
 mother LOC bathing.place
 'Mother is at the bath place.'
- (6-36) *Biasa da uma ia, nti' agi' lam.*
 usually LOC rice.field 3s if still morning
 'Usually he's in the rice field if it's still morning time.'

-
- (i) *Sopan-nya anak itu!*
 polite-3s child that
 'How polite is that child!'
- (ii) *Ana pung pamalas (saja e)!*
 child POSS lazy just e
 'How (just) lazy he is!' (lit. 'The child's laziness')

The prepositional phrase in the NP PP construction is not limited to a location; other semantic types of PP can also fill the predicate of the clause as in the following examples (see also Chapter 5 for other examples):

- (6-37) *Udah nya' sida' ka utan.* = destination
 already that 3p to forest
 'After that they went to the forest.'
- (6-38) *Tu' ngaw m'ih.* = benefactive
 this for 2s.masc
 'This is for you.'
- (6-39) *Ku aba' m'ih.* = associative
 1s with 2s.masc
 'I am with you.' (also: 'I and you')

The NP PP construction is typically negated with the clausal negator *naday* 'no, not' or the contrastive negator *ukay* 'no, not', as in (6-40 – 6-42) below. This differs from the use of negators in existentials (see section 6.3 below; for negation in general, see Chapter 9):

- (6-40) *Agi' jeman ia' sida' bibas, naday da baruh*
 still time that 3p free NEG LOC bottom
 kuasa raja.
 power king
 'During that time they were free, not under the authority of the king.'
- (6-41) *Ukay, ia ukay da uma, da rumah.*
 CONT.NEG 3s CONT.NEG LOC rice.field LOC house
 'No, he's not in the rice field (but) at home.'
- (6-42) *Bini m'ih naday ngaw kuli.*
 wife 2s.masc NEG for coolie
 'Your wife is not to be (treated as) a coolie.'

Location is a central element involved not only in the discussion of predicate locatives, but also in existentials and possessive clauses. The following sections will deal with the latter two clause types.

6.3 Existentials

Existential constructions assert the existence of an entity, typically in a particular location and/or time. However, location and time are adjuncts since they are optional syntactically. The intransitive existential verb *aday* is used in existentials. It will be glossed throughout as 'exist', but in addition to the notion 'exist, to be there'

(existential-presentative), it also covers the notion ‘to be in/at’ (locative) and ‘have, to be at (subject’s) disposal’ (possessive). The structure of existentials is analysed as follows:

1. *aday* NP (existential-presentative construction)
2. NP *aday* (NP) (non-existential-presentative construction)

The construction *aday* NP is an existential-presentative construction with a fixed order of constituents. It is typically used to introduce the existence or occurrence of a NP entity in discourse for the first time. As found across languages (see e.g. Freeze 1992), the NP argument of such an existential-presentative is typically indefinite, thus compare the following Mualang examples with their English renderings:

- (6-43) *Ha! Aday [s-iku’ gerama’ besay]!*
 uh exist ONE-CLASS crab big
 ‘Uh! There is a big crab!’ (Unexpectedly someone saw a crab in the trap)
- (6-44) *Jeman dulaw da se-buah kampung aday*
 time previously LOC ONE-CLASS village exist

[ini’ aba’ ucu’ ti miskin aba’ tay
 grandmother and grandchild REL poor and REL
pedih idup].
 difficult live
 ‘In the olden times in a village there were a grandmother and a grandchild who were poor and who lived in difficult circumstances.’
 (The opening of a story)
- (6-45) *Baru’ ilang kisah ia’ tih, aday [kisah Antu Belang].*
 then lost story that tih exist story ghost B
 ‘Then after that (part of the) story is over, there’s a story of ghost Belang.’
- (6-46) *Ari jawuh ia N-peda’ aday [tepayan].*
 from far 3s ACT-see exist jar
 ‘From a distance he saw there was a jar.’

The indefiniteness of the NP (or the fact that the NP referent is not identifiable, because it has not been mentioned in previous discourse), constrains the occurrence of the NP argument before *aday*. Thus (6-43b – 46b) are not alternatives for the structure *aday* NP:

- (6-43b) **Ha! [Siku’ gerama’ besay]_{NP} aday!*
 (6-44b) **Jeman dulaw da sabuah kampung [ini’ aba’ ucu’ tay miskin aba’ tay pedih idup]_{NP} aday.*

(6-45b) **Baru' ilang kisah ia' tih*, [*kisah Antu Belang*]_{NP} *aday*.

(6-46b) **Ari jawuh ia meda'* [*tepayan*]_{NP} *aday*.

Syntactically this means that the NP argument cannot occupy the subject slot in clause-initial position, hence the *aday* NP structure is not an *aday*-fronting construction. Given the fact that SVO is the unmarked word order in Mualang, the NP should be able to occupy that initial position if it is a typical subject as in “regular” clauses. This is in line with Givón (2001:191ff) who noticed the rather non-prototypicality of the “logical” subject of the existential clause as compared to a neutral-clause in all languages. Freeze (1992:555) argues cross-linguistically that the normal form of the existential has a locative argument in subject position. This is partly true for Mualang. The location element in Mualang is optional; however, if it surfaces syntactically, it is typically before *aday* NP, as can be seen in (6-44 and 6-46) above.

The existential-presentative can be complex, in which case *aday* takes a complement clause (see section 10.3 of Chapter 10), e.g.:

(6-47) *Peda' kah, m'ih, aday urang datay!*
look kah 2s.masc exist person come
'Take a look please, you, there is someone coming!'

(6-48) *D=alam kampung aday jelu tangan ba-kumpul.*
LOC=inside village exist animal PROG ANPAS-collect
'In the village there were animals gathering.'

(6-49) *Ia N-peda' aday tajaw anyut, sangkut da*
3s ACT-look exist k.o.jar be.swept.away stuck LOC

sabar bubu ia.
fence.for.fishtrap k.o.fish.trap 3s
'He saw there was a jar swept away (by the river), (that) got stuck at the fence leading to his fish trap.'

(6-50) *Melia' tih naday kala' aday urang ba-jadi mali.*
old.time tih NEG ever exist person ANPAS-become taboo
'In the past there were never people engaging in a taboo marriage.'

We turn now to the second type of construction, “the non-existential-presentative”, namely NP *aday* (NP). Consider again the examples (6-43 – 6-46); all the NPs following *aday* are in brackets. *Siku'* in (6-43) has to be interpreted as an “indefinite marker”, not a number (see section 4.1.2.2.1; also section 9.1). In (6-44 – 6-46) the NPs appear in bare forms without any marker for (in)definiteness. Without contexts, they may have either interpretation, as indefinite or definite. However, in all these examples they have to be interpreted as indefinite because of their contexts (they have not been mentioned previously) and their structure (i.e. the existential-

presentative). Bare NPs may also have a definite interpretation if they are identifiable in discourse, e.g. in previous clauses. Thus compare the sequence in (6-51a and b):

- (6-51) a. *Diaw, nang ba-gu', aday antu!*
 quiet don't ANPAS-sound exist ghost
 'Be quiet, don't make any noise, there is a ghost!'
- b. *"Ha, ha!" [Antu] udah aday da baruh*
 laughing ghost PERF exist LOC bottom.part

kayu da jalay Apay Aluy diaw.
 A still tree LOC place father
 "'Ha, ha." The ghost was already under the tree where Aluy's
 father was standing still.'

(6-51b) has the structure NP *aday*, which is not presentative functionally. The NP argument is clearly the syntactic subject. The presence of the prepositional adjunct *da baruh kayu* 'under the tree' makes the construction NP *aday* LOC be read as a predicate locative, as seen in the English rendering. However, a "pure" predicate locative is verbless, as described in section 6.2 above. There is a subtle difference between the constructions of NP PP and NP *aday* PP: in the first construction, the location is the focus (although it implies the existence of the NP entity), whereas in the latter it is the existence of the NP entity in a particular place that is emphasized. If no location is mentioned, the notion 'to be there/present/in' is prominent:

- (6-52) *Wan aday bah?*
 2s.hon exist bah
 'You were really present?'
- (6-53) *Waktu sida' aday aba' apay-inay, naday*
 when 3p exist with father-mother NEG

N-pakay umpan
 ACT-eat cooked.rice
 'When they were with their father and mother, they did not eat rice
'
- (6-54) *Ku aday, da-any'ung apay-inay ka pala' darung.*
 1s exist PASS-escort father-mother to head valley
 '(When) I was born, I was taken by my father and mother to the upper
 part of the valley.'
- (6-55) *Aday sida'?*
 exist 3p
 'Are they there (present in the house)?'

In (6-54) *aday* has an inchoative meaning ‘to be born, begin to exist’. In (6-55), *aday* is fronted for focus.

Existential clauses are negated with the existential negator *nisi* ‘(there is/was) nothing’, glossed as EXIST.NEG, and *naday* ‘not exist’.⁴ Usage and differences of the various negators are discussed specifically in Chapter 9. The following clauses serve as illustrations:

- (6-56) *Nisi’ ari alam gua.*
 EXIST.NEG from inside cave
 ‘Nothing came out of the cave.’
- (6-57) *Baru’ tay layin nisi’ agi’.*
 then REL other EXIST.NEG again
 ‘Then, there was nothing else.’
- (6-58) *Cuba nti’ naday kita’ wih.*
 try if not.exist 2p wih
 ‘Imagine what it would be like if you weren’t here.’

A quantifying phrase can follow the construction NP *aday* to quantify the subject NP. It seems that *aday* displays a more copula-like function in such contexts:⁵

- (6-59) *Sida’ Buwi Nasi aday tujuh iku’ menyadi’.*
 3p B N exist seven CLASS sibling
 ‘The *Buwi Nasis* consist of seven siblings’
- (6-60) *Sida’ ti ba-rumah kediri’ aday dua keluarga.*
 3p REL ANPAS-house alone exist two family
 ‘Those/the ones who stayed by themselves in a separate house were two families.’
- (6-61) *Miak aday mayuh dia’.*
 child exist many there.(near)
 ‘There were many children there.’

Finally, it should be mentioned here that the existential-presentative has developed also some sort of focus device. This pragmatic effect is discussed together with other pragmatic devices in Chapter 9. The verb *aday* is also used to express the notion of possession, as explained in the following section.

⁴ *Naday* also functions as the clausal negator ‘no, not’ (see section 9.5). There seems to be no difference in meaning between *naday* and *nisi* as existential negators.

⁵ However, a more typical function like the Indonesian linker *ialah/adalah* is absent in Mualang.

6.4 Possessive clauses

There are two types of possession predication in Mualang. The first one is marked by the use of the “absolute” possessive markers *mpu* and *nu*’: both may be translated as ‘possession’ and are used in a predicate nominal construction: NP [*MPU/NU*’ NP] where the second NP refers to the possessor. The difference between their usages is subtle and requires more examination. One significant difference noticed is that *mpu* refers to an active possession or ownership over something, and can act as a verb meaning ‘to possess, to own’, as in (6-65); whereas *nu*’ on the other hand simply indicates that ‘something belongs to the possessor’, therefore it seems that it cannot be used with an “inalienable” entity like *anak* ‘child’ as in (6-63), while it can with *mpu* as in (6-62). The possessive NP may be fronted for focus purposes (8-64).

- (6-62) *Uma/anak tu’ mpu ku.*
 rice.field/child this POSS 1s
 ‘This rice field/child is mine (or: is my own).’
- (6-63) *Uma/*anak tu’ nu’ ku.*
 rice.field/child this POSS 1s
 ‘This rice field is mine (or: belongs to me).’
- (6-64) *Nama ia’, mpu ku tanah ia’.*
 name that POSS 1s land that
 ‘That means, that land is mine.’ (Lit. ‘my possession is that land’)
- (6-65) *Sapa mpu tajaw nya’?*
 who own k.o.jar that
 ‘Who owns the jar?’

The second type of possessive clause is marked by the use of the non-existential-presentative *aday*. The structure of the *aday*-possessive clause is NP₁ *aday* NP₂, in which NP₁ is the syntactic subject indicating the “possessor”, whereas the NP₂ refers to the “possessed entity”. This neutral word order is exemplified in (6-66a). For the purpose of focus, the predicate (6-66b) and the possessed element (6-66c) may be fronted. Note that in (6-66c) *babi* ‘pig’ and *manuk* ‘chicken’ are pronounced intonationally separate from *kita* ‘1p.incl’; if they are uttered under a single phrasal intonational contour, then they mean ‘our pig/chicken’, which results in a completely different construction.

- (6-66) a. *Sida’ aday akal.*
 3p exist trick
 ‘They had a trick/an idea.’
- b. *Aday akal sida’.*
 exist trick 3p
 ‘A **trick**/an **idea** they had.’

c. *Nema babi kita udah aday, manuk kita*
 because pig 1p.incl PERF exist chicken 1p.incl

udah aday, lengkap dih rumpah kita tu'.
 PERF exist complete dih side.dish 1p.incl this

'Because we already have pigs and we already have chickens, our side dishes are now complete.'

The NP₂ is normally indefinite, regardless of animacy, cf. *akal* 'trick' in (6-66a) and *anak* 'child' in (6-67a). It may be definite in some cases, as in (6-67b) where it is modified by the demonstrative *tu* 'this'. However such a clause is most likely to occur in the presence of the possessed entity at the time of speaking.

(6-67) a. *Ku tu' aday anak.*
 1s this exist child
 '(As for me) I have a child (children).'

b. *Ku tu' aday anak tu'.*
 1s this exist child this
 '(As for me) I have this child (with me).'

The demonstratives may also appear in a construction like (6-67b) but the intended meaning is "like this/that", e.g.:

(6-68) *Ku aday isaw tu' da rumah.*
 1s exist machete this LOC house
 'I have this kind of machete at home.'

The NP₁ or the subject may be both human (6-66 and 6-67) above and non-human (6-69 – 6-71) below:

(6-69) *Rumah seniku' aday gang'ang.*
 house 2d exist balcony
 'The house of the two of them has a balcony.'

(6-70) *Dulaw tih Dampak aday rumah panyay.*
 previous.time tih D exist house long
 'Previously the village of Dampak had a (traditional) longhouse.'

(6-71) *Nyelipan nya' aday bisa.*
 centipede that aday poison
 'The centipede had poison.'

As seen in their English translation, the NP subjects in (6-67 – 6-71) can be interpreted as the possessor. However, such an interpretation is likely if the subject is animate, but seems to be less clear if the subject is inanimate. In the following examples the subjects (*rumah kami* 'our house' in (6-72), *tajaw nya* 'that jar' in (6-

73), and *rumah* ‘house’ in (6-74) look more like a location than a possessor (cf. (6-69 – 6-71):

- (6-72) *Kemari’ rumah kami aday urang ti N-curi.*
 yesterday house 2p.excl exist person REL ACT-steal
 a. ‘(?)Yesterday our house had a thief.’
 b. ‘Yesterday our house had a thief in it.’ (or: ‘Yesterday there was a thief in our house.’)
- (6-73) *Tajaw nya’ aday nsia d=alam nya’.*
 k.o.jar that exist human.being LOC=inside that
 ‘The jar had a person in it.’
- (6-74) *Da kampung sida’ urang percaya’ nti’ naday N-jua’*
 LOC village 3p person believe if NEG ACT-give

ulih diri’ ka kawan ti semak, [rumah aday sial].
 gain self to friend REL close house exist unluck
 ‘In their village people believe that if somebody does not share his own (hunting) gains with his neighbors, his house has bad luck.’

Freeze (1992:582-583) observes that in English the nature of the possessive relation in a ‘have’ predication is constrained by the [human] value of the subject: if the subject is [+human], the “theme” (his term for the NP₂) can be both inalienably and alienably possessed. But, if the subject is [-human], then the “theme” has to be inalienably possessed (e.g. *the tree has branches*), or a ‘characteristically associated’ noun (e.g. *the flour has weevils (in it)*), otherwise there has to be an *in situ* locational phrase anaphoric to the [-human] subject (e.g. *the flour has a ring in it*, cf. **the flour has a ring*). This kind of possessive relation between the NP₁ and NP₂ seems to be also possible in Mualang *aday*-possessive constructions. However, in Mualang an anaphoric locational phrase as in English is optional: in (6-73) *d=alam nya’* may be left out without essentially changing the meaning of the clause. Actually, according to Freeze, it is a cross-linguistical fact that the NP₁ or the subject of the ‘have’ predication is locative (Freeze 1992). In Mualang, the locative nature of the subject as in (6-72) through (6-74) supports this view, and it is most likely that it is the inalienability of the NP₂ vis-à-vis the NP₁ subject (being characteristically associated with it) that enables the possessive reading in cases such as (6-67) and (6-69). If the NP₁ is location, then the NP₂ is the existing element whose location is specified in the NP₁. The *aday*-possessive clause thus basically shares a syntactic similarity with the *aday*-existential-presentative construction. This is not surprising as the interrelationship between locative, existential and possessive predications is well known cross-linguistically. Freeze (1992:586) argues that in many languages the structures of existential and possessive (‘have’) predication are identical, and only partially distinguished in some languages by the presence or absence of the preposition. Mualang seems to belong to the latter type. As seen in various examples of the existential constructions in 6.3, the location, if it surfaces, is expressed through a prepositional phrase, whereas in the possessive construction the

location appears in the syntactic subject position without a preposition. Some linguists (e.g. Freeze 1992) have argued that in the possessive construction the location argument is the result of “location raising”, that is, a locational adjunct becomes a syntactic locative subject. Thus compare the locational adjunct *da suti’ kampung* ‘in one village’ in (6-75a) with the locative subject *suti’ kampung* ‘one village’ in (b):

- (6-75) a. ...*da s-uti’ kampung aday tiga puluh*
 LOC ONE-CLASS village exist three unit.of.ten
 buah pintu.
 CLASS door
 ‘... in one (i.e. in each) village there were 30 families.’
- b. ...*s-uti’ kampung aday tiga puluh buah*
 ONE-CLASS village exist three unit.of.ten CLASS
 pintu.
 door
 ‘... one (i.e. each) village had 30 families.’

Also consider the locational prepositional phrase in (6-76a), the “location raising” in (b), and the “possessor (of the location) raising” in (c):

- (6-76) a. *Aday cula [da kaki Belang Patung].*
 exist horn LOC foot B P
 ‘There was a horn on Belang Patung’s foot’
- b. *[Kaki Belang Patung] aday cula.*
 foot B P exist horn
 ‘The foot of Belang Patung had a horn (on it)’
- c. *[Belang Patung] aday cula da kaki*
 B P exist horn LOC foot
 ‘Belang Patung had a horn on (his) foot’

Payne (1997:127) suggests the involvement of topicalization (highly correlated with definiteness and animacy) as a main functional difference between the elements in the existential, locational and possessive clauses. My preliminary study of some texts reveals that the *aday*-possessive construction is often used when the existence of the NP₂ is introduced, but it is the location or the possessor of the NP₂ that is topicalized (being the subject of the clause), exhibiting “topic continuity” (i.e. the location or possessor continues to be the topic of discussion). Consider the following examples. (6-77) is taken from a narrative story. In the previous paragraphs the story depicted how King Sua found Puyang Gana and took care of him. Then, he was said to have a daughter, who was introduced “all of a sudden”.

A similar introduction of the “possessed” element can be seen in (6-78) and (6-79) as well.

- (6-77) *Jadi Raja Sua tih aday anak in'u', nama Dara Reja'.*
 So King S tih exist child female name D R
Aa pia'. "Aw'!" jaku' ia, "Tu'=m, n'u',
 ah like.that. well say 3s this=m TOA
ngaw laki di'."
 for husband 2s.fem
 'So, King Sua, you know, had a daughter named Dara Reja'. Ah, that's so. "Well!" he said, "This (=Puyang Gana), my daughter, is to be your husband."
- (6-78) *Ha, pia'. Ku aday kisah ti lucu.*
 ha like.that 1s exist story REL funny
 'Ha, this is it. I have a funny story.'
- (6-79) *Putung Empat tu' aday peN-sakit tay da-sebut*
 P K this exist NOM-sick REL PASS-mention
urang peN-sakit bangkang.
 person NOM-sick bruise/ulcer
 'As for Putung Empat, she had a disease that people called *bangkang* (bruises and ulcers).'

The introductory function of *aday* is typical of the existential-presentative clause. It makes sense, then, that there is a structural similarity between the existentials and the *aday*-possessive construction. Note also that this is why in the latter, the NP₂ (or the "possessed" element) is normally indefinite, as is the case with the existential constructions. Another grammatical similarity between the two clauses is that both are negated by the existential negator *nisi'* or *naday* (see the examples for the existential-presentative in 6.3):

- (6-80) *Nyaw malam sida' nisi' guris.*
 already night 3p EXIST.NEG matches
 'It was already night and they had no matches.'
- (6-81) *Nyaw ke-lama' babi ia' sem'uh jara', ulih*
 already NOM-long pig that recovered jara' but
nisi' jungur agi', aba' pen'ing kanan ia
 EXIST.NEG snout again and ear right(side) 3s
nisi' agi'.
 EXIST.NEG again
 'After a long time the pig had recovered, but he had no snout anymore and his right ear was not there anymore.'

- (6-82) *Urang tuay kelia' naday alat-alat, naday senapang.*
 person old old.time not.exist tool-RED not.exist rifle
 'The old people of the past had no tools, no rifles.'

A note needs to be added on the quantifier *mayuh* 'many, much' and *sikit* 'a little, a few'. These quantifiers appear with or without *aday* in the existential and possessive clauses. It is probable that these indefinite quantifiers inherently contain the sense of existence. However, the use of *aday* seems to more explicitly emphasise the existence of an entity. The following are two examples (cf. also example (6-4) above):

- (6-83) *Urang tuay kelia' (aday) mayuh/sikit kata-kata mali.*
 person old old.time (exist) many/a.little word-RED taboo
 'The old people of the past had many/few taboo words.'

- (6-84) *Nya' mah N-suruh da daerah Sepawuk nya' (aday)*
 that mah ACT-cause LOC region S that exist
mayuh mas pitu'.
 many gold like.this
 'That is why in that Sepauk region there is a lot of gold now.'

7 SIMPLE VERBAL CLAUSES AND ARGUMENT STRUCTURE

In Chapter 6 I have dealt with predicate nominals and some constructions related to them. In this chapter I will turn to predicates that are verbal. In the first place the discussion will be concerned with the verb and its core arguments and their morphosyntactic marking in clauses. Mualang is an inconsistent SVO language. Subjects and objects are not marked morphologically, indirect (and oblique) objects are introduced by a preposition. Verbs are morphologically marked with prefixes. There are no suffixes. Verbal prefixes have two different functions, namely 1) VALENCE INCREASER (or VALENCE for short), and 2) VOICE MARKER. Valence increasing operators, discussed in 7.1.3.1, include verbal prefixes that derive verbs from noun roots or increase transitivity of verbal roots. Such derivational operations yield an inflectable stem. In discourse, such a verbal stem can be inflected for voice (discussed in 7.2), using a Voice prefix (see example (7-2)). Thus, the voice marker operates after valence increasing prefixation. One voice prefix, namely *ba-*, can operate directly on a noun stem (7-3). Basically the verb structure in Mualang may be represented as follows (parentheses mark optionality; a stem may consist of a single root):

- (7-1) Verb structures:
 a. LEXICAL STEM = (VALENCE) – (NOUN/VERB ROOT)
 b. GRAMMATICAL VERB = VOICE – STEM

As an illustration, consider (7-2) and (7-3):

- (7-2) a. *diri*
 stand
 ‘stand’
- b. *N-* *pe-* *diri* → *meniri* (Active Voice)
 ACT- CAUS- stand
 VOICE VALENCE STEM
 ‘cause to stand up, make s.t. stand or erect’
- c. *da-* *pe-* *diri* → *dapediri* (Passive Voice)
 PASS- CAUS- stand
 VOICE VALENCE STEM
 ‘put in erect position’

(7-3)	<i>ba-</i>	<i>peN-</i>	<i>tam'ak</i> → <i>bapenam'ak</i>
	ANPAS-	NOM-	plant (Antipassive Voice)
	VOICE	NOMINALIZER	STEM
	'do cultivation work'		

Following the discussion on the classification of verbs (7.1) and on voice constructions (7.2), advancement of peripheral elements to core syntactic roles will be discussed in (7.3).

7.1 Classification of verbs

Verbs in Mualang are divided into two major groups: *intransitive* and *transitive*. This distinction is based on the semantic roles of the participants typically associated with the verb. For the current analysis, I have adopted the major semantic roles proposed in Givón (2001a:107), which is summarized as follows:¹

- 1) *agent* = the participant, typically animate, who acts deliberately to initiate the event, and thus bears the responsibility for it, e.g.: *Mary kicked John*;
- 2) *patient* = the participant, either animate or inanimate, that either is in a state or registers a change-of-state as a result of an event, e.g.: *Mary saw John*;
- 3) *dative* = a conscious participant in the event, typically animate, but not the deliberate initiator, e.g.: *John knew Mary*;
- 4) *instrument* = a participant, typically inanimate, used by the agent to perform the action, e.g.: *She chopped firewood with an axe*;
- 5) *benefactive* = the participant, typically animate, for whose benefit the action is performed, e.g.: *He fixed the roof for his mother*;
- 6) *locative* = the place, typically concrete and inanimate, where the state is, where the event occurs, or toward which or away from which some participant is moving, e.g.: *He went to the store*;
- 7) *associative* = an associate of the agent, patient or dative of the event, whose role in the event is similar, but who is not as important, e.g. *with her father* in: *She worked with her father*;
- 8) *manner* = the manner in which an event occurs or an agent performed the action, e.g.: *He left in a hurry*.

Verbal bases can be monomorphemic (i.e. consist of merely a root), or polymorphemic (i.e. consist of a (derived) stem).² The subdivision into various intransitive and transitive verbs is further outlined in (7.1.2) and (7.1.3), respectively.

¹ Givón's analysis of semantic roles broadly follows that of Fillmore (1968) and Chafe (1970). I have also benefited from Payne's (1997:48ff) discussion of semantic roles, which is based primarily on the work of Comrie (1989) and Fillmore (1968).

² A root contains the basic lexical meaning of a word. The basic meaning can be modified by means of prefixes, reduplication or both.

7.1.2 Intransitive verb roots

Intransitive verbs are univalent (i.e. they have a semantic valence of one). They typically express a property, state, or situation involving only one participant (Payne 1997:171). In Mualang, verb roots grouped as intransitive typically include the following:

- 1) words prototypically categorized as adjectives in the literature (cf. Payne 1997:63; Givón 2001a:82ff), e.g.:
 - a. age: *tuay* 'old', *muda* 'young', *manta* 'raw', *muduh* 'ripe';
 - b. dimension: *besay* 'big', *mit* 'small, little', *panyay* 'long', *panus* 'low, short', *jawuh* 'distant', *semak* 'close';
 - c. color: *mirah* 'red', *ijaw* 'green, blue', *putih* 'white';
 - d. value: *bayik* 'good, pretty'³, *jat* 'bad', *bagas* 'handsome';
 - e. physical characteristics: *gemu* 'fat', *ringkay* 'thin', *rangkay* 'dry'; *kukuh* 'strong';
 - f. shape: *bujur* 'straight', *buntar* 'round';
 - g. human propensity/mental states: *gaga* 'glad', *pedih* 'sad, difficult, sick', *ingkuh* 'diligent', *luntus* 'lazy', *lelak* 'tired', *lemaw* 'weak, lazy', *kerampak* 'arrogant, egotistical', *pan'ay* 'clever', *mawa* 'stupid', *takut* 'afraid', *ringat* 'angry';
 - h. speed: *sigat* 'fast', *lawun* 'slow'.
- 2) locomotion verbs (in Payne's sense (1997:56)), i.e. verbs describing "no simple motion but movement out of one scene and into another". There is no internal process depicted. Some of them express only one trajectory of movement. For example: *rari* 'run (away)', *datay* 'come', *angkat* 'go', *pulay* 'come/go home', *tama* 'enter', *pansut/keluar* 'exit, come out', *sampay* 'arrive, achieve', *terbay* 'fly', *tim'ul* 'emerge', *teng'elam* 'sunk', *turun* 'descend', *pin'ah* 'move (intransitive)', *labuh* 'fall, drop'. Some other verbs are very close to this sense in that they describe no movement but rather a still or a static position, e.g.: *duduk* 'sit', *diri* 'stand up', *tin'uk* 'sleep', *dani* 'wake up', *diaw* 'stay, quiet', *ting'al* 'stay', *nugaw* 'stay quiet (go nowhere)';
- 3) various other states, e.g.: *tum'uh* 'grow (intransitive)', *idup* 'alive', *mati* 'dead', *sunyi* 'quiet', *ilang* 'lost', *aday* 'exist', *anyut* 'swept away (by water)', *selabuk* 'hide one's self', *bira* 'defecate', *kemih* 'urinate', *mutah* 'vomit', *semuh* 'recovered', *mimpi* 'dream', *suayak* 'divorced', *ingat* 'remember', *riu* 'to be long', *putus* 'broken', *ka* 'want', *ayap* 'lost', *mabuk* 'to be drunk', *tem'u* 'finished, done', *miskin* 'poor', *kaya* 'rich', *cawis* 'finished'.

I will use the term 'static intransitive verbs' to generally refer to the "adjectival-like" intransitive verbs; non-static intransitive verbs will be referred to as 'dynamic intransitive verbs'. All intransitive roots can appear directly in the clause without a

³ The meaning 'pretty' occurs in the Downstream speech.

prefix (7.2.2). Some can be semantically modified by the use of certain voice prefixes (e.g. with *te-* (see 7.2)).

7.1.3 Transitive verb roots

Transitive roots have at least a semantic valence of two, involving an *agent* and a *patient*. Some roots allow three core arguments in a clause. Some examples of transitive roots are *bunuh* ‘kill’, *pangkung* ‘hit, beat’, *tunu* ‘burn’, *am’i* ‘take’, *pakay* ‘eat’, *inum* ‘drink’, *beri* / *jua* ‘give’, *beli* ‘buy’.

Morphosyntactically transitive roots require the active prefix *N-* in simple active clauses (see 7.2.3). Transitive verbs can also be derived with the use of a valence increasing operator, which will be discussed in 7.1.3.1 below.

7.1.3.1 Valence increasing prefixes and derived transitive verb stems

Valence increasing prefixes raise the valence of a word. They can verbalize a noun, or transitive an intransitive or nominal root or, in some cases, increase the degree of transitivity (i.e. in the sense of Hopper and Thompson 1980) of a transitive verb. The verb stems derived from such a derivational operation may be used as such (i.e. with “zero-marking”) or must occur with a voice prefix in order to fully function in discourse. There are two grammatical processes which increase the valence of words:

- 1) morphologically unmarked derivation
- 2) derivation by means of the causative prefix *pe-*.

Each of them is discussed below.

1. Morphologically unmarked verbal derivation

There are a lot of common nouns that can be used as, or converted into, a verbal form directly without any morphological marking. Such an unmarked noun-to-verb derivation is also recognized in English as noticed in Givón (2001a:81; e.g. *can* ‘put ... into a can’ (as a verb)). For illustration in Mualang consider (7-4):

(7-4) Unmarked noun to verb derivation

Noun	→ Verb
<i>ili</i> ‘downstream’	→ ‘to go downstream (a river)’
<i>catuk</i> ‘spoon’	→ ‘to scoop (food, etc.) with a spoon’
<i>tusuy</i> ‘story’	→ ‘to tell (a story, etc.)’
<i>getah</i> ‘latex; sticky sap of plant’	→ ‘to trap (something) with sticky sap’
<i>tugal</i> ‘a pointed stick to make holes for seeds’	→ ‘to make holes for seeds with a stick, to dibble’

The derivations are transitive verb forms with “inverse zero-marking” (see 7.2 below). The transitivity of these derivations is morphologically evident from the existence of parallel verbal forms with the inflectional voice prefixes *N-* and *da-*, or

the inverse zero marking. Thus, the derived stems in (7-4) can be used with voice inflection as follows:

(7-5) *Voice forms (including those with zero marking) for transitive denominal verbs*

Derived verb stem	Active	Passive	Inverse
<i>ili'</i>	<i>N-ili'</i> (= <i>ngili'</i>)	<i>da-ili'</i>	<i>ili'</i>
<i>catuk</i>	<i>N-catuk</i> (= <i>ncatuk</i>)	<i>da-catuk</i>	<i>catuk</i>
<i>tusuy</i>	<i>N-tusuy</i> (= <i>nusuy</i>)	<i>da-tusuy</i>	<i>tusuy</i>
<i>getah</i>	<i>N-getah</i> (= <i>ngetah</i>)	<i>da-getah</i>	<i>getah</i>
<i>tugal</i>	<i>N-tugal</i> (= <i>nugal</i>)	<i>da-tugal</i>	<i>tugal</i>

Since Mualang only has prefixes, I include the unmarked derivation under the same category, that is, valence increasing prefixes, together with the causative *pe-*. The various derivative meanings resulting from the unmarked noun to verb transitivizing operation have to do with carrying out an action against an object that primarily involves the noun root in question. The entity expressed in the noun root is treated semantically as generic and is incorporated into the meaning of the verb form in some way as in (7-6):

(7-6) *Derivative meanings of the nominal verb stems*

- a) as an incorporated (generic) object. The action is carried out toward something with or in relation to the object expressed in the nominal root, e.g.:

<i>tusuy</i> 'a story'	→ 'to tell (a story)'
<i>kisah</i> 'a story'	→ 'to tell (a story)'
<i>umung</i> 'a talk'	→ 'to talk'
<i>salak</i> 'a bark of a dog'	→ 'to bark (e.g. a squealing sound)'
<i>sawut</i> 'a reply'	→ 'to reply'
<i>pikir</i> 'a thought'	→ 'to think'
<i>jabaw</i> 'bamboo shoots'	→ 'to look for bamboo shoots'
<i>umpan</i> 'cooked rice, food'	→ 'to feed'
<i>benih</i> 'seed'	→ 'to sow'
<i>ludah</i> 'saliva'	→ 'to spit at'
<i>bum'u</i> 'spice'	→ 'to put spice on (food)'
<i>laban</i> 'enemy, rival'	→ 'to oppose, fight'
<i>kan'ung</i> 'womb, content'	→ 'to be pregnant (with), to contain'

- b) as an incorporated instrument. The action is carried out with the assistance of what the nominal root indicates, e.g.:

<i>pen'ing</i> 'ear'	→ 'to eardrop, to listen to'
<i>catuk</i> 'spoon'	→ 'to scoop (food) with a spoon'
<i>getah</i> 'latex or sticky sap plant'	→ 'to trap (something) with of sticky sap'
<i>sumpit</i> 'blowpipe gun'	→ 'to shoot with a blowpipe'
<i>tugal</i> 'a pointed stick to make holes for seeds'	→ 'to make holes for seeds with a stick'

c) as an incorporated location, e.g.:

<i>ili</i> 'downstream'	→ 'to go downstream (a river)'
<i>ulu</i> 'upstream'	→ 'to go upstream (a river)'
<i>kubur</i> 'grave'	→ 'to bury'

Hopper and Thompson (1984:745-746) have noticed that it is apparently a universal for languages to require a special nominalizing morphology to derive a noun from a verbal form but not the other way around. The direction of the zero derivation proposed for Mualang is a confirmation of this tendency. In Mualang, if the root is lexically a verb, it would take a nominalizing prefix to derive a nominal form (see Chapter 4).

A similar case of morphologically unmarked derivation is also apparent in many intransitive verb roots that can be used transitively as well, e.g.:

(7-7) *Meanings of transitive verb stems derived from intransitive verbs*

INTRANSITIVE	→	TRANSITIVE
<i>ting'i</i> 'high, tall'	→	'heighten'
<i>besay</i> 'big'	→	'make bigger' ⁴
<i>labuh</i> 'fall, drop'	→	'drop (something)'
<i>idup</i> 'alive'	→	'take care (plant, animal), operate (engine), put on (fire, lamp)'
<i>pan'i</i> 'take a bath'	→	'bathe (somebody)'
<i>pedih</i> 'sick, sad'	→	'make sad, make to suffer'
<i>pulay</i> 'go/come home'	→	'return (something)'
<i>pin'ah</i> 'move (oneself)'	→	'move (something)'
<i>anyut</i> 'be swept away (by water)'	→	'make (something/somebody) be swept away'

Semantically the intransitive roots are neutral, in the sense that the state they indicate is not presented as the result of an action. They simply denote that the subject is in that state, without any further semantic implication. *Pecah* 'break' (as in '*the window broke*'), for example, does not imply that the state is the result of an action, as may be seen in the English *broken* (as in '*the window is broken*'). This fact suggests that the intransitive root is the base, and not vice versa.

⁴ Another derivative use of *besay* 'big' has the meaning 'as big as' (see 6.1.2.1.3 of Chapter 6).

The derivative meaning always increases the valence of the base: e.g., with static intransitive roots the derived verb indicates that there is a causer who makes something to be in the state expressed by the base, e.g. *ting'i* 'heighten'. This type of derivation is productive and no other morphological operators are available. The majority of derived transitive verbs are formed via this unmarked operation.

2. The causative *pe-*

The morphophonemics of the causative *pe-* (and its allomorph *per-* and *pel-*) is discussed in Chapter 2 (section 2.5). This prefix is not very productive. With a few exceptions it adds a certain causative meaning to the base, which can be a verb (both intransitive and transitive) or a noun. With a transitive base, it may denote that the action is carried out together by many people or against many objects (thus increasing the "degree" of transitivity of the base). The *pe-* stems are inflectable for voice with the prefixes *N-*, *da-*, or the zero inverse (see 7.2.5). However, some *pe-* derived stems normally appear in passive constructions rather than in others, for example, *pe-bunuh* 'kill many/with many' is usually used in the passive, e.g. *babi da-pe-bunuh* (pig-PASS-CAUS-kill) 'the pig was killed (by a group of people); many pigs were killed'. The following examples are found in my corpus of data:⁵

(7-8) Derived causative *pe-* stems

ROOT	→ <i>pe</i> -DERIVED STEMS
<i>uma</i> 'rice field'	<i>p-uma</i> 'cultivate (land) as a rice field'
<i>amis</i> 'finished'	<i>p-amis</i> 'make finished completely' ⁶
<i>guraw</i> 'a joke'	<i>pe-guraw</i> 'tease, make a fool of'
<i>nselan</i> 'a rite of making an offering'	<i>pe-nselan</i> 'make a rite for offering'
<i>diri</i> 'stand'	<i>pe-diri</i> 'erect (a lying object)'
<i>nyamay</i> 'comfortable'	<i>pe-nyamay</i> 'let (someone) feel comfortable' (used only in passive voice)
<i>duduk</i> 'sit'	<i>pe-duduk</i> 'put in a seat'
<i>anyung</i> 'escort'	<i>per-anyung</i> (also <i>pe-anyung</i>) 'escort in a mass, escort many'
<i>bunuh</i> 'kill'	<i>pe-bunuh</i> 'kill many/with many (usually with a big object and a

⁵ Thus far I have only found one example where the *per-* derives an intransitive verb from a noun base, that is, *ay* 'water' → *per-ay* 'contain much water' (e.g. *getah ia per-ay* 'rubber.sap-that-CAUS?.water) 'the rubber sap has much water in it'. However, with the (unique?) prefix *pel-*, a transitive verb stem is derived: *pel-ay* 'put or add water into something' (e.g. *rempah da-pel-ay* 'side.dish-PASS.CAUS?.water) 'the side dishes have water added to them').

⁶ These two forms *p-uma* and *p-amis* were found to be usually pronounced with *p-* only, and not *pe-*.

	generic agent; used only in passive voice)
<i>ati</i> 'liver'	<i>per-ati</i> 'pay attention to'

In the last three derivations no causative meaning can be observed.

Some illustrations in clauses:

- (7-9) *Asa pia', nitaw' da-pe-nyamay!*
 if like.that cannot PASS-CAUS-comfortable
 'If that's so, they cannot be allowed to be so comfortable!' (we have to
 take revenge)
- (7-10) *Pakay manta', pakay uga', p-amis, mpa'!*
 eat raw eat all CAUS-finished chew
 'Eat (them) uncooked, eat (them) all, finish (them), chew!'
- (7-11) *Pe-duduk miak kin!*
 CAUS-sit child thither.far
 'Put the child in the seat over there!'

Having established the grammatical features of verbal stems, I now turn to a discussion of the various voice prefixes used with the stems in their contexts.

7.2 Voice constructions

By voice I refer to what has been traditionally called, among other labels, *active* and *passive voice* or *diathesis*. In general I refer to the definitions proposed in Payne (1997, 1999) and Givón (2001a, b). Voice has recently been viewed as a way of adjusting the relationship between grammatical relations (*subject, object*, etc.) and semantic roles (*agent, patient, benefactive*, etc.) (Payne 1997, 1999). Givón primarily defines voice in terms of functions, e.g. in terms of relative topicality of the *agent* with respect to the *patient*. The functional domain of voice is coded by a family of syntactic constructions in any given language (cf. Givón 2001b Ch. 13). Mualang employs several prefixes for different types of voice constructions. "Voice prefixes" should be distinguished from the typical derivational prefixes (as discussed in section 7.1. above).

The present section (7.2) explores the morphosyntax and functions of various types of clauses – hence (sub)-types of verbs marked by the voice prefixes. It is claimed in Givón (2001a, b) that it is basic for grammatical description to begin with the simple clause, either intransitive or transitive, that is, the main declarative, affirmative, stative or active clauses, of which "all other clause-types may be seen as *variations*" (see Givón 2001a:105). It is then best to assume the simple clause as the reference point for the present description.

This description begins first by providing a background for the notions of semantic roles and grammatical relations applied in the present analysis of Mualang (7.2.1), then followed by the simple stative intransitive clause (7.2.2) and the simple active transitive clause (7.2.3). After that, other voice constructions will be

described: *da-* passive (7.2.4), inverse (7.2.5), a comparison of the active, passive and inverse (7.2.6), *ba-* antipassive (7.2.7), unvolitional middle *te-* (7.2.8), inchoative *ke-* (7.2.9), adversative *kena'* (7.2.10), reflexives (7.2.11), and reciprocals (7.2.12). Finally, 7.3 will discuss advancement operations on peripheral elements.

7.2.1 Semantic roles and grammatical relations

Semantic roles have been addressed in 7.1. Here grammatical relations (GRs) are discussed. Grammatical relations are relations between arguments and predicates (Payne 1997:129). In Mualang the following core GRs are attested: *subject* (S), *direct object* (or simply *object* = O), *indirect object* (IO). For optional (i.e. non-core) arguments, the term *oblique* will be used. Properties that can identify the GRs in Mualang are 1) relative word order of constituents; 2) prefixal marking on the verb. Indirect objects (and obliques) are marked with a preposition. The pragmatically unmarked word order is SV(O). All voice prefixes refer to the subject of the clause (in relation to the other arguments). The syntactic and semantic status of arguments will be discussed in relation to the relevant prefixes. As an illustration, consider:

(7-12) *Ia tin'uk.*
 3s sleep
 S (dative)
 'He/she is sleeping.'

(7-13) *Sida' N-beri' ku ka tanah.*
 3p ACT-give 1s to land
 A-S V benefactive-O patient-IO
 'They gave me some land.'

7.2.2 Zero marking: Simple stative intransitive clauses

Simple intransitive (i.e. static and dynamic) verbs directly appear in clauses in "bare" forms, i.e. morphologically unmarked. I will refer to such clauses as stative clauses, in contrast to, for example, active ones (see 7.2.3 below). They take one single argument as the subject of the clause. "Zero marking" in such a way marks no agentive dynamism but stativity, that is, the subject of the clause is described as being in a particular state. The semantic role of subject is non-agent, covering both patient and dative (of a mental state). Zero marking typically applies to intransitive verb roots described in 7.1.1.

The unmarked word order of simple stative intransitive clauses is SV, with VS as its pragmatic alternative. The unmarked SV order is neutral intonationally and pragmatically:

(7-14) *Kabila [m'ih pulay]?*
 when 2s.masc go.home
 'When are you going home?'

- (7-15) *Jadi*, [*Dara Jantung tu' panci, alap*], *jaku' kita*
 so D J this pretty beautiful say 1p.incl
pia'. [*Kulit putih kuning*].
 like.that skin white yellow
 'Thus, Dara Jantung was very beautiful, so we said. (Her) skin was yellowish white.'
- (7-16) *Padi bedaw muduh*.
 rice not.yet ripe
 'The rice has not ripened yet.'
- (7-17) *Udah N-pakay kulat*, [*sida' mabuk*] *semua*.
 after ACT-eat mushroom 3p drunk all
 'After having eaten mushroom, they all were drunk.'

The VS order is marked pragmatically and usually also intonationally (i.e. pronounced with relatively high and lengthened pitch on the verb). The VS order tends to be used to emphasize the event/verb, rather than the subject. In (7-18 – 7-22) below some pragmatic factors are involved in the focusing of the verb or event. In (7-18 – 7-19) the subjects carry old information and the verbs (i.e. *mit* 'little' in (7-18) and *salah* 'wrong' in (7-19) emphasize the state of the subjects. In (7-20), the fronted event *N-pabat* 'ACT-slash' is highlighted in a 'tail-head linkage' construction with the preceding clause to provide the background for the following event. In a similar way, the verb *datay* 'come' is also emphasized. In (7-21) the event *turun* 'descend' is fronted as being something happening as a fulfillment of a wish; it also shows a 'tail-head' connection with the preceding clause. However, the subject is emphasized to increase the suspense. In (7-22) the event *datay* 'come' is fronted to emphasize the unexpectedness of the event.

- (7-18) *Jadi, mulay ari Dayang Putri. Dayang Putri diaw aba'*
 thus begin from D P D P stay with
ini' Aman Tungku Kebayan. [Agi' mit ia],
 grandmother A T K still little 3s
 'Thus, (I tell the story) beginning from Dayang Putri. Dayang Putri lived with her grandmother, Aman Tungku Kebayan. She was still little,'
- (7-19) *Pia', a, laya' jat, seniku'. [Salah seniku']*.
 like.that ha fight bad 2d wrong 2d
 'So, fighting is bad, both of you. Both of you are **wrong** (if you fight each other).'

- (7-20) *Aw', N-pabat agi' s-ari ia'. Udah [N-pabat*
 well ACT-slash again ONE-day that after ACT-slash
sida'] peN-besay tay kemari' tih, pulay. Malam,
 3p NOM-big REL yesterday tih go.home night
[datay agi' Puyang Gana aba' bala pe-suruh ia].
 come again P G with all.kind NOM-order 3s
 'Well, they slashed again (all the trees) the whole day. Having slashed
 a large part (of the area) they did yesterday, they went home. At night,
 there **came** again Puyang Gana and all his helpers.'
- (7-21) *Lama' ka lama' ia tih nyaw dara. Aday dih, aday*
 long to long 3s tih PERF maiden exist dih exist
turun upa ti kedeka' ia. [Turun urang laki]
 descend as REL will 3s descend person male
 'Long after that she had become a maiden. (Then) there was, really,
 somebody who came down like she had been longing for. There came
 down a **man**'
- (7-22) *Baru' tay ke-dua, nti' benung kita ba-laya',*
 then REL ORD-two if PROG 1p.incl ANPAS-fight
[datay keban temuay senganay, tem'away
 come all.kind guest Malay.people former.settlement
bukay]
 other
 'Then the second thing would be, when we are fighting each other,
 that (suddenly) all kinds of guests would come visiting, the Malays,
 other people (then we would hurriedly make up with one another so
 that others would not know we had been fighting)....'

Some stative verbs usually appear subjectless. These include verbs related to the weather, e.g. *ujan* 'it rains' (also a noun), *guntur* 'it's thundering' (also a noun), *celap* 'it's cold', *angat* 'it's hot'.

Further usages of intransitive verbs are discussed below.

7.2.2.1 Zero marking and the middle voice

Many intransitive verbs described in 7.1.2 points 2 and 3 may also be used transitively (see list (7-7) above). Clauses containing such verbs may imply that the subject undergoes a change of state due to a process or an action of an agent or a causer, rather than carrying out an action. To some extent this situation is similar to the function of middle voice in other languages (cf. Payne 1997:216). Verbs having such a 'middle voice' are, among others, *anyut* 'swept away (by water)', *putus* 'broken, be apart', *pin'ah* 'move', *lela* 'crushed', *pecah* 'broken', *labuh* 'fall, drop'.

The agent or causer appears optionally in a prepositional phrase headed by the preposition *ulih* ‘by, as a result of what (X) did’, e.g.:

- (7-23) a. Active
Ku N-labuh buah.
 1s ACT-drop fruit
 ‘I dropped the fruit.’
- b. ‘Middle’
Buah labuh (ulih ku).
 fruit drop (by me)
 ‘The fruit fell/dropped (by my doings, as a result of what I did).’
- c. Inverse
Buah ia’ ku labuh.
 fruit that 1s drop
 ‘That fruit was dropped by me.’

The ‘middle’ construction in (7-23b) may be compared to the inverse in (c) (see 7.2.5 and 7.2.6 for the inverse). However, in the middle construction the situation is a process rather than an action, whereas in the inverse the activity of an agent is apparent.⁷

7.2.2.2 Zero marking in other construction-types

Zero marking is not only used in the middle voice but also:

- a) when a verb, either intransitive or transitive, functions as an attribute of a NP (see 4.1.2.4 in Chapter 4), e.g.:

tuay ‘old’, as in *urang tuay* ‘old person’
terbay ‘fly’, as in *kapal terbay* ‘airplane’
tunu ‘burn, bake’, as in *ubi tunu* ‘baked cassava’

- b) in imperatives (Chapter 9, subsection 9.6.2)
 c) in an inverse construction (7.2.4)

All the zero marking constructions mentioned in this section (7.2.2) have in common that the zero marking on the verb codes non-agentivity.⁸

⁷ Payne (1997:217) compares a middle construction with a passive, in which the latter “treats the situation as an action carried out by an agent but with the identity of the agent downplayed”; whereas in the former the situation is conceived as a process. In Mualang a similar comparison holds between the middle and inverse construction.

⁸ With the imperative this “non-agentivity” is to be interpreted as the fact that an agent is hoped for, but not yet actualized.

7.2.3 The nasal prefix *N-*: active voice

The nasal prefix *N-* is used with transitive verbs primarily to code *active-transitive* voice.⁹ With a verb marked by *N-* the agent of the event is assigned the subject role in the clause. In the prototypical transitive clause, the patient object always appears. All verbs that exhibit prototypical transitivity have to be marked with the prefix *N-* in the simple active-transitive clause, as in (7-24a), otherwise the clause is ungrammatical, as in (b). The unmarked word order is SVO.

- (7-24) a. *Ku N-bunuh manuk.*
 1s ACT-kill chicken
 'I killed a chicken.'
- b. **Ku bunuh manuk.*
 1s ACT-kill chicken
 'I killed a chicken.'

Givón (2001a:109, based on Hopper and Thompson 1980) provides the following defining features for the semantic prototype of a transitive event: "1) agentivity: having a deliberate, active *agent*; 2) affectedness: having a concrete, affected *patient*; and 3) perfectivity: involving a bounded, terminated, fast-changing event in real time." Syntactically, "clauses and verbs that have a *direct object* are transitive. All others are syntactically intransitive." In Mualang, verbs that can take *N-* can be readily recognized as belonging to transitive stems as described in 7.1.3 (but consider also 7.2.3.1 below). More examples are shown below:

- (7-25) *Sida' N-pulah jimut.*
 3p ACT-make k.o.snack
 'They made *jimut*.'
- (7-26) *Apay Aluy N-iga' jabaw.*
 father A ACT-look.for bamboo.shoots
 'Aluy's father was looking for bamboo shoots.'
- (7-27) *Jadi kita N-pantap kayu dua tiga uti'*
 so 1p.incl ACT-slash wood two three CLASS
 'So, we cut wood into two or three pieces'
- (7-28) *Keba' adat kita Mualang, asa ka'*
 therefore customs 1p.incl M if want

ba-laki-ba-bini, ti laki N-anyung ramu.
 ANPAS-husband-ANPAS-wife REL male ACT-escort wealth

⁹ See Chapter 2 for the morphophonemics of the nasalization of the prefix *N-*.

‘Therefore, our Mualang customs are, when we want to get married, the male one brings the bride price.’

7.2.3.1 Transitivity and unspecified objects

Many transitive verbs – that normally take a patient object and *N-* prefix – can also be used without an overt object, while the agentive character of the subject is still indicated by the active *N-* prefix on the verb. As such, they are syntactically intransitive, e.g.:

- (7-29) *Ku N-pakay dulaw.* (Object = food)
 1s ACT-eat first
 ‘I eat first.’
- (7-30) *Udah ia’ sida’ N-ili’.* (Object = location: river)
 already that 3p ACT-downstream
 ‘After that they went downstreams.’
- (7-31) *Bini ia agi’ N-kan’ung* (Object = a baby or babies)
 wife 3s still ACT-womb
 ‘His wife is pregnant.’
- (7-32) *Urang N-pan’i’ da pian.* (Object = one’s body)
 person ACT-bathe LOC bathing.place
 ‘People take a bath at the (open public) bathing place (at the river side).’
- (7-33) *Baru’ apay-inay N-sawut.* (Object = utterances)
 then father-mother ACT-reply
 ‘Then the parents replied.’

I will consider the absence of such a syntactic object, as shown in (7-29 – 7-33) above, as *object omission*, to distinguish it from *zero anaphora* (9.1.3 in Chapter 9). In the case of zero anaphora, the object really appears syntactically but is then dropped in the subsequent discourse. In the case of object omission, on the other hand, the patient of the verb never surfaces syntactically and this applies to transitive verbs whose patient is stereotypical, habitual or generically predictable (cf. Givón 2001a:136; 2001b:168ff). In the examples (7-29 – 7-33) the predictably generic patient is put in parentheses. However, such verbs can also take a specified patient, hence surfacing as a syntactic object in the clause. Thus, compare the syntactically intransitive use of the *N-*verbs in (7-29 – 7-33) with their syntactically transitive counterparts in the examples (b) below (the verb is in bold face whereas its object underlined):

- (7-29b) *Waktu sida’ menyadi’ aday aba’ apay-inay,*
 when 3p sibling exist with father-mother

- naday* *N-pakay* *umpan* *N-pakay* *arang*.
 NEG ACT-eat rice ACT-eat k.o.fruit
 ‘When the siblings were with their parents, they didn’t eat rice but (ate) a kind of fruit.’
- (7-30b) *Sida’ N-ili’ sungay Ketungaw*.
 3p ACT-downstream river K
 ‘They went downstream on the Ketungau River.’
- (7-31b) *Ku agi’ N-kan’ung anak ti tuay*.
 1s still ACT-womb child REL old
 ‘I was still pregnant with my oldest child.’
- (7-32b) *Ini’ N-pan’i’ ucu’*.
 grandmother ACT-bathe grandchild
 ‘The grandma is bathing her grandchild.’
- (7-33b) *Kita’ N-padah ”ukay” naday percaya*.
 2p ACT-say CONT.NEG NEG believe
 ‘You all said ‘no’, not believing (what I said).’

More examples of transitive verbs that can have a zero object:

sumpit ‘shoot with a *sumpit* (‘blowpipe’; generic patient object: wild animals vs. specified object, e.g. *babi* ‘pig’)’
asu ‘hunt’ (generic patient object: wild animals vs. specified object: *kijang* ‘deer’)’
inum ‘drink’ (generic patient object: liquid vs. specified object: *ay* ‘water’)’
sumay ‘cook’ (generic patient object: food vs. specified object: *umpan* ‘rice’)’
ulu ‘go upstreams’ (generic patient object: rivers vs. *Sungay Ketungaw* ‘Ketungau River’)’
tiki ‘climb’ (generic patient object: a house’s ladder, i.e. ‘to come in’ vs. specified object: *pun* ‘tree’)’
tugal ‘make holes for seeds’ (generic patient object: fields vs. specified object: a particular field)

The patient of some verbs is actually integrated in discourse at the moment of speaking. This is the case with verbs of perception and verbs referring to mental processes, e.g. *pikir* ‘think’, *peda* ‘look’, *dinga* ‘hear’, and with various verbs of utterance such as *padah* ‘say’, *seraw* ‘shout loudly’, *sawut* ‘reply’, *tanya* ‘ask’, *sabak* ‘cry’, *salak* ‘bark (of a dog)’, *umung* ‘talk’, *ciap* ‘sound of young chickens’. For example, the patient of *padah* ‘say’ is what the speaker himself is saying, or has heard from others (cf. example 7-33b), or it may be encoded in the form of “indirect speech”. Some other verbs have an incorporated patient object. This is very common with verbs derived from a nominal root which have the noun as their generic object,

e.g. *kisah*, *tusuy*, *jerita* ‘to tell (a story)’, *kulat* ‘look for mushrooms’, *jabaw* ‘look for bamboo shoots’, *benih* ‘sow (i.e. put seeds in the ground)’, *ludah* ‘spit (i.e. to throw out saliva)’.

In most cases, the situation resembles an “antipassive” use (cf. Givón 2001b:168ff). However, I am inclined to simply see the phenomenon as object omission, rather than as a grammatical antipassive construction, on the following grounds:

- 1) the verb is still marked with the active-transitive *N-*, and not with an intransitive verb marking (cf. Payne 1997:219);
- 2) although there is some semantic and pragmatic motivation for the patient object omission, the omission seems to become a lexical matter (i.e. confined to some verbs only), rather than a (productive) grammatical device (i.e. one that may be applied to any or most transitive verbs). The verb *N-tim’ak* (ACT.shoot), for instance, always needs an overt object;
- 3) the antipassive function is much more clearly witnessed in *ba-* clauses (see 7.2.7).

7.2.3.2 The use of active *N-* in comparative clauses of equivalence

As explained in subsection 6.1.2.1.3 in Chapter 6, one special case has been found in which the active (?) prefix *N-* is used with a static intransitive verb in comparative clauses of equivalence. In these clauses the subject refers to the entity whose quality expressed by the base of the verb is compared to a standard, but the expression for the standard of comparison, for example *kuali sigi* ‘a cooking pan’ in (7-34) below, cannot stand as an object, since the clause cannot be passivized. Therefore syntactically such comparative clauses are considered intransitive.

- (7-34) *Dulaw tih [besay gerama’] [N-besay] [kuali*
 previously *tih* big crab ACT-big cooking.pan
 SUBJECT MARKER-QUALITY

s-igi’].

ONE-CLASS

STANDARD

‘In the past the size (lit. big) of crabs was as big as a cooking pan.’ (Or possibly: ‘In the past the size (lit. big) of crabs equaled a cooking pan in size.’)

This use of *N-* in comparative clauses and in constructions with unspecified objects (see 7.2.3.1 above) displays a decrease in transitivity, as compared to the typical use of *N-* with highly transitive verb roots.

7.2.4 The *da-* prefix: prototypical passive voice

Morphosyntactically, the *da-* prefix is indicative of a prototypical transitive event.¹⁰ This means that a transitive verb with an unspecified patient as described in 7.2.3.1 cannot take *da-*. With the *da-* prefix, it is the patient of the event which becomes the subject of the clause, whereas the agent is optional, or not required for the grammaticality of the clause. It can be omitted or, if present, be demoted to an oblique role (cf. Payne 1997:204). This is in contrast with the active-transitive *N*-clause where both the agent and the patient are required (see also section 7.2.3.1 exceptions to this rule). The unmarked syntactic position of the subject of the *da*-passive is preverbal. For contrast, an active-transitive clause as well as a corresponding passive is given in the following examples:

- (7-35) a. Active
Urang *N-curi* manuk ku.
 person ACT-steal chicken 1s
 S – Agent V O – Patient
 ‘Somebody stole my chicken.’
- b. Passive
Manuk ku *da-curi*.
 chicken 1s PASS-steal
 S – Patient V
 ‘My chicken was stolen.’

Since Mualang also has *advancement* processes (see 7.3), some peripheral participants can be promoted to become arguments. In the active-transitive *N*-clause they become direct objects. As such they can also be the subject of the *da*-passive clause. Thus, the semantic role of the subject of the *da*-clause may also be a benefactive (7-36), a locative (7-37), or even a possessor (7-38):

- (7-36) Benefactive subject
Ku da-beri’ kita’ ka tungku’ tanah.
 1s PASS-give 2p to cooking.pot soil
 ‘I was given a clay pot by you all.’
- (7-37) Locative subject
- a. *Jalay da- pe-lintang ka kayu*.
 road PASS-CAUS-lay.across to wood
 ‘The road was blocked with wood.’ (lit. ‘The road was laid across with the wood.’)
- b. *Da-ili’ sa’ Ketungaw nyin*.
 PASS-go.downstream 3p K that.over.there
 ‘The Ketungau (river) was passed downstreamward over there by them.’

¹⁰ The morphophonemic alternation of *da-* is discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.5.

- (7-38) Possessor subject
Burung ia' da-tamit ka kaki.
 bird that PASS-tie to foot
 'The bird had its feet tied.' (lit. 'The bird was tied to (its) feet')

The agent may surface syntactically in non-argument status in two ways: 1) as an oblique with the preposition *ulih* 'by', or 2) not preceded by a preposition as a kind of "complement" to the verb. Structurally the *ulih*-agent phrase serves as an adjunct of the clause and therefore may have any other constituent interposed between it and the verb (7-39), or it may be moved around relative to the verb (cf. 7-40). If, however, it is a complement to the verb, there cannot be any intervening elements (7-41), and hence, structurally the agent constitutes an integral part of the VP. Or in other words, it is internal to the VP. Intonationally the verb and the agent complement are pronounced as a single phrase; if for pragmatic reasons the subject is moved to a post-verbal position, the agent is still in its position, as in (7-42). In the following examples the agent-phrases are underlined:

- (7-39) *Tu' da-kerja (ila') ulih dua iku' nsia.*
 this PASS-work later by two CLASS human
 'This is done (later) by two persons.'
- (7-40) *Ulih dua iku' nsia tu' da-kerja.*
 by two CLASS human this PASS-ork
 'By two persons this is/will be done.'
- (7-41) *Segala umpan apa segala da-tang'ung*
 all.kind food what all.kind PASS-bear

**(ila') urang ti N-tugal.*
 (later) person REL ACT-dibble
 'All kinds of food and other stuff are borne by the person who is doing the sowing activity.'
- (7-42) *Da-kawut ini' beras se-jeput.*
 PASS-scoop grandmother rice one-pinch
 'A pinch of rice was scooped by the grandmother.' (lit. 'be scooped by the grandmother a pinch of rice')

There is no constraint in terms of person or number of the oblique agent:

- (7-43) *Tajaw nya' da-simpan (ulih) ku/kita'/sida'.*
 jar that PASS-keep (by) 1s/2p/3p
 'The jar was kept by me/you/them.'

7.2.5 Zero marking: inverse voice

As with the *da*-passive, the inverse construction is used for a transitive event that prototypically requires the involvement of an agent and a patient. Instead of a patient a benefactive or locative may occur as the non-agentive argument. The morphosyntactic features of the inverse construction in Mualang are:

- 1) the patient (or benefactive or locative) and the agent are obligatory, that is, they usually surface syntactically;
- 2) the patient (or benefactive or locative) is placed in clause-initial position, followed by the agent and the verb (= PAV (Patient-Agent-Verb) order). The agent and verb cannot be separated by any other constituent;
- 3) the verb appears in the stem form, i.e. it is not marked morphologically;
- 4) the agent can be a noun or a pronoun of any person or number.

The following examples are given as a first illustration (the English translations are only meant as approximations):

- (7-44) *Tajaw nya' Aji Melayu temu da sabar bubu ia.*
 k.o.jar that haji M find LOC fence k.o.fishtrap 3s
 P A V
 'That jar Haji Melayu found at the fence leading to his fishtrap.'

- (7-45) *M'ih, Apay Aluy, m'ih ukay urang*
 2s.masc father A 2s.masc CONT.NEG person
kayangan. M'ih N-tipu kami. Asa
 place.of.gods 2s.masc ACT-deceive 1p.excl whenever
pia', m'ih kami bunuh.
 like.that 2s.masc 1p.excl kill
 P A V
 'As for you, Aluy's father, you're not a heavenly man. You deceive us. Therefore, you're going to get killed by us.'

- (7-46) *Tu' sida' beri' ka ku.*
 this 3p give to 1s
 P A V
 'This they gave to me.'

The analysis of inverse clauses is indeed problematic in many languages, especially in contrast with passives (cf. Payne 1997:210, Givón 2001b:161), and Malayic languages are no exception. The constructions illustrated in examples (7-44 – 7-46) above are also commonly found in Malay/Indonesian, and have been analyzed as passive clauses (e.g. Chung 1976, Verhaar 1978). Semantically they also may encode an active sense, due to the obligatoriness of the agent (Verhaar 1978:12, citing also Fokker 1951). However, for Mualang I am inclined to assume that such

clauses encode a distinct voice, that is, the inverse (in reference to Payne 1997, 1999 and Givón, 2001a, b). The inverse needs to be distinguished from the active and passive on morphosyntactic grounds (explained here) and on pragmatic grounds (see 7.2.6).

Morphosyntactically, the three voices have the following primary pragmatically unmarked word order of arguments (with a relatively flat or neutral/unbiased intonation, and no pause between the arguments). The syntactic variants are pragmatically marked (e.g. for emphasis):

ACTIVE	=	agent – <i>N</i> -verb – patient (= AVP ~ VPA)
INVERSE	=	patient – agent – verb (= PAV ~ VAP)
PASSIVE	=	patient – <i>da</i> -verb (agent) (= PV(agent) ~ V(agent)P)

The inverse is similar to the active in that the agent and patient are syntactically obligatory in both clauses (although with some “exceptions” that will be explained later). However, in the active the main order is AVP and the verb is morphosyntactically marked with the *N*- prefix, indicating that the agent is the subject of the clause (cf. (7-23) above). If the agent is moved, it has to follow the patient, as in (7-47). In other words, the patient has to be closer to the verb (VPA order).¹¹ Other minor variations may be found, but no longer with a single intonation contour, as in (7-48) (a comma signals a pause, the agent and patient are topicalized):

- (7-47) *Agi'* *N-pulah* *jimut* *sida'*.
 still ACT-make k.o.snack 3p
 V P A
 ‘They ARE still making snacks / Still making snacks, they are.’

- (7-48) *Ku* *ia=m*, *naday* *mampu* *N-lawan* ...
 1s 3s=m NEG afford ACT-oppose
 A P V
 ‘It is only him that I wasn’t able to fight ...’ (the others have all been beaten by me.)

In the inverse, although the patient and the agent occupy preverbal position, the patient is always in initial position in the primary PAV order. The position of P and A determines how V is marked morphologically.

The inverse also resembles the *da*-passive construction in that both have P in initial position, instead of A. However, in the latter the A is optional and if it surfaces, it is not an independent argument. In contrast, A in the inverse is required. Syntactically, the obligatoriness of A in the inverse is clearly seen from its

¹¹ According to Foley and Van Valin (1985:305), “a *pivot* is any NP type to which a particular grammatical process is sensitive, either as controller or as target”. In this sense, the agent subject of the active clause in Mualang may be viewed as the “pivot”, because the agent subject (rather than the patient object) is sensitive to the *N*- marking on the verb, and may be moved around relative to the verb.

“blocking” position in between P and V that contributes to the zero marking of V. For the exceptional case where for discourse considerations the A in the inverse may be left unmentioned I refer to section 7.2.6 of this chapter.

One problematic issue for the inverse is to determine the grammatical functions of P and A, i.e. to determine which one is the subject of the clause. With the *N*-marking in the active clause it is clear that the agent is the subject. If the initial position and the *N*-marking are criteria for the subjecthood of the agent, then A of the inverse does not qualify as the subject. Also, recalling the zero marking in intransitive verbs that codes non-agentivity (7.2.2), one may conclude that the zero marking in transitive verbs decreases the agentivity of the agent. If A is not the subject of the inverse, what is it? If A is not the subject, then P is the only candidate for the subject of the inverse. In the present analysis I am inclined to view it in this way, based at least on the following criteria:

- 1) the position of P as a “pivot” (in the sense of Foley and Van Valin (1985);
- 2) relativization.

In the inverse it is P, rather than A, that is “sensitive” to (or is referenced by the marking in) V. This can be seen from the relatively flexible position of P, which may be postverbal. If P moves to postverbal position, A’s position has to be adjusted accordingly. The alternative word orders of the unmarked PAV are as follows:

- (7-49) Kayit sida’ antu. Mati antu tu’. = VAP
hook 3p ghost die ghost this
V A P
‘They **hooked** the ghosts. The ghosts **died**.’

- (7-50) Ka’ ku’ ting’i’ rumah tu’. (**Ku ka’ ting’i’ rumah tu’*)
FUT 1s highen house this
Verb phrase P
‘**I’m going to raise** this house/MAKE this house **higher**.’

In (7-50) A is inside the VP (in which the verb is preceded by the modal *ka’* ‘FUT’), and it is fixed in that position when P is postverbal. However, A is also postverbal intervening between V and P, if P is in postverbal position, as in (7-49). A has to move since the AVP order is not permitted (AVP is the unmarked order of an active clause (hence requiring the *N*-marking on V)). With any position of P, A is always closer to V and it may not be in clause-initial position, hence the alternative orders of the unmarked PAV V or the verb phrase is always clause-initial (VAP or Verb phrase – P). (Compare these word orders with the one in (7-47), which is an example of the opposite: an active clause in which A is flexible and the patient object is closer to the verb). Intonationally A and V are pronounced as a single phrase. The syntactic status of A is thus like an agent complement of V.

As regards relativization (dealt with in more detail in Chapter 10, section 10.5), it is P, and not A, that is relativized with the inverse construction (0 = the gap; the relative clause is in brackets):

- (7-51) *Aday mas tay [0 ku simpan].*
 exist gold REL 1s keep
 ‘There is gold that I kept.’

In the *da*-passive the agent is not required but may surface syntactically (for some reasons, see 7.2.6 below). The reverse applies to the inverse in which the agent is required, although in some cases it may not surface syntactically. In my observation omission of the agent occurs commonly when it is generic. In the following examples the agent is ‘people in general’ (7-52) and ‘those who were attending the rite’ (7-53):

- (7-52) *Asa urang temu N-curi jelu, ia kena’*
 whenever person find ACT-steal animal 3s suffer

hukum adat.
 law custom
 ‘Whenever a person was found stealing animals, he/she was fined.’

- (7-53) *Manuk pakay p-amis da pian.*
 chicken eat CAUS-finished LOC bathing.place
 ‘The chickens were eaten up at the bathing place.’

7.2.6 The use of active, passive and inverse clauses: a preliminary note

In section 7.2.3 - 7.2.5 the morphosyntax of the active *N*-, passive *da*- and zero inverse constructions has been discussed without paying attention to their functions. Since a separate full discourse study is actually needed for this purpose, the present description is only meant to give a rough picture. As with their morphosyntax, there is a valid reason to contrast the functions of these three voice types as a paradigm. The basic semantics of the event or verb used in clauses that code these three voices is not affected: the agent acts upon the patient semantically in accordance with the intended lexical meaning of the transitive verb. The use of *N*-, *da*- and zero marking on the verb is thus not derivational (as will be discussed later, this is in contrast to the use of other prefixes such as *te*-, *ba*- etc.). However, their use on the verb does affect the transitivity of the event or de-transitivize it in another way. To explain this, I shall adopt the idea of semantic and pragmatic principles of de-transitive voices proposed in Givón (2001b, Ch. 13).

According to Givón, de-transitive voice constructions are primarily semantic or primarily pragmatic. In the primarily semantic voice constructions the transitivity of the prototypical transitive event is affected or decreased in terms of the three main semantic parameters: ‘agentivity of the agent/subject; affectedness of the patient/object; telicity or perfectivity of the verb’ (op.cit.: 93).

In primarily pragmatic de-transitive voice constructions, on the other hand, the semantics of transitivity in such terms is not affected: ‘In surveying pragmatic voice constructions, one notes first that the very same semantically-transitive event, coded by the very same prototypical telic verb, active agent and affected patient – our transitive event ‘theme’ – can be rendered by several de-transitive voice constructions (‘variations’). Clearly, the semantics of transitivity is not affected in

such constructions. Rather, they render the same semantically-transitive event from different pragmatic *perspectives*. These perspectives turn out to involve, primarily although not exclusively, the *relative topicality* of the agent and patient” (op.cit.: 93). He proposes four main pragmatic voice constructions that are commonly attested cross-linguistically: active(-direct), inverse, passive and antipassive. In the first two constructions, both the agent and patient are topical; however, in active voice the agent is more topical than the patient, whereas in the inverse it is the patient that is more topical than the agent. In the passive the patient is topical and the agent is “demoted”. Conversely, in the antipassive, it is the patient that is demoted and the agent is the only topical argument (op.cit: 93-94). (For the antipassive in Mualang, see 7.2.7 below).

More discourse work is needed to comprehensively examine the differences and use of the primarily pragmatic voice constructions in Mualang. Here, I will present some salient aspects of their use in discourse. First, the *N*-active, *da*-passive and zero-marking inverse in Mualang closely fit the situation described in Givón’s definition, with the last two showing pragmatic de-transitivizing. In other words, the use of these prefixes does not affect the valence of the verb (in the sense that it is still transitive semantically). If the valence is not affected, the arguments of the event may simply be “rearranged” in terms of *perspectivization*. It is thus worth viewing these three constructions in Mualang from this point of view.

For the notion of perspectivization, the following quotation from Charles Fillmore (cited in Shibatani 1996:158) serves to present a general idea: “We recognize scenes or situations and the functions of various participants in these scenes and situations. We foreground or bring into perspective some possibly quite small portion of such a scene. Of the elements which are foregrounded, one of them gets assigned the subject role and one of them if we are foregrounding two things gets assigned the direct object role in the clause. Something like a *saliency hierarchy* determines what gets foregrounded, and something like a *case hierarchy* determines how the foregrounded nominals are assigned grammatical functions.”

Basically a particular voice construction is selected depending on which participant is employed by the speaker as his/her reference point in presenting a message. The speaker can switch back and forth from one type of construction to another between clauses. In (7-45) above, for example, the addressee is the point of reference and the topic of conversation (= *Apay Aluy*); first the active clause is used to report his action with him as an agent (= *m’ih nipu kami* ‘you’ve deceived us’). The next clause is still about him, but now as a patient; in this situation the inverse construction is used since the agent is highly involved in or concerned with the action executed upon the patient (= *asa pia’, m’ih kami bunuh* ‘therefore, you’re going to get killed by us’). The whole situation highly involves both the speaker and the addressee to a great extent with the latter becoming the point or the topic of the conversation and the reference point for the message. A similar situation is seen in the following excerpt of a narrative:

- (7-54) *Aji Melayu N-padah:* “*Tajaw nya’ ku temu da sabar*
 haji M ACT-say k.o.jar that 1s find LOC fence
bubu nyin Tajaw nya’ anyut da ataw
 fish.trap that.over.there k.o.jar that swept.away LOC top
ay’, ku am’i’, ku buka’.”
 water 1s take 1s open
 ‘Haji Melayu said: “That jar I found at the fence leading to the fish
 trap over there. That jar was swept away on the water, I took (it), I
 opened (it).”’

