

THESES, SIS/LIBRARY  
R.G. MENZIES BUILDING NO.2  
Australian National University  
Canberra ACT 0200 Australia

Telephone: +61 2 6125 4631  
Facsimile: +61 2 6125 4063  
Email: [library.theses@anu.edu.au](mailto:library.theses@anu.edu.au)

## **USE OF THESES**

**This copy is supplied for purposes  
of private study and research only.  
Passages from the thesis may not be  
copied or closely paraphrased without the  
written consent of the author.**

A GRAMMAR OF MAANYAN

A Language of Central Kalimantan

By

Darmansyah H. Gudai

A thesis submitted for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
at the Australian National University.

August 1985



DECLARATION

Except where otherwise indicated  
this thesis is my own work.

Darmansyah Gudai

August 1985

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Since Dahl's (1951) *Malgache et Maanyan*, there has been no significant work on the Maanyan language. That book is not very inspiring to Indonesian linguists because it is a comparative study and made use of French as a medium. Moreover, at that time there had been no study on Maanyan grammar. After a thirty year gap, there appeared *Struktur Bahasa Maanyan 'The Linguistic Structures of Maanyan'* by Kawi et al. (1980). This book is not a profound study of this language, rather it is a preliminary survey of Maanyan grammar. The absence of significant Maanyan grammar gave me a strong motivation to become involved in studying Maanyan. The investigation started from scratch since, as a Banjarese speaker, I know nothing about Maanyan.

During the long process of writing this thesis Dr. William A. Foley was a strong source of support, and his guidance was very valuable. Other supervisors who also played important role in my completing this thesis are Dr. Karl Rensch, Dr. Avery Andrews and Dr. Phil Rose. In addition Avery helped me greatly with the technical aspects of printing the thesis from the computer version. To them I wish to extend my great respect and sincere thanks. Special gratitude is extended to Professor R.M.W. Dixon, the head of Linguistics Department, for his encouragement and support in the last stages when I needed extra time in Australia before submitting my thesis.

The role played by the A.D.A.B. officers, particularly the Regional Director, Mr. W.A. Shipley greatly contributed to my completing the thesis. I wish to express my thanks to them all.

I also wish to express my thanks to Mark Durie for his perseverance in reading the rough draft of the thesis and providing an excellent correction of my English expressions. Since then numerous revisions had been made, and this version is no longer under his correction. For final rechecking in Kalimantan of the Maanyan data presented in this thesis, Nirmala Sari has done a great job. She also deserves my gratitude.

Most of the information on Maanyan data was given to me by Ijat Ung and his wife, as well as Anrjut, Hanri and Suryanus. For their services, only God can give His reward. I wish to extend my thanks to them.

After being examined by the examiners, this thesis was once again revised. For this important job, I owe a great deal of gratitude to Dr. James Sneddon who kindly made corrections of the English. Without his assistance this thesis would never have reached its present form. I am also grateful to Dr. Anton M. Moeliono, Head of Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa, Jakarta, and Dr. Hein Steinhauer, Head of ILDEP, Jakarta, for their encouragement and financial assistance.

Despite the great assistance of all of the people above, there undoubtedly remain some imperfections in this thesis. Any such errors, as well as the opinions expressed here unless otherwise acknowledged, are solely my responsibility.

Last but not least, my daughters Ratna, Rita and Irma, and particularly my wife Nirmala Sari, while needing my care and support, were prepared to sacrifice these necessities while I finished up. I owe them a lot.

October 30, 1988 Darmansyah H. Gudai

V

ABSTRACT

This thesis deals with phonology, morphology, syntax and the meanings related to the syntactic structures.

The Introduction describes the geographical location and the speakers of Maanyan, previous studies, dialect variation and the scope, objectives and theoretical framework. A statement about the orthography is also given in this chapter.

Chapter 2 deals with phonology. A point of interest is that the majority of word-final vowels in Maanyan are glottalized. The language has no geminate consonants, but the sequence nasal + voiced stop is realized as a geminate nasal.

Chapter 3 discusses the phrasal categories, NP, VP, Adj.P and their functions in a clause. It also contains a discussion of lexical categories, adverbs, noun adjuncts, verb adjuncts, conjunctions and classifiers.

Chapter 4 presents the process of word formation and the morphophonemic rules associated with the process. The section on verbal formation provides the basis for verb classification which in turn determines the basic clause types, to be discussed in chapter 7. one important aspect is that Maanyan differentiates stative and dynamic perception/cognition verbs.

Chapter 5 is a description of the structure of NPs and the meanings entailed. Special attention is given to the genitive construction and the NP of characterization. This chapter also focuses on the status of NP which is discussed using the contextual factors specificity, definiteness and anaphora.

Chapter 6, on relative clauses, deals with the structure of RC and various positions in a clause which are relativizable. Relative clauses are used as a means of topicalization of a possessor of a genitive construction, as nominalization of a clause and in questions.

Chapter 7 presents basic clause types. The criterion used in the classification of clauses is the semantic structure of predicates. In Maanyan the predicates are represented by adjectives, verbs, and nominals. The feature 'affected' is introduced besides the feature 'process'.

Chapter 8 deals with the two types of passive, canonical passive and possessive-like passive, and the generic meaning conveyed by passive constructions. A point of interest is that passives are used in Maanyan in imperative sentences.

Chapter 9 gives a description of complementation. It is classified along the lines of a complement-taking predicate (CTP). The meanings of complementation constructions are dependent on the type of CTP.

Chapter 10 is a description of complex sentences. They are analyzed on the basis of the criteria embedding/non-embedding relation and dependent/independent relation which the members of a complex sentence exhibit. Dependency relation is determined by the operator which every layer of a clause has. The layered structure of the clause consists of the nucleus, the core and the periphery. By these criteria, besides the common coordination and subordination, we also discuss the construction called cosubordination.

The last chapter summarizes and presents important aspects of Maanyan grammar.

## LIST OF TABLES

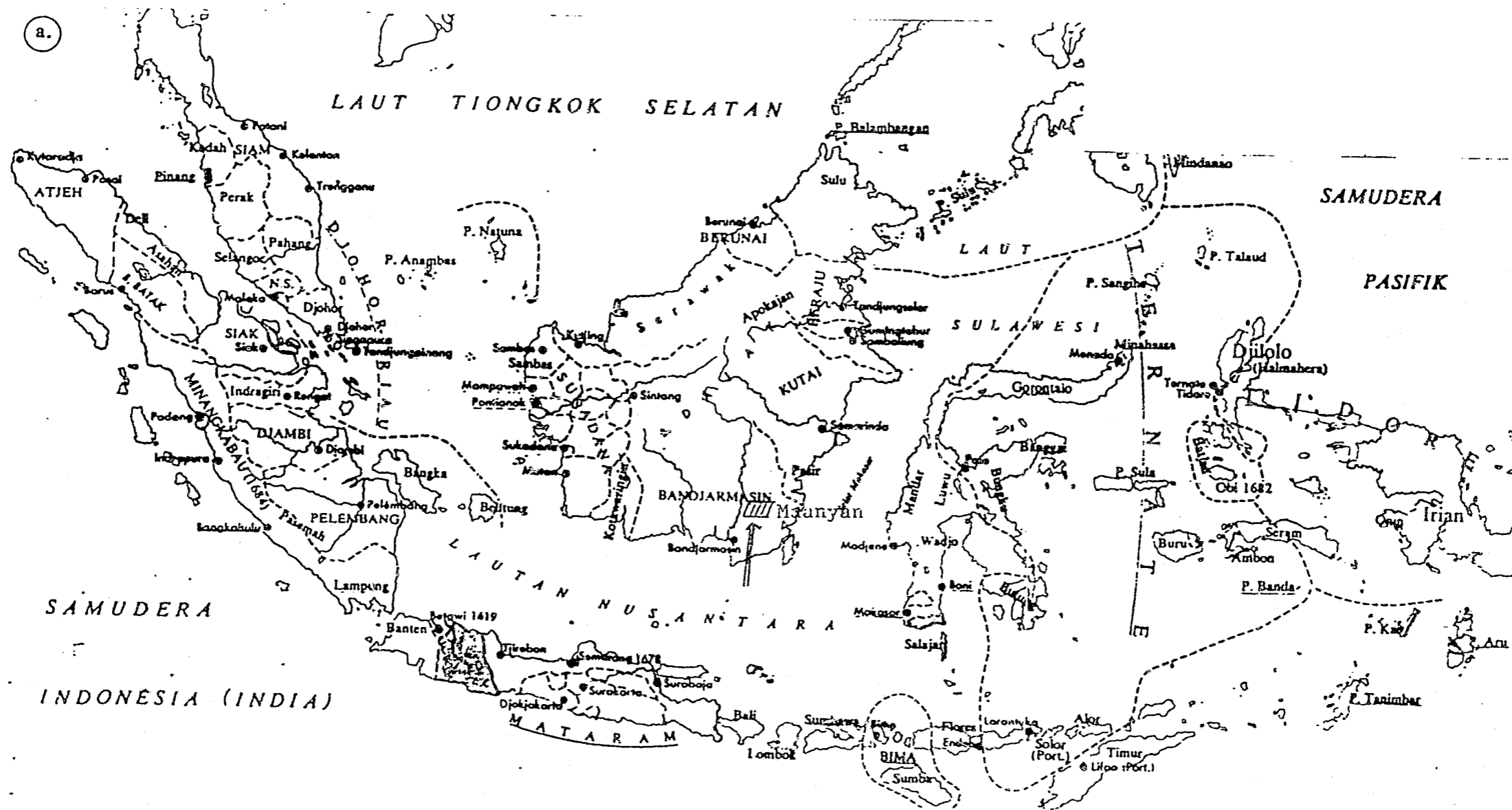
Table 2-1:	Consonant Phonemes	10
Table 2-2:	Vowel Phonemes	15
Table 3-1:	Personal Pronouns	39
Table 5-1:	Contextual Factors	109
Table 5-2:	Noun Phrase Representation	124
Table 11-1:	Verbal and Adjectival Derivations	288
Table 11-2:	The Semantic Structure of Predicates	291

MAPS

Map 1 : The Approximate Location of Maanyan in Indonesia ix

Map 2 : Location of Maanyan x

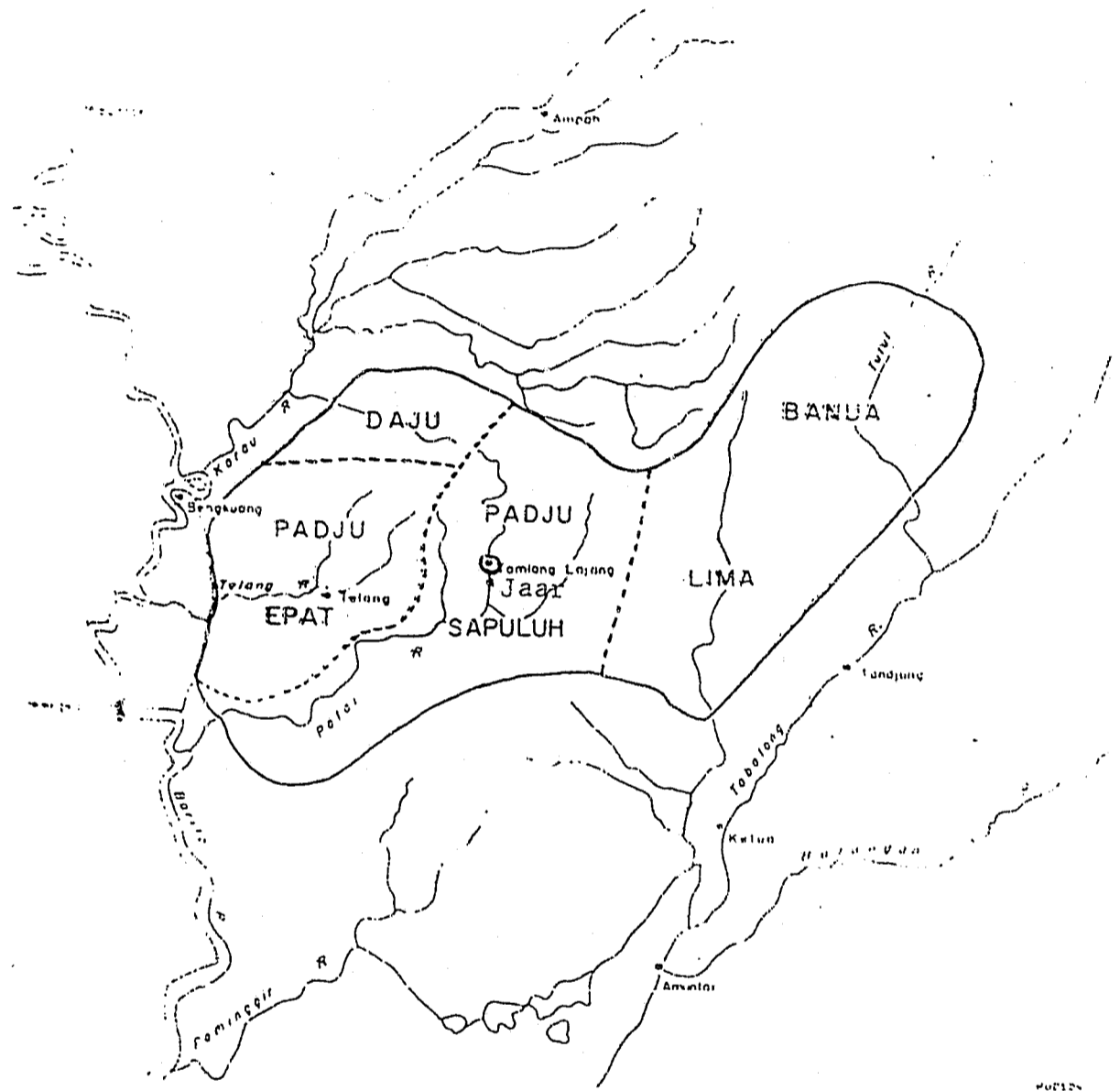




Map 1 : The Approximate Location of Maanyan in Indonesia

Quoted from Yamin (1956).





Map 2 : Location of Maanyan

Quoted from Hudson (1967).

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	iii
ABSTRACT	v
LIST OF TABLE	vii
MAPS	viii
1. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 The language and its speakers	1
1.2 Research to date	2
1.3 Dialect variation	3
1.4 Scope, objectives, and theoretical frameworks	4
1.5 Organization and presentation	6
1.6 Orthography	7
1.7 Abbreviations	7
2. PHONOLOGY	9
2.1 Previous studies on Maanyan phonology	9
2.2 The phoneme inventory of Maanyan	10
2.2.1 Consonant phonemes	10
2.2.2 Vowel phonemes	15
2.2.3 Diphthongs	19
2.3 Stress	19
2.4 Morphophonemics	20
2.5 Phonotactics	20
2.5.1 General characteristics	20
2.5.2 Polysyllabic roots	22
2.5.3 The distribution of phonemes	22
2.6 Phonemes with superimposed features	23
2.6.1 Prenasalized consonants	23
2.6.2 Diphthongs	26
3. GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES	28
3.1 Noun phrases	31
3.1.1 Functions of NPs	32
3.1.2 Noun classification	34
3.1.2.1 Common nouns	35
3.1.2.2 Proper nouns	37
3.1.2.3 Personal pronouns	38
3.2 Verb phrases	40
3.2.1 Functions of verb phrases	41
3.2.2 Nominalized verbs	42
3.2.3 Morphological possibilities	43
3.3 Adjective phrases	43
3.3.1 Functions of adjective phrases	43
3.3.2 The morphological possibilities	44
3.3.3 The semantic types of adjectives	45