There are two “speakers” in (7-54): the story teller and the character of the story (Haji Melayu). For the story teller, Haji Melayu is the topic of the talk, and he is reported as performing an action, hence the active voice is used (= *Aji Melayu madah* ‘Haji Melayu said’). In the story Haji Melayu was asked about the origin of a jar that he found, then he told his story about the jar (hence the reference point for the message) and that he himself found the jar, which makes the agent relevant in the event, hence the inverse voice is used (= (...*ku am’i’, ku buka* ‘(that jar) I took, I opened’). (Note that in the inverse clauses here mention of the jar was omitted as a result of the zero anaphora strategy (see 9.1.3 in Chapter 9).

Since the agent in the inverse is involved directly in the discourse, it has to be specified, i.e. surface in the clause. However, as seen in the examples (7-52 – 7-53), it is also the case that when the agent is generic, it does not appear in the clause. The reverse case is noticed in the passive: the agent is not obligatory since it is not relevant, but may surface in the clause if specification for completeness of the picture presented is deemed necessary.

- (7-55) *Udah N-ketaw, padi da-bay’ ka rumah.*
 after ACT-harvest uncooked.rice PASS-bring to house
Udah ia’, baru’ da-irik. Udah da-irik.
 already that then PASS-thresh after PASS-thresh
da-ngkuh ka durung, isa’ aman, naday
 PASS-keep to padi.storage so.that safe NEG
da-pakay pipit.
 PASS-eat sparrow
 ‘After harvesting, the uncooked rice is brought to the house. After that
 (it) is threshed. After having been threshed, it is kept in the storage so
 that it is safe, (and) will not be eaten by the sparrows.’
- (7-56) *Ku aday, da-any’ung apay-inay ku ka alam babas.*
 1s exist PASS-escort father-mother 1s to inside forest
 ‘(When) I was born, I was brought away by my parents into the
 forest.’

In (7-55) agentless passive forms are used several times. In all cases the intended agent is generic, that is the farmers or the people who are doing the harvest. In the last clause (i.e. *naday dapakay pipit* ‘not eaten by sparrows’) the agent, the sparrows, is specified. There is no sense of an “active” involvement; the whole clause seems to simply present a statement about the patient undergoing an event. (7-56) presents a similar case: the agent *apay-inay ku* ‘my parents’ was not directly involved at the moment of speaking but is mentioned as additional information.

The agent of the *da*-passive may also appear in a phrasal adjunct headed by the preposition *ulih*. It seems that the agent phrase is meant for emphasis or for re-identifying who is the agent of the event. Usually the agent has already been mentioned in the preceding discourse. Since the agent phrase is an adjunct, it may be fronted for focusing purposes, (cf. 7-39 and 7-40 above).

The *da*-passive construction with an agent (without *ulih*) is often used to highlight the event itself that happens to a patient. The typical word order used for this purpose is VS, which means that the verb (or verb phrase) is fronted and the patient-subject is moved to postverbal position. Some examples:

- (7-57) *Datay ka laman, da-kumay ia Apay Aji ...*
 come to yard PASS-call 3s father A
 ‘Arriving at the yard, he **called** Mr. Haji.’
- (7-58) *Da-beri’ sida’ darah ka antu.*
 PASS-give 3p blood to ghost
 ‘They **gave** the blood to the ghosts.’
- (7-59) *N-peda’ pia’, da-buka’ ini’ bungkus*
 ACT-look like.that PASS-open grandmother wrap
 dawun.
 leaf
 ‘Looking that way, the grandmother **opened** the leaf wrap.’

All the events in the *da*- main clauses of (7-57 – 7-59) are perfective, punctual, depicting “abrupt” events. Example (7-57) also shows how a non-passive construction is used in the dependent clause for backgrounding while the *da*- passive in the main clause is used for foregrounding the event (also in (7-56)).¹² Although this needs further study, such a use of the *da*- passive may correlate with its use in building up the climax of a narrative, e.g.:

- (7-60) *Beruang naday rari. Ia nugaw. Apa agi’ tih keluar*
 bear NEG run 3s still what again tih exit
 semua, nema N-bunuh jelu. Datay ka rumah,
 all because ACT-kill animal come to house

¹² Cf. also Hopper (1979) for a similar case found in Classical Malay.

da-sangkuh, da-tum'uk, da-pantap, da-sumpit.
 PASS-spear PASS-beat PASS-cut, PASS-spear

Mati jara' beruang tu'.
 die jara' bear this
 'The bear did not run away. It was standing still. What's more, all people came out, because they were going to kill an animal. (Then when the people) arriving at home (with the bear), it was speared, beaten, cut, blowpiped. (And) DEAD was this bear.'

In an inverse construction the event or the verb may also be fronted, with the agent appearing postverbally, for focusing purposes. However, its discourse function does not cover the use of *da-* such as in (7-60). Structurally it may look similar to the *da-* passive, but semantically the "active" sense of the agent is still implied, e.g.:

- (7-61) *Udah da-tumu tih sa' menyadi' ia', angus uma*
 after PASS-burn tih 3p sibling that burnt rice.field

sida', pakay api. (=VA)
 3p eat fire
 'After having been burnt by those siblings, their rice field got burnt, consumed by the fire.'

- (7-62) *Da-am'i' Putung Empat. Jadi mas, ntawa'. Pajak*
 PASS-take P K become gold k.o.fruit enter

ia d=alam tepayan. (=VA)
 3s LOC=inside jar
 'It (the *ntawa'* fruit) was taken by Putung Empat. It became gold, the *ntawa'* fruit. (Then) she PUT it inside the jar.'

Note that in (7-61 – 7-62) the patient-subject of the inverse construction is deleted (i.e. zero anaphora, see Ch. 9) since it is coreferential with the subject of the preceding clauses.

Finally, it should be noted here that the use of zero-marking in the inverse construction most likely has a semantic correlation with that in noun phrases containing transitive verb roots as their attribute (see 4.1.2.4 of Chapter 4), as in *ubi tunu* (cassava-burn) 'baked cassava', *ubi sumay* (cassava cook) 'boiled cassava', etc. Syntactically the head noun may be considered as occupying a subject position, thus the NP has an SV order. Note that as a NP, the nominal head and the modifying verb in such phrases are pronounced under a single (phrasal) intonation contour.

7.2.7 The *ba-* prefix: The antipassive voice

This section describes the formal and semantic characteristics of *ba-* constructions, that is, clauses in which the verb or predicate is marked with the prefix *ba-*. The allomorphs of *ba-* were described above in Chapter 2. The following features typically characterize *ba-* clauses:

- 1) the predicate (the verbal word) contains the prefix *ba-*;
- 2) the subject is preverbal in unmarked word order;
- 3) the patient syntactically behaves in several different ways. However, in all cases it is not an independent argument;
- 4) the *ba-* clauses are syntactically intransitive;
- 5) semantically a *ba-* construction describes the situation of an agent carrying out an activity. The patient is not an issue in the description of the situation, or it is irrelevant. As the patient is “demoted”, the agentivity of the argument subject may not be typical as it is in the active *N-* clauses. It may just be an “actor”.

The *ba-* prefix is productively used with transitive verbs and with nouns. It is also prefixed to a few intransitive verbs. The type of bases, to which it is attached, correlates with the syntactic behaviour of the patient. Each of the bases will be described below. The morphosyntactic and semantic features of *ba-* clauses generally fit the description of the antipassive function (cf. Payne 1997:219ff, Givón 2001b:168ff).¹³ Nevertheless, some peculiarities apply to the antipassive *ba-* of Mualang. Prefixation with *ba-* is not purely a de-transitivizing operation, since it can be attached to a nominal base as well, hence increasing the valence of the base. Also, although pragmatically the antipassive is considered the converse of the passive (i.e. in the first the patient is “demoted” whereas in the latter it is “promoted”; cf. Givón 2001b:168), in Mualang *ba-* clauses are highly contrasted semantically with the active *N-* clauses. A detailed discussion is presented below.

7.2.7.1 *Ba-* with transitive base

Ba- clauses primarily depict the agent subject as being engaged in an activity (on something). As such it is very common to find transitive verbal bases occurring with *ba-*. Examples (7-63 and 7-64) illustrate such typical *ba-* forms:

(7-63)	<i>ba-bunuh</i>	ANPAS-kill	‘be engaged in X-killing’
	<i>ba-pulah</i>	ANPAS-make	‘be engaged in X-making’
	<i>ba-tunu</i>	ANPAS-burn	‘be engaged in X-burning’
	<i>ba-tim’ak</i>	ANPAS-shoot	‘be engaged in X-shooting’

¹³ However, there appears to be some disagreement between Payne and Givón. Payne (1997:219) lists the following prototypical formal characteristics of antipassives: 1) the P (patient) argument is omitted or appears in an oblique case; 2) the verb (phrase) has some overt marker of intransitivity; 3) the “A” (agent) appears in the absolutive case. Givón (2001b:172), on the other hand, suggests that antipassives in nominative languages do not affect the morpho-syntax of either the verb or the subject agent, but of the object alone. If we follow Givón’s proposal, then the object omission in some *N-* verbs (see 7.2.3.1) should be considered an antipassive construction as well. I will just leave this case open for future debate, but for the present analysis I make a distinction between such an object omission with *N-* verbs and the antipassive coding in *ba-* clauses. At least it is clear that functionally *ba-* clauses highlight the action whereas the *N-* clauses with object omission do not. Also, the antipassive function of the *ba-* construction applies to almost any transitive verb, whereas object omission is limited to some transitive verbs only.

	<i>ba-tebas</i>	ANPAS-slash	‘be engaged in X-slashing’
(7-64)	<i>ba-pakay</i>	ANPAS-eat	‘be engaged in (X-)eating’
	<i>ba-inum</i>	ANPAS-drink	‘be engaged in (X-)drinking’
	<i>ba-sumay</i>	ANPAS-cook	‘be engaged in (X-)cooking’
	<i>ba-padah</i>	ANPAS-say	‘be engaged in (X-)saying’
	<i>ba-pikir</i>	ANPAS-think	‘be engaged in (X-)thinking’

Verbs in (7-63) are prototypical transitive verbs, which require an agent and a patient as in (7-65a). With such transitive verbs, the *ba-* verb has to take a patient, as in (7-65b):

- (7-65) a. Active
*Urang N-bunuh *(babi-manuk).*
 person ACT-steal pig-chicken
 ‘People killed pigs and chickens.’ (at the party)
- b. Antipassive
*Urang ba-bunuh *(babi-manuk),*
 person ANPAS-kill pig-chicken
- ba-pulah *(jimut).*
 ANPAS-make k.o.snack
 ‘People were engaged in pig-chicken-killing and *jimut* making.’ (at the party)

The main semantic difference between the active and antipassive use is that in the active the agent is described as acting against a patient; the patient is directly affected. In the antipassive the agent is not shown as directing the action against the patient, rather it is presented as just doing the activity on the patient. The patient in the antipassive tend to be semantically generic (or plural), and indefinite.¹⁴ In (7-65b) the patient is ‘pigs and chickens’ in general, they are not referential (i.e. the speaker did not have a specific reference of pigs and chickens in his mind at the moment of speaking). In the active (7-65a) ‘pigs and chickens’ may or may not be referential. In the former interpretation the action of killing pigs and chickens is a habitual activity done on those particular animals. In the latter, the action is carried out once.

Another difference is syntactic, namely the grammatical relation of the patient in the antipassive *ba-*. Although it appears postverbally as in the active, it is not affected semantically nor related syntactically to the verb (cf. the English translation in (7-65b)). Its status seems comparable to the so-called object incorporation in other languages, cf. *fox-hunt*, *baby-sit* in English (cf. also Givón 2001b:169), that is, it becomes part of the *ba*-verb, hence is not an independent argument. (This is comparable to the status of agent in the *da-* passive).

¹⁴ This is in agreement with what Givón (2001b:169) indicates as semantic correlates of the typical patient in antipassives.

The object incorporation as explained above is one of the possible patterns of syntactic behavior of the patient used with typically transitive verbs. Some transitive verbs may also denote a reciprocal action lexically, e.g. *bunuh* ‘kill’, *temu* ‘meet’, *tim’ak* ‘shoot’. With such verbs, the patient may be collapsed into the plural agent-subject since they are coreferential. The construction thus becomes reciprocal (see 7.2.12 for reciprocal constructions). Such a function cannot be formed with the active *N-* (7-66a) but it is possible with the antipassive *ba-* (7-66b):

- (7-66) a. Active *N-*
 **Sida’ N-bunuh/N-temu.*
 3p ACT-kill/ACT-meet
 ‘They killed/met each other.’
- b. Antipassive *ba-*
 Sida’ ba-bunuh/ba-temu.
 3p ANPAS-kill/ANPAS-meet
 ‘They killed / met each other.’

If one party of the joint action is “extracted”, it functions as a patient and is expressed in a prepositional phrase headed by *aba’* ‘with’:

- (7-67) *Ia ba-bunuh/ba-temu aba’ sida’.*
 3s ANPAS-kill/ANPAS-meet with 3p
 ‘He and they killed each other/he met with them.’

These two cases of *ba-* constructions present further evidence for the non-argument status of patient. Other evidence is yet witnessed in section 7.2.7.2 below.

Some *ba-* (lexically defined) forms can have a reflexive meaning, as in (7-68), in which the subject actually acts upon itself. If the patient is a different entity, then it is specified (added in (7-68) in parentheses).

- | | | | |
|--------|------------------------------|-------------|--|
| (7-68) | <i>ba-pin’ah (rumah)</i> | ANPAS-move | ‘move one’s self (house, i.e. move to another house)’ |
| | <i>ba-lepa (tulang-urat)</i> | ANPAS-rest | ‘rest one’s self (bones and blood vessels, i.e. to take a rest)’ |
| | <i>ba-diri</i> | ANPAS-stand | ‘stand’ |
| | <i>ba-quay</i> | ANPAS-run | ‘run’ |

The patient in *ba-* clauses is optionally omitted or specified, as in (7-69b). This occurs with verbs whose objects are predictable, as in (7-64). The same applies to the active *N-* (see 7.2.3).

- (7-69) a. Active *N-* with optional specified object
 Udah ia’, sida’ N-inum (beram).
 already that 3p ACT-drink (k.o.alcohol)

‘After that they drank (*beram*).’

b. Antipassive *ba-* with optional specified object

Udah ia’, sida’ ba-inum (beram).

already that 3p ANPASS-drink (k.o.alcohol)

‘After that they (were) engaged in (*beram*)-drinking.’

7.2.7.2 *Ba-* with nouns or noun phrases

Besides with transitive verbs, *ba-* is also productively used with nouns, noun phrases, and nominal compounds, .e.g:

- (7-70) *Urang Mualang biasa ba-uma,*
person M habitually ANPAS-dry.rice.field

nisi’ sawah.

EXIST.NEG wet.rice.field

‘The Mualang people usually do dry rice field cultivation, there are no wet rice fields.’

- (7-71) *Ntawa’ ba-buah.*
k.o.tree ANPAS-fruit
‘The *ntawa’* tree bears fruit.’

- (7-72) *Ba-laki-bini, bar-anak ka Ruay Mana.*
ANPAS-husband-wife ANPAS-child to R M
‘Getting married, (they) gave birth to R M.’

In (7-70) *ba-uma* means all kinds of activities usually done in association to the *uma* ‘dry rice field’. In association with *buah* ‘fruit’ as in (7-71) it means to produce fruits, and this naturally occurs with a non-human fruit bearer. That is why the “actor”-subject may be a non-human, e.g. a tree. What a living creature primarily does socio-culturally with children is to have them or to produce them as in (7-72). In general, then, semantically *ba-* clauses express that the actor-subject carries out an activity that is habitually or generally done on or associated with the noun base. The nominal base together with the prefix *ba-* forms the verbal word. In other words, *ba-* has a derivational function and the patient itself is incorporated in the verbal form. The derived meanings vary. Although some derivatives seem to show semantic regularities, they are basically idiosyncratic, that is they are partly due to socio-cultural specificities, e.g.:

- (7-73) Common derived meanings of *ba-* + noun (“<noun>” indicates whatever the nominal base refers to)

a. Produce <noun>:	<i>bar-anak</i> (child)	‘give birth, have (a) child(ren)’
	<i>ba-buah</i> (fruit)	‘have fruit’
	<i>ba-telu’</i> (egg)	‘produce eggs’

	<i>ba-gu'</i> (sound)	'produce a sound, noisy'
b. Possess <noun>:	<i>ba-pala'</i> (head)	'have a head, be headed'
	<i>ba-rega</i> (price)	'be valued (lit. have a price or value)'
	<i>ba-tabiat</i> (behavior)	'behave (lit. have a behavior)'
	<i>ba-nama</i> (name)	'be famous (lit. have a name)'
c. Spend <noun> (with temporal nouns):	<i>ba-malam</i> (night)	'spend the night'
	<i>ba-tawun</i> (year)	'spend a year/years'
	<i>ba-bulan</i> (month)	'spend a month/months'
d. Have a relationship to <noun>:	<i>ba-laki</i> (husband)	'get married (of a woman), have a husband'
	<i>ba-bini</i> (wife)	'get married (of a man), have a wife'
	<i>ba-keka'</i> (brother-in-law)	'have a brother-in-law relationship, address s.o. as a brother-in-law'
e. "Irregular" activities associated with <noun>:	<i>ba-uma</i> (dry rice field)	'do cultivation in the field'
	<i>ba-rumah</i> (house)	'live, settle'
	<i>ba-peN-tam'ak</i> (NOM-plant)	'do cultivation'
	<i>ba-papan</i> (board, bed)	'give birth'
	<i>ba-rim'a'</i> (forest)	'work the forest to open a rice field'
	<i>ba-panaw</i> (<i>panu</i> , k.o. skin disease)	'have or suffer <i>panu</i> disease'

Some noun bases can be reduplicated for intensifying plurality, e.g.:

- (7-74) *Ba-* + noun + Reduplication
ba-ari-ari (ANPAS-day-RED) 'spend days and days'
ba-bulan-bulan (ANPAS-month-RED) 'spend months and months'
ba-jalung-jalung (ANPAS-bowl-RED) 'exist in an amount of many bowls'
ba-macam-macam (ANPAS-kind-RED) 'various (lit. have many kinds)'

Although the base to which *ba-* is attached is a noun rather than a verb, I prefer to label the function of *ba-* as antipassive, based on the following considerations: a typical function of a prefix may not always work consistently, some irregularities may still exist. The active *N-*, for example, does not always require an agentive subject and a patient object, but may appear to be used intransitively. In the same vein, *ba-* is not consistently employed with a verbal base, but may also be affixed to a noun base. Although it is attached to a noun base, the resultant meaning it performs still has an antipassive element, that is, the event or the action does not directly affect an object but is generically associated with it. Nouns that are used with the antipassive prefix *ba-* normally cannot undergo "zero" derivation to become

a verb that can have the active *N-* attached, e.g. *uma* ‘rice field’ cannot become **N-uma*.

As explained in 7.1.3.1 a number of nouns may be viewed as undergoing a morphologically unmarked derivation to yield a verb. *Ba-* attached to such bases may be derivationally ambiguous, e.g.:

- (7-75) *Ba-* + nouns or denominalized verbs
ba-laban (aba) (ANPAS-enemy/fight (with)) ‘be engaged in fighting (with)’
ba-pen’ing (burung) (ANPAS-ear/listen (to bird)) ‘be engaged in (bird-) listening’
ba-tugal (lubang) (ANPAS-stick.for.making.holes (hole)) ‘be engaged in (hole-) dibbling’
ba-palu’ (urang) (ANPAS-mallet/strike (person)) ‘be engaged in (person-) striking’
ba-ili’ (sungay) (ANPAS-downstream/go.downstream (river)) ‘be engaged in going downstream (a river)’
ba-kubur (bangkay) (ANPAS-grave/bury (body)) ‘be engaged in (body-)burying’

7.2.7.3 *Ba-* with other types of wordclasses

Ba- also occurs with a few static intransitive verbs, adverbs and numerals. Basically it means to carry out an activity in the manner or state expressed in the base, hence such forms are often used adverbially (some always appear in a reduplicated form), e.g:

- (7-76) *ba-rami* (ANPAS-crowded/busy) ‘have fun, have a party’
ba-buruh (ANPAS-hurry) ‘act in a hurry, be hurried’
ba-lebih (ANPAS-more) ‘have more, be superfluous’
ba-dua (ANPAS-two) ‘act together in pairs’
ba-lubah-lubah (ANPAS-slow.and.quiet-RED) ‘be slow and quiet’
ba-amat-amat (ANPAS-true-RED) ‘be true, really’

The following are some examples of their use:

- (7-77) *Da kampung nya’ mayuh urang aday ba-rami.*
 LOC village that many person exist ANPAS-crowded
 ‘In the village many people were having fun (i.e. having a party).’
- (7-78) *Sida’ ba-buruh angkat.*
 3p ANPAS-hurry go
 ‘They were in a hurry to start off.’

7.2.7.4 *Ba-* with precategory forms

Ba- also occurs with a few precategory roots. The following are some examples:

- (7-79) *ba-ran'aw* 'go on a visit'
 ba-guraw 'joke around'
 ba-lepa 'take a rest'

7.2.7.5 *Ba-* with compounds

The antipassive *ba-* can also be used with nominal and verbal compounds. A general discussion about this will be provided in section 8.2 in Chapter 8. As an illustration, consider *ba-laki-bini* 'become husband and wife, get married' in (7-72) above.

7.2.8 **The prefix *te-*: Unvolitional-resultative middle voice**

It is problematic to classify *te-* clauses in terms of a voice typology, such as proposed in Payne (1997) and Givón (2001a, b). Syntactically it resembles a passive in that the patient appears as subject and the only argument of the clause. On the other hand, the "agent" also can be subject, although in that case the clause is not active, and the agent is not agentive (i.e. not conscious, volitional, controlling, initiating). Therefore, since it seems to be in-between structurally, I will tentatively (mostly for structural reasons) label *te-* clauses as coding some variant of middle voice (glossed as MID), that is, an unvolitional-resultative one, which is different from the one mentioned in 7.2.2.1. The morphophonemics of *te-* are discussed in Chapter 2. The morphosyntactic and semantic features of *te-* constructions are as follows:

- 1) the verb is marked with the prefix *te-*;
- 2) if the patient is the subject, it constitutes the only argument in the clause (7-80). The "uncontrolling" agent may appear but is not an independent argument (7-81);
- 3) the agent is not agentive according to its typical function (cf. the agent in a typical active *N-* clause). It does not have control over the occurrence of the event. The uncontrolling agent can become the subject, but the patient has to occupy an indirect object position, marked with the preposition *ka*. The patient is obligatory (7-82);
- 4) the clause is syntactically intransitive, i.e. it contains a subject that is not typical agentive and there is no patient (direct) object;
- 5) semantically, *te-* clauses mostly apply to transitive verbs, with a few intransitive ones. They describe a situation in which the event occurs

without volition by the agent. There are two basic meanings in *te*-clauses:¹⁵

- a) unintentionality
- b) ability and/or possibility

The following examples are typical *te*- clauses:

- (7-80) *Ia* *te-bunuh*
3s MID-kill
Patient-S
'He got killed (not by an intentional act).'
- (7-81) *Selawar* *m'ih* *te-bay'* (*ulih*) *ku*
pants 2s.masc MID-bring by 1s
Patient-S Agent
'Your pants were accidentally carried away (with me).'
- (7-82) *Ia* *te-bunuh* *ka sida'*
3s MID-kill to 3p
Agent-S Patient-IO
'(It happened to him that) he killed them unintentionally.'
'(It could just happen that) he would be able to kill them.'

If there is only one participant in the clause, the subject is definitely the patient, as in (7-80). If both the uncontrolling agent and patient appear, one of them has to be marked after the verb. It is the agent that is marked without a preposition or with the preposition *ulih*, as in (7-81). This case is similar to the agent of the *da*-passive. It is the patient if marked with the preposition *ka*, as in (7-82). This *ka*-patient is required in the clause; otherwise the clause becomes (7-80). Since the *ka*-patient is obligatory, I consider it an indirect object.

The semantics of *te-* clauses is worthy of a detailed study in the future. Here some preliminary insights are provided. Since the event occurs without volition, there are basically two meanings that appear in *te-* clauses: 1) unintentionality and 2) ability and/or possibility. The semantic interpretation depends at least on the following aspects (and context can help in clarifying the intended meaning):

- agent- vs. patient-subject
- realis vs. irrealis event
- types of verbs.

A semantic aspect of unintentionality typically appears when the event is realis or has already happened (past-perfect), as in (7-80) and the first interpretation in (7-82), regardless of the semantic role of the subject. The ability and/or possibility interpretation most likely pertains to clauses where the subject is the uncontrolling

¹⁵ The prefix *te-* in the Iban of Sarawak encodes these two meanings as well (cf. Asmah 1981:61ff).

human agent and the event is irrealis, that is, it is in the future tense (7-82, second interpretation), negative-past tense (7-83), or conditional (7-84):

- (7-83) *Naday antu te-inum ka darah.*
 NEG ghost MID-drink to blood
 ‘(Contrary to their intention) the ghosts were not able to drink (up) the blood.’
- (7-84) *Naday sida’ te-temu ka m’ih asa m’ih*
 NEG 3p MID-find to 2s.masc whenever 2s.masc

selabuk ditu’.
 hide here
 ‘(It would happen to them that) they would not be able to find you whenever you hide here.’

Ability and possibility have a semantic correlate. By itself ability includes a possibility, and this is most likely to occur with prototypical transitive events/verbs. A possibility meaning alone, by itself, occurs in an irrealis (future) event and with less typical transitive verbs.

In all cases, unintentionality and ability and/or possibility suggest a common meaning, namely that the event would occur or occurred without volition.

An explanation needs to be provided for the occurrence of the uncontrolling agent as subject of the clause. One possible answer to this is semantic. Since the “supposed” agent, although directly involved in the event, does not have control over what has happened or could happen, he/she (and not only the patient) could be to some lesser degree “affected” by the uncontrolled event. In all contexts examined thus far, when the uncontrolling agent appears as subject (and the patient is “demoted” into the indirect object position), the clause suggests that the agent is focused and gets “affected” in some way since the occurrence or non-occurrence of the event is beyond his/her expectation. For example, in negative clauses as in (7-83 and 7-84), the events were detrimental to the uncontrolling agents (*antu* in (7-83) and *sida’* in (7-84)), since they (i.e. *antu* and *sida’*) actually wanted the event to happen (according to the stories). On the other hand, in affirmative (non-negative) clauses the event takes place or can take place beyond the uncontrolling agent’s will or expectation and this could be detrimental to him/her (e.g. for bearing any consequences caused by the event), even though it would seem as though he/she is the one who is acting against a patient. This kind of a situation is more apparent in verbs like *teguk* ‘drink once in one “movement” (of liquid)’:

- (7-85) a. *Ipuh te-teguk ulih ia.*
 k.o.poison MID-drink.at.once by 3s
 ‘The poison accidentally got swallowed by him.’
- b. *Ia te-teguk ka ipuh.*
 3s MID-drink.at.once to k.o.poison
 ‘(It happened to him that) he accidentally swallowed the poison.’

In (7-85a) *ipuh* is supposedly a “normal” patient, but it is less affected, actually. It is the uncontrolling agent *ia* ‘3s’ in (7-85b) that is definitely affected by the event. If such an uncontrolling agent-subject would be considered as a kind of “patient”, and the supposed patient alone would be considered as something like an external “causer”, then the construction looks like a passive. Alternatively, then, *te-* clauses could be regarded as coding an (unvolitional-resultative) passive.¹⁶

Te- also occurs with some intransitive verbs, such as *te-tinuk* (MID-sleep) ‘fall/get asleep’, *te-duduk* (MID-sit) ‘be in a sitting position’. Such verbs also involve unvolitionality.

Some forms seem to be historically frozen with the prefix *te-*. However, since we have no synchronic evidence for the use of the assumed roots, such forms are at best considered lexical, e.g. *tekanyat* ‘be surprised’, *tepelanting* ‘fallen headlong’, *tepuruk* ‘fallen vertically from a slippery place’, *terentak* ‘shocked’.

7.2.9 The prefix *ke-*: inchoative state

The use of verbal *ke-* is not productive. A few occurrences in the data show that *ke-* clauses are intransitive, that is, they only have one argument, which is the patient-experiencer subject. Basically they have an inchoative meaning (glossed as INCH), combined with a notion of unexpectedness, e.g.:

- (7-86) *ke-ingat* (INCH-remember) ‘get to remember unexpectedly’
 ke-taw’ (INCH-know) ‘be known (caught) unexpectedly’
 ke-tin’uk (INCH-sleep) ‘fall asleep unexpectedly’
 ke-pikir (INCH-think) ‘unexpectedly think (about something)’
 ke-dinga (INCH-hear) ‘unexpectedly get to hear (something)’
 ke-putus (INCH-broken) ‘get broken unexpectedly’

Some examples in clauses:

- (7-87) *Ku ke-taw’ ia.*
 1s INCH-know 3s
 ‘I got caught by him.’
- (7-88) *Ia teka N-cabut tulang rusuk ia, baru’*
 3s right.away ACT-pull.out bone rib 3s then

 pen’ing ku ke-putus.
 ear 1s INCH-broken
 ‘All of a sudden he took out his rib (which he used as a machete), then
 my ear got cut off.’ (A pig was fighting with a man)

¹⁶ In the cognate *ter-* clauses in Malay/Indonesian a passive sense is more apparent and dominant. However, some cases still show an uncontrolling agent-subject, e.g. *dia ter-minum air* (3s-*ter*.drink-water) ‘he accidentally drank the water’.

The Iban language of Sarawak has corresponding *te-* clauses which are very similar to those of Mualang. However, it seems that the preposition *ka* of Mualang corresponds with a suffix *-ka* in Iban (see Asmah 1981:61ff).

Being an experiencer, the subject undergoes an event caused by another participant, as is apparent in (7-87). Note that the participant *ia* '3s' in this example is not a typical agent since he/she did not carry out any volitional or intentional action. Rather, the event simply occurred to him/her.

Some forms like the following seem to be lexically frozen with the prefix: *kesuput* 'compelled', *kelupa* 'forget', *kemedih* 'get sad'.

7.2.10 *Kena'*: adversative passive

Kena' is used as a regular main verb, meaning 'afflict; hit (a target); put on (clothes)'. However, it can also function as an auxiliary verb to denote adversative passive. The following are the morphosyntactic and semantic features of the *kena'* adversative passive:

- 1) the adversatively affected patient is the subject of the clause;
- 2) the agent is optional. If the agent is expressed, it appears either directly after the verb, or in an *ulih* agent-phrase (as in the *da-* passive);
- 3) both auxiliary *kena'* and the main verb appear unmarked morphologically;
- 4) semantically, the *kena'* adversative emphasizes the patient having an action inflicted upon it. The agent is de-focused and unvolitionality is not implied, although the event may tend to be unvolitional. The adversative situation is most likely to occur with typically transitive verbs with a clearly physically affected patient and punctual action, e.g. *bunuh* 'kill', *tim'ak* 'shoot', *pantap* 'slash', *pangkung* 'hit, beat', *palu* 'strike'.

Some examples in clauses (ADVR = adversative):

- (7-89) *Ukuy kena' bunuh (ulih) sida'.*
 dog ADVR kill by 3p
 'The dog got killed by them (was inflicted with their killing).'

- (7-90) *Ku kena' bula' ia.*
 1s ADVR deceive 3s
 'I got deceived by him (was inflicted with his deceiving).'

- (7-91) *Uma urang kena' pan'uk.*
 rice.field person ADVR burn
 'The rice field of other people got burned (was inflicted with the burning).'

7.2.11 Analytic reflexive clauses with *diri'*

Prototypically in a reflexive construction the subject and the object refer to the same entity (Payne (1997:198ff)). Reflexives in Mualang can be classified as being

analytic, that is, they are marked by the invariable reflexive pronoun *diri* 'self'. Syntactically the *diri* reflexives do not represent a specific type of voice construction. Since by definition the subject acts upon itself, voice constructions that are used to express a reflexive meaning typically have an agent(-like) subject. The verb usually has one of the following affixes: active *N-* (7-92 – 7-93), the antipassive *ba-* (7-94), zero stative with an agent-like subject (7-95), and the unvolitional middle *te-* (7-96). As a pronoun, *diri* may occupy various syntactic roles.

- (7-92) *Ia N-tapuk diri' ari bini ia.* (= Active, direct object)
 3s ACT-hide self from wife 3s
 'He hid himself from his wife.'
- (7-93) *Ia ba-cakap ka diri'.* (= Antipassive, dative-oblique)
 3s ANPAS-chat to self
 'He talked to himself.'
- (7-94) *Ia ka' idup aba' diri'.* (= Zero stative, associative-oblique)
 3s want live with self
 'She wants to live by herself.'
- (7-95) *Ia N-pantap kayu, te-pantap ka diri'.*
 3s ACT-slash wood MID-slash to self
 (= Unvolitional middle, indirect object)
 'He cut the wood, (but) it cut him(self).'

Diri can also express a possessor if that is coreferential with the subject:

- (7-96) *Ia N-padah ka laki diri'.* (= Active, possessor)
 3s ACT-say to husband self
 'She said to her own husband.'

Finally, *diri* can also function as the subject to mean 'oneself'. Such a use of *diri* is contrastive or emphatic in comparison to ordinary pronouns like *m'ih* '2s.masc' or *ia* '3s'.

- (7-97) *Diri' ka' kikay?*
 self want to.where
 'Where are you yourself going?' (I mean you and not others)
- (7-98) *Diri' budu.*
 self stupid
 'You yourself (and not others) are a fool.'
 'She/he herself/himself (and not others) is a fool.'

Some verbs may be in part reflexive lexically, and may appear with *ba-*, as in (7-69) under 7.2.7.1 above.

7.2.12 Reciprocal clauses

Prototypically reciprocal clauses express that the agent and the patient act upon each other. They are different from reflexives in that reciprocals primarily involve two unique entities and that the action is mutual; whereas with reflexives this is not the case. E.g. in the reflexive *sida' ba-kaca* (3p-ANPAS.mirror) 'they saw themselves in the mirror' (and not *they saw each other in the mirror), both the agent and the (implied) patient refer to the same individual. Reciprocal constructions are formed in two ways:

- a) with the antipassive *ba-* construction;
- b) with the use of the anaphoric operator *pangan*, basically meaning 'friend, partner'

Ba- reciprocals have been introduced in 7.2.7.1. Syntactically, this construction type applies only to verbs that lexically may indicate a reciprocal action, e.g. *ba-bunuh* 'kill (each other)', *ba-temu* 'meet (each other)', *ba-laya* 'fight (each other)', *ba-cakap* 'chat with (each other)'. With such *ba-* verbs, the subject is always plural, covering both the agent and the patient of the event. A repetitive reciprocal action is expressed by reduplication (see 8.3.1 of Chapter 8).

For verbs that lexically cannot express a reciprocal action, it seems that the word *pangan* 'friend, partner' can be used to derive a construction with a reciprocal sense. As attested in the data, the *pangan* reciprocals are used with the active prefix *N-* (7-99 – 7-100) and antipassive *ba-* verbs (7-101 – 7-102). With antipassive *ba-*verbs *pangan* is introduced by preposition *ka* 'to':

- (7-99) *Asa anak ba-laki-bini, apay aba' inay*
 when child ANPAS-husband-wife father and mother
dua piak N-kumay pangan "isan".
 two part ACT-call partner isan
 'When children are married, parents of both parties address each other with "isan".'
- (7-100) *Asa naday menyadi', tentu sida' N-arua pangan.*
 when NEG sibling certain 3p ACT-disturb partner
 'If (they) would not be siblings, they would certainly disturb each other.'
- (7-101) *Sida' ba-duay ka pangan.*
 3p ANPAS-sibling.in.law to partner
 'They addressed each other as sibling-in-law/they have a sibling-in-law relationship to each other due their wives being siblings.'
- (7-102) *Kemua ba-duay ka pangan.*
 1d.excl ANPAS-brother.in.law to partner
 'We two have a brother-in-law relationship with one another due to our wives being siblings.'

Reciprocity does not change the semantic difference between the “active *N-*” and “antipassive *ba-*” voice types.

7.3 Advancements of peripheral elements as arguments

The term “advancement” is used here rather loosely. It refers to a construction in which a peripheral participant is “advanced” or “promoted” into a (core) argument position, which in Mualang can be the grammatical direct object or the subject of the clause (cf. a typical definition in Payne 1997:186ff). The operation, as attested thus far in the corpus, only applies to the peripheral participants of benefactive, locative and uncontrolling agent against the (core) argument patient. In all cases the peripheral elements come to occupy the syntactic position typical for the patient of a transitive event, whereas the patient itself is “demoted” into an indirect object, which is marked with the preposition *ka*. In the active voice construction an erstwhile peripheral benefactive or locative participant, is placed right after the verb (the direct object position), while the “old” patient-direct object becomes the indirect object.¹⁷ Examples (7-103) and (7-104) show the involvement of typical benefactive and locative peripherals respectively:

- (7-103) a. *Sida' N-beri' tanah ka ku.*
 3p ACT-give land to 1s
 Agent-S V Patient-O Benefactive-Oblique
 ‘They gave some land to me.’
- b. *Sida' N-beri' ku ka tanah.*
 3p ACT-give 1s to land
 Agent-S V Benefactive-O Patient-IO
 ‘They gave me some land.’

¹⁷ The advancements in Mualang partially correspond to the function of the suffix *-kan* in standard Indonesian and *-ka* in the Iban of Sarawak (cf. e.g. Asmah 1981 for Iban). In Indonesian, for example, *-kan* is used, among others, to advance a benefactive participant into a direct object position (such as in (b) below; cf. (a) in which the benefactive participant is an oblique). However, the syntactic status of the patient participant differs in these languages: in Indonesian it may be considered a “second direct object”, whereas in Mualang it becomes an oblique. Compare the following examples:

- (a) *Ayah mem-beli buku untuk saya.*
 father ACT-buy book for 1s
 ‘Father bought a book for me.’
- (b) *Ayah mem-beli-kan saya buku.*
 father ACT-buy-kan 1s book
 ‘Father bought me a book.’

- (7-104) a. *Ia N-isi' ay' ka kuali.*
 3s ACT-content water to cooking.pan
 Agent-S V Patient-O Locative-Oblique
 'She is putting water into the pan.'
- b. *Ia N-isi' kuali ka ay'.*
 3s ACT-content cooking.pan to water
 Agent-S V Locative-O Patient-IO
 'She is filling the pan with water.'

As seen in (7-103) and (7-104), word order determines the direct object position of an argument, that is, it directly follows the *N*-verb. In the (a) examples, the patient is the primary (direct) object, and the *ka*-headed elements (benefactive in (7-103) and locative in (7-104)) are oblique, whose absence cannot disturb the basic meaning of the clause. In the (b) examples the benefactive (7-103) and locative (7-104) occupy the direct object position, whereas the patients in both cases are expressed in the prepositional phrase headed by *ka*. They are required, otherwise *ku* '1s' in (7-103b) and *kuali* 'pan' in (7-104b) will be interpreted as the patient (e.g. *Ia ngisi' kuali* may mean 'she is putting the pan (into some other location)'). Also, if *kuali* in (7-104b) is interpreted as the patient, it would be the *kuali* itself that was put in the water and not the other way around. Hence *ay'* 'water' in (b) has to be considered an argument, namely the indirect object.¹⁸

More examples of advancement of benefactives:

- (7-105) a. *Inay N-beli kayin baju ka ia.*
 mother ACT-buy clothes shirt to 3s
 'Mother bought clothes for her.'
- b. *Inay N-beli ia ka kain baju.*
 mother ACT-buy 3s to clothes shirt
 'Mother bought her clothes.'
- (7-106) a. *Sida' N-ganti selawar baju ka Apay Aluy.*
 3p ACT-change pants shirt to father A
 'They put pants and shirts on Aluy's father.'
- b. *Sida' N-ganti ia ka selawar baju.*
 3p ACT-change 3s to pants shirt
 'They dressed him in pants and shirts.'

¹⁸ I have found, thus far, only one case of the so-called "dative shift" in Paternus (2001:29): *kita' meri' ku tanah* (2p-N.give-1s-land) 'you all gave me land', in which the patient *tanah* 'land' appears without the preposition *ka* (cf. example (7-103)). My informant rejected such a construction as being atypical for Mualang. In all cases that I have observed the patient is marked with *ka*.

More examples of advancement of locatives:

- (7-107) a. *Sida'* *N-gulay* *gula* *ka* *beram*.
 3p ACT-mix sugar to k.o.alcohol
 'They mixed sugar into the *beram*.'
- b. *Sida'* *N-gulay* *beram* *ka* *gula*.
 3p ACT-mix k.o.alcohol to sugar
 'They mixed the alcohol with sugar.'
- (7-108) a. *Sida'* *N-pe-lintang* *kayu* *ka* *jalay*.
 3p ACT-CAUS-block wood to road
 'They put wood on the road (to block it).'
- b. *Sida'* *N-pe-lintang* *jalay* *ka* *kayu*.
 3p ACT-CAUS-block road to wood
 'They blocked the road with wood.'

The possibility of benefactives and locatives appearing as core arguments is also evidenced in *da*-passive and inverse constructions. In these constructions they come to occupy the subject position while the former patient is coded in the *ka* prepositional phrase as the indirect object. Examples (7-109b – 7-110b) show *da*-passives with benefactive subject (note that in (7-109b) the benefactive subject *ku* '1s' is dropped):

- (7-109) a. *Babi* *da-bunuh* *ngaw* *ia* *N-pakay*.
 pig PASS-kill for 3s ACT-eat
 Patient-S *da-V*
 'Pigs were killed for him to eat.'
- b. *Ku* *din* *nyamay,* *Da-aduh* *N-pakay,*
 1s there.(far) comfortable PASS-arrange N-eat
- N-inum* *beram,* *da-bunuh* *ka* *babi,*
 ACT-drink k.o.alcohol PASS-kill to Pig
da-V Patient-IO
- da-pulah* *ka* *jimut.*
 PASS-make to k.o.snack
da-V Patient-IO
 'I lived there comfortably, eating was prepared, drinking *beram*,
 pigs were killed (for me), snacks were made (for me).'
- (7-110) a. *Tanah* *da-beri'* *sida'* *ka* *ku*.
 land PASS-give 3p to 1s
 Patient-S *da-V* Agent Benefactive-Oblique
 '(Some) land was given by them to me.'

- b. *Ku da-beri' sida' ka tanah.*
 1s PASS-give 3p to land
 Benefactive-S da-V Agent Patient-IO
 'I was given (some) land by them.'

Examples (7-111b and 7-112b) show *da*-passives with locative subject:

- (7-111) a. *Kayu da-pe-lintang ka jalay.*
 wood PASS-CAUS-block to road
 Patient-S da-V Locative-Oblique
 'The wood was used to block the road.' (Lit. 'Wood was blocked to the road')
- b. *Jalay da-pe-lintang ka kayu.*
 road PASS-CAUS-block to wood
 Locative-S da-V Patient-IO
 'The road was blocked with the wood.'
- (7-112) a. *Darah da-unsut ka mulut ku.*
 blood PASS-smear to lips 1s
 Patient-S da-V Locative-Oblique
 'Blood was smeared on my lips.'
- b. *Mulut ku da-unsut ka darah.*
 lips 1s PASS-smear to blood
 Locative-S da-V Patient-IO
 'My lips were smeared with blood.'

Examples (7-113b) and (7-114b) show the inverse with a benefactive subject (the agent is dropped):

- (7-113) a. *Darah antu beri' ka sida'.*
 blood ghost give to 3p
 Patient-S Agent V Benefactive-Oblique
 'Blood was given to them by the ghosts.'
- b. *Kami dulaw beri' ka darah.*
 1p.excl first give to blood
 Benefactive-S V Patient-IO
 'We first were given the blood.'
- (7-114) a. *Tikay kita ancaw ka temuay.*
 mat 1p.incl spread to guest
 Patient-S Agent V Benefactive-Oblique
 'A mat we spread (on the floor) for the guest.'

- b. *Temuay kita ancaw ka tikay,*
 guest 1p.incl spread to mat
 Benefactive-S Agent V Patient-IO
- kemay ka biday.*
 spread to rattan.mat
 V Patient-IO
 ‘For the guest we spread a mat, we open out a rattan mat.’

Example (7-115b) shows the inverse with a locative subject:

- (7-115) a. *Kayu urang pe-lintang ka jalay.*
 wood person CAUS-block to road
 Patient-S V Locative-Oblique
 ‘(A piece of) wood was used by people to block the road.’
- b. *Jalay urang pe-lintang ka kayu.*
 wood person CAUS-block to road
 Locative-S V Patient-IO
 ‘The road people blocked with (a piece of) wood.’

The following instances with *beri* ‘give’ have been found where the benefactive is simply fronted in the prepositional phrase without becoming the subject, e.g.:¹⁹

- (7-116) *Ngaw Bujang Jat ku beri’ ka buah kemayaw.*
 for B J 1s give to fruit k.o.fruit
 ‘For BJ I will give a kemayaw fruit.’
- (7-117) *Ngaw aki’ ku beri’ ka ubi.*
 for grandfather 1s give to cassava
 ‘For my grandfather I will give cassavas.’

In another case in (7-118) below, *darah* ‘blood’ is not expressed as a direct object but rather as an oblique with the preposition *ka*. Here transitivity of the action *N-inum* ‘ACT-drink’ obviously becomes decreased, most likely due to the fact (i.e. according to the content of the story) that the action of drinking by the agent *kita* ‘1p.incl’ never takes place with blood as a suffering patient:

- (7-118) *Kati akal kita? Kita tu’ bila jama N-inum*
 how mind 1p.incl 1p.incl TOP when habitually ACT-drink
- ka darah? Naday sa-sang’up.*
 to blood NEG RED-be.able/prepared
 ‘What should we do? As for us, when do we ever drink blood? We won’t be able (to do that).’ (They were forced to drink blood)

¹⁹ These examples were collected from some young speakers.

In the unvolitional middle *te*- the uncontrolling agent can also occupy the subject position, which is typically occupied by the obligatory patient (see 7.2.8). Thus, in the example (7-80) and (7-81) above the subject is definitely a patient. But, if it is moved, it has to be marked with *ka*, as in (7-82). The possibility of the uncontrolling agent occupying the subject position of *te*- clauses is probably due to its being more like a patient semantically.

More research is needed in order to establish the semantic nature of the advancements. It seems that such an operation applies more easily to the locative element than to the benefactive. As for the benefactive, a great number of examples were found in the *da*- passive clauses than in active *N*- clauses. It was easier for my informants to construct or understand advancements of benefactive in the *da*- passives than in the active *N*- clauses. Also, it is easier to have a benefactive advancement with verbs that inherently imply the existence of a benefactive such as *beri* 'give' and *beli* 'buy', than with, for example, the verb *bunuh* 'kill'. In the second clause of the following example a benefactive is simply implied:

- (7-119) *Nang arap nu' urang. Pulah ka tali!*
 don't hope POSS person make to rope
 'Don't expect (to use) someone else's. Make a rope (for yourself)!'

8 OTHER VERB-PHRASE OPERATIONS

This chapter is concerned with verbs and verb phrases, as is Chapter 7. While the preceding chapter describes verbal prefixes and the arrangement of arguments in the clause, the present chapter deals with the remaining operations associated with verbs or verb-phrase: verbalization (8.1), verbal compounding (8.2), reduplication (8.3), and tense, aspect, mode (TAM for short), as well as other adverbial modifications (8.4).

8.1 Verbalization

Verbalization derives a verb from a noun root. This process has been described in separate sub-sections in Chapter 7. To put them together, verbalization is accomplished through unmarked derivation (or zero morphology, see 7.1.3.1) and the causative *pe-* (see 7.1.3.1).

Note that a kind of reversed process is also associated with Mualang verbs viz. nominalization that changes verbs into nouns. Nominalization is discussed in section 4.2 of Chapter 4.

8.2 Verbal compounding

The whole discussion pertinent to nominal compounding as described in section 4.4 of chapter 4 is also applicable to verbal compounding, except that the latter expresses events or states. As with nominal compounds, verbal compounds can be grouped as being generic (8.2.1) and specific (8.2.2). Following these two sub-sections, in (8.2.3) the use of verbal compounds will be exemplified.

8.2.1 Generic compounds

As with generic nominal compounds (4.4.1), constituents in a verbal generic compound are strung together to form a single generic meaning. The constituents are verbal roots belonging to similar or related semantic domains. They are semantically combined to form a variety of actions or states occurring in a situation.

- (8-1) *pakay-sumay* (eat-cook) ‘do activities related to cooking and eating’
 pakay-ipung (eat-eat) ‘eat without side dishes (eat a simple meal)’
 pakay-mpa (eat-chew) ‘eat (around), simply eat whatever is served’
 tipah-biah (reject.by.pushing.aside-wave.aside) ‘reject totally and rudely by hitting aside’
 beri-jua (give-give) ‘give generously’

rantak-irit (draw-draw) ‘draw and draw’
beli-belany’a (buy-do.shopping) ‘buy things’
tampar-terejang (slap-run.into) ‘hit and beat’
sipak-ten’ang (kick-kick.out) ‘kick out (at) intensely with all kinds of kicking’
pulay-balik (come.home-return) ‘go back and forth’
amis-lengis (finished-thoroughly.clean/cleared) ‘finished completely’
rung’u’-pedih (sick-sick/sad) ‘seriously sick’
pangkap-berap (hug-embrace) ‘embrace and hug’
sium-lulum (kiss-kiss) ‘kiss and kiss’

The members of these compounds are semantically closely related. In some cases the whole compound has become frozen (both constituents being precategorial; examples 8-2a), whereas in other cases (only) one of the members is never used by itself but only as a constituent of a compound (examples 8-2b):

- (8-2) a. *peluntang-pelanting* ‘helter-skelter’
 kun’ang-katang ‘go back and forth’
 kulang-kalik ‘go back and forth’
- b. *bolak-balik* (precategorial-return) ‘go back and forth’
 getar-ganyar (tremble-precategorial) ‘tremendously tremble’
 putih-belanyi (white-precategorial) ‘very white’
 pamar-piar (separated-precategorial) ‘scattered around, dispersed’
 mati-lesi (die-precategorial) ‘die (away)’
 barah-buruh (precategorial-hurried) ‘be in a big hurry’¹
 bereta-berama (together-precategorial) ‘together’
 pelintang-putang (lie.across-precategorial) ‘be in disarray’
 pabit-parit (involve-precategorial) ‘involve/drag one another into’
 mutah-jurah (vomit-precategorial) ‘vomit excessively’

8.2.2 Specific compounds

As with some of the nominal compounds (see 4.4.2 of Chapter 4), verb phrases containing a verb and usually a noun, may become frozen lexically acquiring a specific meaning, e.g.:

- (8-3) *pinta’-diri’* (ask-self) ‘ask permission to leave’
 un’ur-diri’ (withdraw-self) ‘resign’
 any’ung-ramu (escort-things) ‘(ceremonially) escort brideprice’
 mati-pungkak (die-young(?)) ‘die at a young age’

¹ The form *buruh-arrah* also occurs with the same meaning.

kibaw-manuk (wave-chicken) ‘wave at a chicken (in a rite)’
limpang-umung (switch.direction-talk) ‘by the way’
pan’i’-nemiak (bathe-child) ‘bathe a child ritually’
tunsun-purih (arrange-descendant) ‘track down the history of descendants’
mayin-alu (play-pestle) ‘play k.o. traditional game’
rari-diri (run-self) ‘run away’
berani-mati (brave-die) ‘be ready to take a risk’

8.2.3 Use of verbal compounds with and without voice prefixes

Like verbal roots, compounds from verb roots appear in clauses with different voice prefixes, depending on their meaning. As attested in the data, those with intransitive meaning are zero marked (8-4 and 8-5) or prefixed with the middle *te-* (8-6), while those with transitive meaning can be used with prefixes of the active *N-* (8-7 and 8-8), the passive *da-* (8-9), the inverse (8-9), and the antipassive *ba-* (8-10):

- (8-4) *Ia ba-guay peluntang-pelanting.*
 3s ANPAS-run helter-skelter
 ‘He ran helter-skelter.’
- (8-5) *Malam, sida’ tin’uk-ngantuk.*
 night 3p sleep-feel.sleepy
 ‘At night they all had a sleep (i.e. felt sleepy, and then slept).’
- (8-6) ... *Putung Kempat te-puntang-panting*
 P K MID-precategorial-do.with.great.effort
anyut
 swept.away
 ‘... Putung Kempat was hit here and there being swept away’ (by an eddy of water)
- (8-7) *Ditu’ ku N-pakay nyamay, din anak-bini ku*
 here 1s ACT-eat comfortable there.(far) child-wife 1s
N-pakay-N-ipung.
 ACT-eat-ACT-eat.without.sidedishes
 ‘Here I have been eating well, overthere my wife and child eat plain rice (a very simple meal).’
- (8-8) *Udah ia’, sida’ N-pinta’ diri’ pulay.*
 already that’ 3p ACT-ask self go.home
 ‘After that they asked permission to leave.’

- (8-9) *Nti' aday ti taw' da-beri'-jua' barang ka ayung*
 if exist REL can PASS-give-give thing to relatives
nya', aw', kita beri'-jua'!
 that well 1p.incl. give-give
 'If there are things (e.g. food, clothes) that could be given away to relatives, then, we give them!'
- (8-10) *Ba-sabak dih sida' menyadi', ba-sium – ba-lulum,*
 ANPAS-cry dih 3p siblings ANPAS-kiss–ANPAS-kiss
ba-pangkap – ba-berap.
 ANPAS-hug–ANPAS-embrace
 'Those siblings then cried, gave big kisses and hugs to one another.'

In many cases the verbal components of the generic compound have both the same prefix, as in (8-7) and (8-10). However, the compound stem can also take only one prefix, as in (8-6) and the first clause of (8-9), in which the prefix is attached to the first element. This is probably due to the elements being very tightly integrated semantically and structurally.

Verbal compounds may also be formed from denominal verbs, prefixed with the antipassive *ba-* or the active *N-* (8-11a) and from a nominal compounds (8-11b) through prefixation with *ba-*:

- (8-11) a. *N-keparat–N-bansat* '(ACT-heathen–ACT-scoundrel) 'scold (somebody)
ba-laya'–ba-tengi' (ANPAS-quarrel–ANPAS-dispute) 'have disputes'
bar-anak–ba-buah (ANPAS-child–ANPAS-fruit) 'have descendants'
ba-uti'–ba-guraw (ANPAS-disturb–ANPAS-tease) 'tease around'
ba-padi–ba-beras (ANPAS-paddy–ANPAS-uncooked.rice) 'own or harvest rice abundantly'
ba-babi–ba-manuk (ANPAS-pig–ANPAS-chicken) 'own or raise lots of stocks'
- b. *ba-laki–bini* (ANPAS-husband-wife) 'get married; be husband and wife'
ba-rumah–tang'a' (ANPAS-house–ladder) 'have a house or household'

In verbs derived from nominal compounds (examples 8-11b) the nouns had a tighter semantic integration prior to prefixation. In compounds formed from prefixed nouns (examples 8-12b, 8-13b), however, each prefixed noun contributes separately to the meaning of the compound. Compare the following clause pairs:

- (8-12) a. *Udah ia', sida' tay ka' ba-laki-bini*
 already that 3p REL FUT ANPAS-husband-wife
 (= **ba- + laki-bini**)
 'After that, they who were going to get married'
- b. *Sida' tay ba-laki-ba-bini* (= **ba-laki + ba-bini**)
 3p REL ANPAS-husband-ANPAS-wife
 'Those who are already married' Or also:
 'Those who have a husband and who have a wife'
- (8-13) a. *Sida' ia' bar-anak – buah.* (= **bar- + anak-buah**)
 3p that ANPAS-child-fruit
 'They have helpers.'
- b. *Anti' mati, sida' nsia naday bar-anak –*
 if die 3p human NEG ANPAS-child-
ba-buah. (= **bar-anak + ba-buah**)
 ANPAS-fruit
 'If they are dead, they, the human beings, won't have descendants (anymore).'

Some compounds with the (b) pattern of (8-12) and (8-13) seem to have become frozen lexically, for example, *bereta-berama* (together-precategorial) 'together', in which the *ba-* syllables are reduced forms of former *ba-* prefixes.

In sum, verbal compounds occur in the following structural patterns (each followed by an example):

- a) zero marked or [verbal compound], e.g. *kun'ang-katang* 'go back and forth';
- b) Prefix-[verbal compound], e.g. *N-pinta' diri'* (ACT-ask-self) 'ask permission to leave';
- c) [Prefix-verb]-[Prefix-verb], e.g. *N-pakay-N-sumay* (ACT-eat-ACT-cook) 'cook and have a meal'
- d) Prefix-[nominal compound], e.g. *ba-laki-bini* (ANPAS-husband-wife) 'get married';
- e) [Prefix-noun]-[Prefix-noun], e.g. *bar-anak-ba-buah* (ANPAS-child-ANPAS-fruit) 'have descendants'.

Structurally the generic verbal compounds may resemble verb sequences and serial verb constructions (see Chapter 10). Verbal compounds mainly exhibit highly semantic – hence structural – integrity between their constituents, and therefore their members have to be closely related semantically. In a verb sequence, there is a pause between the verbs, which signals that the activities are carried out separately. Compare the sequence of verbs in (8-14) below with the compound in (8-5) above:

- (8-14) *Sida' ngantuk, tin'uk.*
 3p feel.sleepy sleep
 'They felt sleepy and slept (then went to sleep).'

(8-14) differs from (8-5) in that in the latter case the whole process or situation related to being sleepy, going to sleep until falling asleep is wrapped semantically into one compound form. Note also that in (8-14) the order of the verbs iconically reflects the order of the events referred to, which is not necessarily the case in compounds.

Verbal compounds differ from serial verbs in that the latter are multi-clausal structurally, and semantically one of their constituent members modifies the other in some ways, hence their constituent members vary and belong to different semantic fields. Verbal compounds, on the other hand, are mono-clausal and semantically they refer to one single activity or state.

However, some constituents that frequently occur in compounds also appear in verb sequence. Such sequences occur with words that are not precategorial. The resultant parallelisms are often found in ritual texts, e.g. as in (8-16) and (8-17). This might suggest a historical multi-clausal source of verbal compounding (cf. the regular multi-clausal sentence in (8-15)).

- (8-15) *Nema N-suruh balang mati tih, nyaw*
 therefore ACT-cause fail dead *tih* already
- da-tipah aba' da-biah ay' inum*
 PASS-push.aside and PASS-wave.aside water drink
 'Because (what) caused (them) not to die was that the drinking water was hit aside (and fell)'
- (8-16) *Tu' mah kami N-kibaw kami N-kitaw, kami*
 this *mah* 1p.excl. ACT-wave 1p.excl ACT-wave 1p.excl
- N-tipah kami N-biah...*
 ACT-push.aside 1p.excl. ACT-wave.aside
 'Here we're doing the offerings (by all kinds of waving activities, usually with a kind of leaf).' (Cited from Paternus (2001:30))
- (8-17) *...da-pampas juata jawa' isa' mis,*
 PASS-reward god k.o.plant in.order.that finished
- isa' cawis, isa' lengis.*
 in.order.that finished in.order.that cleared
 '... (Whoever hinders) will be rewarded (i.e. punished) until utterly and completely wiped out (by the god).' (Cited from Paternus (2001:54))

² Some words are characterized by “lexical repetition”, i.e. they look like reduplicated forms, but lack a non-reduplicated base. Examples are: *silu-silu* ‘quiet’ (cf. *silu* ‘nail’), *mang-mang*, usually used in the expression *naday mang-mang* ‘suddenly’. By definition such words are not considered the product of a synchronic process of morphological reduplication.

1) Full reduplication of the root without further affixation, e.g.:

lubah-lubah (slow.and.quiet-RED) ‘slowly and quietly’
mit-mit (small-RED) ‘in small sizes/amounts/pieces’
sigat-sigat (quick-RED) ‘quickly’
sikit-sikit (little-RED) ‘little by little’
tuay-tuay (old-RED) ‘moderately old’
idup-idup (live-RED) ‘alive’

If the root is prefixed for voice with a syllabic prefix, the reduplication still applies to the whole root, e.g.:

ba-guay-guay (ANPAS-run-RED) ‘run (continuously), run around’
ba-pin’ah-pin’ah (ANPAS-move-RED) ‘move (around) from one place to another’
da-kayuh-kayuh (PASS-paddle-RED) ‘be paddled (continuously)’
da-tiki’-tiki’ (PASS-climb-RED) ‘be climbed (continuously)’
te-bagi-bagi (MID-divide-RED) ‘get divided up’
te-tucuk-tucuk (MID-stab-RED) ‘get stabbed repeatedly’
N-lompat-lompat (=ngelompat-lompat) (ACT-jump-RED) ‘jump around/repeatedly’
N-labuh-labuh (=ngelabuh-labuh) (ACT-drop-RED) ‘drop repeatedly’
N-rusak-rusak (ngerusak-rusak) (ACT-broken-RED) ‘break/damage repeatedly’

If the prefix is non-syllabic (allomorphs of *N-* with roots which do not begin with *l* or *r*), the whole prefixed word is reduplicated:

N-ili’-N-ili’ (ngili’-ngili’) (ACT-downstream-RED) ‘continuously go downstreams’
N-bunuh-N-bunuh (munuh-munuh) (ACT-kill-RED) ‘kill repeatedly’
N-kampur-N-kampur (ngampur-ngampur) (ACT-chat-RED) ‘chat repeatedly/on and on’
N-pakay-N-pakay (makay-makay) (ACT-eat-RED) ‘have a meal (with various ingredients/dishes and relatively long)’

However, in practice the reduplication of words can be limited in length phonologically. On the average more than four syllables in total may be considered too long and not economical, and so cases of phonological truncation are also heard, notably in rapid speech, e.g. *ba-terudi-terudi* → *baterudi-rudi* (ANPAS-chase.after-RED) ‘follow/compete with one another’, *ba-keramak-ramak* (ANPAS-claw-RED) ‘claw (each other) on and on’, *ba-macam-macam* → *bamamacam* (ANPAS-kind-RED) ‘be of many kinds, various’.

Full reduplication is common in the language. Semantically, some additional meanings may arise depending on the verb type. Reduplication with transitive and dynamic intransitive verbs normally does not change the lexical meaning of the base. In (8-19) and (8-20) the reduplicated form indicates duration of the activity. In

the case of transitive verbs reduplication may also imply plurality of the patient (8-21):

- (8-19) *N-inaw–N-inaw* *apa, m'ih?*
 ACT-look.for-RED what 2s.masc
 'What have you been looking for (since some time ago)?'
- (8-20) *Miak ia' ba-sabak–sabak.*
 child that ANPAS-cry-RED
 'The child keeps crying.'
- (8-21) *Babas da-tebas-tebas sampay luah.*
 forest PASS-cut-RED until large
 'A wide area of forest is cleared (by cutting grass and bushes/trees).'

Reduplicated static intransitive verbs may be used predicatively (8-22 – 8-24) and attributively (8-25 – 8-27). In such usages, the reduplicated forms express that the state indicated by the verbal root is on the average the case (with the implication that the noun of which it is said to be the case is a mass noun, as in (8-22), or has to be interpreted as plural as in (8-25 and 8-26), or is true to a relative extent (as in (8-23, 8-24 and 8-27)).

- (8-22) *Padi nyaw kuning-kuning.*
 rice already yellow-RED
 'The rice has all become yellow.'
- (8-23) *Ku bayik-bayik ja'.*
 1s good-RED ja'
 'I am just fine.'
- (8-24) *Urang nya' mit-mit.*
 person that small-RED
 'That person is small (i.e. on the average he has a small and short body).'
- (8-25) *kayu mit-mit*
 wood small-RED
 'wood in small pieces'
- (8-26) *urang tuay-tuay*
 person old-RED
 'on the average old people'

- (8-27) *urang baik-baik*
 person good-RED
 ‘on the average good person (of behaviour)’

Reduplicated static intransitive verbs are also used with another verb, in which case they function adverbially expressing various manners with intensifying meaning. The event coded in the verb root itself implies a repetitive or durative action or state. As adverbs, their position in the clause is relatively flexible. Some examples:

- sigat-sigat* ‘very fast (as fast as one could be)’
lubah-lubah ‘very slowly and quietly (as much as one could be)’
baik-baik ‘very carefully (as careful as one could be)’
mimit-mimit ‘little by little’
jawuh-jawuh ‘very far (as far as one could be)’
amat-amat ‘really’
mati-mati ‘with extremely great effort’
idup-idup ‘alive’
- (8-28) *Piara-idup baik-baik!*
 take.care.of-live good-RED
 ‘Cultivate it and grow it carefully!’
- (8-29) *Am’i’ mimit-mimit!*
 take little-RED
 ‘Take little by little’
- (8-30) *Lubah-lubah ia turun.*
 slow.and.quiet-RED 3s descend
 ‘Slowly and quietly he came down.’
- (8-31) *Ia mati-mati N-tam’ak padi.*
 3s die-RED ACT-plant rice
 ‘He worked very hard planting the rice.’

2) Reciprocal reduplication. This reduplication applies only to *ba*-verbs, with the following pattern: *root-ba-root*. It denotes that the action is repeatedly carried out one against or after another, e.g.:

- balas-ba-balas* (*den’am*) (pay.back-ANPAS-RED) (revenge) ‘take revenge on one another’
bunuh-ba-bunuh (kill-ANPAS-RED) ‘be engaged in killing each other’
bantu-ba-bantu (help-ANPAS-RED) ‘be engaged in helping each other’
tim’ak-ba-tim’ak (shoot-ANPAS-RED) ‘be engaged in shooting each other’
tugal-ba-tugal (dibble-*ba*-RED) ‘be engaged in making holes for seeds one after another’

sawut–ba-sawut (reply–ANPAS-RED) ‘be engaged in replying to each other’

As seen in the following examples, the subject of the clause is always plural:

- (8-32) *Melia’ ah, sida’ balas–ba-balas den’am.*
 in.old.times ah 3p repay-ANPAS-RED revenge
 ‘In the old times they took revenge on one another.’

- (8-33) *Sida’ ia’ kayuh–ba-kayuh.*
 3p that paddle-ANPAS-RED
 ‘They paddled (the proa) one after another.’

- (8-34) *Burung sawut–ba-sawut.*
 bird reply-ANPAS-RED
 ‘Birds are replying to one another.’

Lexically reciprocal verbs may also be reduplicated “regularly”, e.g. *ba-bunuh–bunuh* ‘kill each other’, *ba-tulung–tulung* ‘help each other’. However, they differ from the “reciprocal reduplication” in that the regular reduplication does not necessarily yield a reciprocal meaning, thus *babunuh–bunuh* can also mean ‘repeatedly engage in killing activity’.

3) Reduplication with sound changes in the root. In this pattern, the whole root is reduplicated, but with some changes or variations in one or some of its phonemes (mostly vowels). There is no regular phonological pattern of changes that can be reconstructed. Most of such reduplicated forms have been lexicalized or fixed in pairs. Sound changing reduplication expresses a repetitive occurrence of the same event in a variety of ways (sounds, emotions, movements, situations, etc.), e.g.:

tekakak–tekikik ‘laugh continuously with various sounds’
kasak–kusuk ‘be restless with all kinds of busy movements’
bulak–balik ‘be busy with going to and returning from a particular place’
kucar–kacir ‘be scattered around (into all kinds of places or directions)’
kutak–katuk ‘make various sounds of tapping’
licak–lacik ‘very muddy and wet’
kerap–terap ‘fall/get stumbled here and there’

8.3.2 Syntactic reduplication

Syntactic reduplication shows a process of repetition of the same event. Formally there are two kinds of syntactic reduplication:

- 1) verb *ka* verb: this kind of reduplication conveys continuity, a process of becoming more and more, e.g.:

besay ka besay 'become bigger and bigger'
panay ka panay 'become smarter and smarter'
taw' ka taw' 'become more and more knowledgeable'
bayik ka bayik 'become better and better'
semak ka semak 'come closer and closer'
ketawa' ka ketawa' 'continue to laugh'
N-sabak ka N-sabak (ACT-cry to ACT-cry) 'continue to cry'
N-ili' ka N-ili' (ACT-downstream to ACT-downstream) 'continue to go downstream'
da-salay ka da-salay (PASS-dry.over.fire to PASS-dry.over.fire) 'continue to dry over the fire'
da-gulay ka da-gulay (PASS-mix to PASS-mix) 'continue to mix'

- (8-35) *Miak ia' besay ka besay.*
 child that big to big
 'The child is growing bigger and bigger.'

- (8-36) *Sida' N-ili' agi', N-ili' agi'*
 3p ACT-downstream again ACT-downstream again

Ketungaw. N-ili' ka N-ili',
 K ACT-downstream to ACT-downstream

N-ili' ka N-ili', baru' datay
 ACT-downstream to ACT-downstream then come

ka ili'.
 to downstream
 'They went downstream on the Ketungau River again, they went down the river. They kept going downstream, then they arrived downstream.'

- (8-37) *Nemiak ia' N-sabak ka N-sabak ka' angkat.*
 child that ACT-cry to ACT-cry want go
 'The child keeps crying wanting to go.'

- (8-38) *Beram ia' da-salay ka da-salay*
 alcohol that PASS-dry.over.fire to PASS-dry.over.fire

sampay ay' nya' mirah.
 until water that red
 'The *beram* is heated more and more until the water turns red.'

2) A verb can also simply be repeated to express a repetition. Each repetition has its own word stress, hence these verbs do not constitute a single phrase. Examples of this can be seen in (8-18c) and the first clause of (8-36).

Finally, a reduplicated form can become lexicalized with a particular meaning, e.g. *kun'ang-kekun'ang* 'go back and forth'.

8.4 Tense, aspect, mode and other adverbial modifications

In this section the primary ways of expressing tense (8.4.1), aspect (8.4.2), mode (8.4.3) and other adverbial expressions (8.4.4) are described.

8.4.1 Tense

So-called "tense" (i.e. "the relation of the time of an event to some reference point in time" (Payne 1997:236)) is not expressed grammatically in Mualang. It is simply left unspecified and disambiguated by the context:

- (8-39) *M'ih N-pakay apa?*
 2s.masc ACT-eat what
 (a) 'What did you eat?'
 (b) 'What are you eating?'
 (c) 'What will you eat/are you going to eat?'

A time adverb can be used to explicitly specify the temporal relations involved. Generally time adverbs refer to various situations in the past, present and future, e.g.:

- past: *melia* 'in the old times', *dulaw* 'formerly, a long time ago', *kemari* 'yesterday', *tadi* 'a while ago', *baru* 'just a while ago';
- present: *tu* 'now' (locationally it means 'this'), *nyaw pitu* 'now, nowadays', *ke tu* 'to the present time' (locationally it means 'to this');
- future: *pagi* 'tomorrow', *ila* 'later', *dudi ari* 'in the coming days'.

- (8-40) *Dulaw tih, ia keran kitu'.*
 formerly tih 3s often hither
 'Before, he often came here.'

- (8-41) *Nyaw pitu' rumah panyay nisi' agi'...*
 already like.this house long EXIST.NEG again
 'Nowadays there are no longhouses anymore ...'

- (8-42) *Ila' ku kin.*
 later 1s thither.(far)
 'I'll go over there later.'

It is only 'near future' that is expressed in the form of an auxiliary, namely *ka* 'be going to' (see also Chapter 10 on serial verbs):

- (8-43) *Ka' kikay, di'?*
 FUT to.where 2s.fem
 'Where are you going?'

8.4.2 Aspect

Comrie (1981:3) gives a general definition for aspect as “different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation.” A similar definition is provided by Payne (1997:238): “aspect describes the internal temporal shape of events or states.” In Mualang, aspectual meanings are expressed analytically by means of auxiliaries, or they can be deduced from the context. A discussion of aspectual auxiliaries is given here:

a. Perfect aspect: *nyaw*, *udah* ‘already’

Both *nyaw* and *udah* express perfect aspect. In certain contexts they are translatable as ‘already’. In many contexts their meanings overlap and they may be used interchangeably, hence the difference between them is subtle.³ *Udah* (phonologically reduced to *dah*) also has developed into an illocutionary marker (see 9.4 in Chapter 9). In the construction *udah ia* ‘after that’ which functions as a kind of conjunction (see section 10.6.1.4) *udah* cannot be replaced by *nyaw*. As a perfect auxiliary, *udah* emphasizes the accomplishment of an event while it also makes a contrast between the state of affairs “before” and “after”. *Nyaw* does not seem to imply such a change in the state of affairs; it simply refers to something that has happened, e.g.:

- (8-44) *Ia N-peda' urang tuay, buk nyaw putih.*
 3s ACT-see person old hair already white
 ‘He saw (met) an old person, her hair was already grey.’
- (8-45) *Ia N-peda' urang tuay ia' agi', buk udah putih.*
 3s ACT-see person old that again hair already white
 ‘He saw (met) that old person again, her hair had turned grey
 (compared to the last time he saw her).’

In (8-46) the use of *nyaw* again merely presents a statement about what has happened, but *udah* in (8-47) implies the speaker’s deliberate accomplishment of the activity (he wanted to do something and he did it already):

- (8-46) *Antu nyaw N-dinga gu' Apay Aluy.*
 ghost PERF ACT-hear sound father A
 ‘(Beyond Aluy’s father’s expectation) the ghost has heard father of
 Aluy’s father’s voice.’

³ To some extent the similarity between *nyaw* and *udah* may be comparable to Indonesian *telah* and *sudah*. See, for example, Minde and Tjia (2002), for a discussion about the latter and related matter in Ambonese Malay.

- (8-47) *Ku udah N-padah ka ia.*
 1s PERF ACT-say to 3s
 'I have told him.'

b. Progressive aspect: *tengan*, *benung*.⁴

- (8-48) *Ia tangan N-pakay.*
 3s PROG ACT-eat
 'He is/was eating.'