3.3.4 Quantifiers	45
3.3.4.1 Numerals	46
3.3.4.2 Non-numeral quantifiers	48
3.4 Adverbs	48
3.5 Noun adjuncts	51
3.5.1 Role markers	51
3.5.1.1 Prepositions	51
3.5.1.2 Discourse markers	54
3.5.2 Deictics	55
3.5.2.1 Deictic without the head noun	57
3.5.2.2 Deictic with a preposition	58
3.5.2.3 Deictic with temporal location	59
3.5.3 Classifiers	59
3.5.4 Person markers	62
3.5.5 Titles	62
3.5.6 Determiners	63
3.6 Verb adjuncts	64
3.6.1 Aspectual auxiliaries	64
3.6.2 Modal auxiliaries	65
3.6.3 The polar auxiliaries	68
3.7 Conjunctions	69
4. WORD FORMATION	71
4.1 Morphophonemic rules	72
4.1.1 Phonological rules	72
4.1.2 Morphologically conditioned rules	74
4.1.2.1 The causative prefix	74
4.1.2.2 The transitive prefix	76
4.2 Noun formation	77
4.3 Verb formation	81
4.3.1 Intransitive verbs	81
4.3.2 Transitive verbs	84
4.3.3 <i>Štātē</i> locative verbs	86
4.3.4 Reflexives	87
4.3.5 Reciprocal verbs	88
4.3.6 Process verbs	89
4.3.7 Causative verbs	90
4.3.8 Affected verbs	91
4.3.9 Involuntary verbs	92
4.3.10 Passive verbs	94
4.4 Adjective formation	94
5. NOUN PHRASES	97
5.1 The internal structure of NPs	97
5.1.1 Complex noun phrases	102
5.1.2 Noun + Noun constructions	104

	xiii
5.1.2.1 Possessive constructions	105
5.1.2.2 Noun phrase of characterization	106
5.2 The status of noun phrases	108
5.2.1 NPs and specificity	110
5.2.2 NPs and definiteness	115
5.2.3 NPs and anaphoricity	117
6. RELATIVE CLAUSES	126
6.1 The strategies of forming RC	127
6.1.1 The basic strategy	127
6.1.1.1 NP <sub>rel</sub> : subject of a verbal clause	128
6.1.1.2 NP <sub>rel</sub> : subject of adjectival clause	132
6.1.1.3 NP <sub>rel</sub> : subject of adjunctive clause	133
6.1.2 The non-basic strategy	137
6.1.2.1 NP <sub>rel</sub> : possessor in genitive construction	138
6.1.2.2 NP <sub>rel</sub> : beneficiary, goal, source, comitative	139
6.2 Constraints on the NP <sub>rel</sub>	140
6.3 The position of a deictic in the NP + RC construction	141
6.4 Headless RCs	143
7. BASIC CLAUSE TYPES	146
7.1 The criteria for basic clause types	146
7.1.1 Semantic relations and grammatical relations	149
7.1.2 Semantic relations and selectional features	150
7.2 The organization	153
7.3 Stative clauses	153
7.3.1 State clauses	153
7.3.1.1 Adjectival clauses	155
7.3.1.2 Equational clauses	159
7.3.2 Existential clauses	166
7.3.2.1 Existential clause type 1 (Ex-type 1)	168
7.3.2.2 Existential type 2 (Ex-type 2)	172
7.3.2.3 Existential type (Ex-type 3)	174
7.3.3 Perception and cognition clauses	176
7.4 Process clauses	177
7.5 Affected clauses	181
7.6 Action clauses	184
7.6.1 Action intransitive clauses	185
7.6.2 Locative action intransitive clauses	191
7.6.3 Action transitive clauses	194
7.6.4 Instrumental action transitive clauses	198
7.6.5 Locative action transitive clauses	200
7.6.6 Benefactive action transitive clauses	202
7.6.7 Causative action transitive clauses	204
7.6.8 Reciprocal action transitive clauses	207
7.6.9 Reflexive action transitive clauses	211
8. PASSIVES	213
8.1 Passive structures	214

8.1.1 The optionality of the agent marker	215
8.1.2 na- and zero as passive prefixes	216
8.1.3 The pronominal agent	222
8.1.4 Agent deletion	224
8.2 Accidental passives	225
8.3 The meanings and functions of passives	227
9. COMPLEMENTATION	231
9.1 Propositional attitude predicates	234
9.2 Predicates of fearing	236
9.3 Implicative predicates	236
9.4 Desiderative predicates	241
9.5 Commentative predicates	244
9.6 Causative predicates	249
9.7 Phasal predicates	252
9.8 Pretence predicates	253
9.9 Utterance predicates	255
9.10 Cognition and immediate perception predicates	260
10. COMPLEX SENTENCES	264
10.1 Coordination	268
10.1.1 Peripheral coordination	268
10.1.2 Core coordination	271
10.2 Subordination	272
10.2.1 Peripheral subordinate nexus	273
10.2.2 Core subordinate nexus	279
10.3 Cosubordination	280
10.3.1 Peripheral cosubordinate nexus	281
10.3.2 Core cosubordinate nexus	284
11. CONCLUSIONS	287
REFERENCES	294

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 The language and its speakers

Maanyan<sup>1</sup> is a language spoken by an ethnic group called the Maanyan. It has about thirty five thousand speakers living in inland Kalimantan (formerly Borneo), Indonesia. Maanyan borders with Banjarese to the south, Lawangan to the north and Samihim to the south-east. Due to a close relationship between Maanyan speakers and Banjarese speakers, most Maanyan speakers speak Banjarese, a Malay dialect, but not vice versa. Maanyan is classified as a Dayak language along with Ngaju, Lawangan, Samihim, Dusun Witu, Taboyan, Ba'amang, Bakumpai, Kahayan and others. The term Dayak is generally used to refer to indigenous people of Kalimantan (Hudson (1967)), but may conventionally denote the non-Moslem indigenous only.<sup>2</sup> Maanyan is a spoken language, and like all languages in Kalimantan has no script of its own. Up to World War I there were no written materials in Maanyan. Dahl (1951:25) states that written literature in Maanyan existed after the arrival of German missionaries after World War I. Most of this was Bible translation done by German and Dutch missionaries. A list of eight titles of reading materials in Maanyan can be seen in Dahl (1951). Among these only one deals with the fable and folklore of Maanyan which is contained in H. Sundermann's *the Dajakkische Fabeln und Erzählungen*

---

<sup>1</sup>pronounced maqanyan

<sup>2</sup>This convention is regularly used by Dutch and German scholars.

(pp. 169-189). There are two small wordlists of about 350 words in C. den Hamer's 'woordenlijst' and 206 words in Sydney H. Ray's *The Languages of Borneo*. Almost all written materials in Maanyan are kept by the British and Foreign Bible Society in London, and some in the Netherlands and probably also in Banjarmasin, the capital of South Kalimantan province. These materials have not been available to the writer of this thesis, and so the Maanyan data presented here are those obtained from fieldwork carried out in 1981/1982.

The only written materials found during the research were *Hukum Adat Dayak Maanyan 'The Traditional Law of Maanyan'*, volume I, compiled and written by Njakau Rasik and Horman Ihur, *Pengadjaran Pengadjaran Baha'i Isaq Kepertjajaan Dunia 'Baha'i Teachings, a World Religion'* translated by Immer Diah, and *Struktur Bahasa Maanyan 'The Linguistic Structures of Maanyan'* by Kawi et al.

## 1.2 Research to date

Linguistic analyses of Maanyan can be said to be few in number. Only three such works have been available to the present writer: *Malgache et Maanyan (1951)* by Otto Chr. Dahl, *The Barito Isolects of Borneo (1967)* by Alfred B. Hudson, and *Struktur Bahasa Maanyan 'The Linguistic Structures of Maanyan' (1980)* by Djantera Kawi et al. The first makes an extensive comparison of two widely separated languages of the Austronesian family, Malagasy and Maanyan. The comparison includes vocabulary, phrases and some aspects of syntax. Hudson studies sound correspondences between Maanyan (along with languages along the river Barito) and its proto-language. In this way he classifies Maanyan into a group, South-east Barito Isolects, together with Paku, Samihin, Dusun Witu and Dusun Malang. The latest linguistically oriented study of Maanyan is that found in *Struktur Bahasa Maanyan* written under the auspices of and funded by Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa (The Center for



Language Development) Jakarta. This work uses structural analyses. It includes all major aspects of linguistics, phonology, morphology and syntax. The analyses can be said to be preliminary in nature, and this is recognized by the writers themselves (personal communication). Its main aim is to include this language as one of the 300 languages in Indonesia whose structures are being inventorized under the auspices and funds of the Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa.

### 1.3 Dialect variation

All informants from whom I was doing the elicitation claim that Maanyan has three dialect variants, Paju Epat 'The Four Villages', Paju Sapuluh, 'The Ten Villages' and Banua Lima 'The Five Villages'<sup>4</sup>. These are directly associated with three main sub-groups of Maanyan which have the same names as the dialects. Interestingly, almost all of the informants said that they could speak and distinguish dialects other than their own. The three dialects, in fact, do have obvious distinctions. The main differences are lexical, of which the following examples are illustrative:

Paju Epat	Paju Sapuluh	Banua Lima	Gloss
tangguk	ansiding	ansiding	'small (fishing) net'
dengkut	suku	jawaw	'cassava'
punsi garubuk	punsi garuwuk	punsi laguk	'a k.o. banana'
daduk	wunut	wunut	'sarong'
kujur	duhaq	duhaq	'lance'
ateluy	anteluy	anteluy	'egg'
nunggang	nyungkat	nyungkat	'ride an animal'

<sup>3</sup>The writer of this thesis was a member of the committee, but working with Bahasa Bakumpai.

<sup>4</sup>Hudson (1967) does not mention this last subgroup.



panalu	panalu	mihabaq	'to meet'
niniq	itak	itak	'grandmother'
nyanit	rumis	rumis	'small'
wituq	hang	hang	'at, in, on'
pakingkin	pakingkin	pasike	'glutinous rice cooked in bamboo cylinder'

Despite differences of this kind, the three dialects have no clear boundary to warrant the true status of dialects. The three different word lists do not imply that one dialect never uses the words of another dialect. My main informant, a Paju Sapuluh speaker, for example, gave the sentence *hi nalaw nyangkilat taruh, ngantung duhaq atawaq kujur* 'Nalau sharpened the machete and (then) brought a lance' in which he used the words *duhaq* (Paju Sapuluh) and *kujur* (Paju Epat) simultaneously to refer to the same thing 'lance'.

My research was done primarily on Paju Sapuluh, whose center is Tamiang Layang, the capital of the subdistrict Dusun Timur which covers the area of the three dialects. The research itself was done at Jaar, a small village five kilometers from Tamiang Layang.

#### 1.4 Scope, objectives, and theoretical frameworks

This study is intended to account for the structures of Maanyan and the semantic features associated with those structures. In implementing this objective I apply an eclectic approach rather than a single linguistic theory. For phonology I use classical phonemic analysis. The basic idea developed in describing the phonology follows from the procedural analysis given in Sommerstein (1977). The classification of parts of speech is based on Schachter (1985). Besides the three major parts of speech, nouns, verb, and adjectives, I include adverbs and the closed classes noun adjuncts, verb adjuncts and conjunctions. A more detailed description of parts of speech is

presented in chapter 3 and word formation in chapter 4. The structure of noun phrases and the meaning related to the structure are discussed in chapter 5. The discussion also covers the status of noun phrases. They are analyzed using the three contextual factors, referentiality, definiteness, and anaphoricity. The idea owes much to Foley and Van Valin (1985) and Soemarmo (1975). The analyses of relative clauses owes much to Keenan (1985), particularly in the notion of the basic strategy of forming relative clauses. His theory is intended to cover all types of relative clause of languages of the world. Using his basic strategy, only one of the potentially relativizable positions is applicable to Maanyan, that is, the subject of a clause. The core of this thesis is the section on basic clause types. This basically follows from the idea developed in Chafe (1970). However, I also incorporate current theory regarding the role or relation that an argument bears to a predicate. Of this the notions of agent, patient, locative and the like are adjusted by taking Foley and Van Valin's (1984) ideas into consideration. For passives, no specific theoretical approach is followed other than the structural analysis which is common in Indonesian linguistic literature. But I also include in the discussion the semantic meaning pertaining to passive constructions. Complementation is analyzed in accordance with Noonan (1985). For complex sentences, besides coordination and subordination, I also include cosubordination. This triple-division of nexus types follows from an idea developed by Foley and Van Valin (1984). These theoretical orientations will be elaborated whenever the relevant subject is being discussed.

Due to language specific phenomena, the theoretical frameworks applied in this thesis are not always straightforward. Some modification is needed to accommodate specific data found in Maanyan. As an apparent example, Chafe regards any verb which takes a syntactic

direct object as an action process verb, irrespective of whether the patient is really undergoing a change of state or merely being affected by the action designated by the predicate. In this thesis I distinguish between the affected entity (equivalent to the patient of a transitive verb), and the entity which undergoes a change of state (equivalent to the patient of a process or a causative verb). This modification is necessary in order to capture the actual distinction of patient of the two types of verbs. For further elaboration of this distinction, see chapter 7.

### 1.5 Organization and presentation

This study contains 10 chapters. Aside from chapter 1, the introduction, chapters 2-10 are devoted to the analysis of the linguistic data, starting from the phonology (chapter 2), followed by grammatical categories (chapter 3) and word formation (chapter 4). The syntactic analysis of the structures of Maanyan includes chapter 5 (noun phrases), chapter 6 (relative clauses), and chapter 7 (basic clause types). The last mentioned chapter deals with the semantic structure of the verb and the relation that argument(s) bear with their predicate. Chapter 8, (passives), deals with the way in which Maanyan focusses one of the arguments of a predicate. In chapter 9, on complementation, the semantic analysis centres on the predicate of the matrix, referred to as the complement-taking predicate (CTP). The CTP's meaning generally affects the interpretation of its syntactic arguments and its predicate complement. The last chapter deals with the way two or more clauses are joined together to form a single unit, and the way the nature of the joining affects the semantic interpretation.

## 1.6 Orthography

The Maanyan data exemplified in this thesis is transcribed using phonemic transcription. This transcription is similar to practical orthography used in Bahasa Indonesia, but no capital letters are used. Also a number of adjustments are necessary in order to accommodate the phonemic status of the symbols used in the transcription. With this type of orthography average literate speakers of Maanyan are believed to be able to read their language correctly. An exception is the presence of the symbol q in closed syllable and in between two vowels which, when realized phonetically is probably somewhat disturbing to them. Likewise the symbols y and w are represented explicitly whenever they are actually realized.

For linguists, the following conversion of phonemes into standard orthography should be taken into account.

- (i) /p/ is written as ny syllable initially, and n preceding /j/.
- (ii) /ŋ/ is written as ng.
- (iii) /q/ represents glottal stop.
- (iv) Words formed by derivational processes are written after the morphophonemic rules apply. (E.g. /ŋ-pupuk/ is written as /mupuk/.)
- (v) Full stop (.) and comma (,) are used only in a group of sentences representing a discourse.

## 1.7 Abbreviations

A	= agent	AdjP	= adjective phrase
A	= anaphora	AH	= accesibility hierarchies
acc.	= accidental	AM	= agent marker
Adj.	= adjective	BEN	= beneficiary

CLSF	= classifier	PS	= predicate subject
CTP	= complement-taking predicate	Q	= question marker
DEF	= definite	RC	= relative clause
DO	= direct object	REL	= relativizer
e.o.	= each other	REQ	= request
EXCL	= exclamation	S	= sentence
excl.	= exclusive	S	= specific
IMP	= imperative	S	= subject
incl.	= inclusive	sim.	= simultaneously
invol.	= involuntary(ly)	s.o.	= someone
k.o.	= a kind of	SP	= subject predicate
L	= locative	sth.	= something
NEG	= negative	SVO	= subject verb object
NOM	= nominal	TR	= transitive
NP	= noun phrase	V	= verb
NP <sub>rel</sub>	= the position relativized	vol.	= voluntary(ly)
∅	= gapped relativized noun phrase	VP	= verb phrase
P	= patient		
PART	= particle		
PASS	= passive		
PERIPH	= peripheral argument		
pl.	= plural		
PM	= person marker		
PP	= prepositional phrase		

## CHAPTER 2

## PHONOLOGY

The phonological description in this thesis follows the approach of classical phonology. Detailed discussion of some important principles of classical phonology and their application in phonemic analysis are well described in Sommerstein (1977). Following this approach I will discuss the phoneme inventory, the major allophonic variations, the phonotactics, and morphophonemic alternations of phonemes. Rules are stated informally; in this way I purposely avoid using complicated features pertaining to the phonemes in question.

## 2.1 Previous studies on Maanyan phonology

The previous studies on phonology of Maanyan which are available are Dahl (1951), Hudson (1967) and Kawi et al. (1980). Of these the first two are comparative studies (Dahl: Maanyan and Malagasy, and Hudson: Maanyan and its proto-language). Due probably to the nature of their studies, the description of phonemes is not supported by substantive justifications. In Kawi et al., phonology is presented as part of the description of the structure of Maanyan. They describe Maanyan as having four vowel phonemes, four phonemic diphthongs, and eighteen consonant phonemes. These phonemes are established mainly by minimal pairs. There is no effort to further describe the characteristics of phonemes, or the constraints on their occurrence in words. Moreover, no particular theoretical framework seems to be used and cited in this study. This work can hardly be regarded as an

analysis of Maanyan phonology, rather it is a raw description of phonological basics. The writers themselves (personal communication) acknowledge that their study is mainly a primary survey of the phonological facts of Maanyan.

From the problems I encountered in the phonological description of the previous studies and from the data that I elicited during my field work in 1981/1982, the following subjects seem relevant for discussion here.

1. The establishment of a phonemic inventory and the major allophones.
2. The constraints on the occurrence of phonemes.
3. The problem of prenasal consonants.
4. The problem of diphthongs.
5. Morphophonemic alternation of phonemes.

## 2.2 The phoneme inventory of Maanyan

### 2.2.1 Consonant phonemes

There are 18 consonant phonemes in Maanyan. They are /p/, /b/, /t/, /d/, /j/, /k/, /g/, /q/, /m/, /n/, /ɲ/, /s/, /h/, /l/, /r/, /y/, and /w/. The phonemes are displayed in Table 2-1

Table 2-1 Consonant Phonemes

Manner of articulation	Place of articulation							
	Bilabial		Alveolar		Palatal	Velar	Glottal	
Stop	p	b	t	d	j	k	g	q
Nasal	m		n		ɲ	ŋ		
Fricative			s					h
Lateral			l					
Trill			r					
Glides	w				y		(w)	

The chart shows that Maanyan has a gap where the phoneme /c/ would be in its consonant system. The absence of the voiced alveolar fricative /z/ is characteristic of many Western Indonesian languages, e.g. Banjarese, Ngaju, Bahasa Indonesia, Minangkabau, Javanese, Madurese, Toba Batak, etc.

In what follows, consonant phonemes will be discussed in groups based on the manner of articulation. In this context each consonant phoneme will be exemplified in contrast to demonstrate its phonemic status.

(i) Stops

Voiceless stops are unreleased syllable finally. Compare the following pairs:

[panuk <sup>h</sup> ]	'basket'	:	[paŋup <sup>h</sup> ]	'close'
[taduh]	'stop'	:	[natat <sup>h</sup> ]	'yard'
[hiŋkaq]	'from'	:	[lunɛk <sup>h</sup> ]	'meat'

Voiced stops have no such allophonic variation, but they have allophones of a different kind when they occur after a nasal consonant. This will be discussed in (2.6.1).

The contrast between voiced and voiceless stops is illustrated below:

/tataq/	'old brother'	/tadaq/	'have magic power'
/tanana/	'leave'	/danaw/	'lake'
/lapis	'layer'	/labis/	'more'
/paran/	'deer'	/baran/	'thing'
/uka/	'open'	/puga/	'new'
/kawi/	'left'	/gawi/	'work'

Voiced and voiceless stops contrast syllable initially, but not word finally. In final positions only voiceless stops occur.



The glottal stop /q/ is phonemic. In final positions it contrasts with /k/ and /h/, and the sequence /Vq/ contrasts with /V/. Likewise in intervocalic position the sequence /VqV/ contrasts with /VV/ and /VwV/. Notice the following examples:

/hantek/	'when'	/hanteq/	'big'
/midi/	'buy'	/midiq/	'choose'
/wuwah/	'hit'	/wuwaq/	'fruit'
/wuwah/	'hit'	/wuqah/	'crocodile'
/mais/	'thin'	/maqis/	'cook wrapped in banana leaf'

The glottal stop /q/ raises a problem. Dahl (1951) does not include /q/ in the phonemic inventory of Maanyan. All words which in actual pronunciation end with a glottalized vowel are represented phonologically as an open syllable. Thus instead of /hanyuq/ 'you', /ruraq/ 'spit' and /wuqah/ 'crocodile', Dahl, for example, represents them as hanyu, rura and wuah. Similarly the native speakers transcribing Maanyan words in the practical orthography do not seem to notice /q/ as distinctive. However they agree that the words midi and its glottalized counterpart midiq are different. The first means 'buy', the second 'choose'. Hudson (1967) and Kawi et al. (1980) observed the phonemic status of /q/, but only Hudson represents /q/ in both the phonetic and phonemic transcriptions. That /q/ is phonemic is evidenced from the above minimal pairs. We thus phonemicize /q/ and include it in the phonemic transcription. The representation will distinguish not only words which are contrastable by minimal pairs, but also words involving two successive vowels such as /lain/ 'hot', /naun/ 'you,pl.' and /aur/ 'busy' with those in which the sequence of vowels is broken up by a glottal stop, such as /kaqi/ 'will', /naqun/ 'yearly', /waqu/ 'new', and /huqan/ 'not yet'.

(ii) Nasals

There is no doubt that /m/ and /n/ contrast phonemically. They contrast in all positions, initial position preceding the vowel, medial position between two vowels, and final position following a vowel. Some examples are:

/munuk/ 'fat'      /nunuk/ 'banyan tree'  
 /ramay/ 'resin'    /ranay/ 'relax'  
 /lalem/ 'deep'     /lalan/ 'street'

In medial position we find /m/ and /n/ contrast with both /p/ and /ŋ/, as seen in the following minimal or near minimal pairs below:

/amuk/ 'run amuck'    /aŋuh/ 'work together'  
 /amuk/ 'run amuck'    /paŋup/ 'lid'  
 /panuk/ 'basket'      /paŋup/ 'lid'  
 /ranuq/ 'as big as'    /haŋuq/ 'friend'

In medial position /p/ and /ŋ/ contrast with each other:

/paŋup/ 'lid'            /haŋuq/ 'you'  
 /heŋet/ 'very'          /hape/ 'he'

Investigation of the occurrence of nasals in every position proves no instances of a nasal in free variation with other nasals. We must conclude that the phones [m], [n], [p] and [ŋ] contrast phonemically, and hence are represented as /m/, /n/, /p/ and /ŋ/.

In initial position /p/ and /ŋ/ never occur, but these phonemes, together with /m/ and /n/ may represent the allomorph of transitive prefix ng- due to assimilation with the initial phoneme of the base. Thus [ŋamuk] 'to run amuck', [ŋpiyuk] 'to kiss', [ŋmuhut] 'to sweep', and [ŋawah] 'to cut' are phonetic realization of /ŋ-amuk/, /ŋ-siyuk/, /ŋ-puhut/, and /ŋ-tawah/ respectively. This is a morphologically conditioned alternation, and will be discussed in (4.1.1).

Nasals preceding a voiced stop are lengthened (see 2.6.1).

### (iii) Fricatives

The fricatives [s] and [h] are distinctive, as seen in the following contrast:

/kasay/	'powder'	/kahay/	'stir'
/sameh/	'same'	/hamen/	'want'
/sulas/	'dishonest'	/sulah/	'bold'

In some words /h/ is in free variation with the glottal stop, generally in final position (e.g. /ineh/ 'mother' ~ /ineq/, /sapuluh/ 'ten' ~ /sapuluq/). In most other cases, however, this free variation does not apply, e.g. /kenah/ 'fish', /ambah/ 'father', and /lumbah/ 'plate' have no alternation with the glottalized counterparts.

(iv) Lateral

The lateral /l/ has no major allophonic variation. It occurs in initial, medial, and final positions. Some examples are:

/lawah/	'long time'	/leten/	'sink'
/wulan/	'month'	/walu/	'eight'
/kihal/	'misfortune'	/dumul/	'blunt'

(v) Trill

The phoneme /r/ has two allophones, the trill [r] and the tap [ɽ]. The trill [r] normally occurs syllable finally, but syllable initially either allophone may occur. Some examples are:

/rawen/	'leaf'	[rawɛn] ~ [ɽawɛn]
/dahuruq/	'winnow'	[dahurUq] ~ [dahuɽUq]
/habar/	'news'	[habar]
/anri/	'with'	[anri] ~ [anɽi]

(vi) Glides

The glides /y/ and /w/ contrast with each other as seen in the following examples:

/yalah/	'like'	/walah/	'slave'
/layah/	'unable to walk'	/lawah/	'long time'
/balay/	'building'	/bala/	'gold'

In final position, as in the last examples, /y/ and /w/ form a

diphthong with the preceding vowel. The question of how to analyse diphthongs will be discussed in (2.6.2).

### 2.2.2 Vowel phonemes

Maanyan has four vowel phonemes, /i/, /u/, /e/, and /a/. In terms of basic three-vowel, /i/, /u/, /a/, and five-vowel systems, /i/, /u/, /e/, /o/, /a/, Maanyan has the peculiarity of being asymmetrical.

Shane (1973:10) states,

One of the most common vowel systems is composed of five vowels: the three basic ones a, i, u plus two others which are intermediate in height between high and low e, o ...

In this respect Maanyan vowels are in the position between the basic three-vowel and five-vowel systems. They cannot be represented in a triangle diagram as can the basic three-vowel and five-vowel systems. Instead they are best represented in a square diagram as seen in Table 2-2.

Table 2-2 Vowel Phonemes

	Front	Back
High	i	u
Low	e	a

The table shows the approximate position of the vowels in a binary position of tongue in terms of height and backness.

The four-vowel system of Maanyan is also noted in Dahl (1951) and in Kawi et al. (1979). Hudson (1967) gives one and only one example of phonemic /o/ in the word /telo/ 'three', but it is given in relation to the reflex of proto \*1 in a group of languages comprising Maanyan, Samihin and Dusun Witu. Assuming that the example is not intended to imply a phonemic status for /o/ besides the phoneme /u/, Hudson also establishes a four-vowel system for Maanyan. The absence of /o/ in the vowel system is probably responsible for the inconsistency in the

phonemic transcription and the spelling using practical orthography. As exemplified in Dahl (1951:30) the spelling of the back vowel phoneme /u/ by different writers varies between u and o. For example:

uhuk (Ray 1913)	ohok (Weller 1938)	'chest'
nguluy (Sundermann 1912)	nguloy (Weller 1938)	'drop'
oluyan (Denning 1859)	oloyan (Weller 1938)	'something dropped'

Likewise my informants when asked to write words of Maanyan sometimes mixed up the u and o. Thus, for example, either uweng or oweng 'exist', and ulu. or olon or ulon 'man', and watu or wato 'stone' are frequent alternations. These phenomena show that the phones [u] and [o] are in some words and for some speakers in free variation, and hence are allophones of one phoneme which I assign as /u/. As [o] occurs in the speech of only some people, it is not represented in the transcription.

(i) /u/

The phoneme /u/ has two allophones, [u] and [U]. [u] normally occurs in open syllables, and [U] in closed syllables. [u] is illustrated in the following words:

/usiŋ/	[usiŋ]	'cat'	/irura/	[irura]	'spit'
/suni/	[suni]	'quiet'	/upu/	[upu]	'man, male'
/uran/	[uran]	'rain'	/pahu/	[pahu]	'cheek'

The [U] allophone is illustrated in the following words:

/welum/	[wɛlUm]	'life'
/uruŋ/	[urUŋ]	'nose'
/taqun/	[taqUn]	'year'
/kapuy/	[kapUy]	'lime'

If both vowel phonemes in di-syllabic words are /u/, and the second vowel is realized as [U], the first vowel usually tends to anticipate the second phone and thus is realized as [U]. This occurs in words like the following:

/ulun/	[UlUn]	'man,
/umbun	[UmbUn]	'above'
/pupuk	[pUpUk]	'hit'
/luput/	[lUpUt]	'finish'

(ii) /i/

The vowel phoneme /i/ has two major allophones, [i] and [I]. The [i] occurs in open syllables, as illustrated in the following examples:

/ineh/	[inɛh]	'mother'
/raqi/	[raqi]	'forehead'
/yiti/	[yiti]	'this'
/siluq/	[silUq]	'ear'

The [I] normally occurs in closed syllables, as illustrated in the following examples:

/kudit/	[kudIt]	'bark'
/maŋkadiŋ/	[maŋkadIŋ]	'lie'
/sidiŋ/	[sidIŋ]	'fly'
/rumis/	[rumIs]	'small'

(iii) /e/

The phoneme /e/ has no major allophonic variation. It is almost invariably pronounced as a lower mid vowel [ɛ]. The [ɛ] occurs in all positions. Some examples are:

/ekat/	[ɛkat]	'only'
/dipen/	[dipɛn]	'tooth'
/hanteq/	[hantɛq]	'big'
/hape/	[hapɛ]	'he'

Maanyan has the following sets of data where [e] and [ɛ] alternate.

[yinaq] ~ [yenaq] ~ [yɛnaq] ~ [inaq] 'this'

[yirUq] ~ [yerUq] ~ [yɛrUq] ~ [irUq] 'that'

[yiti] ~ [iti] ; \*[yɛti] ; \*[yeti] 'this'

A problem arises as to whether the phones [i] ~ [e] ~ [ɛ] should be regarded as underlying /i/ or /e/. Note that Maanyan has the alternations [u] [o]. The phone [o] has been proven to be non-phonemic and thus we posit /u/ as the phoneme. Should we also posit /i/ as the phoneme for the alternations [i] ~ [e] ~ [ɛ] ? /i/ and /e/ are phonemic, whereas [ɛ] is an allophone of /e/. If /i/ is posited as the underlying phoneme, we should have a vowel lowering rule so that /i/ → [e] /y-. This rule, however, cannot apply to /yiti/. We can reformulate the rule such that it cannot apply to /yiti/. The rule such as /i/ → [e] /y-CV<sub>x</sub> where V<sub>x</sub> = any vowel other than /i/ satisfies the condition of /yiti/ and applies to the underlying /yiruq/ and /yinaq/. However, the extension of the environment can make the rule somewhat ad hoc. Moreover it cannot explain why the feature [+high] of /y/ has the effect of lowering the feature [+high] of /i/.

On the other hand, if we posit /e/ for the alternations [i] ~ [e], what we need is the vowel heightening rule, /e/ → [i] /y-. This assimilation rule is more natural since the feature [+high] of the semivowel /y/ affects the feature [+low] or [-high] of /e/. The underlying forms are thus /yenaq/ and /yeruq/. With [yiti], since it has no alternation with \*[yeti], the underlying form is /yiti/. To derive [yɛnaq] and [yɛrUq], we need the allophonic rule we have already stated informally, and to derive [inaq] and [irUq], we need a rule which deletes /y/ before /i/. The underlying forms cannot be /inaq/, /iruq/, and /iti/ since we cannot explain why iwek 'pig', ineh 'mother' and itung 'remember' do not alternate with \*yiwek, \*yineh and \*yitung respectively. It is thus more plausible to posit underlying /yenaq/, /yeruq/ and /yiti/ for the data above.

## (iv) /a/

The phoneme /a/ is almost always pronounced as central [a]. Some examples of [a] are:

/atey/	[atɛy]	'heart'
/ambah/	[am:āh]	'father'
/raŋi/	[raŋi]	'salt'
/waway/	[waway]	'lost'

## 2.2.3 Diphthongs

Maanyan has four phonetic rising diphthongs, [Uy], [ɛy], [ay] and [aw] which only occur word finally. These types of diphthongs were also observed in the previous studies cited in (2.1). Some examples are:

[wawUy]	'wild pig'	[apUy]	'fire'
[mātɛy]	'die'	[huŋɛy]	'river'
[ramāy]	'resin'	[waway]	'lose'
[am:āw]	'tall'	[heŋāw]	'friend'

The examples show that diphthongs in Maanyan only occur word finally. The vowel phoneme /u/ is normally realized as its allophone [U] in diphthongs, whereas the phonemes /e/ and /a/ are realized as [ɛ] and [a] respectively.

## 2.3 Stress

Word stress is non-phonemic in Maanyan. On the level of root and derived word its occurrence is always predictable. The main stress (marked by <sup>ˈ</sup>) occurs on the penultimate syllable; other syllables are unstressed. The weak stress (unmarked) occurs elsewhere. The following examples exemplify the stress pattern in Maanyan:



[íněh]	'mother'	[múpUk]	'hit'
[án:ĩq]	'little bro.'	[ÍnsIn]	'bring'
[an:ĩqni]	'his little bro.'	[InsÍgnĩ]	'brought by him'
[úm:ě]	'bring on the shoulder'	[um:ěyan]	'thing brought on the shoulder'

## 2.4 Morphophonemics

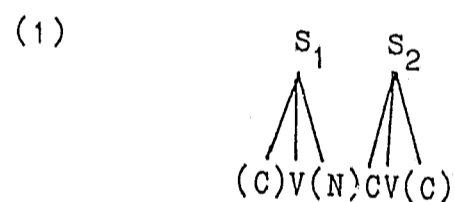
Phonetic alternations which result from morphophonemic processes will be discussed under word formation (see chapter 4).

## 2.5 Phonotactics

### 2.5.1 General characteristics

The majority of roots in Maanyan consist of two syllables. Monosyllabic roots are usually prepositions, particles and words used in exclamation. Polysyllabic roots, that is, roots of more than two syllables, are rare. Some examples are: /ankudi/ 'tiger', /amuwan/ 'wake up', /haratak/ 'string bean', /katambah/ 'swim', and /pulaksanaqi/ 'brother/sister'.

Di-syllabic roots have the phonological structure:



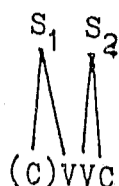
where C represents a consonant, V a vowel, N a nasal consonant, and S<sub>1</sub> and S<sub>2</sub> represent first and second syllable respectively. The following disyllabic roots exemplify this phonological structure.

(i) VCV	/ume/	'ricefield'
	/ule/	'able'
	/aku/	'I'
	/iti/	'this'

(ii)	CVCV	/pire/	'how much'
		/tuli/	'play'
		/lana/	'usual'
(iii)	VCVC	/enem/	'six'
		/alap/	'take'
		/ineh/	'mother'
(iv)	CVCVC	/wurug/	'bird'
		/yalah/	'like, as'
		/kenah/	'fish'
(v)	VNCV	/umbe/	'bring sth. on back'
(vi)	VNCVC	/umbun/	'below'
		/andiq/	'little brother/sister'
		/endey/	'bring'
		/imbeq/	'short'
(vii)	CVNCV	/punsi/	'banana'
		/hanri/	'person's name'
		/hampe/	'up to'
(viii)	CVNCVC	/hantek/	'when'
		/kambeq/	'ghost'
		/pankan/	'seed'
		/wansit/	'quick'

It should be noted that the phonological structure above cannot accommodate words involving two successive vowels. Maanyan has a number of instances of such structures. Some examples are /lain/ 'hot', /mais/ 'thin', /naun/ 'you, pl.' and /aur/ 'busy'. To accommodate data like these, we could tentatively change the phonological structure so that the consonants of the second syllable are optional. This structure, however, predicts that roots may consist of two successive vowels. Roots of this kind do not occur in Maanyan. It is therefore necessary to establish a second phonological structure, namely,

(2)



Notice that two of the roots above, /mais/ and /naun/ contrast with /maqis/ 'to cook (e.g. fish) wrapped in banana leaf', and /naqun/ 'to grow rice in dry land'. These contrasts indicate that a sequence of vowels does occur in the phonotactics of Maanyan besides the same sequence intervened by a glottal stop or a transitional glide /y/ or /w/.