- (8-49) *Nti' benung kita' ba-laya' ...*
 if PROG 2p ANPAS-quarrel
 'If you were having a quarrel ...'

Tengan is commonly used, whereas *benung* is rare; it is considered as an old word.

c. Durative aspect: *lagi*/'*agi*' 'still'⁵

- (8-50) *Ia bedaw⁶ angkat. Agi' N-pan'i'.*
 3s not.yet go still ACT-bathe
 He's not going yet. He's still taking a bath.'

d. Completive: *mis* 'finished'

- (8-51.) *Nti' kita' mis ba-kerja,*
 if 2p finished ANPAS-work
 'If you all are finished working,'

Mis is also used as a main verb (see Chapter 10 on serial verbs).

e. Repetitive/semelfactive aspect: *kepa* 'often'; *keran* 'like to do, often do'; *gah* 'ever, once'; *kadang/kadang-kadang/tekadang* 'sometimes'; *jarang* 'seldom, rarely'

- (8-52) *Urang dah kepa' N-pinta' ia.*
 person PERF often ACT-ask.for 3s
 'People have often courted her.'

- (8-53) *Keran ka Puntti?*
 like to P
 'Do you like going/often go to the city of Pontianak?'

⁴ Sometimes the alternant form *tengah* 'middle' was heard instead of *tengan*.

⁵ Note that as an adverb (*lagi*) means 'again'.

⁶ *Bedaw* is the negation of *nyaw/udah*. See section 9.5 of the next chapter on negation.

- (8-54) *Ku gah ka rumah ia.*
 1s ever to house 3s
 'I have ever been to his house.'
- (8-55) *N-tanya' ka ti in'u' ia', kadang-kadang naday*
 ACT-ask to REL female that sometimes NEG
N-sawut.
 ACT-reply
 '(We) asked to that female, sometimes she did not reply.'
- (8-56) *Nti' aday, ulih jarang.*
 if exist but seldom
 'If there was, it was however rare.'

The aspectual meaning of the auxiliary *keran* may have developed from its usage as a verb meaning 'like', as in (8-57) below. Its iterative meaning may be derived from the sense "like to do something again and again". Hence, it implies habituality.

- (8-57) *Ia keran N-pakay jimut.*
 3s like eat k.o.snack
 'He likes to eat *jimut*.'

Gah 'ever' sometimes may be interpreted as 'several times'. Mualang has special expressions for 'never', namely *naday kala* 'never' and *nikala* 'never'.⁷

The iterativity of *kepa* and *keran* differs from the one expressed by reduplication in that in the latter it is only concerned with a repetitive occurrence of a single event at one single time, whereas in the former, a single event is iterated on and on over time and not once at a particular time.

f. Habitual aspect: *biasa* 'usually', *nitaw* 'habitual inability'

- (8-58) *Nema biasa kita Mualang tu' ti laki*
 because usually 1p.incl M TOP REL male
N-tugal, ti in'u' N-benih.
 ACT-dibble REL female ACT-seed
 'Because it is usual for us, the Mualang, the men do the dibbling, the women put the seeds in.'
- (8-59) *Sida' nitaw' ba-laya'.*
 3p HAB.INAB ANPAS-quarrel
 'They don't get used to having quarrels.'

⁷ The short form *kala* 'never' also exists e.g. *Kala' ku N-dinga* 'I've never heard of'

A combination of tense-aspect auxiliaries is also attested, as in (8-52) above and in the following examples:

- (8-60) *Ku tu' bedaw sempat pulay. Agi' ka'*
 1s TOP not.yet have.time go.home still FUT

N-getah.

ACT-sticky.sap.of.plants

'As for me, I am not ready to go home yet. I am still going to do animal-trapping with sticky sap.'

- (8-61) *Mataari udah turun. Nyaw ka' malam.*
 sun PERF descend PERF FUT night
 'The sun has set down. It's already going to be night.'

Some aspectual meanings may be conveyed by morphological means. Iterative meaning, as noted in 8.3 above, can be expressed by reduplication. Some verb types are more likely to be associated with a particular aspectual meaning. *Te*-verbs (see 7.2.9 of Chapter 7), for instance, can express inchoative meaning, whereas *ba*-verbs tend to refer to habitual activities, e.g.:

- (8-62) *Ia ba-uma/ ba-kerja dia'.*
 3s ANPAS-rice.field ANPAS-work there.(near)
 'He cultivates the rice field/works there.'

However, overall context plays an important role. As the following example shows, once the aspectual (and tense) background has been provided or understood, it is typically omitted or not mentioned in the subsequent discourse:

- (8-63) A: *Ia tangan N-pakay.* B: *Dini ia N-pakay?*
 3s PROG ACT-eat where 3s ACT-eat
 A: 'She is eating.' B: 'Where is she eating?'

8.4.3 Mode

The typology of mode is treated in somewhat different ways in the literature (cf. e.g. Chung and Timberlake 1985, Payne 1997, Givón 2001a).⁸ The present discussion is meant only to provide a basic description of how the so-called category of mode, mood or modality is expressed in Mualang. Therefore, the concept of this category will be applied rather loosely. As mentioned in Payne (1997:244; cf. also Chung and Timberlake 1985:241), "the highest-level distinction in modal operations is

⁸ The term mode is often (but not always) used interchangeably with mood and modality in the literature (Payne 1997:244). Chung and Timberlake (1985) seems to make a distinction between the term mood and mode. The present description does not attempt, however, to make such a distinction.

between realis and irrealis, though like most conceptual distinctions these terms describe a continuum. A prototypical realis mode strongly asserts that a specific event or state of affairs has actually happened, or actually holds true. A prototypical irrealis mode makes no such assertion whatsoever. Irrealis mode does not necessarily assert that an event did not take place or will not take place. It simply makes no claims with respect to the actuality of the event or situation described.”

In Mualang the category of mode is primarily expressed periphrastically through modal auxiliaries or adverbs. The realis sense is apparent in the past perfective event (determined simply by the context or a temporal adverb; e.g. as in (8-64)) or in the perfect event with the auxiliary *nyaw* or *udah* ‘PERF’, as in (8-46 – 8-47) above.

- (8-64) *Melia’ ah, sida’ balas-ba-balas den’am.*
 in.old.times ah 3p repay-ANPAS-RED revenge
 ‘In the old times they took revenge on one another.’

Grammatically, it is only the prefixes *te-* (irrealis) and *ke-* (inchoative) that can be used to assert some sort of modal meanings (see Chapter 7 for their functions). Negation could be included in this subsection; however, it will be deferred until Chapter 9. Other kinds of irrealis assertions are expressed analytically through auxiliaries, adverbs or extraclausal particles, which will be given below. The following five sub-types can be distinguished:

a. Optative: the particle *kira* ‘wish’; the auxiliaries *arap* ‘hope’, *ka* ‘want’;

- (8-65) *Kira aday urang datay ...*
 wish exist person come
 ‘I wish somebody would come ...’

- (8-66) *Ku arap wan datay kia’ wih.*
 1s hope 2s.hon come thither.(near) wih
 ‘I hope you’ll come there, will you?’

- (8-67) *Ku ka’ aba’ m’ih kin.*
 1s want follow 2s.masc thither.far
 ‘I want to follow you thither.’ (Also: ‘I am going to follow you thither.’)

b. Potential: the auxiliaries *talalah/alah* ‘be able’; *taw’* ‘can, be able to, may’; *nitaw’* ‘cannot, may not’⁹

- (8-68) *Ku talah N-pupuh sida’.*
 1s be.able ACT-chase 3p
 ‘I was able to chase after them.’

⁹ *Dapat* ‘can, be able to’ was also in use, but I am not sure whether this is native to Mualang or a borrowing from Malay/Indonesian.

- (8-69) *Taw' ku N-tiki'?*
 can 1s ACT-climb
 'May I come in?' (lit. 'May I climb (the ladder) up into your house')

- (8-70) *Nya' mah, jang, nitaw'!*
 that mah TOA can't/may.not
 'That, you can't/may not (do), boy!'

c. Obligation: the auxiliaries *alah/arus* 'must'; *perlu* 'need'; *nusah* 'needn't'

- (8-71) *Urang, nti' ka' ba-kerja ba-uma, alah*
 person if want ANPAS-work ANPAS-rice.field must
N-pinta'.
 ACT-ask.for
 'If anybody wants to work the rice field, he must ask (you for permission).'

- (8-72) *Mayuh ti perlu da-cakap kita.*
 many REL need PASS-talk 1p.incl
 'There are many that need to be discussed by us.'

- (8-73) *Nusah di' angkat bah.*
 needn't 2s.fem go bah
 'You really don't need to go.'

d. Probability: the particle *amang* 'think':

- (8-74) *Amang ku umur agi' lima-nam tawun.*
 think 1s age still five-six year
 'I think (maybe) her age was still about 5 or 6 years.'

e. Certainty: the adverb *amat* 'true, really':

- (8-75) *Amat ku N-padah ka m'ih.*
 true 1s ACT-say to you
 'Indeed I've told you (about that).'

Various facets of modal senses are also found in the use of "illocutionary markers". However, they cover more than merely modal senses or speaker's attitude. These illocutionary markers are discussed separately in Chapter 9 (section 9.4).

8.4.4 Other adverbial modifications

Adverbial modification normally adds meaning to the verb primarily via adverbs, along with several other syntactic constructions. Semantically, adverbial modification can be divided into several subclasses discussed in the next sections.

8.4.4.1 Manner

Adverbial manner is realized in several ways. First, by the use of serial verb constructions (=SVC; see section 10.2 of Chapter 10), in which the second verb, most likely a static intransitive verb, functions as a manner adverb to the first verb. The bold sequences in the following examples illustrate such serial verb constructions:

- (8-76) *Tay nama **pulay puang**, ngay kami.*
 REL name go.home empty not.want 1p.excl.
 ‘What is called going home empty (i.e. if you turn down our marriage proposal), that’s something we surely don’t want to do.’

- (8-77) *Arus **ba-kerja keras**=m kita’!*
 must ANPAS-work hard=m 2p
 ‘You all must really work hard!’

Some *ba*-derived verbs with stative meaning may also function adverbially, e.g.:

- (8-78) *Ka’ N-kisah kati cara ba-uma*
 want ACT-story how way ANPAS-rice.field

ba-pin’ah –pin’ah

ANPAS-move-RED

‘(I) want to tell you about how to do “slash and burn cultivation”.’ (lit. ‘I want to tell about how to do rice field work by moving around’ (from one place to another))

- (8-79) *Turun **ba-lubah – lubah**, ia N-inaw tay*
 descend ANPAS-slow/quiet-RED 3s ACT-search REL
ba-gu’.
 ANPAS-sound
 ‘Descending slowly and quietly, he looked for what had made a sound.’

Se-derived words may also be used adverbially, indicating the way the action of the preceding main verb is enacted (for the numeral prefix *se-*, see 4.1.2.1.1):

- (8-80) *Pukat Bengawan aba' Am'un Menurun idup*
 P B and A M live
se-peN-pakay, se-peN-sumay, se-tin'uk-ngantuk ...
 ONE-NOM-eat ONE-NOM-cook ONE-sleep-feel.sleepy
 'Pukat Bengawan and Am'un Menurun shared their lives in very respect.' (lit. 'Pukat Bengawan and Am'un Menurun lived being one of eating, one of cooking, one of sleeping-feeling sleepy')

Secondly, some static intransitive verbs are optionally introduced by the preposition *ngaw* 'with', while others require *ngaw* in order to function adverbially. Obviously further research is needed to establish possible regularities, constraints, and/or semantic differences. The following examples in (8-81 – 8-84) reflect the judgment of one of my informants:

- (8-81) *Ia ba-guay (*ngaw) sigat.*
 3s ANPAS-run (with) fast
 'He ran fast.'
- (8-82) *Ku ditu' N-pakay (*ngaw) nyamay.*
 1s here ACT-eat (with) comfortable
 'Here I eat comfortably.'
- (8-83) *Ia angkat ngaw nyamay. (?Ia angkat nyamay)*
 3s go with comfortable
 'He took off happily.'
- (8-84) *Ia kerja (ngaw) baik.*
 3s work (with) good
 'She works well.'

Ngaw in combination with a noun (phrase) can also express manner; in which case *ngaw* is obviously obligatory:

- (8-85) *..., jaku' ia ngaw suara ba-getar.*
 say 3s with voice ANPAS-tremble
 '..., he said with a trembling voice.'
- (8-86) *Ngaw pedih ati urang tuay kita angkat ari*
 with sick heart person old 1p.incl go from
dia'.
 there.near
 'Sadly and angrily our parents went away from there.'

In (8-85 – 8-86) *ngaw* heads a noun phrase, which structurally shows isomorphism with the typical instrumental function of *ngaw* (see section 5.2.1); in fact one may conclude that Mualang does not make a semantic difference between what is interpreted as an expression of manner and an instrumental expression. (See also section 10.2 on SVC).

Thirdly, a prepositional phrase headed by *upa* ‘like’ may also be used adverbially to express manner (see also section 5.2.5):

- (8-87) *Ia turun lawun upa pe-jalay munsang.*
 3s descend slow like NOM-road weasel
 ‘He walked down slowly like the walk of a weasel.’

Fourthly, some reduplicated forms of static intransitive verbs (SIV) may be used adverbially to express manner. At the beginning or end of the clause they have the meaning ‘in a manner as SIV-like as possible’, the difference being a matter of pragmatic presentation. Only between subject and predicate the adverbial meaning is ‘in a SIV manner’:

- (8-88) *Ia ba-guay sigat-sigat.*
 3s ANPAS-run fast-RED
 ‘He ran as quickly as he could.’
- (8-89) *Sida’ ba-jalay lubah-lubah.*
 3p ANPAS-road slow/quiet-RED
 ‘They walked as slowly and quietly as they could.’
- (8-90) *Lubah-lubah sida’ ba-jalay.*
 slow/quiet-RED 3p ANPAS-road
 ‘It was as slowly and quietly as they could that they walked.’
- (8-91) *Sida’ lubah-lubah ba-jalay.*
 3p slow/quiet-RED ANPAS-road
 ‘They slowly and quietly walked.’

Finally, two lexical manner adverbs are noticed for their frequent use, namely *pitu* ‘like this, so’ and *pia* ‘like that, so’, e.g.¹⁰

¹⁰ *Pitu* and *pia* correspond to the prepositional phrases *upa tu* ‘like this’ and *upa ia* ‘like that’, respectively. These periphrastic forms suggest a historical contraction that yielded the lexical manner adverbs. See also Pungak (1976a) for a similar conclusion. The sound *i* in *pitu* could be part of the proto form of *tu*, which may correspond to the proto Malayic form **(i)tu* ‘that’ that is proposed in Adelaar (1992:127, 129).

- (8-92) *Arus N-pulah pia'-pitu'.*
 must ACT-make like.that-like.this
 'You must do such and such.' (lit. 'You must do like that (and) like this.')

8.4.4.2 Instrumental

The instrumental adverbial construction is expressed through the prepositional phrase headed by *ngaw* 'with' and followed by a noun (phrase). This usage has been noted in section 5.2.2 of Chapter 5; in the previous section it was pointed out that structurally similar prepositional phrases function as manner adverbials.

- (8-93) *Nang ba-bunuh ngaw sangkuh.*
 don't ANPAS-kill with spear
 'Don't kill each other with spears.'

8.4.4.3 Location and direction

Locative and directional meanings can be added to the verb via three strategies: a) lexical adverbs, b) prepositional phrases, and c) serial verb constructions. Each of these strategies will be described below.

a) Lexical adverbs

Mualang has the following lexical adverbs: locative: *ditu* 'at this place (here)', *dia* 'at that place (there; relatively near)', *din* 'at that place over there (relatively far away)'; directional: *kitu* 'to this place here (hither)' (also used as a time adverb meaning 'to this day (to the present time)'), *kia* 'to that place (thither; relatively near)', and *kin* 'to that place over there (thither; relatively far away)'. All of these adverbs seem to be historically complex words involving (proto-forms of) the locative and directional prepositions *da* 'LOC' and *ka* 'to' and of the demonstratives *tu* 'this' and *ia* 'that'. As adverbs, they occupy various positions in the clause, as in:

- (8-94) *Ila' ku kin.*
 later 1s thither.far
 'I'll go over there later.'

- (8-95) *Ia din.*
 3s there.far
 'He is over there.'

- (8-96) *Dia' ia N-tung'u'.*
 there.near 3s ACT-wait
 'There she waited.'

Examples (8-94 and 8-95) show that with adverbs a verb meaning ‘go’ and ‘to be LOC’ is implied.

b) Prepositional phrases

Various locative and directional phrases with their heading prepositions have been given in Chapter 5. Horizontally, the stream of a particular river is used as a point of reference against which the location or direction of an entity is established, namely: *ulu* ‘upstream’ and *ili* ‘downstream’, e.g. (see also example (8-36) above):

- (8-97) *Antu Gergasi k=ili’-k=ulu, ka ili’*
ghost G to=downstream-to=upstream to downstream

ka ulu N-inaw gu’ kacung
to upstream ACT-look.for voice frog
‘The ghost Gergasi went downstream and upstream back and forth
looking for the voice of the frog’
- (8-98) *Dua iku’ ti s-iku’ da ili’.*
two CLASS REL ONE-CLASS LOC downstream
‘Two (frogs) one of them was at the downstream side.’

However, their use has somewhat developed conceptually with *ili*’ being able to refer to a direction heading away from the place of origin and *ulu* heading back to the place of origin, e.g. *ili’ ka Jakarta ari Mualang* ‘head to Jakarta away from the Mualang area’.

Parts of an entity (notably body parts) are used also as specification of a location or direction relative to a certain point of orientation, which may be implied or overtly expressed, e.g. *ataw* ‘upper part, top’ and *baruh* ‘bottom, lower part’, *mua* ‘face, front part’, *belakang* ‘back, back part’, *kiba*’ ‘left(handed)’, *kanan* ‘right(handed)’, etc. These words have to be combined with a locational or directional preposition. For some examples, the reader is referred to section 5.3 of Chapter 5.

c) Serial verb constructions

A general discussion of serial verbs will be given in Chapter 10. One of their functions is to combine the notion of direction with other activities or events. Some motion verbs occupying the second verb position add such meanings to the preceding verb. *Turun* ‘descend’ and *tiki*’ ‘ascend’ usually indicate movement in a vertical direction, whereas verbs like *pulay* ‘go home’, *datay* ‘come’, *rari* ‘run (away)’ imply a horizontal one, e.g.: *rari turun* (run-descend) ‘run down’, *bay’ tiki’/pulay/rari* (bring ascend/go.home/run.away) ‘bring up/back/away’.

8.4.4.4 Other adverbs

Other non-directional or locational adverbs express various notions such as degree, limitation/specification. Some of them are listed in the following examples (in bold face):

- (8-99) *Bayik pin'ah **aja'** kita ari tu' ...*
 good move just 1p.excl from this
 'We'd better just move out from here ...'
- (8-100) *Ia **lampar** gaga.*
 3s too happy
 'She's very happy.'
- (8-101) *Nyaw lama' **gila'**!*
 already long extremely
 'It already takes a very long time!'
- (8-102) ***Haja** *precis laki ia.**
 solely exact husband 3s
 'He's all exactly like her husband.'
- (8-103) *Ngapa N-beri' **gulung** mayuh **amat**?*
 why ACT-give excessively many really
 'Why did you give too much?' (or, 'Indeed, you gave too much (of it).')
- (8-104) *M'ih nyaw **dulaw** datay ari ku.*
 2s.masc already earlier come from 1s
 'You came earlier than I did.'
- (8-105) *Ka' da-beri' **ga'**?*
 want PASS-give also
 'Do you want (it) also?' (lit. '(You) want to be given too?')

Some lexical adverbs may modify constituents other than a verb, e.g. a quantifier (8-106), or an object (8-107):

- (8-106) ***Haja** *s-igi' – s-igi'* ia' buah ntawa'.*
 solely ONE-CLASS-RED that fruit k.o.fruit
 'That *ntawa'* fruit was the only one (on the tree).'
- (8-107) *Ku, ia **aja'** naday mampu N-lawan*
 1s 3s just NEG be.able.to ACT-enemy
 'It is only him that I cannot beat' (others were already beaten)

9 PRAGMATICALLY MARKED STRUCTURES

This chapter discusses major types of primarily pragmatically-motivated structures, that is, structures that are markedly used to express *pragmatic statuses*.¹ This latter term has to “do with choices speakers make about how to efficiently adapt their utterances to the context, including the addressee’s presumed ‘mental state’” (Payne 1997:261). Payne notes the following pragmatic notions that are often used to describe pragmatically marked structures: *given*, *new*, *presupposed*, *focus*, *topic*, *identifiable*, and *referential*. In what follows the morphosyntactic devices employed for such structures are described, as well as their most typical functions in discourse. However, much study still needs to be done in the future with respect to their discourse function. Thus the present analyses concerning this issue are preliminary in nature.

This chapter is divided into several main sections as follows: identifiability, referentiality and anaphoric reference (9.1), focus articulation (9.2), marked-topic articulation (9.3), illocutionary markers (9.4), negation (9.5), non-declarative speech acts (9.6), and exclamations (9.7).

9.1 Identifiability, referentiality and anaphoric reference

This section will discuss Identifiability (9.1.1), Referentiality (9.1.2), and Anaphoric reference (9.1.3).

9.1.1 Identifiability

Identifiability is concerned with the speaker’s assumption about a particular referent being identifiable by the addressee (Payne 1997, Ch. 10; cf. Givón (2001, Chapter 10) who uses the term “definiteness”). Mualang utilizes the following grammatical marking for coding the identifiability status of a referent: the numeral prefix *se-* ‘ONE’, spatial demonstratives *tu* ‘this’ and *ia* ‘that’, temporal adverbs and apposition. Each of these is explained below.

a. The numeral prefix se- ‘ONE’ plus a classifier

The numeral prefix *se-* has been discussed in 4.1.2.2.1 of Chapter 4. Besides being used for counting, *se-* + *classifier* is also typically used for asserting the

¹ This chapter owes much to the outline for analysis proposed in Payne (1997, Chapter 10). In general I have also much benefited from the discussion regarding pragmatic issues in Givón (2001a, b).

indefiniteness of a newly introduced entity. By using it, the speaker assumes that he or she is referring to something that the addressee would not be able to identify. Reference may be either referential (specific) as in (9-1), or non-referential (non-specific) as in (9-2). Context usually determines the interpretation.

- (9-1) *Jeman dulaw da se-buah kampung aday*
time previously LOC ONE-CLASS village exist
ini' aba' ucu' tay miskin aba' tay
grandmother and grandchild REL poor and REL
pedih idup.
difficult live
‘Once in a village there were a grandmother and a grandchild who were poor and who lived in difficult circumstances.’ (The opening of a story)

- (9-2) *Ku N-pinta' da-putar s-uti' lagu ja'.*
1s ACT-ask PASS-turn ONE-CLASS song ja'
‘I am asking to just play a song (for me).’

b. Spatial demonstratives

Spatial demonstratives *tu'* ‘this’, *ia'* ‘that’, *nyin* ‘that over there’, and *nyun* ‘that far away’ have been discussed in 4.1.2.1 of Chapter 4. They are the most common device to mark a NP as identifiable or definite. A NP is modified in this way normally when it is mentioned for the second time, or when it has not appeared for some time in a discourse so that the demonstrative helps the addressee to recall it.

- (9-3) *..., jaku' nsia ia'.*
say human that
‘..., said the/that man.’
- (9-4) *Tajaw tu' ku temu da sabar bubu nyin.*
jar this 1s find LOC fence k.o.fish.trap that.over.there
‘This jar I found at the fence of the fish trap far over there.’

c. Temporal adverbs

Several temporal words such as *tadi'* ‘a while ago’, *kemari'* ‘yesterday’, can also be used as a device for locating a particular referent. As the term suggests, such “temporal deictics” refer back to the referent on the basis of time rather than space as the spatial demonstratives do in “spatial” discourse. E.g.:

- (9-5) *Dini miak tadi' tih?*
where child a.while.ago tih
‘Where is the child that was just here a while ago?’ (lit. ‘Where is the “a-while-ago”-child?’)

- (9-6) *Duwit kemari', kati bah?*
 money yesterday how bah
 'That money of yesterday, how about it?' (lit. "Yesterday's money",
 how is it?')

(9-5) was uttered at the moment of a "discourse vacuum" (i.e. no previous conversation was held; the speaker went somewhere for a moment and came back finding out that the child was gone). In such a situation an actual time reference is used rather than a spatial discourse marker. (9-6) is similar in that the context relies on the temporal reference of the event.

d. Apposition

Apposition is also helpful in re-enforcing the identifiability of a referent in the form of a (paraphrastic) "afterthought", e.g.:

- (9-7) *Baru' pulay ka kisah ia', kisah sida' Bejit Manay*
 then go.home to story that story 3p B M
 'Then going back to that story, the story of Bejit Manay and his
 siblings'
- (9-8) *Putung Empat, menyadi' tay in'u'....*
 P K sibling REL female
 'Putung Empat, the female sibling'
- (9-9) *...jaku' Dara Reja', bini Puyang Gana.*
 say D R wife P G
 'said Dara Reja', the wife of Puyang Gana.'

e. Zero marking

An entity can appear without any marking (such as demonstratives), and yet its referent is still identifiable. Such a usage requires a maximal context such that the referent is still fresh or accessible in the addressee's mind. A maximal context has been found at least under the following conditions:

- 1) The referent was just mentioned in the immediately preceding discourse, as in (9-10) below. The first mentioned *tepayan* 'jar' in the first clause will be explained later in the next subsection on referentiality. Here our focus is the second mention which refers back to the same *tepayan* in the earlier clause without any marker. If the two occurrences of *tepayan* would have been interrupted by a change of the "theme" or if the story would have changed temporarily, the second mention would have been marked, for example, with a demonstrative *ia* 'that'.

- (9-10) *Ari jawuh ia N-peda' aday tepayan₁. "Apa utay ia'?"*
 from far 3s ACT-see exist jar what thing that
- jaku' ia. Baru' da-gusung. Peda' ia d=alam*
 say 3s then PASS-go.after see 3s LOC=inside
- tepayan₂ aday nsia.*
 jar exist human
 'From a distance he saw that there was a jar. "What is that thing?" he
 said. Then he went after it. It appeared to him inside the jar there was a
 person.'

2) The referent is "unique" in the story, hence no ambiguity arises. Much earlier in the context the referent *gua* 'cave' in (9-11) has appeared sporadically and it is the only 'cave' referred to in the story.

- (9-11) *Nisi' ari alam gua.*
 EXIST.NEG from inside cave
 'Nothing came out of the cave.'

3) The referent is associated with another referent in discourse or context (see Payne 1997:264 for this). In (9-12) below, *padung* 'attic' is directly identifiable due to its being part of the house intended in the story. Similarly, *apay* 'father' in (9-13) is due to its association with the addressee:

- (9-12) *Ia N-tiki' ka ataw padung.*
 3s ACT-climb to upper.part attic
 'He climbed up to the attic.'
- (9-13) *Dini apay wih?*
 where father wih
 '(I am wondering) Where is your father?'

9.1.2 Referentiality

Referentiality and identifiability are similar but not identical to each other (Payne 1997:264). Payne notes two general understandings of referentiality: objective and discourse referentiality. Objective referentiality is concerned with whether a particular (individuated) entity in the real or imaginary world (e.g. in the speaker's mind) is referred to, and is thus referential, or whether the entity is designated as generic or non-specific, and thus non-referential.² Definite (or identifiable) entities are most commonly referential (cf. Givón 2001a:441). Thus, the grammatical marking of an identifiable entity explained in 9.1.1 above also encodes the entity as (objectively) referential. Unlike objective referentiality, discourse referentiality deals

² Cf. Givón's usage of the terms "referring" vs. "non-referring" (see Givón 2001, Ch. 10).

with the continuing presence of a referent in subsequent discourse. Below I will describe how the referentiality status of an entity is typically coded in Mualang.

a. Marking of “generics”

The non-specificity (or referential status) of an entity may be implied by the use of the numeral prefix *se-* as mentioned in 9.1.1 above. On the other hand, if the generic meaning of an entity is intended, making it non-referential and non-identifiable (in the sense that it is not individuated), then the nominal referent is coded in several ways:

- appearing unmarked:

- (9-14) *Ku aday, da-any'ung apay-inay ku ka alam babas.*
 1s exist PASS-escort father-mother 1s to inside forest
 ‘(When) I was born, I was thrown away by my parents into the forest.’

- (9-15) *Beram tu' da-pulah ari beras pulut.*
 k.o.alcohol TOP PASS-make from rice glutinous.rice
 ‘*Beram*, is made from *pulut* rice.’

- appearing in plural forms, by reduplication (9-16), compounding (9-17), or with “indefinite” quantifiers such as *uga* ‘all’, *keban* ‘all kinds of’, *bala* ‘many/much (in a large group)’ (9-18):

- (9-16) *Nurut urang-urang tuay kelial tih, ...*
 according.to person-RED old past.time tih
 ‘According to the old people of the past, ...’

- (9-17) *M'ih tay mpu tapang-lalaw.*
 2s REL have k.o.big.tree-k.o.big.tree
 (Said to a god) ‘You who have all (big) trees.’

- (9-18) *Mayuh tay da-tam'ak dia', jenis bala nsawi, ...*
 many REL PASS-plant there kind many Chinese.cabbage
 ‘Many that are planted there (in the field), all kinds of Chinese cabbage’

- appearing unmarked as unspecified objects of habitual activities or certain activities usually associated with those objects (as in antipassive constructions, see Chapter 7), e.g.:

- (9-19) *Agi' N-getah burung.*
 still ACT-sticky.sap.of.plant bird
 ‘He is trapping birds with sticky sap.’

- (9-20) *Urang ba-bunuh babi-manuk ba-pulah jimut.*
 person ANPAS-kill pig-chicken ANPAS-make k.o.snack
 ‘People do/did pig-chicken-killing and *jimut* making (at the party).’

b. Existentials and referentiality

While the use of the prefix *se-* introduces the appearance of an indefinite entity into discourse, the existential-presentative construction *aday* NP,³ on the other hand, asserts the existence of a first-time-mentioned entity. Therefore, the NP referent is referential and normally appears unmarked in this construction. The indefiniteness of the NP of an *aday* construction may (but does not have to) be explicitly expressed by the use of the prefix *se-* and the relevant classifier, e.g.:

- (9-21) *Dulaw tih, N-pin'ah lubang kubur ... nurut*
 before *tih* ACT-move hole grave according.to

ke-pecaya' urang Mualang, aday s-iku' nsia
 NOM-believe person M exist ONE-CLASS human

mati da kampung
 die LOC village
 ‘In former times if people changed a grave (and left the one that had been opened), according to the belief of the Mualang, somebody would die in the village’

9.1.3 Anaphoric reference

A separate extensive discourse study is needed regarding the semantic and pragmatic considerations that determine the speaker's choice of a particular anaphoric device. Although the texts examined seem to indicate that grammatical relations *subject* and *object*, and types of voice construction, are also involved, it is not yet entirely clear how relevant they are in this respect. In this section I shall merely list all grammatical devices commonly used in Mualang for anaphoric reference. The term anaphoric reference has to do with ways of referring back to a coreferential antecedent in the preceding clause(s). Mualang employs the following three grammatical devices for this purpose:⁴

1. Pronouns
2. Definite full-NPs
3. Zero anaphora

Mualang has only independent pronouns, which are discussed in Chapter 4. The term “definite full-NPs” will be used to characterize the re-appearance of an NP in its full form, with or without an overt definite marker (e.g. a demonstrative, see 9.1.1 above). This includes a personal name. Zero anaphora is “zero”-referencing of a

³ For the presentative-existentials and their examples, the reader is referred to section 6.6.3 of Chapter 6.

⁴ Such devices are well documented cross-linguistically in Givón (2001, Chapter 9).

coreferential antecedent, i.e. by deletion of the referent in subsequent discourse (for the sake of convenience, in the following examples [Ø] is used to mark zero anaphora). The excerpt of a narrative in (9-22) below will first be used to show some situations in which all these three devices are employed:

- (9-22) (1) *Aday kisah urang tuay kelia' tih, kisah*
 exist story person old old.time tih story
mula-mula menua tu' da-pulah urang.
 beginning-RED world this PASS-make person
 'There is a story from our ancestors from olden times, a story of
 how this world was made in the beginning.'
- (2) *Jadi, kisah urang tuay N-padah menua tu'*
 So story person old ACT-say world this
da-tempa' Burung Tempa'.
 PASS-forge Bird Forge
 'So, the story from our ancestors said that this world was forged
 by the Forging Bird.'
- (3) *Nti' masa tu' mah, Tuhan ti N-pulah dunia.*
 if time this mah Lord REL ACT-make world
 '(But) now, (we know) it was God who made the world.'
- (4) *Ulih kisah urang tuay kita Mualang, Burung*
 but story person old 1p.incl M Bird
Tempa'. Jadi Burung Tempa' N-tempa' tanah,
 Forge so bird forge ACT-forge earth
 [Ø] N-tempa' langit, [Ø] N-tempa' apa
 [Ø] ACT-forge sky [Ø] ACT-forge what
semua tay aday.
 all REL exist
 'But (according to) the story of our Mualang ancestors, it
 was the Forging Bird. Thus, the Forging Bird forged the earth,
 forged the sky, forged all that exists.'
- (5) *Keban tanam, keban kayu, rumput, ikan, jelu,*
 all.kind plant all.kind wood grass fish animal
burung, semua da-tempa' ia, sampay ia
 bird all PASS-forge 3s until 3s
N-tempa' nsia.
 ACT-forge human

‘All kinds of plants, all kinds of trees, grass, fishes, animals, birds, all were forged by him, until he forged men.’

- (6) *Jadi mula ia N-tempa' nsia tih, kisah,*
so beginning 3s ACT-forge human *tih* story

da-tangkal uwi sega', [Ø] da-tegah.
PASS-cut rattan k.o.rattan [Ø] PASS-startle
‘Thus, in the beginning he forged men, so the story goes, he cut some *sega'* rattan, (and then) startled it.’

- (7) [Ø] *Da-tegah, [Ø] ketawa' ka ketawa',*
[Ø] PASS-startle [Ø] laugh to laugh

[Ø] *nitaw' jadi nsia.*
[Ø] can't become human
‘Being startled, it laughed and laughed, (but) couldn't become a man.’

- (8) *Baru' ia ba-pikir: "N-pulah tanah," jaku' ia.*
then 3s ANPAS-think ACT-make soil say 3s
‘Then he thought: “(I) make (them from) soil,” he said.’

- (9) *Baru' ia N-pulah tanah. [Ø] Da-bentuk,*
then 3s ACT-make soil [Ø] PASS-shape

[Ø] *pulah tubuh, pulah kaki-jari, pulah mata-mua,*
[Ø] make body make foot-hand make eye-face

idung-nyawa, pen'ing-telinga.
nose-mouth ear-ear
‘Then he made (the human being from) soil. It was shaped by creating a body, creating feet and hands, creating eyes and face, nose and mouth, (and) ears.’

- (10) *Da-tegah, baru' [Ø] jadi nsia idup.*
PASS-startled then [Ø] become human alive
‘(When) it was startled, then it became a living human being.’

- (11) *S-iku' da-pulah ia, nama ia Am'un Menurun.*
ONE-CLASS PASS-make 3s name 3s A M

S-iku' ti in'u' nama Pukat Bengawan.
ONE-CLASS REL female name P B
‘One was made by him, his name was Am'un Menurun. The other one that was female was named Pukat Bengawan.’

- (12) *Jadi, Am'un Menurun aba' Pukat Bengawan tu', nya'*
 so A M and P B TOP that
mula-mula nsia ti aday di menua tu'.
 beginning-RED human REL exist LOC world this
 'Thus, Am'un Menurun and Pukat Bengawan, those were
 the first human beings in this world.'

In the first three clauses in (9-22) above several participants are introduced in the story, e.g., *kisah urang tuay kelias* 'the story of the old people of olden times', *menua tu* 'this world', *urang* 'person' in (1); *Burung Tempa* (2); and *Tuhan* 'Lord' in (3). The participants are referred to by means of NPs (including names). Then, in (4) the full-NP *Burung Tempa* is used due to its being relatively distant after its first mention in (2). Starting from (4), and continuing to (11), the *Burung Tempa* is established as the topic or the central character in that part of the story. This is one typical use of the full-NP, as seen also in (12), in which the full-NP *Amun Manurun aba' Pukat Bengawan* 'AM and PB' is used in order to become the topic in the subsequent part of the story.

In (4) zero anaphora is used to anaphorically refer to *Burung Tempa*. The zero anaphora is used when the clauses are still within a "clause-chain" and there is grammatical subject continuity, i.e. *Burung Tempa*. It is also seen in (6) where the zero refers to *uwi sega* 'rattan sega', which is also the subject of the immediate following clause within the same clause-chain. Example (7) also illustrates the same situation.

Grammatical subject and object may be zero. In (6), for example, the zero subject of *da-tegah* 'PASS-startle' is governed by the subject of the preceding clause, whereas in (9), it is the object of the preceding clause that governs the zero subject of *da-bentuk* 'PASS-shape' in the following clause. A zero object is exemplified in (9-23) below, where it is coreferential with the *ntawa* 'tree' mentioned in the previous clauses:

- (9-23) "...*aday buah ntawa' d=ataw nyin. Buh,*
 exist fruit k.o.fruit LOC=above that.over.there come.on
kita N-tiki' [Ø] ah!" Tiki' sida' ntawa' tih.
 1p.incl ACT-climb [Ø] ah climb 3p ntawa' tih
 '... there's a *ntawa* 'fruit up there. Let's climb (it)!' (So), they climbed
 the *ntawa* 'tree.'
- (9-24) *Jadi, asa aday maram tu' anyut da-peda'*
 so whenever exist k.o.fruit this swept.away PASS-see
kita', datay kin, aa, siap dih kita' N-serang [Ø].
 2p come thither.far well ready dih 2p ACT.attack [Ø]

‘Thus, whenever you see *maram* fruits being swept away (on the river), go there, ah, be ready to attack (them).’

Further study is needed to thoroughly examine how relevant the grammatical relations (subject, object) are in controlling zero anaphora.

Pronouns are used, among others, in the following situations:

- 1) when the referent is the topic in the subsequent clause(s), e.g., in (9-22) above, starting from (4), until (11), *ia* ‘3s’ refers to *Burung Tempa*’ which is the topic;
- 2) when there is a “reference-switch” from one clause to another, e.g., in (5) in the first clause *keban tanam* ‘all kinds of plants’, etc. is the subject of the clause and then it changes to *ia* ‘3s’ in the second clause; and
- 3) when there is a change in the “theme” of the story, usually displayed by different clauses (marked by a period), e.g. as shown in a change of theme in (6) and (7) to (8); in (6) and (7) the story is about creating men from rattan, then it changes to making soil to create human beings.

9.2 Focus articulation

The term “focus” has been used in literature with different intentions. What is meant here is that, in a focus articulation, a special device is used to “highlight” some part of the clause (which may be the entire clause or a particular constituent) as pragmatically marked. This “focused part” is presumed to be unknown to the hearer, hence carrying some pragmatic nuances. The other part that is presupposed (or presumed to be familiar) is not marked. (Cf. Andrews 1985:79-80; Payne 1997, Chapter 10; Givón 2001a, b).⁵ Mualang employs the following devices to mark focus: contrastive stress (9.2.1), fronting (9.2.2), cleft constructions (9.2.3), and *aday*-focus (9.2.4), each of which is explained below.

9.2.1 Contrastive stress

The basic (pragmatically unmarked) word order is S-V-O-Oblique (time, place, instrument, etc.). More than one oblique constituent can appear in the clause, and there is a tendency for the one carrying “new information” to be expressed towards the end of the clause, e.g.:

- (9-25) *Ia ka' datay ditu' pagi.*
 3s want come here tomorrow
 ‘He wants to come here *tomorrow*.’

⁵ Many labels have been used for various types of focus-marked constructions, among others ‘focus of assertion’ and ‘contrastive focus’ (Givón 2001a, b); ‘focus-presupposition articulation’ (Andrews 1985:79). Payne’s (1997) description in general covers most of them.

- (9-26) *Ia ka' datay pagi ditu'.*
 3s want come tomorrow here
 'He wants to come tomorrow *here*.'

In this basic word order, a marked stress can be used to mark a particular constituent or part of it (e.g., auxiliary, attribute) *in situ* as “focused”, involving no change in word order (cf. “fronting” below). The focused part gets more stressed (with relative loudness and high pitch, which may be accompanied with a longer duration) compared to the “unfocused part” of the clause. This is similar to the so-called “contrastive stress”. Contrastive stress (and also cleft constructions – see 9.2.3 below) always involves “a strong assumption of hearer’s contrary belief” (Givón 2001b:225). For example, in example 4 (*Burung Tempa*’ of the clause ‘*BURUNG TEMPA*’ *N-tempa*’ *tanah*’ (S-V-O) is given contrastive stress. It was made to contrast with *Tuhan* in example 3, in order to emphasize that contrary to the hearer’s belief, the Bird was indeed believed by the older people as the creator. An example of verb (or predicate) focus is shown in example 2 of (9-22), in which *da-tempa*’ ‘PASS-forged’ was stressed for contrast with *da-pulah* ‘PASS-make’ in example 1. The reason was to emphasize the way the world was made. Contrastive stress focusing on the object, the attribute of the instrumental prepositional phrase and the auxiliary are shown in (9-27), (9-28) and (9-29) below, respectively. In (9-27) the hearer thought he heard someone calling him (the speaker), and the speaker corrected him by stressing *m’ih* in order to emphasize that it was the hearer that was called (yelled at) instead of him. In (9-28), in a situation where someone was caught doing something bad, the traditional fine was to kill a BIG pig, not an ordinary size pig. Thus, a contrast in size was made in order to anticipate the hearer’s incorrect assumption or ignorance. In (9-29) *nitaw*’ ‘can’t’ was emphatically stressed to emphasize how imperative the rule was.

- (9-27) *Ia N-kumay m’ih.*
 3s ACT-call 2s.masc
 ‘He’s calling to **you**!’ (not me)
- (9-28) *Arus da-tebus ngaw babi besay.*
 must PASS-redeem with pig big
 ‘It must be redeemed with a **big** pig.’ (not with an animal of a different kind and size)
- (9-29) ... *urang diri’ menyadi’ nitaw’ jadi ba-laki-bini.*
 person self sibling can’t become ANPAS-husband-wife
 ‘... persons who are each other’s siblings **can’t** be married to each other.’

9.2.2 Fronting

“Fronting-focus” involves placing a focused constituent in the initial position of the clause which is not its “normal” position in the basic word order. Oblique constituents, notably those of time- and place-adverbs, are more flexible in that they

may appear in the middle of the clause. However, primary focus is on the left-most constituents. Loudness, pitch and duration of word stress which occurs in fronting is less outspoken than with contrastive stress. The main fronting possibilities for constituents in various voice construction types are shown below. (Note that in each voice construction type, the grammatical subject is the topic of the clause and occupies clause-initial position, but it is not focused pragmatically. Rather the entire clause in its basic word order (S-V-O-Oblique) is pragmatically neutral. For subject-focusing, a cleft construction (see 9.2.3 below) can be used; whereas for the non-subject constituents, such as V, O, or Oblique, focus is indicated by fronting).

- Simple stative:

- (9-30) a. *Kita' datay kitu'.* (= SV, basic order)
 2p come here
 'You all came here.'
- b. "*Datay kita' kitu'!*" *Datay sida' ia' jara'.*
 come 2p here come 3p that jara'
 (= verb-fronting)
 "Come here you all!" (And) **come** they did.' (It was a surprise that they (i.e. the animals) listened to the speaker and did come forward)

- Active voice:

- (9-31) a. *Ku N-lawan ia.* (= SVO, basic order)
 1s ACT-enemy 3s
 'I fight with him.'
- b. *Baru' udah bala N-tebang, aday panas,*
 then PERF all.kind ACT-slash exist hot
N-tunu mah urang. (= VS, verb-fronting)
 ACT-burn mah person
 'Then after having slashed all (the trees), (when) it is the hot season, it is **burning** that the people do.'
- c. "*Ku aja' naday mampu N-iga' akal*
 1s only NEG be.able ACT-look.for device
N-lawan Aji Kum'ang. Ku, ia=m, naday mampu
 ACT-oppose haji K 1s 3s=m NEG be.able
ku N-lawan, ti kebukay ta'luk uga' ulih ku."
 1s ACT-oppose REL other subject.to all by 1s
 (= OV, object fronting)

“I myself wasn’t able to find a way to fight against Aji Kum’ang. As for me, it is only against **him** that I wasn’t able to fight, the others have all been beaten by me.”

- Passive voice:

- (9-32) a. *Uwi sega’ da-tangkal.* (= SV, basic order)
 rattan k.o.rattan PASS-slash
Sega’ rattans were cut.’

- b. *Jadi mula ia N-tempa’ nsia tih, kisah,*
 so beginning 3s ACT-forged human tih story

da-tangkal uwi sega’, da-tegah.
 PASS-slash rattan k.o.rattan PASS-startle
 (= VS, verb-fronting)

‘Thus, in the beginning he forged men, so the story goes, he **cut** some *sega’* rattans, **startled** them.’

- Inverse voice:

- (9-33) a. *Ntawa’ sida’ tiki’.* (= PAV, basic order)
 k.o.tree 3p climb
 ‘The *ntawa’* they climbed.’

- b. “*Aday buah ntawa’ d=ataw nyin. Buh*
 exist fruit *ntawa’* LOC=top that.over.there come.on

kita N-tiki’!” Tiki’ sida’ ntawa’.
 1p.incl ACT-climb climb 3p *ntawa’*
 (= VAP, verb-fronting)

“‘There’s a *ntawa’* fruit up there. Let’s climb (it).” (So) **climb** they did the *ntawa’* tree.’

The possible word order variations have been touched upon in Chapter 7 in relation to the structural difference between the voice construction types. Here their pragmatic functions are focused on. One significant difference between “fronting-focus” and “contrastive focus” is that the former does not function to “correct” the hearer’s belief. In most cases with fronting, the speaker redirects or reconfirms the hearer’s attention toward the importance of the fronted element, e.g. in verb-fronting as in the (b)-clauses of (9-30 – 9-33), the event itself (rather than the subject or object) being highlighted. In (9-30b) and (-33b) the accomplishment of the event is spotlighted. The part of the story in (9-32b) speaks about the process of creating men, and so the order VS – instead of SV – (*datangkal uwi sega’*) is used to highlight HOW it was done. Similarly, (9-31b) is about the process of working the rice field, hence verb-fronting is used. In (9-31c), the topic of the clauses is *ku* ‘1s’; however, in the second clause it is the fronted-object *ia=m* ‘3s=m’ that gets focused

(enforced also with an illocutionary marker ‘=m’, see 9.4.13 below) in order to highlight it in comparison with another referent in the following clause.

The fronting of non-core arguments is exemplified below:

- (9-34) “*Di’ N-tung’u’ ditu’*.” ... *Dia’ ia N-tung’u’*.
 2s.fem ACT-wait here there 3s ACT-wait
 (= location-fronting)
 ‘“You wait here.”... (And) **there** she waited.’
- (9-35) *Kami malam tu’ ka’ ba-pinta’*. (= time-fronting)
 1p.excl night this FUT ANPAS-ask
 ‘**Tonight** we’re going to make a (wedding) proposal.’
- (9-36) *Ngaw Bujang Jat naday kelupa ku N-ucap trima-kasih*.
 for brother J NEG forget 1s ACT-say thanks
 (= benefactive-fronting)
 ‘**To Brother Jat** I don’t forget to say thanks.’

9.2.3 Cleft constructions

A nominal constituent of a clause can also be focused by separating it from the rest of the clause with a regular *tay*-relative clause (see Chapter 10 on relative clauses). The structure of such a “cleft construction” is as follows:

- (9-37) NP₁ [\emptyset_1 ...]_{tay-Relative clause}

Although formally rather similar, cleft constructions differ from relative constructions, in that they are complete clauses on their own (signaled by a falling clause-final intonation), whereas relative constructions are not. The relativized NP is not realized in the relative clause (indicated by zero (\emptyset_1) for the “gap”). This \emptyset_1 is coreferential with the clefted NP (=NP₁). Since Mualang only permits subject relativization, the \emptyset_1 pertains only to subjects; in other words, clefting in Mualang is restricted only to subjects. In addition, it is only NP₁ that (optionally) gets contrastive stress, which proves that NP₁+ relative clause is not a single NP and that the relative clause is a headless relative clause. Example 3 in (9-22) contains a cleft construction, presented again below in (9-38b):

- (9-38) a. *Tuhan N-pulah dunia*. (= simple active clause)
 Lord ACT-make world
 ‘God made the world.’
- b. *Nti’ masa tu’ mah, [Tuhan] [ti N-pulah dunia]*.
 if time TOP mah Lord REL ACT-make world
 [NP₁] [\emptyset_1 ...]_{Relative clause}
 ‘(But) now, (we know) it was God who made the world.’

Other examples:

- (9-39) a. *Tu' da-beri' sida'.* (= passive clause)
 this PASS-give 3p
 'This was given by them.'
- b. *Tu' tay da-beri' sida'.* (= clefting of passive subject)
 this REL PASS-give 3p
 'It's this that was given by them.'
 (*This (thing) that was given by them ...)
- (9-40) a. *Nya' pemenaw' ku.* (= equative clause)
 that knowledge 1s
 'That is what I know.' (lit. 'That is my knowledge.')
- b. *Nya' ti pemenaw' ku udah.*
 that REL knowledge 1s udah
 (= clefting of subject of equative clause)
 'It's that which is what I know.' (lit. 'That which is my knowledge.')

Apparently the clefted topic-subjects in the above examples imply a contrast. In (9-38b) for instance, *Tuhan* 'Lord' is contrasted with *Burung Tempa*' (see 9-22 above for context); in (9-39a) *tu* 'this' is stressed for it is only that thing that was given and not anything else that could have been given. Similarly in (9-40b), what the speaker knew was that that is what has been told, and nothing else which could be imagined.

Structurally, a cleft construction constitutes a type of predicate nominal construction (cf. Payne 1997:278), which enables a change in word order (a typical operation of a predicate nominal construction, see Chapter 6). In the reversed order a pause is clearly heard in between the relative clause and the NP, and the construction may seem to resemble the so-called "pseudo-cleft" in English:

- (9-41) [\emptyset_1 ]_{tay-Relative clause} NP₁

Some examples of reversed cleft constructions or "pseudo-clefts":

- (9-42) *Tay N-gusung Janta menyadi' Gegura.*
 REL ACT-go.after J sibling G
 'The ones who followed J (i.e. the descendants of J) were the siblings of Gegura.'
- (9-43) *A, baru' tay ke-tiga "tuntun mata".*
 well then REL ORD-three guide eye
 'So, then the third one is "guiding (your) eyes".'

In contrast to the cleft construction, the “pseudo-cleft” is “cataphoric”, that is, it is often used to stress something that has not been mentioned by the speaker and is thus supposedly unknown by the hearer. So the focused-element is not anaphoric as it is in the “regular” cleft type. In “pseudo-cleft” construction the focused element is going to be discussed in the following discourse and here the speaker is appealing to the hearer’s attention for the first time. It is interesting to note that the NP focused with the “pseudo-cleft” has the potential to be the topic in the subsequent discourse. *Gegura* in (9-42) and *tuntun mata* in (9-43) are in fact what the next several clauses are about.

As a final note, recalling the discussion in 6.1.2 of Chapter 6, cleft constructions can also be used to express a superlative meaning, in which the typical contrastive function of the cleft constructions is still apparent, that is, by contrasting the clefted element with other possible referents, such as in: *ia tay ting’i’ da kampung tu’* (3s-REL-tall-LOC-village-this) ‘He’s the tallest (person) in this village’ (compared to other people).

9.2.4 *Aday-focus*

Besides being used in existentials (see 6.3 in Chapter 6), *aday* ‘exist’ functions also as a focus particle. This idea of the existential particle functioning as a focus device has been noticed in Payne (1997:268) for Indonesian *ada* ‘exist’. As Payne suggests, it asserts a “truth-value focus” of the entire clause (not of a particular constituent), countering the assumed presupposition that questions the truth value of the entire clause. This is true for Mualang as well and is commonly used, e.g.:

- (9-44) *Aw’, Bang!⁶ Aday lah ku N-padah ka ia.*
 well Brother exist lah 1s ACT-say to 3s
 ‘Well, Brother! I **did** tell (it to) him.’

- (9-45) a. *Nisi’ m’ih b-ulih burung. Nisi’*
 EXIST.NEG 2s.masc ANPAS-get bird EXIST.NEG

ku N-peda’ m’ih ngeN-bay’ burung.
 1s ACT-see 2s.masc ACT-bring bird
 ‘It is not (true) that you got birds. It is not (true) that I saw you bring birds along.’

 b. *Tadi’ tih ku aday b-ulih burung.*
 a.while.ago tih 1s exist ANPAS-get bird
 ‘A while ago I **did** get birds.’

Aday-focus asserts that an event really took place in order to overcome the hearer’s disbelief (as in 9-45b), or his doubt (as in 9-44). It is interesting to note that the existential negative *nisi’* is used in the same way to negatively counter presuppositions (as in 9-45a).

⁶ *Bang* ‘brother’ is a Malay borrowing.

To sum up the discussion above, all grammatical devices used in Mualang to mark focus are displayed again in Table 9.1 below:

Table 9.1: *Focus articulation devices in Mualang*

	Focused element	Pragmatic function
Contrastive stress	any constituent in the basic neutral word order (<i>in situ</i>)	To contrast the focused element with some other assumed to be in the hearer's mind.
Fronting	non-subject	Direct the hearer's attention to the importance of the focused element.
Cleft	subject	To contrast the entity referred to by the subject with some other entity supposed to be in the hearer's mind.
<i>Aday</i> -focus	predicate or entire clause	To emphasize the truth value of the event.

9.3 Marked-topic articulation

Andrews (1985:77) explains “topic” as follows: “In topic-comment articulation there is usually one NP, the topic, which indicates what the sentence is about. The remainder of the sentence, the comment, provides information about the topic.” A NP argument becomes a topic usually due to its being pragmatically important. Andrews proposed two principal kinds of topics: ‘expected topic’ and ‘switch topic’. With the former, the topicality of the referent is “predictable from the immediately preceding discourse” (op.cit.:78), whereas with the latter it is not. In Mualang the expected topic is normally expressed via the grammatical subject NP of various voice constructions (i.e. active, passive, inverse, see Chapter 7). However, expected-topic articulation with such voice constructions is not “marked” functionally. Marked-topic constructions, which may involve a “switch-topic”, are typically associated with such constructions as ‘left-/right-dislocation’, “topicalization”, etc. (cf. Andrews 1985, Foley and Valin 1985, Givón (2001a, b)).⁷ In what follows, major constructions with such a functionally marked-topic will be described as employed in Mualang. They are: left-dislocation with *tu*’ or a pause (9.3.1), right-dislocation (9.3.2), *aday*-existential-presentative (9.3.3), and *nti*’-preposing (9.3.4).

9.3.1 Left-dislocation with *tu*’ or a pause

Dislocation refers to “the placing of a clause element outside the syntactic boundaries of the clause” (Payne 1997:273). In Mualang, the boundary is normally indicated by a particular intonation contour (see below). In left-dislocation, the topicalized element is preposed to the left of the boundary. Mualang frequently utilizes two strategies for this, namely with the topic marker *tu*’ (originally a demonstrative meaning ‘this’), and simply with a *pause*. I will refer to the topicalization with *tu*’ simply as “*tu*’-topicalization” and refer to that with a pause as

⁷ In Givón’s terms, such switch-topic constructions function to code ‘discontinuous topics’ (2001b:254). Analogically, the ‘expected topics’ may be associated with ‘continuous topics’.

“*pause*-topicalization”. Both of them create a “gap” in the clause. There are two formal differences between them: 1) in the *tu*’-topicalization the topic marker *tu*’ is usually stressed with a rising intonation contour whereas in the *pause*-topicalization the only or final word (if more than one word) of the dislocated part is typically pronounced with a rising intonation followed by a short pause; 2) in the *tu*’-topicalization, there is no resumptive pronoun in the clause, whereas in the *pause*-topicalization a resumptive pronoun is often present (except in the case of zero anaphora, as in (9-53)). As a result, the topicalized element in *pause*-topicalization is extracausal, i.e. the topicalized element is not a constituent of the clause that contains a comment about it. The following examples are presented for illustration (the topicalized element is underlined):

9.3.1.1 *tu*’-topicalization:

- (9-46) *Baru’ ilang kisah ia’ tih, aday kisah Antu. Antu ia’*
 then lost story that *tih* exist story ghost ghost that

*Raja Sua nama. Jadi, Raja Sua tu’ (*ia) N-asu.*
 king S name so R S TOP (*3s) ACT-hunt

N-asu ka kampung Ke-panyay-panyay ia
 ACT-hunt to dense.forest NOM-long-RED 3s
 ‘Then, after that story, there was a story of a ghost. That ghost was named King Sua. **So, this King Sua, he went hunting.** (He) went hunting in the jungle After a long time he’

- (9-47) *Beram tu’ (*nya’) da-pulah ari beras*
 k.o..alcohol TOP (*that) PASS-make from rice

pulut.
 glutinous.rice
 ‘**Beram** (that) is made from sticky rice.’

- (9-48) *Beruang aba’ kekura’ tu’ (*seniku’) ba-kawan.*
 bear and turtle TOP (*2d) ANPAS-friend

Seniku’ ba-jalay
 2d ANPAS-road
 ‘The bear and turtle (they) made friends. Both of them walked’

9.3.1.2 *pause*-topicalization:

- (9-49) *Sida’ ... Buwi Nasi tu’ ka’ ba-dua’*
 3p B N TOP FUT ANPAS-divide.(PREC)

arta Aw’, waktu ka’ ba-bagi ia’, Raja Sua.
 wealth well time FUT ANPAS-divide that R S

nama s-igi' antu jara', taw' ia bada'
 name ONE-CLASS ghost jara' know 3s bada'
 'Those Buwi Nasi people, they were going to divide up wealth
 Well, when they were going to divide it up, **King Sua**, so it is with a
 ghost, **he** knew it'

- (9-50) *Ku tu', semua urang ditu' ta'luk uga' ka ku.*
 1s this all person here subjected.to all to 1s

Cuma ti di ulu menua kami tu'=m,
 only REL LOC upstream country 1p.excl this=m

Aji Kum'ang, [ia=m, ku naday mampu N-lawan ia.]
 haji K 3s=m 1s NEG be.able ACT-oppose 3s
 'As for me, all people here are submitted to *me*. It's only the one in the
 upstream of our country, Haji Kum'ang, **him**, I wasn't able to fight
 against.'

- (9-51) *M'ih, ia' salah!*
 2s.masc that wrong
 'As for you, that's wrong (of you).'

- (9-52) *Ba-kerja, ku naday N-inyaw urang.*
 ANPASS-work 1s NEG ask.for.help person
 'As for working, I don't rely on others.'

- (9-53) *M'ih, ngapa (m'ih) naday N-inum?*
 2s.masc. why (2s.masc) NEG ACT-drink
 '(As for) you, why don't you drink?'

In sentences such as (9-46 – 9-48), the presence of resumptive pronouns (that refer to the topicalized referent) has not been attested in natural discourse. (The supposed ones in the examples are preceded by an asterisk and parenthesized). The presence of the relevant resumptive pronoun would yield to another function, e.g. as a *pause*-topicalization, rather than a *tu'*-topicalization. The element that can be topicalized in this way is only the grammatical subject of the clause. Typically, the referent of the topicalized constituent is very close, e.g. in the immediate preceding clause (*Raja Sua* in (9-46)), or in context (as in (9-47) where the traditional liquor *beram* was being discussed). By using the topic marker *tu'*, the referent is made highly topical in the subsequent clauses, i.e. there will be something very important the speaker is going to say about the referent, and the speaker is asking for the hearer's attention or

preparing the hearer for this.⁸ *Tu'* is originally a demonstrative 'this'. However, the demonstrative meaning is semantically reduced when functioning as a topic marker. In (9-46) for example, it is "redundant" to interpret *tu'* as a demonstrative, since the referent is so close and easily identified. Nevertheless, it seems that the use of *tu'* as a topic marker which signals a cataphorically important referent is associated with its cataphoric usage as a demonstrative, e.g. as may be seen in the following examples:

- (9-54) *Tu' ku N-padah ka m'ih.*
 this 1s ACT-say to 2s.masc
 'This I'm going to say to you.'

- (9-55) *Baru' tu' ku N-ajar seniku' tu'.*
 then this 1s ACT-teach 2d this
 'Then, this I'm going to teach to each of you.'

In contrast to the *tu'*-topicalization, when the *pause*-topicalization is used, the topicalized element may or may not have a coreferent in the clause. In (9-49), *Raja Sua* is coreferential with the resumptive subject *ia*. In (9-50), *ku tu'* is coreferential with the resumptive benefactive *ku*, and *ia* with the resumptive object *ia*. In (9-51 and 9-52), the topicalized *m'ih* and *bakerja*, respectively, do not have their coreferent as a constituent in the clause. This feature differs from that of the *tu'*-topicalization. In the *pause*-topicalization, an element (an NP or a clause) can be inserted in between the topicalized referent and the rest of the clause, for example in (9-49) the "additional clause" *nama sigi' antu jara'* intervenes the topicalized NP *Raja Sua* and its comment *taw' ia bada'*. Chances for the presence of a resumptive pronoun are high when such an insertion occurs. Another significant difference is that, functionally *pause*-topicalization is used when there is a switch in topic, e.g. when the topicalized referent is distant and is reintroduced. For example, in (9-49) the topic changes from *sida' Buwi nasi* to *Raja Sua*. In (9-50), it changes from *ku* to *Aji Kum'ang*. On the other hand, in *tu'*-topicalization, the topicalized referent typically just appears in the immediate preceding discourse, e.g. in (9-46) *Raja Sua* is made topical right after its presence in the preceding clause.

9.3.2 Right-dislocation

In right-dislocation, the dislocated part is uttered after the clause. There is a pause between the clause and the right-dislocated part. The right-dislocated part is an "afterthought" added by the speaker for some reason after uttering the clause that usually is under focus, e.g. when the speaker realizes that the hearer may not be able to identify the referent being commented on, and so it is "supplied" again. Some examples below exemplify the case:

⁸ In Givón's sense, it could be said that the marker *tu'* cataphorically signals "thematic importance", i.e. the importance of the referent in the subsequent discourse (see Givón 2001b:254 for this term).

- (9-56) *Da-am'i' Putung Empat, jadi mas, ntawa'.*
 PASS-take P K become gold k.o.fruit
 'It (the *ntawa'* fruit) was taken by Putung Empat, becoming gold, the *ntawa'*.'
- (9-57) *Pia', a, laya' jat, seniku'. Salah seniku'.*
 like.that well quarrel bad 2d wrong 2d
 'So is it, well, quarrel is bad, both of you. It was wrong of both of you.'

9.3.3 Aday-existential-presentative

The function of existential-presentative constructions in expressing a topical referent has been well noticed in Givón (2001b, Chapter 16). A similar function is also noticed in Mualang. The *aday*-existential-presentative clause (see 6.3 in Chapter 6) is often used, especially, in opening a story to introduce a new indefinite entity which will be topical in the subsequent clauses: "there is such and such. This such and such is so and so", etc. One example can be seen in (9-22) above, in which *kisah urang tuay kelua'* is introduced and becomes the topic in the following clauses.

9.3.4 Nti'-preposing

The conjunction *nti'* (or *anti'*) 'if' will be discussed in Chapter 10. Here its function as a topicalization device is addressed. In the following examples, the use of *nti'* does not have to do with a "conditional" situation, a typical function of *nti'* as a conjunction; rather it seems to prepose the NP as a topic about which some comments are made.⁹ Also, there is no predicate present except the preposed-NP itself:

- (9-58) *Pia' urang Mualang. Nti' suku bukay, tay laki*
 like.that person M if tribe other REL male
N-pinta'.
 ACT-ask
 'That's what the Mualang are like. In the case of other tribes, the male is the one who does the (wedding) proposal.'
- (9-59) *Nti' di', naday di' salah.*
 if 2s.fem NEG 2s.fem wrong
 (After talking to someone else) 'As for you, you're not wrong.'

The NP-preposing with *nti'* involves a switch-topic in order to make a comparison with another referent. In (9-58), it is between the Mualang and other tribes; in (9-59) it is between *di'* '2s.fem' with someone else.

In Table 9.2 topic articulation devices utilized in Mualang are summarized.

⁹ For the use of conditionals as topics, see, for example, Haiman (1978).

Table 9.2: *Marked topic articulation devices in Mualang*

	Topicalized element	Pragmatic function
<i>tu'</i> -topicalization	subject-NP	Topicalizing a referent in the immediately preceding clause. The referent typically becomes important in subsequent discourse.
<i>pause</i> -topicalization	any element	Involving a switch-topic; the topicalized element is extracausal.
right-dislocation	any NP	The topicalized NP is expressed as an after-thought.
<i>aday</i> -existential-presentative	subject-NP	Presenting a new referent which is important in the subsequent discourse.
<i>nti'</i> -preposing	non-subject NP	Comparing the topicalized referent with some other entity.

9.4 Illocutionary markers

Illocutionary markers are particles that relate the information content of the clause to attitudes (assumptions, motives, feelings, beliefs, expectations, etc.) the speaker has vis-à-vis the content of the clause or with regard to the situation of the speech act. The use of such markers in Mualang is quite common.¹⁰ Most of them are monosyllabic and their scope in the clause can be a particular element (even a conjunction) or the whole clause. Some of them are used along with a focus articulation device (e.g. contrastive stress, fronting) to further highlight the element under focus. Thus, they are not by themselves focus articulation devices; rather, they provide additional information with respect to the speaker's attitudes toward the focused element. With regard to adverbs, the illocutionary markers differ from adverbs in terms of their syntactic distribution and meaning. Syntactically the position of adverbs is typically flexible in the clause and their meaning is rather straightforward, whereas illocutionary markers cannot float in the clause, while they are also more complex semantically.

Below, the most frequently used markers are listed in alphabetical order with a note on their functions. The list is not exhaustive and a more complete study would be needed in the future. Since no exact label may be given to the individual illocutionary particles, throughout this grammar I prefer to simply gloss each of

¹⁰ In fact, such markers are common in many spoken speech forms. Jakartan Jakarta/Betawi Malay has such well-known markers as *dong*, *sih*, *deh*, *nih*, *tuh*, etc. Kridalaksana (1986) categorized such markers as “phatic markers”. Some studies on Western Austronesian languages in which such markers are discussed are Durie (1985) for Achehness, Stoel (2005) for Manado Malay, and Tjia (1994) for Ambonese Malay, which has about 30 such particles.

In my experience, it takes some time for a language learner to “internalize” such illocutionary markers. In practice they can serve as a “criterion” for native speakers to determine whether someone is really emotionally in touch with their language.

them as they are in the English gloss. Preceding each example, some contextual information is provided in square brackets.

9.4.1 *Ah*

Ah, and its variants *eh* and *e'*, are used after a particular element in the clause (which may be clause-final). Its function seems to be very similar to the marker *tih* in that it attempts to bring the hearer's attention to the information in that particular stretch of speech. Some speakers tend to use this marker much more frequently than others.

- (9-60) [The speaker was explaining how to make *lulun*.]
Da-gulay gula gula mirah gula pasir taw'
 PASS-mix sugar sugar red sugar sang can

ngaw N-gulay nyiur ngaw ati lulun,
 for ACT-mix coconut for liver k.o.snack

ngaw isi' ah.
 for content *ah*
 'It is mixed with sugar, palm sugar, (or) granulated sugar can be (used) for blending coconut for the filling of the *lulun*, for its content (you know).'
- (9-61) [The speaker did not see the husband. So the speaker asked the hearer:]
Laki ah kikay?
 husband *ah* where?
 'Where is that husband of yours?'
- (9-62) [The mother was listening to people who were talking. Someone suggested something, and then the mother just agreed with it.]
"Aw' pia' mah dih," jaku' inay ah jara'.
 yes like.that *mah dih* say mother *ah jara'*
 "Yes, just let it be like that," said the mother.'

9.4.2 *Bada'*

Bada' has thus far been found to typically appear after these three verbs: *kasih* 'feel pity', *taw'* 'know', and *nitaw'* 'not know', e.g.:

- (9-63) *Kasih bada', di' tu'!*
 feel.pity *bada'* 2s.fem this
 'Pity on you!'
- (9-64) *Ku nitaw' bada'.*
 1s not.know *bada'*
 'I just don't know.'

9.4.3 Bah

Bah indicates a strong assertion of the preceding element or the whole clause. When giving an opinion or an order, the speaker is very certain and argumentative, preventing the hearer from replying.

- (9-65) [The speaker was giving advice to a couple who was getting married, saying that they could tell their problems to their parents to ask for help.]
Ia' basa kita bah, naday salah kita'.
 that custom 1p.incl bah NEG wrong 2p
 'That is our custom (yes it really is), you would not be wrong.'
- (9-66) [The speaker did not want the hearer to go anywhere.]
Kita' ditu' bah!
 2p herebah
 'You stay here! (I mean it!).'
- (9-67) [The speaker gave birth to an ugly child and angrily complained about it to a god.]
Ngapa bah anak kemua tu'?
 why bah child 1d.excl this
 'What is the matter with our child?' (or: 'Why is our child like this?')

9.4.4 Dih

Dih strongly asserts that an event really has or will have taken place. It is frequently found in verb-fronting constructions V-S in order to emphasize the event under focus. The element that immediately precedes *dih* is usually stressed, that is, pronounced longer, louder and higher in pitch, compared to the other constituents of the clause. It is typically associated with a perfective (past or future) event.¹¹

- (9-68) [The oldest brother was disowned by his parents when he was a baby. When they grew up, his younger siblings did not recognize him. Now he comes to them to introduce himself, but they do not accept him. After they have a fight, he explains what has happened to him.]
Aa, baru' dih ia N-kisah kejadian ia da-buay
 ah then dih 3s ACT-story event 3s PASS-throw.away
- ka darung, da-intu Raja Sua. Ba-sabak dih*
 to valley PASS-take.care king S ANPAS-cry dih
- sida' menyadi', ba-sium-ba-lulum*
 3p sibling ANPAS-kiss-ANPAS-kiss(PREC)

¹¹ The meaning of *dih* is very similar to the marker *deh* of Jakarta/Betawi Malay. Example (9-70), for instance, might be translated in that language as 'Ah, skarang kamu deh!'.

Sida' N-tesal dih.
 3p ACT-regret *dih*
 'It was **then** that he told (them) the story of his being thrown away (by their parents) to the valley, (and) was taken care of by King Sua. Those siblings then **cried out** to each other, kissed each other They really regretted (what they had done).'

In the following example, *dih* is used after the conjunction *baru'* 'then' in order to emphasize that the action of *N-tebang* 'ACT-cut' is carried out only after the event mentioned in the preceding clause has taken place:

- (9-69) [The speaker is explaining the process of opening a forest when doing swidden agriculture]
 ... *udah N-tebas, baru' kita N-nga' ba-ming'u –*
 after ACT-slash then 1p.incl ACT-let ANPAS-week-
ming'u dulaw. Baru' dih kita N-tebang.
 RED first then *dih* 1p.incl ACT-cut
 '... after having slashed, then we leave it for weeks first. Only **then** do we cut them down.'

In (9-70) below, *dih* is used after the second person plural pronoun to emphasize the hearers to comply with the request:

- (9-70) [Ghosts forced several men to drink blood. After having drunk blood, it is now the men's turn to claim the ghosts to drink blood]
"Aa, tu' kita' dih!" Jaku' sida' nsia jara'.
 Ah now 2p *dih* say 3p human *jara'*
 '"Ah, now **you!**", said those humans.'

9.4.5 *Dulaw and law*

Dulaw 'first, earlier' expresses an intention to comply with an action before doing anything else. Although it is clear that *law* is a short form of *dulaw*, the former seems to be more commonly used in invitations or exhortations while the latter is used in both statements and invitations, e.g.:

- (9-71) *N-pakay dulaw/law!*
 ACT-eatfirst
 'Eat first!'
- (9-72) *Ku angkat dulaw bah.*
 1s go first *bah*
 'I'd better just go now.'

9.4.6 *Gena*

Gena normally follows an action. It denotes that the action is merely carried out randomly or without a particular aim in mind (e.g. just for killing time):

- (9-73) *N-peda gena.*
 ACT-see *gena*
 ‘(I am) just seeing around/watching.’
- (9-74) [After having cleared and burnt the field.]
 ... *naday kita’ taw’ teka N-tugal gena, alah*
 NEG 2p can right.away ACT-dibble *gena* must

*ba-pedara*¹² *dulaw.*
 ANPAS- offering.(PREC) first
 ‘... you **can’t** just make holes for planting seeds right away, you must
 make some offerings first.’

9.4.7 *Ja’*

Ja’ may be translated as ‘just’. It usually occurs in declarative and imperative clauses to indicate that nothing more is or should be the case than what is expressed in the preceding sentence constituent.

- (9-75) [The speaker rejected an offer to move to a more comfortable place.]
Ku tin’uk ditu’ ja’.
 1s sleep here *ja’*
 ‘I will just (simply) sleep here.’
- (9-76) [The hearer was served some spicy meals.]
Ah, m’ih naday ngasi N-pakay, sikit ja’ berangat
 ah 2s.masc NEG be.able ACT-eat little *ja’* spicy

nyaw naday betah.
 already NEG like
 ‘Ah, you’re not good at eating, it’s just a bit spicy and you don’t like
 it.’

9.4.8 *Jara’*

Generally *jara’* could mean something like ‘so it is’. In (9-30b) above, *datay sida’ ia’ jara’* can roughly be ‘they just **came** here, so it happened they just did it’. In (9-49), *Raja Sua, nama sigi’ antu jara’* may be ‘the King Sua, so it is with a ghost’. The following sentence is another example:

¹² The formative *pedara’* is related to *dara’*, which is a precategorical form.

- (9-77) [Puyang Gana's brothers were clearing bushes and cutting down trees to make a rice field without first asking his permission. Then he was told by his father-in-law that he should go to his younger brothers and claim his rights.]

Uh, angkat jara' Puyang Gana tu', datay mah
 oh go jara' P G TOP come mah

N-peda' pabat sida'
 ACT-see slash 3p

'Oh, Puyang Gana just (i.e. without waiting or showing any objection) **started off**, he really **came** (following his father-in-law's advice) and saw their cutting (of trees)'

9.4.9 *Kah*

Kah occurs usually in imperatives in order to gently persuade the addressee to comply with a request or command, e.g.:

- (9-78) *Am'i' kah ulih m'ih!*
 take kah by 2s.masc
 'Please, take it with you!'