### 2.5.2 Polysyllabic roots

The structure of polysyllabic roots generally is similar to that of disyllabic roots. Aside from the native polysyllabic roots exemplified in (2.5.1), multisyllabic roots in Maanyan occur as the result of breaking the sequences of consonants in words not native to Maanyan. The consonant sequences ml, nl, rn, rs and rg which occur in words borrowed from Banjarese or Bahasa Indonesia are adapted to the phonotactics of Maanyan by adding /a/ in between. Thus the borrowed words jumlah, panglima, warna, kursi, and harga are /jamalah/ 'amount', /pangalimaq/ 'chief commander', /waranaq/ 'color', /karusiq/ 'chair' and /haragaq/ 'price' in Maanyan.

### 2.5.3 The distribution of phonemes

In the above phonological structures (1) and (2), the following restrictions apply:

(i) V can be any vowel except that:

- /i/ may not precede /y/ or /w/ in root final syllable.
- The first and second V's may not be represented respectively by /e/ and /i/.

(ii) /C/ can be any consonant except that:

- Voiced stops cannot occur word finally.
- The consonant following a nasal must be homorganic; after grave nasals, the consonant must be a stop, and after non-grave nasals it can be either a stop or a continuant.

## 2.6 Phonemes with superimposed features

There are two types of phonemes which are phonetically realized as phonemes with a sort of superimposed feature. They are sequences of a nasal and a homorganic voiced stop, and phonetic diphthongs. The problems pertaining to these type of phonemes in classical phonology are whether they are to be analyzed as one or two phonemes.

### 2.6.1 Prenasalized consonants

Maanyan has sequences of nasal plus homorganic consonant phoneme, and nasal plus /r/ or /s/. These sequences always occur intervocally with a preceding stressed vowel. Some examples are:

/un <sup>h</sup> teq/	'slow'	/andiq/	'little brother'
/tampar/	'hit'	/kambeq/	'ghost'
		/janji/	'promise'
/suŋkiŋ/	'kitchen'	/mangah/	'out of breath'
/anri/	'and'	/manreq/	'sleep'
/punsi/	'banana'	/insiq/	'bring'

These types of consonant sequences are described in Dahl (1951:58) as prenasal consonants. However, in terms of phonetic realization they cannot be grouped into one class. The sequences nasal + voiceless stop, the sequences /nr/ and /ns/ form a class different from the sequence nasal + voiced stop. The former are realized phonetically as two independent phonemes, whereas the latter is realized in a completely different way. The stop is deleted and the nasal phoneme is lengthened as the result of stop deletion and the stress on the

preceding vowel. The second vowel is then nasalized. Thus the words /andiq/ 'little brother', /kambeq/ 'ghost', /janji/ 'promise' and /mangah/ 'out of breath' are represented phonetically as [an:ĩq], [kam:ẽq], [jap:ĩ] and [maŋ:ãh], where [n:], [m:], [p:] and [ŋ:] represent long nasals, and [ĩ] represents nasalized vowels. Probably only these sequences deserve to be called prenasal (more precisely prenasalized) consonants. The effect is that the sequence of nasal + voiced stop is normally perceived more like geminate or long nasal than nasal and stop. The fact that the two subclasses of prenasal consonants have completely different phonetic realization means that grouping them into one class is unnatural.

The term 'prenasal', as we understand it, is somewhat misleading. Prenasal implies that the oral consonants are the main phoneme, and the nasal is an additional superimposed feature, similar to stress, over the main phoneme. (Cf. the prenasalized voiced stops in Javanese, e.g., (bandung) and its pronunciation [bandung] and [mbandung]). It also implies that the realization of the sequence of nasal + consonant is the same as a single consonant in terms of mean duration. In Maanyan these implications do not apply to the sequence of nasal + voiced stop. The oral consonants are not the main phonemes; the alleged prenasal stop is deleted. Consequently the term 'prenasal' consonant is less than acceptable.

Another problem regarding the sequence of nasal + voiced stop is whether they are to be treated as one phoneme, as Dahl (1951) does, or as two phonemes, as I implicitly claim by introducing the term 'sequence' instead of the terms 'prenasal' or 'cluster'. Notice that by assuming distinct prenasal consonants, Dahl had to add one manner of articulation to his phonemic inventory. These types of consonants cannot fit into the already existing manners of articulation. Accordingly voiced bilabial, alveolar, palatal and velar consonants have two

manners of articulation, stop and prenasal. At the same time their voiceless counterparts should have only one manner of articulation, that is, stop, so do /s/ and /r/. This unnecessary complexity is contrary to the principle of generalization. Moreover, if we phonemicize [N:], and this in fact contrasts with [N], e.g. [um:ẽ] 'bring sth. on the back' : [umẽ] 'rice field,' we should add a statement or rule in the Maanyan phonemic system that the feature length is phonemic. This statement, however, raises a suspicion as to why this particular feature applies only to /N/ but not to other consonants and especially to vowels. Universally, if the feature length is phonemic in a language, it must always apply to vowels.

In terms of phonotactics positing /N:/ as representing long nasal phonemes runs into problems. Why does the cluster homorganic nasal plus voiceless consonant occur whereas the cluster homorganic nasal plus voiced consonant does not? Doesn't this contradict the pattern congruity in the sense of phonotactic congruence? The statement of phonotactics would then be unnecessarily complicated by positing the /N:/ phoneme.

The pattern homorganic nasal plus voiced stop is very common in Austronesian languages, mainly in languages bordering Maanyan. The Maanyan word [um:ẽ] 'bring sth. on the back' is [hambin] in Banjarese. The Maanyan word [an:ĩq] 'little brother/sister' is [andiq] in Ngaju. The treatment of loan words also favours the clusters homorganic nasal plus voiced stop. The Banjarese words [palanduk] 'mouse deer', [janji] 'promise', [manggah] 'out of breath' and [bapander] 'to talk' are [palan:ũk], [jap:ĩ], [maj:ãh] and [bapan:ẽr] in Maanyan.

In both internal and external justification, evidence is against phonemicization of [N:]. On the other hand if the so called prenasal consonants are analyzed as sequences in the same way as their nasal + voiceless stop counterparts, there is no difficulty in capturing the

generalization. They are then simply sequences of two phonemes, a nasal and its homorganic voiced stop. In this analysis they fit in perfectly with the phonotactics we have stated in (2.5.1) without requiring special modification. We therefore opt for the two-phoneme analyses for the prenasalized consonants.

### 2.6.2 Diphthongs

As we have stated in (2.2.3) diphthongs always occur word finally. This very strict environment of the occurrence of diphthongs raises the question whether they are to be treated as a single phoneme or two phonemes. To answer this question the principle of 'pattern congruity' or phonotactics plays an important role.

If diphthongs are taken to be one single phoneme, the phonotactic rule governing the occurrence of vowels has to be stated in an unnecessarily complicated way. There will be one rule governing the occurrence of simple vowels, and another rule governing the diphthongs. Such rules, for example, say 'The vowels may occur word initially, word medially, and word finally. The diphthongs occur only word finally.' These rules are certainly more complicated than if, for example, a more general rule can be stated. This argument is against the treatment of diphthongs as a single vowel phoneme.

On the other hand if diphthongs are analyzed as two phonemes, what we need to justify is whether the first elements of a diphthong can be identified as basic vowels phonetically closest to them. The proof is not difficult to find. There is no significant difference in pronunciation between the first vowels of diphthongs (e.g., /waway/ and /endey/) and the vowels of closed syllables (e.g., /lawah/ and /mander/). There is therefore no reason not to identify the first vowels of diphthongs as the basic vowel phonemes /u/, /e/, and /a/. As



to the second elements of diphthongs, two proposals may be plausibly considered, that is, /i/, u/, and /y/, /w/. With the first proposal, an objection soon appears. More important than the phonetics, is the mess such an interpretation would make of the phonotactics.

Phonotactically a sequence of vowels in Maanyan always form two syllabic peaks while diphthongs have only one syllabic peak. Secondly the second elements of diphthongs towards which direction the first vowels glide never reach the position of high vowels /i/ and /u/. In other words if the vowels are regarded as phonemic, we have two more vowels derived from diphthongs in addition to the four simple vowels. This situation is similar to that of positing the prenasal consonants which we have already rejected. Consequently treating the second elements of diphthongs as the phonemes /i/ and /u/ or their allophones does not work. They should thus be regarded as allophones of these phonemes.

The best approach is to treat the second elements of diphthongs as the phonemes /y/ and /w/. Like the English /y/ and /w/, Maanyan /y/ and /w/ share a conjunction of phonetic features. These features, as stated in Sommerstein (1977:33), are

The necessary phonemic invariants [of /y/ and /w/] are palatality (resp. velarity), absence of closure or friction, and non-syllabicity ....

This conjunction of features justifies the phonemic status of /y/ and /w/. Moreover, by treating the second elements of diphthongs as /y/ and /w/, the phonotactic rule will be simpler, since these phonemes, like the majority of consonant phonemes, can now end as well as begin a syllable. These arguments show strongly that two-phoneme analysis of the diphthongs is more favourable. We therefore transcribe the phonetic diphthongs [Uy], [ɛy], [ay], and [aw] as sequences of two phonemes /uy/, /ey/, /ay/ and /aw/.



## CHAPTER 3

## GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES

Grammatical categories here refer to the basic types of constituents in the sentence. They include phrasal categories (phrase types) and lexical categories (parts of speech). Grammatical categories are also associated with those semantic features which are overtly signalled in a language (see Lyons 1968:270-273 and Nielson and Nielson 1975:57). These features (e.g. tense, aspect, modality, number, classifiers, and others) are normally expressed in Maanyan by independent words, not by morphological means. In both phrasal constituents and semantic features, the category part of speech is always involved. It is thus justifiable that the discussion of grammatical categories in this chapter is associated and organized in relation to parts of speech.

Maanyan has open parts of speech classes (nouns, verbs, and adjectives) as well as closed classes (adverbs, noun adjuncts, verb adjuncts, and conjunctions). It should be pointed out from the outset that although in most cases we can invoke semantic content as distinguishing criteria, in some cases we must rely upon formal criteria. Among them are derivational affixes for verbs, and the possibility of occurrence with another part of speech in a phrase structure. These two are regarded as sufficient diagnostic criteria for identifying part of speech membership.

Verbs normally occur with a prefix marking the syntactic functions and semantic relations of the accompanying nouns, whereas nouns and

adjectives do not. Adjectives are differentiated from verbs by their potential occurrence with a causative prefix *ampi-* (e.g. *ampihanteq* 'to make-big, to enlarge', *ampihanang* 'to cause-hurt, to hurt'). Some verbal bases violate this constraint; the bases like *kiyak* 'cry', *harung* 'sit', and *dinung* 'see' can also take *ampi-*. These exceptional cases, however, can be attributed to the fact that in causative verb derivation, e.g. *ampikiyak* 'to make s.o. cry', the base *kiyak* 'cry' requires a non-volitional agent. In this sense it shares the same feature as that of adjectives, and hence may take *ampi-*.

Nouns generally have no affix, and hence cannot be identified by this morphological means. The difference between nouns, verbs and adjectives, however, is apparent in phrase structure principles. A noun, but not a verb or an adjective, can combine with a preposition to form a prepositional phrase (e.g. *hampi pakan* 'to the market', *teka ume* 'from the ricefield'). An adjective can take an intensifier *tuqu* 'very' or a comparative particle *labis* 'more' (e.g. *lungaq tuqu* 'stupid-very, very stupid' and *labis maqeh* 'more-good, better'). Verbs may take an adverbial modifier such as *anri aray* 'with happy - happily' and *unteq unteq* 'slowly' (e.g. *numet anri aray* 'to sing happily' and *takiyaq unteq unteq* 'to walk slowly'). These possible combinations are mutually exclusive, and hence can be regarded as diagnostic criteria for identifying these major parts of speech.

There are of course some doubtful cases as to whether a particular word should be regarded as a noun or a verb. Consider *tuntiqni* in the following construction:

- (1) *tun<sup>h</sup>iqni* *pire* *haragaq* *weyah*  
 ask-him how much price rice

'He asked, 'What is the price of rice?''

In (1) *tuntiq* is a base meaning 'ask' and can be regarded as pre-categorial, that is, it does not qualify for a membership of any

part of speech. In its occurrence preceding the third person pronominal *-ni* 'his/him', *tuntiq* can be taken as either a noun or a verb. If *tuntiq* is a noun, (1) is an equational sentence, and the sentence is paraphrasable as 'His question is "What is the price of rice?"'. Notice that Maanyan has no noun meaning 'question' derived from *tuntiq* 'ask'. If *tuntiq* is a verb, then (1) is a passive construction. As we may see later, passive verbs may be represented by verbal bases. In this sense, the meaning of (1) is paraphrasable as 'It is asked by him what the price of rice is.' Semantically there is no difference in interpretation. Both paraphrases express the same meaning. Therefore we cannot rely on the semantic content of the word *tuntiq* to determine its category. However, using phrasal construction the status of *tuntiq* can be clarified. A noun may be modified by an adjective, normally marked by a relativizer *sa*, whereas a verb may be modified by an adverb, normally in the structure consisting of a preposition *anri* 'with' plus an adjective. With respect to *tuntiq* (and other verbs of saying *eyaw* 'say' and *pesen* 'tell') only an adverbial modifier may occur:

(2)a. *tuntiqni anri mehet ...*  
 ask-him with strong  
 'asked by him loudly ...'

b. *\*tuntiqni sa mehet ...*  
 ask-him REL strong

Accordingly *tuntiq* in (1) is a verb, not a noun. Moreover (1) is equivalent to (3):

(3) *hanye ituntiq pire haragaq weyah*  
 he ask how much price rice  
 'He asked, "What is the price of rice?"'

In (3), *ituntiq* 'to ask' is certainly a verb as marked by the verbal prefix *i-* marking intransitivity. Thus in both a passive and an active analysis *tuntiq* is a verb.

Closed classes have no morphological marking, but play an important role in specifying the syntactic and semantic functions of the sentential elements which these categories occur with. Adverbs do not seem to include a set of basic lexical items. Generally adverbs are derived from other parts of speech, particularly adjectives and nouns. The closed classes, noun adjuncts and verb adjuncts, are words which constitute phrasal constituents with a noun and a verb respectively. The terminology comes from Schachter (1985). These classes can thus be used as identifying criteria for nouns and verbs. Conjunctions mark the status of a clause in a complex sentence.

In the following sections we will discuss noun phrases, verb phrases and adjectival phrases. Each is followed by the discussion of their heads, nouns, verbs and adjectives. Other grammatical categories are discussed under parts of speech classes.

### 3.1 Noun phrases

A noun phrase (NP) is a construction of which the head is a noun. The shortest possible NP consists of only a noun. Personal pronouns and proper nouns are instances of bare NPs. NPs are differentiated from nouns in that NPs can be referring expressions, that is, they refer to actual entities in the world, whereas nouns like antahuq 'dog', punsi 'banana', lewuq 'house' do not refer to the world outside in and of themselves (see Stockwell 1977:51, and Lyons 1977:642-648 for the term 'referring expression'). Noun phrases are thus devices to stipulate the reference of nouns. The structure of NPs and the reference they entail will be discussed in (4.1). In this chapter we will discuss the functions of NPs and the classification of nouns which function as their heads.

## 3.1.1 Functions of NPs

A NP in Maanyan can function as:

1. an argument of a predicate.
2. a predicate of a clause.
3. an object of a preposition
4. a possessor in a genitive construction
5. a vocative.

A NP may occur as a subject, an object, and a peripheral argument.

(4) kenah yiti rarang hang jaqar  
 fish this expensive at Jaar  
 'This fish is expensive at Jaar.'

(5) ulun yeruq midi lewuqku  
 man the TR-buy house-my  
 'The man bought my house.'

(6) aku kaqi tulak hampi pakan  
 I want go to market  
 'I want to go to market.'

In an equational sentence a NP functions as the predicate.

(7) ulun yeruq pambakal tamiyang layang  
 man the village head Tamiang Layang  
 'The man is the village head of Tamiang Layang.'

(8) waway yeruq aken ambahku  
 girl the niece father-my  
 'This girl is my father's niece.'

In (7,8) the predicates pambakal tamiyang layang 'the village head of Tamiang Layang' and aken ambahku 'my father's niece' refer to actual entities besides their function to characterize the subject NPs. This type of equational is different from the following type:

(9) ulun yeruq pambakal  
 man the village head  
 'The man is a village head.'

(10) iyaq yeruq waway  
 child the girl  
 'The child is a girl.'

In (9,10) the predicates are represented by pambakal 'village head' and waway 'girl'. Here they are not noun phrases since they do not refer to actual entities in the world. Rather they merely characterize the subject NPs ulun yeruq 'the man' and iyaq yeruq 'the child'.

A NP also functions as an object of a preposition, and together they form a prepositional phrase.

(11) ma lewuqku  
 to house-my  
 'to my house'

(12) hang penah ruwang  
 at center hall  
 'at the center of the hall'

A NP may function as a possessor in a genitive construction.

(12) lewuq guruqku  
 house teacher-my  
 'my teacher's house'

(13) sapidaqni  
 bicycle-his  
 'his bicycle'

A NP may function as a vocative, namely the person whom the speaker is speaking to. As such the second person pronoun often occurs preceding the vocative. Vocatives are not arguments of predicates; they are spoken slightly separately from the main clause with a pause. A vocative preferably occurs at the beginning or at the end of a clause, though a medial position is not impossible.

(14) paluy, adaq aur manreq  
 Paluy don't busy sleep  
 'Paluy, don't just sleep all the time!'

(15) inun sa napikirnu, tuqen  
 what REL PASS-think-you Tuen  
 'What are you thinking of, Tuen?'

(16) hanyuq paluy, adaq aur manreq  
 you Paluy don't busy sleep'  
 'Paluy, don't just sleep all the time!'

It is also common that the vocative with hanyuq is further preceded by a question particle inun 'what' if the main sentence is an interrogative sentence.

(17) inun hanyuq siyung mangkuwungan, panas atawaq  
 what you Siung Mangkuwungan hot or  
 puwang hanyuq daya ulun yeruq  
 NEG you AM man the

'Siung Mangkuwungan, are you angry with this man or not?'

In (17) the phrase inun hanyuq siyung Mangkuwungan is used more as a way to get the addressee's attention than making a query about the addressee, and hence it is a vocative.

### 3.1.2 Noun classification

On the basis of their reference, nouns can be distinguished as common nouns, proper nouns and personal pronouns. Common nouns refer to classes of people or objects. A noun such as iwek 'pig', for example, refers to a class of animals with common characteristics. Proper nouns refer to names of particular people and places. Personal pronouns identify persons in terms of participants in a speech event. They have reference to the speaker, hearer, and the person other than these two.



## 3.1.2.1 Common nouns

Common nouns have two general subclasses: count nouns and mass nouns. Both can be enumerated; mass nouns obligatorily take a measurement classifier, and count nouns optionally take a nominal classifier.

(18) dime (kaukuy) antahuq

five CLSF dog

'five dogs'

(19) ruweh litar weyah

two litre rice

'two litres of rice'

Bare common nouns (in short bare nouns), that is, common nouns without a determiner, generally express generic reference. They are normally used in generic statements, in equational and existential clauses, in contrastive use, and in the first introduction of an object into a discourse. Each usage will be exemplified in turn.

Bare nouns used generically occur in a clause which denotes habitual action.

(20) wawey kebiyasaqanni pintar nuwen

woman generally clever cook dish

'Women are generally good at cooking dishes.'

(21) aku katuju ruyan

I like ruyan (k.o. fruit)

'I like ruyan.'

(22) ulun maqanyan ngamule parey

people Maanyan TR-grow rice

'Maanyan people grow rice.'

Bare nouns also optionally occur as a syntactic object of verbs prefixed with i-.



(23) hi ijat iwuwiq (lumbah)

PM Ijat wash plate

Ijat is washing (plates).'

(24) hi ijat ituhun (bajuq)

PM Ijat wash clothes

Ijat is washing (clothes).'

(25) yatine ipuhut (lantay)

Yatine sweep floor

'Yatine is sweeping (the floor).'

For further accounts of verbs prefixed with *i-*, see (4.3.1) and (7.6.1).

In equational sentences bare nouns occur as predicates. In this type of construction they serve to identify other nouns, the subjects of the sentences.

(26) ulun yeruq guruq

man the teacher

'The man is a teacher.'

(27) yiti iwek

this pig

'This is a pig.'

(28) aku yenaq mangamet

I this eagle

'I am an eagle.'

In a certain type of existential clause bare nouns also serve as predicates along with the existential predicate *naqan* 'exist'. In this type of clause only the existence of an object is at issue, and hence the use of a determiner preceding the predicative noun is not necessary.

(29) aku naqan duwit hang lewuq  
 I exist money at home  
 'I have some money at home.'

(30) aku puwang uweng lewuq  
 I NEG exist house  
 'I have no house.'

In sentences where a class of objects and another class are contrasted, bare nouns occur without a determiner.

(31) inehni katuju ruyan teka nanakan  
 mother-his like ruyan from nanakan (k.o.fruit)  
 'His mother likes ruyan more than nanakan.'

(32) aku kaqi midi hapaw puwang papan  
 I want TR-buy roof NEG board  
 'I want to buy some roofing, not boards.'

If a noun is introduced into a discourse for the first time, it generally appears without a determiner.

(33) aku ngindiq pulisi mupuk pantakaw  
 I TR-see policeman TR-hit thief  
 'I saw a policeman hitting a thief.'

(34) ware takam ngantaraq darangan ma dehan  
 good we incl. TR-look for wife for Dehan  
 'It is better for us to look for a wife for Dehan.'

### 3.1.2.2 Proper nouns .

Proper nouns cover names of people (paluy, nalaw, dehan), geographical names (hunqey siraw 'Siraw river', baritu 'Barito', jaweten 'Jaweten'), names of public or political institutions, business firms, etc. (kacamatan pasar panas 'subdistrict Pasar Panas', sipi gundaling 'Gundaling Ltd.', tika pertiwi 'Pertiwi kindergarten'). If a geographical name is well known, only the proper noun is used to

represent the names and the type of object named. Thus baritu refers to Barito river. A less-known name such as hungey jaqar 'Jaar river' can not be represented by jaqar alone. The latter is well known as the name of a village. Generally names of villages or towns do not need the type of object, that is, tumpuk or kuta 'town' preceding them. Thus we say jaqar and tamiyang layang instead of tumpuk jaqar and kuta tamiyang layang. Proper nouns indicating personal names usually take a person marker hi (e.g. hi ijat 'Ijat', hi nyakaw 'Nyakau').

### 3.1.2.3 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns are a set of words which have reference to the speaker, hearer, and the person other than the speaker and hearer. In Maanyan there is no specific pronoun which refers to a non-human object. To serve this purpose a deictic or a deictic following the noun may be used to refer to the object (see chapter 5).

Personal pronouns are distinct from common nouns and proper nouns in that they may have different forms for different grammatical functions. They have different forms for subject and object, for singular and plural, and for possessor in genitive construction/agent of passive. The forms of personal pronouns in Maanyan are illustrated in Table 3-1.

Plural personal pronouns may occur with a numeral to denote the specific number of people the pronouns represent.

(35)a. takam ruweh

we two

'we both'

b. here katuluh

they all

'all of them'

The phrase takam ruweh has a variant taruweh 'the two of us/we both'.

Table 3-1: Personal Pronouns

Number	Person	Subject/Object	Genitive/Agent of Passive
Singular	1 <sup>st</sup> person	aku	-ku
	2 <sup>nd</sup> person	hanyuq	-nu
	3 <sup>rd</sup> person	hanye	-ni
Plural	1 <sup>st</sup> person incl.	takam	takam
	1 <sup>st</sup> person excl.	kami	kami
	2 <sup>nd</sup> person	naun	naun
	3 <sup>rd</sup> person	here	here

The following examples illustrate the personal pronouns as subject, object, possessor, and agent of a passive sentence.

- (36) aku/here hawiq kequni  
 I they come tomorrow  
 'I/they will come tomorrow.'
- (37) ma awe pulisi ngalap aku/here  
 to where police TR-bring I/they  
 'Where did the police take me/them?'
- (38) lewuq-ku/-nu/here  
 house-my/your/they  
 'my/your/their house'

- (39)a. antahuq yeruq endey-ni diye  
 dog the PASS-bring-he later  
 'The dog will be brought by him later.'
- b. antahuq yeruq napupuk daya here  
 dog the PASS-hit AM they  
 'The dog was hit by them.'

### 3.2 Verb phrases

A verb phrase (VP) is a construction of which the verb is the main constituent. The surface satellites around the verbs include verb adjuncts (aspect, modality, and negative particles), noun phrases, prepositional phrases, and adverbs. A verb adjunct normally precedes the verb, and a NP, a PP, or an adverb follows it.

- (40)a. marletun haut hawiq  
 Marletun already come  
 'Marletun has already come.'
- b. ulun yeruq mupuk antahuqku  
 man the TR-hit dog-my  
 'The man hit my dog.'
- c. ambahni tulak hampi gunung  
 father-his go to mountain  
 'His father went to the mountain.'
- d. hanye takiyaq wawansit  
 he walk fast  
 'He walks fast.'

The NPs following the verb semantically refer to the participants in the event designated by the verb (e.g. patient, locative, instrument, goal, and the like). Syntactically they are nonetheless parts of verb phrases and function to specify the meaning of the verb.

### 3.2.1 Functions of verb phrases

The characteristic function of verb phrases is as predicates. They commonly occur following their subject.

(41) ulun yeruq manrus

man the take a shower

'The man took a shower.'

(42) ineh ngutaq punsi

mother TR-eat banana

'Mother ate some bananas.'

(43) aku lakuq duwit ma ambahku

I TR-ask money to father-my

'I asked my father for money.'

(44) jukungni leteng

canoe-his sink

'His canoe sank.'

In (41,42) we see that the verb is marked by a prefix, functioning as a transitivity marker. Transitive is marked by the ng- prefix and intransitive by the ma- prefix. In (43) the verb lakuq 'ask' is transitive, but it takes no prefix to mark its transitivity. This is one of few verbs which take no prefix to indicate this syntactic function. Other examples of prefixless verbs are:

kuman 'eat'                      hawiq 'come'

wuwah 'hit'                      tulak 'go'

sintaq 'love'                      takiyaq 'walk'

In (44) the predicates are represented by a process verb; process verbs are also prefixless.

Verb phrases may also function as noun modifiers. In this function they take a relativizer sa.

- (45) ulun sa midi punsi yeruq ...  
 man REL TR-buy banana the  
 'the man who bought the bananas ...'
- (46) lewuq sa nawidi daya ulun yeruq ...  
 house REL PASS-buy AM man the  
 'the house that the man bought ...'

### 3.2.2 Nominalized verbs

Maanyan has no device to derive what is commonly called a gerund in English. The same form of verb which functions as predicate is also used nominally. For example:

- (47) manrus rara hang tumpuk yiti  
 take a shower difficult in village this  
 'It is difficult to take a shower in this village.'
- (48) ngindiq eleh panaqan riranni  
 TR-see only NEG-exist use-his  
 'Just seeing is of no use.'
- (49) hanye mawule mambasaq buku  
 he lazy TR-read book  
 'He is too lazy to read a book.'
- (50) aku puwang hamen nganrey  
 I NEG want TR-wait  
 'I do not want to wait.'

In (47,48) the subjects manrus 'to take a shower' and ngindiq 'to see' have the same form as when they are predicates. Likewise the complements of (49,50) have the same form as ordinary predicative verbs. Structures like (49,50) will be discussed in chapter 9, on complementation, and chapter 10, on complex sentences.

### 3.2.3 Morphological possibilities

As stated previously, verbs normally occur with a prefix marking the syntactic functions and semantic relation of the accompanying nouns. The morphological markers for verbs will be described in (4.3), on verb formation, and the semantic relations they signal will be described in chapter 7, on basic clause types.

### 3.3 Adjective phrases

An adjective phrase (AdjP) is a construction with an adjective as its head. Like VPs, AdjPs in their function as predicates specify the semantic relation of the accompanying participants. They are different from VPs in that AdjPs only specify the accompaniment of patients.

#### 3.3.1 Functions of adjective phrases

Adjective phrases function as predicates, nominalized elements in exclamations, and modifiers of nouns.

As a predicate, an adjective phrase normally follows the subject.

(51) iyaq yeruq rumis tuqu  
 child that small very  
 'The child is very small.'

(52) ruyan yiti hanteq  
 ruyan this big  
 'This ruyan (k.o. fruit) is big.'

(53) bajuqni mariyang  
 shirt-his red  
 'His shirt is red.'

(54) peqeulun yeruq mahanang  
 leg man that painful  
 'That man's leg is painful.'

In an exclamation both adjective types, ma- adjectives and unaffixed adjectives, occur in their root form followed by -ni 'his'.



(55) heheh, rumisni iyaq yeruq

EXCL small-his child that

'What a small child he is!'

(56) heheh, riyangni bajunu

EXCL red-his shirt-your

'What a red shirt you have!'

(Cf. the exclamatory use of the root riyang 'red' in (56) with the predicative use of mariyang in (53)).

As modifiers, adjective phrases follow the nouns they modify, with or without the relativizer (i)sa.

(57) lewuq (sa) hanteq

house REL big

'a big house'

(58) ulun (sa) ambaw yeruq

man REL tall the

'the tall man'

### 3.3.2 The morphological possibilities

There are two major subtypes of adjectives, unaffixed adjectives and ma- adjectives. Unaffixed adjectives occur as predicates or modifiers of a NP without any prefix, whereas ma- adjectives always occur with the prefix ma- except in exclamations. Different from verbal prefixes, this prefix does not signal the role of the participant in the situation described by an adjectival predicate. As we have noted, adjectives require an invariant participant, the patient.

Adjectives have other morphological possibilities, such as the prefixes ta- to indicate comparative degree (e.g. taqambaw 'taller' and tahanteq 'bigger'), pa-ni to indicate superlative degree (e.g. pahanteqni 'the biggest', and panatawni 'the richest'), and ma- to indicate inclination. The last prefix derives adjectives from

intransitive verb bases, e.g. mababur 'inclined to fight' and matungkaw 'inclined to cry'.

### 3.3.3 The semantic types of adjectives

Both unaffixed adjectives and ma-adjectives denote state or quality. Unaffixed adjectives normally indicate dimension (hanteq 'big', rumis 'small', ambaw 'tall', imbeq 'short', bukaq 'wide'); physical property (maqeh 'good', lampiniq 'ripe while in the trees', tumpul 'blunt', tepuq 'broken').

ma- adjectives normally denote human propensity: (mawule 'lazy', marengen 'deaf', maraqat 'hot tempered', mawiney 'beautiful', mahanang 'painful, hurt'), color (mahilak 'white', madintang 'yellow', mariyang 'red', maqintem 'black', taste (mapaqit 'bitter', manis 'sweet', marare 'hot', maraquh 'tasty', mahapet 'sour'), ambient property (maraqay 'bright', matalak 'very bright', maqiyeng 'dark', maqintem 'dark'), and fruit and food quality (mantaq 'raw', mihak 'ripe', and malemek 'soft', mangkuruy 'hard (for rice)').

Some adjectives, however, fail to meet this generalization. For example, makapan 'thick' (size) malayey 'slippery', mehet 'hard, fast' (derived from ma- + kehet) (quality) occur with ma- prefix, whereas human propensity like paquwaq 'poor', tataw 'rich, and sangkal 'diligent' occur without ma-.

### 3.3.4 Quantifiers

On the basis of functional similarities with adjectives, quantifiers are subsumed under the adjective class. Like adjectives, quantifiers can function as predicate and modifier, e.g. sapiqni heneq 'cow-his many/He has many cows', sapiq dime kaqukuy 'cow five CLSF/five cows'. It is necessary to distinguish between numeral quantifiers (numerals) and non-numeral quantifiers; the first may occur with a numeral classifier, the latter may not.

## 3.3.4.1 Numerals

Numerals are distinguishable into cardinal numbers and ordinal numbers. Simple cardinal numbers are:

isaq/sa/erang	'one'	enem	'six'
ruweh	'two'	pitu	'seven'
telu	'three'	walu	'eight'
epat	'four'	suwey	'nine'
dime	'five'		

erang 'one' is used to specify the number of articles/things, isaq 'one' in counting the number, and sa to form a number of multiples of ten, hundred, etc. (erang wulan 'one month', numur isaq 'number one', sapuluh 'ten').

The numbers greater than nine are composed of one of the simple numbers above and at least one of the following numbers:

puluh	'times ten'
walas/balas	'ten plus'
jatuh	'times one hundred'
ribu	'times one thousand'
juta	'times one million'

To form numbers of 'ten plus', the cardinal numbers have a different form, as seen in the following examples:

sawalas	'eleven'
duwa walas	'twelve'
tiga walas	'thirteen'
ampat balas	'fourteen'
lima walas	'fifteen'
anam balas	'sixteen'
pitu walas	'seventeen'
walu walas	'eighteen'
suwey walas	'nineteen'

Notice that walas is used when the cardinal numbers end with a vowel or semivowel. Otherwise balas is used. Notice also that with walas, numbers for isaq 'one', ruweh 'two', telu 'three', epat 'four' and dime 'five' are represented by sa, duwa, tiga, empat and lima respectively.

Decimal numbers and multiples of one hundred, one thousand, etc. are formed by adding puluh, jatuh, ribu or juta to a simple cardinal number. The number for 'one' is also represented by sa except for number 'one hundred', which is represented by jatuh only. Some examples are:

sapuluh	'ten'
ruwam puluh	'twenty'
telum puluh	'thirty'
epat puluh	'forty'
dimem puluh	'fifty'
jatuh	'one hundred'
ruweh jatuh	'two hundred'
suwey jatuh	'nine hundred'
saribu	'one thousand'
epat ribu	'four thousand'
sajuta	'one million'
dime juta	'five million'

Notice that the phoneme /m/ is inserted between a cardinal number ending with a vowel and puluh.

To denote a number other than a decimal and multiples of one hundred, one thousand, etc. the higher number is followed by the smaller number, such as the following examples:

jatuh enem	'one hundred and six'
ruweh jatuh enem	'two hundred and six'
telu ribu epat puluh isaq	'three thousand and forty one'
sajuta ruwam puluh	'one million and twenty'

Ordinal numbers are formed by adding ka- to a cardinal number.

kaisaq	'first'
karuweh	'second'
kadime	'fifth'
kajatuh	'one hundredth'
kasaribu	'one thousandth'

#### 3.3.4.2 Non-numeral quantifiers

Non-numeral quantifiers are words such as:

heneq	'many, much'	katuluh	'all'
butit	'a few'	saparu	'half'
heneq (b)utit	'more'	papire	'some'

These words are also used as indefinite modifiers.