- (9-79) *Sunyi kah kita'!*
 quiet kah 2p
 'Be quiet, please, you all!'

9.4.10 *Kini*

Kini is placed at the end of interrogative clauses to stress the speaker's wondering, e.g.:

- (9-80) *Dini ia diaw kini?*
 where 3s live kini
 'Where does he live now? (I am wondering)'

- (9-81) *Amat n'a' ka' ujan pagi kini?*
 true not FUT rain tomorrow kini
 'Would it be really raining tomorrow or not? (I am wondering)?'

9.4.11 *Lah*

Lah is used either after a particular element, or it follows the entire clause. By using it, the speaker makes a strong assertion about that element or the entire clause.

- (9-82) [Puyang Gana comes to his younger brothers and tells them he is their oldest brother. The younger brothers do not believe him, since they have never met him before. So, the oldest of the younger siblings says to Puyang Gana in defense:]

Nisi' *tuay ari ku. Ku lah menyadi' tuay kita'.*
 EXIST.NEG old from 1s 1s *lah* sibling old 2p
 'Nobody is older than I am. I am the one who is your oldest brother.'

- (9-83) [Aluy's father would like to "buy death" (i.e. he would like to die). So, the ghosts of the world of the dead decide to pick him up at his house. They say:]
Asa pia', aday kami N-gusung ia lah
 whenever like.that exist 1p.excl ACT-visit 3s *lah*
 'If that is so (i.e. if he really wants to die), we will surely visit him then'

Note that the use of *lah* in (9-82) is very close in meaning to that of a contrastive cleft (that is: *ku TI menyadi' tuay kita'* (1s-REL-sibling-old-1p.excl) 'It's me that is your oldest brother'). However, with *lah*, the speaker did not intend to make a contrast, which is the typical effect of a cleft construction. Instead he simply made a strong claim that he was the oldest brother.

9.4.12 *Lay*

Lay is typically used in asking for a favor, in invitations or exhortations in order to draw the hearer's attention toward what is being asked for:¹³

- (9-84) [I was walking and somebody up there at his house yelled at me:]
N-tiki' lay!
 ACT-ascend *lay*
 'Come up/stop by for a while!'

- (9-85) *Jang, kami ka' N-tanya' m'ih lay.*
 TOA 1p.excl want ACT-ask 2s.masc *lay*
 'Brother, we would like to ask you something.'

- (9-86) [The speaker forgot what he was going to say.]
Ila' lay!
 later *lay*
 '(Wait) a second, please!'

9.4.13 *Mah*

Mah is used with a particular element (e.g. subject, verb, adverb) that is under focus. The element is spotlighted as containing the most important information that the speaker would like the hearer to pay attention to, since there is some particular presupposition or assumption related to it. The element under focus usually gets more stressed (i.e. pronounced longer in duration and higher in pitch). In (9-22) example 3 above, *mah* in *Nti' masa tu' mah ...* emphasizes the contrast between

¹³ *Lay* is probably a short form of *ulay* 'a moment, a while'.

masa tu ‘present time’ and *kelia* ‘old time’. Thus, the speaker is making a statement specifically in relation to the *mah*-marked element, that is, to the present time in that example. *Mah* is also realized weaker as [məh ~ mə] and even only as [m]. This latter variant can be syllabic. The full form *mah* (and the weakened realizations [məh ~ mə]) most likely appear in slow, careful speech, whereas the short form *m* is used in rapid speech. Phonologically the form *m* needs a “docking site”. Normally it is cliticized to the preceding word under focus:

- (9-87) [I was speaking with some people when an older man came in. I stood up and offered him my chair. He rejected and wanted me to just sit there:]
Dia ‘=**m**!
 there=*m*
 ‘Just (sit) there!’
- (9-88) [After having told a story, the speaker ends by saying:]
Aw, *gisah udah*=**m** *dih*.
 well story finished=*m* *dih*
 ‘Well, the story really is over.’

If *m* follows a consonant it may become syllabic, unless it is followed by a word beginning with a vowel, in which case it becomes phonetically the onset of the next syllable. Yet I consider it an enclitic since it often occurs sentence-finally.

In (9-88) the use of the marker *m* was to make a contrast with the hearer’s (assumed) thought that the story had not yet been finished. The marker *dih* roughly means that “Yes, it really does”. The speaker suddenly made the hearer(s) realize that the story has come to the end by stressing the word *udah* ‘finished’ with a longer and higher intonation contour.¹⁴

9.4.14 *Tih*

Tih seems to carry a deictic sense. By using it, the speaker is trying to keep track or maintain the hearer’s attention to what he/she is focusing on. For this purpose a speaker can even repeat this marker several times within the same clause. Its scope can be over one element (nominal and non-nominal such as adverbs and verbs) or the whole clause. Some of the examples presented above contain *tih*. In (9-22), example 1 begins with *Aday kisah urang tuay kelia* ‘**tih**’, in which *tih* roughly expresses “As it was told, there really existed a story of our ancestors, and this is about that very story”. In (9-22) example 6 *Jadi mula ia nempa nsia* ‘**tih**’, scope of *tih* is the whole clause (thus emphatically referring back to the same information mentioned in the preceding utterance 5). Roughly it says that the speaker is going to talk about “the same event of creating men that was mentioned earlier” and is attracting the hearer’s attention to that topic of the story. In the following two examples, the function of keeping track of the hearer’s attention is also apparent

¹⁴ =*m* followed by *ia* ‘3s’ is pronounced as [mia] with such frequency that it seems to have become a fixed combination. Nonetheless it should syntactically be analysed as =*m* *ia*, for example in: *Baru* ‘*selamat*=*m* *ia* *dih* (then-safe=*m*-3s-*dih*) ‘Then, his life was really saved.’

from the speaker's supplying the hearer with additional periphrastic explanation (the relevant sentence fragments are underlined):

- (9-89) [The speaker was telling a story that Putung Empat suffered from a contagious sickness. Her brothers did not want her to live with them, and so they put her in a big jar and had her be swept away by the river. Now, the speaker tells and focuses on what happens with Putung Empat.]

Jadi kisah Putung Empat tih, ti kena' peN-pedih
so story P K tih REL afflicted NOM-sick

ia' tih, asa malam, ba-ren'am ka ay' ia.
that tih whenever night ANPAS-soak to water 3s
'So, as for the story of Putung Empat (you know), who suffered from the disease (you know), whenever it was night, she let herself soak in the water.'

- (9-90) [The siblings were having meals and drinks.]

Aa, udah ia' tih, udah ba-pakay-ba-inum tu'
Ah after that tih after ANPAS-eat-ANPAS-drink TOP

tih, baru' Putung Empat tu' ngeN-bay'
tih then P K TOP ACT-call

ipar *N-pan'i'*
sibling.in.law ACT-bathe
'Ah, after that (you know), after (they) had have eaten and drunk (you know), then as for Putung Empat, she called her sister-in-law to take a bath'

9.4.15 *Udah-postposing*

Udah (short form: *dah*)¹⁵ as a perfect marker has been described in 8.4.2 of Chapter 8. When used after the verb in verb-fronting constructions, emphasizes the effectuation of the event, e.g.:

- (9-91) [The speaker is explaining what procedure should be followed if a couple would divorce. After such and such things have been fulfilled,]
Sah udah pia'.
valid udah like.that
'(Then) valid it is.'

¹⁵ The form [*udəh*] has also been attested. It seems that this form is a weakening pronunciation of *udah*.

- (9-92) [PG's father-in-law told him that his brothers were dividing up their parents' wealth and convinced him that he should visit them and claim his part. Without objection PG left right away.]
Aw', Angkat udah Puyang Gana tu' tih.
 well go udah P G TOP tih
 'Well, Puyang Gana **did go**.' (i.e. the action of 'going' was really carried out)

9.4.16 *Wih*

Wih involves a feeling or a thought that the speaker seems to ask the hearer to agree with. It is used in all speech acts and has scope either over the preceding constituent or (in clause-final position) the whole clause. Some examples:

- (9-93) [Somebody is writing a letter. She feels that she has written enough and wants to stop.]
Udah lay wih! Nyaw lelak.
 already lay wih already tired
 'It's enough (for now), don't you think? I am already tired.'¹⁶
- (9-94) [The speaker and the hearer are going to cook a chicken.]
Sapa N-bunuh manuk wih?
 who ACT-kill chicken wih
 'Who is going to kill the chicken, you know? (I am wondering who is going to do that, can you think of that?)'
- (9-95) [The speaker begs the hearer not to get angry with him.]
Nang saw ka ku wih!
 don't angry to I wih
 'Don't be angry at me, would you, please?'
- (9-96) [The speaker sees traces of an animal in his garden which has been eating his sugarcanes.]
Aday abi ti N-pakay tebu Apa wih jelu tu'?
 exist trace REL ACT-eat sugarcane what wih animal this
 'There's a trace (of something) eating the sugarcanes What kind of animal was it (would you know)?'

The sense of assertion apparent in *bah* is in contrast with the meaning of *wih*. If *wih* in example (9-94) is replaced by *bah*, the meaning of the proposition becomes a past realis, roughly: "Who was it that killed the chicken?"

¹⁶ The function of *wih* is similar to the use of *ya* in spoken Indonesian or Jakarta Malay, e.g. (9-93) is translatable in Jakartan Malay as '*Udah dulu ya. Udah cape*'.

9.4.17 Double markers

A clause may have two, or even three, illocutionary markers in succession. Some of them usually occupy clause-final position and occur after other markers. They are *ah*, *bah*, *jara'*, and *dih*. In the following examples brackets indicate the scope of each marker.

- (9-97) [[*Padah kah bah*]!
 say kah bah
 ‘Come on tell it, will you (I mean it) ?’
- (9-98) [[*Naday lama' tih jara'*], *urang N-pansa'*.
 NEG long *tih jara'* person ACT-pass
 ‘It didn’t last long (you know), (really), that someone passed.’
- (9-99) [After Aluy’s father had paid the fine, the problem was thought over
 by the ghosts. They accepted the fine and did not demand anything
 else.]
 Baru' [sida' ia' tih] [[pulay mah] dih].
 then 3p that *tih* go.home *mah dih*
 Then, (it happened that) they (those ghosts), really **did** go home.’

For an example of *ah*, see (9-60) above, which has three markers in a row. In (9-97) the speaker stresses the command with *kah* and then adds the marker *bah* to express his being serious about it. In (9-98), the speaker is directing the hearer’s attention to the time (*naday lama'* ‘not long’) after which something happened; and this is reinforced again with the marker *jara'* ‘so it was’. In (9-99), the marker *mah* stresses the cruciality of the action *pulay* ‘go/return home’ and that the ghosts did not do anything else, like staying any longer and demanding something else. The marker *dih* emphasizes that the action is indeed realized.

To summarize the discussion on the illocutionary markers given thus far above, in the following Table 9.3 the markers, their scope and their pragmatic function are listed.

Table 9.3: Illocutionary markers and the speaker’s attitudes

Marker	Scope	Pragmatic function
<i>ah</i>	constituent or entire clause	appealing for attention
<i>bada'</i>	entire clause	emotionally expressive
<i>bah</i>	constituent or entire clause	assertive, high certainty
<i>dih</i>	constituent or entire clause	emphasizing the actuality of the event
<i>dulaw/law</i>	entire clause	prioritizing an event over the other
<i>gena</i>	entire clause	random or aimless action

<i>jara'</i>	entire clause	conclusive (so it is)
<i>ja'</i>	constituent	restrictive
<i>kah</i>	entire clause	pressing for the realization of an action in imperatives
<i>kini</i>	entire clause	expressing one's wondering (in questions)
<i>lah</i>	constituent or entire clause	assertive
<i>lay</i>	entire clause	emphasizing the request for a favor (in invitations or exhortations)
<i>mah/m</i>	constituent	emphasizing the importance of the element under focus
<i>tih</i>	constituent	continued appeal on the hearer's attention
<i>udah</i> (postposing)	verb	emphasizing the effectuation of an event
<i>wih</i>	constituent or entire clause	emotionally expressive, appealing for empathy from the hearer

9.5 Negation

Negative clauses typically present a counter-assertion to some presupposition (Payne 1997:282; cf. also Givón 2001a, Chapter 8). It is because of this function that the discussion of negation is placed here in this chapter on pragmatically-motivated structures. In the current section negative formatives and their functions in Mualang are specifically addressed. Formally, they are all particles, that is, unbounded invariant forms (cf. the definition of negative particles in J. Payne (1985:222)), some of which are (historically) composed of the negative morpheme *ni-* or *n-* and some “basic” form. Most of these basic forms are still recognizable as independent words, either a verb (e.g. a verb of existence and cognition) and an adverb, a modal, or a noun. The form *ni-* appears before the basic forms beginning with a consonant whereas *n-* occurs before a vowel.¹⁷ The individual discussion of the negative particles is presented below.

9.5.1 *Naday*: clausal negation

*Naday*¹⁸ is the standard means for forming a negative clause. It is normally used for “clausal negation”, to negate the entire proposition (in T. Payne’s (1997:282). Alternatively it is comparable to the “standard negation” in J. Payne’s (1985:198) sense. It denies the occurrence of an event (for example (9-52), repeated below as (9-100)) or a situation (9-101); *naday* cannot be used with predicate nominals (9-102). For negating a predicate nominal, the negator *ukay* is used (cf. example (9-109) below). Throughout this grammar *naday* is glossed ‘NEG’.

¹⁷ In view of the typical phonological vowel deletion process occurring on the vowel of CV-prefixes before bases beginning with a vowel (see 2.5 in Chapter 2), it would make sense to propose (a historical) *ni-* as the underlying form that has undergone such a process.

¹⁸ *Naday* is commonly pronounced as *nday* notably among the speakers of the Upstream dialect.

- (9-100) *Ba-kerja. ku naday N-inyaw urang.*
 ANPASS-work 1s NEG ask.for.help person
 'As for working, I don't rely on others.'

- (9-101) *Ia' naday baik.*
 that NEG good
 'That is not good.'

- (9-102) **Ia' naday uma ku.*
 that NEG rice.field 1s
 'That is not my rice field.'

Apparently *naday* is historically derived from *ni-* and *aday* 'exist'. Its meaning 'not exist' is apparent in certain contexts, but in that sense it is marginalized by *nisi* 'existential negative' (see section 9.5.3 below), e.g.:

- (9-103) *Urang miskin mah naday isi'.*
 person poor mah NEG content
 'Poor people (as they are) have nothing.' (Lit. 'Poor person not exist contents')

- (9-104) *Jantung ia naday da dada.*
 heart 3s NEG LOC chest
 'He's very afraid.' (lit. 'His heart does not exist in (his) chest')

The unmarked order of *naday* is S-*naday*-V-(O), as in the above examples. However, it can be fronted for focus to clause-initial position, as in the examples (9-59) and (9-65) above. In these examples, the negative value of the situation is emphasized.

If the verbal predicate is modified by an adverbial expression, the scope of negation applies only to the latter, and not to the predicate. Thus, in (9-105) below, *naday* does not negate the action *ba-jalay* 'walk', since the action did take place; instead it negates the manner adverb *lama* 'long', regardless of its syntactic position.

- (9-105) a. *Sida' naday ba-jalay lama'.*
 3p NEG ANPAS-road long
 'They did not walk long.'
- b. *Sida' ba-jalay naday lama'.*
 3p ANPAS-road NEG long
 'They walked not long.'
- c. *Naday lama' sida' ba-jalay.*
 NEG long 3p ANPAS-road
 'Not long they walked.'

The difference between (105a) and (b, c) is focus. Sentence (a) is neutral, whereas sentences (b) and (c) counter-assert some presupposition on the adverbial expression (e.g. the hearer might think that it would take a longer time for the people to walk).

Naday is also normally used as a plain negative response:

- (9-106) “*Ka’ tin’uk?*” “*Naday.*”
 FUT sleep NEG
 “‘Are you going to go to bed?’” “‘No.’”

9.5.2 *Ukay* ‘no, not’: contrastive negation

Ukay ‘no, not’ (below glossed as CONT.NEG) is best compared with *naday*. The latter negates the performance or occurrence of the event/situation expressed in *verbal* predicates. *Ukay*, on the other hand, does not deal with the truth value of an event/situation, but it rather denies the essence of the negated element supposedly thought of by the hearer. As an illustration, *naday* in (107a) simply denies the occurrence of an event, namely ‘go home’. However, in (b), an event did take place, and *ukay* does not deny its occurrence, but rather it denies that it was that kind of action.

- (9-107) a. *Ia naday pulay.*
 3s NEG go.home
 ‘He did not go home.’
 b. *Ku ukay pulay. (Baru’ ka’ angkat.)*
 1s CONT.NEG go.home just FUT go
 ‘I am not going home. (I am just about to leave).’ [The speaker is passing by; the interlocutor mistakenly thinks he is returning home.]

Given its contrastive function to negate only a particular constituent of the clause, especially nominal elements or those elements behaving like a nominal referent (9-108 – 9-110), as such it is typically used with predicate nominals (9-110):

- (9-108) *Ukay ia’, nya’!*
 CONT.NEG that that
 ‘Not that (one), that one (over there)!’
 (9-109) - *Ia datay kemari’.*
 3s come yesterday
 - *Ukay. Ukay kemari’, tadi’ bah.*
 CONT.NEG CONT.NEG yesterday a.while.ago bah
 - ‘He arrived yesterday.’
 - ‘No, it was not yesterday, it was just a while ago (really).’

- (9-110) *Ia' ukay uma ku.*
 that CONT.NEG rice.field 1s
 'That is not my rice field.' (I do have a rice field, but you mis-identified it)

Because of its contrastive function *ukay* is the appropriate negator for the focused constituent in cleft constructions:

- (9-111) *Ukay urang tay budu, m'ih kediri'.*
 CONT.NEG person REL stupid 2s.masc one's.self
 'It's not others that are stupid, (it's) you yourself.'
- (9-112) *Ukay ia' tay da-beri' sida' ka ku tih.*
 CONT.NEG that REL PASS-give 3p to 1s tih
 'It's not that one that was given to me by them.'

Replacement of *uday* by *naday* in (9-111 and 9-112) would yield an ungrammatical clause.

9.5.3. *Nisi'*: existential negation

Nisi' is historically composed of *ni-* and *isi'* 'content'.¹⁹ It counter-asserts any presupposition involving *aday* (cf. Chapter 6 on existentials and 9.2.4 above on *aday-focus*), which basically includes the following functions:

a) it denies the existence of the referent of the subject of the clause in place or time. In this function, *nisi'* becomes part of the predicate, e.g:

- (9-113) *Inay nisi' da dapur.*
 mother EXIST.NEG LOC kitchen
 'Mother wasn't in the kitchen.'
- (9-114) *Nyaw pitu' rumah panyay nisi' agi'.*
 already like.this house long EXIST.NEG again
 'Nowadays there are no longhouses anymore.'

b) it is used as an inherently negative quantifier (to use Payne's 1985:204 term) and can co-occur with the standard negator *naday* (9-118). It is used preminally, as in (9-115 – 9-116), or in an absolute form, as in (9-117).

- (9-115) *Nisi' urang aba' ia.*
 EXIST.NEG person follow 3s
 'There was nobody who followed her.'

¹⁹ Another typical expression with *isi'* can be seen in the word *bisi'*, from *ba-* + *isi'*, which means, besides 'have contents', 'there is'.

(9-116) *Nisi' apa-apa.*
 EXIST.NEG what-RED
 'There was nothing.' / 'It doesn't matter / it's nothing.'

(9-117) *Nisi' tay kuat ari ku.*
 EXIST.NEG REL strong from 1s
 'There is nobody who is stronger than I am.'

(9-118) *Nisi' urang naday angkat.*
 EXIST.NEG person NEG go
 'No one did not go.' (everyone left)

c) it counter-asserts the kind of presupposition found in "aday-focus" (see 9.2.4) above. It emphatically denies the occurrence of an event, e.g:

(9-119) *Nisi' ku N-peda' m'ih ngeN-bay' burung!*
 EXIST.NEG 1s ACT-see 2s.masc ACT-bring bird
 'There was no such thing as my seeing you bring a bird!'

(9-120) *Urang nisi' taw' N-bantah kita.*
 person EXIST.NEG can ACT-argue 1p.incl
 'Others will not be able to argue with us.'

(9-121) *Tu' menyadi' kula' b-uma, N-pabat-N-tebang,*
 this sibling TOA²⁰ ANPAS-rice.field ACT-slash-ACT-cut

nisi' N-padah, nisi' N-pinta'.
 EXIST.NEG ACT-say EXIST.NEG ACT-ask
 'Now your siblings, my son-in-law, are doing rice field work, slashing and cutting down trees, without telling (you) and asking (for your permission).'

d) it expresses a negative possession:

(9-122) *Nyaw malam, sida' nisi' guris.*
 already night 3p EXIST.NEG matches
 'It was already night, they did not have matches.'

(9-123) *Kera' tu' budu, nisi' akal.*
 long-tailed.macaque TOP stupid EXIST.NEG idea
 'Kera' was stupid, it hadn't any ideas.'

The expression *n'a' bisi'* 'not exist' as in the following example has the same meaning as *nisi'*:

²⁰ A term of address for a son-in-law.

- (9-124) *Diang apay-inay n'a' b-isi' N-padah*
 the.late father-mother not ANPAS-content ACT-say
 'The late father and mother never said (lit. 'not exist say')'

9.5.4 *Nitaw*: 'not know', 'can't', 'may not', habitual inability

Nitaw derives from the combination of *ni-* and *taw* 'know', 'know how', 'can/may'. *Nitaw* is the negation of *taw*; it can be used on its own as a reply. It functions as a negative verb in its own right when meaning 'not know' (9-125), and as a modal auxiliary when conveying other meanings such as 'cannot' (negative ability) 'may not' (negative permissiveness) (9-126) or 'not get used to' (habitual inability) (9-127).

- (9-125) *Ku nitaw' bada'.*
 1s not.know bada'
 'I (just) don't know.'
- (9-126) *M'ih nitaw' angkat.*
 2s.masc can't/may.not go
 'You can't / may not go.'
- (9-127) *Sida' nitaw' ba-laya'.*
 3p HAB.INAB ANPAS-quarrel
 'They don't get used to having quarrels.'

Besides *nitaw*, a "long" form *naday taw* with the same meanings occurs in competition. It seems likely that the long form is used when the negation itself is more emphasized, for example in "*naday*-fronting":

- (9-128) *Asa m'ih da jalay, nitaw' bada' jalay.*
 whenever 2s.masc LOC road not.know bada' way
pinang tu', m'ih pakay isi', kulit m'ih tunu.
 bettlenut TOP 2s.masc eat content peel 2s.masc burn
Naday m'ih taw' tesat.
 NEG 2s.masc can lost
 'Whenever you are on the way and don't know the way, eat this bettlenut and burn its peel. (And) you **can't** get lost.'

In (9-128), the fronted *naday* is more focused and emphasized than its "neutral" form *nitaw* in the preceding clause. Such a use has often been noticed.

9.5.5 *Bedaw* 'not yet'

Bedaw means 'not yet'. It negates the whole clause (9-129) or only a particular constituent, normally an adverb (9-130):

- (9-129) *Padi bedaw muduh.*
 rice not.yet ripe
 ‘The rice has not ripened yet.’
- (9-130) *Bedaw lama’ ia mansang.*
 not.yet long 3s pass
 ‘He passed by not yet long ago.’

9.5.6 *Nang*: imperative negation

Nang ‘don’t’ is used in imperatives (commands, orders, exhortations, etc.). It can constitute an utterance on its own. (See also 9.6.2.2 on prohibitives)

- (9-131) *Nang m’ih k=ili!*
 don’t 2s.masc to=downstream
 ‘Don’t (you) go downstream!’

9.5.7 *Ngay*: ‘not want’

Ngay functions as a negative auxiliary meaning ‘not want’, e.g.:²¹

- (9-132) *S-iku’ ngay N-tamak bubu.*
 ONE-CLASS not.want ACT-enter k.o.fishing.trap
 ‘The other one doesn’t want to come into the fishing trap.’
- (9-133) *Ah, ngay ku.*
 uh, not.want 1s
 ‘Uh, I don’t want.’

9.5.8 *N’a’* ‘(or) not’

N’a’ is a negative auxiliary. Its use is not entirely clear at this stage of my research. However, it seems that it is normally used in an “alternative” negation, such as *nyaw n’a’* ‘already or not’, *bedaw n’a’* ‘not yet or not’, *ngapa n’a’* ‘why not’, e.g.:

- (9-134) *Kati, aday n’a’?*
 how exist not
 ‘How is it, is it there or not?’

²¹ Dunselman (1955) has both *ng’ay* (*nggai* in his spelling) and *ngay* (*ngai*). However, I have not heard the former pronunciation. Ketungau Sesat, another Ibanic variety very close to Mualang, has *ngey*, but one older informant, from the village of Natai Ucong, exaggeratedly pronounced it as *nggey* in casual speech. Another speaker of Ketungau Sesat from the village of Sejirak gave me the form *nggay*. This suggests at least a historical *nggay* or *ng’ay* in Mualang.

- (9-135) *Nyaw n'a' ia datay kin wih?*
 already not 3s come to.there.(far) wih
 'Has he arrived there yet or not (I am wondering)?'
- (9-136) *D=alam pikir sida', ntah agi' n'a' idup.*
 LOC=inside thought 3p not.know still not alive
 'In their hearts they did not know whether she was still alive or not.'
- (9-137) *Aw', N-peda' ia' nsia n'a' nsia.*
 well ACT-see that human not human
 'Well, he saw that (thing) was like a human but not (really) a human.'
- (9-138) *Ku ditu' ngapa n'a' nyamay?*
 Is here why not comfortable
 'Why did I feel uncomfortable here?'

9.5.9 *Ntah*: ignorance

Ntah means 'not know'. It expresses the speaker's or the reported speaker's lack of knowledge regarding something. It also carries a connotation of indifference and often occurs twice in a clause: 'whether A or B, I don't know (and don't care really)'. The first or the only *ntah* is always used clause-initially; *ntah* can stand alone as an answer. Examples:

- (9-139) *Ntah kikay pe-mansang ia.*
 not.know where NOM-pass 3s
 'I don't know (it's not known) where he passed through.'
- (9-140) *Ntah ti laki ntah ti in'u'.*
 not.know REL male not.know REL female
 'It's not known, either the male or the female.'

9.5.10 *Nikala* 'never'

Nikala 'never' is a negative adverbial auxiliary that can also stand alone as a reply. It is interchangeable with the "long form" *naday kala*, e.g.:²²

- (9-141) *Ku nikala' ka Punt.*
 Is never to P
 'I've never been to the city of Pontianak.'

²² *Kala* 'is always used with a negation.

- (9-142) *Sida' naday kala' N-peda' m'ih datay.*
 3p NEG ever ACT-see 2s.masc come
 'They've never seen you come.'

9.5.11 *Nusah* 'needn't': negative obligation

Nusah 'needn't' has a prohibitive sense. It probably derives historically from *ni-* and *usah*. However, the form *usah* itself does not exist in current Mualang. *Nusah* functions as an auxiliary, but it can be used on its own as a reply.

- (9-143) *Nusah mah m'ih aba'.*
 needn't mah 2s.masc follow
 'There's no need for you to come along.'

9.5.12 *Nupa* 'not as, not like'

Nupa is composed of *ni-* and *upa* 'as, like'. Besides *nupa*, *naday upa* also occurs. The difference is not clear at present; however *naday upa* is found more frequently (9-145). *Nupa* seems to appear in idiomatic-like expressions (9-144).

- (9-144) *Nupa kayu ari besi, nya' N-suruh naday tan.*
 not.as wood from iron that ACT-cause NEG endure
 'Wood is not like iron (wood is not as strong as iron), that's why it's not durable.'
- (9-145) *Anak kemua naday upa kemua.'*
 child 1d.excl NEG as 1d.excl
 'Our child (the child of two of us) does not look like us.'

Finally it should be mentioned that several negators are also used in special questions, for instance in the function of a question tag (see 9.6 below).

9.6 Non-declarative speech acts

Declarative clauses are usually informative and considered the unmarked clause type (Sadock and Zwicky 1985:165, Payne 1997:294). For the most part, the discussion in Chapter 7 exemplifies this type of clause. This section will be dealing only with the morphosyntax and functions of the major speech act types of interrogatives (9.6.1) and imperatives (9.6.2).

9.6.1 Interrogatives

Interrogative clauses express "a request for information rather than an assertion" (Payne 1997:295). Several sub-types of interrogatives are discussed below: yes/no questions (9.6.1.1), question-word questions (9.6.1.2), rhetorical questions (9.6.1.3), and indirect questions (9.6.1.4).

9.6.1.1 Yes/no questions

The term yes/no question refers to interrogative clauses that ask for a polarity response, i.e. positive (“yes”) or negative (“no”). In Mualang, yes/no questions differ from declaratives only in one respect: it is pronounced with a rising final intonation, in contrast to a falling one in a declarative. The word order of constituents may vary depending on the focused element (see 9.2.2 above):

- (9-146) a. *Ia angkat aba' wan?*
 3s go with 2s.hon
 ‘Did he go with you?’
- b. *Aba' wan ia angkat?*
 with 2s.hon 3s go
 ‘With you did he go?’

Several corresponding negators can be used utterance-finally as question tags in positive yes/no questions. The resulting “tag questions” differ from the corresponding yes/no questions in that they imply that the speaker assumes the content of the yes/no question to be true, but that he is not completely sure of it. With the negative tag he requests the hearer to confirm his expectation.

- (9-147) *Haa, ka' da-surup, naday?*
 (laughing) want PASS-help NEG
 ‘Haa, do you want me to help, or not?’
- (9-148) *M'ih dah N-pakay, bedaw?*
 2s.masc PERF ACT-eat not.yet
 ‘You have eaten, haven’t you?’
- (9-149) *Tu' nu' ku, ukay?*
 this belong.to 1s CONT.NEG
 ‘This is mine, isn’t it?’
- (9-150) *Aday, nisi'?*
 exist EXIST.NEG
 ‘There is, isn’t there?’

(9-147) was uttered in the situation where the speaker saw or thought the hearer had a problem but did (contrary to speaker’s expectation) not ask for help; and with the negative tag the speaker sought confirmation of his expectation that the hearer in fact did want to be helped. In (9-148), the speaker expected that the hearer had eaten, but would have been impolite not to doubt it. In (9-149), the speaker wasn’t quite sure that the thing in question belonged to him, although he thought it did. Similarly, in (9-150) he would not be certain without any doubt that the topic of conversation was there. If the content of the question is negative, the additional pragmatic intent is normally expressed via the use of an illocutionary marker, instead

of some sort of a question tag, such as in example (9-155) below where *wih* may function as such.

The tag questions are marked by a slightly rising intonation on the tag. If the intonation on the negator is falling, it is no longer a tag but an alternative. This may be expressed explicitly by the use of *ataw* 'or' (9-151 and 152):

(9-151) *M'ih dah N-pakay ataw bedaw?*
 2s.masc PERF ACT-eat or not.yet
 'Have you eaten or not yet?'

(9-152) *Tu' nu' ku ataw ukay?*
 this belong.to 1s or CONT.NEG
 'This is mine or it isn't?'

With such alternative yes/no questions as in (9-151 – 9-152) the speaker seems to be neutral with respect to (un)certainty.

As for responses to yes/no questions, the following means are used:

a) With the particle *aw* 'yes'. This particle is a neutral positive reply both for a positive question (as in (9-146)) and for a negative question (as in (9-154)).²³

b) With a corresponding negator. With respect to positive yes/no questions, a response with negators can only mean to give a negative reply, i.e. what the speaker asked does not hold. For example, a negative reply with *naday* to the question in (9-146) simply means 'No, he didn't'. A negative response toward a negative yes/no question on the other hand can be interpreted both as consent to and as disagreement with what was asked. Usually the context and the intonation contour accompanying the negator clarify the intended meaning sufficiently. With a relatively flat intonation, a response with all relevant negators expresses positively that the speaker agrees with the content of the question. Such a response with a negator, rather than with *aw*, seems to express a more emphatic consent. For example:

(9-153) - *M'ih naday/bedaw N-pakay?* - *Naday/bedaw.*
 2s.masc NEG/not.yet ACT-eat NEG/not.yet
 - 'Don't you eat?' / 'Haven't you eaten yet?'
 - 'No, I don't.' / 'Not yet, I haven't.'

²³ *Aw* can actually function more than only as an affirmative reply to a question. It is also used as a sign of an agreement in the middle of a talk or conversation to what the speaker is saying, as a neutral sign that the hearer is still following the talk, or as a positive reply to a request/order. It is also used by the speaker in the middle of a stretch of speech to sum up what has been said thus far, before continuing his account: "Yes, so it was/goes"; "Ok". Interestingly, the particle *aw* is also found in other languages in West Kalimantan, including languages which are not Ibanic such as the Land Dayak language Ahe, and most Malayic dialects (e.g. Delang, Ketapang).

- (9-154) - *Ia nisi' da rumah?* - *Nisi'.*
 3s EXIST.NEG LOC house - EXIST.NEG
 - 'He's not at home?'
 - 'No, he's not.'
- (9-155) - *Nya' ukay ia wih?* - *Ukay.*
 that CONT.NEG 3s wih - CONT.NEG
 - 'Wasn't that him (or was it)?'
 - 'No, it wasn't him.'

However, responses with *naday*, *ukay* or *nisi* toward a negative question may also convey the reverse, i.e. disagreement with the negative content. This happens when they are pronounced with a particular intonation contour: relatively stretched and rising word-finally. For example, in a situation where someone was asked several times to eat but he/she did not eat, then the speaker would ask again for reconfirmation: “*M’ih naday makay?*” ‘You don’t eat?’ The answer *Naday* (uttered with some feeling of irritation) potentially expresses disagreement with *naday* in the repeated question, to the effect that the speaker is saying that he wants to eat.

c) With the modal auxiliary or main verb used in the question. The modal auxiliary, if any, or the main verb of a yes/no question may be used as a positive response to the question. Such a reply seems to be more emphatic than a response with *aw*'. For example:

- (9-156) - *M'ih dah N-pakay?* - *Dah.*
 - 2s.masc PERF ACT-eat - PERF
 - 'Have you eaten?'
 - 'Yes, I have.' (Lit. 'Already.')
- (9-157) - *Ia aday da rumah?* - *Aday.*
 - 3s exist LOC house - exist
 - 'Is he at home?'
 - 'Yes, he is.' (Lit. 'Exist.')

9.6.1.2 Question-word questions

Question-word questions are also called content questions, information questions, or wh-questions (Payne 1997:299). Such questions ask for particular information specified through question words. The following question words are used in Mualang:

<i>apa</i>	‘what’
<i>sapa</i>	‘who’
<i>berapa</i>	‘how many’
<i>kati</i>	‘how’
<i>dini</i>	‘where (location)’
<i>kikay</i>	‘where (direction)’
<i>ari ni</i> (shortened: <i>reni</i>)	‘from where’

<i>kebila, bila, kemaya</i>	‘when’
<i>ngapa</i>	‘why’
<i>ni</i>	‘which’, ‘where’

Unmarked question-word questions are normally uttered with a rising intonation at the end of the clause. *Kati* dan *ngapa* are normally clause-initial. The positions of *apa*, *sapa*, and *berapa* in the sentence correspond with the position of the noun phrase and quantifier phrase they stand for (see below). The default position of all other question words is clause-initial, but for pragmatic reasons they may become clause-final (to be followed only by a pragmatic particle such as *wih*).

- (9-158) *Kati N-pulah tu’?*
 how ACT-make this
 ‘How do we make this?’
- (9-159) *Ngapa m’ih lawun datay pia’?*
 why 2s.masc slow come like.that
 ‘Why did you come so late?’
- (9-160) *Dini wan diaw? (or: Wan diaw dini?)*
 at.where 2s.hon live
 ‘Where do you live?’
- (9-161) *Kikay sedua? (or: Sedua kikay?)*
 to.where 2d
 ‘Where are you two going?’
- (9-162) *Reni peN-datay sida’? (or: Panatay sida’ reni?)*
 from.where NOM-come 3p
 ‘Where did they just come from?’
- (9-163) *Kebila apay angkat ka uma wih?*
 when father go to rice.field *wih*
 (or: *Apay angkat ka uma kebila wih?*)
 ‘When is father going to the rice field then?’
- (9-164) *Ni selawar ku? (or: Selawar ku ni?)*
 which pants 1s
 ‘Which (where) are my pants?’

Ni also means ‘which (one)’, asked to select a particular referent from a number of possible ones, e.g.:

- (9-165) *Miak ni?*
 child which.one
 ‘Which child?’

In (9-158 – 9-164) with the clause-initial question word the focus of the question is pragmatically neutral, i.e. the speaker simply requires the intended information; whereas with the question word in clause-final position the subject of the clause is focused. In (9-161) for instance, when someone comes across two people on the way, it is the direction that is normally asked in passing (as in the first alternative); but the second alternative would be appropriate if the speaker would like to deal with the subject (e.g. if he had been looking for the two addressees).

Kebila, *bila* and *kemaya* are all (near-) synonyms. *Bila* is used most often, whereas the other two are rare. *Kemaya* is considered (by informants) as an old word (or *bahasa dalam* ‘deep or old language’). *Apa* (for non-human entities) and *sapa* (for human beings) remain *in situ*, i.e. in the normal syntactic position of the constituent in question (subject, object, possession and oblique), e.g.:

- (9-166) *Sapa N-bunuh manuk wih?* (= in subject position)
 who ACT-kill chicken *wih*
 ‘Who is going to kill the chicken (would you know)?’
- (9-167) *Ka’ kia’ N-am’i’ apa?* (= in object position)
 want thither.near ACT-take what
 ‘What do you want to get there?’ (lit. ‘You go there to get what?’)
- (9-168) a. *Ia angkat aba’ sapa?* (= in “associative” oblique position)
 3s go with who
 ‘He went with whom?’
 b. *Aba’ sapa ia angkat?*
 with who 3s go
 (= in “associative” oblique position, but with focus)
 ‘With whom did he go?’
- (9-169) *Kubur sapa ti aday da Nanga Sepawuk nya’?*
 grave who REL exist LOC estuary S that

Urang kita ataw bukay?
 person 1p.excl or other
 ‘Whose grave is it that is at the Sepauk Estuary? Is it someone of or
 own people or someone else?’
- (9-170) *Getah sapa ia’?*
 latex who that
 ‘Whose latex is that?’

Apa can also be used attributively at the end of a noun phrase:

- (9-171) *Bulan apa?*
 month what
 ‘What month?’

- (9-172) *Nyun bukit apa ia'?*
 that.far.away hill what that
 'What hill is that there in the distance?'

Berapa functions as a question word for quantity or a number. As such its position is *in situ* in the quantifying phrase (see Chapter 4), i.e. both pre- and post-nominal, e.g.:

- (9-173) *Aday berapa iku' sida'?*
 exist how.many CLASS 3p
 'How many people are they?'

- (9-174) *Tawun berapa?*
 year how.many
 'What year?'

Generic quantity is questioned with *berapa* followed by the measurement in question, e.g. *berapa lama* 'how long?', *berapa luas* 'how wide?', *berapa besay* 'how big?'. Question-word questions can also be clefted with the relativizer *tay/ti* for contrastive focus which may imply emotional overtones.

- (9-175) *Sapa tay ba-tabiat macam tu'?*
 who REL ANPAS-character like this
 'Who was it that behaved like this?'

- (9-176) *Ni ti peramu m'ih?*
 which REL clothing 2s.masc
 'Which one is it that is your clothing?'

- (9-177) *Apa ti da-bay' ia'?*
 what REL PASS-bring that
 'What is it that is brought?'

- (9-178) *Berapa ti Ni' beli'?*
 how.many REL grandmother buy
 'How many was it that Grandmother bought?'

In (9-175) the speaker was angry about the thing that happened, and emphatically questioned who was the person who did it. In (9-176), the question was focused for contrast, because there were some pieces of clothing to choose from, and the speaker had to take care of them. In (9-178) the speaker appeared to be annoyed with his grandmother's tendency to buy more than she needed. Clauses such as (9-175 – 9-178) can be used without the relativizer *tay*, in which case the clauses will become pragmatically neutral: the speaker is simply asking for information.

9.6.1.3 Rhetorical questions

Rhetorical questions are those that do not solicit an actual answer. A speaker will ask a rhetorical question for a number of reasons, all of which ultimately serve the goal of convincing his audience to agree with his point of view. There are two typical ways for forming rhetorical questions as attested in Mualang:

a) with a particular intonation. This is typically used with question-word questions, in which the question word is pronounced with a longer and higher pitch and the sentential intonation is falling at the end of the clause. Generally contexts help in identifying the rhetorical intent. In the following examples, the stressed question word is capitalized:

(9-179) *Apa lah utay ia', naday jadi?*
 what lah thing that NEG become
 'What is it that thing, formless in shape?'

(9-180) *Nti' ia naday salah, ngapa kita N-padah salah?*
 if 3s NEG wrong why 1p.incl ACT-say wrong
 'If he was not wrong, why did we say he was?'

b) with a special negative particle, most typically *ukay*, or a combination of *baday* ... *naday*, e.g.:²⁴

(9-181) *Ukay sempang urang tuay N-padah*
 CONT.NEG proverb person old ACT-say
 'Doesn't the proverb of the old people say'

(9-182) *Baday m'ih naday N-pegay iku' ku pia'?*
baday 2s.masc NEG ACT-hold tail 1s like.that
 'Aren't you holding my tail?'

(9-183) *Baday m'ih naday kitu' agi'?*
baday 2s.masc NEG to.here again
 'Aren't you coming here again?'

9.6.1.4 Indirect questions

Indirect questions normally function as complements of verbs of cognition and utterance (cf. Sadock and Zwicky 1985:186).²⁵ In Mualang, indirect question-word questions usually appear with a final falling intonation (9-184 – 9-186), e.g.:

²⁴ It is not certain at present what *baday* itself means. One possibility is that it is derived from *b-aday* 'ANPAS-exist' (cf. *b-isi* 'ANPAS-content', which has the derivative meaning 'exist').

²⁵ Indirect questions are called "dependent questions" in Sadock and Zwicky 1985:186. For a discussion of complement clauses, see 10.3 in Chapter 10.

- (9-184) *Ia nitaw' bada' [ari ni utay ia' datay jara']*.
 3s not.know bada' from where thing that come jara'
 'He just did not know where that thing came from (as it did).'
- (9-185) *Urang iran [ngapa ia N-beri' apay ia kin]*.
 person wonder why 3s ACT-give father 3s to.there.far
 'People wondered why she let her father go there.'
- (9-186) *Ku N-tanya' [kikay pe-mansang m'ih]*.
 1s ACT-ask to.where NOM-pass 2s.masc
 'I asked you where you are passing to.'

Since question words are also used as indefinite pronouns,²⁶ they can occur in a relative clause as the head; and when such relative clauses function as a complement of verbs other than those of cognition and utterance, they structurally resemble the indirect question-word questions. However, intonationally they are uttered as a normal declarative clause, e.g.:

- (9-187) *Kita kerja [apa tay ba-guna]*.
 1p.incl work what REL ANPAS-benefit
 'We work that which is useful.'

Indirect yes/no questions may have a final falling intonation either or not preceded by a slight rise. They may be introduced with *apa* 'whether' (9-188) or simply without it (9-189):

- (9-188) *N-tanya' kita tay apay-inay [(apa) kita' setuju]*.
 Act-ask 1p.incl REL father-mother what 2p agree
 'We, the parents asked whether you all agree.'
- (9-189) *Ia ka' N-tanya' [m'ih udah mis N-ketaw, bedaw]*.
 3s want ACT-ask 2s.masc PERF finished ACT-harvest not.yet
 'He wanted to ask whether you have yet finished harvesting or not?'

9.6.2 Imperatives

Imperatives are a kind of speech act that commands the hearer to perform an action or to be in a particular state. In Mualang the primary grammatical means for expressing imperatives is by using the verb in its bare form, i.e. morphologically unmarked. This is most evident with transitive verbs, since they are the most marked morphologically. Functionally this imperative may be labeled as a "typically direct"

²⁶ See 4.1.1.1 in Chapter 4; for relative clauses see Chapter 10.

one, since it directly confronts the addressee with the necessity of performing an action. Formal features of this imperative are as follows:

- it is common for the verb to appear all by itself; in a typical imperative intonation the stressed syllable of the verb tends to be pronounced more dynamically especially if the action is deemed urgent by the speaker; the clause tends to end with an abrupt falling intonation;
- the intended agent (the addressee, or in case of an adhortative the addressee and the speaker) is implied. If it is explicitly expressed (usually in order to emphasize who is the performer), it does not appear as a grammatical subject, but either as a vocative or preceded by the preposition *ulih* 'by';
- the patient of the verb, if it appears, comes directly after the verb.

The following examples illustrate direct imperatives:

- (9-190) a. *Diaw!*
quiet
'Be quiet!'
- b. *M'ih / Demung, diaw!*
2s.masc/D quiet
'You / Demung, be quiet!'
- c. *Diaw, m'ih / Demung!*
quiet 2s.masc/D
'Be quiet, you / Demung!'
- (9-191) a. *Am'i'!*
take
'Take it!'
- b. *M'ih / Demung, am'i'!*
2s.masc/D take
'You / Demung, take it!'
- c. *Am'i', m'ih / Demung!*
take 2s.masc/D
'Take it, you / Demung!'
- (9-192) *Am'i' isaw kin!*
take machete thither.(far)
'Get the machete over there!'
- (9-193) *Tu' ubi, tunu ulih m'ih!*
this cassava bake by 2s.masc
'These are cassavas, you bake them!'

(9-190) and (9-191) illustrate examples with intransitive and transitive verbs, respectively. Examples (b) and (c) contain a pronoun and a person's name separated from the verb by a slight pause; i.e. they function as a vocative, rather than as the grammatical subject. In rapid speech tempo, however, the pause may become inaudible which obscures the difference with intransitive verbs between a vocative and a grammatical subject (cf. the use of a declarative intransitive clause as imperative in “secondary imperatives” below). For transitive imperatives, however, the verb is marked morphologically with the active prefix *N-* if the expression for the agent is the subject. Note that although the structure of the inverse voice such as in *m'ih am'i* with the zero marking (i.e. without the active *N-*) has *m'ih* as the agent, the utterance of (9-191b) cannot be interpreted as an inverse clause, since it has no overt patient. This fact typically distinguishes the imperative clause from the inverse voice construction. (Compare the use of inverse clauses in “secondary imperatives” below). The appearance of the agent or the performer in an agent-phrase in (9-193) also supports the view that direct imperatives are subjectless grammatically.

That *m'ih/Demung* ‘2s.masc/Demong’ in (9-191c) is not the grammatical object is known from the fact that they are not pronounced with the verb under a single intonation contour as is usually the case with a grammatical object, such as in (9-192), where *isaw* ‘machete’ is the grammatical object.

However, two verbs have thus far been found to alternatively appear marked with the active *N-* in imperatives, besides being used with a bare form, namely *pakay* ~ *N-pakay* ‘eat’ and *tiki* ~ *N-tiki* ‘come in, stop by’ (lit. ‘climb’).²⁷ One possible answer for their frequent use in *N*-forms could be that they are in such common use in daily life:

(9-194) *N-pakay bah!*
 ACT-eat *bah*
 ‘Eat, please!’

(9-195) *N-tiki' lay!*
 ACT-climb *lay*
 ‘Come in/stop by, come on!’

9.6.2.1 Secondary grammatical means to express imperatives

As has been noticed in Sadock and Zwicky (1985:191): “it is possible to use nearly any sentence (my term: clause) type with the effect of nearly any other, under appropriate circumstances”. This holds for Mualang in as far as an imperative effect can also be achieved by the use of yes/no questions and declarative clauses of any voice type. (9-196 – 9-197) are examples of yes/no questions that are used to get somebody to do something:

²⁷ Traditional Mualang longhouses and typical old/traditional houses are relatively high above the ground. People have to climb upon ladders to get into the house. Thus, *N-tiki*’ (ACT-climb) ‘come in, stop by’ (i.e. climb up on the ladders) has to be understood against this background; the verb continues to be used with the derived meaning even though some present-day houses may almost be level with the ground, and thus have no ladders.

- (9-196) *Angkat?* (exhortation)
Go
'Should we go/are you ready to go?'
- (9-197) *M'ih bedaw tin'uk wih?* (suggestion, order)
2s.masc not.yet sleep wih
'Aren't you sleeping yet?' (I want you to go to bed. I am wondering why you didn't go to bed yet)

Such imperatives with questions are indirect in nature, i.e. the speaker does not confront the addressee directly with the necessity of performing the action.

Declarative clauses too can have an imperative effect under the following conditions:

- the agent (whether or not expressed as the subject of the clause) refers to the addressee or to the addressee and the speaker;
- the event is irrealis, i.e. it has not occurred yet;
- with an "imperative" intonation, the verb receives stronger stress.

No imperative effect has been attested for constructions with the middle *te-*, and the adversative *kena*', in which the "agent" has no control over the action. (9-198) – (9-202) are examples of secondary imperatives, in the shape of respectively an intransitive (dynamic) stative, an active, an inverse, a passive, and an antipassive clause.

- (9-198) *Angkat mah kita!*
go mah 1p.incl
'Let's just get off!'
- (9-199) *M'ih N-pegay jari' ku!*
2s.masc ACT-hold arm 1s
'You hold my hand!'
- (9-200) *Asa m'ih da jalay, nitaw' bada' jalay,*
whenever 2s.masc LOC way not.know bada' way

pinang tu' m'ih pakay, kulit m'ih tunu,
betel.nut this 2s.masc eat peel 2s.masc burn

naday m'ih tesat.
NEG 2s.masc lost
'Whenever you're on the way and don't know the way, this betel nut you eat, the peel you burn, that way you won't get lost.'
- (9-201) *Da-bay' pulay (ulih m'ih)!*
PASS-bring go.home by 2s.masc
'Get (it) brought home (by you).'

- (9-202) *Ba-diri* '!
ANPAS-self
'Stand up!'

In comparison with the direct imperatives such declarative clauses with an imperative effect can convey 'mild' imperatives (e.g. a suggestion, advice, or instruction). In accordance with the functional nature of the clause type moreover (see Chapter 7), the speaker can make some particular element of the clause more salient by topicalizing it. This strategy is normally not achievable through the regular direct imperatives which put emphasis solely on the action itself. For instance, with the stative (9-198) the subject is highly involved. With the active (9-199), the agent and the patient are required, with the agent being topicalized. A similar case is found in the inverse (9-200), but with the patient being topicalized. In the passive (9-201), it is the patient alone that is topicalized in relation to the action that is expected to be carried out. With both the inverse and passive constructions the notion of involvement of the addressee as the intended performer of the action is suppressed, which softens the imperative effect. The inverse in (9-199), for example, sounds more like an instruction (or piece of advice) than a command or order. With the inverse and passive constructions, as shown in (9-203 and (9-204) below, the benefactive argument can be foregrounded (that is, the speaker emphasizes the action to be carried out for the benefit of the topicalized element):

- (9-203) *Kami dulaw beri' ka darah!*
1p.excl first give to blood
(= inverse, with topicalized benefactive subject)
'Give the blood **to us** first!'
- (9-204) *D-am'i' ka ay' (ulih m'ih)!*
PASS-take to water by 2s.masc
(= passive, with topicalized (deleted) benefactive subject)
'Get (for us) the water (by you)!'

Note that we are dealing with "advancements" in (9-203) and (9-204) with the patient *darah* 'blood' and *ay'* 'water' marked with *ka*. In (9-204) the benefactive subject is dropped (zero anaphora).

Imperatives may be used with some of the illocutionary markers to additionally express the speaker's attitude with respect to the command, order, etc. The illocutionary markers that can be used with imperatives include *wih*, *bah*, *mah*, *lah*, *kah*, *lay*, *ja'*, and *dulaw/law* (see 9.4 for examples and a semantic analysis).

Different subtypes of imperatives can also be conveyed through the use of several clause-initial particles such as *buh* 'come on' for exhortations and hortative 'let's', *ayuh* for encouragement, *tulung* (lit. 'help') for begging or requesting, *cuba* (lit. 'try') for softening a request. *Buh* can also be used at the beginning or end of the clause. The following are some examples:

- (9-205) *Buh N-pakay!* (or: *N-pakay buh!*)
come.on ACT-eat
'Come on, eat!' / 'Let's eat!'

- (9-206) *Ayuh turun!*
ayuh descend
 'Come on, come down!'
- (9-207) *Tulung da-ngkuh da jalay!*
 help PASS-put LOC road
 'Can you help putting it on the road!'
- (9-208) *Cuba wan kitu'!*
 try 2s.hon to.here
 'Could you come here!'

9.6.2.2 Prohibitives

Prohibitives are negative imperatives through which the speaker is asking the addressee not to carry out an action. In 9.5 prohibitive negators have been discussed. They are simply applied to any of the imperative forms described above (including the secondary ones). They are *nang* 'don't', a (regular) negative imperative, and modal negators such as *nitaw* 'can't', 'may not', and *nusah* 'needn't'.

- (9-209) *Kita' nang ba-laya'!*
 2p don't ANPAS-quarrel
 'Don't you quarrel!'
- (9-210) *Nitaw'/nusah angkat!*
 can't.(may.not)/needn't go
 'You can't (may not)/don't need to go!'

Besides the word *nang*, the word *adu* is also used with the same meaning. In examples (9-209 and 9-210), it is interchangeable with *nang*. Differences in nuances between their usages are not clear at present.²⁸

The word *mali* is also used in prohibitions. This word is not a negator but contains a negative meaning, namely '(it is) taboo, it is not allowed', e.g.:

- (9-211) [You have to make a decision by yourself now, and if something would happen in the future ...]
Mali di' N-tesal.
 not.allowed 2s.fem ACT-regret
 'You should not regret it!'

9.7 Exclamations

Exclamations are clauses that express the emotional attitude of the speaker. A special construction of exclamations has been noted in 6.1.3, namely with the use of

²⁸ Elicitations with various native speakers showed no clues to their differences. My informants always said that those words were just the same.

the nominal prefix *peN-*. Furthermore, exclamations are mostly marked by exclamative particles. These particles appear clause-initially with any clause type and are uttered with a relatively higher pitch and longer duration. Exclamative particles are listed below with their examples:

9.7.1 *Ah*: expressing surprise by the sudden presence of something. The vowel may be lengthened.

(9-212) *Ah, tu' menyadi' kita, selamat!*
Ah this sibling 1p.incl safe
 'Ah, here's our sibling, she's safe!'

If it is uttered with an abrupt stop, *ah* expresses disagreement or rejection, e.g.:

(9-213) *Ah, ngay ku!*
Ah not.want 1s
 'Ah, I won't (I don't want it)!'

9.7.2 *Akay*: expressing (unpleasant) surprise or surprise mixed with disagreement or dislike.

(9-214) *Akay, naday ku ka' mati ga'.*
akay, NEG 1s want die *ga'*
 'Oh no, I still don't want to die.'

9.7.3 *Ay*: expressing a feeling of surprise.

(9-215) *Ay! Nang N-padah pia'!*
ay don't ACT-say like.that
 'Ah, don't talk like that!'

9.7.4 *Ci'*: expressing indignant disagreement.

(9-216) *Ci', kala' ku naday N-kelala!*
ci' ever 1s NEG ACT-recognise
 'Oh no, when didn't I ever recognize (them)!'

9.7.5 *Ha*: expressing surprise by something unexpected.

(9-217) *Ha! Aday s-iku' gerama' besay!*
ha exist ONE-CLASS crab big
 'Aha! There's a big crab!'

9.7.6 *Ih*: used to attract the addressee's attention to what is going to be said.

(9-218) *Ih, kati kula'?' Aday sida' N-beri'?*
Ih how TOA exist 3p ACT-give?
 'Hey, how was it with you, my son-in-law? Did it happen that they gave you something?'

(9-219) *Ih, tu' nu' ku!*
Ih this POSS 1s
 'Hey, this belongs to me! (not you)'

9.7.7 *Uh*: expressing one's sudden realization of some state of affairs.

(9-220) *Uh, tu' nu' wan!*
uh this belong.to 2s.hon
 'Oh, this belongs to you!'

9.7.8 *Uy*: used when calling somebody to get his/her attention.

(9-221) *Uy, tu' ku!*
uy this 1s
 'Hey, it is me!'

9.7.9 *Way*: expressing commiseration.

(9-222) *Way, kasih bada' di', wih.*
way pity *bada'* 2s.fem *wih*
 'Oh dear, what a pity are you!'

9.7.10 *Wih*: expressing pleasant surprise.²⁹

(9-223) *Wih, untung kula'!*
wih lucky TOA
 'Wow, lucky you, my son-in-law!'

²⁹ This *wih* is different from the illocutionary marker *wih*. As an exclamation, this form appears clause-initially and is pronounced with a longer and raising intonation. As an illocutionary marker, the form *wih* occurs after an NP or clause-finally.

10 CLAUSE COMBINATIONS

In previous chapters (especially Chapters 6-9), the discussions have been specifically focused on matters related to simple clauses. In this chapter, I will describe complex construction types that combine two (or more) clauses or verbs. The grammatical means for coherence and semantic-pragmatic inter-clausal relationships will be addressed. Structurally the combinations involve one clause being ‘dependent’ on another (the main clause), or neither clause being grammatically dependent on the other but both being equally ‘independent’. An independent clause can function fully on its own in discourse. A dependent clause cannot function on its own; it needs grammatical, semantic and/or pragmatic information from another clause in order to be understood. For example, clause (a) in (10-1) below, uttered with a non-final clause intonation (marked with a comma), cannot stand in isolation as it depends on clause (b) for its interpretation as a proposition. Clause (b), on the other hand, can fully function by itself, and thus, is an independent, main clause:

- (10-1) (a) *Datay ka rumah*, (b) *ia gaga*.
 come to house 3s happy
 ‘Arriving home, he was happy.’

The following complex construction types will be discussed in this chapter: Verbal compounds (10.1), Serial verbs (10.2), Complement clauses (10.3), Adverbial clauses (10.4), Relative clauses (10.5), and Coordinate clauses (10.6). Sections 10.2 - 10.5 are concerned with clauses which traditionally are called “subordinate”. However, since recently linguists tend to avoid a simple dichotomy of ‘subordination’ vs. ‘coordination’, the types of dependent clauses will just be described individually as listed above.¹

It is common in Mualang to find multi-clausal constructions in which verbs are simply lined up in sequence. In all cases, the verbs involved appear inflected for voice as they do in mono-clausal constructions. Two types of non-final intonation have to be distinguished: 1) intonation which is characteristic of a single clause, i.e. a straight and flat intonation contour without an intonational break between the clauses or verbs, and 2) a flat or slightly rising intonation accompanied by a slight lengthening at the end of the non-final clause. (Note that throughout this grammar an intonation contour such as the latter is marked with a comma). A clause-final intonation (in declarative sentences) on the other hand is normally falling and followed by a pause or stop. To what extent arguments, tense-aspect-modal

¹ For a discussion, see Haiman and Thompson (1984). Cf. also Givón (2001b, Ch. 18).

information, and semantic interpretation are shared by the different clauses or verbs differ from construction to construction. In the following sections, I will discuss the distinguishing morphosyntactic features and semantics for each construction type, beginning with verbal compounds.

10.1 Verbal compounds

Verbal compounds and how they differ from ordinary verb sequences and serial verbs have been discussed in section 8.2 of Chapter 8. Intonationally the compound is marked by a single intonation contour. Verbal compounds can result in a “lexical union” (in the sense of Noonan (1985:75)), that is, they form a single lexical unit. The most radical ones are seen in compounds of which one or both constituents are precategorial, such as *puntang-panting* (precategorial-do.with.great.effort) ‘do something with great effort’, *barah-buruh* (precategorial-hurried) ‘be in a hurry’, *kun’ang-katang* (precategorial-precategorial) ‘go back and forth’.

10.2 Serial verbs

Serial-verb constructions (SVCs) in Mualang have the following characteristics:

- a) Syntactic:
 - a SVC is a combination of two or sometimes three verbs $V_1 V_2 (V_3)$;
 - the series can be continuous ($V_1 V_2 \dots$) or discontinuous ($V_1 \dots V_2$);
 - verbs in a series are uttered with a non-final intonation, i.e. under a straight-flat intonation contour, with no intervening pause or intonation break, as if it were a single verb;
 - the verbs in the series share one grammatical subject;
 - the verbs in the series share the same tense-aspect-modal information.
- b) Semantic:
 - the verbs in the series are perceived by the speaker as together indicating one complex event, and not two or more distinct events. As such, the verb members that compose the complex event have to express different facets of the event.

The discussion hereafter will be divided accordingly into two parts: the morphosyntax of SVCs (10.2.1) and the semantics of SVCs (10.2.2).

10.2.1 Morphosyntax of SVCs

In examples (10-2) and (10-3) below, the combination of events coded by *datay* ‘come’ and *peda* ‘to see’ are viewed in different ways. Especially in rapid speech, utterances (10-2a) and (10-3) may be extremely hard to distinguish. Although context can provide help, careful observation reveals that the SVC in (10-2a) has clausal intonation similar to that in mono-clausal constructions, i.e. *datay* and *N-peda* are uttered with a straight-flat intonation, even if there is subject-predicate inversion, as in (10-2b). Semantically, they compose two consecutive facets of one

complex event, that is, the action of ‘seeing’ was accomplished by ‘coming’ first to the place of the object. In other words, the total event was perceived as covering the time when the grammatical subject was underway until it was nearby the object. Although the sequence of verbs in (10-3) was also uttered with a non-final clause intonation, in contrast to (10-2a), it showed prosodic features of multi-clausal constructions, i.e. *V₁ datay* ‘come’ was pronounced with a bit longer rising intonation (marked with a comma), separating it from the second clause. The event ‘see’ occurred prior to ‘come’, and both were distinct events. Sentence (10-3) is therefore a non-serial construction.

- (10-2) a. *Ia datay N-peda’ utay nya’.*
 3s come ACT-see thing that
 ‘He came and saw (came to see) that thing.’
- b. *Datay ia N-peda’ utay nya’.*
 come 3s ACT-see thing that
 ‘He CAME and saw (CAME to see) that thing.’
- (10-3) *Ia datay, N-peda’ utay nya’.*
 3s come ACT-see thing that
 ‘He came (closer), (after) seeing that thing.’

Tense-aspect-modal (TAM) information, as well as negation, applies to the whole SVC, but does not do so in a non-SVC. Thus, comparing (10-2) and (10-3) with (10-4) and (10-5) respectively, it is clear that the negation in non-SVC such as in (10-5) has scope over only one verb and not over all the verbs as it does with the verbs in a SVC such as in (10-4).

- (10-4) *Ia naday datay N-peda’ utay nya’.*
 3s NEG come ACT-see thing that
 ‘He did not come and see (come to see) that thing.’
- (10-5) *Ia naday datay, N-peda’ utay nya’.*
 3s NEG come ACT-see thing that
 ‘He did not come (closer), (after) seeing that thing.’

Another pair of examples in which TAM markers have scope over both verbs in a SVC and where they obviously do not, is the following:

- (10-6) *Ia turun N-jala agi’.*
 3s descend ACT-net again
 ‘He came down to go net-fishing again.’
- (10-7) *Baru’ ia turun ka ay’ tih, ka’ N-pasaw bubu.*
 then 3s descend to water tih want ACT-set.up k.o.fish.trap
 ‘Then he went down to the water, wanting to set up a fish trap.’

Verbs in SVCs always share at least one argument. Except for the cause-effect SVC (as in (10-10); see below for further details), serialized verbs share the same subject:

a) Subject- $V_{\text{intransitive}}$ - $V_{\text{intransitive}}$:

- (10-8) *Laki ia tay mati nyaw pulay idup agi'.*
 husband 3s REL die PERF come.home live again
 'Her husband who had been dead has come home/back to life again.'

b) Subject- $V_{\text{intransitive}}$ - $V_{\text{transitive}}$ -Object:

- (10-9) *Tay laki datay ngeN-bay' keban keluarga.*
 REL male come ACT-bring all.kind family
 'The male (i.e. the bridegroom) came bringing all of his relatives.'

c) Subject- $V_{\text{transitive}}$ -Object- $V_{\text{intransitive}}$:

- (10-10) *Ia N-tipah gelas labuh ka tanah.*
 3s ACT-hit.aside glass fall to ground
 'He pushed the glass (so it fell) to the ground.'

d) Subject- $V_{\text{transitive}}$ -Object₁- $V_{\text{transitive}}$ -Object₂:

- (10-11) *Ku ka' aba' apay N-gusung wan kia'.*
 1s FUT/want follow father ACT-meet 2s.hon thither.near
 'I am going to/want to follow father to meet you there.'

In the cause-effect serialization of (10-10), the object *gelas* 'glass' of the first verb serves also as the logical subject of the second verb, *labuh* 'fall'. Although the logical subject of V_2 is not coreferential with the syntactic subject of V_1 , the event coded in V_2 is in fact still associated with the subject of V_1 as a causer.

In (10-11) each verb in the series, namely *aba'* 'meet' and *N-gusung* 'ACT-meet' has its own object, *apay* 'father' and *wan* '2s.hon', respectively. Both verbs share the same syntactic subject *ku* '1s'.

As in ordinary single clauses, in SVCs transitive verbs are always inflected for voice, in order to keep the logical subject of the verbs in the series coreferential with each other. The logical subject of the second verb is ellipsed. In (10-9 and 10-11) the second verb takes the active *N-*, which also serves to code the logical subject of the second verb as an agent. The active *N-* marking justifies the existence of the object. In the following example, the *da-*passive is used instead to mark the subject of the second verb as a patient:

- (10-12) *Ia mati da-bunuh.*
 3s die PASS-kill
 'He died of being murdered.'

Verb marking with inverse voice does not occur in a “normal” SVC except when the object of V_2 is clefted for contrastive purposes, as in (10-13) below, in which – different from (10-2a) – the object *utay nya* ‘that thing’ is clefted:

- (10-13) *Utay nya’ tay ia datay peda’.*
 thing that REL 3s come see
 ‘It was that thing that he came to look at.’

When clefted, the object is moved to clause-initial position, thus preceding the subject and the serial verb. This shows the high structural integration of the verbs in the SVC. It is in fact one of the typical characteristics of SVCs cross-linguistically (see also Payne 1997:308), which distinguishes a SVC from a non-SVC. For example, there is no way to cleft the object of *N-peda* ‘ACT-see’ in the multi-clausal sentence (10-3) to the front of the entire construction: **Utay nya’ tay ia datay, N-peda*’.

As regards the number of verbs in a SVC, there are several instances in my corpus of three consecutive verbs, e.g.:

- (10-14) *Turun ba-jalay N-sumpit, senua tih*
 descend ANPAS-road ACT-blowpipe 3d tih

ba-malam ka kampung
 ANPAS-night to village
 ‘(After) going down walking blowpiping (animals), the two of them spent the night in a village....’
- (10-15) ... *Putung Empat te-puntang-panting*
 P K MID-(pre)catgorial-do.with.great.effort

anyut da-bay’ ulak ay’.
 swept.away PASS-bring eddy water
 ‘... Putung Empat was bumped around badly, swept away by an eddy of water.’

10.2.2 Semantics of SVCs

Verbs in SVCs refer to components of one complex event, the constituent parts having a particular semantic relationship to each other. As thus far attested in the corpus, the semantic relationships in Mualang SVCs may be qualified as *sequential*, *simultaneous*, *cause-effect*, *state-cause*, *directional*, and *adverbial (manner/aspect) serialization*. However, a sequential or a simultaneous logical relationship of one event to another is also apparent in the four latter types. Thus, one may find overlap in several types of semantic relationships. For example, a cause-effect SVC implies two sequential events. Nevertheless, in each distinguished type a meaning or interpretation other than sequentiality or simultaneousness may be more salient. Each of these types will be described individually below.

10.2.2.1 Sequential serialization

In a sequential serialization, the overall scene of one complex event is described, in which V_1 refers to the initial action or state that precedes the action or state referred to by V_2 . The examples (10-2a) and (10-6), presented again in (10-16) and (10-17), show such a relationship.

- (10-16) *Ia datay N-peda' utay nya'.*
 3s come ACT-see thing that
 'He came and saw (came to see) that thing.'

- (10-17) *Ia turun N-jala agi'.*
 3s descend ACT-net again
 'He came down to go net-fishing again.'

Although a purposive interpretation could be inferred, a sequential serialization significantly differs from a purposive constructions, marked for instance by *ngaw* 'for' as in (10-18). Here the purposive part (*ngaw*) *N-pinta' di'* '(for) proposing to you' has not happened yet, whereas the event *datay* 'come' has. In (10-19), however, the entire event in the serial construction has occurred:

- (10-18) *Kami nyaw datay ngaw N-pinta' di'.*
 1p.excl PERF come for ACT-ask 2s.fem
 'We have come to propose to you.'

- (10-19) *Jadi tu', telany'ur kami nyaw datay*
 so this, already.happened 1p.excl PERF come

N-pinta' di'.
 ACT-ask 2s.fem
 'So, well, it already happened that we have come and proposed to you.'

10.2.2.2 Simultaneous serialization

In a simultaneous serialization, components of the complex event coded in the verbs in series take place at the same time, e.g.:

- (10-20) *Datay urang laki tu' N-bay' keban keluarga.*
 come person male this ACT-bring all.kind family
 'The man **came** bringing the whole family.'

- (10-21) *Buh, ba-jalay N-sumpit.*
 come.on ANPAS-road ACT-blowpipe
 'Let's have a blowpiping walk.' (i.e. have a walk while blowpiping)

- (10-22) “*Ngapa naday angkat?*”, *jaku’ inay N-anu’ ia.*
 why NEG go say mother reprimand 3s
 “‘Why didn’t you go?’, said mother reprimanding her.’

10.2.2.3 Cause-effect serialization

In a cause-effect serialization, V_1 expresses a cause while V_2 the effect. As shown in the example (10-10), repeated below as (10-23), the action *N-tipah* ‘ACT-hit.aside’ causes the object *gelas* ‘glass’ to fall *labuh*. More examples are provided in (10-24 – 10-26).

- (10-23) *Ia N-tipah gelas labuh ka tanah.*
 3s ACT-hit.to.side glass fall to ground
 ‘He pushed aside the glass (so it fell) to the ground.’

- (10-24) *Nyelipan da-palu’ ia mati.*
 centipede PASS-strike 3s die
 ‘The centipede was stricken dead by him.’

- (10-25) *Nyiur labuh pecah.*
 coconut fall broken
 ‘The coconut fell and broke.’

- (10-26) *Nemiak labuh te-duduk.*
 child fall MID-sit
 ‘The child fell in a sitting position.’

10.2.2.4 State-cause serialization

A state-cause serialization expresses the reverse situation of a cause-effect SVC: V_1 describes the state (or ongoing action as the case may be) and V_2 the cause that made the subject be in the state (or performing the action), e.g.:

- (10-27) *Ia rari takut.*
 3s run afraid
 ‘He ran away being afraid.’

- (10-28) *Buah ntawa’ nya’ da-tiki’ sida’, da-am’i’, labuh*
 fruit k.o.fruit that PASS-climb 3p PASS-take fall

da-buay ka tanah.
 PASS-throw.away to ground
 ‘The *ntawa’* tree was climbed by them, the fruit was taken, (and) fell being thrown away to the ground.

- (10-29) *Nyelipan mati da-palu'.*
centipede die PASS-beat
'The centipede was dead as a result of being beaten.'

10.2.2.5 Directional serialization

Motion verbs V_2 such as *terbay* 'fly (away)', *rari* 'run (away)', *pulay* 'go/come home', and *turun* 'descend', *tiki* 'ascend' add a directional meaning to V_1 . For some examples, consider:

- (10-30) *Tu' babi, bay' pulay ulih m'ih!*
this pig bring go.home by 2s.masc
'This is (some) pork, take (it) home!' (lit. '(it) be brought home by you')
- (10-31) *Kudi' ngeN-bay' dawun terbay.*
wind ACT-bring leaf fly
'The wind blew the leaves away.' (lit. '... brought the leaves flying')
- (10-32) *Tekanyat, ia N-lompat turun.*
startled 3s ACT-jump descend
'Being startled, he jumped down.'

10.2.2.6 Adverbial serialization

In adverbial serialization V_2 modifies V_1 in terms of manner and aspectual information. In manner serialization (10.2.2.6.1) V_2 explains the way V_1 takes place or is carried out. In aspectual serialization (10.2.2.6.2) V_2 indicates the internal temporal progress of V_1 .

10.2.2.6.1 Manner serialization

Manner serialization is found, if V_2 is an intransitive verb. Those with adjectival-like meanings are the most likely to occur as V_2 (examples (10-33 – 10-35)), but other verbs occur as well (such as in (10-36)).

- (10-33) *Arus ba-kerja keras kita'!*
must ANPAS-work hard 2p
'You have to work hard you all!'
- (10-34) *Ngapa m'ih datay lawun?*
why 2s.masc come slow
'Why did you come late?'

- (10-35) *Ngapa di' tin'uk mati?*
 why 2s.fem sleep dead
 'Why did you sleep like a dead person?' (lit. 'Why you sleep dead?')
- (10-36) *Ka' N-kisah kati cara ba-uma*
 want ACT-story how way ANPAS-rice.field
ba-pin'ah – pin'ah.
 ANPAS-move-RED
 '(I) want to tell you about how to do "slash and burn cultivation".' (lit.
 'I want to tell about how to do rice field work by moving around (from
 one place to another)')

10.2.2.6.2 Aspectual serialization

Aspectual meanings are mostly expressed through the use of modals (see Chapter 8). However, cases of aspectual meanings have been found to be expressed via serialization using *mis* 'finished' in V_2 position, and *pulay* 'go/come home' in V_1 position. In (10-37), for example, the use of *mis* expresses the completeness of the event:

- (10-37) *N-pakay mis, ia angkat.*
 ACT-eat finished 3s go
 'After having finished eating, he started off.'