#### 3.4 Adverbs

Adverbs are a class of words whose function is to modify constituents other than nouns. Different from other major parts of speech (nouns, verbs and adjectives), adverbs do not seem to include basic lexical items in Maanyan, except for a few instances such as the degree adverbs tatuqu 'extremely, really', labis 'more', and paling 'most'. Most adverbs are derived from other parts of speech by syntactic means or by reduplication.

Adverbs are mainly derived from other parts of speech. Adverb formation, however, should be distinguished from word formation (see chapter 4) in that the former involves reduplication and phrasal construction, whereas the latter involves affixation. Adverbs can be derived from adjectives and nouns.

Adverbs can be derived from adjectives by:

- (a) placing an adjective after a verb or verb phrase.

(59) hanye mambasaq wansit

he read fast

'He reads fast.'

(60) waday yiti manruq unteq

cake this cook slow

'This cake cooks slowly.'

(b) reduplicating an adjective, either full reduplication or reduplication of the first syllable.

(61) hanye takiyaq wansit wansit/wawansit

he walk fast

'He walked fast.'

(62) pedak watuq yiti lawit lawit/lalawit

throw stone this far

'Throw the stone a long way.'

(c) adding the preposition anri 'with' or sasara 'by way of' to an adjective or a noun.

(63) hanye paqajar anri aray

he learn with happy

'He learned happily.'

(64) hi ijat mudiq anri mahanang atey

PM Ijat return with sad heart

'Ijat returned home sad.'

Adjectives (or nouns) preceded by sasaraq derive manner adverbs.

sasara tarang	'clearly'	tarang	'clear'
sasara upu	'like a man'	upu	'male'
sasara adat	'according to tradition'	adat	'tradition'
sasara kaluarga	'in a family manner'	kaluarga	'relative'
sasara hukum	'according to law'	hukum	'law'

Like adjectives, nominals can function as adverbs. These nominals are commonly called temporal nouns, following Soenjono (1965:64). Included in this type are temporal and locational adverbs.

Temporal adverbials normally do not take a preposition to indicate the adverbial function. They are represented by nouns denoting temporal nouns. Some examples are:

taqati/itati	'now'	kequni	'tomorrow'
diye	'later on'	kaqayat	'in the morning'
kariweq	'afternoon'	kaqayat uni	'tomorrow morning'
saqetu	'noon'	hinra anraw	'once upon a time'
hingkariweq	'yesterday'	anraw yiti	'today'
penah anraw	'midday'	penah malem	'midnight'
wulan yiti	'this month'	wulan yati	'next month'
pukul isaq	'one o'clock'	pukul dime	'five o'clock'
ahat	'Sunday'	sanayan	'Monday'
wulan kasaq	'first month'	wulan ruweh	'second month'
januwari	'January'	pebruwari	'February'

wulan kasaq 'first' month', wulan ruweh 'second month', wulan telu 'third month', etc. are names of months in Maanyan tradition. They are formed by wulan 'month' + an ordinal number.

Locational adverbs are generally marked by a preposition. They are thus represented by prepositional phrases. Some examples are:

ha(ng) yiti	'here'	ha(ng) yeruq	'there'
ha(ng) yaruq	'over there'	ha(ng) lewuq	'in the house'
pi lewuq	'to the house'	hampi pakan	'to the market'
ma jaweten	'to Jaweten'	teka jakarta	'from Jakarta'



### 3.5 Noun adjuncts

Noun adjuncts cover several classes of words that typically form phrasal constituents with a noun. In most cases these words convey some semantic information which is not expressed by the noun itself, e.g. the role of the referent in the action expressed by the cooccurring predicate, or whether the referent is singular or plural (see Schachter 1985:35). In other cases, such as classifiers, noun adjuncts appeared merely to be required by the syntax. Noun adjuncts in Maanyan include role markers, deictics, nominal classifiers, person markers, and title. Different from case-marked languages, these types of noun adjunct are words, not morphological markings.

#### 3.5.1 Role markers

As we have stated above, role markers indicate the role an NP argument plays in the event designated by the verb or predicate of a clause. In Maanyan role markers include prepositions and discourse markers. These markers can be differentiated by the semantic relation they signal. Prepositions normally mark peripheral arguments, whereas discourse markers mark core arguments as topic of the clause.

##### 3.5.1.1 Prepositions

Maanyan is not a case-marked language. Case role information is mainly indicated by word order and prepositions. Thus the preverbal argument of a transitive verb is the agent and the postverbal argument is the patient. A variety of other semantic relations such as beneficiary, instrument, location, etc., are marked by prepositions. It is in this function that prepositions, and for that matter discourse markers, are regarded as role markers. The prepositions and the roles they mark are:



hang	'at, in, on'	(location)
ha(ng) wuwang	'in, inside'	(location)
ma	'to, for'	(direction, beneficiary)
(ham)pi/nengkan	'to'	(direction)
teka, hinka	'from'	(source)
hampe	'up to, until'	(location)
daya	'by,	(agent)
anri	'with'	(comitative/instrument)
baya	'together with'	(comitative)
helang	'between'	(location, time)
yalah	'like, as'	(similative)
tiba	'about'	(descriptive, objective)

The prepositions nengkan 'to' only applies to human direction, whereas ma and hampi both meaning 'to' are not so limited.

Prepositions form prepositional phrases with the following noun or nominal. They always precede the noun or noun phrase in a prepositional phrase construction. For example:

hang lewuq	ma pakan
in house	to market
'in the house'	'to the market'
hang pipik lewuq	helang ruweh lewuq yeruq
at wall the	between two house the
'on the wall'	'between the two houses'
hang yeruq	hang yiti
at that	at this
'there'	'here'

yalah kambeq	tiba taneq
like ghost	about land
'like a ghost'	'about land'

A prepositional phrase may function as:

(a) adjunct of a clause.

(65) ulun yeruq takiyaq hampi pakan  
 man the walk to market  
 'The man walked to the market.'

(66) ulun yeruq ngamiq duwit ma guru  
 man the TR-give money to teacher  
 'The man gave the teacher some money.'

(67) pangalat yeruq napupuk daya pulisi  
 thief the PASS-hit by police  
 'The thief was hit by a police man.'

The preposition daya 'by' is here termed an agent marker (AM).

(b) predicate of a clause.

(68) iyaqku ma pakan  
 son-my to market  
 'My son goes to the market.'

(69) manuqnu hang wading lewuqku  
 chicken-your at behind house-my  
 'Your chicken is behind my house.'

(c) modifier in a noun phrase construction.

(70) waway hang tumpuk yiti  
 girl at village this  
 'the girls in this village'

(71) lewuq sa hang iring hungey  
 house REL at bank river  
 'the house at the river bank'

As a modifier of a noun or noun phrase, a prepositional phrase may or

may not take the relativizer *sa*. The prepositions *daya* 'by' and *yalah* 'like' also function as conjunctions if they are followed by a clause, as in (72,73) below:

(72) *inehni mahanang atey daya anakni puwang bagawi*  
 mother-his sad heart because son-his NEG work  
 'His mother was sad because his son did not work.'

(73) *hanye mambasaq yalah ulun iheraw*  
 he TR-read like man cry  
 'He reads like someone crying.'

### 3.5.1.2 Discourse markers

Discourse markers are words that indicate the discourse role of the associated noun phrase. The only discourse marker in Maanyan is the topic marker *-leh*, here optional, obtained when an element of a sentence is topicalized. Compare the sentences below:

(74)a. *hanye ngalap punsi yeruq*  
 he TR-bring banana the  
 'He brought the bananas.'

b. *hanye(leh) sa ngalap punsi yeruq*  
 he-TOP REL TR-bring banana the  
 'It is he who brought the bananas.'

(75)a. *punsi yeruq naqalap dayani*  
 banana the PASS-bring AM-him  
 'The bananas were brought by him.'

b. *punsi yeruq(leh) sa naqalap dayani*  
 banana the-TOP REL PASS-bring AM-him  
 'These are the bananas that were brought by him.'

(74a) and (75a) are neutral declarative sentences with no significant emphasis on any nominal. In (74b) and (75b) the subjects are topicalized. The topic marker *-leh*, if present, normally emphasizes the role of the syntactic subject as a topic or new information.

## 3.5.2 Deictics

Deictics function to identify the reference of a noun with respect to its location relative to the speaker and hearer. In Maanyan there are three ways of pointing out an object, depending on the proximity of the object to the speaker and hearer. These are (a) close to the speaker, (b) far from the speaker but close to the hearer, and (c) far away from both the speaker and hearer. The deictics are:

{	yiti	'this'
	yenaq	
	inaq	

{	yeruq	'that'
	iruq	
	ruq	

yaruq 'that yonder'

Deictics always follow a nominal in a noun phrase construction. They may also follow a pronominal and proper noun. Some examples are:

## (a) Nominal + deictic

ulun yiti 'this man'

ulun yeruq 'that man'

ulun yeruq huniq(en) 'the man previously mentioned'

tumpuk yaruq 'the village over there'

yiti 'this' and yaruq 'that yonder' in the above examples always function as pure deictics, that is they indicate the location of an object or person in a deictic context. yeruq 'that' may function as a deictic if it denotes the location of an object or person. It may also imply definiteness if the speaker assumes that the hearer can identify the reference of an object or person which has been mentioned previously. In this meaning it is often followed by the modifier huniq(en) 'just mentioned'.

## (b) Pronoun/proper noun + deictic

The deictics may occur following a personal pronoun or a proper noun. . . illustrated below:

aku		'I'
takam	yiti/yenaq	'we incl.'
kami		'we excl.'
{ hanyuq }	}yiti	'you'
{ naun }		'you pl.'
hanye	yeruq	'he'
here	yaruq	'they over there'
nalaw	yiti	'(this) Nalau'
nalaw	yeruq	'that Nalau'

A structure like this has the following constraints: yiti/yenaq 'this' occur only with first and second person, and yeruq/iruuq/ruq 'that' and yaruq 'that yonder' with third person. These constraints can be attributed to the fact that deictics indicate the relative proximity of an object from the speaker and hearer, and the same feature also holds with personal pronouns. Deictics and the personal pronouns they mark must agree in the feature proximity. As a modifier of personal pronouns and proper nouns the deictic yiti and yenaq have the function of giving emphasis to the personal pronoun, a sort of topicalization, as seen in the following sentences (emphasized elements are boldfaced):

(76) hanyuq yiti adaq ekat maharung

you this NEG-REQ only sit

'You don't just sit.'

(77) aku yiti puwang uweng ineh ambah

I this NEG exist mother father

'I have no mother and father.'

Compare also the following sentences.

(78) aku bangaran nanyu tanggiling langit  
 I have-name Nanyu Tanggiling Langit  
 'My name is Nanyu Tanggiling Langit.'

(79) aku yenaq bangaran nanyu tanggiling langit  
 I this have name Nanyu Tanggiling Langit  
 'I am Nanyuq Tanggiling Langit.'

In (78) aku 'I' has neutral reference and is used by the speaker to introduce an entity. In (79) aku is emphasized by the deictic yenaq 'this' and is therefore more egoistic.

A deictic occurring with a third person pronoun bears an additional anaphoric notion besides its normal function.

(80) hanye yeruq guru esdi  
 he that teacher elementary school  
 'He is an elementary school teacher.'

(81) hanye yeruq haut matey ineh ambahni  
 he that already die mother father-his  
 'His parents were already dead.'

In the above sentences yeruq assumes a deictic function if the person referred to is present. If he is absent, it functions to emphasize the anaphoric reference of the third person pronoun. The nominal hanye yeruq is thus interpretable as 'he previously mentioned'.

### 3.5.2.1 Deictic without the head noun

A deictic can appear in a clause without a head noun. In this case it functions as a NP.

(82) yiti andiqku  
 this little brother-my  
 'This is my little brother.'

- (83) yeruq ngaranni nanakan  
 that name-its nanakan (k.o. fruit)  
 'That is called nanakan.'
- (84) aku hamen yiti  
 I want this  
 'I want this.'
- (85) lewuqku yeruq  
 house-my that  
 'My house is that one.' or 'That is my house.'

### 3.5.2.2 Deictics with a preposition

Deictics, like common nouns, can occur with a preposition. The resulting structure forms what Lyons (1968:278) calls 'situationally bound adverbs of place'. They are deictics since they indicate location relative to the speaker and hearer. Some examples are:

ha(ng) yiti	'here (location close to the speaker)'
at this	
ha(ng) yeruq	'there (location far from the speaker
at that	but may be close to the hearer)'
ha(ng) yaruq	'over there (location far away from
at yonder	both the speaker and hearer)'
ma/hampi yiti	'here (toward the speaker)'
to this	
ma/hampi yeruq	'there (toward a location far from the
to that	speaker but may be close to the
	hearer)'
ma/hampi yaruq	'over there (toward a location far away from
to yonder	both the speaker and hearer)'
teka/hingka yiti	'from here'
from this	

teka/hingka yeruq        'from there'  
 from        that  
 teka/hingka yaruq        'from yonder'  
 from        over there

### 3.5.2.3 Deictics with temporal location

To indicate location in time relative to the time of speaking, only yiti 'this' among the deictics may be used. The prefix ta- is added to the (allomorph of) deictic yiti to form taqati meaning 'now'. Other temporal locations are lexicalized, for example:

hingkariweq        'yesterday'  
 kaquni                'tomorrow'  
 sadiq                'a long time ago'  
 udi hiye             'then, later'  
 diye                 'later'  
 kaqayat             'tomorrow'  
 anraw sa aruq        'the day before yesterday'

These temporal locations are, in a broad sense, also deictics since their meanings include a component of deixis.

### 3.5.3 Classifiers

As has been pointed out, a count noun which occurs with a numeral normally takes a classifier. Classifiers are words which indicate the semantic category of nouns they modify. They are optional, but preferable.

On the basis of their form and usage, it is necessary to distinguish between nominal classifiers and measurement classifiers. Nominal classifiers are always in the form of ka- + noun denoting a specific shape or sub-part of an object. They are used preceding count nouns. Measurement classifiers are unmarked; they are represented by nouns denoting measurement: length, width, weight, and the like. They are used before mass nouns.



There is not in all cases a systematic and fixed semantic correlation between the head noun and the classifier that modifies it. Some classifiers occur with a noun that does not have any correlation between them. For instance, nouns such as lewuq 'house', jukung, 'canoe', jambatan 'bridge', and panuk 'basket' occur with the classifier kawuwaq (derived from ka- + wuwaq 'fruit'). The noun sanapang 'rifle' occurs with kapusuk (ka- + pusuk 'bud'). Certain classifiers occur only with a particular noun. The classifiers katundun and kasisir, for example, occur only with punsi 'banana'. Generally a classifier describes a noun by specifying its shape, e.g. thin, flat, round, by its main identifying feature, e.g. tail, or by naming the noun by its own generic name, such as leaf.

Maanyan has a long list of classifiers. The following are some of them and their approximate usage.

Classifiers	Usage
kawuwaq	big thing with a variety of shapes: lewuq 'house', punduk 'hut', mutur 'car', jambatan 'bridge', lampu 'lamp', jukung 'canoe', baluh 'pumpkin'.
{ kalambar karawen }	thin, flat objects: patah 'mat', kuwing 'sarong', bajuq 'shirt', kabun 'garden, orchard', karatas 'paper', rawen 'leaf', ume 'rice field', rawen upiq 'taro leaf', rawen punsi 'banana leaf', bajuq 'shirt', kabaya 'blouse'.
kadiki	seed-like objects: paluru 'bullet', nanakan 'a k.o. fruit' anteluy 'egg'.
kaqukuy	animals, fishes: antahuq 'dog', iwek 'pig', wurung 'bird', kenah 'fish', sapat 'a species of fish'.

katundun	bunch fruits: punsi 'banana', niyuy 'coconut', pinang 'areca nut', mayang 'palm blossom'.
{ kadapung katangkay katingkil }	stalked leaves, flowers, fruit:  wunge 'flower', mawar 'rose', lehat 'a k.o. fruit', siwu 'wild rambutan'
kabungkus	packed objects: udut 'cigarette', gabin 'crackers', waday 'cookies', nahiq 'cooked rice'.
katampik	board, plank, shelf: papan 'board', gatah 'rubber sheet'.
kaulun	human being: iyaq 'child', andiq 'little brother'/sister', aken 'niece' wawey 'girl, woman', upu 'man'.
kadumuk	heap-like objects: sibawuq 'chilly', watu 'stone', karasik 'sand', lehat 'a k.o. fruit', kasang 'nut'.

Some examples of measurement classifiers are:

takar	'more or less of a litre'
litar	'litre'
panuk	'basket'
mangkuk	'bowl'
repe	'fathom'
jeke	'span'
meter	'metre'
kilu	'kilogram'
hektar	'hectare'

Nouns denoting time do not take a classifier when enumerated. Thus we have examples like *dime anraw* 'five days', *ruweh malem* 'two nights', *ruweh minggu* 'two weeks', *telu wulan* 'three months', and *erang taqun* 'one year'.

#### 3.5.4 Person markers

There is only one person marker (PM) in Maanyan: *hi*. It is used before a person's name or noun denoting a kinship term.

(86) *hi nalaw kaqi hawiq*

PM Nalaw will come

'Nalaw will come.'

(87) *hi ineh kaqi pi awe*

PM mother will to where

'Where are you going mother?'

'Where is my mother going?'