Motion verbs are frequently found in V_1 position in sequential and simultaneous serialization. In this respect, one motion verb, namely *pulay* 'go/come home', is worth noting as its use in SVC is rather different semantically, that is, it can encode several meanings: sequential, simultaneous and 'completive-reverse' order:

- (10-38) *Ia pulay N-am'i' ay'.*
 3s go/come.home ACT-take water
 (a) 'He came home to get water.' (= sequential)
 (b) 'He came home from getting water.' (=completive-reverse order)
- (10-39) *Ia pulay N-bay' ay'.*
 3s go/come.home ACT-bring water
 (a) 'He came home carrying water.' (= simultaneous)
 (b) 'He came home from carrying water.' (=completive-reverse order)
- (10-40) *Pulay N-ketaw, tay laki*
 go/come.home N-harvest RELmale
N-ma' padi.
 ACT-carry.on.one's.back uncooked.rice
 'Coming home from harvesting, the male ones were carrying rice on
 their back.' (=completive-reverse order)

The sequential (10-38a) and simultaneous readings (10-39a) have been addressed previously. Our concern here is the “completive-reverse order” reading in (10-38b) and (10-39b) and (10-40), in which, even though it is in V_1 position, *pulay* expresses an action carried out after completing V_2 , translatable as “come home/back from doing V_2 ”. Intonationally there is a slight difference: in sequential and simultaneous readings, *pulay* and V_2 have their own (primary) stress, and this is a typical intonation contour of SVCs. In the completive-reverse order reading, however, *pulay* is uttered together with V_2 under a single intonation contour with a single primary stress on V_2 . The latter contour is similar to that of a modal auxiliary with its main verb. Another example of the “completive-reverse order” reading is also seen in *dani tin'uk* (wake.up-sleep) ‘wake up (from sleeping)’.

10.2.3 Cases of grammaticalization via SVCs

As noted in Chapter 5, the following formatives can function as verbs and also as a preposition and/or a connector: *aba'* 1) ‘follow’, 2) ‘and’, *ngusung* 1) ‘meet’ (morphologically *N-gusung* ‘ACT-meet’), 2) ‘with’, *ngaw* 1) ‘use’, 2) ‘with’, *nuna'* 1) ‘follow (from behind)’ (morphologically *N-tuna'* ‘ACT-follow’), 2) ‘according to’, and *sampay* 1) ‘arrive’, 2) ‘until’. Their use in sequential and simultaneous SVCs shows how the (meaning of the) prepositions may have originated:

- (10-41) *Ku aba' apay N-gusung wan kia'.*
 1s follow/and father ACT-meet 2s.hon thither.near
 a) ‘I follow father to meet you there.’
 b) ‘Father and I (will) meet you there.’

- (10-42) *Ku ka' ba-ran'aw N-gusung m'ih.*
 1s want ANPAS-visit ACT-meet 2s.masc
 a) ‘I want to visit and see you.’
 b) ‘I want to go visiting with you.’

- (10-43) *Sida' N-ili' ngaw peraw.*
 3p ACT-go.downstreams use praw
 a) ‘They went downstream using a proa.’
 b) ‘They went downstream with a proa.’

- (10-44) *Sida' angkat N-tuna' dany'i ia.*
 3p go ACT-follow promise 3s
 a) ‘They started off following his promise.’
 b) ‘They started off according to his promise.’

- (10-45) *Ia rari sampay da rumah.*
 3s run arrive LOC house
 a) ‘He/she ran reaching home.’
 b) ‘He/she ran until he/she was at home.’

In Chapter 5 several morphosyntactic features were shown that accompany the verbs in bold above when they function as verbs and as prepositions or connectors. *Aba'*

and *ngaw* are of special interest as they can be used in various functions. *Aba'* can function both at the phrasal and clausal level (see sections 5.2.2 and 10.6.1.1 of the present chapter). *Ngaw* as a preposition marks the following NP as instrument or benefactive (see section 5.2.1), whereas as a subordinator it marks purposive clauses (10.4.4 below).

10.3 Complement clauses

This section will describe major types of complement clauses in Mualang. A prototypical complement clause is defined in Payne (1997:313, following Noonan 1985) as “a clause that functions as an argument (subject or object) of some other clause.” Syntactic forms of complement clauses in relation to the matrix/main clauses vary depending on their structural and semantic integration. Some linguists view the possible kinds of integration as scalar or as constituting a continuum (cf. Payne 1997:314 and Givón 2001a, b). For the current purpose, I have adopted the idea of “complexity continuum” discussed in Payne (1997:313-315). According to Payne, complement clauses can fall somewhere on a *non-finite – finite complement* continuum depending on the degree of structural integration – hence conceptual integration – of the complement clause into the matrix clause. For Mualang, major subtypes of complement clauses are roughly outlined as follows (PCU (taken from Givón 2001b) stands for verbs of “perception, cognition and utterance”):

Non-finite Complements	Finite Complements
<hr/> Nominalized verb–Manipulation verb-type–Modality verb-type–PCU verb-type	

Finite complements have formal characteristics of independent clauses, while non-finite complements are less independent and are grammatically reduced in some way. Their possible manifestations in Mualang will be described in subsection 10.3.1. After that, 10.3.2 will deal with the distribution of complement clauses within clauses. Finally, 10.3.3 will highlight similarities and differences between complement clauses and serial verbs.

10.3.1 Finite and Non-finite complements

10.3.1.1 Finite complements

Finite complements in Mualang have the following characteristics:

- a) The complement clause is uttered under an intonation contour separated from its main or matrix verb. Typically, the matrix verb, which precedes the complement clause, is pronounced with a bit prolonged, rather flat or slightly rising intonation contour;

- b) The complement clause is like an independent clause: it has its own subject, which needs not be coreferential with that of the matrix clause, and it has its own separate tense-aspect-modal information.

As an illustration, consider example (10-46) (complement clauses are in brackets):

- (10-46) Subject Verb Object-complement
Ku *N-dinga* [*ia udah datay*].
 1s ACT-hear 3s PERF come
 ←————→ ←————→
 main (matrix) clause complement clause
 'I heard that he has come.'

Note that the grammatical subject of a finite complement clause may not surface syntactically due to zero anaphora (see section 9.1.3). However the intonational features as explained above still hold, e.g.:

- (10-47) *Ku N-dinga* [*udah datay*].
 1s ACT-hear PERF come
 ←————→ ←————→
 matrix clause complement clause
 'I heard that he has come.'

Finite complements normally appear without a complementizer as complements of verbs of perception, cognition and utterance (PCU) such as *peda* 'see', *tilik* 'observe', *ipa* 'spy, peek', *pikir* 'think', *kira* 'suspect', *padah* 'say, tell', *dinga* 'hear', *taw* 'know'. Other examples are:

- (10-48) *Ari jawuh ia N-peda'* [*aday tepayan*].
 from far 3s ACT-see exist jar
 'From a distance he saw that there was a jar.'
- (10-49) *Baru' ia ba-pikir* [*N-pulah tanah*].
 then 3s ANPAS-think ACT-make soil
 'Then he had a thought of creating (men) from soil.'
- (10-50) ... *nitaw'* [*ia anyut k=ili' jara'*].
 not.know 3s swept.away to=downstream jara'
 'She didn't know that she was really swept away downstream by water.'

Verbs denoting a mental/emotional state can also take a complement clause as an object of their mental/emotional state, e.g.:²

² Finite complements with verbs of perception, cognition, utterance and mental activity have been well-attested cross-linguistically (see e.g. Noonan 1985, Givón 2001b).

- (10-51) *Sida' ia' gaga [m'ih datay].*
 3p that glad 2s.masc come
 'They were glad that you came.'
- (10-52) *Apay takut [burung terbay rari].*
 father afraid bird fly run
 'Father was afraid that the bird would fly away.'
- (10-53) *Pedih [kita' suayak].*
 sad 2p divorced
 'It's sad that you (two) got divorced'

Verbs of cognition and utterance also take *direct* and *indirect quotes* as their finite complements:

- (10-54) *Ia pikir [ila' (ia) datay].* (= Indirect quote)
 3s think later (3s) come
 'He thought that he would come later.'
- (10-55) *Apay Aluy N-umung kadiri' [ka' pulay].*
 father Aluy ACT-talk alone want go.home
 (= Indirect quote)
 'Aluy's father said to himself that he wanted to go home.'
- (10-56) *Puyang Belawan mulai ba-pikir:*
 P B begin ANPAS-think
 "[Kati mah aba' Putung Empat tu'?" (= Direct quote)
 how mah with P K this
 'Puyang Belawan began to think: "How is it with Putung Empat?"
- (10-57) *Sa' urang-urang Buah Kana ngeN-bay':*
 3p person-RED B K ACT-summon
 "[Angkat mah kita!]" (= Direct quote)
 go mah 1p.incl
 'They, the people of Buah Kana, summoned: "Let's just go off."'

A direct quote is distinguished from an indirect one by its pronoun (usually a first person form, such as *kita* in (10-57)) and intonation, which normally imitates the original statement.

Similar to indirect quotes are "indirect questions". Indirect questions function as finite complements of cognition and utterance verbs. They can, but need not, be introduced with a question word. For illustrative examples the reader is referred to section 9.6.1.4 of Chapter 9.

10.3.1.2 Non-finite complements

Non-finite complements are “more tightly knit, less independent, less like a separate clause from the matrix clause than are finite complements” (Payne 1997:315). In Mualang the following specific characteristics apply:

- a) In contrast to finite complements, in non-finite complement clauses, the clausal complement is uttered under a tight intonation contour with the matrix verb, i.e. not separated from the matrix clause; such a contour is comparable to that between a verb and its object noun phrase in a single clause;
- b) The verb of the complement clause is independently marked for voice;
- c) The subject of the complement clause is highly constrained. It is zero-coded (ellipsed) if coreferential with the subject or the object of the matrix clause, or left unspecified (see further explanation below with respect to each subtype of non-finite complements);
- d) Tense-aspect-modal information of the complement clause is subject to constraints or left unspecified.

Three subtypes of non-finite complements will be discussed below: a) non-finite complements of a manipulation verb-type; b) non-finite complements with a modality verb-type, and; c) nominalized complements.

a) *Non-finite complements of a manipulation verb-type*

Typically in manipulation verbs the agent subject manipulates the patient object to perform something.³ Examples of such verbs are *asuh* 'cause', *suruh* 'order; cause', *pukung/paksa* 'force', *pulah* 'make', *uti* 'disturb, jokingly challenge', *bay* 'call for, summon', *pinta* 'ask for', *bantu* 'help', *ajar* 'teach'. When taking a clausal complement as its object-complement, the (logical) subject of the complement clause functions as the grammatical object of the matrix clause. The complement-clause subject itself is not expressed grammatically.⁴ Its zero-coding is due to the subject being coreferential with the object of the matrix clause. As illustrated in (10-58) below, *Belang Baw* serves as the grammatical object of the matrix clause and the logical subject or agent of the complement clause:

(10-58)

	Subject	Verb	Object		
	<i>Sida'</i>	<i>N-suruh</i>	<i>Belang Baw</i>	[<i>N-am'i' i</i>	<i>api</i>].
	3p	ACT-order	B B	ACT-take	fire
	←────────────────────────────────→			←────────────────→	
	Matrix clause			Complement clause	
	'They ordered Belang Baw to get fire.'				

The grammatical object status of the constituent like *Belang Baw* in (10-58) is evidenced by: 1) a tight intonation contour between the matrix verb and the object,

³ For further explanation on manipulation verbs, see, e.g. Givón (2001a:151-153); cf. also Noonan (1985:125-127).

⁴ Cf. "paratactic complements" in Noonan (1985:55-56, 76-82).

and 2) the possibility for the object to become the grammatical subject in the passive or inverse clause (see 10.3.2 below).

Typical causative constructions with the verbs *asuh* or *suruh* are constructed in such a way, e.g.:

- (10-59) *Tu' N-asuh ku [N-rut kita']*.
 this ACT-cause 1s ACT-forbid 2p
 'This causes me to forbid you all.' (i.e. 'This is why I forbid you all.')
- (10-60) *Nya' N-suruh ia [da-sebut Belang Ping'ang]*.
 that ACT-cause 3s PASS-mention B P
 'That causes him to be called Belang Pinggang.' (i.e. 'That's why he was called Belang Pinggang.')

More examples:

- (10-61) *Sida' N-uti' ipar ia' N-inum*.
 3p ACT-jokingly.challenge sibling.in.law that ACT-drink
 'They challenged their sister-in-law to drink.'
- (10-62) *Ia N-paksa diri' ba-kerja – ba-uma*.
 3s ACT-force self ANPAS-work – ANPAS-rice.field
 'He forced himself to do all kinds of household work (lit. to work and work in the rice field).'

Besides taking a finite complement (see 10.3.1.1 above), verbs of perception, cognition and utterance (PCU) can also take a non-finite complement in the same way as do the manipulation verbs, e.g.:

- (10-63) *Sida' naday kala' N-peda' m'ih [datay]*.
 3p NEG ever ACT-see 2s.masc come
 'They've never seen you come.'

Example (10-63) differs from, for example, (10-46) in that the subject of the complement clause is left unexpressed: grammatically *m'ih* '2s.masc' is part of the matrix clause, that is, its object. Semantically, in non-finite complements with such "manipulative" PCU verbs the (logical) subject of the complement clause is in focus, whereas in the finite ones (e.g. 10-46), the entire event referred to by the complement clause is in focus. Also, aspectual and modal information often do not appear in non-finite complements. Another example of non-finite complement of PCU verbs is given below:

- (10-64) *Seniku' N-dinga gu' Apay Aji [N-kumay ukuy]*.
 3d ACT-hear sound father haji ACT-call dog
 'Each of the two of them heard the voice of Mr. Haji calling a dog.'

b) Non-finite complements with a modality verb-type

The term modality verb is taken from Givón (2001a:149ff). Modality verbs include verbs expressing “modal attitude” (such as volition, intent, attempt, ability, necessity and probability) and aspectuality (initiation, duration, achievement, and termination). Examples of modality verbs in Mualang are *ka* ‘want’, *keran* ‘like (to do)’, *ngay* ‘not want/will’, *cuba* ‘try’, *perlu* ‘need’, *mulay* ‘begin’, *balang* ‘fail, cancel’, *mis* ‘finished’, *p-amis* ‘finish’, *lepa* ‘rest’. When such verbs take a clausal complement, the subject of the complement does not surface and is always coreferential with that of the matrix clause. For example:

- (10-65) *Ia keran* [N-pakay pekasam].
 3s like ACT-eat pickled/fermented.fish
 ‘He is fond of eating pickled fish.’

- (10-66) *Ku N-cuba* [N-sepu (kesuling) ja].
 1s ACT-try ACT-blow (flute) ja
 ‘I am just trying to play (it/the flute).’

- (10-67) *Seniku’ balang* [ba-tunang].
 3d fail ANPAS-engagement
 ‘The two failed to get engaged.’

- (10-68) *Sida’ ba-lepa* [ba-rin’as].
 3p ANPAS-rest ANPAS-struggle
 ‘They stopped fighting/struggling.’

Verbs denoting emotional or mental senses, such as *takut* ‘afraid (of)’, *gaga* ‘glad’, *riu* ‘long for’, may also behave like modality verbs in taking a complement clause. In the following examples (10-69 – 71) the subjects of the matrix and complement clause are coreferential, hence it does not surface in the complement clause:

- (10-69) *Miak ia takut* [pulay].
 child that afraid go.home
 ‘The child is afraid of going home.’

- (10-70) *Sida’ ia’ gaga* [b-ulih jelu].
 3p that glad ANPAS-get animal
 ‘They are glad to get animals.’

- (10-71) *Ia nyaw leju’* [da-tanya].
 3s PERF bored PASS-ask
 ‘He was tired of being asked.’

Note that these cases are different from (10-51 – 10-53) in which the subjects of matrix and complement clauses are not coreferential.

c) *Nominalized complements*

Maximal reduction takes place in a nominalized complement, in which the verb always appears with the subject and tense-aspect-modal information unspecified or unexpressed. In a nominalization type construction, the event is semantically nominalized without nominalizing morphology. The verbal form is retained, that is, it may be prefixed for voice. For example:

- (10-72) [B-uma tu'], reti nya' [N-pulah uma
ANPAS-rice.field TOP meaning that ACT-make rice.field

ngaw N-tam'ak padi].
for plant rice
'As for rice cultivation, it means making a rice field for planting rice.'

- (10-73) [N-tarik isaw-tangkin N-ancam urang]
ACT-draw machete-k.o.machete ACT-threaten person

kena' adat
afflicted customs
'Taking out machetes and threatening another person results in a customary fine'

- (10-74) [N-any'ung benih ka uma tay da-tugal] arus
ACT-escort seed to rice.field REL PASS-dibble must

lam-lam.
morning-RED
'Taking seeds to the rice field that is going to be dibbled has to be done in the morning.'

- (10-75) [Butang tu'], da-temu ka' ka laki
committing.adultery TOP PASS-meet want to husband

bini urang.
wife person
'As for *butang* (committing adultery), it consists of (lit. is found) wanting to (have an affair with) the husband or wife of another person.'

10.3.2 Distribution of complements within clauses

As seen in various examples presented above, complement clauses occupy syntactic functions in the clause analogous to a noun phrase, e.g. as a subject (as in (10-73)) or

an object (as in (10-46)). As with noun phrases, some complement types show variation with respect to their position within the clause. The most flexible position is found in finite complements of PCU-type verbs; the complement clause may appear after the matrix clause, as in (10-46), presented again below as (10-76), or clause-initially before the matrix clause, as in (10-77):⁵

- (10-76) *Ku N-dinga [ia udah datay].*
 1s ACT-hear 3s PERF come
 'I heard that he has come.'

- (10-77) *[Ia udah datay] ku N-dinga.*
 3s PERF come 1sACT-hear
 '(That) he has come, is what I heard.'

The difference between (10-76) and (10-77) is a matter of focus: in the former it is the event in the matrix clause that gets emphasized, whereas in the latter it is the other way around. Example (10-78) below displays another case, in which the subject of the complement clause is topicalized and the rest of the complement clause appears after the matrix clause.

- (10-78) *Ia, ku N-dinga [udah datay].*
 3s 1s ACT-hear PERF come
 'As for him, I heard (he) has come.'

In intransitive clauses the word orders SV and VS are commonly found (see section 7.2.6 and 9.2). A complement may occupy the subject slot as in the following examples which differ in focus in the same way as (10-76) and (10-77):

- (10-79) a. *[N-tugal tu'] ba-guna.*
 ACT-dibble this ANPAS-benefit
 'This dibbling (of holes) is useful.'
- b. *Ba-guna [N-tugal tu'].*
 ANPAS-benefit ACT-dibble this
 'It's useful this dibbling (of holes).'
- (10-80) a. *[Turun urang laki] da-peda' ia.*
 descend person male PASS-see 3s
 'That a man descended (from the sky) was seen by her.'
- b. *Da-peda' ia [kekura' N-sepu kesuling].*
 PASS-see 3s turtle ACT-blow flute
 'It was seen by him that the turtle was playing the flute.'

⁵ It is also possible to interpret the clause *ku N-dinga* '1s-ACT.hear' in (10-77) as an "afterthought" instead of a matrix clause. This would explain why one does not find the expected inverse construction here.

Note that the positional variation may also occur within the complement clause itself: in (10-80a) the order is VS (*turun* (=V) *urang laki* (=S), whereas in (10-80b) it is SV(O) (*kekura* (=S) *nyepu* (=V) *kesuling* (=O)).

The post-matrix-clause position of the complement clause is fixed in the *aday*-existential-presentative construction, due to the nature of this construction:⁶

- (10-81) *Ia N-peda' aday [tajaw anyut]*
 3s ACT-see exist jar swept.away
 'He saw there was a jar being swept away (by water)'

- (10-82) *Aday urang [datay].*
 Exist person come
 'There was somebody coming.'

(10-81) is also an example of a complement which serves at the same time as a matrix verb for another complement within the same construction. In the example *aday* 'exist' constitutes the complement for the clause *ia N-peda'* '3s-ACT.see' and simultaneously becomes the matrix verb for *tajaw anyut* 'jar swept away'.

Complements of manipulation verbs, as described in example (10-58), are invariable with respect to their position, whatever the voice of the matrix clause. When passivized, inversed, or clefted, it is only the grammatical object of the matrix clause – which is also the logical subject of the complement – that becomes the clause-initial subject (of the matrix clause), but the complement clause itself remains where it was in the active clause. Thus, (10-58), presented again as (10-83a), can be passivized or inversed as follows:

- (10-83) a. *Sida' N-suruh Belang Baw [N-am'i' api].*
 3p ACT-order B B ACT-take fire
 (= Active voice)
 'They ordered Belang Baw to get the fire.'
- b. *Belang Baw da-suruh (sida') [N-am'i' api].*
 B B ACT-order (3p) ACT-take fire
 (= Passive voice)
 'Belang Baw was ordered (by them) to get the fire.'
- c. *Belang Baw sida' suruh [N-am'i' api].*
 B B 3p ACT-order ACT-take fire
 (= Inverse voice)
 'Belang Baw they ordered to get the fire.'
- d. *Belang Baw tay sida' suruh [N-am'i' api].*
 B B REL 3p ACT-order ACT-take fire
 (= Clefted)
 'It's Belang Baw that they ordered to get the fire.'

⁶ For *aday*-existential constructions, see section 6.3.

Such a mechanism is not found with non-finite complements of PCU verbs, in which the whole complement is moved, e.g. to subject position when passivized, as in the examples in (10-80).

10.3.3 Differences between constructions with non-finite complements and serial verb constructions

Non-finite complements as described in 10.3.1.2 show structural overlapping with serial verb constructions (SVCs). They also share intonational similarity. For example, both constructions may have Subject-Verb-Object-Verb-Object structure (see (10-83a) and (10-11)). Complements used with modality verbs may share the same subject (e.g. 10-65 – 10-68), a typical feature of SVCs. There being no morphosyntactic marking on the verb, their difference is not always transparent in Mualang. Although in many cases the type of the verbs used disambiguates the two types of constructions, the contrast remains subtle in some cases. For example, the utterance verb *jaku* ‘say’ can take a complement clause (10-84) but can also be used in a SVC (10-85):

- (10-84) “*Pulay, m’ih!*”, *jaku’ ia*.
 go.home 2s.masc say 3s
 ‘Go home, you!’ she said.’

- (10-85) “*Aw’, nganti’ upa sarang renguang, buay ka*
 well if like nest k.o. anthropod throw to
tanah!” *jaku’ Petara Senta N-anu’ sedua ah*.
 ground say deity S ACT-angry 3d ah
 “‘Well, if it (your baby) looks like a nest of anthropods, (then just)
 throw it away to the ground!’”, said God Senta reprimanding the two of
 them.’

Nevertheless, the semantic clue that SVCs depict one single complex event is in most cases sufficient to identify their difference. In (10-85), for example, a SVC interpretation is plausible since the events referred to by both verbs depict one single situation, that is, that *Petara Senta* was reprimanding them and that he did this by saying something angrily. In contrast, a complement clause tends to add a separate assertion to its matrix clause and does not possess a particular semantic relationship to it as do the SVCs.

10.4 Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses are those that function like an adverb (Thompson and Longacre 1985). They are subordinate clauses that modify a verb phrase or a whole clause. A typology of adverbial clauses has been provided, among others, in Givón (2001b) and Thompson and Longacre (1985). The latter source (1985:172) mentions three devices used to form adverbial clauses: subordinating morphemes (consisting of grammatical morphemes with no lexical meaning and those with lexical content), special verb forms, and word order. All three are represented in Mualang, with the

addition that also polymorphemic words may function as subordinators. Hereafter the various types of adverbial clauses in Mualang will be described in the following order: temporal (10.4.1), locative (10.4.2), manner (10.4.3), purpose (10.4.4), simultaneity (10.4.5), conditional (10.4.6), concessive (10.4.7), reason (10.4.8), resultative (10.4.9) and absolutive (10.4.10).

10.4.1 Temporal adverbial clauses

Temporal adverbial clauses add time information to the main clause. In Mualang they are introduced by subordinating morphemes/words, reduplication of stative verbs, and preposing of aspectual auxiliaries. It is very common for adverbial clauses uttered with a non-final intonation (that is, typically with a slight rising intonation contour) to precede the main clause.

a) Subordinating morphemes/words

The following temporal subordinators were attested in the corpus:

1) *sebedaw* ‘before’: introducing an event that occurred prior to the event expressed by the main clause. The adverbial clause is frequently found before the main clause, although the reverse order is possible. A non-final clause intonation separates both clauses. For example:

- (10-86) *Sebedaw tin'uk, seniku' N-sumay.*
 before sleep 3d ACT-cook
 ‘Before going to bed, the two of them cooked.’

- (10-87) *Bangkay miak da-bungkus ngaw tikay, ka pua',⁷*
 corpse child PASS-wrap with mat to bark.clothes

sebedaw aday kayin.
 before exist clothes
 ‘The corpse of the child was wrapped with a mat, or *pua*’, before there were clothes available.’

2) *waktu* or *senta*: both words mean ‘time’ and may be used interchangeably, introducing the time setting at which the event in the main clause occurred; they are best translated as ‘when’:

- (10-88) *Waktu sida' menyadi' aday aba' apay inay, naday*
 time 3p sibling exist with father mother NEG

N-pakay umpan'
 ACT-eat rice
 ‘When the siblings lived with their parents, they didn’t eat rice’

⁷ *Pua* is the name of the traditional clothes made of tree bark.

- (10-89) *Senta bar-anak bini sedua nya', tulu anak sedua*
 time ANPAS-child wife 3d that really child 3d
nya''
 that
 'When the wives of both of them gave birth, it was true that their children'

3) *sampay* 'until': introducing the termination of the event mentioned in the main clause. *Sampay* is also a verb meaning 'arrive'.

- (10-90) *Ia idup da daerah Sepawuk sampay ia mati.*
 3s live LOC region S until 3s die
 'He lived in the region of Sepauk until he died.'
- (10-91) *Da-tung'u' sedua sampay sedua gali'.*
 PASS-wait 3d until 3d lie.down
 'They both waited until the other two laid down for a rest.'

b) Temporal adverbial clauses with prefixed words either or not reduplicated

A limited number of words prefixed with the nominalizing prefix *ke-* function as subordinating conjunctions introducing temporal adverbial clauses.⁸ The derived time words carry the meaning 'after such and such time'; for example, *ke-panyay* (NOM-long) 'after a long distance/time' (10-92) and *ke-sudah* (NOM-already) 'after completing' (10-93):⁹

- (10-92) *Ke-panyay ia duduk, ia N-peda' gerama'.*
 NOM-long 3s sit 3s ACT-see crab
 'After sitting for a long time, he saw a crab.'
- (10-93) *Ke-sudah N-peda' pia', antu' tu'*
 NOM-already ACT-see like.that ghost this
ba-pekat
 ANPAS-agreement
 '(After) having seen this, the ghosts made an agreement'

Both derived stative verbs are prefixed with *ke-* ((10-94) and (10-95)) or *peN-* ((10-96) and (10-97)) and are reduplicated to indicate that the time was spent in excessive degree:

⁸ The prefix *ke-* was discussed in section 4.2.3.

⁹ *Sudah* is a precatatorial morpheme, found only in this use with or without reduplication (see (10-97)). It is probably a borrowing from Malay/Indonesian. Another possibility would be that *sudah* was the earlier Mualang form which lost its initial *s-*.

- (10-94) *Ke-panyay – panyay* *ia ba-jalay* *ka kampung* *tih,*
 NOM-long-RED 3s ANPAS-road to dense forest *tih*
baru' ukuy ia N-pelung
 then dog 3s ACT-bark
 'After he had walked a very long distance/for a very long time into the
 jungle, (then) his dog barked'
- (10-95) *Pe-lama' – lama'* *ia ba-jalay,*
 NOM-long – RED 3s ANPAS-road
 'After he had walked for a very long time,'
- (10-96) *PeN-panyay – N-panyay* *gisah ia', ...*
 NOM-long – N-RED story that
 'After a very long time the story goes, ...'

Also *ke-sudah* may undergo reduplication:

- (10-97) *Ke-sudah – sudah* *Dara Reja' N-inum ...*
 NOM-already-RED D R ACT-drink
 'After Dara Reja' had drunk and drunk ...'

c) Temporal adverbial clauses with aspectual auxiliary-preposing

Three “phasal” aspectual auxiliaries, namely *bedaw* ‘not yet’, *agi* ‘still’ (durative aspect), and *udah, nyaw* ‘already’ (perfective aspect) function as a subordinator in clause-initial position.¹⁰ As a subordinator they mean ‘before’ (like *sebedaw*), ‘as long as, during the time of’, and ‘after’ respectively. Examples:

- (10-98) ***Bedaw*** *urang N-pinta', kita dulaw N-suruh.*
 before person ACT-ask 1p.incl first ACT-order
 'Before a person asks (for something), we tell them to do that first.'
- (10-99) ***Agi'*** *d=alam masa penti, urang nitaw'*
 as.long.as LOC=inside time taboo person cannot

ba-jalay jawuh
 ANPAS-road far
 'During (as long as being in) the time of taboo, people could not go
 far (away)'

¹⁰ For the term “phasal”, see Baar (1997) and Minde and Tjia (2002:290): “Phasal polarity expressions are expressions used to contrast a particular situation ‘with its opposite from a polarity perspective’, where ‘the two situations are continuatively or sequentially related’ ...”

- (10-100) *Udah da-ren'am, da-angkat dulaw.*
 after PASS-soak PASS-lift first
 'After it has been soaked, it must be taken out first.'
- (10-101) *Nyaw ke-lama' – lama' ia ba-kayuh, N-pansa'*
 after NOM-long-RED 3s ANPAS-paddle ACT-pass
kampung layin.
 village other
 'After having paddled (the proa) for a very long time, (he) passed another village.'

Nyaw and *udah* can co-occur in the same clause. In this respect, the one that comes first functions as a subordinator and the latter serves as an aspectual auxiliary,¹¹ e.g.:

- (10-102) *Udah nyaw tiga ari, kayu tay da-pe-lintang*
 after PERF three day wood REL PASS-CAUS-cross.position
 'After having been there for three days, the (piece of) wood that was laid across'
- (10-103) *Nyaw udah N-inum ay' tih, rusa tu' nguap.*
 after PERF ACT-drink water tih deer TOP yawn
 'Thus, after having drunk water, the deer yawned.'

For focus reasons, adverbial clauses can also be postposed after the main clause, as in (10-104) below (cf. (10-103)). However, the position before the main clause is found more often; in this position it provides temporal background information for the event in the main clause.

- (10-104) *Rusa tu' nguap, nyaw udah N-inum ay' tih.*
 deer TOP yawn after PERF ACT-drink water tih
 'Thus, the deer yawned, after having drunk water.'

Aspectual auxiliaries can also be fronted to clause-initial position for focus purposes, that is, to stress the predicate with its aspectual information. In such a case the auxiliary may also be interpreted as a temporal subordinator. Which interpretation is favored depends simply on the context. An aspectual auxiliary reading is required when the sentence consists of two independent or main clauses, such as in the following examples:

- (10-105) *Udah lama' duduk, temuay naday datay.*
 PERF long sit guest NEG come
 'We **have** sat for a long time, (but) the guests did not come.'

¹¹ For the difference between *nyaw* and *udah*, see section 8.4.2.

- (10-106) *Agi' N-pakay ia, N-tiki' wih!*
 still ACT-eat 3s ACT-climb wih
 'He's **still** eating, come in, please!'

10.4.2 Locative adverbial clauses

Locative clauses are introduced by the subordinator *dini* 'where':

- (10-107) *N-tan'a [dini ka' b-uma], baru' pabat sida'.*
 ACT-sign where want ANPAS-rice.field then slash 3p
 '(They) put a sign where (they) wanted to work a rice field, then they slashed (the trees and bushes).'
- (10-108) *Any'ung ka [dini teban tanah tay kita' pinta' kah]!*
 escort to where place land REL 2p ask.for kah
 'Bring it to where the place is that you all are asking for!'

10.4.3 Manner adverbial clauses

Manner adverbial clauses express similarity and are introduced by *upa* 'like, as', e.g.:

- (10-109) *Am'i' ay', tunyaw ka jimut. Da-tunyaw*
 take water knead to flour PASS-knead

[upa kita N-pulah kuwi].
 as 1p.incl ACT-make cake
 'Get (some) water, (and) knead it with the *jimut* flour. It is kneaded the way we make cakes.'
- (10-110) *PeN-datay kami tu' kitu' [upa N-tuju bukit*
 NOM-come 1p.excl this hither as ACT-go.to hill

ting'i'].
 high
 'Our coming here was like going up a high hill.' (that is, it was hard to achieve)

10.4.4 Purposive adverbial clauses

Purposive adverbial clauses are introduced with *ngaw* and *jalay* 'for, in order to', e.g.:

- (10-111) *Nyiur da-gulay gula [ngaw N-pulah ati lulun].*
 coconut PASS-mix sugar for ACT-make liver k.o.snacks
 'The coconut is mixed with sugar in order to make the fillings of the *lulun*.'

- (10-112) *Ia siap kayu [ngaw ia N-kayit kayin Putung Empat].*
 3s prepare wood for 3s ACT-hook clothes P K
 'He prepared (a piece of) wood for him to hook PK's clothes.'
- (10-113) *Tajaw tay besay, taw' [jalay N-pajak nsia].*
 k.o.jar REL big can for ACT-put.in human
 'A jar that is big, that can be for putting a person into it.'
- (10-114) *Ku taw' bada' teban tay baik [jalay N-tam'ak pisang].*
 1s know bada' place REL good for ACT-plant banana
 'I know a place that's good for planting banana trees.'

The use of *ngaw* and *jalay* in purposive clauses is overlapping. However, it seems that *ngaw* still carries a benefactive sense, besides the purposive one (cf. subsection 5.2.2 in Chapter 5 for the various meanings of *ngaw*), whereas *jalay* is simply purposive. For example, a benefactive sense is more transparent in the following example, in which *jalay* would not be suitable:

- (10-115) *Asa pia', ku bay' pulay [ngaw (?jalay)*
 whenever like.that 1s bring go.home for

rempah da rumah].
 side.dish LOC house
 'If so, I'll take it home (to be used) for side dishes at home.'

10.4.5 Simultaneous adverbial clauses

Simultaneous adverbial clauses are introduced by *sam'il* 'while', in which two events or actions are described as taking place simultaneously, e.g.:

- (10-116) *[Sam'il N-palu' tanah], N-padah ka Puyang Gana*
 while ACT-strike ground ACT-say to P G

diri' ka' N-tunu.
 self want ACT-burn
 'While striking the ground, say to (god) Puyang Gana that you yourself want to do the burning (of the place cleared for planting).'
- (10-117) *"Ngay ku," jaku' miak ia' [sam'il N-sabak].*
 not.want 1s say child that while ACT-cry
 'I don't want (it), said that child while crying.'

10.4.6 Conditional adverbial clauses

Conditional adverbial clauses are introduced by *nti'* (with alternative forms *nganti'* and *anti'*)¹² 'if' and *asa* 'whenever'. Where *nti'*-clauses purely express a condition

¹² (*Ng*)*anti'*, but not *nti'*, is also used as a verb meaning 'wait'.

for a single event, *asa*-clauses indicate that the event mentioned in the main clause is triggered each time the condition is fulfilled:

- (10-118) [Nti' N-besay ia'], naday bayah da-pakay ku.
if ACT-big that NEG enough PASS-eat 1s
'If it's as big as that, that's not enough for me to eat.'
- (10-119) ... aday kami N-gusung ia lah, [nti' pia'],
exist 1p.exl ACT-go.after 3s lah if like.that

[nti' ia ka' N-beli pe-mati].
if 3s want ACT-buy NOM-die
'... we will go after him, if such is the case, if he wants to buy death.'
- (10-120) [Asa kita' N-tugal], N-kumay ku.
whenever 2p ACT-dibble ACT-call 1s
'Whenever you all are going to do dibbling for seeds, you call me.'
- (10-121) Ia, [asa malam], ngay tin'uk.
3s whenever night not.want sleep
'As for him, whenever it was night, he didn't want to sleep.'

The word *mali* (cf. another usage in 9.6.2.2) seems to be used also as a negative conditional, translatable as 'lest'. In this sense, *mali*-clauses appear following the main clause, e.g.:

- (10-122) Padi da-angkut ka durung,
uncooked.rice PASS-carry to paddy.store

[mali padi ba-kulat].
lest uncooked.rice ANPAS-fungus
'The uncooked rice is (then) carried to the paddy store, lest it gets moldy.'
- (10-123) Nang kita' N-uti' ipar kita'
don't 2p ACT-jokingly.challenge sibling.in.law 2p

N-inum, [mali ia mutah].
ACT-drink lest 3s vomit
'Don't you make your sister-in-law drink, lest she vomits.'

10.4.7 Concessive

Concessive clauses are introduced by *amat* 'although', 'even though'. *Amat* also means 'true; really.'

- (10-124) *Aw', waktu ka' ba-bagi ia', Raja Sua, nama*
 well time FUT ANPAS-divide that R S name
s-igi' antu jara', taw' ia bada',
 ONE-CLASS ghost jara' know 3s bada'
[amat nisi' urang N-padah].
 although EXIST.NEG person ACT-say
 'Well, when they were going to divide it (the wealth among themselves), King Sua, so it is with a ghost, he knew it, even though nobody told him.'
- (10-125) *[Amat ia bini kita], ulih ia anak urang.*
 even.though 3s wife 1p.incl but 3s child person
 'Even though she is our wife, (but) she is (still) the child of somebody.' (So, don't beat your wife)

10.4.8 Reason

Reason clauses are introduced by *keba'* 'therefore', *nema* 'because', *ulih* 'because of'. *Keba'* and *ulih ia'* always occupy the onset of a new clause. *Nema*-clauses may appear before or after the main clause.

- (10-126) *[Keba'] ku N-rut melia' tih.*
 therefore 1s ACT-forbid long.ago tih
 'Therefore I forbade (you) long ago to do so.'
- (10-127) *Ku naday datay, [nema ujan].*
 1s NEG come because rain
 'I didn't come because it rained.'
- (10-128) *[Nema N-turut kami bah], seniku' tu', saja*
 because ACT-follow 1p.excl bah 2d TOP really
tumas-tucuk.
 fit-suitable
 'Because, to us, both of you really match each other (as a pair).'

The verbs *asuh* and *suruh*, which both mean 'order; cause', can in their active form also be used to express a reason.

- (10-129) *Ku tabin. Nya' N-asuh / N-suruh ku naday aba'.*
 1s fever that ACT-cause 1s NEG follow
 'I got fever. That's why I didn't come along.'
- (10-130) *Ku naday talah agi'. Nya' N-asuh / N-suruh ku pulay.*
 1s NEG afford again that ACT-cause 1s go.home
 'I wasn't able (to eat) anymore. That's why I went home.'

In such a usage, both verbs usually appear in the expression *nya'/tu' N-asuh / N-suruh* ... 'that/this ACT-cause ...'. These expressions seem to be used interchangeably.¹³

10.4.9 Resultative

Resultative clauses are introduced by *isa'* and *jalay* 'so that'. It is not clear at present what the difference is between their usages. It seems that with *isa'*, a cause-effect relationship between the main clause and the *isa'*-clause is strongly asserted, i.e. the main clause provides a state of affairs that would trigger the effect in the *isa'*-clause. This implication seems to be absent with the use of *jalay*, which also carries a purposive sense.

- (10-131) *Sunyi' uga' lay, [isa' nyamay ku jarita].*
 silent all lay so.that comfortable 1s story
 'Be all quiet, please, so that I (can) tell the story comfortably.'
- (10-132) *Tay in'u' arus N-ijin ka laki,*
 REL female must ACT-permission to male

[isa' tay laki taw' bada'].
 so.that REL male know bada'
 'The female (i.e. wife) must ask permission from the male (i.e. husband) so that the male knows (where she is going).'
- (10-133) *Turun m'ih, Sengkukur, [jalay kita*
 descend 2s.masc S so.that 1p.incl

ba-bintih].
 ANPAS-kick.with.shinbone
 'Get down, you, Sengkukur, so that we (can) have a shinbone-fight.'
- (10-134) *N-pinta' tulung kita' N-padah, [jalay kita*
 ACT-ask help 2p ACT-say so.that 1p.incl

N-urus pel-ajar ka urang tay
 ACT-arrange NOM-teach to person REL

ba-laki – bini malam tu'].
 ANPAS-husband –wife night this.
 '(We) ask you all to tell (advise us), so that we (can) give advice to those that are going to be married tonight.'

¹³ One informant judged that the word *asuh* was used mostly by the older generation.

10.4.10 Absolutive

The term ‘absolutive’ is borrowed from Thompson and Longacre (1985:200). Absolutive clauses in Mualang are quite common. They are characterized by the following features:

- the absolutive clause typically precedes the main clause without any subordinator. A final rising intonation at the end of the absolutive (i.e. dependent) clause separates it from the main clause;
- the absolutive clause is initiated by a finite verb (i.e. prefixed for voice) but always with a zero subject, which is coreferential with the subject in the main clause. The aspectual and modal information is reduced or unspecified;
- The semantic relationship of the absolutive and its main clause is not specified (= absolute), thus it depends on the context;
- the absolutive clause refers back to the event of the immediately preceding clause. The situation resembles a “tail-head linkage”, in which the absolutive clause summarizes, repeats, or even elaborates on the content of the immediately preceding clause.

Pragmatically, absolutive clauses seem to re-emphasise the completion of the previously mentioned event, at the same time providing background information (e.g. relating time, place or event) for the event in the main clause. The event in absolutive clauses occurs before or at the same time as the event of the main clause, but the actual temporal arrangement is a matter of interpretation. In the following examples (10-135 – 10-138), clauses in parentheses with the index (2) are absolutive and refer back to events in the clauses indexed with (1).

- (10-135) *[Ia pulay ka rumah.]₁ [Datay ka rumah,]₂*
 3s go.home to house come to house
- da-anu' bini ia.*
 PASS-reprimand wife 3s
 ‘He went home. Having come / coming home, he was reprimanded by his wife.’
- (10-136) *Turun ba-jalay N-sumpit, [senua tih]*
 descend ANPAS-road ACT-blowpipe 3d tih
- ba-malam da kampung.]₁ [Ba-malam da]*
 ANPAS-night LOC village ANPAS-night LOC
- kampung nya' tadi',]₂ senua ka' tin'uk.*
 village that a.while.ago 3d want sleep
 ‘When walking down to do animal-blowpiping, both of them spent the night in a village. Spending the night in the village, both of them wanted to sleep.’

- (10-137) [Baru' ia turun ari lubang]₁ [Turun lubah-
 then 3s descend from hole descend slow/quiet-
 lubah ka baruh rumah,]₂ ia N-peda' urang
 RED to bottom.part house 3s ACT-see person
 'Then he went down from the hole. Going down slowly and quietly
 to the bottom part of the house, he saw people'
- (10-138) Jadi mula ia N-tempa' nsia tih, kisah,
 so beginning 3s ACT-forged human tih story
 da-tangkal uwi sega', [da-tegah,]₁ [Da-tegah,]₂
 PASS-slash rattan sega' PASS-startle PASS-startle
 ketawa' ka ketawa', nitaw' jadi nsia.
 laugh to laugh can't become human
 'Thus, in the beginning he forged men, so the story goes, he cut
 some sega' rattan, and then startled it. Being startled, it laughed and
 laughed, (but) couldn't become a human being.'

10.5 Relative clauses

The present section describes characteristics of relative clauses in Mualang. For convenience, the discussion is broken down into typical or major relativization with the marker *tay* (10.5.1), relativization of place (10.5.2), participial relative clauses (10.5.3), and headless relative clauses (10.5.4).

10.5.1 Relative clauses with the marker *tay*

A relative clause functions as a nominal modifier (Keenan 1985, Payne 1997). Payne (1997:325-326) lists the following important elements forming a relative clause: a) the **head** (i.e. the noun phrase modified by the clause, b) the **restricting clause** (i.e. the relative clause), c) the **relativized noun phrase** (i.e. the element within the restricting clause that is coreferential with the head), and 4) the **relativizer** (i.e. a marker that marks the restricting clause as a relative clause). Example (10-140) represents the typical structure of relative clauses (RCs) in Mualang; the relative clause is bracketed in the example:

- (10-139) Urang N-padah ka ku.
 person ACT-say to 1s
 'Somebody (a person) said to me.'
- (10-140) urang tay [Ø N-padah ka ku]
 person REL Ø ACT-say to 1s
 'the person who said to me'

Example (10-139) shows a main clause; example (10-140) illustrates a relativization of the element *urang* ‘person’ of (10-139). Mualang RCs, as seen in (10-140), are postnominal, i.e. following the head (*urang* ‘person’), marked by the relativizer *tay*, whereas the relativized NP itself is zero coded (\emptyset) in the restricting clause. *Tay* has an alternate form *ti*.¹⁴ Relativization only operates on a subject, and for this reason, the form of the verb in the restricting clause has to be adjusted for voice according to the semantic role of the subject. Thus, in (10-140) the relativized NP is an agent-subject and the verb *padah* ‘say’ in the RC takes the active *N*-. Non-subject relativization (object and oblique) is not attested, e.g.:

- (10-141) **Manuk ti ku N-bunuh.*
 chicken REL 1s ACT-kill
 ‘The chicken that I killed.’

The following examples illustrate subject relativization with various voices according to the semantic role of the subject:

- (10-142) *uma ti [dah da-tunu]* (= patient-subject, passive)
rice-field REL PERF PASS-burn
'the rice field that has been burnt'
- (10-143) *darah tay [kami beri' ka kita']*
blood REL 1p.excl give to 2p
(= patient-subject, inverse)
'blood that we gave to you'
- (10-144) *ini' aba' ucu' ti [lampar miskin]*
grandmother and grandchild REL very poor
(= subject, intransitive)
'a grandmother and a grandchild who were very poor'
- (10-145) *tajaw tay [besay]* (= subject, intransitive)
k.o.jar REL big
'a jar that is big'
- (10-146) *urang tuay tay [ba-ajar] nya'*
person old REL ANPAS-teach that
(= agent-subject, antipassive)
'that old person who was doing the instruction (i.e. to the marriage couples)'

¹⁴ These latter are more common. Vowel harmony may be noticed behind this high – mid vowel alternation, i.e. conditioned by the initial sound of the word that follows *ti*, e.g. [*ti in u*] ‘REL-female’, [*te da-bay*] ‘REL-PASS.bring’. However, this is a tendency rather than a rule. The form *tay* is less frequent; it is used more by the elder generation. The most likely word that may have been the historical source of *tay* is probably *utav* ‘(indefinite) thing’.

In the examples given thus far, the restricting clauses are filled by predicating elements that are verbal. However, the restricting part may also contain a non-verbal predicating element, such as a noun (phrase) (10-147), a demonstrative (10-148), an adverb (10-149), a prepositional phrase (10-150), and an ordinal numeral (10-151):

- (10-147) *kita tay [in'u']*
 ip.incl REL female
 'we who are female'
- (10-148) *uma ti [ia']*
 rice.field REL that
 'the rice field that is that (one)'
- (10-149) *urang Mualang ti [dia']*
 person M REL there.(near)
 'the Mualang people who are there'
- (10-150) *Nanga Sepawuk ti [da ili' Belitang] ia'*
 estuary S REL LOC downstream B that
 'the Sepauk Estuary that is at the downstream part of the Belitang (River)'
- (10-151) *anak ti [ke-dua]*
 child REL ORD-two
 'the child who is the second (one)'

Such restricting parts with a non-verbal predicate are a bit problematic since all relativized NPs in (10-147) through (10-151) can be paired NPs without the relativizer *tay*, such as in (10-147b) through (10-151b), respectively:

- (10-147b) *kita in'u'*
 1p.incl female
 'we female'
- (10-148b) *uma ia'*
 rice.field that
 'the/that rice field'
- (10-149b) *urang Mualang dia'*
 person M there.(near)
 'the Mualang people there'
- (10-150b) *Nanga Sepawuk da ili' Belitang ia'*
 estuary S LOC downstream B that
 'the Sepauk Estuary of the downstream section of the Belitang (River)'

- (10-151b) *anak ke-dua*
 child ORD-two
 ‘the second child’

However, syntactically, clauses in Mualang can contain a non-verbal predicating element or elements, as in equative clauses, without a copula (see Chapter 6). Thus, all constructions in (10-147 through 10-151) are indeed described as relative clauses: their plain non-verbal clause counterparts are presented in the (c) examples, hereafter:

- (10-147c) *Kita in'u’.*
 1p.incl female
 ‘We are female’ / ‘We are the female group.’
- (10-148c) *Uma ia’.*
 rice.field that
 ‘A (or the so-called) rice field is that (one).’ (E.g. as a reply to such a question: “Which is *uma*?”)
- (10-149c) *Urang Mualang dia’.*
 person M there.(near)
 ‘The Mualang people are there.’
- (10-150c) *Nanga Sepawuk da ili’ Belitang ia’.*
 estuary S LOC downstream B that
 ‘The Sepauk Estuary is (located) at the downstream section of the Belitang (River)’
- (10-151c) *Anak ia’ ke-dua.*
 child that ORD-two
 ‘The/that child is the second (one).’

Semantically and pragmatically, the modifying element in plain NPs – (as in the examples (b) above) – has a descriptive function (i.e. the speaker assumes that the referent would be insufficiently identifiable to the hearer without the modifying element), whereas a restricting clause chiefly functions to narrow down the number of possible referents (i.e. the speaker assumes a prior knowledge of the hearer about the identity of the referent of the antecedent (the head of the construction)).¹⁵ Example (10-150), for instance, would be uttered in a situation in which both the speaker and the hearer know there is more than one rice field. The relative clause selects the one meant by the speaker in contrast with to the other ones.¹⁶

¹⁵ Such a function of a restricting clause correlates with that of cleft constructions (see Chapter 9).

¹⁶ Parallel to the ‘optionality’ of the relativizer *tay* is the behavior of the Indonesian *yang*. For various discussions regarding relativization and *yang* in Indonesian, see, for example, Kaswanti Purwo (1983, 1988), Verhaar (1983), Steinhauer (1992), and Minde (to appear).

10.5.2 Relativization of place

If place is relativized, the following markers are used as a relativizer: *tay* ‘REL’, *jalay* ‘place’, and *dini* ‘where’. Usually the head is the generic word for ‘place’ *teban*, e.g.:¹⁷

- (10-152) *Pelan’uk ba-jalay ka teban [dini ia*
mouse.deer ANPAS-road to place where.at 3s
ba-temu aba’ babi].
ANPAS-meet with pig
‘The mouse-deer walked to the place where it met with the pig.’

- (10-153) ... *sida’ pulay ka teban [jalay Putung Empat*
3p go.home to place place P K
N-ancaw padi tadi].
ACT-spread rice a.while.ago
‘... they went home to the place at which Putung Empat was spreading the rice (for sun-drying) a while ago.’

- (10-154) ... *seniku’ angkat ka teban [tay da-padah kekura’*
3d go to place REL PASS-say turtle
tadi].
a.while.ago
‘Both of them went off to the place that was mentioned by the turtle a while ago.’

Dini and *jalay* are used interchangeably when the locative head appears as the locative adverb (i.e. a non-argument, or adjunct) in the relative clause, as in examples (10-152 and 10-153). The marker *tay* will be used instead if the locative head functions as an argument in the relative clause, as in (10-154). However, it is also common to find the marker *tay* in relative clauses where the locative head functions as a location in the relative clause. In such cases, the locative head appears as an uncertain place and the relativizer *tay* is followed by *jalay* ‘place’. *Jalay* seems to function as a “resumptive location” in the restricting clause. Some examples:

- (10-155) *Datay ka menua urang tay [jalay seniku’ rari]*
come to country person REL place 3d run
‘Coming to the country of other people where (which was the place) the two of them ran away to’

¹⁷ *Jalay* also means ‘road, way’, ‘for’ (purposive clause subordinator), and ‘so that’ (resultative clause subordinator). In the meaning ‘place’, it is synonymous with *teban*. Their distribution, however, is different; example (10-153) presents a context in which *teban* is preferred to *jalay*.

- (10-156) *da tisi tay [jalay ia N-getah].*
 LOC side.part REL place 3s ACT-rubber.sap
 ‘on the side at which (which was the place) he set a rubber sap trap.’

10.5.3 “Participial” relative clauses

What is meant here by “participial” relative clauses are those that have a verbal (i.e. dynamic intransitive and transitive) predicating element but no relativizer linking the head and the restricting clause. Some examples (restricting clauses are in square brackets as above):

- (10-157) *Jenis-jenis utay [da-lalin] aday gaya kediri'-kediri'.*
 kind-RED thing PASS-plait exist style alone-RED
 ‘Various kinds of things (that are) plaited’ have their own styles.’
- (10-158) *Sida' ia' N-giga' urang [N-rusak keban*
 3p that ACT-look.for person ACT-broken kind
barang].
 thing
 ‘They are looking for a person (who) damaged those kinds of things.’
- (10-159) *Baru' urang tuay [ba-ajar nya'] N-padah*
 then person old ANPAS-teach that ACT-say
 ‘Then that old person (who) did the advice-teaching said’

“Participial” relative clauses are marginal and they seem to be a case of *tay*-dropping, found in rapid speech and in the presence of sufficient contextual information, the whole NP (i.e. the head and the restricting clause) being uttered under a straight flat intonation contour.

10.5.4 Headless relative clauses

In headless relative clauses the relativizer *tay* and the restricting clause appear without the head noun. The head is normally dropped when its reference is already clear, usually from context. In the following examples headless relative clauses are shown in brackets:

- (10-160) *Kita Mualang, nti' ka' ba-laki – bini,*
 1p.incl M if want ANPAS-husband – wife,
[tay in'u'] naday kala' N-pinta' [tay laki].
 REL female NEG ever ACT-ask.for REL male
 ‘We, people of Mualang, if we want to get married, the female (one who is female) never proposes to the male (one who is male).’

- (10-161) [Tay nama pulay puang], ngay kami.
REL name go.home empty not.want 1p.excl
'The so-called (that which is called) going home empty, we won't.'
[The man's party was visiting the girl's party to propose. They
wanted her to accept their marriage proposal]
- (10-162) Aday [tay kita tan], N-padah kah bah
exist REL 1p.incl hold ACT-say kah bah
'(If) there's something we hold/keep (in our heart), we (have to) tell
it'

The following case of a headless relative clause is found even without the relativizer *tay*:

- (10-163) ... Belang Patung N-ipa' [da-tebas sida' tadi].
B P ACT-peek PASS-slash 3p a.while.ago
'... Belang Patung peeked at those (trees and bushes that) were
slashed by them a while ago.'

10.6 Coordinate clauses

Coordination is the grammatical process by which two syntactic units of equal grammatical status are conjoined. With reference to clauses the implication is that neither is dependent on the other as was the case with the types of clauses described in previous sections 10.1 – 10.5. Mualang employs two strategies to link coordinate clauses, namely by using coordinating particles (coordinators) (10.6.1) and by juxtaposition (10.6.2).

10.6.1 Coordination with conjoining particles

In this section the various Mualang coordinators will be discussed together with the semantic relations they express.

10.6.1.1 Conjunction: *aba* 'and'

Aba is also used as a verb meaning 'follow' and as the commitative preposition 'with' (see section 5.2.2). As a conjunctive, it functions as a phrasal and clausal coordinator, e.g.:

- (10-164) Terima'-kasih [ka Petara aba' Puyang Gana], nema
thanks to deity and P G because

udah N-ketaw padi aba' da-beri' padi ti
PERF ACT-harvest rice and PASS-give rice REL

bayik bah.
good bah

‘Be grateful to Petara and Puyang Gana, because we have harvested the rice and have indeed been given the good rice.’

- (10-165) *Pukat Bengawan diaw aba’ idup kediri’.*
 P B stay and live alone
 ‘Pukat Bengawan stayed and lived alone.’

- (10-166) *Mungkin ia N-dinga aba’ taw’ bada’ dini*
 maybe 3s ACT-hear and know bada’ where

peN-diaw urang ti nama Putung Empat.
 NOM-stay person REL name P K
 ‘Maybe he heard and knew where the home was of the person called Putung Empat.’

In (10-164) there are two instances of *aba’*. The bracketed one functions at the level of the phrase, whereas the other one, like in the rest of the examples, operates at the clausal level. In fact, in actual discourse, *aba’* is more frequently found as a phrasal coordinator. For clausal coordination juxtaposition appears to be the preferred strategy (see 10.6.2 below).

10.6.1.2 Disjunction: *ataw* ‘or’; *ntah ... ntah* ‘either ... or’

Ataw ‘or’ is used both at the phrasal and clausal level, e.g.:¹⁸

- (10-167) ... *nitaw’ da-bay’ pulay ka kampung ataw ka rumah.*
 can’t PASS-bring go.home to village or to house
 ‘... cannot/could not be brought back to the village or home.’

- (10-168) ... *agi’ idup ataw udah mati.*
 still live or PERF die
 ‘... (is she) still alive or has (she) died.’

Ntah ... ntah is a negative disjunctive coordinator. It basically means ‘not know’. As a coordinator *ntah ... ntah* denotes that the speaker does not know and therefore is not sure which option of the propositions holds. It operates on the level of the phrase as well as the clause, e.g.:

- (10-169) *Nema kami Mualang tu’, arus N-guang,*
 because 1p.excl M TOP must ACT-guang

ntah ti laki ntah ti in’u’.
 not.know REL male not.know REL female

¹⁸ One informant told me that the old word for the disjunctive coordinator in Mualang is *kali’*, synonymous with *ataw*, but that it is rarely used nowadays.

‘Because for us, the Mualang, (we/one) must *nguang* (that is, to join the spouse’s family on marriage), either the male or the female.’
(It’s up to the spouses)

- (10-170) *Ntah idup ntah mati ntah kati kini?*
not.know live not.know die not.know how kini
‘Is she alive, or is she dead, or how is she?’

10.6.1.3 Contrast: *ulih* ‘but’, *sedang* ‘whereas, while’

- (10-171) *Ia ka’ pulay, ulih ia nitaw’ bada’ jalay.*
3s want go.home but 3s not.know bada’ road
‘He wanted to go home, but he didn’t know the way.’

- (10-172) *Ulih amat pia’, ku ngay.*
but although like.that 1s not.want
‘But in spite of that being so, I won’t.’

- (10-173) *Aba’ sida’ Buah Kana¹⁹ kita tu’ se-rumah,*
with 3p B K 1p.excl TOP ONE-house

sedang aba’ antu ga’ kita se-peN-peda’ rumah.
meanwhile with ghost also 1p.excl ONE-NOM-see house
‘With those BK we lived in the same house, (and) meanwhile with the ghosts we were very close as well.’ (lit.: we could see each other’s house)

- (10-174) *Kati m’ih ka’angkat, sedang bini m’ih*
how 2s.masc want go whereas wife 2s.masc

bedaw datay?
not.yet come
‘How could you want to leave, whereas your wife hasn’t come yet?’

In (10-171) and (10-172) the *ulih*-clause appears at final and initial position, respectively. In both cases the clause introduced by *ulih* describes a new situation which is contrasted to a previous clause. In (10-171) this is the independent first clause *ia ka’ pulay*. In (10-172), the clause *ulih (...) ku ngay* is contrasted to a clause in the preceding discourse, referred to in this sentence by *pia’* and explicitly marked as the contrast by *amat*.

One difference between *ulih* ‘but’ and *sedang* ‘whereas, while’ is that the latter is more emphatically contrastive.

¹⁹ *Sida’ Buah Kana* refers to the great people of olden times. For further ethnological information about this, see Dunselman (1955 and elsewhere).

10.6.1.4 Temporal succession: *baru'* '(only) then'

A *baru'*-clause expresses what happens after the event referred to in the preceding clause(s). It can initiate a new clause. The word *baru'* also means 'newly, just a while ago'. The constructions *udah ia'* also introduces a succession of the preceding clause but it refers anaphorically to the preceding clause and differs from the coordinators, being a prepositional phrase.

- (10-175) *Baru' nti' nyaw ba-lepa ke-dua kali', baru'*
 then if PERF ANPAS-rest ORD-two time then
urang N-pakay-N-sumay, ba-inum.
 person ACT-eat-ACT-cook ANPAS-drink
 'Then if they have had a rest for the second time, only then the people would cook and eat and drink.'

- (10-176) *Udah ia' da-bungkus ka dawun pisang. Baru'*
 already that PASS-wrap to leaf banana then
da-jua' ka nemiak ia'.
 PASS-give to child that
 'After that it was wrapped with banana leaf. Then it was given to the child.'

- (10-177) *Udah ia', N-peda' tanah tay baik, ... baru'*
 already that ACT-see land REL good then
N-tebas bansa dua tiga depa' dulaw.
 ACT-slash approximately two three fathom first
 'After that, (we) look for good land, ... then (we) clear (an area of) about two or three (square) fathoms first.'

10.6.1.5 Conclusive: *jadi* 'so, thus', *puku'* 'in short'

Jadi is a coordinator meaning 'so'. As a verb it means 'become'. The meaning of the coordinator *jadi* may have arisen through a perfective reading of event X in the previous discourse 'X having become' = X being completed.

- (10-178) *Jadi Apay Aluy tu', amat-amat ia ka' mati lah*
 so father Aluy TOP true-RED 3s want die lah
kini ...?
kini
 'So, as for Aluy's father, we're wondering, does he really want to die ...?'

- (10-179) *Aday kisah urang tuay kelia' tih, kisah mula-*
 exist story person old old.time tih story beginning-
mula menua tu' da-pulah urang. Jadi, kisah urang
 RED world this PASS-make person so story person
tuay N-padah menua tu' da-tempa' Burung Tempa'.
 old ACT-say world this PASS-forged Bird Forge
 'There is a story from our ancestors from olden times, a story of
 how this world was made by somebody in the beginning. So, the
 story from our ancestors told that this world was forged by the
 Forging Bird.'

As a coordinator *puku'* means 'in short'. By itself it probably means 'core'. It is not clear whether it was borrowed from Malay/Indonesian (*pokok*).

- (10-180) *Ku din nyamay. Da-aduh N-pakay, N-inum*
 Is there.far comfortable PASS-serve ACT-eat ACT-drink
beram, da-bunuh ka babi Puku' nyamay.
 k.o.alcohol PASS-kill to pig in.short comfortable
 'I (lived) comfortably there. (I was) served when eating, drank
beram, pigs were killed for (me) In short, it was comfortable.'
- (10-181) *Semua barang ti ka' da-bay' ulih kelupa, nitaw'*
 all things REL FUT PASS-bring but forget can't
da-am'i' ka rumah agi', baik ia' isaw,
 PASS-take to house again whether that machete
kapak. Puku', nitaw' da-am'i'.
 ax in.short can't PASS-take
 'All things that would be brought along but were forgotten, couldn't
 be picked up at home again, whether it was a machete or an ax. In
 short, they couldn't be picked up again.'

10.6.1.6 Inclusive: *baik* 'whether ... or ...'

The coordinator *baik* expresses an inclusion without exception of several items mentioned in a sequence. It is translatable as 'whether ... or ...'. Lexically the word *baik* itself means 'good, kind'. An example of the use of the coordinator *baik* can be seen in (10-181) above. Another example is given in (10-182):

- (10-182) *Ulih ia' ku N-ajar seniku', baik da*
 Because.of that 1s ACT-teach 2d whether LOC
di', n'u', m'ih, gas, nti' tubuh pedih ...
 2s.fem TOA 2s.masc TOA if body sick
kita' ba-lepa.
 2p ANPAS-rest
 'Therefore I am advising both of you, whether it's on you, young lady, or you, young man, if you get sick ... you take a rest.'

10.6.2 Juxtaposition

Juxtaposition (conjoining of phrases or clauses without any coordinator) is a common syntactic device in Mualang. The interpretation of the construction usually depends on context and knowledge of the world. Conjunction, succession, contrast, and paraphrase are the most common semantic relations between juxtaposed clauses. They will be discussed in that order in the next paragraphs.

10.6.2.1 Conjunction

A conjunctive relation expressed by juxtaposition is comparable to the use of *aba'* 'and' (cf. 10.6.1.1). One significant difference between the explicit use of *aba'* and conjunctive juxtaposition is that in the case of the former the event or state of affairs being described are presented as a "closed list", whereas juxtaposition suggests an (in principle) unlimited number of events. Some examples:

- (10-183) *Apay Aluy tu', luntus, tiap ari tin'uk, nisi'*
 father Aluy TOP lazy every day sleep EXIST.NEG
kerja.
 work
 'As for Aluy's father, he was lazy, every day (he just) slept, (and) had nothing to do.'
- (10-184) *Ku din nyamay. Da-aduh N-pakay,*
 1s there.far comfortable PASS-serve ACT-eat
N-inum beram, da-bunuh ka babi-manuk,
 ACT-drink k.o.alcohol PASS-kill to pig-chicken
da-pulah kalulun-jimut. Puku' nyamay.
 PASS-make to k.o.snacks in.short comfortable
 'I (lived) comfortably there. (I was) served when eating, drank *beram*, pigs and chickens were killed for (me), *lulun-jimut* snacks were made for (me). In short, it was comfortable.'

- (10-185) *Ulih kisah urang tuay kita Mualang, Burung*
 but story person old 1p.incl M bird
- Tempa' N-tempa' tanah, N-tempa' langit,*
 forge ACT-forge earth ACT-forge sky
- N-tempa' apa semua ti aday.*
 ACT-forge what all REL exist
 'But (according to) the story of our Mualang ancestors, the Forging Bird forged the earth, forged the sky, forged all that exists.'

10.6.2.2 Succession

Stylistically, juxtaposition to describe a succession of events seems to present a more vivid picture than the use of explicit coordinators.

- (10-186) *Rusa tekanyat, langsung dani, N-lompat ka ay'.*
 deer startled directly wake.up ACT-jump to water
 'The deer was startled, woke up right away, (and/then) jumped into the water.'
- (10-187) *Buah ntawa' nya' da-tiki' sida', da-am'i', labuh*
 fruit k.o.fruit that PASS-climb 3p PASS-take fall
- da-buay ka tanah.*
 PASS-throw.away to ground
 'The *ntawa'* fruit (tree) was climbed by them, (the fruit was) picked, (then) thrown down to the ground.'

10.6.2.3 Comparison-contrast

The states of affairs expressed by the juxtaposed clauses may be interpreted as being in contrast.

- (10-188) *Nti' lam N-umpan manuk, nti' malam ari*
 if morning ACT-food chicken if night day
- N-umpan nuduk.*
 ACT-food puppy
 'In the morning (she) feeds chickens, in the evening (she) feeds puppies.'
- (10-189) *Beruang mati, kekura' idup.*
 bear die turtle live
 'The bear was dead, the turtle was alive.'

Contrast may also stress a counter-expectation, in which the state of affairs in the second clause occurred beyond the speaker's expectation:

- (10-190) *Bedaw jam 5, udah pulay.*
 not.yet hour five PERF go.home
 'It wasn't five o'clock yet (and yet) (he) had gone home.'

- (10-191) *Padi bedaw muduh, kita' udah datay kitu'.*
 rice not.yet ripe 2p PERF come hither
 'The rice wasn't ripe yet, (and yet) you all have come here.'

10.6.2.4 Paraphrase

In paraphrastic juxtaposition the second clause provides a semantic repetition for the preceding clause.

- (10-192) *Beruang naday rari, ia nugaw.*
 bear NEG run 3s stand.still
 'The bear didn't run away, he stood still.'

- (10-193) *Beruk tu' diaw, naday nyawut.*
 short-tailed.macaque TOP quiet NEG reply
 'The *beruk* kept quiet, (he) didn't reply.'

Appendix 1: Texts

In this appendix some texts are presented with their glosses and free translation. All the texts were collected during fieldwork between May 2002 – January 2003 and in June 2005 in the Upstream area from several female and male informants ranging in age from 45 to 65 years old. Text 1 is a long story narrated by an old man, about 65 years old by the time of recording, from the village of Tabuk Hulu. Text 2 is a story about Aluy's father, a funny, stupid-like but tricky character. The story was recorded from a man of about 50 years old, who originated from the village of Ijuk, very close to Tabuk Hulu. Text 3 is of a procedural genre, described by a woman of above 40 years old from Tabuk Hulu. Text 4 contains *pantuns* collected from a couple of above 50 years old from Landau Menarau. Text 5 is a collection of *sempang* 'proverbs', gathered from several informants from different villages. Finally, text 6 presents some samples of *petataw* 'riddles', given by informants from different villages.

Text 1: *Mulah nsia* 'Creating man'

<i>Aday</i>	<i>kisah</i>	<i>urang</i>	<i>tuay</i>	<i>kelia'</i>	<i>tih,</i>	<i>kisah</i>	<i>mula-mula</i>
exist	story	person	old	old.time	<i>tih</i>	story	beginning-RED

<i>menua</i>	<i>tu'</i>	<i>da-pulah</i>	<i>urang.</i>
world	this	PASS-make	person

There is a story from our ancestors from olden times, a story of how this world was made by somebody in the beginning.

<i>Jadi,</i>	<i>kisah</i>	<i>urang</i>	<i>tuay</i>	<i>N-padah,</i>	<i>menua</i>	<i>tu'</i>	<i>da-tempa'</i>
So	story	person	old	ACT-say	world	this	PASS-forge

<i>Burung</i>	<i>Tempa'.</i>
Bird	Forge

So, the story from our ancestors tells that this world was forged by the Forging Bird.

Nti' masa tu' mah, Tuhan ti N-pulah dunia.
 if time this mah Lord REL ACT-make world

But now (we know), it was God who made the world.

Ulih kisah urang tuay kita Mualang, Burung Tempa'.
 But story person old 1p.incl Mualang Bird Forge

But (according to) the story of our Mualang ancestors, it was the Forging Bird.

Jadi Burung Tempa' N-tempa' tanah, N-tempa' langit,
 So Bird Forge ACT-forge soil ACT-forge sky

N-tempa' apa semua tay aday.
 ACT-forge what all REL exist

Thus, the Forging Bird forged the earth, forged the sky, forged all that exists.

Keban tanam, keban kayu, rumput, ikan, jelu, burung,
 kind plant kind tree grass fish animal bird

semua da-tempa' ia, sampay ia N-tempa' nsia.
 all PASS-forge 3s until 3s ACT-forge human

Various kinds of plants, various kinds of trees, grass, fishes, animals, birds, all were forged by him, and then he forged man.

Jadi mula ia N-tempa' nsia tih, kisah, da-tangkal
 so beginning 3s ACT-forge human tih story PASS-cut

uwi sega', da-tegah.
 rattan sega' PASS- startle

So, in the beginning when he forged man, so the story goes, *sega'* rattan was cut, then startled.

Da-tegah, ketawa' ka ketawa', nitaw' jadi nsia.
 PASS-startle laugh to laugh can't become human

Being startled, it laughed and laughed, (but) couldn't become a human being.

Baru' ia ba-pikir: "N-pulah tanah", jaku' ia.
 then 3s ANPAS-think ACT-make soil say 3s

Then he thought: "I make soil," he said.

Baru' ia N-pulah tanah.
then 3s ACT-make soil

Then he made soil.

Da-bentuk pulah tubuh, pulah kaki jari, pulah mata
PASS-form make body make foot arm make eye

mua, idung nyawa, pen'ing telinga.
face nose mouth ear ear

He shaped it and formed a body, formed feet and hands, formed eyes and a face, a nose and mouth, (and) ears.

Da-tegah, baru' jadi nsia idup.
PASS-startle then become human live

It was startled, and then it became a living human being.

S-iku' da-pulah ia, nama ia Am'un Menurun.
ONE- CLASS PASS-make 3s name 3s A M

One was made by him, his name was AM.

S-iku' ti in'u' nama Pukat Bengawan.
ONE- CLASS REL female name P B

The other one that was female was named PB.

Jadi Am' un Menurun aba' Pukat Bengawan tu', nya'
so A M and P B this that

mula-mula nsia ti aday di menua tu'.
beginning-RED human REL exist LOC world this

So, as for AM and PB, those were the first human beings in this world.

Aw', ba-laki ba-bini=m seniku' jara', upa Adam
well ANPAS-husband ANPAS-wife=m 3d jara' like A

aba' Awa.
and A

Well, they then became husband and wife, like Adam and Eve.

Ba-laki-bini, *bar-anak,* *bar-anak* *ka*
 ANPAS-husband-wife ANPAS-child ANPAS-child to

Ruay *Mana* *aba'* *Bintang* *Muga.*
 R M and B M

Having become husband and wife, they had children; they gave birth to Ruay Mana and Bintang Muga.

Jadi *per-anak* *Am'un* *Menurun* *aba'* *Pukat* *Bengawan* *tu'*
 so NOM-child A M and P B this

bar-anak *ka* *Ruay* *Mana* *aba'* *Bintang* *Muga.*
 ANPAS-child to R M and B M

So, as for the descendants of AM and PB, they gave birth to RM and BM.

Bintang *Muga* *laki,* *Ruay* *Mana* *in'u'.*
 B M male R M female

BM was a male, RM a female.

Jadi *seniku'* *ia'* *menyadi'.*
 so 3d that sibling

Thus, the two of them were siblings.

Ulih *nema* *bedaw* *isi'* *nsia,* *aw'* *te-paksa* *seniku'*
 but because not.yet content human well MID-force 3d

ba-laki-bini.
 ANPAS-husband-wife

But because there were no other human beings yet, well, the two of them were forced to marry each other.

Ba-laki-bini *seniku'.*
 ANPAS-husband-wife 3d

(And) the two of them became husband and wife.

Jadi *ba-laki-bini,* *nema* *seniku'* *jadi* *ka*
 so ANPAS-husband-wife because 3d get.married to

diri' *menyadi',* *bar-anak,* *bar-anak* *ka* *mpalang* *darah.*
 self sibling ANPAS-child, ANPAS-child to clot blood

So they became husband and wife; because the two siblings married each other, they gave birth, they gave birth to a clot of blood.

Aduh, utay ia'!
ouch thing that

O no! What kind of a thing was that!

Keba'=m kisah kita Mualang tu' nitaw' jadi ka diri'
therefore=m story 1p.incl Mualangthis can't so to self

menyadi' ataw manal¹.
sibling or cousin

That's why, as our Mualang story goes, one can't marry one's own sibling or cousin.

Kerna² ia jadi mali tih, bar-anak ka mpalang
because 3s get.married taboo tih, ANPAS-child to clot

darah.
blood

Because she entered a taboo marriage, she gave birth to a clot of blood.

N-peda' pia' da-gantung ka pucuk kayu.
ACT- see like.that PASS-hang to top.of.tree tree.

Seeing this, it was hung on the top of a tree.

Da pucuk kayu tih mpalang darah tu' jadi rajang.
LOC top.of.tree tree tih clot blood this become k.o.fern

At the top of the tree the clot of blood became a fern.

Baru', ti labuh ka tanah jadi tanah badi.
then', REL fall to ground become soil cursed

Then, the part that fell to the ground became cursed (or taboo) soil.

Keba' sampay ka tu' aday tanah badi, wih, n'u'?
therefore' until to this exist soil curse wih TOA

Therefore, until now there is cursed soil, isn't there, sister? (The speaker side-commented to a woman who was listening to the story)

1 *Manal* is a child of the sibling of one's parent (father or mother).

2 *Kerna* because' is borrowed from Indonesian *karena*.

Aa, ia' bar-anak pertama.
 aa that ANPAS-child first

Ah, that was the first delivery.

Bar-anak ke-dua, baru' bar-anak ka utay ia',
 ANPAS-child ORD- two, then ANPAS-child to thing that
nisi' peda' kaki jari, nisi', ah, upa apa utay ia',
 nothing see leg arm nothing ah like what thing that
naday kelala nsia.
 NEG recognize human

Giving birth for the second time, she then gave birth to that thing; there were no feet and hands to be seen, nothing was there. Ah, what was that thing like; it did not look like a human being.

Ah, karna³ nsia mali tu', nitaw' jadi ka diri'
 ah because human taboo this may.not get.married to self
menyadi'.
 sibling

Ah, because the humans violated a taboo, they should not get married to their own sibling.

Keba' sampay ka tu' jalay adat ia', urang menyadi'
 therefore until to now way custom that person sibling
nitaw' ba-laki-bini.
 can't ANPAS-husband-wife

Therefore until now the custom is that siblings can't get married to each other.

Adat ia' pe-mali.
 custom that NOM-taboo

The custom for that is that it is a taboo / According to customary law/our customs that is a taboo.

Jadi, N-peda' ia naday jadi nsia, da-any'ung apay inay
 so, ACT-see that NEG become human PASS-escort father mother
ka pala' darung, da utan, da kampung babas.
 to head valley LOC forest LOC dense.forest former.rice.field

³ See footnote 2.

So, seeing that it hadn't become a human being, it was brought away by the father and mother to the entrance of the valley, into the forest, into the wilderness.

Pia' kisah.
like.that story

So that was the story / That's how the story goes.

Baru', udah ia', bar-anak ka Puyang Gana.
then after that ANPAS-child to P G

Then, after that, they gave birth to Puyang Gana.

Mula-mula ka' jadi nsia, tapi bedaw jadi nsia
beginning-RED FUT become human but not.yet become human

amat.
true

In the beginning it was going to become a human but did not yet become a true human.

Udah ia' baru' bar-anak ka Bejit Manay, Belang Ping'ang,
after that then ANPAS-child to B M B P

Belang Kana', Belang Baw, Buwi Nasi, Putung Kempat.
B K B B B N P K

After that they gave birth to Bejit Manay, Belang Ping'ang, Belang Kana', Belang Baw, Buwi Nasi, and Putung Kempat.

Putung Kempat in'u', anak Bintang Muga aba' Ruay Mana tih.
P K female child B M and R M tih.

Putung Kempat was a female, the daughter of Bintang Muga and Ruay Mana.

Baru' ilang kisah ia' tih, aday kisah antu.
then lost story that tih, exist story ghost

Then, after that story, there was a story of a ghost.

Antu ia' Raja Sua nama.
ghost that King S name

That ghost was called King Sua.

Jadi Raja Sua tu' N-asu.
 so King S TOP ACT-hunt

So, King Sua, (he) went hunting.

N-asu ka kampung ngeN-bay' ukuy.
 ACT-hunt to dense.forest ACT-bring dog

(He) went hunting in the jungle taking along a dog.

Ke-panyay-panyay ia ba-jalay ka kampung tih, baru' ukuy
 NOM-long-RED 3s ANPAS-road to dense.forest tih then dog

ia N-pelung Puyang Gana tay da-any'ung apay inay ka
 3s ACT-bark P G REL PASS-escort father mother to

alam darung tadi'.
 inside valley a.while.ago

A very long time he walked into the jungle, then his dog barked at Puyang Gana who had been thrown away by his parents into the valley.

Salak.
 bark

It barked.

Da-gusung jara', da-gusung kia'.
 PASS-chase jara' PASS-chase thither.(near)

It was chased, it was chased over there.

Baru', N-peda' utay ia' ukay jelu.
 then ACT-see thing that not animal

Then he (Raja Sua) saw that thing was not an animal.

Aw', N-peda' ia' nsia n'a' nsia, apa lah utay ia'
well ACT- see that human not human what lah thing that

naday jadi, da-bay' ka rumah jara'.
 NEG become PASS-bring to house jara'

Well, seeing that it was not really a human, (but) a thing that had not become anything, it was then taken home.

Da-intu, ah, da-piara ia.
 PASS-take.care ah PASS-look.after 3s

It was taken care of, uh, it was looked after by him.

Ntah kati-kati cara ia N-intu nsia ia' sampay
 not.know how-RED way 3s ACT-take.care human that until

jadi nsia.
 become human

God knows how on earth he (King Sua) took care of that human until it became a real human.

Ah, pia', jadi nsia biasa upa kita pitu'.
 ah like.that', become human normal like 1p.incl like.this

Ah, so, it became a normal human like we are.

N-peda' pia', tu' jaku' ia: "Tu' ngaw anak menantu
 ACT-see like.that this say 3s This for child child.in.law

ku, nti' ia nyaw jadi nsia ti amat-amat."
 1s if 3s already become human REL true-RED

Seeing this, he (King Sua) said: "This (one) is meant to become my son-in-law, if he has become a real human.

Ah, ba-macam-macam cara ia N-pulah isa' nsia ia' tih
 ah ANPAS-kind-RED way 3s ACT-make so.that human that tih

jadi urang ti nsia amat-amat.
 become person REL human true-RED

Ah, all kinds of methods he applied so that that human creature became someone who was a real human being.

Udah ia jadi nsia amat-amat upa kita pitu', baru'
 after 3s become human true-RED like 1p.incl like.this then

ia di-cuba lagi', jaku' kisah kita Mualang.
 he PASS-try again say story 1p.incl Mualang

After he had become a real human being like we are, then he was tempted again, says the story of us, the Mualang.

Aa *macam beji,* *suruh beji* *N-tijang*
 ah kind strong.human command strong.human ACT-step.on

mata pedang, naday bakal, N-rejang sangkuh
 eye sword NEG wound ACT-stab.upwards spear

da-anu' *k=ataw pia', ia naday kena'.*
 PASS-INDEF.PRON to=top like.that 3s NEG afflict

Ah, like a strong man, (when) the strong man was ordered to step on a sword, he did not get wounded; (they) stabbed a spear to be ...what-shall-we-call-it ... upwards like that, it missed.

"Uh," jaku' ia, "Asa pia', taw'=m ngaw anak menantu ku."
 oh say 3s whenever like.that can=m for child son.in.law 1s

"Oh," he said, "In that case, he can become my son-in-law."

Jadi Raja Sua tih aday anak in'u' nama Dara Reja'.
 so King S tih exist child female name D R.

So, King Sua, you know, had a daughter named Dara Reja'.

Aa, pia'.
 ah like.that

Yes, like that.

"Aw'," jaku' ia: "Tu'=m, n'u', ngaw laki di'.
 well say 3s this=m TOA for husband 2s.fem

"Well," he said, "My daughter, this is to be your husband."

Tu', Puyang Gana tu', nisi' urang N-kilah ia tih.
 this P G this nothing person ACT-surpass 3s tih

"Look here, this Puyang Gana, nobody surpasses him, you know."

Sapa urang menua tu' tay ba-kuasa ari ia?
 who person world this REL ANPAS-power from 3s

"Who in this world is more powerful than he is?"

Ia ti taw' ngaw anak menantu ku."
 3s REL can for child son.in.law 1s

"He is the one who can be my son-in-law."

Ia' menantu kawin resmi jara'.
that son.in.law get.marry official jara'

So, the son-in-law got officially married indeed.

Jadi, ting'al gisah ia' tih, ting'al lagi' kisah sida' Bejit Manay,
so leave story that tih remain again story 3p B M

sida' Belang Ping'ang, Belang Kana', Belang Baw, sida'
3p B P B K B B 3p

Buwi Nasi tu', ka' ba-dua' arta apay inay.
B N this FUT ANPAS-divide.(PREC) wealth father mother

Thus, after that (part of the) story, there is another story of the people of Bejit Manay, of Belang Ping'ang, Belang Kana', Belang Baw, of Buwi Nasi, who were going to divide up their parents' wealth (among themselves).

Karna apay inay mati tih, sida' menyadi' ia' nyaw
because father mother die tih 3p sibling that already

taw' uga' N-simpan arta ben'a.
can all ACT-keep wealth thing

Because their parents had died, those siblings had been able to keep all the wealth.

Jadi arta ben'a ti aday di-bagi.
so wealth thing REL exist PASS-divide

Thus, all the wealth that existed was divided.

Aw', waktu ka' ba-bagi ia', Raja Sua, nama s-igi'
well time FUT ANPAS-divide that king S name ONE-CLASS

antu jara', taw' ia bada', amat nisi' urang N-padah.
ghost jara' know 3s bada' although nothing person ACT-say

Well, when they were going to divide it, King Sua, so it is with a ghost, he knew it, even though nobody told him.

"Uh, anu', laki n'u'," jaku' ia.
oh what.is.it husband TOA say 3s

"Oh, what is it, my son-in-law (lit. husband of my daughter)," he said.

"Tu' menyadi' kita' ba-pe-dua' arta
this sibling 2p ANPAS-NOM-divide.(PREC) property

da rumah sida', kita' din.
 LOC house 3p 2p there.(far)

“Well, your siblings are going to divide up the wealth (among themselves) at their house, at your house over there.”

Jadi kula' menyadi' tuay sida', "jaku' ia.
 so TOA sibling old 3p say 3s

“So, my son-in-law, you are their oldest brother,” he said.

"Kula' kin N-pinta' bagi ga'."
 TOA thither.(far) ACT-ask.for divide also

“My son-in-law, you go there to ask for your share too.”

Aw', angkat udah Puyang Gana tu' tih.
 well go udah P G TOP tih

Well, off he went, Puyang Gana.

Datay kin, ia naday N-tiki' ka rumah, pas
 come thither.(far) 3s NEG ACT-climb to house at.same.time

ia', sida' ka' ba-dua' bala utay.
 that 3p FUT ANPAS-divide.(PREC) all.(kinds) thing

Arriving there, he didn't go up into the house; at the same moment they were going to divide up all kinds of wealth.

Ari tanah: "Ih," jaku' ia, "Anu', ku menyadi' kita'.
 from ground hey say 3s what.is.it 1s sibling 2p

From below he said: “Hey! Uh, I am your brother.”⁴

Anti' anu', kita' ba-dua' keban ramu arta
 if what.is.it 2p ANPAS-divide.(PREC) kind wealth property

apay inay kita, ku da-untung kah ga'!"
 father mother 1p.incl 1s PASS-share kah also

If, uh, you all are dividing up our parents' property, share it with me too!”

⁴ Traditional Mualang (long)houses are built on poles, high above the ground.

Baru' sida' menyadi': "Nisi'," jaku' Bejit Manay,
 then 3p sibling nothing say B M

"Nisi' tuay ari ku.
 nothing old from 1s

Then (on behalf of) those siblings Bejit Manay said: "No, we won't. Nobody is older than I am.

Ku lah menyadi' tuay kita.
 1s lah sibling old 1p.incl

I am the one who is our oldest brother.

Diang pay Diang nay n'a' b-isi' N-padah
 the.late father the.late mother not ANPAS-content ACT-say

aday menyadi' kita bukay ari ku."
 exist sibling 1p.incl other from 1s

Our late parents never said that there was an (older) sibling other than me."

"Ba-kati naday," jaku' ia, "Ku matang menyadi' kita'.
 ba-how NEG say 3s 1s persistently sibling 2p

"How could it not be so," he (Puyang Gana) said, "I am really your brother.

Ku aday, da-any'ung apay inay ku ka alam babas."
 1s exist PASS-escort father mother 1s to inside forest

(When) I was born, I was brought away by my parents into the forest."

Ulih matang naday percaya ama sida'.
 but persistently NEG believe with 3p

But they refused to believe it.

Matang N-padah "nisi'".
 insistent ACT-say nothing

They kept saying no.

N-peda' pia': "Aw', naday!"
 ACT-see like.that well NEG

Seeing this (Puyung Gana said), "Come on, don't do that!"

"Anu' ," *jaku'* *sida'*.
well say 3p

"What is it" they said.

Teka *ia'* *da-beri'* *ka* *ia,* *anu'*, *tempan* *tanah*
right.away that PASS-give to 3s what.is.it anvil soil

tay *ngaw* *ba-tempa'*.
REL for ANPAS-forge

Right away a what-is-it-called, an anvil made of soil which was used for forging was given to him.

Mm, *tibar* *tanah*.
Hm throw ground

Hm, they threw it to the ground.

"Tu' *untung* *m'ih!"*
this share 2s.masc

"This is your share!"

Tang'ung *da-bay'* *ka* *rumah*.
carry.on.the.shoulder PASS-bring to house

It was carried home (by Puyang Gana).

"Ee, *kati* *kula'?*
Eh how TOA

"Eh, how was it, my son-in-law? (King Sua asked after Puyang Gana came home)

Aday *sida'* *N-beri'?"* *jaku'* *Raja* *Sua*.
exist 3p ACT-give say king S

"Did they give you something?" said King Sua.

"Nisi'.
nothing

"Nothing.

Nisi', nema sida' naday pecaya ku menyadi','' jaku' ia.
 nothing because 3p NEG believe 1s sibling say 3s

Nothing, because they did not believe that I am (their) sibling," said he.

"Padah sida' ukay'.
 say 3p no

"They said no.

Tu' tay da-beri' sida'."
 this REL PASS-give 3p

This is what they gave me."

"Wih, untung kula'!
 wow fortunate TOA

"Wow, how fortunate you are, my son-in-law!

Sapa urang N-hak tanah bukay kula'.
 who person ACT-rights land other TOA

Who is it that has the rights over the land other than you, my son-in-law.

Urang, nti' ka' ba-kerja ba-uma, alah N-pinta'.
 person if want ANPAS-work ANPAS-rice.field must ACT-ask.for

If anybody wants to work the rice field, he must ask you (for permission).

Nti' naday N-pinta', kula' kena' hak N-tuntut,"
 if NEG ACT-ask.for TOA afflict rights ACT-claim

jaku' ia.
 say 3s

If that person doesn't ask for your permission, you have the right to claim it," said he (King Sua).

Baru' pulay ka kisah ia', kisah sida' Bejit Manay, menyadi'
 then return to story that story 3p B M sibling

tu' tih, ka' ba-uma, pia'.
 this tih want ANPAS-rice.field like.that

Then going back to the story, the story of those siblings of Bejit Manay, they wanted to work the rice field, you know.

Ka' ba-uma sida' tih, udah senta masa N-pabat
 want ANPAS-rice.field 3p tih after time time ACT-slash

N-tebang upa sengkit tih, ba-uma wih.
 ACT-cut like usual tih ANPAS-rice.field wih

They wanted to work the rice field. So, after the time of slashing and cutting (bushes and trees) as usual, they worked on the rice field.

Anu' lay, ba-balik sikit, kelupa ku kisah.
 well lay ANPAS-turn.around little forget 1s tell.story

Well, wait a second, I'm going back a bit, I forgot to tell the (following) story.

Waktu sida' aday aba' apay inay, naday N-pakay umpan,
 when 3p exist with father mother NEG ACT-eat cooked.rice

N-pakay arang, pia' kisah.
 ACT-eat k.o.fruit like.that story

When they were with their parents, they did not eat rice, (but) they ate *arang* fruit, that was the story.

Jadi, menyadi' sida' tu' ba-pan'uk arang sengabut.
 so sibling 3p this ANPAS-burn k.o.fruit continuously

So, those siblings kept baking *arang* fruit.

Tebang kayu, ba-tunu, arang da-pakay.
 cut tree ANPAS-burn k.o.fruit PASS-eat

(While) cutting down trees, (and) burning, (they) ate *arang* fruit.

Semenjak aday Buwi Nasi tih, serta ia N-sabak: "Asi, asi",
 since exist B N tih so.as 3s ACT-cry asi asi

aa, baru' sida' taw' bada' asi ia', nasi' da-giga' ia.
 ah then 3p know bada' asi that cooked.rice PASS-look.for 3s

As soon as Buwi Nasi was born, he cried out: "ice!, ici!", ah, then they knew that "ice" was the cooked rice that he was looking for.

"Uh," jaku' sida', "Menyadi' kita tu' nyaw ka'
 oh say 3p sibling 1p.incl this already want

N-pakay umpan, N-pinta' nasi', tu' naday kita taw'.
 ACT-eat cooked.rice ACT-ask.for cooked.rice this NEG 1p.incl know

“Oh,” they said, “This brother of ours already wants to eat rice, he asks for rice, this we don’t know/have.

N-pan’uk arang agi’ aja’.
ACT-burn k.o.fruit again just

We just bake *arang* again.”

Uh, baru’ apay inay N-pesaw ka sida’:
oh then father mother ACT-give.message to 3p

“Kasih bada’ ia N-giga’ nasi’.
feel.pity bada’ 3s ACT-look.for cooked.rice

Oh, then their parents gave a message to them: “Pity on him, he is looking for rice.

Aa ia’ ba-balik lagi’ kisah ku ia’.
ah that ANPAS-turn.around again story 1s that

Ah, that goes back again to that story of mine.

“Asa kemua nyaw mati, kubur.
whenever 1d.excl PERF die bury

“When we have died, bury us.

Asa aday ti tim’ul d=ataw kubur ia’, intu
whenever exist REL emerge LOC=top grave that take.care

piara ulih kita’.
look.after by 2p

When something emerges from the grave, you all take care of it.

Pin’ah kah apa tay aday tim’ul ia’.
move kah what REL exist emerge that

Move what comes out of there.”

Aa, baru’ da-kubur apay inay ia’, mati tih.
ah then PASS-bury father mother that die tih

Ah, then the parents were buried, they died.

Baru’, sida’ N-peda’ baka aday utay tum’uh, aday juna’.
then 3p ACT-see body exist thing grow exist k.o.leek

aday padi, aday lia', aday apa semua, da-intu
 exist rice.plant exist ginger exist what all PASS-take.care

ulih sida'.
 by 3p

Then, they saw on the bodies there were things growing, there were leeks, there were rice plants, there was ginger, there were all (kinds of) things - they took care of those things.

Aa, baru' ti tadi' jadi padi.
 ah then REL a.while.ago become rice.plant

Ah, then the things that were taken care of became rice plants

Baru' kita nsia N-pakay umpan, badu' N-pakay arang.
 then 1p.incl human ACT-eat cooked.rice stop ACT-eat k.o.fruit

Only since we human beings eat rice, have (we) stopped eating *arang*.

Baru' pulay ka kisah ti tadi' tih, sida' ka'
 then return to story REL a.while.ago tih 3p FUT

ba-uma, N-pang'ul.
 ANPAS-rice.field ACT-slash.for.sign

Then returning to the story (mentioned) a while ago: they were going to work the rice field, (so) they did *mang'ul*.⁵

Adat kita Mualang, asa ka' ba-uma,
 custom 1p.incl Mualang whenever FUT ANPAS-rice.field

N-pang'ul, dulaw N-tan'a dini ka'
 ACT-slash.symbolically first ACT-sign where FUT

ba-uma.
 ANPAS-rice.field

Our Mualang tradition is that whenever we're going to work the rice field, we mark the area first indicating where (we) will make the rice field.

Baru' pabat sida'.
 then slash 3p

Then they slashed (bushes and trees).

⁵ *Mang'ul* means slashing an area as a sign for others that somebody is going to work on that part of the area.

Kisah, tujuh darung tujuh bukit udah pabat s-ari.
 story seven valley seven hill already slash ONE-day

As the story goes, they slashed (an area of) seven valleys and seven hills in a day.

Ah, maklum kisah antu, duning ia' bah.
 ah be.understood story ghost fairy.tale that bah

Ah, you must know, it's a ghost story, it's really a fairy tale.

Aw', udah N-pabat, jaku' ntua Puyang Gana: "Anu",
 well after ACT- slash say parent.in.law P G well

kati kula', tu' hak kula' ba-tin'ak.
 how TOA this rights TOA ANPAS-act

Well, after they had done slashing, the father-in-law of Puyang Gana said: "Well, what do you think, my son-in-law, now it is your right to act.

Tu' menyadi' kula' ba-uma, N-pabat
 this sibling TOA ANPAS-rice.field ACT-slash

N-tebang, nisi' N-padah, nisi' N-pinta'.
 ACT- cut nothing ACT-say nothing ACT-ask.for

(You see), your siblings are working the rice field, slashing and cutting bushes and trees, without telling anything, without asking anything.

Kin kula', pe-diri kah kayu ti dah da-pabat
 thither.(far) TOA CAUS-self kah tree REL PERF PASS-slash

tebang sida'."
 cut 3p

Go there, my son-in-law, put the trees upright that have been slashed and cut by them."

Uh, angkat jara' Puyang Gana tu', datay mah N-peda'
 oh go jara' P G this come mah ACT-see

pabat sida', tujuh darung tujuh bukit pe-luah.
 slash 3p seven valley seven hill NOM-large

Oh, Puyang Gana went there immediately, he really came to see their slashing, the size of seven valleys and seven hills.

Luah uma ia' tih, kisah.
 large rice.field that tih story

(And) large was that rice field, the story goes.

Ah, baru' ia ngeN-bay': "Uy," Dara Belin'ung, Munsang,
 ah then 3s ACT-summon hey D bee weasel

Bujang Penyadung, kak Dara Itung."
 B P crow D I

Ah, then he (Puyang Gana) summoned: "Hey, Dara Belin'ung (bee), Munsang (weasel), Bujang Penyadung, crow Dara Itung."

Sa' ia' macam-macam, semua jenis jelu da-kumay.
 3p that kind-RED all kind animal PASS-call

They were of all kinds, all sorts of animals (they) were called.

"Datay kita' kitu'!"
 come 2p hither

"Come here you all!"

Datay sida' ia' jara'.
 come 3p that jara'

And come they did.

"Bah, apa tay m'ih ka' kumay kami?"
 bah what REL 2s.masc want call we.excl

"Huh, what (names) is it you want to call us?"

"Naday apa, kita tu' ba-surup ngeN-diri bala kayu
 NEG what 1p.incl TOP ANPAS-help ACT-stand all tree

ti dah pabat," jaku' Puyang Gana.
 REL PERF slash say P G

"Nothing, we'll just help each other putting upright all the trees that have been cut down," said Puyang Gana.

Da-pe-diri semua, nisi' tan'a, nisi' N-peda' bekaw
 PASS-CAUS-stand all nothing sign nothing ACT-see trace

abi ba-kerja.
 trace ANPAS-work

All were put up, no signs, no traces of working could one see.

Malam, dah tin'uk ngantuk, tawas ari ka' kia'
 night PERF sleep feel.sleepy day.time day want thither.(near)

agi', sida' ka' ba-kerja.
 again 3p want ANPAS-work

At night, after having slept, during day time (the siblings) wanted to go there again, they wanted to work.

Datay kia', nisi'.
 come thither.(near) nothing

Arriving there, there was nothing.

"Ih, ngapa ditu' langan kita kemari'?"
 hay why here sitting.place 1p.incl yesterday

"Hay, what is going on here with our sitting place (we made) yesterday?"

Ngapa kita kitu' nisi' agi' ti da-pabat kita
 why 1p.incl hither nothing again REL PASS-slash 1p.incl

ditu', nisi' peda'?"
 here nothing see

Why is it, we came here (but) there is nothing left of what was cut down by us here, nothing to be seen?

Kayu tu' diri uga'."
 tree this stand all

These trees are all standing."

"Tu' ditu' abi pabat kita," jaku' sida' ke-dua jara'.
 this here trace slash 1p.incl say 3p ORD-two jara'

"This here is the trace of our cutting," said the second sibling.

"Ah, mm se-macam!"
 ah hm ONE-strange

"Ah, hm, it's strange!"

Aw', N-pabat agi' s-ari ia'.
 well ACT-slash again ONE-day that

Well, they cut down trees again that whole day.

Udah N-pabat sida' upa ti kemari' tih, pulay.
after ACT- slash 3p like REL yesterday tih go.home

After they had cut down (trees) like the the day before, they went home.

Malam datay lagi' Puyang Gana aba' keban ulun, keban
night come again P G and kind helper kind

pe-suruh ia tih.
NOM-command 3s tih

At night there came again Puyang Gana and his helpers, his servants.

Ba-diri kayu lagi'.
ANPAS-stand tree again

The trees stood again.

Pulay asal lagi' jadi utan ti dia'.
return origin again become forest REL there.(near)

They had been restored into their original state, becoming the forest that had been there.

N-peda' pia', turun sida' ari ti ke-tiga, N-peda'
ACT-see like.that descend 3p day REL ORD-three ACT-see

dah nisi' agi' upa ia', nisi' bekas sekali'.
already nothing again like that nothing trace at.all

Seeing it was like that, they (the siblings) went down on the third day and saw there was nothing like they had done, no trace at all.

"Asa pia', kita ipa'," jaku' sida', "Tu' naday, biar
whenever like.that 1p.incl peek say 3p this NEG let

ba-bunuh.
ANPAS-kill

"If so, let's take a peek," they said, "We can't let this (happen), even if we have to kill each other.

Naday kita sang'up, mati kita kerja pitu'.
NEG 1p.incl be.able die 1p.incl work like.this

We can't (go on), we will die if we keep working like this.

Rugi dih ia'.
loss *dih* that

It's indeed a loss.

Sa-sapa urang tu'?"
who-RED person this

Who are doing this?."

Sida' nitaw' bada', aday antu jara'.
3p not.know *bada'* exist ghost *jara'*

They didn't know there were ghosts.

Baru' di-ipa', sida' selabuk se-belah pun-pun kayu.
then PASS-peek 3p hide ONE- side stem-RED tree

Then they peeked, they hid behind the trees.

Pia'.
like.that
So it was.

Nyaw malam ari, N-dinga=m datay Puyang Gana tu'
after night day ACT- hear=m come P G TOP

ngeN-bay' keban ulun ia.
ACT-summon kind helper 3s

When evening had come, they heard Puyang Gana come summoning all his helpers.

"Uy," jaku' ia, "Munsang, Bujang Penyardung, kak Dara Itung!"
hey say 3s weasel B P crow D I

"Hey," he said, "Munsang, Bujang Penyardung, crow Dara Itung!"

N-am'i' Dara Belin'ung, apa-apa semua keban jenis jelu
ACT-take D bee what-RED all kind kind animal

da-kumay: "Kitu' kita', aba' kami tu' ba-diri
PASS-call hither 2p with we.(excl) this ANPAS-stand

anu' tu' agi'!"
what.is.it this again

He got Dara Belin'ung, all kinds of animals were called: "Get here, you all, together with us make the trees stand again!"

"Ah," *jaku' sida' menyadi' ah, "Nya' m=ia nih.*
 ah say 3p sibling ah that m=3s nih

"Ah," said those siblings, "That's it!

Patut kita tu' mati-mati upa tu' kerja."
 no.wonder 1p.incl TOP die-RED like this work

No wonder we worked so hard like this."

Serta datay, ba-tangkap=m sida'.
 as.soon.as come ANPAS-catch=m 3p

The moment they came (to where Puyang Gana was), they had a fight.

Ba-tangkap sida' menyadi' ia'.
 ANPAS-catch 3p sibling that

Those siblings fought each other.

Ke-panyay-panyay, nisi' urang t-alah ka sida'.
 NOM-long-RED nothing person MID-beat to 3p

They fought a long time, (yet) nobody of them was beaten'

Nyaw lelak, teka lelak ba-tangkap ah sida'.
 already tired right.away tired ANPAS-catch ah 3p

They already got tired, just got tired of fighting.

Jadi udah ba-tangkap, jaku' Bejit Manay: "Kati,
 so after ANPAS-catch say B M how

ngapa pia', asa kita' kitu' N-tijak kami?"
 why like.that whenever 2p hither ACT-step.on 1p.excl

So, after having fought, Bejit Manay said: "How is it then, why is it so, whenever you come here you step on us?"

"Naday kati," jaku' Puyang Gana, "Waktu kita"
 NEG how say P G when 2p

ba-dua' peramu kita menyadi', ku
 ANPAS-divide.(PREC) things 1p.incl sibling 1s

N-pinta' untung, nema ku menyadi' kita',
 ACT-ask.for share because 1s sibling 2p

kita' N-padah ukay', naday percaya.
 2p ACT-sayno NEG believe

“That’s not how it is,” said Puyang Gana, “When you all were dividing up properties of ours, I asked for my share, because I was your sibling, but you said no’, not believing (it/me).

Kita' untung tanah tu', tu' masuk tanah ku.
 2p share land this this include land 1s

(Then) you give me this land, this belongs to my land.

Ku bar-hak.
 1s ANPAS-rights

I have the rights (over this).

Nti' kita' naday N-pinta', ku taw' N-tuntut kita'.
 if 2p NEG ACT-ask.for 1s can ACT-claim 2p

If you don’t ask me, I can claim (it from) you.

Aday hak ku.”
 exist rights 1s

I have the rights.”

Aa, baru' dih ia N-gisah kejadian ia da-buay ka
 Ah then dih 3s ACT-story event 3s PASS-throw.away to

darung, da-intu Raja Sua.
 valley PASS-take.care king S

Ah, it was then that he told (them) the story of his being thrown away to the valley, (and) was taken care of by King Sua.

Ba-sabak dih sida' menyadi', ba-sium ba-lulum,
 ANPAS-cry dih 3p sibling ANPAS-kiss ANPAS-PREC

ba-pangkap ba-berap.
 ANPAS-hug ANPAS-embrace

Those siblings then wept, kissed each other, (and) had a big hug.

Sida' *N-tesal* *dih.*
 3p ACT-regret *dih*

They really regreted (what they had done).

Baru' *sida'* *taw'* *bada'* *ah* *diri'* *menyadi'*, *N-angku'*
 then 3p know *bada'* *ah* self sibling ACT-adopt

pangan *menyadi'*.
 partner sibling

Then they knew that they were siblings, and adopted each other as siblings.

N-peda' *pia'*, *jaku'* *Puyang* *Gana:* "*Aw'*, *tu'* *kita*
 ACT-see like.that say P G well this 1p.incl

dah *ba-temu.*
 PERF ANPAS-meet

Seeing this, Puyang Gana said: "Well, look here, now we have met.

Kita' *taw'* *bada'* *ku* *menyadi'* *kita'*.
 2p know *bada'* 1s sibling 2p

You all know that I am your brother.

Naday *ku* *N-rut,* *jangka'* *ku* *N-padah* *pagi*
 NEG 1s ACT-forbid limit 1s ACT- say tomorrow

lusa *asa* *kita'* *ba-uma,* *kita'*
 the.day.after.tomorrow whenever 2p ANPAS-rice.field 2p

alah *N-pulah* *nselan,* *alah* *N-pulah* *tan'a* *N-pinta'*
 must ACT-make offering must ACT-make sign ACT-ask.for

ka *ku,* *taw'=m* *kita'* *ba-uma.*
 to 1s can=m 2p ANPAS-rice.field

I don't mean to forbid you, but I say that in the future, when you work on the rice field, you have to give offerings, you have to signal asking me, then you may work the rice field.

Baru' *tu'* *peN-jadi=m* *pabat* *tebang,* *tunu* *tugal,"* *jaku'* *ia.*
 then this NOM-become=m slash cut burn dibble say 3s

Then, (you can) slash, cut, burn and dibble the agreed area," he said.

“*Jangka’* *ku* *ba-dany’i* *aba’* *kita’* *menyadi’*, *asa*
limit 1s ANPAS-promise with 2p sibling whenever

kita’ *ka’* *N-tunu,* *ka’* *N-tugal,* *N-kumay* *ku.”*
2p FUT ACT-burn FUT ACT-dibble ACT-call 1s

“But I make an agreement with you siblings, whenever you’re going to burn, you’re going to dibble the field, call me.”

“*Aw’*, *pia’*, *kati* *kami* *N-kumay* *m’ih* *ah?”*
yes like.that how 1p.excl ACT-call 2s.masc *ah*

“Okay, as you said, how can we call you then?”

“*Naday* *pedih.*
NEG difficult

“It’s not difficult.

Palu’ *ka* *pansuh* *pulut* *tujuh* *kali’* *ka*
strike to cook.in.bamboo glutinous.rice seven time to

tanah, *datay* *mah* *kemua* *ipar* *kita’.*”
ground come mah 1d.excl sibling.in.law 2p

Strike the *pansuh pulut*⁶ seven times to the ground, both of us (your sister-in-law and I) will then come.”

Baru’ *udah* *N-pabat* *N-tebang,* *udah* *aday* *panas,*
then after ACT-slash ACT-cut after exist hot

aw’, *N-tunu* *mah* *urang.*
well ACT-burn mah person

Then after having slashed and burnt (bushes and trees), after the hot season comes, well, it’s time for burning (the field).

Udah *da-tunu* *tih* *sa’* *menyadi’* *ia’*, *angus* *uma*
after PASS-burn tih 3p sibling that burnt rice.field

sida’, *pakay* *api.*
3p eat fire

After being burnt by those siblings, the rice field got scorched, consumed by the fire.

⁶ *Pansuh pulut* is glutinous rice cooked in bamboo.

Baru' sida' menyadi' tu' N-tengah tegalan
 then 3p sibling this ACT-go.through cleared.and.burnt.land

uma ti da-tunu.
 rice.field REL PASS-burn

Then those siblings went through the cleared land of the field that had been burnt.

Baru' menyadi' sida' ti nama Belang Ping'ang mudik
 then sibling 3p REL name B P go.upstream

lempa' b-ulih ibun sawa', b-ulih uga'=m sa' menyadi'
 plain ANPAS-get ibun python ANPAS-get all=m 3p sibling

ia' keban ibun, bekas pakay api keba jelu,
 that kind ibun trace eat fire all.kinds animal

keba ular.
 all.kinds snake

Then their sibling who was named Belang Ping'ang went upstream through the cleared burnt plain and got a python; those siblings got all kinds of *ibuns* (i.e. animals that get burnt in the field) left consumed by the fire, all kinds of animals, all kinds of snakes.

Baru' ia' ti dah da-padah menyadi': "Anti' kita' udah
 then that REL PERF PASS-say sibling if 2p PERF

N-tunu, nti' aday keba ibun, ibun semenang, ibun
 ACT-burn if exist all.kinds ibun ibun k.o.snake ibun

teng'iling, naday kita taw' teka N-tugal gena, alah
 ant-eater NEG 2p may right.away ACT-dibble gena must

ba-pe-dara' dulaw."
 ANPAS-NOM-offering.(PREC) first

Then, this is what was said by their sibling (i.e. Puyang Gana): "If you have burnt the cleared land, there are all kinds of *ibuns*, *ibuns* of snakes, *ibuns* of ant-eaters, you can't just make holes and plant seeds as simply as that, you must make some offerings (to gods) first.

Ah, baru' nyaw ka' N-tugal, pia' sa' menyadi'
 ah then already FUT ACT-dibble like.that 3p sibling

ingat: "Kita tu' mah dah da-ajar menyadi' kita,
 remember 1p.incl TOP mah PERF PASS-teach sibling 1p.incl

nti' ka' N-tugal, alah ngeN-bay' seniku''', jaku' sida'.
 if FUT ACT-dibble must ACT-invite 3d say 3p

Ah, then when they were about to dibble, the siblings remembered this: “As for us, we have been taught by our brother that if we’re going to dibble, we have to invite the two of them,” they said.

“Kita tu' mayuh N-temu bala ibun jelu, teng'iling,
 1p.incl now many ACT-find all.kinds ibun animal ant-eater

keban sawa'.
 kind python

“We now have found a multitude of all kinds of burnt animals, ant-eaters, pythons.

Aw', ba-siap kita ba-bunuh babi puluh
 well ANPAS-ready 1p.incl ANPAS-kill pig make

pe-dara'.
 NOM-offering.(PREC)

Well, let’s get ready to kill pigs and make offerings.”

Cukup apa semua.
 enough what all

Everything was ready.

Semua ia' sebedaw urang percaya jara', adat urang
 all that before person believe jara' custom person

tuay, adat kunu.
 old custom ancient

All that happened before the people believed (in God), really, it was the custom of the elder people, the old custom.

Aa, baru' nti' ka' N-tugal, da-am'i' sida' pansuh
 Ah then if FUT ACT-dibble PASS-take 3p cook.in.bamboo

pulut tih, palu' sida' ka tanah tujuh kali'.
 glutinous.rice tih strike 3p to ground seven time

Ah, then if they were going to dibble, they took a *pansuh pulut* (i.e. glutinous rice cooked in bamboo) and struck it seven times onto the ground.

Datay=m *Puyang* *Gana* *aba'* *bini,* *aba'* *Dara Reja'*.
 come=m P G and wife and D R

And they came, Puyang Gana with his wife, with Dara Reja'.

Datay *kia'*, "*Tu'*=m *kami* *N-kumay* *seniku'* *aba'*
 come thither.(near) this=m 1p.excl ACT-call 2d with

kami *N-tugal,"* *jaku'* *sa'* *menyadi'* *jara'*, *sida'* *Bejit*
 1p.excl ACT-dibble say 3p sibling *jara'* 3p B

Manay *menyadi'* *ah.*
 M sibling *ah*

When they came there, "Here we invited both of you with us to go dibbling," said the siblings, Bejit Manay and his brothers.

"*Aw',"* *jaku'* *ia* *jara'*, "*Aba'* *N-tugal=m* *kemua* *tu'.*"
 yes say 3s *jara'* follow ACT-dibble=m 1d.excl this

"Okay," he said, "We follow you (as you go) dibbling, the two of us."

Baru' *sida'* *ba-pakay* *ba-sumay,* *b-inum* *keban* *ay'*.
 then 3p ANPAS-eat ANPAS-cook ANPAS-drink kind water

After that they had big meals, drinking (various) kinds of liquids.

Melia' *tih* *bala* *beram* *d-inum* *urang.*
 long.time.ago *tih* all.kinds k.o.alcohol PASS-drink person

In the past, you know, all kinds of *beram* were drunk by the people.

Baru' *sida'* *ka'* *aba'* *N-tugal.*
 then 3p FUT follow ACT-dibble

Then they were going to follow (the siblings) dibbling.

Aw', *ka'* *N-benih* *ia* *jara'*, *anu'*, *Putung* *Kempat,*
 well want ACT-seed 3s *jara'* what.is.it P K

menyadi' *ti* *in'u'.*
 sibling REL female

Well, she wanted to plant seeds, what's her name, Putung Empat, the female sibling.

Nema *biasa* *kita* *Mualang* *tu'* *ti* *laki* *N-tugal*,
because usually 1p.incl Mualang TOP REL male ACT-dibble

ti *in'u'* *N-benih*.
REL female ACT-seed

Because it is usual for us, the Mualang, (that) the male does the dibbling, (and) the female plants seeds. (The story teller's comment)

Jaku' *Dara* *Reja'*, *bini* *Puyang* *Gana:* "*Adu*, *kita* *adu* *alah*
say D R wife P G don't 1p.incl needn't must

N-benih, *ila'* *N-benih*, *anti'* *sida'* *udah* *N-tugal*."
ACT-seed later ACT-seed if 3p PERF ACT-dibble

(However) Dara Reja', the wife of Puyang Gana said: "No, we don't have to plant seeds, we will sow later, if they have done the dibbling."

Aw', *balang* *sida'* *N-benih*.
well cancel 3p ACT-seed

Well, they canceled planting the seeds.

Udah *sida'* *menyadi'* *N-tugal*, *udah* *mah* *tugal* *ia'*, *da-am'i'*
after 3p sibling ACT-dibble after mah dibble that PASS-take

ia, *Dara* *Reja'*, *benih*, *da-am'ur*, *N-atur* *diri'* *tama'*
3s D R seed PASS-spread ACT-arrange self enter

ka *lubang* *tugal*, *kisah* *tih*.
to hole dibble story tih

After the siblings had dibbled, after the dibbling, by her were taken, by Dara Reja', the seeds and spread out, and they (the seeds) arranged themselves (automatically) coming into the holes, that was the story.

*Maka*⁷ *ku* *N-padah* *dunging*, *kisah* *tih*.
therefore 1s ACT-say fairy.tale story tih

Therefore I said it is a fairy tale, the story. (The story teller's comment)

Udah, *udah* *ba-tugal*, *baru'* *sida'* *ba-bunuh* *babi*
already after ANPAS-dibble then 3p ANPAS-kill pig

manuk, *ba-pakay* *ba-inum*, *bay'* *beram*.
chicken ANPAS-eat ANPAS-drink bring k.o.alcohol

⁷ *Maka* 'that is why, therefore' is a Malay/Indonesian borrowing.

Having done that, after having dabbled, they killed pigs and chickens, had meals and drinks, brought *beram*.

Sida' *N-uti'* *ipar* *ia'* *N-inum*.
3p ACT-make.joke sibling.in.law that ACT-drink

They jokingly challenged their sister-in-law to drink.

Jaku' *Puyang* *Gana:* “*Nang kita'* *N-uti'* *ipar*
say P G don't 2p ACT-make.joke sibling.in.law

kita' *N-inum*, *mali ia mutah*.
2p ACT-drink lest 3s vomit

Puyang Gana said: “Don’t you make your sister-in-law drink, lest she vomits.

Nti' *ia mutah*, *ia nday upa mutah kita'.*
if 3s vomit 3s NEG like vomit 1p.incl

If she vomits, she doesn’t vomit like us.”

“*Uh*, *alah mutah keka'*.
oh must vomit older.sibling.in.law

“Oh, the older sister-in-law has to vomit.

Jalay kita taw' se-jalay sengabut,” *jaku' sa' menyadi' jara'*.
so.that 1p.incl can ONE-road continuously say 3p sibling jara

That way we could walk together,” said those siblings.

Ke-sudah-sudah *Dara Reja'* *N-inum*
after.and.after D R ACT-drink

After Dara Reja’ has drunk and drunk

“*Nang,*” *jaku' ia*, *Puyang Gana*, “*Apa da-pukung-pukung*
don't say 3s P G what PASS-force-RED

N-inum beram, *mutah ga' ia, mabuk ia tih.*”
ACT-drink k.o. alcohol vomit also 3s drunk 3s tih

“No,” said he, Puyang Gana, “Why do you force her to drink *beram*, she will vomit, she will be drunk.”

Serta ia mutah ka tanah, *N-peda'* *tanah ijaw rumput*, *ah*
so.as 3s vomit to ground ACT-see ground green grass ah

rumput uga'-uga'.
grass all-RED

So as she vomited to the ground, they saw the ground turned completely green like grass.

"Ah nih," jaku' Puyang Gana, "Tu' N-asuh ku N-rut kita'.
ah nih say P G this ACT-cause 1s ACT-forbid 2p

"Ah, here you are," said Puyang Gana, "That's why I forbade you all.

Tu' asa naday tajam siku kita' menyadi', naday kita'
this whenever NEG sharp elbow 2p sibling NEG 2p

t-ulih ka padi beras.
MID-get to paddy uncooked.rice

Look, whenever all you siblings are not strong and diligent, you will not get rice.

Arus ba-kerja keras=m kita'!"
must ANPAS-work hard=m 2p

You must really work hard!"

Aa, udah ia' tih, udah ba-pakay ba-inum tih, baru'
ah after that tih after ANPAS-eat ANPAS-drink tih then

anu', Putung Empat tu' ngeN-bay' ipar
what.is.it P K TOP ACT-invite sibling.in.law

N-pan'i', ngeN-bay' sanu' N-pan'i',
ACT-take.a.bath ACT-invite INDEF.PRON ACT-take.a.bath

Dara Reja'.
D R

Ah, after that, after they ate and drank, then, what's-her-name, Putung Empat, she called her sibling-in-law to take a bath, she called what's-her-name to take a bath, Dara Reja'.

Putung Empat tu' menyadi' sa' Bejit Manay, Dara Reja'
P K TOP sibling 3p B M D R

tu' bini Puyang Gana, ipar ia, N-pan'i'.
TOP wife P G sibling.in.law 3s ACT-take.a.bath

Putung Empat was the sister of Bejit Manay and his brothers, Dara Reja' was the

wife of Puyang Gana, her sister-in-law, they took a bath.

Jadi, ia ka' k=ili'.
so 3s want to=downstream

So, she (Putung Empat) wanted to go downstream.

"Ih, nang di' k=ili' ku, n'u', adi'!"
hay don't 2s.fem to=downstream 1s TOA younger.sibling

jaku' Dara Reja', "Mali di' jangkit panaw ku."
say D R lest 2s.fem contagious skin.disease 1s

"Eh, don't go downstream from me, younger sister! said Dara Reja', "Lest you catch my skin disease."

Kisah tih, Dara Reja' ba-panaw mas, seluruh
story tih D R ANPAS-skin.disease gold whole

tubuh panaw mas.
body skin.disease gold

So as the story goes, Dara Reja' caught the yellowish *panaw* skin disease, her whole body had the yellowish *panaw*.

"Ih, alah jangkit, keka', baday naday baik?"
eh must contagious older.sibling.in.law baday NEG good

jaku' Putung Empat.
say P K

"Eh, I have to get it too, older sister-in-law, isn't that good?" said Putung Empat.

"Di', nang, di' naday tan!"
2s.fem don't 2s.fem NEG endure

"You, no, you can't endure it!"

Aa, tengik ia matang N-pan'i' k=ili' m=ia.
ah stubborn 3s persistent ACT-take.a.bath to=downstream m=3s

Ah, she was stubborn, insisting on taking a bath at the place downstream.

Apa teka serta ia angkat ari ay', N-peda' aday
what right.away as.soon.as 3s emerge from water ACT-see exist

bangkang tum'uh seluruh tubuh.
bruise/ulcer grow whole body

Right away as she emerged from the water, she saw bruises and ulcers growing all over her body.

“Tu’, da’,⁸ di’!” jaku’ ia, “N-asuh ku ka’ N-rut.
this look 2s.fem say 3s ACT-cause 1s want ACT-forbid

“Now look, you!” she (Dara Reja’) said, “That’s why I wanted to forbid you.

Tu’ bila di’ nyaw tum’uh pitu’, bila di’ tan
this when 2s.fem PERF grow like.this when 2s.fem endure

upa ku?”
like 1s

Now when in your case it has grown like this, when in your case could you endure it like me?”

Baru’ dih kisah ti menyadi’ tih.
then dih story REL sibling tih

Then, (we turn to) the story of those siblings.

“Bila taw’ da-bay’ ka rumah jara’?
when can PASS-bring to house jara’

“How could she be brought home?

Kati kita aba’ n’u’ tu’?”
how 1p.incl with TOA this

What should we do with our younger sister?”

Jaku’ sida’ menyadi’ ti laki ah.
say 3p sibling REL male ah

Those male siblings said:

“Aw’, nti’ anu’, teka anyut=m.”
well if what.is.it right.away swept.away=m

“Well, if uh, just let her be swept away by the water.”

Baru’ sida’ N-am’i’ tajaw ka rumah.
then 3p ACT- take big.jar to house

⁸ *Da*’ is a short form of *peda*’ look, see’.

After that they got a big jar from their house.

Tajaw ti besay, taw' jalay N-pajak nsia.
big.jar REL big can for ACT-put.in human

A jar that is big, into which a person can be put.

Da-bekal sida' ka bala peN-pakay, keban
PASS- provide.provisions 3p to all.kinds NOM-eat kind

apa dia'.
what there.(near)

She was provided with provisions of all kinds of food, all kinds of things in there.

Da-anyut sida'.
PASS-sweep.away 3p

They let it be swept away (on the water).

Ari ulu ari Ketungaw sida' N-anyut.
from upstream from K 3p ACT-sweep.away

From the upstream part of Ketungaw River they let her be swept away.

Nya' kisah, ari nyin kisah ia'.
that story from that.over.there story that

That's the story, from there as the story has it.

Da-anyut sa' menyadi', pulay.
PASS-swept.away 3p sibling go.home

After the brothers had let her be swept away, they went home.

Aa, pulay menyadi' ka rumah.
ah go.home sibling to house

Ah, the siblings went home.

Puyang Gana aba' bini pulay ka peN-diaw diri' ah.
P G and wife go.home to NOM-live self ah

Puyang Gana and his wife went home to their own dwelling.

Jadi kisah nya' ilang.
so story that disappear

So, that's the end of that (part of the) story.

Kisah nya' udah lama'-lama', aw', b-uma ba-tawun,
story that already long-RED well ANPAS-rice.field ANPAS-year

ba-intu ba-ketaw, ba-apa, sampay udah
ANPAS-raise ANPAS-harvest ANPAS-what until PERF

N-ketaw, baru' sa' menyadi' ingat: "Kati menyadi' kita
ACT-harvest then 3p sibling remember how sibling 1p.incl

tu', n'u'? Udah lama' amat kita anyut dah.
this TOA alreadyl long indeed 1p.incl sweep.away dah

A long time has passed since that story. Well, they worked the rice field yearly, raised things, did whatever else, until the harvest was over, then those siblings remembered: "How is it with our younger sister? It has been indeed a long time since we let her be swept away.

Ntah idup, ntah mati, ntah kati kini?
not.know live not.know die not.know how kini

Is she alive, or is she dead, or how is she?

Nti' anu', kita siap N-ansul," jaku' sida' menyadi'.
if what.is.it 1p.incl ready ACT-follow say 3p sibling

If uh, we're ready to go after her," said those siblings.

"Aw', ka'," jaku' tay menyadi' bukay, "Kita tu' bila,
yes want say REL sibling other 1p.incl this when

anu', ba-jimuy ngaw da-bay' bekal, ngaw
what.is.it ANPAS-dry for PASS-bring provisions for

bekal kita da jalay."
provisions 1p.incl LOC road

"Yes, I want to," said the other sibling, "When do we, uh, dry (rice) to bring with us as our provision on the road.

Baru' N-jemuy padi pitu', semua se-bekal.
then ACT-dry paddy like.this all ONE-provisions

Then they dried rice, all (of them) shared the same provisions.

Baru' sida' ili'.
then 3p go.downstream

After that they went downstream.

Ngaw peraw sida' ili', N-sidi abi
with proa 3p go.downstream ACT-trace trace

per-anyut tempayan.
NOM-swept.away jar

With a proa they went downstream, tracing the trace of the path of the jar that had been swept away.

Tempayan tu' tih dia' ia' sangkut, dia' sing'ah,
jar TOP tih there.(near) that get.stuck there.(near) stop.by

dia' nugaw.
there.(near) stay.quiet

As for the jar, it got stuck over there, it stopped over there, it stayed quiet over there.

Jadi kisah Putung Empat tih, ti kena' peN-pedih
so story P K tih REL afflict NOM-sick

ia' tih, asa malam ba-ren'am ka ay' ia.
that tih whenever night ANPAS-soak to water 3s

So, as for Putung Empat, who caught the disease, you know, whenever it was night, she soaked herself in the water.

Jadi waktu ia ba-ren'am ka ay' ia', datay ikan N-pakay,
so when 3s ANPAS-soak to water that come fish ACT-eat

N-pakay, N-pakay peN-sakit ia sampay sem'uh, bersih.
ACT-eat ACT-eat NOM-sick 3s until recovered clean

So, when she soaked herself in the water, fish came and ate, ate, ate her disease until she was recovered, clean.

Aa, pia' kisah.
ah like.that story

Ah, that was the story.

Jadi sesudah-sudah ia ili', datay ka nanga
so after.so.long 3s go.downstream come to estuary

Sepawuk, nanga Sepawuk ti aday dia' da Belitang tu'.
S estuary S REL exist there.(near) LOC B this

Thus, after such a long time she went downstream, she arrived at the Sepauk Estuary, the Sepauk Estuary that is over there at the Belitang River.

Sampay da sabar bubu Aji Melayu.
arrive LOC trapping.fence fishtrap haji M

She arrived at the fishtrap fence of Haji Melayu.

Aday kisah urang tuay, Aji Melayu N-sabar sungay
exist story person old haji M ACT-trapping.fence river

Sepawuk ia', N-sabar bubu ngaw N-tangkap ikan.
S that ACT-trapping.fence fishtrap for ACT-catch fish

There is the story of (our) ancestors of how Haji Melayu was setting up a fence at the Sepawuk River, how he set up a fishtrap fence for catching fish.

Sampay dia'=m, nitaw' ia anyut k=ili' jara'.
until there.(near)=m can't 3s swept.away to=downstream jara'

When Putung Empat arrived there, she couldn't be swept away (any longer) downstream.

Jadi malam nya' Aji Melayu tu' mimpi.
so night that haji M TOP dream

So, on that night Haji Melayu, he dreamed.

Ia mimpi N-peda' bulan, teka da-pangku' ia pia'.
3s dream ACT-see moon right.away PASS-take.on.lap 3s like.that

He dreamed that he saw the moon, right away he took it on his lap, that's how it was.

Dani malam, nitaw' tin'uk.
wake.up night can't sleep

Waking up at night, he couldn't sleep.

"Apa badi mimpi ku?" jaku' ia.
what intent dream 1s say 3s

"What does my dream mean?" he said.

"*Nyelah amat, naday kala' mimpi pia'.*"
 strange true NEG ever dream like.that

"It's very strange, I've never dreamed like this."

Udah ia', baru' ia turun ka ay' tih ka' N-pasaw bubu.
 after that then 3s descend to water tih FUT ACT-set fishtrap

After that, he then went down to the water, going to set the fishtrap.

Ari jawuh ia N-peda' aday tepayan.
 from far 3s ACT-see exist jar

From a distance he saw that there was a jar.

"Apa utay ia'?" jaku' ia.
 what thing that say 3s

"What thing is that?" he said.

Baru' da-gusung.
 then PASS-go.after

Then he went after it.

Peda' ia d=alam tepayan aday nsia.
 see 3s LOC=inside jar exist human

He saw that inside the jar there was a person.

Dia' aday urang dara, urang in'u'.
 there.(near) exist person young.woman person female

In there there was a young woman, a female.

Da-bay' ka rumah.
 PASS-bring to house

She was taken home.

Jadi datay ka rumah, gaga mah ia jara', nema aday nsia jara',
 so come to house glad mah 3s jara' because exist human jara'

ulih N-temu, ukay ulih N-giga'.
 by ACT-find not by ACT-look.for

Thus, arriving at home, he was indeed glad, because there was a human, found, not sought!

Aw', da-pulah ngaw bini ia.
 well PASS-make for wife 3s

Well, she was made his wife.

Ba-laki-bini=m seniku' dia', tin'uk ngantuk,
 ANPAS-husband-wife=m 3d there.(near) sleep feel.sleepy

N-pakay N-mpa' d=alam rumah tang'a' ia.
 ACT-eat ACT-chew LOC-inside house ladder 3s

The two of them got married there, they lived together at his home.

Jadi ilang kisah ia' tih, menyadi' tu' tih
 so disappear story that tih sibling TOP tih

ba-labuh ili' ari Ketungaw nyin.
 ANPAS-fall downstream from K that.over.there

So, leaving that part of the story, as for those siblings, they started going downstream from Ketungaw River.

Datay ka sungay Keli', N-dinga gu' antu tu'
 come to river K ACT-hear voice ghost this

ba-ngakay N-aduh apa, ba-kayit duri'.
 ANPAS-ouch ACT-ouch what ANPAS-hook thorn

Arriving at the Keli' River, they heard the voice of the ghosts screaming and sighing of something, hooking each other with thorns.

Duri' danan besay da-kayit sida', da-dujut.
 thorn k.o.rattan big PASS-hook 3p PASS-draw

Big *danan* thorns were hooked by them and drawn.

Ah, ia'=m kerja sa' ia'.
 ah that=m work 3p that

Ah, that was what they did.

Baru' sa' anu' tu' tih N-pansa'.
 then 3p INDEF.PRON TOP tih ACT-pass

Then, they, what's their name, passed by.

"*Ih, kita', jaku' antu, "Nitaw' kita' N-pansa' gena.*
 hey 2p say ghost can't 2p ACT-pass *gena*

"Hey, you," the ghosts said, "You can't just pass through as you like.

Kita ba-kayit duri'!
 1p.incl ANPAS-hook thorn

Let's have a "thorn-hooking" fight!

Asa kita' naday t-alah ka kami, kita' nitaw'
 whenever 2p NEG MID-beat to 1p.excl 2p can't

N-kilah tu'.
 ACT-pass this

When you can't beat us, you can't pass through here.

Nga' tu'=m!"
 stop.there this=*m*

Stop just here!"

"Tu' se-macam, kati, kita tu' naday tan."
 this ONE-kind how 1p.incl TOP NEG endure

"This is crazy! What can we do, WE won't survive it."

Baru' jaku' menyadi' ti tuay ah, Bejit Manay: "Naday,
 then say sibling REL old *ah* B M NEG

anu', kita aday pua'.
 well 1p.incl exist bark.clothes

Then, the older sibling, Bejit Manay, said: "No, we do, well, we have bark clothes.

Sida' ia' takut ka pua' bah."
 3p that afraid to bark.cloth *bah*

They are afraid of the bark clothes (I am pretty sure of that)."

Pua' ti adayd=alam utan pia',
 bark.clothes REL existLOC-inside forest like.that

da-palu' ngaw selimut, pia'.
 PASS-strike for blanket like.that

(I mean) the bark clothes which are in the forest, you know, which are beaten to

make sheets, you know. (The story teller's comment)

Baru' da-am'i' sida' ia'.
then PASS-take 3p that

Then they took bark clothes.

Da-kayit sida' giling pua' s-iku' sida' menyadi'.
PASS-hook 3p roll bark.cloth ONE-CLASS 3p sibling

(Then) one of the siblings was rolled up with the bark clothes and was hooked (with thorns).

Da-kayit jurus da-bay' kia', da-bay' kitu'.
PASS-hook straight PASS-bring thither.(near) PASS-bring hither

He was hooked and straight away dragged in all directions.

Da-bay' kia', naday pedih.
PASS-bring thither.(near) NEG sick

Being dragged away, it didn't hurt him.

Nema pua' jara', nema pua' guni.
because bark.cloth jara' because bark.cloth gunny.sack

Because of the bark clothes, because of the gunny clothes.

Ah, udah.
ah already

Ah, it was over.

"Tu' kita'!" jaku' sida' jara'.
now 2p say 3p jara'

"Now, you!" they (the siblings) said.

Kayit sida' antu.
hook 3p ghost

(And) they hooked the ghosts.

Mati antu tu'!
die ghost this

And dead was this ghost!

Ah! Adu kita' ditu'!
ah don't 2p here

“Oh no! Don't you stay here!”

Lekas angkat kita' ari tu'!
quick go 2p from this

Go away quickly from here!”

Naday kami te-alah ka kita',” jaku' antu.
NEG 1p.excl MID-beat to 2p say ghost

“We can't beat you,” said the ghosts.

Baru' sida' angkat, ili' ari ia'.
then 3p go go.downstream from that

After that they started off, going downstream from there.

Ili' sida' ari ia' agi', datay ka sungay Birah.
go.downstream 3p from that again come to river B

They went downstream again from there, arriving at the Birah River.

Ah, dia' antu N-inum darah.
ah there.(near) ghost ACT-drink blood

Well, over there ghosts were drinking blood.

Apa darah tay da-inum sida', ba-jalung-jalung, kisah.
what blood REL PASS-drink 3p ANPAS-big.bowl-RED story

What kind of blood they drank, I don't know. It was in big bowls, as it is told.

Datay kia', anu', jaku' antu: “Kita' nitaw’,
come thither.(near) well say ghost 2p can't

asa kita' naday te-p-amis ka darah ti
whenever 2p NEG MID-CAUS-finished to blood REL

kami beri' ka kita', nitaw' kita' N-kilah tu'.
1p.excl give to 2p can't 2p ACT-pass this

They came there, well, the ghosts said: “You can't (pass through), as long as you're not able to finish the blood we give to you, you can't pass through here.

Nga' tu' mah kita'!
stop.there this mah 2p

You just stay here!"

"Aw', barang," jaku' sida'.
yes whatever say 3p

"Okay, whatever (you want)," they (the siblings) said.

Baru' sida' pulay ka peraw sida'.
then 3p return to proa 3p

Then they (the siblings) went back to their proa.

"Kati akal kita?"
how mind 1p.incl

"What should we do?

Kita tu' bila jama N-inum ka darah?
1p.incl this when usually ACT-drink to blood

As for us, when do we ever drink blood?

Naday sa-sangup."
NEG be.able-RED

We're not able to do that."

"Naday pedih," jaku' pangan bukay menyadi' ah.
NEG difficult say partner other sibling ah

"It's not difficult," said the other sibling.

"Peraw kita tebuk kah lah, s-iku' budi
proa 1p.incl make.hole kah lah ONE-CLASS pretend

N-tam'ang din N-inum."
ACT-ride.on there.(far) ACT-drink

"Let's make a leak in the proa, (then) one of us pretends to sail the proa (while) drinking (blood)."

Jadi darah ia' keluar ari peraw ka ay'.
so blood that exit from proa to water

So, the blood leaked out from the proa to the water.

Antu naday N-kelala nsia N-pulah ti pia'.
ghost NEG ACT-recognize human ACT-do REL like.that

The ghosts did not realize humans would do a thing like that.

Baru' sida' N-gusung antu: "Taw'=m," jaku' sida'.
then 3p ACT-go.after ghost can=m say 3p

Then they met the ghosts: "We can do it," they said.

"Kami dulaw beri' ka darah!"
1p.excl first give to blood

"Give us the blood first!"

Beri' antu darah sampay mis darah ia, kerna nisi'
give ghost blood until finished blood 3s because nothing

apa-apa sida' ah.
what-RED 3p ah

The ghosts gave blood until there was no more, because they (the siblings) were just doing fine.

"Aduh, lampar ga' kita'!" jaku' antu.
ouch excessive also 2p say ghost

"Oh no, you are really too much!" said the ghosts.

"Anal amat kita' wih."
strong true 2p wih

"You're really strong, (indeed you are)."

"Aa, tu' kita' dih!" jaku' sida' nsia jara'.
ah this 2p dih say 3p human jara'

"Ah, and now you!" said those humans.

"Ba-ganti dih kita' N-inum darah."
ANPAS-change dih 2p ACT-drink blood

"It's your turn to drink blood."

Da-beri' sida' darah ka antu.
PASS-give 3p blood to ghost

They gave blood to the ghosts.

Naday antu te-inum ka darah.
NEG ghost MID-drink to blood

The ghosts were not able to drink up the blood.

Aa, baru' antu N-asuh sida' turun kin
ah then ghost ACT-order 3p descend thither.(far)

ka ili', N-ili' terus.
to downstream ACT-go.downstream straight

Ah, then the ghosts ordered them to go further down the river, to go on downstream.

Aa, ke-panyay kisah sida' ia', baru' sa' menyadi' tu'
ah NOM-long story 3p that then 3p sibling this

aday N-peda' ntawa' ba-buah.
exist ACT-see k.o.tree ANPAS-fruit

Ah, then after a long time as their story goes, it happened that the siblings saw a *ntawa'* tree bearing fruit.

Aa, ia' nyaw semak Sepawuk mah sida' dih.
ah that PERF near S mah 3p dih

Ah, that was close to the Sepawuk area, they were indeed.

Haja si-s-igi' ia' buah ntawa'.
solely ONE-CLASS-RED that fruit k.o.fruit

The *ntawa'* fruit was the only one (up there on the tree).

“Uh!” jaku' sida', “Aday buah ntawa' d=ataw nyin.
oh say 3p exist fruit k.o.fruit LOC=top that.over.there

“Oh!” they said, “There’s a *ntawa'* fruit up there.

Buh, kita N-tiki' ah!”
come on! 1p.incl ACT-climb ah

Let’s climb (it)!”

Tiki' sida' ntawa' tih.
climb 3p k.o.fruit tih

(So,) they climbed the *ntawa'* tree.

Baru' ari pucuk ntawa' sida' N-peda' menyadi' Putung
 then from top.of.tree k.o.tree 3p ACT-see sibling P

Kempat N-ancaw padi da gang'ang seniku' da nanga
 K ACT-spread paddy LOC balcony 3d LOC estuary

Sepawuk.
 S

Then, from the top of the *ntawa'* tree they saw their sister Putung Kempat spreading out rice on their (i.e. PK and her husband's) balcony at the Sepawuk Estuary.

Rumah seniku' aday gang'ang.
 house 3d exist balcony

Their (Putung Kempat and her husband's) house had a balcony.

Jadi dia' ia N-jemuy padi.
 so there.(near) 3s ACT-dry paddy

Thus, there she was spreading out rice to dry in the sun.

Padi jemuy.
 paddy dry

The rice was drying in the sun.

"Uh, nyun menyadi' kita benung N-ancaw padi.
 oh there.far.away sibling 1p.incl PROG ACT-spread paddy

"Oh, right over there our sister is spreading out rice.

Nyin idup menyadi' kita," jaku' sida'.
 that.over.there live sibling 1p.incl say 3p

Over there our sister lives," they said.

Gaga sida' jara' N-peda' menyadi' kelala idup tih, kelala
 glad 3p jara' ACT-see sibling recognize live tih recognize

selamat.
 safe

They were really glad to see their sister known to be alive, known to be safe.

Baru' ntawa' tu' tih, kisah tih, da-tikam ari pucuk
 then k.o.fruit this tih story tih PASS-throw from top.of.tree

ntawa' *ka* *gang'ang* *ia'*.
k.o.tree to balcony that

Then, the *ntawa'* fruit, that was the story, it was thrown from the top of the tree to the balcony.

Da-am'i' *Putung* *Kempat,* *jadi* *mas,* *ntawa'*.
PASS-take P K become gold k.o.fruit

It was taken by Putung Empat, becoming gold, the *ntawa'*.

Pajak *ia* *d=alam* *tepayan*.
put.in 3s LOC=inside jar

She put it inside a jar.

Ia *nitaw'* *bada'* *ari* *ni* *mas* *ia'* *datay* *jara'*.
3s not.know bada' from where gold that come jara'

She didn't know where that gold came from.

Nyelah *uga'* *utay* *ia'*.
strange all thing that

Very strange that thing was.

Keba' *tanah* *Sepawuk* *ba-mas,* *kisah*.
therefore land S ANPAS-gold story

Therefore it is told that the land of Sepawuk contains gold.

Baru' *dih* *sida'* *tu'* *jurus* *ili'*.
then dih 3p this straight downstream

After that they went straight on downstream.

Ili', *datay* *ka* *nanga* *Sepawuk*.
go.downstream come to estuary S

Going downstream, they arrived at the Sepawuk Estuary.

Datay *ka* *pengkal* *Aji* *Melayu*.
come to landing.place haji M

They arrived at the Haji Melayu's mooring place.

Da-tamit, N-tiki' dia'.
 PASS-tie.up ACT-climb there.(near)

Having tied up (the proa), they climbed up there.

Baru' N-tanya', anu', serta N-tiki' ka rumah.
 then ACT-ask what.is.it as.soon.as ACT-climb to house

Then they asked, what is it, as they climbed up to the house.

Pas N-peda' menyadi'.
 at.same.time ACT-see sibling

At the same moment they saw their sister.

"Aa, tu' menyadi' kita, selamat!" jaku' sida'.
 ah this sibling 1p.incl safe say 3p

"Ah, here's our sister, she's safe!" they said.

Gaga mah sida' jara', ba-sium ba-lulum,
 glad mah 3p jara' ANPAS-kiss ANPAS-PREC

ba-salam, ba-apa.
 ANPAS-greeting ANPAS-what

They were really happy, they kissed each other, they greeted each other, and what not.

Aba' Aji Melayu s-igi' pia'.
 with haji M ONE-CLASS like.that

With Haji Melayu they did the same.

Aa, dia'=m sida' ba-sing'ah, sida' dia'.
 ah there.(near)=m 3p ANPAS-stop.by 3p there.(near)

Ah, there they (the siblings) stopped by, thus they did there.

Da-terima baik.
 PASS-receive good

They were welcomed.

Ulih amat da-terima baik, Aji Melayu tu' alam
 but although PASS-receive good haji M this inside

pikir *ia, naday* *ia* *yakin* *ia'* *menyadi'*,
think 3s NEG 3s sure that sibling

mungkin *ngaw* *N-tipu,* *ngaw* *apa.*
maybe for ACT-deceive for what

However, although they were welcome, as for Haji Melayu, in his mind, he didn't believe they were siblings, maybe (they wanted) to deceive, or to do (who knows) what.

Baru' *ia, dah* *se-malam* *pertama,* *malam* *ke-dua,* *baru'* *ia*
then 3s after ONE-night first night ORD-two then 3s

N-padah *ka menyadi':* "Aw', *kita'* *ditu'* *mah, aka',*" *jaku'* *ia,* "Ku
ACT-say to sibling well 2p here mah TOA say 3s 1s

malam *tu', anu',* *ka'* *N-giga'* *ikan.*
night this what.is.it want ACT-look.for fish

Then he, after the first night, the second night, then he said to the siblings: "Well, you just stay here, brothers," he said, "Tonight, uh, I want to look for fish.

Kita' *aba'* *menyadi'* *kita'* *ditu'=m."*
2p with sibling 2p here=m

You just (stay) here with your sister."

Jadi *ia', kita* *nitaw'* *bada'* *kisah,* *kati cara* *ia* *anu'* *tih,*
so that 1p.incl not.know bada' story how way 3s what.is.it tih

baruh *peN-tin'uk* *Putung* *Kempat* *tu' tih,* *da-tepu'* *ia* *dawun*
under NOM-sleep P K this tih PASS-put 3s leaf

pisang.
banana

So about that (detail in the story), we don't know the story how he, what-is-it, under Putung Empat's bed banana leaves were placed by him.

Nema *nti'* *aday* *apa-apa* *kan*⁹ *dawun* *pisang* *tu' jat*
because if exist what-RED kan leaf banana this bad

jara', *carik* *jara'.*
jara' torn.apart *jara'*

⁹ *Kan*, a particle that is used to mark a rhetorical question, is clearly a Malay/Indonesian borrowing.

Because if anything would happen, these banana leaves would be ruined, torn apart, wouldn't they?

Kisah, ia ba-jalay.
story 3s ANPAS-road

According to the story, he (Haji Melayu) went off.

Ulih ia naday ba-jalay, ia N-intup.
but 3s NEG ANPAS-road 3s ACT-spy

But he didn't go away, he spied (on them).

Upa malam nya', se-malam nya' jara', tin'uk.
as night that ONE-night that jara' sleep

During that night, the whole night, (everybody) slept.

Pia' tih kisah, ia diaw da padung.
like.that tih story 3s stay LOC attic

That was the story, he stayed quiet in the attic.

Ia siap kayu ngaw ia N-kayit kayin Putung Empat.
3s prepare wood for 3s ACT-hook cloth P K

He prepared a (piece of) wood for him to hook Putung Empat's clothes (shirts).

Tin'uk.
sleep

(Everybody) slept.

Ting'al sida' menyadi' nyaw tin'uk, kayin Putung Empat.
stay 3p sibling PERF sleep cloth P K

di-siah ia pia', telany'ang Putung Empat.
PASS-disclose 3s like.that naked P K

Letting the siblings be asleep, the clothes of Putung Empat were taken off like that, and naked she was. Putung Empat.

Dani menyadi' s-iku', "Akay, kati adi', jadi
wake.up sibling ONE-CLASS alas how younger.sibling marry

ka Raja Suka, urang ba-nama teka tin'uk tubuh
to king S person ANPAS-name right.away sleep body

telany'ang *kijang*," *jaku'* *ia*.
naked deer say 3s

One of the brothers woke up, "Oh no! What's wrong with you, sister, you are married to King Suka, a famous person, and yet you still sleep completely naked," he said.

Da-apis, *tutup* *lagi'* *kayin*.
PASS-fix cover again cloth

The clothes were fixed, covering (her) again.

Tin'uk.
sleep

(Everybody) slept.

Ulih *ia,* *Aji* *Melayu,* *naday* *tin'uk* *jara'*.
but 3s haji M NEG sleep *jara'*

But he, Haji Melayu, didn't sleep, indeed.

Udah *ia'* *da-kasi'* *agi'* *kayin,* *telany'ang* *urang*
after that PASS-disclose again cloth naked person

in'u' *ia'*.
female that

After that, he removed the clothes again. The woman was naked.

Malu *da-peda'* *jara'*, *dani* *menyadi'* *sida'* *s-iku'*.
ashamed PASS-see *jara'* wake.up sibling 3p ONE-CLASS

It was a shameful sight; one of the siblings woke up.

"*Akay,* *kati* *mah* *di'* *tu'*, *ah,* *kasih* *bada'* *jara'*," *jaku'*
alas how mah 2s.fem this ah feeling.of.pity *bada'* *jara'* say

ia, "*Jadi* *ka* *keban* *Raja* *Suka,* *jadi* *ka* *urang* *ba-nama*
3s marry to kind king S marry to person ANPAS-name

tin'uk *tubuh* *telany'ang* *kijang*."
sleep body naked deer

"Ah, what is it with you, ah, what a pity," he said, "Getting married to King Suka, to a famous person, and yet sleeping totally naked."

Da-apis.

PASS-fix

The clothes were fixed.

<i>Alam</i>	<i>ati</i>	<i>ia:</i>	<i>"Tu'</i>	<i>amat</i>	<i>sida'</i>	<i>tu'</i>	<i>menyadi'.</i>
inside	liver	3s	this	true	3p	this	sibling

In his mind (Haji Melayu thought): "It looks like they're indeed siblings.

<i>Pikir,</i>	<i>anti'</i>	<i>naday</i>	<i>menyadi',</i>	<i>naday</i>	<i>betah</i>	<i>N-peda'</i>
think	if	NEG	sibling	NEG	feel.comfortable	ACT-see

<i>tay</i>	<i>pia'."</i>
REL	like.that

I think, if they were not siblings, they wouldn't feel easy seeing something like that."

<i>Sampay</i>	<i>mis</i>	<i>sa'</i>	<i>menyadi'</i>	<i>ah.</i>
until	finished	3p	sibling	ah

Until all the brothers had had their turn.

<i>"Udah,</i>	<i>amat</i>	<i>menyadi'</i>	<i>sida'</i>	<i>tu',"</i>	<i>jaku'</i>	<i>ia.</i>
udah	true	sibling	3p	this	say	3s

"Okay then, they are really siblings," he said.