In (86) *hi* is used before a proper noun. It is optional and is identical to the corresponding *si* in Banjarese and Bahasa Indonesia, that is, *hi* is used to refer to a person of lower social status or younger in age than the speaker. *hi* is also used before a kinship term, as in (87). In this distribution *hi* is obligatory and always refers to an older relative; it cannot be used to refer to, e.g. *andiq* 'little brother/sister' or *iyag* 'boy, son'.

As a person marker *hi* may also be used before a personified animal in fables, e.g., *hi palanduk* 'mouse deer', *hi warik* 'ape', *hi harimaw* 'tiger', etc.

#### 3.5.5 Titles

In connection with person marker, Maanyan uses titles such as *pak*, *bapak*, *patuwan* 'Mr' (e.g. *pak bupati* 'Mr. Bupati' ('district head'), *bapak gubernur* 'Mr. Governor', *patuwan haji saleh* 'Mr. Haji Saleh'). These titles are apparently borrowings from Bahasa Indonesia and

Banjarese. They are used in the same sense as in the source languages, that is, to refer to an old/respected person, or to a person of high position in the government.

### 3.5.6 Determiners

Determiners are words whose function is to limit the reference of a noun. They tell us, for example, whether the object we are talking about is one with which we are familiar or one which is being introduced in a discourse. Included in determiners are the class of definite and indefinite determiners. A definite determiner is used if the speaker assumes that the hearer can identify the referent of the entity being discussed. Otherwise the indefinite determiner is used.

Indefinite reference of a noun is expressed in Maanyan by a bare noun and a noun preceded by an indefinite determiner: erang 'one, a' or a non-numeral quantifier. (see 3.3.4.2). Indefinite determiners normally precede the noun they cooccur with except katuluh 'all' which may also follow. Some examples of their usage are:

(88) aku kaqi midi erang kawuwaq sapidaq

I will TR-buy a CLSF bicycle

'I will buy a bicycle.'

(89)a. katuluhulun haut wising

all people already full

'All the people are already full.'

b. ulun katuluh haut wising

people all 'already full

'All the people are already full.'

Maanyan has no definite determiner like English the. This function is taken over by the deictic yeruq 'that, the'<sup>1</sup>. This word always

---

<sup>1</sup> In this thesis yeruq is almost always translated as 'the'.

follows the noun or NP whose definite reference is specified. Since *yeruq* functions as a definite article as well as a deictic, the following phrases are ambiguous, as seen in the translations:

<i>ulun yeruq</i>	<i>lewuq yeruq</i>
man the/that	house the/that
'the/that man'	'the/that house'

In practice ambiguity occurs very rarely since the context can distinguish precisely which interpretation is intended.

### 3.6 Verb adjuncts

Verb adjuncts form phrasal constituents with verbs. Verb adjuncts in Maanyan cover words that express aspect, mood, and polarity of the verbs they are associated with. These grammatical categories are syntactically marked by words which in traditional grammar are commonly called auxiliaries. They are aspectual, modal and polar auxiliaries. In connection with the theory of layered clause structure (introduced by Foley and Van Valin 1984), these auxiliaries function as operators of different layers.

One important characteristic of auxiliaries in Maanyan is that they normally precede the verb or the predicate of the sentence. In such a distribution auxiliaries are different from adverbs such as temporal/locational adverbs in that the former always have a fixed position, whereas the latter assume a relatively free position in a clause.

#### 3.6.1 Aspectual auxiliaries

Aspectual auxiliaries indicate whether the event designated by the predicate is at its initiation (inceptive aspect), termination, (perfective aspect), or along the way between those two terminals (imperfective aspect), or continuing through time (durative aspect) (see Stockwell 1977:39). Aspect is an operator of a nuclear layer

since it simply modifies the temporal structure of the predicate or the nucleus of a clause.

Some examples of aspectual auxiliaries are:

Inceptive:	mulai	'start'		
	tariyeq	'stop'		
Perfective :	haut	'already'		
	huqan	'not yet'	{ arariyay }	'just'
	suwah	'ever'	{ ariyay }	
	puwang suwah	'never'		
Imperfective:	{ lagiq rahat bunsung ganyah }	'still/in progress'		

Aspectual auxiliaries always precede the predicate.

- (90) inehni      haut      hawiq    teka    ume  
 mother-his    already    arrive    from    ricefield  
 'His mother has already arrived from the ricefield.'

- (91) takam lagiq masiq  
 we      still    harvest  
 'We are still harvesting (paddy).'

The inceptive aspect is treated in chapter 9, on complementation, and other aspectual auxiliaries are mentioned in chapter 10, on complex sentences.

### 3.6.2 Modal auxiliaries

In relation to their function as operators of layered clause structure, it is necessary to distinguish two different subtypes of modal auxiliaries, namely, status and modality. The term status, borrowed from Whorf (1956) by Foley and Van Valin (1984:213), refers to the variable of actuality of the event, whether it has been realized or not. Status is represented by words such as:

taqu	'possible, may'
{himat}	'must, be necessary'
{musti}	
parlu	'be necessary'
{ware}	'good'
{maqeh}	

Modality, as defined in Foley and Van Valin (1984:214), characterizes the 'speaker's estimate of the relationship of the actor of the event to its accomplishment, whether he has the obligation, the intention, or the ability to perform it'. These notions are represented by auxiliaries or verbs such as:

kaqiyuh	'be able'
kataruq	'be able, know'
{himat}	'must/be obliged'
{musti}	
barencana	'plan, intend'
{hamen}	'want'
{ngaheng}	
{sindiq}	

Status and modality normally occur preceding a predicate. They are different types of operator. Status is a peripheral operator, and modality is a core operator. Consider the following sentences:

- (92) aku taqu bagawi kequni  
 I possible work tomorrow  
 'I will possibly work tomorrow.'
- (93) aku kaqiyuh ngenat kawaweq yeruq  
 I able TR-bring deer the  
 'I can bring the deer.'

In (92) taqu 'probable' expresses the actuality of the event; in this case it specifies the likelihood of the event to be realized. taqu is

thus a status operator. In (93) *kaiyuh* 'be able' expresses the relation between the actor *aku* 'I' and his ability to bring the deer. The ability to bring the deer here does not entail that the event has been or may be realized. *kaqiyuh* is thus a modality operator.

Note that *himat/musti* 'must, be necessary' is used with different modal functions. The difference is illustrated in the following diagrammatic sentences:

- (94)a. *uci himat [sangkal paqajar]*  
 Uci must diligent study  
 'Uci must study hard.'
- b. *uci himat sangkal [paqajar]*  
 Uci must diligent study  
 'It is necessary for Uci to study hard.'
- (95) *uci himat [paqajar sangkal]*  
 Uci must study hard  
 'Uci must study hard.'

In (94a) *himat* must modify *sangkal paqajar* 'to study hard'. It expresses the obligation of the actor *Uci* in accomplishing the action of studying. The adjective *sangkal* 'be diligent' here functions as an adverbial modifier of *paqajar* 'to study'. (94a) is identical to (95), where the verbs *paajar* is flanked by two modifiers, the operator *himat* 'must' and the adverbial modifier *sangkal* 'diligent'. *himat* in (94a) is thus a modality operator. In (94b) *himat* modifies *sangkal* which is in turn followed by a complement *paqajar*. In this position *himat* is an operator over the whole proposition consisting of *uci sangkal* 'Uci is diligent' and its complement (*uci*) *paqajar* 'Uci studies'. *himat* in (94b) has scope over both predications. It is a status operator, and is interpretable as 'It is necessary for ...'.



## 3.6.3 The polar auxiliaries

Polar auxiliaries are commonly called negative particles. These auxiliaries express that the event designated by the predicate of a clause is untrue or false. Maanyan has only one polar auxiliary, namely *puwang*, which is in free variation with *ang* and *pa*<sup>2</sup>. This particle negates the predication consisting of a verb and its arguments. It is thus a core operator. Some examples are:

(96)a. *inehni puwang hawiq*  
 mother-his NEG come  
 'His mother did not come.'

b. *ulun yeruq ang suwah bagawi*  
 man the NEG ever work  
 'The man never works.'

c. *aku pakadinung bukuqnu*  
 I NEG-see book-your  
 'I did not see your book.'

In (96) *puwang* syntactically negates the predicate *hawiq* 'to come'. Semantically, however, it expresses the relation between the actor *inehni* 'his mother' and the accomplishment of the action *hawiq*. In this sentence the action is not accomplished. *puwang* is thus a core operator.

The negative particle can be placed preceding the sentence it negates, as in (97).

(97)a. *puwang aku karasa hang awe endeyni bukuqnu*  
 NEG I know at where PASS- take-he book-your  
 'I do not know where he took your book.'

<sup>2</sup>*pa-* is not a prefix, but a cliticized variant of *puwang*.

b. ang hi nalaw kahabaq barang yeruq

NEG PM Nalaw find thing the

'Nalaw did not find the thing.'

In (97) the negative particles puwang and ang are separated from the predicates. This occurs in a discourse where the speaker puts emphasis on the negative events. In such a situation the whole proposition is under the scope of the negative particles, and hence they are peripheral operators. (97a) can be interpreted as 'It is not the case that I know where he brought my little brother.' Similar interpretation applies to (97b).

### 3.7 Conjunctions

Conjunctions are words used to connect words, phrases, or clauses. At clause level two classes of conjunction can be distinguished, namely, coordinating and subordinating conjunctions. Subordinating conjunctions are those that assign equal rank to the conjoined elements. Conjunctions such as anri, baya 'and', atawaq 'or', and kudeq 'but' are coordinating conjunctions. The same conjunctions are used to connect words and phrases. Semantically there is no difference between clause level and word/phrase level conjunctions.

The subordinating conjunctions are those that assign unequal rank to the conjoined elements. They are classified along the line of their semantic function in the conjoined clauses, namely:

#### (i) temporal

dami, udiq	'after'
dami ... palus	'after ... then'
sahuqan/kapihuqan	'before'
tawuk	'when'

salawah	'during'
{ katikaq waktuq sadang }	'when'
makaq	'then'
udiq yeruq	'after that'
hampe	'until'
(ii) purposive	
{ pakay nequ pakay }	'for'
{ n(g)ampan hampan malan }	'in order to'
(iii) conditional	
{ jakaq amun }	'if'
(iv) concessive	
biyar	'although'
(v) causative	
{ daya sabap }	'because'
(vi) factive	
nelang	'whereas, while'
(vii) resultative	
daya yeruq	'therefore'

The use of conjunctions will be exemplified in chapter 10, on complex sentences.

## CHAPTER 4

## WORD FORMATION

Words in Maanyan can be divided into two major classes, basic and derived, on the basis of their internal structure. Basic words are those that can occur by themselves in a clause. Included in basic words are unaffixed verbs and unaffixed adjectives which in passive and in exclamations respectively occur in their base forms. The term base will refer to this kind of word, bare or unaffixed, which forms the base for derived words. It is parallel to Chafe's (1970:123) root which is defined as 'a verb or noun type which is to be converted into another type through a derivational process'.

In a semantically based account of word formation, bases are not specified in terms of part of speech categories or what Chafe (1970:105) refers to as all inclusive units such as verbs and nouns. Rather bases are conceived in terms of semantic features which characterize the class of words. With respect to verbs, we specify them, following Chafe (1970), in terms of semantic features like state, process, action, and the like. These features have a primary role in the selection of the accompanying noun(s), and hence are called selectional features. (See Chapter 7, on basic clause types, for detailed discussion.) Only in cases where derivation clearly applies to an all inclusive unit, irrespective of its selectional features, do we specify the base in terms of part of speech categories.

Most words in Maanyan occur in derived form. This is especially true for verbs, to a lesser degree for nouns, and to an even lesser

extent for adjectives. The term derived in this thesis is limited to words formed by affixation.

In the following section I will discuss in succession nominal, adjectival, and verbal formations. Verbal formation is treated last because it is the most important, and has the most direct bearing upon basic clause types. In order to understand phonological changes which result from the derivation of words, it is necessary to first discuss the morphophonemic rules relating to attaching an affix to a base.

#### 4.1 Morphophonemic rules

When an affix is attached to a base, there is a possibility that the affix, the base, or both, undergo changes in phonological form. These are termed morphophonemic changes. Some morphophonemic changes can be accounted for merely in terms of phonological rules (e.g. the changes caused by prefix ng-). Some others are purely morphologically conditioned, that is, a particular base, according to its initial or final phoneme, prefers a certain form of prefix or suffix to attach to it. This is the case, for example, with the alternation between the causative prefixes *ampi-*, *san-* and *tang-*. This provides evidence that the morphophonemic process involves a morpheme boundary.

##### 4.1.1 Phonological rules

Rule 1: If a prefix ending with a vowel is followed by a base with an initial vowel, the glottal stop /q/ must be inserted.

Some examples are:

ma-iyeng	'dark'	maqiyeng	'to become dark'
mi-amule	'grow'	miqamule	'to grow'
ngampi-ambaw	'tall'	ngampiqambaw	'to cause to become tall'
ka-indiq	'see'	kaqindiq	'to see invol.'

One would suppose that Rule 1 also applies to an environment in which a suffix with initial vowel is attached to a base ending with a

vowel. However, since the majority of bases end with a consonant, Rule 1 could not be tested in this environment. Most derivations with the suffix -an or -en in my corpus involve bases ending with a consonant, including a glottal stop (e.g., *tuhun+an* 'laundry', *pang-indiq+en* 'sight'). Moreover, if the base final vowel is non-low, Rule 2 below applies instead.

Rule 2: If a suffix with an initial vowel follows a base ending with non-low vowel, a glide corresponding to high vowel must be inserted.

Some examples are:

<i>gawi</i>	'work'	<i>gawi + -an</i>	<i>gawiyān</i>	'work, activity'
<i>upu</i>	'male'	<i>upu + -an</i>	<i>upuwān</i>	'male person'
<i>amule</i>	'grow'	<i>amule + -an</i>	<i>amuleyān</i>	'plant'
<i>umbe</i>	'bring sth. on the back'	<i>umbe + -an</i>	<i>umbeyān</i>	'sth. brought on the back'

Rule 3: If a prefix ending with /ŋ/ is attached to the base with an initial consonant, the /ŋ/ becomes homorganic with this consonant.

This rule is always followed by the following rule.

Rule 4: A consonant preceded by its homorganic nasal is deleted.

Some examples are:

<i>puhut</i>	'sweep'	<i>ng- + puhut</i>	<i>m-puhut</i>	<i>muhut</i>	'to sweep'
<i>bunat</i>	'full'	<i>ng- + bunat</i>	<i>m-bunat</i>	<i>munat</i>	'to pull'
<i>tawah</i>	'cut'	<i>ng- + tawah</i>	<i>n-tawah</i>	<i>nawah</i>	'to cut, to clear away'
<i>dinung</i>	'see'	<i>ng- + dinung</i>	<i>n-dinung</i>	<i>ninung</i>	'to see'
<i>kekay</i>	'dry'	<i>ng- + kekay</i>	<i>ng-kekay</i>	<i>ngekay</i>	'to dry'
<i>siyuk</i>	'kiss'	<i>pang- + siyuk</i>	<i>pang-siyuk</i>	<i>panyiyuk</i>	'to kiss e.o.'

Phonologically the initial /h/ of the base has no corresponding homorganic nasal. In the process involving /h/, the /ŋ/ changes into [n] as in the following examples:

<sup>1</sup>The prefixes ending with /ŋ/ are ng- and its allomorphs [m-], [n-], [p-], and [ŋ-], and pang- and its allomorphs [pam-], [pan-], [pap-], [paŋ-]. The basis for assuming /ŋ/ as the underlying representation of the nasal consonants of these allomorphs are as follows:

There are actually two proposals in determining the underlying representation:

1. We may posit a morphophoneme //N// to represent the nasal allophones. (The morphophoneme is put between double slanting lines to differentiate it from the phoneme /n/, put between single slanting lines). This proposal, however, has been frequently criticized by many linguists, among other Sapir, and especially the generative phonologists. They say,
  - a. The morphophoneme is never regarded as a legitimate or 'real' entity within taxonomic theory, but rather as a pure artifact of a description of a phoneme (Anderson 1974:33).
  - b. Positing morphophonemic representation is the same as positing a distinct level of description besides the phonemic level and the phonetic level. This type of representation complicates the description of phonology, that is, we need a morphophonemic rule to specify the correspondence between morphophonemic and phonemic entities, and a phonemic rule to specify the correspondence between phonemic entities and their phonetic realization.

Proposal 1 is thus rejected for lack of scientific basis and simplicity.

2. We may posit a phoneme /n/ (or other nasal phonemes /m/, /n/, or /p/) which is selected from the nasal allophones. This proposal follows from the assumption that a phoneme is not simply arbitrary or an 'artifact', but a fully specified phonetic element (Sapir in Anderson 1974:21). The phonemes of a language should thus be selected from the phonetic segments or allophones that occur in that language.

Based on the principle of economy, I choose /ŋ/ as the underlying phoneme of the nasal allophones. The reason is that, only /ŋ/ that does not change if followed by a vowel. We need only one assimilation rule to account for the data described in Rule 4 (besides a rule for deleting the voiceless obstruents). If another allophone (e.g., /m/) is chosen, we need an assimilation rule and a rule that has the effect of changing /m/ into [ŋ], unless an ungrammatical form results.

/m+pupuk/	[mupUk]
/m+kekay/	[ŋɛkay]
/m+uwey/	*[muwɛy]

The rule which relates /n/ to the phonetic representation is simpler and more general. We thus opt for the choice of /ŋ/ as the underlying phoneme of the allophones [m], [n], [p], and [ŋ].