<i>Baru',</i>	<i>ia,</i>	<i>naday</i>	<i>N-padah</i>	<i>diri',</i>	<i>ia</i>	<i>pagi</i>	<i>malah</i>	<i>ia</i>	<i>rari</i>
then	3s	NEG	ACT-say	self	3s	tomorrow	even	3s	run

<i>ari</i>	<i>ia'.</i>
from	that

After that, without saying anything, on the next day he even ran away from there.

<i>Tin'uk</i>	<i>sida'</i>	<i>menyadi'</i>	<i>sampay</i>	<i>tawas</i>	<i>ari.</i>
sleep	3p	sibling	until	day.time	day

The siblings slept until daytime.

<i>Baru',</i>	<i>ia</i>	<i>tu'</i>	<i>datay,</i>	<i>budi</i>	<i>datay</i>	<i>ari</i>	<i>pe-jalay</i>	<i>diri'.</i>
then	3s	this	come	pretend	come	from	NOM-walk	self

Then, as for him (Haji Melayu), he came (home), pretending that he came back from his trip.

Udah ia', ia yakin amat mah dih, taw' m=ia sida'
 after that 3s sure indeed mah dih know m=3s 3p

menyadi', amat menyadi'.
 sibling true sibling

After that, he was very sure, he knew that they were brothers, real brothers.

Baru' sida' N-kisah ka ia, N-kisah asal mula
 then 3p ACT-story to 3s ACT-story origin beginning

sida' aba' menyadi' ia' sampay menyadi' ia' da-anyut.
 3p with sibling that until sibling that PASS-swept.away

Then they told him the story, telling the story of when they were first with their sister until how she was swept away.

Baru' ia taw' bada' kisah ia' dih, mula da-anyut
 then 3s know bada' story that dih beginning PASS-swept.away

ari tanah ay' sida'.
 from land water 3p

Only then did he (Haji Melayu) know that story, the beginning of her being swept away from their homeland.

"Kati lah sanu'," jaku' Aji Melayu, "Keka",
 how lah whosit say haji M older.sibling.in.law

kita' aday pen'apat?
 2p exist opinion

"How is it, uh," Haji Melayu said, "Brothers-in-law, do you have any ideas?"

Ku tu', semua urang ditu' ta'luk uga' ka ku.
 1s this all person here subject.to all to 1s

As for me, all people here are submitted to me.

Cuma ti di ulu menua kami tu'=m, Aji
 only REL LOC upstream country 1p.excl this=m haji

Kum'ang, ia=m, ku naday mampu N-lawan ia."
 K 3s=m 1s NEG be.able ACT-oppose 3s

It's only the one in the upstream of our country, Haji Kum'ang, him, I wasn't able to fight him."

"Ia' gampang," jaku' sida' jara', "Wan aday mas,
 that easy say 3p jara' 2s.hon exist gold

aday N-simpan mas?"
 exist ACT-keep gold

"That's easy," they said, "Do you have gold, do you keep gold?"

"Ntah kati aday n'a'?"
 not.know how exist not

"I wonder, do I have it or not?"

Baru' jaku' Putung Empat: "Aday!"
 then say P K exist

Then Putung Empat said: "There is!"

Aday mas ku simpan."
 exist gold 1s keep

There's gold that I keep."

"Asa aday," jaku' sida', "Pitu' dany'i kita, kami
 whenever exist say 3p like.this promise 1p.incl 1p.excl

lah N-ran'aw Aji Kum'ang din.
 lah ACT-visit haji K there.(far)

"If there is," they said, "Here's our deal, we will visit Haji Kum'ang over there.

Jadi cara kami N-ran'aw ia lah, sampay tum'uh lamur,
 so way 1p.excl ACT-visit 3s lah until grow sunset

baru' kami N-tanya' ia, apa lamur ngenurut
 then 1p.excl ACT-ask 3s what sunset according.to

Aji Kum'ang, apa lamur nti' pitu',
 haji K what sunset if like.this

lamur tay da-peda' kita da langit nya'."
 sunset REL PASS-see 1p.incl LOC sky that

Thus, the way we visit him will be that, (we'll wait) until the sunset glow appears and we'll ask him what according to him the sunset glow means if it is like this, the sunset glow that appears in the sky."

Nema N-asuh ia naday te-alah ka ia, dia'
because ACT-cause 3s NEG MID-beat to 3s there.(near)

aday maram, duri' maram se-keliling rumah.
exist k.o.fruit thorn k.o.fruit ONE-around house

Because, what caused him (Haji Melayu) to not be able to beat him (Haji Kum'ang) was that over there (at Haji Kum'ang's house) there were *maram* trees, *maram's* thorns surrounding his house.

Aa, nya' N-asuh Aji Melayu naday t-alah.
ah that ACT-cause haji M NEG MID-beat

Ah, that caused Haji Melayu not to be able to beat (him).

Jadi, jaku' sida' menyadi': "Jadi asa aday maram tu'
so say 3p sibling so whenever exist k.o.fruit this

anyut da-peda' kita', datay kin, aa, siap dih kita'
swept.away PASS-see 2p come thither.(far) ah ready dih 2p

N-serang.
ACT-attack

So, those siblings said: "Thus, whenever you see *maram* fruits being swept away, go there, ah, be ready to attack.

Nya' dany'i kita."
that promise 1p.incl

That's our deal."

Nyaw ujung ari, angkat sa' menyadi' ba-ran'aw ka rumah
already tip day go 3p sibling ANPAS-visit to house

Aji Kum'ang tih.
haji K tih

When it was already afternoon, the brothers started off to bring a visit to Haji Kum'ang's house.

Da-sam'ut baik mah jara' ulih Aji Kum'ang, N-beri'
PASS-welcome good mah jara' by haji K ACT-give

N-pakay, N-inum, apa.
ACT-eat ACT-drink what

They were heartily welcomed by Haji Kum'ang, who gave them things to eat, (and)

drink, and (everything) else.

Ke-panyay-panyay *N-umung sampay* *nyaw* *ujung* *ari pia'*,
NOM-long-RED ACT-talk until already tip day like.that

tim'ul *lamur* *langit*.
emerge sunset sky

After talking for a long time until it was already late in the afternoon, the sunset sky appeared.

"Ey, limbang cakap," jaku' sa' menyadi', *"Ey, menurut*
hey turn.off talk say 3p sibling hey according.to

Aji Kum'ang, nti' lamur pitu', apa, lamur apa tu'?"
haji K if sunset like.this what sunset what this

"Hey, by the way," the brothers said, "Hey, according to Haji Kum'ang, if there is a sunset glow like this, what does this sunset mean?"

"Uh tu' biasa mah," jaku' Aji Kum'ang, "Tu' udah
oh this usual mah say haji K this already

malam-malam pitu', udah aday panas biasa
night-RED like.this already exist hot usuall

tum'uh lamur pitu'."
grow sunset like.this

"Oh, this is just common," said Haji Kum'ang, "When it is already evening like this, when it's hot, the sunset glow usually appears like this."

"Naday!" jaku' sa' menyadi'.
NEG say 3p sibling

"No!" said the brothers.

"Kalaw¹⁰ kami, kalaw lamur pitu' tetap lamur mas."
if 1p.excl if sunset like.this constant sunset gold

"As for us, if it's a sunset like this, it's certainly a sunset for gold."

"Kati anu' N-kenal?"
how what.is.it ACT-recognize

"How, uh, can we know?"

¹⁰ *Kalaw* 'if' is a Malay/Indonesian borrowing.

"*Ih, anu',*" *jaku' ia,* "*Kalaw lamur pitu', kita presa ka*
 eh well say 3s if sunset like.this 1p.incl check to

rumah kita."
 house 1p.incl

"Eh, well," he (one of the siblings) said, "If there's a sunset like this, we would check around our house."

Tadi' waktu sida' N-pansa' kia', da-am'ur sida'
 a.while.ago when 3p ACT-pass thither.(near) PASS-scatter 3p

maram, da-am'ur se-keliling rumah.
 k.o.fruit PASS-scatter ONE-around house

A while ago when they (the siblings) passed through there, they scattered *marams* around the house.

Baru' da-presa kin ulih Aji Kum'ang jara'.
 then PASS-check thither.(far) by haji K jara'

Then it was checked around by Haji Kum'ang.

Ulih Aji Kum'ang da-presa amat aday mas da tanah tu'.
 by haji K PASS-check true exist gold LOC ground this

Being checked by Haji Kum'ang, indeed there was gold on the ground.

Aa, baru' ia N-perintah anak buah ia, da-tebas maram.
 ah then 3s ACT-command child fruit 3s PASS-cut k.o.fruit

Ah, then he commanded his servants, (and) the *marams* were cut (and cleared).

Da-papung da-pung'a', da-buay ka ay'.
 PASS-cut PASS-cut PASS-throw.away to water

They were all cut and thrown into the water (river).

Jadi anyut dih anu' tu' sampay datay ka anu'.
 so swept.away dih what.is.it this until come to what.is.it

Aji Melayu.
 haji M

So, the what's-it-called (i.e. *marams*) were swept away until they arrived at the, what's-it-called (i.e. the place) of Haji Melayu.

Baru' Aji Melayu taw' bada' dany'i sida' ah, asa
 then haji M know bada' promise 3p ah whenever

maram tu' datay kin, bar-arti maram tu'
 k.o.fruit this come thither.(far) ANPAS-meaning k.o.fruit this

udah resmi da-anu' urang, da-buay.
 PERF official PASS-what.is.it person PASS-throw.away

Then Haji Melayu understood their promise that whenever *marams* arrive there, it means that the *marams* have really been, uh, thrown away.

Baru' datay N-serang ari nyin.
 then come ACT-attack from that.over.there

Then they came attacking from there.

Aw', ia N-putik mas=m tih, Aji Kum'ang nya'.
 well 3s ACT-pick.up gold=m tih haji K that

Well, he was picking up gold, that Haji Kum'ang.

Datay bala Aji Melayu N-serang batim'ak-tim'ak
 come all haji M ACT-attack ANPAS-shoot-RED

ngaw senapang.
 with rifle

Haji Melayu and all his men came attacking, shooting with rifles.

Rari urang menua, anu', Aji Kum'ang.
 run person country what.is.it haji K

People of, what's-his-name's, Haji Kum'ang's country ran away.

Aji Kum'ang naday dapat rari, anu', teka ngeN-bay'
 haji K NEG can run what.is.it right.away ACT-bring

pat s-uti' mah ia.
 chisel ONE-CLASS mah 3s

Haji Kum'ang couldn't run away, uh, he right away brought with him a chisel.

N-tebuk kayu, tama' ka ia', jadi kum'ang.
 ACT-make.hole tree enter to that become beetle

He made a hole in a tree, (and) entered into it, and became a beetle.

Aday kum'ang ti terbay, jaku' kita=m "nyiit", gu'
 exist beetle REL fly say 1p.incl=m buzz sound

alam kayu.
 inside wood

There was a beetle that flew, buzzing “nyiit”, as we say, a sound inside the wood.

Tama' ia.
 enter 3s

He came in (there).

Ia selamat, ulih reta ben'a ia amis da-jarah urang.
 3s safe but wealth things 3s finished PASS-plunder person

He was safe, but his properties were all gone, plundered by the people.

Baru' gaga Aji Melayu.
 then glad haji M

Then, Haji Melayu was really glad.

"Aduh, cuba anti' naday kita' wih, mati," jaku' ia.
 ah try if NEG 2p wih die say 3s

“Ah, say, if you were not here, I would be dead,” he said.

"Ku aja' naday mampu N-giga' akal N-lawan
 1s just NEG be.able ACT-look.for mind ACT-oppose

Aji Kum'ang.
 haji K

I myself wasn't able to find a way to fight against Haji Kum'ang.

Ku, ia=m, naday mampu ku N-lawan, ti kebukay
 1s 3s=m NEG be.able 1s ACT- oppose REL other

ta'luk uga' ulih ku."
 subject.to all by 1s

As for me, it is only against him,” he said, “that I wasn't able to fight, the others have all been beaten by me.”

Baru' sa' menyadi' tih merama dia' mah jara'.
 then 3p sibling tih stay.a.while here.(near) mah jara'

After that, the brothers stayed there (at Haji Melayu's house) for some time.

Berapa ari naday kita taw' bada' kisah.
how.many day NEG 1p.incl know bada' story

How long it was, we don't know the story.

Baru' sida' N-pinta' diri' pulay.
then 3p ACT-ask.for self go.home

Then they asked permission to leave.

"Ah, tu' kami tu' ka' pulay adi'," jaku' sida'.
ah this 1p.excl TOP want go.home younger.sibling say 3p

"Ah, look, sister, we want to return home," they said.

"Aw', tu', n'u', telany'ur kita' ba-laki-bini.
well this TOA gone.too.far 2p ANPAS-husband-wife

"Well, look, sister, it already happened that you have become husband and wife.

Serah ka kita'=m.
left.to.o's.discretion to 2p=m

It's just up to you.

Sukur gaga kami tu' kita' aday ti N-intu,
thank.God glad 1p.excl this 2p exist REL ACT-take.care

ba-laki-bini."
ANPAS-husband-wife

Thank God, we're glad that you have somebody who takes care (of you), being married."

Baru' pulay sida' ia' tih.
then go.home 3p that tih

Then, they did return home.

Pulay, datay ka menua diri' jara', upa biasa
go.home come to country self jara' as usual

ba-uma ba-tawun.
ANPAS-rice.field ANPAS-year

Going home, they came to their own country, as usual they worked the rice fields

every year.

Ku naday ingat ka bala per-anak tay ngeN-turun
1s NEG remember to all NOM-descendant REL ACT-descend

keban, aday padah urang, Pati ia' ni.
kind exist say person P that ni

I don't remember all the descendants that descended, as some people said, the "Patis". (The story teller was trying to track down descendants of the siblings)

Aday ti Bejit Manay N-aday Pati Cerang, N-aday
exist REL B M ACT-exist P C ACT-exist

Pati Lan'a, N-aday Pati Rampung.
P L ACT-exist P R

There is the story that Bejit Manay gave birth to Pati Cerang, who gave birth to Pati Lan'a, who gave birth to Pati Rampung.

Jadi nya' ti N-turun sampay ka kita pitu'.
so that REL ACT-descend until to 1p.incl like.this

Thus, those are the ones who descend to us until the present time.

Aa, nya' N-asuh tadi' tih adat ia', nak,
ah that ACT-cause a.while.ago tih custom that son

di-k-ingat urang ari turun-temurun.
PASS-ke-remember person from descend-RED

Ah, that's why the custom just mentioned has been remembered by people from generation to generation, son. (By *nak* son', the story teller was referring to me as one of the listeners)

Urang jadi mali, aday adat kita.
person become taboo exist custom 1p.incl

(If) people break a taboo, there is a custom for that.

Asa urang ia', misal ku, aa kemua Jang
whenever person that for.example 1s ah 1d.excl brother

Danil menyadi', lalu anak ku jadi ka m'ih ataw
D sibling then child 1s marry to 2s.masc or

jadi ka menyadi' ia.
 marry to sibling 3s

Whenever such people, for example me, ah, we two, Brother Danil, are siblings, then my child gets married to you or to her brother.

Ia' mali berat.
 that taboo heavy

That's a big taboo.

Adat ia' babi tujuh iku'.
 custom that pig seven CLASS

The custom for that was (a fine of) seven pigs.

Asa gaway s-iku' da-buay ka ay',
 whenever feast ONE-CLASS PASS-throw.away to water

da-buay ka antu, jaku' kita tih sebedaw pecaya.
 PASS-throw.away to ghost say 1p.incl tih before believe

Whenever there was a traditional feast held, one of the pigs was thrown away into the water, thrown to the ghosts, our term before we believed in God.

Asa naday N-penuh adat pia', sekuntan aday terjadi,
 whenever NEG ACT-full custom like.that directly exist happen

misal aday kerusakan¹¹ tubuh urang ia', aday keban
 for.example exist damage body person that exist kind

tem'away apa rusak buah, keba tanah rubuh,
 former.settlement what damaged fruit all.kinds land collapse

biasa.
 usual

Whenever people didn't fulfill the custom like that, something did happen right away, for example, someone got bodily injured, fruit in some *tema'way* went bad, all kinds of landslides happened; that was usual.

Urang ti bedaw pecaya sampay tu' nya' terjadi ga'.
 person REL not.yet believe until this that happen also

(To) people that do not yet believe (in God) until now it still happens too.

¹¹ *Kerusakan* 'damage' is a Malay/Indonesian borrowing.

Tapi kita ti dah percaya, nisi'.
 but 1p.incl REL PERF believe nothing

But to us who already believe in God, nothing (happens).

Semua nya' da-apus uga' ulih darah Yesus, pe-mali-pe-mali.
 all that PASS-delete all by blood Y NOM-taboo-RED

All have been wiped out by the blood of Jesus, those taboos.

Tapi adat-adat ia' nitaw' da-lang'ar, ia'
 but custom-RED that may.not PASS-transgress that

da-tetap ulih Tuhan.
 PASS-stipulate by Lord

But the customs themselves may not be transgressed, (because) they are stipulated by the Lord.

Adat ia' anya sekedar, adat ia' nitaw' N-apus
 custom that only merely custom that can't ACT-delete

ke-rusak ia'.
 NOM-broken that

The custom alone is merely for the form, (because) the custom can't wipe out damage done.

Jadi kisah ia' nga'.
 so story that stop.there

So, the story stops there.

Nya' ti pemenaw' ku udah.
 that REL knowledge 1s udah

That is what I know indeed (nothing is more than that) / That is what my knowledge is already.

Text 2: *Apay Aluy meli pemat* ‘Aluy’s father buys death’

*Ah, jadi Apay Aluy.*¹
ah so father A

A, so about Aluy’s father.

Apay Aluy tu’ ka’ N-beli pe-mati.
 father A TOP want ACT-buy NOM-die

As for Aluy’s father, he wanted to buy death.²

Nyaw ke-lama’ ah tih jara’, ia tu’, nya’=m tih nyaw
 after NOM-long ah tih jara’ 3s this that=m tih already

ka’ N-beli pe-mati tih.
 FUT ACT-buy NOM-die tih

After a long time, that’s how it was, he really was about to buy death now.

Jaku’ sida’ anu’ tih jara’, sida’ sebayan:
 word 3p what.is.it tih jara’ 3p world.of.the.dead

“Asa pia’, aday kami N-gusung ia lah,
 whenever like.that exist 1p.excl ACT-go.after 3s lah

nti’ pia’, nti’ ia ka’ N-beli pe-mati.
 if like.that if 3s want ACT-buy NOM-die

So, they, uh, those of the world of the dead, said: “In that case, we will go after him, if that is the case, if he wants to buy death.

Apa lagi’ jara’, nema ia ka’ mati.”
 what again jara’ because 3s want die

What’s more then, because he wants to die.”

Aw’, pia’ m=ia tu’ tih jara’.
 well like.that m=3s this tih jara’

Well, that’s how it was with him.

¹ Traditionally the Mualang people refer to a married adult with the name of his or her, usually, oldest child. Thus, the father of a child Aluy is referred to as *Apay Aluy* ‘Aluy’s father’.

² Aluy’s father thought that ‘death’ was something one could buy.

Baru' sida' sebayan tu' tih N-gusung ia tih.
 then 3p world.of.the.dead this tih ACT-go.after 3s tih

Then those of the world of the dead went after him.

Sida' ia' tih saja s-ujung.
 3p that tih incredibly ONE-end

They (who came for him) were incredibly abundant (lit. from one end to another end of the road).

Nyaw ke-tujuh ari sida' ka' N-am'i' ia.
 after ORD-seven day 3p FUT ACT-take 3s

On the seventh day, they were going to pick him up.

Baru' ia', datay ka Apay Aluy tih, anu' tih, Aluy
 then that come to father A tih what.is.it tih A

tengan ba-ban.
 PROG ANPAS-make.proa

Then, (when) they were coming to father of Aluy, uh, father of Aluy was making a proa.

Jadi N-dinga awuh urang, teka m=N-tingkap
 so ACT-hear echo person right.away m=ACT-prostrate

diri' ka peraw.
 one.self to proa

Thus, hearing the echo of people's voices, he right away lied face down inside the proa.

Ah dia' m=ia tih, baru' ia N-pen'ing sida' jara'.
 ah there.(near) m=3s tih then 3s ACT-eardrop 3p jara'

Ah, there he was, then he eavesdropped on those people.

Baru' sida' N-padah: "Jadi Apay Aluy tu', amat-amat ia
 then 3p ACT-say so father A TOP true-RED 3s

ka' mati lah kini, ka' N-beli pe-mati?
 want die lah kini want ACT-buy NOM-die

Then they said: "So, this father of Aluy, we wonder, does he really want to die, does he want to buy death?"

Aw', nya' mah," jaku' sida' keda' jara', "Anti' amat ia
 yes that mah word 3p other jara' if true 3s

ngay lah, aw',babi ia ti besay lah,
 won't lah wellpig 3s REL big lah

ia' N-ganti' mati, ti ting'i' ari nturan."
 that ACT-substitute die REL tall from nturan

"Yes, that's it," said another one of them, "If he really won't, well, his pig which is a big one, that will die instead of him,, the one that is taller than a *nturan*³."

"Aw'," jaku' sida' jara'.
 yes word 3p jara'

"Yes, it will," they said.

Ah baru' nyaw ke-lama' udah ia' jara' ah, Aluy tu'
 ah then after NOM-long after that jara' ah A this

N-pen'ing di peraw ia, da baruh peraw tih,
 ACT-eardrop LOC proa 3s LOC under proa tih

peraw ti udah da-keban ia.
 proa REL PERF PASS-make.proa 3s

Well, then after a long time, (father of) Aluy eavesdropped (on them) in his proa, under the proa, the proa that had been made by him.

Baru' nyaw ke-lama' datay ka rumah, sida'=m ba-jalay.
 then after NOM-long come to house 3p=m ANPAS-road

Then after a long time, they came to the (father of Aluy's) house, they (came) walking.

Baru', Aluy tu' pulay ga'.
 then A this go.home also

Then, as for (father of) Aluy, he went home too.

³ *Nturan* is a beam on the edge of the floorboard in a traditional longhouse to support the poles of the house. The height from the base of the *teluk* (a small long gutter-like space located between the room (*bilik*) and the long gallery (*ruay*) to the *nturan* is about 50 centimeters.

Baru' datay ka rumah tih.
 then come to house tih

Then, he arrived at home.

Ah, jadi sida' ia' datay mah dih.
 ah so 3p that come mah dih

Ah, so now they did come.

Ah, baru' sida' N-tanya' ia tih jara': "Kati wan
 ah then 3p ACT-ask 3s tih jara' how 2s.hon

Apay Aluy, kati wan laju N-beli pe-mati?"
 father A how 2s.hon agree ACT-buy NOM-die

Ah, then that's how it was, they asked him: "How is it then with you, father of Aluy, did you agree to buy death?"

"Akaaay!" jaku' ia ia', "Mati=m nti' pia' mah dih.
 ouch word 3s that die=m if like.that mah dih

"Oh, my!" he said, "I would be dead indeed, if that were true.

Naday ku ka' mati ga'."
 NEG 1s want die also

I don't want to die yet."

"Kati lah udah?" jaku' sida' jara'.
 how lah already word 3p jara'

"What could we do then?" they said.

"Wan udah N-am'u' tu'.
 2s.hon PERF ACT-plan this

"You have planned this.

Asa wan ngay, baru' wan N-bunuh babi wan
 whenever 2s.hon won't then 2s.hon ACT-kill pig 2s.hon

ti besay, ti ting'i' ari nturan."
 REL big REL tall from nturan

When you don't want to die, then you (must) kill your big pig, which is taller than a *nturan*."

"Aw', barang nti' pia'."
yes whatever if like.that

"Ok, whatever you say, if that's how it should be."

"Aw', pia' mah dih," jaku' inay ah jara'.
yes like.that mah dih word mother ah jara'

"Yes, just let it be like that," said (Aluy's) mother.

"Aw', wan nisi' guna, macam-macam ti
well 2s.hon nothing benefit kind-RED REL

da-kerja," jaku' Aluy jara'.
PASS-work word A jara'

"Well, you're so useless, you just do all kinds of odd things," said Aluy. (Aluy reprimanded his father)

Ah, baru' dih jara', ah nya'=m babi ti ting'i' ari nturan.
ah then dih jara' ah that=m pig REL tall from nturan

Ah, and then, ah, there it was, the pig that is taller than a *nturan*.

Nya'=m da-bay' sida' jara', saja galaw babi ia',
that=m PASS-bring 3p jara' incredibly huge pig that

kelimpay, jaku' kita.
big.pig word 1p.incl

That's what would be taken by those people (of the world of the dead); what a huge pig that was, a *kelimpay* as we call it.

Ah baru' ia'=m da-bay' sida' ah tih.
ah then that=m PASS-bring 3p ah tih

A, then that's what was taken away by them.

Aw' selamat=m dih, naday m=ia mati dih.
well safe=m dih NEG m=3s die dih

Well, he was indeed safe, he didn't die.

Baru' sida' ia' tih pulay mah dih.
then 3p that tih go.home mah dih

Then, those people, they returned home.

Aw', gisah udah mah dih.
well story finished *mah dih*

Well, the story really is over.

Text 3: *Mulah lulun* ‘How to prepare lulun’

Glutinous rice is commonly used to make delicacies in Mualang society. During a *gaway*, a traditional feast, guests will surely be served various rice snacks. In the following description a Mualang woman tells how *lulun* is made.

N-pulah lulun.
ACT-make k.o.snack

Making the snack *lulun*.

Beras pulut da-ren'am ka ay'.
uncooked.rice glutinous.rice PASS-soak to water

Pulut rice is soaked in water.

Udah da-ren'am, da-angkat dulaw.
after PASS-soak PASS-lift first

After it has been soaked, take it out first.

Dia' dah ia amis ay', ia nyaw rangkay,
there.(near) after it finished water it PERF dry

baru' da-tutuk.
then PASS-pound

There, when the water has flowed away, (and) it has become dry, then pound it (to a fine pulp).

Udah da-tutuk, baru' da-ayak-ayak.
after PASS-pound then PASS-sieve-RED

After it has been pounded, sieve it.

Udah mis jimut da-tutuk, baru' da-tunyaw ka ay'.
after finished flour PASS-pound then PASS-knead to water

After the *jimut* flour has been pounded, then it is kneaded with water.

Ami' ay', tunyaw ka jimut.
take water knead to flour

Get some water, (and) knead it into the *jimut* flour.

Da-tunyaw upa kita N-pulah kuwi.
 PASS-knead like 1p.incl ACT-make cake

It is kneaded the way we make cakes.

Udah ia' baru' da-pulah-pulah pitu' jalay kita
 after that then PASS-make-RED like.this manner 1p.incl

N-pajak nyiur.
 ACT-put.in coconut

After that, then, it (the dough) is made up like this (the speaker was showing how to shape the dough), so that we can put coconut in it.

Da-pajak nyiur ka alam nya'.
 PASS-put.in coconut to inside that

Coconut is put in it.

Udah da-pajak baru' da-kepal-kepal pitu'.
 after PASS-put.in then PASS-hold.in.hand-RED like.this

After it (the coconut) has been put in, then mold the dough in (your) hand like this.

Nyiur da-kelingkung, da-bingkung.
 coconut PASS-grate PASS-grate

The coconut is (first) grated and shredded.

Da-gulay gula, gula mirah, gula pasir taw' ngaw
 PASS-mix sugar sugar red sugar sang can for

N-gulay nyiur ngaw ati lulun, ngaw isi' ah.
 ACT-mix coconut for liver k.o.snack for content ah

(Then) it is mixed with sugar, palm sugar, (or) granulated sugar can be (used) for mixing with the coconut for the filling of the *lulun*, for its content (you know).

Dia' am'i' dawun, da-tungkus.
 there.(near) take leaf PASS-wrap

Then, get some (banana) leaves, (and) wrap it.

Udah da-tungkus, da-sumay.
 after PASS-wrap PASS-cook

After it has been wrapped, cook it.

Udah da-sumay, da-bantir, baru' ia da-pakay.
after PASS-cook PASS-take.out then it PASS-eat

After it has been cooked, it is taken out, then it (can) be eaten.

Text 4: *Pantun*

Pantun is a traditional Mualang quatrain consisting of four lines with an *abab* rhyme scheme. As is well known, *pantun* is a popular genre in all Malay speaking areas. The first two lines in a *pantun* carry an allusive meaning that “set the stage” for referring lines three and four.

Anak kekura' ba-cipay-uay,
child tortoise ANPAS-flap.around

ba-cipay-uay da tampuk lubuk.
ANPAS-flap.around LOC end deep.place.in.river

Anti' jawuh ba-kumay lam'ay,
if far ANPAS-call wave.to

anti' semak ba-kerantam-ba-keremung.
if near ANPAS-claw-ANPAS-squeeze

The young tortoise is flapping around (with its paws),
flapping around at the end of the *deep in the river*.
Far apart, people call and wave to each other,
when close to each other, they claw and squeeze each other.

Asa'-asa' N-jeraw ntawa',
feel.like-RED ACT-clear.(branches) k.o.tree

ntawa' da-jeraw da mpangan titi.
k.o.tree PASS-clear.(branches) LOC tip foot-bridge

Asa N-peda' urang in'u' ia',
whenever ACT-see person female that

upa ku N-peda' jelu pe-mali.
like 1s ACT-see animal NOM-taboo

Feel eager to clear the *ntawa'* tree,
the *ntawa'* tree is pruned at the tip of the branch.
Whenever I see that girl,
it is as if I see a taboo animal.

<i>Ikan</i>	<i>tuman</i>	<i>ikan</i>	<i>betisik,</i>
fish	k.o.fish	fish	k.o.fish

<i>ikan</i>	<i>banta'</i>	<i>kelabaw</i>	<i>padi.</i>
fish	k.o.fish	k.o.fish	paddy

<i>Jaman</i>	<i>tu'</i>	<i>jaman</i>	<i>te-balik,</i>
time	this	time	MID-turn.around

<i>urang</i>	<i>in'u'</i>	<i>N-pinta'</i>	<i>urang</i>	<i>laki.</i>
person	female	ACT-ask.for	person	male

The *tuman* fish, the *betisik* fish,
the *banta'* fish the *kelabaw padi* fish.
The present age is an up-side-down age,
the woman proposes to the man.

<i>N-puar</i>	<i>kesa'</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>babas</i>	<i>rim'a',</i>
ACT-pick	k.o.ant	LOC	forest	jungle

<i>kena'</i>	<i>te-puar</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>dawun</i>	<i>mati.</i>
afflict	MID-pick	to	leaf	die

<i>Nti'</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>ka',</i>	<i>lama'</i>	<i>kelia',</i>
if	1s	want	long	old.time

<i>nti'</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>ngay,</i>	<i>sampay</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>mati.</i>
if	1s	not.want	until	to	die

Picking ants in the forest,
instead of ants, I got scratched by dry leaves.
If I fall in love (with somebody), my love will last long,
if I don't, it won't love him/her even until I die.

Text 5: *Sempang*

A *sempang* is a saying, an idiom, or a proverb. *Sempang* are metaphorical expressions that are typical for the socio-cultural settings of Mualang society and Mualang world view.

Kala' N-celuk puting d-alam ulu.
 never ACT-take.out tip.of.knife LOC-inside end.part

Don't ever take the tip of the knife out from its handle. (That is, don't ever say bad things about someone else, since we don't know exactly what is in his/her mind.)

Nupa kita taw' N-tem'us mata ka ban'ir.
 not.like 1p.incl can ACT-pierce eye to broad.lower.parts.of.tree-trunk

We can't see through the broad lower parts of a tree-trunk. (That is, we don't know things that will happen in the future.)

Idup ba-sun'ang gaway, mati ba-sun'ang bangkay.
 live ANPAS-set.head.to feast die ANPAS-set.head.to corpse

Life sets head to the feast, death sets head to the corpse / To live is to feast; to die is to become a corpse. (That is, sharing good and bad things together.)

Upa pukang ngkadah buah.
 like small.squirrel face.up fruit

Like a squirrel facing a fruit. (Said of a disappointed person (who can't get something he/she likes)

Pasak besay ari tiang.
 peg big from pole

The peg is bigger than the pole. (That is, one's consumption is bigger than his/her gain)

Batang ting'i' ari tung'ul.
 trunk high from tree.stump

The trunk is higher than the stump. (That is acting beyond one's rights or limits; being higher in position than one deserves to be)

Text 6: *Petataw* ‘riddles’

In Mualang society *petataw* are a kind of fun, time-passing ‘guessing-game’ in which a person tries to give the correct answer to a riddle. Riddles are proposed in leisure time or whenever people get together.

- (1) *Periuk pecah, umpan angus. Apa?*
 boiling.pot broken cooked.rice burnt what
 The boiling pot breaks, the rice is burnt. What is it?
- *Buah kerinsak muduh.*
 fruit k.o.fruit ripe
 It’s a ripe *kerinsak* fruit. (The fruit bursts open when it is ripe)
- (2) *Buah ba-rampah naday ba-tan’an.*
 fruit ANPAS-scattered NEG ANPAS-CLASS
 ‘The fruits are scattered around without (being bound in) clusters.’
- Apa? - *Telu’.*
 what egg
 What is it? It’s eggs (that are scattered around on the ground).
- (3) *Gung da-pangkung, gunung bar-asap.*
 bronze.drum PASS-beat mountain ANPAS-smoke
 ‘The gong is beaten, the mountain gets smoky.’
- Apa? - *Limaw da-pangkung..*
 what citrus fruit
 What is it? It’s a citrus fruit being pounded (or squeezed), which causes the juice being squeezed out.
- (4) *Sirat Apay Aluy naday talah lipat. Apa?*
 loincloth father A NEG be.able fold what
 ‘The loincloth Aluy’s father can’t be folded.’ What is it?
- *Jalay.*
 road
 It’s a road. (Aluy’s father is a funny character (in a well-known series of stories) who often behaves oddly)
- (5) *Sangkuh Apay Aluy naday talah bilang.*
 spear father A NEG be.able count
 ‘The spears of Aluy’s father (are so many) that they can’t be counted.’
- Apa? - *Ujan.*
 what rain
 What is it? It’s the rain.

- (6) *Tedung gunyung-gunyung N-pantuk kaki tang'a'.*
 k.o.snake stroll.aimlessly ACT-peck foot stairs
 'The *tedung* snake walks indifferently, biting (at) the foot of the ladder.'
- Apa?* - *Jalay mansang ka tang'a'.*
 what road go.to to stairs
 What is it? It's the road heading to the ladder (of the house).
- (7) *Api dilang-dilang d-alam tanah. Apa?*
 fire flare LOC-inside ground what
 'Fire flares in the ground.' What is it?
- *Kunyit.*
 turmeric
 It's the turmeric (in the ground). (Its yellow color looks like flaring fire.)
- (8) *Kelupa da-bay', ingat da-ting'al.*
 forget PASS-bring remember PASS-leave
 When we forget it, we take it with us, but when we think of it, we leave it.
- Apa?* - *Duri'.*
 what thorn
 What is it? It's a thorn (that gets accidentally stuck in one's foot).
- (9) *N-gali angkis d-alam lubang, angkis ulih,*
 ACT-dig k.o.porcupine LOC-inside hole k.o.porcupine get
ari pun malam. Apa?
 day pun night what What is it?
 Digging in the hole for a porcupine, (when) getting the porcupine, the day turns night.
- *Tinga.*
 remains.of.food
 It's *tinga*. (It's a bit of food that stuck between one's teeth after a meal).
 (After the remains get taken out, the mouth cavity looks dark ("the day turns night") through the small hole between teeth in which the remains got stuck.
- (10) *Dua kadang-kadang, tiga jarang-jarang, mayuh satu daripada*
 two sometimes three rare-RED many one than
dua dan tiga. Apa?
 two and three what What is it?
 Two is not many, three is a little, one is many more than two and three.

- *Urang balaki-bini.*
 person ANPAS-husband-wife
 It's a married couple (that gives birth to children).

- (11) *N'u'rancung dagu', pan'ay N-sudu' rawuk kampung,*
 female pointed chin clever ACT-spoon rotten.leaves dense.forest
 A girl with a pointed chin, good in scooping rotten leaves.

Dara lempa' dada, pan'ay N-kelala nanga Lepung.
 girl hollow chest clever ACT-recognize estuary L
 A girl with a hollow chest, good in recognizing the Lepung Estuary.

Apa? - Kemansay.
 what rattan.fish.scoop
 What is it? It's a *kemansay* (fish scoop).

Appendix 2: Mualang-English Wordlist

Appendix 2 contains a Mualang-English Wordlist. This wordlist gives more than 1200 main entries of words that are mostly used throughout the book. The order of the entries is alphabetical. The postploded nasals (*m'*, *n'*, *ng'*, *ny'*) are treated as their plain counterparts.

The following abbreviations are used in Appendix 2:

adv	adverb
asp	aspectual marker
class	classifier
conj	conjunction
dem	demonstrative
excl	exclamatory word
iloc	illocutionary marker
intr	interrogative word
meas	measure word
MI	Mualang <i>Ili'</i> (Downstream speech)
mod	modal marker
MU	Mualang <i>Ulu</i> (Upstream speech)
n	noun
neg	negator
num	numeral
part	particle
prec	precatatorial form
pref	prefix
prep	preposition
pron	pronoun
quan	quantifier
toa	term of address
vi	intransitive verb
vt	transitive verb

A - a

- aba'** *vt ; prep ; conj.* follow; with; and.
abi *n.* trace.
abus *n.* ash.
adap *vi.* face toward.
adat *n.* custom.
aday *vi ; vt ; part.* exist, be born; give birth to; emphatic marker.
adi' *n ; toa.* younger sibling.
adu *don't, needn't.*
aduh *excl ; vi.* ouch; oh no!, sigh of being hurt or surprised.
agi' *adv ; asp.* again; still.
agih *vt.* prepare.
ah *iloc.* marker appealing for attention
ah *excl.* expressing surprise by the sudden presence of something; ugh (expressing rejection or dislike).
aja' *adv.* just.
ajar *vt.* teach.
bal-ajar *vi* learn.
ba-ajar *vi* give advice to a couple that is going to get married.
aji *toa* for a Muslim that has made the pilgrimage to Mecca (Ind. *haji*).
aka' *toa.* for older sibling or a person older than the speaker.
akal *n.* mind, trick.
akan *n ; toa.* for a son in law (MU).
akar *n.* root.
akay *excl.* expressing surprise mixed with disagreement or dislike.
aki' *n.* grandfather.
alah *mod.* must.
alah *vi ; vt.* defeat(ed); beat(en).
alam *n.* inside.
alang *n.* hindrance.
alap *vi.* beautiful.
alu *n.* pestle.
aman *vi.* safe, secure.
amang *adv.* maybe.
amat *adv ; conj.* true, indeed; although.
am'i' *vt.* take (away).
amis *vi.* finished.
ampa' *vi.* empty (husk).
ampir *adv.* almost.
am'u' *n ; vi.* plan; have a plan.
am'ur *vt.* scatter.
anak *n.* child.
anak buah follower, helper.
anak nemiak (all kinds of) children.
per-anak descendant.
anal *vi.* strong.
ancaw *vt.* spread.
anci *toa.* term of endearment for a female child.
ancur *vi.* crushed.
angas *vi.* recovered (from being sick), healthy, fast.
angat *vi ; vt.* hot; heat.
angkat *vi ; vt.* go, start off, emerge; lift.
angkis *n.* k.o. porcupine.
angku' *vt.* adopt.
angus *vi.* burnt.
ansah *vt.* sharpen (knife).
ansul *vt.* follow, go after.
anti' *vt ; conj.* wait; if.
antu *n.* supernatural being, ghost.
antus *vi ; toa.* wise, nicely behaved; term of endearment for a male child.
anu' *pron.* indefinite pronoun for non-human entity; "wuchamacallit", uh (hesitation marker when searching for a word).
anu' *vt.* reprimand.
anya *adv.* only.
any'ung *vt.* escort, bring.

- any'ung ramu** (ceremonially)
escort
brideprice.
anyut *vi* ; *vt.* swept away (by water); sweep away.
per-anyut *n.* place where one is swept away.
apa what.
apa' *toa.* for father in law; for a person relatively much older than the speaker.
pa' vocative form.
apay *n.* father.
api *n.* fire, lamp.
apis *vt.* fix.
apus *vt.* delete.
aral *n.* hindrance.
arang *n.* charcoal; k.o. fruit.
arap *vt* ; *mod.* expect; hope.
ari *prep.* from, since.
ari ni (allegro form **reni**) from where?
ari *n.* day.
arta *n.* wealth, property.
aru *vt.* disturb.
arum *n.* spinach.
arus *mod.* must.
asa *conj.* whenever.
asa pia' if so.
asa' *vi.* feel like.
asal *n.* origin.
asap *n.* smoke.
asi *vt.* take and give.
asu *vi* ; *vt.* hunt.
asuh *vt.* order, command, cause.
nya' ngasuh ... that's why ...
ataw *n.* top, upper part.
ataw *conj.* or.
ati *n.* liver.
per-ati *vt.* observe.
atur *vt.* arrange.
aw' *part.* yes, well.
awak *n.* trace.
awak *vt.* open.
awas *vi* ; *toa.* wise, well behaved; term of endearment for a male child.
awuh *n.* echo, sound or voice heard from a distance.
ay *excl.* expressing a feeling of being surprised.
ay' *n.* water.
ay' idup uncooked water.
ay' mati boiled water.
ayak *vt.* sieve.
ayap *vi.* lost.
ayik *toa.* term of endearment for a female child.
aying-aying *n.* sound heard coming from a distance.
ayuh come on!
ayun *vt.* swing.
ayung *n.* family, relatives.
ayung gempung relatives.

B - b

- ba-** *pref.* antipassive voice marker.
babas *n.* former rice field which is left to become part of the forest again.
babas muda recently abandoned rice field (about a year).
babas tuai old former rice field (ready to be cultivated again).
babi *n.* pig.
baca *vt.* read.
bada' *iloc.* used with words like *(ni)taw'* 'not know' and *kasih* 'feel affection'.
baday *part.* used to form a rhetorical question.
badi *n.* curse, taboo, intent, meaning.
badu' *adv.* last, finished, stop.
bagas *vi* ; *toa.* handsome; term of endearment for a male child.
bagi *vt.* distribute, divide.

- bah** *iloc.* assertive particle.
baka *n.* body.
bakal *n ; vt.* wound.
bala *quan.* all (kinds), many, much.
balang *vi ; vt.* cancel, fail.
balas *vt.* pay back.
balik *vi.* turn around.
balu *n.* widow, widower.
ban *vt.* shape with axe, make a proa.
bangkang *n.* bruise and ulcer.
bangkay *n.* corpse.
ban'ir *n.* broad lower parts of a tree-trunk.
bansa *n ; adv.* tribe; approximately.
bantir *vt.* take out (from cooking pan).
bantu' *vt.* help.
banyaw *quan.* many, much.
barah *n.* abscess.
barah *prec.*
barah buruh *vi.* be in a big hurry.
barang *n ; adv.* things, goods; whatever.
baru' *adv ; conj.* newly; (only) then.
baruh *n ; adv ; vi ; vt.* bottom part; below, under, low, short; make lower or shorter.
basa *n.* language, norms.
basa adat (adat basa) custom, tradition.
basa Mualang Mualang language
basuk *vt.* wash.
batu *n.* stone.
baw' *n ; vi.* smell.
bay' *vt.* bring, invite, summon.
bayah *adv.* enough.
bayik *vi.* good, kind, pretty (MI).
bedaw *neg ; conj.* not yet; before.
beji *n.* super human.
bekal *n.* provisions (for journey).
bekaw *n.* trace.
bela' *adv.* same.
belah *n.* part, side.
belakang *n.* backside, back (of body).
belany'a *vi.* do shopping.
belayan *meas.* bush (of bamboo).
beli *vt.* buy.
belin'ung *n.* bee.
beliti' *n.* k.o. rambutan-fruit.
belutuk *n.* k.o. rambutan-fruit.
ben'a *n.* things.
bengkak *vi.* swollen.
benih *n ; vi.* seed; plant seed, sow.
benucu' *vi.* have a grandparent-grandchild family relationship.
benung *asp.* progressive marker.
beram *n.* k.o. traditional sweet liquor made of *pulut* rice,.
berani *vi.* brave.
berap *vt.* embrace.
berapa *intr.* how many, how much.
beras *n.* uncooked rice.
berat *vi.* heavy.
bereta *vi.* be together.
bereta berama *vi.* be together.
beri' *vt.* give.
berkat *n.* blessing.
bersih *vi.* clean.
beruang *n.* bear.
beruk *n.* short-tailed macaque.
beruwi' *n.* k.o. bird.
besa' *n.* blanket.
besay *vi.* big.
besi *n.* iron.
betah *vi.* feel comfortable.
betis *n.* calf (of leg).
biah *vt.* wave aside.
biak *n ; vi.* child; young.
biasa *mod.* usually.
kabiasa *n.* habit.
bida *n ; vt ; vi.* difference; differentiate; differ.
biday *n.* large rattan mat.
bila *intr.* when.
bilah *class.* for entities with a flat plane.
bilang *vt.* count.
bilik *n.* room, room within a longhouse.
bingkis *vt.* peel.
bingkung *n ; vt.* coconut scraper (MI); grate.

bini <i>n.</i> wife.	buka' <i>vt.</i> open.
bintih <i>vt</i> ; <i>n.</i> kick with shinbone; a traditional game played by kicking each other's shinbone.	bukay <i>adv.</i> other.
binyak <i>n.</i> oil.	bukit <i>n.</i> hill.
bira' <i>vi.</i> defecate.	buku' <i>n.</i> joint.
birah <i>n.</i> k.o. itchy, inedible yam.	bula' <i>vi.</i> lie.
bisa <i>n.</i> poison.	kebula' <i>vt.</i> cheat, deceive.
buah <i>n</i> ; <i>class</i> ; <i>vt.</i> fruit; a 'catch-all' classifier; go collecting fruit.	bulak <i>prec.</i>
kebuah <i>vt</i> collect fruit.	bulak-balik <i>vi.</i> go back and forth.
buay <i>vt.</i> throw away.	bulan <i>n.</i> moon; month.
bubu <i>n.</i> k.o. fishtrap.	buluh <i>n.</i> bamboo.
budi <i>vi.</i> pretend.	bung <i>n.</i> part, direction.
budu <i>vi.</i> stupid.	bunga <i>n.</i> flower.
buh <i>excl.</i> come on!	bungkus <i>n</i> ; <i>vt.</i> wrapping; wrap.
bujang <i>toa.</i> term of endearment for a male child.	bunsu <i>vi.</i> youngest born.
bujur <i>vi.</i> straight (not bent).	buntar <i>vi.</i> round.
buk <i>n.</i> hair.	bunuh <i>vt.</i> kill.
	buruh <i>vi.</i> hurried.
	barah-buruh, buruh-arah <i>vi.</i> be in a big hurry.
	burung <i>n.</i> bird.

C - c

cabut <i>vt.</i> pull out, pull up.	ceruh <i>vt.</i> pound (paddy) to remove husks.
cakap <i>n</i> ; <i>vt.</i> speech, talk; discuss.	ci' <i>excl.</i> expressing disagreement.
cara <i>n.</i> way, manner.	ciap <i>n.</i> sound of young chickens.
carik <i>vi.</i> torn apart.	cipay-uay <i>vi.</i> flap around.
catuk <i>n.</i> spoon.	cit <i>n.</i> mouse, rat.
cawis <i>vi.</i> finished.	cu' <i>toa.</i> vocative for grandchild.
celap <i>vi</i> ; <i>vt.</i> cold, cool; make cold or cool.	cuba <i>vt.</i> try.
celap kakap extremely cold.	cukup <i>vi.</i> enough.
celuk <i>vt.</i> put one's hand into something to grasp.	cula <i>n.</i> horn.
cerat <i>vi.</i> very eager, greedy.	cuma <i>adv.</i> only.
	curi <i>vt.</i> steal.

D - d

da <i>prep.</i> at, in, on.	dalam <i>vi.</i> deep.
dada <i>n.</i> chest.	dan <i>n.</i> branch.
dagu' <i>n.</i> chin.	danan <i>n.</i> k.o. rattan.
dah <i>asp</i> ; <i>conj.</i> (short form of <i>udah</i>), perfect marker; already; after.	dani <i>vi.</i> wake up.
	dany'i <i>n.</i> promise.

- dapat** *mod.* can, be able.
dara *n* ; *toa.* young woman; term of endearment for a female child.
dara' *prec.*
 ba-dara' *vi.* make offerings.
 pe-dara' *n.* offerings.
darah *n.* blood.
 darah getah (all kinds of) blood.
darung *n.* valley.
daruy *toa.* term of endearment for a female child.
datay *vi.* come.
dawun *n.* leaf.
dayang *toa.* term of endearment for a female child.
dejak *meas.* foot.
depa *meas.* fathom.
deras *vi.* fast.
deray *vi.* bright (of flame).
di *prep.* see *da*.
di' *pron.* you (female).
dia' *adv.* there (near).
diang *n.* the late.
diaw *vi.* live, stay, be quiet.
dih *iloc.* emphasizing the actuality of event.
dilah *n.* tongue.
dilang-dilang *vi.* flare.
din *adv.* there (far).
dinga *vi.* hear, listen to.
dingay *toa.* a term used for a female with bad behavior.
dini *adv.* early.
 dini/dina ari early in the morning
- dini** *intr.* where.
din'ing *n.* wall.
diri *vi.* stand.
 ba-diri *vi.* stand.
 pe-diri *vt.* to cause to stand up, to make s.t. stand or erect.
diri' *pron.* reflexive pronoun, self, oneself.
ditu' *adv.* here.
dua *num.* two.
dua' *prec.*
 ba-dua' *vt.* divide.
 pe-dua' *n.* part, division.
duay *n.* family relationship between husbands of women who are siblings.
duduk *vi.* sit.
dujut *vt.* drag, draw.
dulaw *adv* ; *iloc.* previous time, earlier; first.
duri' *n.* thorn.
duruk *prec.*
 ba-duruk *vi.* carry on mutual-cooperation in a group with others.
durung *n.* a small house used to store rice; it is a bit high from the ground and located outside of the main house.
duwit *n.* money.
duy *toa.* term of endearment for a female child.

G - g

- ga'** *adv.* also.
gaga *vi.* glad.
gaga' *vt.* chase.
gah *asp.* ever.
galak *vi.* fertile.
galaw *vi.* huge.
gali *vt.* dig.
gali' *vi.* lie down.
gampang *vi.* easy.
- gana** *vi.* ugly.
gang'ang *n.* unroofed open part or balcony of a traditional house.
gantang see *kulak*.
ganti *vt.* change, substitute, replace.
gantung *vt.* hang.
gari' *vi.* worn out (of clothes); to change (of clothes).
gas see *bagas*.

- gasak** *vt.* hit.
ba-gasak ba-rin'as fight each other.
gawang *meas.* measure of a small circle formed by touching together both tips of thumbs and tips of middle fingers'.
gaway *n.* feast, festival.
gawuh *n.* echo.
gawuk (ka) *vi.* long (for).
gelamay *n.* k.o. delicacy made from sticky rice.
gempung *prec.* see *ayung*.
gemu' *vi.* fat.
gena *iloc.* expressing random or aimless action.
genap *vi.* even, not less or more.
gerama' *n.* crab.
gering-gering *n.* feverish feeling.
getah *n ; vt.* sticky sap of plants, latex, rubber sap; trap s.t. with sticky sap. (See also *darah*).
getar *vi.* tremble.
getar ganyar tremendously tremble.
giga' *vt.* look for.
gigi *n.* tooth.
gila' *adv.* extremely.
giling *vt.* roll, roll up.
gisah *n ; vt.* story; tell a story.
gram *meas.* gram.
gu' *n.* sound, voice.
gua' *n.* cave.
guang *vi.* join the spouse's family after marriage.
guay *vi.* run.
ba-guay run.
ba-guai linsay run around.
gula *n.* sugar.
gulay *vt.* mix.
gulung *adv.* too (very), excessively.
gumpul *vt ; vi.* gather, collect; have a church gathering.
guna *n.* benefit.
gung *n.* gong.
guni *n.* gunny (sack).
guntur *n.* thunder.
gunung *n.* mountain.
gunyung-gunyung *vi.* indifferently walk.
guraw *prec.*
ba-guraw *vi.* tease around; play.
pe-guraw *n.* joke; toy; place of playing.
pe-guraw *vt.* tease, make fool of.
guris *n.* matches (for light).
gusung *vt.* chase, go after, meet.

H - h

- ha** *excl.* expressing surprise at encountering something unexpectedly.
haja *adv.* solely.
hak *n.* rights.

I - i

- ia** *pron.* he, she, it.
ia' *dem.* that.
ibat *vt.* smash, rudely throw or put onto the ground.
ibu' *toa.* for mother-in-law or for a woman relatively older than the speaker.
ibun *n.* animals that get burnt when a cleared field is put on fire.
idung *n.* nose.

- idup** *vi.* live.
iga' *vt.* look for.
igi' *n* ; *class.* seed; classifier for round entities.
igi' rawung Adam's apple.
ih *excl.* used to attract the addressee's attention to what is going to be said.
ijaw *vi.* green.
ikan *n.* fish.
iku' *n* ; *class.* tail; classifier for animate entities.
ila' *adv.* later.
ilang *vi.* lost, disappear.
ili' *n* ; *vt.* downstream; go downstream.
im'ir *n.* (plastic) basket.
inaw *vt.* look for.
inay *n.* mother.
ingat *vi, vt.* remember.
ingkuh *vi.* diligent.
ini' *n.* grandmother.
intu *vt.* take care, look after.
intup *vt.* spy.
in'u' *n.* female, mother (of animal).
inum *vt* ; *vi.* drink.
ipa' *vt.* peek, spy.
pang-ipa' *n.* place of peeking.
ipar *n.* sibling in law.
ipar biras siblings in law.
ipuh *n.* k.o. poison.
ipung *vi.* eat (archaic, literary, polite form), eat simple meal.
iran *vi.* astonished, amazed.
irik *vt.* thresh.
irit *vt.* draw, drag.
isa' *conj.* so that.
isaw *n.* machete.
isi' *n.* contents.
b-isi' exist, there is.
isu' *toa.* for a male behaving badly.
itam *vi.* black.
itung *vt.* count.
per-itung *vt.* count, take into account.
iu *n.* shark.

J - j

- ja'** *iloc.* just, only.
jabaw *n* ; *vi.* bamboo shoots; (active form: *ngenyabaw*) collect or look for bamboo shoots.
jadi *vi.* become, marry.
jadi *conj.* so, thus.
jaku' *n* ; *vi.* word, saying; say
jala *n* ; *vt.* net; net-fish.
jalay *n.* road, walk, place.
ba-jalay to walk.
jalay *conj.* in order to, for.
jalung *n.* big bowl.
jama *adv.* usually, commonly.
jaman *n.* time.
jampat *vi.* quick, fast.
jang *toa.* for a male child or a young man much younger than the speaker.
jangka' *n.* guess, limit.
jangkit *vi.* contagious.
jantung *n.* heart.
jara' *iloc.* expressing conclusive statement, 'so it is'.
jarah *vt.* plunder.
jarang *asp.* seldom, rare.
jari *n.* arm.
jat *vi.* bad.
jawa' *n.* k.o. millet.
jawuh *vi.* far.
jay' bad (MU).
jayit *vt.* sew.
jebul *n.* bottle.
jelu *n.* animal.
jeman see *jaman*.
jemuy *vt.* dry.
jeput *vt.* pinch.
jeraw *vt.* clear (field, branches).
jerita *n.* story.

jimut <i>n.</i> k.o. fried snack made of glutinous (<i>pulut</i>) rice.	jungur <i>n.</i> snout.
jingkal <i>meas.</i> a span from thumb to tip of middle finger.	jurus <i>vi.</i> straight.
jua' <i>vt.</i> give.	juy <i>toa.</i> term of endearment for a male child.
juna' <i>n.</i> k.o. leek.	

K - k

ka <i>prep.</i> to.	ba-kati <i>how.</i>
ka' <i>vt / vi ; mod.</i> want; future tense marker.	katung <i>vt.</i> lift.
kacung <i>n.</i> frog.	kawan <i>n.</i> friend.
kadang(-kadang) <i>adv.</i> sometimes.	kawut <i>vt.</i> scoop (e.g. with a spoon).
kah <i>iloc.</i> forcing the performing of an action.	kaya <i>vi.</i> loud, rich.
kak <i>n.</i> crow.	kayil <i>n ; vi.</i> fish hook; to fish.
kaki <i>n.</i> leg, foot.	kayin <i>n.</i> clothes.
kala' <i>mod.</i>	kayit <i>vt.</i> hook.
naday kala' never .	kayu <i>n.</i> wood, tree.
bedaw kala' never yet	kayuh <i>n ; vt.</i> paddle; to paddle.
kali' <i>n ; conj.</i> times; or (?).	keba <i>quan.</i> all kinds.
kami <i>pron.</i> we (excl).	keba' <i>conj.</i> therefore.
kampil <i>n.</i> traditional backpack.	kebak <i>vt.</i> open.
kampung <i>n.</i> dense forest, village.	keban <i>n.</i> kind.
kampur	kebila <i>intr.</i> when.
N-kampur <i>vi.</i> have a chat.	kebukay <i>adv.</i> other.
kamuh <i>vi.</i> mix.	kebun <i>n.</i> garden.
kana <i>n ; vt.</i> k.o. chanted story; chant a story.	keda' <i>adv.</i> other.
kanan <i>n.</i> right (of direction).	keda' ari some other time, some time (in the future).
kangaw <i>vi.</i> shout.	kedeka' <i>n.</i> will.
kan'ung <i>n ; vi.</i> womb, pregnancy; be pregnant, contain.	kediri' <i>adv.</i> alone.
kapir <i>n.</i> soft side part of freshwater turtle (<i>lelabi</i>).	keka' <i>toa.</i> for older sibling-in-law.
karna <i>conj.</i> see <i>kerna</i> .	kekura' <i>n.</i> tortoise.
kasak-kusuk <i>vi.</i> be restless, moving nervously.	kelala <i>vt.</i> recognize, know.
kasi' <i>vi.</i> sneeze.	kelalah <i>vi.</i> lazy.
kasi' <i>vt.</i> disclose.	kelat <i>n.</i> astringent taste.
kasih <i>n.</i> feeling of pity.	kelay' <i>n.</i> sign.
kasut <i>n.</i> k.o. wooden shoes (no longer in use).	kelampepat <i>n.</i> firefly.
katak <i>n.</i> k.o. big, edible frog.	kelempetan <i>n.</i> backside of knee.
kati <i>intr.</i> how.	kelempetang <i>n.</i> k.o. wood.
	kelensuan <i>n.</i> the burnt part of a field prepared for planting.
	kelensuang <i>vi.</i> starve.
	kelia' <i>adv.</i> previous time.
	kelibak <i>n.</i> bark (of wood).
	kelimpay <i>n.</i> big pig.

- kelingkung** *n* ; *vt.* coconut scraper (MU), roundabout route (MI); grate.
- keluar** *vi.* exit, go out.
- kelupa** *vi.* forget.
- kemansay** *n.* rattan fish scoop.
- kemari'** *adv.* yesterday.
- kemasuk** *n.* water for washing one's hands before and/or after eating.
- kemay** *vt.* spread.
- kemaya** *intr.* when (rarely used).
- kemayaw** *n.* k.o. fruit.
- kemedih** *vi.* get sad.
- kemih** *n* ; *vi.* urine; urinate.
- keminang** *n.* ingredients (betel nut, betel and lime (from shell)) for chewing.
- kemua** *pron.* both of us (excl., he/she and I).
- kena'** *vt.* be imposed upon with, afflict.
- kenu'** *as is said.*
- kenyang** *vi.* satisfied (of food).
- kepa'** *asp.* often.
- kepal** *vt.* hold in one's hand.
- kepuu'** *n.* k.o. tree whose bark is used for making traditional clothes.
- kera'** *n.* long-tailed macaque.
- keramak (keramang?)** *vt.* claw.
- kerampak** *vi.* arrogant, egotistical.
- keran** *vt* ; *asp.* like; often do.
- keransi'** *vt.* claw.
 ba-keransi'-ba-kerama' claw each other.
- kerantam** *vt.* claw, pull s.o.'s hair.
 ba-kerantam-ba-keremung fight each other.
- kerap** *prec.*
 kerap terap fall or stumble here and there.
- keras** *vi.* hard.
- kerat** *meas* ; *vt.* a small slice of meat; slice.
- kerawuk** *n.* small knife for weeding.
- kerejuk** *vi.* jump (into).
- keremung** *vt.* squeeze.
- kerinsak** *n.* k.o. sweet tasting fruit.
- kerja** *n* ; *vi* ; *vt.* work.
- kerna** *conj.* because.
- kesa'** *n.* k.o. ant.
- kesudah-sudah** *conj.* after such a long time.
- kesuput** *vi.* compelled.
- ketaw** *vt.* harvest.
- ketawa'** *vi.* laugh.
- ketaw'** *vt.* know (cf. **taw'**)
- ketuan** *n.* female or male sibling of own's father.
- ketup** *vt.* bite.
- kia'** *adv.* thither (near).
 kia'-kia' to everywhere.
 kia'-kitu' hither and thither.
- kiara'** *n.* banyan tree.
- kiba'** *n.* left.
- kijang** *n.* deer.
- kikay** *intr.* to where?
- kilah** *vt.* surpass, pass.
- kilu** *meas.* kilometer, kilogram.
- kin** *adv.* thither (far).
- kini** *iloc.* expressing wondering (of uncertainty).
 kini/ kina ari long time ago.
- kira** *mod.* wish.
- kira-kira** *adv.* approximately.
- kisah** *n.* story, see *gisah*.
- kisar** *n* ; *vt.* wooden grinding tool for *padi*; grind the husk off *padi*.
- kita** *pron.* we (incl.).
- kita'** *pron.* you all.
- kitu'** *adv.* hither, up to present time.
- ku** *pron.* I.
- kuali** *n.* cooking pan.
- kuangkakuk** *n.* k.o. bird.
- kuasa** *n.* power.
- kubur** *n* ; *vt.* grave; bury.
- kucar-kacir** *vi.* be scattered around (into all kinds of places or directions).
- kukuh** *vi.* strong.
- kula'** *toa.* vocative for son-in-law.
- kulak** *meas.* a traditional wooden container, equals 10 ling or 2½

- kg.
kulang-kalik *vi.* go back and forth.
kulat *n* ; *vi.* fungus, mushroom; dried rubber latex; collect mushrooms.
kuli *n.* coolie.
kulit *n.* skin.
kum'ang *n.* beetle.
kumay *vt.* call.
kumay kasih term of endearment mainly used for family members.
kumpal *meas.* a big slice of meat.
kumpul see *gumpul*.
- kumuh** *n.* wrap, cover (blanket, etc.).
kun'ang-katang *vi.* go back and forth.
kun'ang-kekun'ang *vi.* go back and forth.
kuning *vi.* yellow.
kunyit *n.* turmeric.
kutak-katuk *vi.* make various tapping sounds.
kutu *n.* lice.
kutur *vi* ; *vt.* dirty; make dirty.
kuwi *n.* cake.

L - I

- laban** *n* ; *vt.* enemy; oppose.
labuh *vi* ; *vt.* fall; drop.
labuh ruruh drop (at once and abundantly).
ba-labuh *vi.* originate.
lagi' see *agi'*.
lah *part.* emphatic, assertive particle.
laju *vi.* agreed, settled.
laki *n.* husband, man.
lalin *vt.* plait.
lam *n.* morning.
lama' *adv.* long (of time).
laman *n.* yard.
lamar *class.* for flat thin entities.
lam'ay *vi.* wave.
lampar *adv.* excessive, too.
lamur *n.* sunset sky.
lang *n.* eagle.
langan *n.* pieces of wood arranged on the ground to be used as a sitting place.
langit *n.* sky.
langkaw *n.* hut (in the rice field).
lang'u' *n.* big pig (MI), cf. *kelimpay*; beginning of fruit.
lantang *vi.* large.
lapan *num.* eight.
lata' *n.* mud.
law *iloc.* before doing anything else,
- first.
lawang *n.* door, house(hold).
lawun *vi.* slow, late.
lay *iloc.* emphasizing a favor, invitation or exhortation.
laya' *n.* quarrel.
lebat *vi.* dense (leaves), heavy (rain).
lebaw *vi.* dense (leaves), heavy (rain).
lebih *adv.* more.
lebu *vi.* feel affection.
lega' *n.* dry season.
lekas *vi.* quick, fast.
lekaw *adv.* early.
lela' *vi.* crushed, melted.
lelabi *n.* freshwater turtle.
lelak *vi.* tired.
lelang *vi.* play.
leman *n.* kind.
lemaw *vi.* weak, lazy.
lempa' *n.* plain (of land), hollow.
lempung *vi.* light (not heavy).
lengis *vi.* cleared
lenyaw *vi.* lost.
lepa *prec.*
ba-lepa *vi.* take a rest.
lepas *vi.* get loose.
ler *n.* neck.
lia' *n.* ginger.
licak *n.* mud.
licak-lacik very muddy and wet.

- licin** *vi.* slippery.
lidi *n.* midrib of a palm leaf.
likun *adv.* well wrapped.
lima *num.* five.
limaw *n.* citrusfruit.
limpang *vi ; vt.* turn off to another direction; change the subject.
limpang umung/cakap by the way.
limang limang speak disorderly.
ling *meas.* a small condensed milk can (cf. Indonesian *kaleng*); 1 ling = ¼ kg.
lintang *n ; vi.* block, hindrance; across.
pelintang putang be in disarray.
lipat *vt.* fold.
luah *vi.* large.
luar *n.* outside.
luay'(-luay') *vi.* weak.
- lubah** *vi.* slow and quiet.
lubang *n.* hole.
lubuk *n.* deep place in the river.
lucu *vi.* funny.
ludah *n ; vi.* saliva; spit.
lulum *prec.* see *sium*.
lulun *n.* k.o. snack made of glutinous (*pulut*) rice with coconut filling. (In Java people call it *kue bugis*).
lumpar *vt.* cut in big chunks.
lumpat *vi.* jump.
lunga' *n.* k.o. knife.
lung'ang *vi.* cross over.
luntus *vi.* lazy.
luput *vi.* miss something.
lusa *n.* the day after tomorrow.

M - m

- ma'** *vt.* carry on the back.
m'a' *toa.* term of endearment for a male child.
mabaw *vt.* weed.
mabuk *vi.* drunk.
macam *n.* kind.
mah *iloc.* emphasizing the importance of the element under focus.
majuh *vi.* eat (rude), scoff.
malam *n.* night.
mali *vi.* not allowed, taboo.
mali *conj.* lest.
malu *vi.* shy, ashamed.
mampu *mod.* be able to.
manal *n.* cousin (children of parent's siblings).
manang *n.* shaman.
mang-mang *prec.*
naday mang-mang suddenly
mansang *vi.* go to, set one's course to, towards.
mansing *quan.* each.
manta' *vi.* raw.
- manuk** *n.* chicken.
maram *n.* k.o. (red colored) fruit.
mas *n.* gold.
masa *n.* time.
mata *n.* eye.
matang *adv.* persistent, disobedient, insistent.
mataari *n.* sun.
mati *vi.* die, dead.
mati lesi die (away).
mati pungkak die at young age.
mawa *vi.* stupid.
mayin *vi.* play.
mayuh *quan.* many, much.
melia' *adv.* long time ago.
mensia *n.* human.
menua *n.* country, world.
menyadi' *n.* sibling.
merama *vi.* stay temporarily at somebody's house.
miak *n.* little child.
m'ih *pron.* you (male).
mimit *quan.* a little, a few.
mimpi *n ; vi.* dream.

- ming'u** *n.* Sunday, week.
minsay-miay *vi.* be in rags, look terrible.
mirah *vi.* red.
mis see *amis*.
miskin *vi.* poor.
mit *vi.* small, little.
mitir *meas.* meter.
mpa' *vt.* chew.
mpalang *n.* clot, clod, lump.
mpangan *n.* end, tip.
mpapa' *vi* ; *n.* run helter-skelter (MI); k.o. wood (MU).
mpat *num.* four.
mpay *n.* father (MI).
mp(e)lawak *n.* spider.
mp(e)liaw *n.* (tail-less) gibbon.
mperecit *vi.* squirt.
mpias *n.* splash (of rain or water).
mpu *vt* ; *n.* have, possess; possession.
mpulur *n.* inner part of tree.
mua *n.* face, front part.
mua ari cloudy (about to rain).
Mualang *n.* Mualang person, Mualang territory, Mualang language.
muda *vi.* young.
mudik *vi.* go upstream.
muduh *vi.* ripe, cooked, wise (talk).
muk *n.* can (see *ling*).
mula *n.* beginning.
mula-mula in the beginning.
mulut *n.* lips.
munsang *n.* weasel.
musim *n.* season.
mutah *vi.* vomit.
mutah jurah vomit intensively.

N - n

- N-** *pref.* active voice marker.
n'a' *neg.* no, not.
naday *neg.* no, not.
nak *toa.* kid (vocative); vocative for a person much younger than the speaker.
nam *num.* six.
nama *n.* name.
nang *neg.* don't.
nanga *n.* estuary.
nasi' *n.* cooked rice.
nay *toa.* vocative for mother.
ncik *vi.* tiny.
nday *neg.* short form of *naday* (MU).
nelay *n.* k.o. tree.
nema *conj.* because.
nemiak *n.* child.
nga' *vi* ; *vt.* stop there, leave there; let.
ngang *n.* barking sound of dog.
ng'ang *n.* hornbill.
nganti' *conj.* if.
ngapa *intr.* why.
ngaw *vt* ; *prep* ; *conj.* use; for, with, by (instrument); for, in order to
ngay *neg.* not want, won't.
ngkadah *vi.* face (up).
ngkah *vt.* put.
ngkrangan *n.* sand.
ngkuh *vt.* place, put.
ngusung *prep.* to.
ni *intr.* which, where.
ni' *toa.* vocative for grandmother.
nih *excl.* emphasizing what is being pointed to.
nikala' *asp.* never.
ningkuh *vi.* lazy.
nisi' *neg.* nothing, there is not.
nitaw' *neg* ; *vt* ; *vi.* can't, may not; not know; stupid.
nsana *n.* the day before yesterday.
nsawi *n.* Chinese cabbage.
nselan *n.* a ritual to give offering to a god.
pe-nselan *vt.* make the ritual of giving the offering.
nsia *n.* human being.

- ntah** *neg.* not know.
ntah ... ntah maybe ... or ...
ntara *prep.* between, among.
ntawa' *n.* k.o. fruit.
nti' *conj.* if.
ntimun *n.* cucumber.
ntua *n.* parent-in-law.
nturan *n.* a beam located on the edge of floorboard of a longhouse to support the poles of the house.
nu' possessive marker.
n'u' *toa.* term of endearment for a female child.
nugaw *vi.* stay quiet, still.
nuna' *prep.* according to.
nupa *neg.* not as, not like.
nusah *mod.* needn't.
nuy *toa.* term of endearment for a female child.
- nya'** *dem.* that.
nyamay *vi.* delicious, comfortable.
nyantuk *prep.* until (archaic).
nyaruh *vi.* astonished.
nyaruk *vi.* understand.
nyaw *vi ; asp ; conj.* die (polite); already, perfect marker; after.
nyawa *n.* mouth.
nyay *toa.* term of endearment for a female child.
nyelah *vi.* strange, odd.
nyeli' *n.* corn.
nyelipan *n.* centipede.
nyerawuh *vi.* cry aloud, scream.
nyin *adv.* that over there.
nyiur *n.* coconut.
nyun *dem.* that far away.

P - p

- pa** *n.* thigh.
pabat *vt.* cut, slash (usually small plants like bushes).
pabit *vt.* involve.
pabit parit involve or drag one another into s.t.
padah *vt.* say, tell.
padahal *conj.* as a matter of fact.
padam *vi ; vt.* extinguished, off, set (of the sun); put out.
padi *n.* paddy.
padung *n.* attic.
pagar *n.* fence; cage.
pagi *n.* tomorrow.
pajak *vt.* put in.
pakat *n.* agreement.
pakay *vt ; vi.* eat.
pakay ipung eat a simple meal.
pakay sumay do all activities related to cooking and eating.
pala' *n.* head.
palit *vt.* rub.
palu' *vt.* beat, strike.
palu' pelasah do all kinds of beating and striking.
- pam** *n.* k.o. cracker snack made of *pulut* rice.
pamar *vi ; vt.* separated; separate.
pamar-piar scattered around, dispersed.
pampas *vt.* reward.
pe(N)- *pref.* nominalizer prefix.
panaw *n.* k.o. skin disease.
pan'ay *vi.* clever, smart.
panci *vi.* beautiful (MI).
panci bayik beautiful and kind.
pangan *n.* friend, partner, each other.
pangkap *vt.* hug.
pangku' *vt.* take on one's lap.
pangkung *vt.* beat, hit (with a hard thing).
pang'ul *vt.* give a sign on a prospective rice field by clearing some part of the area that is going to be planted.
pan'i' *vi ; vt.* take a bath; bathe.
pansa' *vi.* pass.
pansay *vt.* scoop.

- pansuh** *vt.* cook in bamboo.
pansut *vi.* exit.
panti *n.* foot-bridge made of trunk or board.
pantuk *vt.* peck.
pan'uk *vt.* burn.
panus *vi ; vt.* short (not long); make short.
panyay *vi ; vt.* long; make longer.
papan *n.* board.
ba-papan *vi.* to give birth.
papung *vt.* cut (into chunks).
par *n.* k.o.tray to put food on.
pas *vi ; adv.* neatly fitting; at the same time, right after.
pasak *n.* (wooden) peg.
pasaw *vt.* set (e.g. a fish trap), have a look.
pat *n.* chisel.
pay *toa.* vocative for father.
payah *vi.* unreliable, hard.
payit *vi.* bitter.
pecah *vi.* broken.
percaya *vi.* believe.
peda' *vt ; vi.* see.
pedih *vi.* difficult, sick, sad.
pegay *vt.* hold.
pejah *vt.* run down, gossip.
pekasam *n.* pickled meat or vegetables.
pelabuh *n.* kitchen room of traditional longhouse.
pelan'uk *n.* mouse-deer.
pelasah *vt.* beat (strongly with a hard object).
pelesit *vi.* slip out.
peluh *n.* sweat.
pelung *n ; vi.* bark (of dog).
peluntang-pelanting *vi.* helter-skelter.
pemenaw' *n.* knowledge.
pencuay *meas.* height measured by standing with hands up from toes to tip of middle finger.
pengkal *n.* landing place (e.g. of boat).
- pen'ing** *n ; vt.* ear; eardrop.
penti *n ; vt.* prohibition; make a prohibition of.
mali penti *vi.* have prohibitions.
penti pantang *n.* all kinds of prohibitions.
pentik *n.* wooden statue (for magic or ritual purposes).
penuh *vi.* full.
penukang *n.* window made on part of the roof.
penyuan *n.* breath.
pepat *vt.* cut into pieces.
peramu *n.* clothes.
peraw *n.* proa, boat.
perekuan *n.* wrist.
periuk *n.* boiling pot.
perlu *mod.* need.
perut *n.* stomach.
pesaw *n ; vt.* order, message; give a message.
pesta *n.* party.
pesuk *vi.* leak.
petang *n.* dark.
petara *n.* deity.
petataw *n.* riddle.
peti' *n.* k.o. animal trap with a sharp pointed bamboo and a rope that shoots the bamboo when the trap is stepped on.
pia' *adv.* like that, so.
piak *n.* part.
piala *n.* pitcher.
pian *n.* bathing place.
pianaw *n.* star (archaic).
piara *vt.* take care, raise.
pikir *vi.* think.
pin'ah *vi ; vt.* move.
pinang *n.* areca nut.
ping'an *n.* plate.
ping'ang *n.* waist.
pinta' *vt.* ask for, propose to (of marriage).
pinta' diri' ask one's permission to leave.
pipit *n.* sparrow.

pisan *vi.* faint.
pisang *n.* banana (fruit and tree).
pisang kura *n.* pineapple.
pitu' *adv.* like this, so.
nyaw pitu' now(adays).
pua' *n.* clothes made from *kepua'* bark.
puang *vi.* empty.
puar *vt.* pick (e.g. fruit).
pucuk *n.* top (of a tree leaf).
pukang *n.* k.o. small squirrel.
puku' (ia') *conj.* in short.
pukung *vt.* force.
pulah *vt.* make, do.
pulay *vi.* come/go home, return.
puluh *num.* unit of ten.
pulut *n.* glutinous rice.
pun *n.* tree.
pun *iloc.* emphatic particle.

punas *vi.* died out.
punas ranas completely died out or finished.
pung'a' *vt.* cut.
pung'ung *n.* back (of body).
pupuh *vt.* chase.
purih *n.* descendant.
putih *vi.* white.
putih belanyih very white.
putik *vt.* collect, pick up (e.g. from the floor).
puting *n.* tip of a knife or machete that goes in the wooden handle of the knife.
putung *vt.* cut.
N-putung collect rubber saps.
puyang *n.* great-grandfather.

R - r

radah *vi.* ugly.
radu' *vi.* very ripe.
raja *n.* king.
rajang *n.* k.o. fern.
rakuk *vi.* bent.
rakup *n.* twin.
rama *n.* season.
rama ujan rainy season.
ramaw
ba-ramaw-ba-dampaw elopement.
rami *vi.* crowded.
rampah *vi.* scattered.
rampang *n.* waste, remainder.
rampang-umang remnants.
ramu *n.* wealth, property.
ramu-reta all wealth and properties.
ranah *n.* flood.
ranaw *n.* used rice field.
ran'aw *n ; vi ; vt.* gathering, visit; go visiting; visit (s.o.)
rancung *vi.* pointed.
rang *n.* jaw.
rangkay *vi.* dry.

rangkay-kesay extremely dry.
rantak *vt.* drag, draw, pull up.
ranti' *n.* dried branch.
rari *vi.* run (away).
rari diri' run away.
rarung *n.* coffin.
ratu *toa.* term of endearment for a female child.
ratus *n.* unit of hundred.
rawuk *n.* rotten leaves.
rawup *vt.* get or scoop a handful of (something).
rawut *vt.* scrape (e.g. rattan with a knife to make it smooth).
reban *n.* piece of land that has been cleared and is ready for burning; breast (of chicken).
rebus *vt.* boil.
rega *n.* price, value.
rejang *vt.* stab upwards.
rekung *n.* throat.
rempah *n.* side dish.
rempah rimah kinds of side dishes.
ren'am *vt.* soak.

- rengkiang** *n.* case used to store paddy in the house.
- renguang** *n.* k.o. centipede-like arthropod.
- reni** *intr.* from where? (short form of *ari ni*).
- renti** *meas.* length measured from the tip of the thumb sticking out laterally from an otherwise clinched fist to the heel of the fist (used as a unit for measuring the difference between the circumference of a pig's chest and that of an adult person's head).
- renyaw** *n.* rooster.
- repuk** *vi.* decayed (of wood).
- repung** *vi.* crushed (of fire).
- reta** *n.* goods, property.
- reti** *n.* meaning.
- rian** *n.* durian fruit/tree.
- ribut** *n.* wind.
- rim'a'** *n.* jungle.
- rim'ay** *alongside.*
- rin'as** *prec.*
- ba-rin'as** *vt.* have a fight, wrestle.
- ringat** *vi.* angry.
- ringaw** *prec.*
- ba-ringaw** *vt.* help each other in harvesting.
- ringkay** *vi.* thin.
- rin'u** *vt.* long for.
- ritak** *vi.* talkative.
- riu** *vi.* long for.
- rua'** *vi.* wasteful, prodigal.
- ruas** *meas.* length of bamboo between two joints.
- ruay** *n.* the gallery or veranda-like part of the longhouse.
- rumah** *n.* house.
- rumah panyay** *longhouse.*
- rumpah** *see rempah.*
- rung'u'** *vi.* sick.
- runtay** *vt.* drag rudely.
- runtu** *vt.* attack.
- rupiah** *n.* Indonesian money, unit of Indonesian currency.
- ruruh** *vi.* fall.
- rusak** *vi ; vt.* broken, damaged; break, damage.
- rusuk** *n.* rib.
- rut** *vt.* forbid.

S - s

- se-** *pref.* numeral prefix 'one'.
- sa'** *num.* one (only used in stories or ritual texts).
- sa'** *pron.* they (probably a short form of *sida'*).
- sabak** *vi.* cry.
- sabar** *n.* fence for trapping fish.
- sadung** *vt.* share (food) with others (e.g. when getting animals or having a feast).
- saga'** *vi.* enthusiastic.
- saja** *adv.* incredibly.
- saka** *n.* cross road.
- sakit** *vi.* sick.
- salah** *vi ; vt.* wrong; do s.t. wrong against, infringe.
- salak** *vi.* bark (of a dog).
- salay** *vt.* smoke or cook rather high above the fire.
- sama** *adv.* same.
- sam'ar** *vt.* pounce upon.
- sam'il** *conj.* while.
- sampay** *vi ; prep ; conj.* arrive, achieve; until.
- sam'ung** *vt.* join, connect.
- sang** *n.* pepper.
- sangkuh** *n ; vt.* spear.
- sangkut** *vi.* get stuck.
- sang'up** *vi.* be able/prepared to.
- sanu'** *pron.* indefinite pronoun for human; "whosit", "what's-his-name".

- sapa** *intr.* who.
saring *vi.* loud.
satu *num.* one.
saw *vi.* angry.
sawa' *n.* python.
sawut *vi.* reply.
sebayan *n.* world of the dead.
sebedaw *conj.* before.
sebela' *adv.* same.
seberang *n* ; *vt.* across; cross.
sebut *vt.* mention.
sedang *conj.* whereas, while.
sedua *pron.* both of you, both of them.
sega' *n.* k.o. big rattan.
segala *quan.* all kinds.
segay *vi.* full, satisfied (of eating).
sekut *vi.* narrow.
selabuk *vi.* hide
selam *vi.* dive.
selama' *conj.* during.
selap *n.* pad (or something like a mat) used to sit or sleep on.
selawar *n.* pants.
selimut *n.* blanket.
semak *vi.* close, near.
semanta *adv.* randomly.
semaru *num.* first.
semenang *n.* k.o. snake.
semilan *num.* nine.
sempang *n.* proverb.
sem'uh *vi.* recovered.
semut *n.* ant.
senapang *n.* rifle.
sengabut *adv.* continuously.
sengah *n.* flu.
senganan *n.* Malay people.
seng'ang *n.* k.o. bush (the leaves are used to make mats, containers, etc.).
sengawul *meas.* a span from thumb to joint of middle finger (or less than a *jingkal*).
sengigit *meas.* a length or height measured from one's feet up to the teeth in standing position.
sengkidaw *n.* rice spoon.
sengkit *adv.* as usual.
seniku' *pron.* both of you, both of them.
senta *n.* time.
senua *pron.* both of you, both of them.
senunuh *vi.* proper.
naday senunuh improper, shapeless.
senyiku *meas.* measure for less than a *depa'*, namely the length from one hand stretching to the side of the body to the end of the elbow of another hand which is folded at the elbow and put horizontally across the chest.
senyintik *meas.* half of *gawang*.
senyulan *meas.* a span measured from tip of one's thumb to tip of one's forefinger.
sepu *vt.* blow.
sepuh *vt.* gild.
sepuluh *num.* ten.
sepupu *n.* "cousin" relationship between grandchildren.
serah *vi.* left to the discretion of s.o.
serapah *n* ; *vt.* curse.
seraw *vi.* shout loudly.
serua' *n.* k.o. fishtrap.
sesal see *tesal*.
sudah *prec.*
sesudah-sudah *conj.* after such a long time.
setegal *adv.* a while.
setiap *quan.* every, each.
setuju *vi.* agree.
siah *vt.* disclose.
sida' *pron.* they.
sidi *vt.* trace.
sigat *vi.* fast.
sikit *quan.* a few, a little.
siku *n.* elbow.
silah *adv.* different.
silu *n.* nail.
silu-silu *vi.* quiet, silent.
sim'ang *vt.* cut.
simpan *vt.* keep.

- sing'ah** *vi.* stop by.
singkap *class.* for porcelain dishes.
sinti *meas.* centimeter.
sipak *vt.* kick.
sirap *n ; vt.* roof made of slices of wood; set the roof *sirap*.
sirat *n ; vt.* loincloth; put on a loincloth.
sium *vt.* kiss, smell.
ba-sium ba-lulum kiss each other.
suar *vt.* stretch out hand (to give s.t).
suayak *vi.* get divorced.
sudu' *n ; vt.* spoon, stir.
sukur *excl.* thank God!
- suma'** *n ; vt.* the season making *pulut* rice cracker (*pam*); make *pam*.
sumay *vt.* cook.
sumpah *n ; vt.* curse.
sumpit *n ; vt.* blowpipe; shoot with a blowpipe.
sun'ang *vt.* set head to, arrange alternately.
sungay *n.* river.
sunyi' *vi.* quiet.
suruh *vt.* command, order; cause.
surup *vt.* help.
susu see *tusu*.

T - t

- tabar** *vi.* tasteless.
tabi' *n.* greetings.
tabiat *n.* behavior.
tabin *n.* fever.
tacah *vt.* afflict, work.
tadi' *adv.* a while ago.
taga'
ba-tagat' *vi.* satisfied.
tajam *vi.* sharp.
tajam siku work hard and diligently.
tajaw *n.* k.o. big jar; kind of moon's appearance.
takin *n.* k.o. small container made of rattan or *seng'ang* leaves.
takut *vi.* afraid.
talah *mod.* be able to.
ta'luk *vi.* subject to, surrender.
tama' *vi.* enter.
tam'ah *vt.* add.
tam'ak *vt.* plant.
tam'ang *vi.* ride on (a boat), get fish.
tam'it *vt.* tie up.
tampak *vi.* bright.
tampar *vt.* slap.
tampi' *n ; vt.* winnow
tampuk *n.* end, top.
tampun *vt.* hammer with a piece of wood.
- tan** *vi.* endure, resist.
tan'a *n ; vt.* sign
tanah *n.* earth, ground, soil, land.
tanah ampah all lands.
tan'an *class.* cluster (of banana fruits).
tang'a' *n.* ladder, stairs.
tangar *vt.* set a cooking tool on fire.
tangkal *vt.* cut, slash.
tangkap *vt.* catch.
tangkin *n ; vt.* machete; carry (a machete).
tang'ung *vt.* carry on the shoulder.
tanya' *vt.* ask.
tapa' *n.* palm of hand.
tapuk *vt.* hide.
tarik *vt.* pull.
taw' *vi ; mod.* know; can, be able, may.
tawak *n.* k.o. small gong.
tawang *n.* swampland, wet rice field.
tawas *n.* noon, daytime.
tawun *n.* year.
tay relative marker.
tay' *n.* feces.
tayil *meas.* an amount of five porcelain bowls, formerly used to pay a traditional fine.
teban *n.* place, site.

- tebang** *vt.* cut (usually big objects like trees).
- tebas** *vt.* cut (relatively small objects like bushes).
- tebelian** *n.* ironwood.
- tebuk** *vt.* make a hole.
- tedung** *n.* k.o. snake.
- teguh** *vt.* startle (by yelling).
- tegalan** *n.* land that has been cleared and burnt for cultivation.
- tegu'** *vt.* touch.
- teguh** *vi.* strong, hard.
- teguh** *vt.* drink at once, gulp down.
- teka** *adv.* right away.
- tekadang** *see kadang.*
- tekakak-tekikik** *vi.* laugh continuously with various sounds.
- tekanyat** *vi.* startled.
- telany'ang** *vi.* naked.
- telany'ur** *vi.* gone too far.
- teling'u** *n.* window (rarely used).
- telu'** *n.* egg.
- teluk** *n.* a small long gutter-like space located between bilik and ruay in the longhouse.
- tem'awang** *used in MI, see tem'away.*
- tem'away** *n.* former or old settlement site (MU).
- temeng'ung** *n.* an elder of traditional *adat*.
- tempa'** *vt.* forge.
- tempan** *n.* anvil.
- tempap** *meas.* a width of from the side of the palm of the hand to the other side.
- tempayan** *see tepayan.*
- temu** *vt.* find, meet.
- tem'u'** *vi.* finished, done.
- temuay** *n ; vi.* guest; go for a visit.
- tem'us** *vi ; vt.* pierced; pierce.
- ten'ang** *vt.* kick (out).
- tengah** *n ; vt.* middle; go through
- tengan** *asp.* progressive marker.
- teng'elam** *vi.* sink.
- tengi'** *n.* dispute.
- tengik** *vi.* stubborn, insist.
- teng'iling** *n.* ant-eater.
- tentu** *adv.* certainly.
- tenung** *n ; vi.* forecast.
- tepaw** *vt.* sweep.
- peN-tepaw** *n.* broom.
- tepayan** *n.* jar.
- tepelanting** *vi.* fallen headlong.
- tepu'** *vt.* put, place, keep.
- tepung** *n.* k.o. fried snack made of flour.
- tepuruk** *vi.* fallen vertically from a slippery place.
- terap** *vi.* stumble.
- terapa'** *vt.* bump.
- teray** *vt.* try (out).
- ter(e)bay** *vi.* fly.
- terejang** *vt.* run into.
- terentak** *vi.* shocked.
- terudi** *vt.* follow from behind.
- terus** *adv.* straight, direct.
- tesal** *vi.* regret.
- tesat** *vi.* get lost.
- tetak** *vt.* cut.
- ti** *see tay.*
- tiang** *n.* pole.
- tiap** *quan.* every, each.
- tibang** *n.* paddy container made of tree bark.
- tibar** *vt.* throw.
- tiga** *num.* three.
- tih** *iloc.* used to keep track of the listener's attention.
- tijak** *vt.* step on.
- tijang** *vt.* step on.
- tikam** *vt.* throw, pelt.
- tikay** *n.* mat.
- tiki'** *vt ; vi.* climb, ascend.
- tiku** *n.* teapot.
- tikup** *vt.* close.
- tikup petang** *get dark.*
- tilam** *n.* bed.
- tiluk** *n.* (cooked) rice spoon.
- tim'ak** *vt.* shoot.
- tim'ul** *vi.* emerge.
- tin'ak** *vt.* act upon.
- tincin** *n.* ring.

- tinga** *n.* a bit of food that stuck between teeth.
ting'al *vi ; vt.* stay, remain; leave.
ting'ang *vt.* fall upon.
ting'i' *vi ; vt.* high, tall; make higher.
tingkah *vt.* step over.
tingkap diri' *prostrate o.s.*
tin'uk *vi.* sleep.
tipah *vt.* wave aside.
tipan *vt.* arrange.
tisi *n.* side.
titi *n ; vi.* foot-bridge; walk along the foot bridge or a pathway.
tu' *dem ; adv.* this; now.
tua *pron.* we (you and I).
tuah *n.* good fortune.
tuap *n.* nightjar.
tuaw *n.* nightjar.
tuay *vi.* old.
tubuh *n.* body.
tucuk *vi ; vt.* fit, match; stab.
tudung *vt.* cover.
tugal *n ; vt.* stick used to make holes for seeds; make holes for seeds, dibble.
tujuh *num.* seven.
tulang *n.* bone.
tulu *vi.* really, right.
tulung *vt.* help.
tumas *vi.* fit, match.
bulan tumas full moon.
- tumay** *vi.* fall down.
tum'uh *vi.* grow.
mataari tum'uh sun rises.
tuna' *vt.* follow.
tunang *n.* fiancé(e)
tung *n.* part.
tung'al *vi.* single.
tungking *n.* k.o. container.
tungku *n.* traditional (clay) tripod used to set on a fire for cooking.
tungkus *vt.* wrap.
tungu *n ; vt.* traditional fine; pay the fine.
tung'u' *vt.* wait for.
tunsun *vt.* arrange.
tunsun purih tracking down the family tree.
tuntut *vt.* claim.
tunu *vt.* burn.
tunyaw *vt.* knead.
tuny'uk *n ; vt.* finger, forefinger; point.
tupas *vi.* unreachable, fuzzy.
turun *vi.* descend.
ke-turun descendant.
tusu *n.* breast, milk.
tusuy *n ; vt.* story; tell a story.
tut *n.* knee.
tutuk *vt.* pound, peck.
tutung *vt.* beat (drum, gong).
tutup *vt.* close.

U - u

- uak** *n.* sound of s.o. vomiting.
uay *excl.* my!, expressing commiseration.
ubi *n.* cassava.
ucu' *n.* grandchild.
udah *vi ; asp ; conj ; iloc.* finished; perfect marker, already; after; a particle emphasizing the fulfillment of an event.
udah nya'ia' after that.
uga' *quan.* all.
ugal *n.* nangka fruit (MI), see *ugan*.
- ugan** *n.* nangka fruit (MU), see *ugal*.
uh *excl.* oh; expressing one's sudden realization of some state of affairs.
ui see *uwi*.
ujan *n.* rain.
ujung *n.* tip, end.
ujung ari afternoon.
ukay *neg.* no, not.
ukum *n ; vt.* law, punishment; punish.
ukur *vt.* measure.
ukuy *n.* dog.

- ulak** *n.* eddy.
ular *n.* snake.
ulat *n.* caterpillar.
ulih *n ; vt ; prep ; conj.* gain; gain, get; by; but.
ulu *n ; vi.* upstream, end part, go upstream.
ulu' *vt.* run down.
ulun *n ; vt.* servant, slave; enslave.
uma *n.* dry agricultural field.
umang *n.* skin.
umpan *n ; vt.* cooked rice, food; feed.
umpan rempah meal.
umung *n ; vi.* talk, speak.
umur *n.* age.
unang *n.* shrimp.
unsay *vt.* scatter, sprinkle.
unsut *vt.* smear.
- untung** *n ; vt.* share (one's rights), share.
un'ur *vi.* step back, withdraw.
un'ur diri' resign.
upa *prep.* as, like.
upa *n.* appearance, look, upper end of stem (of palm, rattan) (used as vegetables).
urang *n.* person, other person.
utan *n.* forest.
utay *n.* thing.
uti' *n ; vt.* joke; jokingly urge (s.o.) to do something.
ba-uti' ba-mayin *vi.* play or fool around.
uwi *n.* rattan.
uy *excl.* hey!

W - w

- waktu** *n ; conj.* time; when.
wan *pron.* you (polite).
was see *awas*.
way *excl.* see *uay*.
- wi** see *uwi*.
wih *iloc.* emotionally expressive.
wih *excl.* expressing pleasant surprise.

Y - y

- yu** see *iu*.

Appendix 3: English-Mualang Finderlist

The wordlist below provides cross references to the Mualang - English wordlist on previous pages. Both English entries and Mualang word meanings are stated in general terms without any word class labels.

A - a

a while	setegal.	also	ga'.
a while ago	tadi'.	although	amat.
abscess	barah.	amazed	iran.
abuse	sumpah.	among	ntara.
according to	nuna'.	and	aba'.
achieve	sampay.	angry	ransing; ringat; saw.
across	lintang; seberang.	animal	ibun; jelu.
act upon	tin'ak.	ant	kesa'; semut.
active voice marker	N-.	ant-eater	teng'iling.
adat, elder	temeng'ung.	antipassive voice marker	ba-.
add	tam'ah.	anvil	tempan
adopt	angku'.	appearance	upa
affection	lebu.	approximately	bansa; kira-kira.
afflict	kena'.	arm	jari.
afflict	tacah.	arrange	atur; tipan; tunsun.
afraid	takut.	arrange alternately	sun'ang.
after	dah; nyaw; udah.	arrive	sampay.
after such a long time	kesudah-sudah;	arthropod	renguang.
	sesudah-sudah.	as, like	upa.
after that	udah nya'ia', see:	as a matter of fact	padahal.
	udah.	ascend	tiki'.
afternoon	ujung ari, see: ujung.	ash	abus.
again	agi'; lagi'.	ashamed	malu.
age	umur.	ask	tanya'.
agree	setuju.	ask for	pinta'.
agreement	pakat.	ask permission to leave	pinta' diri'.
alcohol, k.o.	beram.	aspect, perfect	dah.
all	uga'.	astonished	iran; nyaruh.
all (kinds)	bala.	at	da; di.
all kinds	keba; segala.	attack	runtu.
almost	ampir.	attic	padung.
alone	kediri'.	aunt	ibu'.
alongside	rim'ay.	axe	ban.
already	dah; nyaw; udah.		

B - b

back (of body)	belakang; pung'ung.	bad (MU)	jay'.
back side	belakang.	balcony	gang'ang.
backpack	kampil.	bamboo	buluh.
bad	jat.	bamboo shoots	jabaw.

banana	pisang.	blessing	berkat.
banyan tree	kiara'.	blood	darah.
bark	pelung.	blow	sepu.
bark, clothes	pua'.	blowpipe	sumpit.
bark (of dog)	salak.	board	papan.
bark (of wood)	kelibak.	boat	ban; peraw.
barking (sound)	ngang.	body	baka; tubuh.
basket (plastic ~)	im'ir.	boil	rebus.
bathe	pan'i'.	bone	tulang.
bathing place	pian.	born	aday.
be able to	dapat; mampu; sang'up; talah.	both	kemua.
beam (of house)	nturan.	both of them	sedua; seniku'; senua.
bear (n)	beruang.	both of you	sedua; seniku'; senua.
beat	alah; palu'; pangkung; pelasah; tutung.	bottle	jebul.
beautiful	alap.	bottom	baruh.
beautiful (MI)	panci.	bowl	jalung.
because	karna; kerna; nema.	branch	dan.
become	jadi.	branch (dry ~)	ranti'.
bed	tilam.	brave	berani.
bee	belin'ung.	break	rusak.
beetle	kum'ang.	breast	susu; tusu.
before	bedaw; sebedaw.	breath	penyuan.
beginning	mula.	bridge	panti.
behavior	tabiat.	bright	tampak.
believe	pecaya.	bright (of flame)	deray.
below	baruh.	bring	any'ung; bay'.
benefit	guna.	broken	pecah; rusak.
bent	rakuk.	broom	peN-tepaw, see: tepaw.
betel (nut)	keminang.	bruise	bangkang.
bettle nut	pinang.	bump	terapa'.
between	ntara.	burn	pan'uk; tunu.
big	besay.	burn across (of fire)	jelap.
bird	burung.	burnt	angus.
bird, k.o.	kuangkakuk; beruwi'.	bury	kubur.
bite	ketup.	bush (of bamboo)	belayan.
bitter	payit.	bushes, k.o. (used for mats)	seng'ang.
black	itam.	but	ulih.
blanket	besa'; selimut.	buy	beli.
		by	ulih.
		by (instrument)	ngaw.

C - c

cabbage	nsawi.	calf (of leg)	betis.
cake	kuwi.	call	kumay.

can	dapat; muk; taw'.	climb	tiki'.
cancel	balang.	close	semak; tikup; tutup.
can't	nitaw'.	clot	mpalang.
carry on the back	ma'.	clothes	kayin; peramu.
carry on the shoulder	tang'ung.	clouded	mua ari, see: mua.
case for padi	rengkiang.	cluster (of bananas)	tan'an.
cassava	ubi.	coconut	nyiur.
catch	tangkap.	coconut scraper (MU)	kelingkung.
caterpillar	ulat.	coffin	rarung.
cause (vt)	asuh; suruh.	cold, cool	celap.
cave	gua'.	collect	gumpul; putik; tampung.
centimeter	sinti.	collect fruit	kebuah, see: buah.
centipede	nyelipan.	collect rubber saps	putung.
certainly	tentu.	come	datay.
change	ganti.	come home	pulay.
change clothes	gari'.	come on	ayuh; buh.
charcoal	arang.	comfortable	nyamay.
chase	gaga'; gusung; pupuh.	command	asuh; suruh.
chat	N-kampur, see: kampur.	commonly	jama.
cheat	bula'.	compelled	kesuput.
chest	dada.	connect	sam'ung.
chest (of chicken)	reban.	contagious	jangkit.
chew	mpa'.	contain	kan'ung.
chicken	manuk.	container, for padi	tibang.
child	anak; biak; miak; nemiak.	container	tungking; takin.
chin	dagu'.	contents	isi'.
chisel	pat.	continuously	sengabut.
church	gumpul.	cook	sumay.
citrusfruit	limaw.	cook in bamboo	pansuh.
claim	tuntut.	cook (put tools on fire)	tangar.
classifier, animate	iku'.	cooked	muduh.
classifier, flat entities	lamar.	cool	celap kakap, see: celap.
classifier, flat plane	bilah.	coolie	kuli.
classifier, for porcelain dishes	singkap.	cooperation (in group)	baduruk, see: duruk.
classifier, for various things	buah.	corn	nyeli'.
classifier, round entities	igi'.	corpse	bangkay.
claw	keramak (keramang?); keransi'; kerantam.	count	bilang; itung.
clean	bersih.	count	per-itung, see: itung.
clear (field, branches)	jeraw.	country	menua.
clear (land)	pang'ul.	cousin	manal; sepupu.
cleared	lengis.	cover	kum'uh; tudung.
clever	pan'ay.	crab	gerama'.
		cross	seberang.
		cross over	lung'ang.

cross road	saka.	curse	serapah
crow	kak.	custom	adat; basa adat (adat basa), see: basa.
crowded	rami.		
crushed	ancur; lela'.	cut	lumpar; pung'a'; putung; sim'ang; tangkal; tebang; tebas; tetak.
crushed (of fire)	repung.		
cry	sabak.		
cry aloud	nyerawuh.	cut into chunks	papung.
cucumber	ntimun.	cut into pieces	pepat.
currency	rupiah.		

D - d

dark	petang.	different	silah.
day	ari.	differentiate	bida.
day after tomorrow	lusa.	difficult	pedih.
day before yesterday	nsana.	dig	gali.
daytime	tawas.	diligent	ingkuh.
dead	mati.	direct	terus.
decayed (of wood)	repuk.	direction	bung.
deceive	bula'.	dirty	kutur.
deep	dalam.	disappear	ilang.
deer	kijang.	disclose	kasi'; siah.
defeated	alah.	discretion	serah.
defecate	bira'.	discuss	cakap.
deity	petara.	disease (skin ~)	panaw.
delete	apus.	disobedient	matang.
delicacy from sticky rice	gelamay.	dispute	tengi'.
delicacy from flour	tepung.	distribute	bagi.
delicacy from meat or vegetables	pekasam.	disturb	aru.
delicacy from rice	lulun.	dive	selam
delicacy from sticky rice	jimut;	divide	bagi; badua', see: dua'.
	pam.	divorced	suayak.
delicious	nyamay.	do	pulah.
dense (of leaves)	lebaw.	dog	ukuy.
descend	turun.	done	tem'u'.
descendant	anak; purih; ke-turun, see: turun.	don't	adu; nang.
deviate	limpang.	door	lawang.
dibble	tugal.	downstream	ili'.
die	mati.	drag	dujut; irit; rantak.
die (polite)	nyaw.	drag rudely	runtay.
died out	punas.	draw	dujut; irit.
differ	bida.	dream	mimpi.
difference	bida.	drink	inum.
		drop	labuh.
		drunk	mabuk.

dry	jemuy; rangkay.	during	selama'.
<i>durian-fruit/tree</i>	rian.		

E - e

each	mansing; setiap; tiap.	enter	tama'.
each other	pangan	enthusiastic	saga'.
eager	cerat.	erect	pe-diri, see: diri.
eagle	lang.	escort	any'ung.
ear	pen'ing.	estuary	nanga.
eardrop	pen'ing.	etiquette, custom	basa.
earlier	dulaw.	even	genap.
early	dini; lekaw.	ever	gah.
earth	tanah.	every	setiap; tiap.
easy	gampang.	excessive	lampar.
eat	ipung; pakay.	exclamation for attention	ih.
eat (rude)	majuh.	exclamation of disagreement	ci'.
echo	awuh; gawuh.	exclamation for calling	uy.
eddy	ulak.	exclamation, my!	uay.
egg	telu'.	exclamation (pointing)	nih.
egotistic	kerampak.	exclamation (sighing)	aduh; way.
eight	lapan.	exclamation of sudden awareness	uh.
elbow	siku.	exclamation of, surprise	ah; akay; ay;
embrace	berap.		ha; wih.
emerge	angkat; tim'ul.	exist	aday.
emphatic marker	aday.	exist, there is	b-isi', see: isi'.
empty	puang.	exit	keluar; pansut.
empty (of husk)	ampa'.	expect	arap.
end	mpangan; tampuk;	extinguished, off, set (of the sun)	
	ujung.		padam.
endure	tan.	extremely	gila'.
enemy	laban.	eye	mata.
enough	bayah; cukup.		

F - f

face	mua.	fallen headlong	tepelanting.
face to	adap.	family	ayung; gempung.
face (up)	ngkadah.	far	jawuh.
fail	balang.	fast	angas; deras; jampat;
faint	pisan.		lekas; sigat.
fall	labuh; ruruh.	fat	gemu'.
fall down	tumay.	father	apay.
fall upon	ting'ang.	father (MI)	mpay.
fallen	tepuruk.	fathom	depa

feast (traditional)	gaway.	flare	dilang-dilang.
feces	tay'.	flood	ranah.
feed	umpan.	flower	bunga.
feel comfortable	betah.	flu	sengah.
feel like	asa'.	fly	ter(e)bay.
female	in'u'.	fold	lipat.
fence	pagar.	follow	aba'; ansul; terudi;
fern	rajang.		tuna'.
fertile	galak.	food	umpan.
festival	gaway.	foot	kaki, dejak.
fever	tabin.	foot-bridge	titi.
feverish	gering-gering.	for	jalay; ngaw.
few	mimit; sikit.	forbid	rut.
fiancé(e)	tunang.	force	pukung.
field (burnt ~)	kelensuan.	forecast	tenung.
field (rice ~)	ranaw.	forefinger	tuny'uk
fight	ba-rin'as, see: rin'as.	forest	babas; kampung; utan.
find	temu.	forge	tempa'.
fine, pay	tungu.	forget	kelupa.
finger	tuny'uk.	fortune	tuah.
finished	amis; badu'; cawis; mis;	four	mpat.
	tem'u'; udah.	friend	kawan; pangan.
fire	api.	frog	kacung; katak.
firefly	kelampepat.	from	ari.
first	dulaw; semaru.	from where?	ari ni (reni), see: ari.
fish	ikan.	front part	mua.
fish hook	kayil.	fruit	buah; kemayaw;
fish scoop	kemansay.		ntawa'; maram;
fish trap	bubu; serua'.		kerinsak; lang'u'.
fish trap (fence of ~)	sabar.	full	penuh.
fit	pas; tucuk; tumas.	fungus	kulat.
five	lima.	funny	lucu.
fix	apis.	future tense marker	ka'.
flap around	cipay-uay.		

G - g

gain, get	ulih	ginger	lia'.
gallery of longhouse	ruay.	give	beri'; jua'.
garden	kebun.	give birth to	aday.
gather	kumpul.	glad	gaga.
get, gain	ulih.	go	angkat.
get fish	tam'ang.	go after	ansul.
ghost	antu.	go back and forth	bulak-balik, see:
gibbon (tail-less ~)	mp(e)liaw.		bulak; kulang-kalik;
gild	sepuh.		

	kun'ang-katang;	grandmother	ini'.
	kun'ang-kekun'ang.	grandparent, relationship	benucu'.
go downstream	ili'.	grate	bingkung; kelingkung.
go out	keluar.	grave	kubur.
go through	tengah.	great-grandfather	puyang.
go to	mansang.	greedy	cerat.
gold	mas.	green	ijaw.
gone too far	telany'ur.	greetings	tabi'.
gong	gung; tawak.	grind	kisar.
good	bayik.	ground	tanah.
goods	barang; reta.	grow	tum'uh.
gram	gram.	guess	jangka'.
grandchild	ucu'.	guest	temuay.
grandchild, relationship	benucu'.	gulp down	teguak.
grandfather	aki'.	gunny (sack)	guni.

H - h

habit	kabiasa, see: biasa.	hindrance	alang; aral; lintang.
hair	buk.	hit	gasak; pangkung.
haji	aji.	hither	kitu'.
hammer	tampun.	hold	kepal; pegay.
handsome	bagas; gas.	hole	lubang.
hang	gantung.	hole (make ~)	tebuk.
hard	keras; payah; teguh.	hollow	lempa'.
harvest	ketaw.	hook	kayit.
have	mpu.	hope	arap.
have a plan	am'u'.	horn	cula.
he	ia.	hornbill	ng'ang.
head	pala'.	hot	angat.
healthy	angas.	house	rumah.
hear	dinga.	house(hold)	lawang.
heart	jantung.	how	ba-kati; kati.
heat	angat.	how many/much	berapa.
heavy	berat.	hug	pangkap.
heavy (rain)	lelaw.	huge	galaw.
help	bantu'; surup; tulung.	human	mensia.
help each other	duruk.	human being	nsia.
help with harvest	ba-ringaw, see:	human (super ~)	beji.
	ringaw.	hundred (unit of ~)	ratus.
helter-skelter	peluntang-pelanting.	hunt	asu.
here	ditu'.	hurried	barah buruh, see:
hide	selabuk; tapuk.		barah; buruh.
high	ting'i'.	husband	laki.
hill	bukit.	hut	langkaw.

I - i

I	ku.	in order to	jalay.
if	anti’; nganti’; nti’.	incredibly	saja.
if so	asa pia’, see: asa.	indeed	amat.
illocutionary marker	ah (see section 9.4.1), bada’ (9.4.2), bah (9.4.3), dih (9.4.4), dulaw, law (9.4.5), gena (9.4.6), ja’ (9.4.7), jara’ (9.4.8), kah (9.4.9), kini (9.4.10), lah (9.4.11), lay (9.4.12), mah (9.4.13), tih (9.4.14), udah (9.4.15), wih (9.4.16).	indefinite pronoun	anu’; sanu’.
imposed	kena’.	inside	alam.
in	da; di.	insist	tengik.
		insistent	matang.
		invite	bay’.
		involve	pabit.
		iron	besi.
		ironwood	tebelian.
		it	ia.
		in the beginning	mula-mula, see: mula.

J - j

jar	tajaw; tempayan; tepayan.	joke	guraw; uti’.
jaw	rang.	jump	lumpat.
join	sam’ung.	jump (into)	kerejuk.
joint	buku’.	jungle	rim’a’.
		just	aja’; ja’.

K - k

keep	simpan; tepu’.	kitchen	pelabuh.
kick	sipak; ten’ang.	knead	tunyaw.
kick with shinbone	bintih.	knee	tut.
kill	bunuh.	knee (backside of ~)	kelempetan.
kilogram	kilu.	knife	lunga’.
kilometer	kilu.	knife for weeding	kerawuk.
kind	keban; leman; macam.	knife (tip of ~)	puting.
kind	bayik.	know	kelala; taw’.
king	raja.	knowledge	pemenaw’.
kiss	lulum; sium.		

L - l

ladder	tang'a' .	lie	bula' .
lamp	api .	lie down	gali' .
land	tanah .	lift	angkat; katung .
land (cleared and burnt ~)	tegalan .	light (not heavy)	lempung .
land (cleared ~)	reban .	like	keran; upa .
landing place	pengkal .	like that	pia' .
language	basa .	like this, so	pitu' .
lap	pangku' .	limit	jangka' .
large	lantang; luah .	lips	mulut .
last	badu' .	listen to	dinga .
late	lawun .	little	mimit; mit; sikit .
late (the ~)	diang .	live	diaw; idup .
later	ila' .	liver	ati .
latex	kulat .	loincloth	sirat .
laugh	ketawa'; tekakak-tekikik .	long	panyay .
law	ukum .	long for	gawuk; rin'u; riu .
lazy	kelalah; lelaw; luntus; ningkuh .	long (of time)	lama' .
leaf	dawun .	long time ago	kini/kina ari, see: kini .
leak	pesuk .	longhouse	rumah panyay, see: rumah .
learn	bal-ajar, see: ajar .	longhouse, k.o. gutter	teluk .
leave	ting'al .	look	upa .
leave there	nga' .	look for	giga'; iga'; inaw .
leaves (rotten ~)	rawuk .	look (have a ~)	pasaw .
leek (k.o.)	juna' .	loose	lepas .
left	kiba' .	lost	ayap; ilang; lenyaw; tesat .
leg, lower part of	kaki .	loud	kaya; saring .
lest	mali .	low	baruh .
let	nga' .	lice	kutu .

M - m

macaque, long-tailed	kera' .	man, male person	laki .
macaque, short-tailed	beruk .	manner	cara, jalay .
machete	isaw; tangkin .	many	bala; banyaw; mayuh .
make	pulah .	marriage	guang .
make cold or cool	celap .	marry	jadi .
make offerings	ba-dara', see: dara' .	mat	biday; tikay .
make prohibition	penti .	matches (for light)	guris .
Malay people	Senganan .	may	taw' .

may not	nitaw’.	middle	tengah.
maybe	amang.	milk	susu; tusu.
meal	umpan rempah, see: umpan.	millet	jawa’.
meaning	badi; reti.	mind	akal.
measure	ukur.	miss	luput.
measurement, can	ling.	mix	gulay; kamuh.
measurement, fathom	depa	money	duwit.
measurement, foot	dejak	month	bulan.
measurement (for bowls)	tayil.	moon	bulan; tajaw.
measurement (for pigs)	renti.	moon (full ~)	bulan tumas, see: tumas.
measurement (of height)	pencuay.	more	lebih.
measurement (of length)	sengigit; senyiku; ruas.	morning	lam.
measurement, palm of hand	tempap.	mother	inay.
measurement (of size)	gawang; senyintik.	mother-in-law	ibu’.
measurement, span	jingkal; sengawul; senyulan.	mother (of animal)	in’u’.
measurement, wooden container	gantang; kulak.	mountain	gunung.
meet	temu.	mouse	cit.
melted	lela’.	mouse-deer	pelan’uk.
mention	sebut.	mouth	nyawa.
message	pesaw.	move	pin’ah.
meter	mitir.	move restlessly	kasak-kusuk.
		Mualang	Mualang.
		much	bala; banyaw; mayuh.
		mud	lata’; licak.
		must	alah; arus.

N - n

nail	silu.	nine	semilan.
naked	telany’ang.	no, not	n’a’; naday; nday; ukay.
name	nama.	noon	tawas.
nangka fruit	ugal; ugan.	nose	idung.
narrow	sekut.	not, no	n’a’; naday; nday; ukay.
near	semak.	not allowed	mali.
neck	ler.	not as	nupa.
need	perlu.	not know	nitaw’; ntah.
needn’t	adu; nusah.	not like	nupa.
net	jala.	not want	ngay.
net-fish	jala.	not yet	bedaw.
never	kala’; nikala’.	nothing	nisi’.
newly	baru’.	now	tu’; tu’.
night	malam.		
nightjar	tuap; tuaw.		

O - o

observe	per-ati , <i>see</i> : ati .	oppose	laban .
odd	nyelah .	or	ataw .
offerings	pe-dara' , <i>see</i> : dara' .	or (?)	kali' .
often	kepa' ; keran .	order	asuh ; pesaw ; suruh .
oil	binyak .	order (in ~ to)	ngaw .
old	tuay .	origin	asal .
on	da ; di .	originate	ba-labuh , <i>see</i> : labuh .
one	sa' ; satu .		
only	anya ; cuma .	other	bukay ; kebukay ; keda' .
onself	diri' .	ouch	aduh .
open	awak ; buka' ; kebak .	outside	luar .
open up	kanit .		

P - p

pad	selap .	pierced	tem'us .
paddle	kayuh .	pig	babi ; lang'u' .
paddy	padi .	pig (big ~)	kelimpay .
paddy storage	durung .	pinch	jeput .
palm leaf (midrib of ~)	lidi .	pineapple	pisang kura .
palm of hand	tapa' .	pitcher	piala .
pan (cooking_~)	kuali .	pity	kasih .
pants	selawar .	place	jalay ; teban .
parent in law	ntua .	place of playing	peguraw , <i>see</i> : guraw .
part	belah ; bung ; piak ; tung .	plain (of land)	lempa' .
part, division	pe-dua' , <i>see</i> : dua' .	plait	lalin .
partner	pangan .	plan	am'u' .
party	pesta . (cf. feast)	plant	tam'ak .
pass	kilah ; pansa' .	plate	ping'an .
pay back	balas .	play	lelang ; mayin .
peck	pantuk ; tutuk .	plunder	jarah .
peek	ipa' .		
peel	bingkis .	point	tuny'uk .
peg	pasak .	pointed	rancung .
pelt	tikam .	poison	bisa ; ipuh .
pepper	sang .	pole	tiang .
perfect marker	dah ; nyaw ; udah .	poor	miskin .
persistent	matang .	porcupine	angkis .
person	urang .	possess, have	mpu .
pestle	alu .	possession	mpu .
pick	puar .	possessive marker	nu' .
pierce	tem'us .		

pot (boiling ~)	periuk.	proper	senunuh.
pounce upon	sam'ar.	property	arta; ramu; reta.
pound	tutuk.	propose to (of marriage)	pinta'.
pound (of padi)	ceruh.	prostrate o.s.	tingkap.
power	kuasa.	proverb	sempang.
prefix (nominalizer)	pe(N)-.	provisions	bekal.
prefix, one	se-.	pull	tarik.
pregnancy	kan'ung.	pull out	cabut.
pregnant	kan'ung.	pull s.o.'s hair	kerantam.
prepare	agih.	pull up	rantak.
pretend	budi.	punish	ukum.
pretty	bayik.	punishment	ukum.
price	rega.	put	ngkah; ngkuh; tepu'.
proa	ban; peraw.	put in	celuk; pajak.
progressive marker	benung; tangan.	put out, extinguish	padam.
prohibition	penti.	python	sawa'.
promise	dany'i.		

Q - q

quarrel	laya'.	quiet	diaw; nugaw; silu-silu;
quick	lekas.		sunyi'.

R - r

rags (in ~)	minsay-miay.	remain	ting'al.
rain	ujan.	remainder	rampang.
raise	piara.	remember	ingat.
rambutan	beliti'; belutuk.	remnants	rampang.
randomly	semanta.	replace	ganti.
rare	jarang.	reply	sawut.
rattan	danan; ui; uwi; wi.	reprimand	anu'.
rattan (big ~)	sega'.	reservoir	tampung.
raw	manta'.	resign	un'ur diri', see: un'ur.
read	baca.	resist	tan.
really	tulu.	rest	ba-lepa, see: lepa.
reciprocal marker	pangan.	return	pulay.
recognize	kelala.	reward	pampas.
recovered	angas; sem'uh.	rhetorical question marker	baday.
red	mirah.	rib	rusuk.
reflexive pronoun	diri'.	rice (cooked)	umpan; nasi'.
regret	sesal; tesal.	rice field	babas; uma.
relative marker	tay; ti.	rice (glutinous ~)	pulut.
relatives	ayung.	rice plant	padi.

rice (uncooked ~)	beras.	roof (wooden ~)	sirap.
rich	kaya.	room	bilik.
riddle	petataw.	rooster	renyaw.
ride on (a boat)	tam'ang.	root	akar.
rifle	senapang.	round	buntar.
right	tulu.	roundabout route (MI)	kelingkung.
right away	teka.	rub	palit.
right (of direction)	kanan.	rubber	getah.
rights	hak.	run	guay; ba-guay, see: guay.
ring	tincin.	run (away)	rari.
ripe	muduh; radu'.	run away	rari diri', see: rari.
rite	nselan.	run down	pejah; ulu'.
river	sungay.	run helter-skelter	mpapa'.
river (deep place in ~)	lubuk.	run into	terejang.
road	jalay.		
roll	giling.		

S - s

sad	kemedih; pedih.	settlement	tem'awang; tem'away.
safe	aman.	seven	tujuh.
saliva	ludah.	sew	jayit.
same	bela'; sama; sebela'.	shaman	manang.
sand	ngkrangan.	share	untung.
sap, of plants	getah.	share food	sadung.
satisfied, of food	kenyang; segay;	shark	iu; yu.
	betaga', see: taga'.	sharp	tajam.
say	kenu'; padah; jaku'.	sharpen	ansah.
scatter	am'ur; unsay.	she	ia.
scattered	ampah; kucar-kacir.	shinbone	bintih.
scoop	kawut; pansay; rawup.	shocked	terentak.
scrape	rawut.	shoes (wooden ~)	kasut.
scraper	bingkung.	shoot	tim'ak.
season	musim; rama.	shopping	belany'a.
season, dry	lega'.	short	baruh; panus.
season, of cracker snack (<i>pam</i>)	suma'.	short (in ~)	puku' (ia').
secure	aman.	shout	kangaw.
see	peda'.	shout loudly	seraw.
seed	benih; igi'.	shrimp	unang.
self	diri'.	shy	malu.
separate	pamar.	sibling	menyadi'.
separated	pamar.	sibling-in-law	duay; ipar.
servant	ulun.	sibling- of father	ketuan.
set	pasaw.	sibling (younger ~)	adi'.
set head to	sun'ang.	sick	pedih; rung'u'; sakit.
settled	laju.	side	belah; tisi.

side dish	rempah; rumpah.	speak	umung.
sieve	ayak.	spear	sangkuh.
sigh	aduh.	speech	cakap.
sign	kelay'; tan'a.	speed up	kibaw.
silent	silu-silu.	spider	mp(e)lawak.
since	ari.	spinach	arum.
single	tung'al.	spit	ludah.
sit	duduk.	splash	mpias
sitting place	langan.	spoon	catuk; sudu'; tiluk.
six	nam.	spoon for rice	sengkidaw.
skin	kulit; umang.	spread	ancaw; kemay.
sky	langit.	sprinkle	unsay.
sky (sunset ~)	lamur.	spy	intup; ipa'.
slap	tampar.	squeeze	keremung.
slash	pabat.	squirrel	pukang.
slave	ulun.	squirt	mperecit.
sleep	tin'uk.	stab	tucuk.
slice	kerat.	stab upwards	rejang.
slice of meat	kumpal.	stairs	tang'a'.
slippery	licin.	stand	diri; ba-diri, see: diri.
slow	lawun.	star	pianaw.
slow and quiet	lubah.	startle	tegap.
small	mit.	startled	tekanyat.
smear	unsut.	starve	kelensuang.
smell	baw'; lulum; sium.	statue (wooden ~)	pentik.
smoke	asap; salay.	stay	diaw; ting'al.
snake	ular.	stay temporarily	merama.
snake, k.o.	semenang; tedung.	steal	curi.
sneeze	kasi'.	stem (edible part of ~)	upa
snout	jungur.	step back	un'ur.
so	jadi; pia'; nyaw pitu', see: pitu'.	step on	tijak; tijing.
so that	isa'.	step over	tingkah.
soak	ren'am.	still	agi'; lagi'.
soil	tanah.	stir	sudu'.
solely	haja.	stomach	perut.
sometimes	kadang(-kadang); tekadang.	stone	batu.
son-in-law	akan.	stop	badu'.
sound	gu'.	stop by	sing'ah.
sound (distant ~)	aying-aying.	stop there	nga'
sound of a chicken	ciap.	story	gisah; jerita; kisah; tusuy.
sound of tapping	kutak-katuk.	story (k.o. chanted ~)	kana.
sound of vomiting	uwak.	straight	jurus; terus.
sow	benih.	straight (not bent)	bujur.
sparrow	pipit.	stretch out hand	suar.
		strike	palu'.

strong	anal; kukuh; teguh.	sunk	teng'elam.
stuck	sangkut.	supernatural being	antu.
stumbled	kerap terap, see: kerap; terap.	surpass	kilah.
stupid	budu; mawa; nitaw'.	swampland	tawang.
subject to	ta'luk.	swear	serapah; sumpah.
substitute	ganti.	sweat	peluh.
sugar	gula.	sweep	tepaw.
summon	bay'	sweep away	anyut.
sun	mataari	swept away	anyut.
sunday	ming'u.	swing	ayun.
		swollen	bengkak.

T - t

taboo	badi; mali.	term of address, mother	nay.
tail	iku'.	term of address, older sibling	aka'.
take and give	asi.	term of address, sibling-in-law	keka'.
take (away)	am'i'.	term of address, son-in-law	kula'.
take care	intu; piara.	term of address, younger person	nak.
take out	bantir.	thank God!	sukur.
talk	cakap; umung.	that	ia'; nya'.
talkative	ritak.	that (far away)	nyun.
tall	ting'i'.	that (over there)	nyin.
taste (astringent ~)	kelat.	then	baru'.
tasteless	tabar.	there (far)	din.
teach	ajar; ba-ajar, see: ajar.	there (near)	dia'.
teapot	tiku.	therefore	keba'.
tease	guraw.	they	sa'; sida'.
tell	gisah; padah; tusuy.	thigh	pa.
ten	sepuluh.	thin	ringkay.
ten, unit of	puluh.	thing	utay.
term of address, bad behavior	dingay; isu'.	things, goods	ben'a.
term of address, father-in-law	pa', see: apa'.	think	pikir.
term of address, father	pay.	this	tu'; tu'.
term of address, female	ayik; dara; daruy; dayang; duy; n'u'; nuy; nyay; ratu, anci.	thither (far)	kin.
term of address, grandchild	cu'.	thither (near)	kia'.
term of address, grandmother	ni'.	thorn	duri'.
term of address, male	awas, antus; bagas; bujang; m'a'; was; jang; juy.	three	tiga.
		thresh	irik.
		throat	rekung.
		throw	ibat; tibar; tikam.
		throw away	buay.
		thunder	guntur.
		thus	jadi.

tie up	tam'it.	toy	peguraw, see: guraw.
time	jaman; jeman; masa; senta; waktu.	trace	abi; awak; bekaw; sisi.
time, long ago in the past	melia'.	trap for animal	peti'.
time, present	kitu'.	tray for food	par.
time, previous	kelia'.	tree	kayu; pun.
time, same	pas.	tree for clothes	kepua'.
times	kali'.	tree (inner part of ~)	mpulur.
tiny	ncik.	tree (k.o. ~)	nelay.
tip	mpangan; ujung.	tree-trunk	ban'ir.
tired	lelak.	tremble	getar.
to	gusung; ka; ngusung.	tribe	bansa.
together	bereta.	trick	akal.
tomorrow	pagi.	tripod for cooking	tungku.
too (superlative)	gulung; lampar.	true	amat.
top	ataw; pucuk; tampuk.	try	cuba; teray.
top of tree	pucuk.	turmeric	kunyit.
torn apart	carik.	turn around	balik.
tortoise	kekura'.	turn off to another direction	limpang.
touch	tegu'.	turtle	kapir.
tounge	dilah.	turtle (freshwater ~)	lelabi.
towards	mansang.	twin	rakup.
		two	dua.

U - u

ugly	gana; radah.	upstream (go ~)	mudik.
ulcer	bangkang.	urinate	kemih.
understand	nyaruk.	urine	kemih.
unreliable	payah.	use	ngaw.
until	nyantuk; sampay.	usual	jama; sengkit.
upper part	ataw.	usually	biasa.
upstream	ulu.		

V - v

valley	darung.	visit	ran'aw; temuay.
value, price	rega.	voice	gu'.
village	kampung.	vomit	mutah.

W - w

waist	ping'ang.	wake up	dani.
wait	anti'; tung'u'.		

walk	gunyung-gunyung; jalay.	white	putih.
wall	din'ing.	who	sapa.
want	ka'.	whosit	sanu'.
wash	basuk.	why	ngapa.
wasteful	rua'.	widow	balu.
water	ay'.	widower	balu.
water for washing hands	kemasuk.	wife	bini.
wave	kibaw.	will	kedeka'.
wave aside	biah, tipah.	wind	ribut.
wave to	lam'ay.	window	penukang; teling'u.
way	cara.	winnow	tampi'.
we	tua.	wise	antus; awas.
we (excl)	kami.	wise (of talk)	mudah.
we (incl.)	kita.	wish	kira.
we (dual.)	tua, kemua	with	aba'; ngaw.
weak	luay'(-luay').	woman (young ~)	dara.
wealth	arta; ramu.	womb	kan'ung.
weasel	munsang.	won't	ngay.
weed	mabaw.	wood	kayu;
well	aw'.	wood, k.o.	mpapa'; kelempetang.
what	apa.	word	jaku'.
whatever	barang.	work	kerja, tacah.
when	bila; kebila; kemaya; waktu.	world	menua.
whenever	asa.	world of the dead	sebayan.
where	dini.	worn out	gari'.
where (from ~)	reni.	wound	bakal.
whereas	sedang.	wrap	bungkus; kumuh; tungkus.
where, to	kikay.	wrapped	likun.
which	ni.	wrestle	ba-rin'as, see: rin'as.
while	sam'il, sedang.	wrist	perekuan.
		wrong	salah.

Y - y

yam (itchy ~)	birah.	you all	kita'.
yard	laman.	you (female)	di'.
year	tawun.	you (male)	m'ih.
yellow	kuning.	you (polite)	wan.
yes	aw'.	young	biak; muda.
yesterday	kemari'.	youngest born	bunsu.

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Samenvatting

Het Mualang, dat behoort tot de zogenaamde Malayic talen, wordt gesproken in het stroomgebied van de Ayak en Belitung, zijrivieren van de Kapuas in West-Kalimantan, Indonesië. De onderwerpen die in deze grammatica worden behandeld hebben betrekking op de fonologie, morfologie en syntaxis.

Hoofdstuk 1 biedt een algemene schets van de geografie, bevolkingssamenstelling, sociale en culturele aspecten en de taalsituatie in West-Kalimantan. De circa 40.000 sprekers wonen voornamelijk in de onderdistricten (*kecamatan*) Belitang Hulu, Belitang en Belitang Hilir in het district (*kabupaten*) Sekadau. Mualang is een aan het Maleis verwante Iban taal. Twee dialecten worden onderscheiden: Mualang Hulu aan de bovenloop en Mualang Hilir aan de benedenloop van de Belitung. De verschillen tussen deze dialecten zijn gering en liggen vooral op het gebied van vocabulaire en uitspraak. Hoewel Mualang algemeen als dagelijkse spreektaal wordt gebruikt, staan de traditionele taal en cultuur onder druk van globale ontwikkelingen en het Indonesisch.

Hoofdstuk 2 behandelt de belangrijkste fonologische kenmerken: een inventaris van de klinkers en medeklinkers, hun fonetische realisaties, fonologische procédés, lettergreepstructuren, en morfofonologische procédés. In een slotparagraaf worden orthografische conventies gegeven. Een opvallend fonologisch kenmerk van Mualang betreft de nasale medeklinkers: naast de gewone nasalen /m, n, ɲ, ŋ/ is er een zogenaamde ‘postploded’ reeks /mʰ, nʰ, ɲʰ, ŋʰ/. Bovendien kent het Mualang op wordeind, hoewel slechts op fonetisch niveau, de ‘preploded’ medeklinkers [ᵐm], [ᵑn], and [ᵑŋ]. Kenmerkende morfofonologische procédés van voorvoegsels en voorzetsels zijn klinkerverandering, klinkeruitstoting, invoeging van de glottisslag, assimilatie van de nasale klinker, alternatieve vormen (bij enkele voorvoegsels) en versmelting van voorvoegsel en nominale stam.

Hoofdstuk 3 geeft een algemeen overzicht van het lexicon. Na een definiëring van de verschillende taalkundige eenheden woord, partikel, clitic, wortel, stam en affix, volgt een bespreking van de diverse woordklassen: naamwoorden (zelfstandige naamwoorden, eigennamen, voornaamwoorden, aanspreektermen), werkwoorden, bijwoorden, kwantificerende woorden (telwoorden, niet-numerieke woorden, kwalificerende en kwantificerende hulpwoorden), aanwijzende voornaamwoorden, voorzetsels, pragmatische partikels (ter markering van focus, topic, illocutionaire waarde, negatie, vraag en uitroep) en voegwoorden. Iedere woordsoort wordt gekarakteriseerd in termen van semantische, morfologische en syntactische kenmerken.

Hoofdstuk 4 beschrijft de morfologische en syntactische kenmerken van de naamwoorden: de mogelijke constituenten van de nominale frase en hun relatieve posities, morfosyntactische procédés met de voorvoegsels *pe(N)*-, *per*- en *ke*-, verdubbeling en nominale samenstellingen.

In hoofdstuk 5 worden structuur en functie van voorzetselgroepen beschreven. Twee typen enkelvoudige voorzetsels worden onderscheiden voor Mualang: locatieve preposities en niet-locatieve preposities. Daarnaast kent de taal ook complexe preposities en combinaties van een prepositie gevolgd door een locatief naamwoord.

Na de bespreking van de verschillende typen frases volgt in hoofdstuk 6 een beschrijving van zinnen met een naamwoordelijk predikaat. Een drievoudig onderscheid wordt gemaakt tussen equatieve zinnen, comparatieve zinnen en uitroepen. Vanwege de semantische en structurele overeenkomsten worden vervolgens ook zinnen met een locatief predikaat, existentiële constructies en bezittelijke constructies besproken.

Zinnen met een werkwoordelijk predikaat zijn het onderwerp van hoofdstuk 7. Na een beschrijving van het werkwoord en zijn argumenten (subject, object, indirect object) worden de formele en semantische kenmerken van verschillende 'voice'-constructies behandeld. Mualang kent de volgende zinstypen ('modus'): statisch intransitief (met zeromarkering), actief (met prefix *N-*), passief (met prefix *da-*), inverse (met zeromarkering), antipassief (met prefix *ba-*), accidenteel-resultatief mediale modus (met prefix *te-*), inchoatief (met prefix *ke-*) en adversatief-passief (met hulpwoord *kena*). Daarop volgt de bespreking van wederkerende en wederkerige constructies en de mechanismen waarmee de status van perifere elementen wordt verhoogd tot die van argument.

In hoofdstuk 8 worden overige kenmerken van het werkwoord en de werkwoordelijke frase behandeld: de wijze waarop werkwoorden worden afgeleid van een nominale stam, werkwoordelijke samenstellingen, verschillende typen reduplicatie, "tense-aspect-mode" en overige adverbiale modificaties.

Hoofdstuk 9 beschrijft de belangrijkste morfo-syntactische middelen die beschikbaar zijn om woordgroepen en zinnen pragmatisch te markeren. Onderwerpen die aan bod komen zijn: identificeerbaarheid, referentiële status, en anaphora, de uitdrukking van (pragmatische) focus en topic, illocutionaire partikels, negatie, niet-mededelende zinnen en uitroepen.

Daar waar in de hoofdstukken 6 – 9 de structuur van 'simpele', enkelvoudige zinnen werd beschreven, wordt in het slothoofdstuk 10 de vorm van complexe zinnen behandeld. De onderwerpen die worden besproken zijn: werkwoordelijke samenstellingen, seriële werkwoordsconstructies, complementzinnen, adverbiale bijzinnen, relatieve bijzinnen en gecoördineerde zinnen.

Het boek sluit af met een illustratieve collectie teksten (proza, poëzie, gezegdes, raadsels) en woordenlijsten (Mualang-Engels en Engels-Mualang).

Summary

This book presents a linguistic study of the grammar of the Mualang language, a Malayic variety spoken along the basin of the Ayak and Belitang Rivers, tributaries of the Kapuas River, in the Province of West Kalimantan, Indonesia. Grammatical aspects under discussion range from phonology to morphosyntax.

Chapter 1 presents a general account of the geography, demography, socio-cultural situation and language of the speakers of Mualang. The main area where Mualang is spoken is located in the *kecamatan* (subdistricts) of Belitang Hulu, Belitang and Belitang Hilir, in the *kabupaten* (district) of Sekadau. The number of speakers is about 40.000 people. The Mualang language is a member of the Ibanic language group, which is closely related to Malay. There are two dialects recognized within the language, namely Upstream Mualang and Downstream Mualang. The linguistic differences between the two dialects are minor, mainly in the areas of pronunciation and lexical items. Mualang is still used widely in daily life by the people, although unavoidable erosion is taking place.

Chapter 2 describes the major features of Mualang phonology, including an inventory of consonant and vowel phonemes and their phonetic manifestations, their phonological processes, syllable structures, and morphophonemic processes. The orthography used for Mualang throughout this book is given at the end of this chapter. The most prominent features in the Mualang phonology are nasal consonants, which are classified as plain nasals /m, n, ɲ, ŋ/ and postploded nasals /m', n', ɲ', ŋ'/. A similar case is found in the occurrence of the preploded nasals [ᵐm], [ᵑn], and [ᵑŋ], which appear word-finally, and are phonetic in nature. Morphophonemic processes occurring in prefixation and prepositions include alternation of vowel segments in prefixes and prepositions, vowel deletion, glottal-stop insertion, nasal assimilation, alternate forms of individual prefixes and fusion of the prepositions *da* and *ka* with a following noun.

Chapter 3 provides a general picture of the lexicon of the language. Various morphological units are dealt with here. The main aim of this chapter is to identify the parts of speech of Mualang, which are: nouns (including common nouns, proper names, pronouns, and terms of address), verbs, adverbs, quantifiers (including numerals, non-numeral quantifiers and quantifying auxiliaries), demonstratives, prepositions, pragmatic markers (including focus, topic, illocutionary, negative, question, and exclamatory markers) and connectives. Semantic and morphosyntactic characteristics of the parts of speech in question are provided.

Chapter 4 deals with morphosyntax of noun phrases. The discussion covers constituency, word order and morphological processes in the noun phrases such as nominalization (with the prefix *pe(N)-*, *per-* and *ke-*), reduplication and nominal compounding.

Chapter 5 discusses prepositional phrases. All Mualang prepositions are presented together with their functions. Generally they are classified as 1) locative prepositions (*da*, *ka*, *ari*, *ntara*, *sampay*, dan *nyantuk*), and 2) non-locative prepositions (*ngaw*, *aba'*, *ulih*, *upa*, *nuna'*, and *ngusung*).

Beginning with Chapter 6 the discussion switches from the phrase level (chapters 4 and 5) to the clause-level. Chapter 6 describes predicate nominals

(equative, comparative and exclamatory clauses) and related constructions (locative, existential, and possessive clauses).

Chapter 7, in turn, deals with verbal clauses. This chapter discusses simple verbal clauses and the structure of their arguments (subject, object and indirect object). All voice constructions and their morphosyntactic characteristics are provided. These simple verbal clauses include clauses which are: stative intransitive (with zero marking), active (with the nasal prefix *N-*), passive (with *da-*), inverse (with zero marking), antipassive (with *ba-*), unvolitional-resultative middle (with *te-*), inchoative (with *ke-*), and adversative passive (with the auxiliary *kena'*). Reflexive and reciprocal clauses are also described, as well as the advancement of peripheral elements to the status of argument.

Chapter 8 deals with the remaining morphosyntactic processes occurring in verb phrases that are not discussed in the previous chapter. These include verbalization, verbal compounding, reduplication, the expression of tense-aspect-mode, and some other verbal modifications.

Chapter 9 points out pragmatic issues of the language. It discusses the pragmatic status of constituents in the clause, including matters pertaining to identifiability, referentiality and anaphoric reference, focus articulation, marked-topic articulation, illocutionary markers, negation, non-declarative speech acts, and exclamations.

Chapter 10 describes complex constructions involving more than one simple clause, namely constructions involving verbal compounding, serial verbs, complement clauses, adverbial clauses, relative clauses, and coordinative clauses.

The book closes with a collection of representative texts (prose stories, traditional poetry, proverbs, and some riddles), and wordlists (Mualang-English and English-Mualang).

Ringkasan

Buku ini mengkaji aspek gramatikal bahasa Mualang, sebuah ragam Melayik yang dituturkan di sepanjang lembah Sungai Ayak dan Belitang, anak sungai Kapuas, Propinsi Kalimantan Barat. Bidang-bidang yang dikaji di sini mencakup fonologi dan morfosintaksis. Berbagai aspek pragmatis bahasa juga disinggung.

Bab 1 memberikan informasi umum mengenai geografi, demografi, sosio-budaya dan bahasa dari penutur Mualang. Daerah utama bahasa ini terletak di Kecamatan Belitang Hulu, Belitang dan Belitang Hilir, di Kabupaten Sekadau. Jumlah penuturnya kurang lebih 40.000 orang. Bahasa ini termasuk kelompok bahasa Ibanik yang berkerabat dekat dengan bahasa Melayu. Bahasa Mualang terdiri atas ada dua dialek, yaitu Mualang Hulu dan Mualang Hilir, dengan perbedaan linguistik yang kecil, yaitu yang terutama menyangkut pelafalan dan perbedaan leksikal saja. Bahasa Mualang masih kuat digunakan dalam kehidupan sehari-hari penuturnya, namun erosi juga terjadi, tanpa terhindarkan.

Bab 2 menguraikan ciri-ciri utama fonologi bahasa Mualang, yang mencakup inventarisasi fonem konsonan dan vokal, proses-proses fonologis, struktur suku kata serta proses morfonemis. Ortografi bahasa Mualang yang dipakai dalam buku ini juga diberikan. Yang paling menonjol dalam sistem bunyi bahasa Mualang adalah fonem sengau, yang terdiri atas bunyi sengau biasa /m, n, ɲ, ŋ/ dan bunyi sengau “pasca-hambat” (*postploded nasals*), yaitu konsonan sengau yang pengucapannya diikuti dengan bunyi hambat atau letupan, yang dilambangkan dengan /m', n', ɲ', ŋ'/. Mirip dengan ini adalah bunyi sengau “pra-hambat” (*preploded nasals*) [p^hm], [t^hn], dan [k^hŋ], yang terjadi pada akhir kata, dan yang sifatnya fonetis. Proses morfonemis yang melibatkan prefiks dan juga preposisi mencakup alternasi vokal, penghilangan vokal, penyisipan bunyi hamzah, asimilasi nasal, alternasi bentuk, dan peleburan preposisi *da* dan *ka* dengan nomina yang mengikutinya.

Bab 3 memberikan gambaran umum mengenai keseluruhan sistem leksikon dalam bahasa Mualang. Berbagai satuan morfologis, (misalnya kata, partikel, imbuhan) didaftarkan di sini. Tujuan utama bab ini adalah untuk mengelompokkan jenis kata dalam Mualang, yang terdiri atas 8 jenis kata utama: nomina, verba, pembilang (termasuk kata bilangan, pembilang bukan bilangan, dan kata bantu pembilang/penggolong), demonstrativa, preposisi, pemarkah pragmatis (pemarkah fokus, topik, ilokusioner, pengingkaran, tanya, dan seru), dan kata sambung. Ciri-ciri semantis dan morfosintaktis masing-masing jenis kata bersangkutan diberikan.

Bab 4 membahas morfosintaksis dari frase nomina. Pembahasan mencakup masalah konstituensi dan urutan kata dalam frase nomina dan proses-proses morfologis seperti nominalisasi (yang melibatkan prefiks *pe(N)-* yang produktif, *per-* dan *ke-*), reduplikasi dan kata majemuk.

Bab 5 berurusan dengan frase preposisional. Berbagai preposisi dalam bahasa Mualang diberikan sesuai dengan fungsinya, yang secara umum dibagi atas dua kelompok besar, yaitu 1) preposisi lokatif *da*, *ka*, *ari*, *ntara*, *sampay*, dan *nyantuk*, dan 2) preposisi non-lokatif (*ngaw*, *aba'*, *ulih*, *upa*, *nuna'*, dan *ngusung*).

Mulai bab 6 pembahasan beralih dari tingkat frase (bab 4 dan bab 5) ke tingkat klausa. Bab 6 membahas berbagai konstruksi predikat nominal (klausa ekuatif, komparatif, dan eksklamatori) dan konstruksi lain yang berkaitan seperti predikat lokatif, eksistensial, dan posesif. Dalam bab ini juga disajikan pemerian klausa

komparatif yang beragam, salah satunya dengan hanya menggunakan prefiks nominal *pe(N)*- sebagai pemarkahnya.

Bertentangan dengan bab 6, bab 7 membahas klausa verbal. Di sini dibahas konstruksi klausa verbal sederhana dan penempatan argumen-argumen inti (subjek, objek dan objek tak-langsung). Klausa verbal ditinjau berdasarkan jenis verba yang menjadi inti predikat (intransitif versus transitif) dan valensinya (peran argumen sebagai agen, pasien, datif, dsb.). Dalam bab ini semua konstruksi diatesis dan ciri-ciri morfosintaksisnya dibahas, yaitu intransitif statif (dengan pemarkahan kosong), aktif (dengan prefiks nasal *N-*), pasif (dengan *da-*), inversi (dengan pemarkahan kosong), antipasif (dengan prefiks *ba-*), tengah resultatif—tak-volisional (dengan prefiks *te-*), inkoatif (dengan prefiks *ke-*), dan pasif adversatif (dengan kata bantu *kena*). Juga dibahas klausa refleksif dengan kata *diri* dan klausa resiprokal. Pengegedapan konstituen bukan-argumen menjadi argumen juga dibahas.

Bab 8 membicarakan proses-proses morfosintaksis yang terlibat dalam frase verbal yang tidak dibahas dalam bab 7. Ini termasuk verbalisasi, pemajemukan verbal, reduplikasi, sistem kala, aspek dan modalitas, serta beberapa modifikasi verbal lainnya.

Bab 9 berurusan terutama dengan segi pragmatis. Dalam bab ini dibahas status pragmatis dari sebuah konstituen dalam klausa: identifikasi dan pengacuan referen, pemarkahan fokus dan topik, pemarkah ilokusioner, negasi, tindak wicara bukan-deklaratif, dan kata-kata seru.

Bab 10 membahas konstruksi klausa yang kompleks, yang melibatkan lebih dari satu klausa sederhana. Termasuk di dalamnya adalah bentuk majemuk verbal, verba serial, klausa komplemen, klausa adverbial, klausa realtif, dan klausa koordinatif.

Buku ini ditutup dengan sejumlah lampiran, a.l. kumpulan teks (cerita, pantun, peribahasa, teka-teki) dan daftar kata (Mualang-Inggris dan Inggris-Mualang).

Curriculum Vitae

Johnny Tjia was born on March 13th 1965 in the island of Obi, North Mollucas, Indonesia. He finished his undergraduate degree in Russian at the University of Padjadjaran, Bandung in 1988. Between 1990 and 1995 he worked at the Summer Institute of Linguistics (now SIL International), before doing his MA degree in linguistics at the University of Oregon, U.S.A. in 1997. In 2001 he obtained an Advanced Master degree in Asian, African and Amerindian studies at the Research School of Asian, African and Amerindian studies (CNWS), Leiden University, and then continued as an AIO (“assistent in opleiding”) at the same institution. He is now working as a linguistics consultant with SIL International-Indonesia.

Stellingen bij het proefschrift

'A Grammar of Mualang: An Ibanic language of Western Kalimantan, Indonesia'

1. Mualang heeft de vier vokaalfonemen van het Proto-Maleis behouden, nl. /i, u, ə, a/. (Cf. Adelaar 1992).
2. Mualang heeft zgn. pre-ploded en post-ploded nasalen, waarvan alleen de laatste fonemisch zijn.
3. Het prefix *te-* in Mualang is historisch gerelateerd aan het Indonesische prefix *ter-*. In tegenstelling tot het Indonesisch echter, kan het prefix *te-* gecombineerd worden met een “agentief” subject in welk geval het niet-intentionaliteit of vermogen (‘kunnen, in staat zijn; in de gelegenheid zijn’) uitdrukt.
4. In Mualang wordt de prepositie *ka* gebruikt voor het promoveren van perifere elementen tot kernargumenten in de zin. Deze functie wordt in het Indonesisch gedeeltelijk vervuld door het suffix *-kan*.
5. Het feit dat in het Mualang de passief gemarkeerd wordt op het werkwoord met het prefix *da-* dat homofoon is met het locatieve voorzetsel *da* lijkt de stelling te bevestigen dat het overeenkomstige passief prefix *di-* in het Maleisch/Indonesisch uit het voorzetsel *di* is ontstaan. (Cf. Adelaar 2005a; van den Berg 2004).
6. Het verschijnsel dat de oorspronkelijke sequentie vokaal–nasaal op het wordeinde onder bepaalde voorwaarden is veranderd in vokaal-preploded nasaal, is niet beperkt tot Mualang, maar is in West Borneo een *areal feature*. Dat deze fonetisch ongewone klankverandering in geïsoleerde Malayic gemeenschappen als Lom (Bangka) en Urak Lawoi’ (Phuket en omstreken) ook wordt gevonden kan duiden op een relatief recente migratie. (Cf. Blust 1997).
7. Gedetailleerd descriptief onderzoek van Ibanic talen zal een belangrijke bijdrage leveren aan onze kennis van de historische ontwikkeling van het Maleis/Indonesisch.
8. Dat in Mualang legendes de schepping van aarde en mensheid wordt voorgesteld als een smeedproces, weerspiegelt de sacrale positie van de smid in veel gemeenschappen van West-Indonesië.
9. Het verkrijgen van een Nederlands visum voor een niet-ingezetene van de Europese Unie of daarmee gelijkgestelde is als het Indonesische gezegde *bagaikan menegakkan benang basah* ‘alsof je een natte draad recht moet laten staan’.