Anderson, Stephen. 1974. The Organization of Phonology.  
New York: Academic Press.

huruk	'tie'	ng- + huruk	n-huruk	nuruk	'to tie'
hapaw	'roof'	ng- + hapaw	n-hapaw	napaw	'to roof'
halu	'meet'	pang- + halu	pan-halu	panalu	'to meet e.o.'

#### 4.1.2 Morphologically conditioned rules

These rules mainly apply to the causative prefix *ampi-* and its allomorphs *san-*, *tang-*, and the transitive prefix *ng-* and its allomorphs (*nang-*, *man-*). A particular base with a particular initial consonant phoneme normally selects the appropriate causative prefix and transitive prefix.

##### 4.1.2.1 The causative prefix

The rules for selecting the appropriate causative prefix are as follows:

Rule 5: Bases with initial /k/ or /g/ normally take the prefix *tang-*.

Some examples are:

kaqeh	'good'	tangkaqeh	'to repair, to make better'
kurun	'bad'	tangkurun	'to worsen'
kayem	'sink'	tangkayem	'to sink'
galis	'finish'	tanggalis	'to finish'
gupuh	'panic'	tanggupuh	'to make panicky'

Rule 6: Bases with initial /s/, /t/, /r/, and /l/ normally take the causative prefix *san-*.

Some examples are:

siding	'fly'	sansiding	'to fly'
tumbang	'fall'	santumbang	'to fell'
riqet	'close'	sanriqet	'to bring something close'
rengey	'hear'	sanrengey	'to let hear'



lawit	'far'	sanawit	'to remove, to keep something at a distance'
lawuq	'fall'	sanawuq	'to cause to fall'
ware	'good'	samare	'to cure'
waway	'lost'	samaway	'to lose'

Notice that in the last four examples, the base's initial consonant /l/ is omitted, and the cluster /nw/ becomes [m].

Rule 7: Bases with an initial vowel always take the causative prefix *ampi-*; the /i/ is deleted.

Some examples are:

anreq	'sleep'	ampānreq	'to put to bed'
anrus	'take a shower'	ampānrus	'to bathe'
inri	'stand'	ampinri	'to erect, to build'
ambaw	'tall'	ampāmbaw	'to heighten'
inaw	'go down'	ampinaw	'to drop'

Rule 8: Bases with an initial consonant other than those in rules 5 and 6 always take the causative prefix *ampi-*.

Some examples are:

hanang	'hurt'	ampihanang	'to hurt'
dinung	'see'	ampidinung	'to show'
murah	'easy'	ampimurah	'to make easy'
ngaran	'name'	ampingaran	'to name'

The prefix *ampi-* may also occur with the bases stated in rules 5 and 6 above, e.g. *ampikaqeh*, *ampigalis*, *ampisiding*, *ampirengéy*, *ampilawit*, *ampiware*, etc. In other words *ampi-* may occur with any bases with an initial consonant.

## 4.1.2.2 The transitive prefix

The rules for selecting the appropriate transitive prefix<sup>1</sup> are as follows:

Rule 9: Bases with initial /r/ and /g/ normally take the prefix nang-; the /ŋ/ becomes [n] before /r/.

Some examples are:

rakan	'boil'	nanrakan	'to boil'
raguq	'take care'	nanraguq	'to take care'
gulung	'roll'	nanggulung	'to roll'
garit	'hunt'	nanggarit	'to hunt'

Rule 10: Bases with initial consonant /h/ or vowel may take the prefix mi- or ng-.

Some examples are:

heraw	'call'	miheraw/neraw	'to call'
hapaw	'roof'	mihapaw/napaw	'to make roof'
iqik	'thresh'	miqiqik/ngiqik	'to thresh'
amule	'grow'	miqamule/ngamule	'to grow'
ehék	'make a hole'	miqehek/ngehek	'to make a hole'

It should be pointed out that free variation between mi- and ng- does not apply to some verbs, e.g. miheruk 'to snore', and miqantah/miqawet/miqempuq 'to cure illness.'

Rule 11: Bases with an initial phoneme other than /r/ and /g/ take the prefix ng-.

Some examples are:

bunat	'pull'	munat	'to pull'
-------	--------	-------	-----------

<sup>1</sup>Maanyan also makes use of prefix ma- to denote transitive action. This prefix does not seem to be native to Maanyan. It is likely to have been borrowed from Banjarese together with the borrowed words such as the adapted words malanggar 'to run over', mabalit 'to wind around', mawatang 'to look for log', manarang 'to explain'.

siyuk	'kiss'	nyiyuk	'to kiss'
tegey	'hold'	negey	'to hold'
kiyak	'cry'	ngiyak	'to cry'

#### 4.2 Noun formation

Nouns can be derived by combining a nominal affix with a nominal base. The nominal affixes are ka-en, pang-en/-an, pi-an, pang-, pi-/pa-, and -an. The nominal base (in short base) is a meaningful element within a derived noun and may normally occur independently in a clause. For that reason the category of bases can usually be identified with certainty.

The meaning(s) of the derived noun can be expressed as a function of its basic affix. Moreover in most instances the affixes themselves indicate what type of base (e.g. ng- verbs, na- verbs, i- verbs or adjectives) they can cooccur with. For example, ka-en is always associated with adjective bases, and pang-en and pi-an with ng- verbs and i- verbs respectively. The suffix -an typically has to be associated with passives or na- verbs. By understanding the nature of the relation between the base and the affix, one can determine with more certainty that pandinungan 'the power of seeing' has something to do with ninung 'to see', not with kadinung 'to see invol.', and pibaburan 'fighting' with ibabur 'to fight each other', not mabur 'to fight', by virtue of the first having a pang-en affix, the latter a pi-an affix.

In the following examples the types of derived nominals will be named by the affix(es) they are identified with. For each type, we present a semantic characterization, followed by examples, their translation and the bases of derivation.

##### a. ka-en nouns

Meaning: state or quality of being as designated by the base.

Examples:

kagagahen	'force/strength'	(gagah 'strong')
kamiraqen	'unity/togetherness'	(miraq 'same')
karaquhen	'happiness'	(raquh 'happy')
kapintaren	'intelligence'	(pintar 'intelligent')
katatawen	'wealth'	(tataw 'rich')
kasusahen	'difficulty'	(susah 'difficult')
kasangiten	'anger'	(sangit 'angry')
katakuten	'fear'	(takut 'afraid')
kataquen	'ability'	(taqu 'able')

b. pang-en/-an nouns

Meaning: (i) the power or ability associated with the base.

(ii) the act associated with the base.

Examples:

(i) pangindiqen	'sight'	(ngindiq 'to see')
pandinungen	'sight'	(ninung 'to see')
panrengeyen	'hearing'	(ngarengey 'to hear')
panginamen	'feeling'	(nginam 'to feel, to taste')
pangenguhen	'sense of smell'	(ngenguh 'to smell')
(ii) pangarawahan	'help'	(ngarawah 'to help')
panarimaqan	'acceptance'	(narimeq 'to accept')
pagantaraqan	'search'	(ngantaraq 'to look for')
pambayaran	'payment'	(mayar 'to pay')

Note that verb of perception bases take pang-en, and other bases take either pang-en or pang-an. There seems to be no fixed rule for choosing either one in the latter.

c.  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{pi-an} \\ \text{pa-an} \end{array} \right\}$  nouns

Meaning: (i) the result of what one does as designated by the base.

(ii) the class of qualities instanced by what the base designates.

Examples: (only pi-an nouns are exemplified)

(i) pipakatan 'agreement' (mapakat 'to agree')  
 pihawiqan 'arrival' (hawiq 'to arrive')  
 piqubahan 'change' (miqubah 'to change')  
 pitaduhan 'end' (taduh 'to stop')  
 pigawiyān 'deed' (bagawi 'to work')

(ii) pikaqehan 'kindness' (kaqeh 'good')  
 pibulatan 'unity' (bulat 'round')  
 pitaquan 'skill' (taqu 'able')  
 pijumpuhan 'end' (jumph 'to finish')  
 pitaduhan 'end' (taduh 'to stop/to finish')

pi-an alternates with pa-an. Notice that the base and the meaning (ii) of pi-an nouns are similar to those of ka-en nouns. However these two classes of nouns are mutually exclusive. Thus while pikaqehan and pibulatan are acceptable, \*kakaqehan and \*kabulatan are not. On the other hand, while kagagahen and karaquhen are acceptable, \*pigagahen and \*piraquhen are rejected. The reasons why certain adjective bases are felicitous with ka-an while others with pi-an are poorly understood.

d. pang- nouns

Meaning : (i) a person associated professionally with what the base designates.

(ii) the state of being associated with what the base designates.

(iii) number or measurement associated with what the base designates.

Examples:

(i) pangalat	'thief'	(ngalat 'to steal')
pangume	'farmer'	(ngume 'to work on the farm')
panariq	'dancer'	(nariq 'to dance')
pangulah	'maker'	(ngulah 'to make')
pamantat	'rubber tapper'	(mantat 'to tap rubber')
panenget	'wasp'	(nenget 'to sting')
(ii) pamelum	'life'	(welum 'to be alive')
pampatey	'death'	(matey 'to die')
(iii) si pangamiq	'as much as one gives'	(ngamiq 'to give')
si panrengey	'as far as one can hear'	(nyanrengey 'to hear')
si panantaw	'as far as one can see'	(nantaw 'to see')
si pangariq	'as much as one sells'	(ngariq 'to sell')

The derived words in (iii) always occur with si 'one'.

e. pi- nouns

Meaning: instrument associated with what the base designates.

Examples:

pisampang	'stick for poking'	(nyampang 'to poke')
pipapas	'broom'	(mapas 'to sweep')
pipuhut	'thing used for wiping'	(muhut 'to wipe')
pipupuk	'thing used for hitting'	(mupuk 'to hit')
pitetek	'thing used for cutting'	(netek 'to cut')

f. -an nouns

Meaning: (i) object of the action designated by the related base.

(ii) place associated with what the base designates.

Examples:

(i) tuhunan	'laundry'	(natuhun 'washed')
gawian	'thing done'	(nagaw 'done')
rakanan	'thing boiled'	(narakan 'boiled')

kekayan	'thing dried'	(nakekay 'dried')
awetan	'knot'	(naawet 'tied')
(ii) pasaran	'cemetery'	(masar 'to bury')
wurungan	'cage for bird'	(wurung 'bird')
kekayan	'clothes line'	(kekay 'to dry something on the clothes line')
unengan	'place'	(muneng 'to stay')

#### 4.3 Verb formation

Verb formation is described here in relation to basic clause types in which the verb forms the predicate. In this approach I hold the view that the verb dictates the presence of the accompanying nominal(s) or argument(s). Verb derivation is thus accounted for in terms of the different features which suffixes or affixes signal. The features we are concerned with are selectional features such as state, process, action, instrument, benefactive and the like.

Verbs are said to have affixes marking selectional features if the affixes which are attached to them in the derivational process signal the presence of accompanying nouns in the semantic structure of the verbs. The affixes are ma-, i-, ba-, ng-, ngampi-, and ka-an. There are ten types of verbs which are marked by these affixes.

##### 4.3.1 Intransitive verbs

Intransitive verbs are derived with ma-, i-, ba-, ng-.

###### (i) ma- + intransitive verb base

The affixation of ma- to intransitive verb bases denoting some daily human activity derives verbs meaning to perform the activity designated by the base. This derivation is not productive. It is limited to the following examples:

manreq	'to sleep'	(anreq 'sleep')
manrus	'to take a shower'	(anrus 'take a shower')
minri	'to stand up'	(inri 'stand')
mangkading	'to lie down'	(angkading 'lie down')
maharung	'to sit'	(harung 'sit')
mambay	'to go up'	(ambay 'go up')
minaw	'to go down'	(inaw 'go down')
muneng	'to stay'	(uneng 'place')

## (ii) ma- + noun

The affixation of ma- to noun bases denoting place derives verbs meaning to perform the activity related to the place as designated by the base.

This derivation is not productive either. There are only two examples in the data, namely:

murik	'to go upstream'	(urik 'upstream')
mudiq	'to go home'	(udiq 'inland')

## (iii) i- + say verb base

The derivation of i- to some 'say' verb bases derives intransitive verbs meaning to perform the activity designated by the base.

Some examples are:

ikeneh	'to whisper'	(keneh 'whisper')
ituntiq	'to ask'	(tuntiq 'ask')
iwaraq	'to tell'	(waraq 'tell')
iheraw	'to call'	(heraw 'call')

The bases eyaw 'say' and tuwing 'answer' take the prefix ka- and ng- respectively (kaqeyaw 'to say' and nuwing 'to answer').

## (iv) i- + transitive verb base

The affixation of i- to some transitive verb base derives intransitive verbs meaning to perform the activity in general without referring to a specific object.



Some examples are:

iwuwiq	'to wash (kitchen utensils)'	(wuwiq 'wash (kitchen utensils'.))
ituhun	'to wash (clothes)'	(tuhun 'wash (clothes'))
ikusay	'to wash (hair)'	(kusay 'wash (hair'))
ilelay	'to dry'	(lelay 'dry')
iwidiyan	'to shop'	(widi 'buy')

As we see from the last example, iwidiyan specifies an action of buying in general. As an intransitive verb it cannot take an overt object. (Cf. midi weyah 'to buy rice' and \*iwidiyan weyah). Other i- verbs in the examples above may take an object noun phrase, but if they do, it must be a generic noun, not that referring to a specific entity affected by the action. (See 7.5.1 for further details.)

(v) ng- + noun

The affixation of ng- to noun bases denoting traditional profession derives verbs meaning to perform the activity related to the base as a profession.

Some examples are:

ngenah	'to fish as a profession'	(kenah 'fish')
napaw	'to make thatch as a profession'	(hapaw 'roof')
ngume	'to cultivate the ricefield as a profession'	(ume 'ricefield')
mawatang	'to log as a profession'	(watang 'log')
maramay	'to look for resin as a profession'	(ramay 'resin')

The verbs above, except ngume 'to cultivate the ricefield as a profession' can also be used as transitive verbs if they refer to specific actions, not to actions as professions. (See 7.5.3. for further details.)

(vi) ba- + intransitive verb base

<sup>2</sup>The suffix -an denotes that the object of buying is plural, but it is no longer commonly used in contemporary Maanyan.

The affixation of *ba-* to intransitive verb bases derives verbs meaning to perform voluntarily the activity as designated by the base.

Some examples are:

bagawi	'to work'	(gawi 'work')
bapander	'to talk'	(pander 'talk')
babentur	'to go naked'	(bentur 'go naked, bare')
babaris	'to march'	(baris 'march')

#### 4.3.2 Transitive verbs

Transitive-voluntary verbs are marked by *ng-*, *i-*, and *ba-*.

##### (i) *ng-* + transitive verb base

The derivation of *ng-*, or its allomorphs, *nang-* and *mi-*, to transitive verb bases derives verbs meaning to voluntarily perform the activity designated by the base.

Some examples are:

ngendey	'to bring'	(endey 'bring')
mupuk	'to hit'	(pupuk 'hit')
neweng	'to cut down'	(teweng 'cut down')
ngekay	'to dry'	(kekay 'dry')
midi	'to buy'	(widi 'buy')

As we have noted in (4.1.2) the occurrence of prefix *nang-* and *mi-* is morphologically conditioned. For examples of *nang-* verbs and *mi-* verbs, see (4.1.2.2).

##### (ii) *ng-* + noun base

a. The derivation of *ng-* to nouns denoting an instrument traditionally used in earning a living derives verbs meaning to engage in the activity involving the instrument as designated by the base.

Some examples are:

muwu	'to fish using a tunnel-net'	(wuwu 'tunnel net')
nampaleng	'to catch an animal using a trap'	(tampaleng 'trap')

nyamirang	'to hunt using a rifle'	(samirang 'rifle')
nikep	'to catch fish using a small fishing net'	(hikep 'small fishing net')

b. The affixation of ng- to noun bases denoting an entity in general derives verbs meaning to perform the activity related to what the base designates.

Some examples are:

ngudut	'to smoke cigarettes'	(udut 'cigarettes')
nyanuwang	'to make a hole'	(luwang 'make a hole')
nanrik	'to dance'	(tanrik 'dance')
numet	'to sing tumet'	(tumet 'k.o. song')
napaw	'to roof'	(hapaw 'roof')

(iii) i- + noun

The affixation of i- to noun bases specifying traditional or ritual ceremonies derives verbs meaning to perform the activity for the purpose which is culturally designated by the base.

Some examples are:

iwadiyan	'to perform the wadian'	(wadiyan 'shaman')
ikinsay	'to perform the kinsay'	(kinsay 'k.o. dance')
itarukasay	'to do the tarukasay'	(tarukasay 'charmed water/oil')
iraharen	'to do the raharen'	(raharen 'k.o. diagnosing illness')
itumbang	'to do the tumbang'	(tumbang 'k.o. baptising')

Included in this derivation is ijambe 'do the jambe ceremony' (derived from jambe 'cremation ceremony'), itatambaq 'to cure illness using tatambaq or traditional medicine'.

## (iv) ba- + noun

The affixation of ba- to nouns specifying means of transportation derives verbs meaning to use the entity designated by the base as the means of transportation.

Some examples are:

basapidaq	'to go by bicycle'	(sapidaq 'bicycle')
bamutur	'to go by car'	(mutur 'car')
bajukung	'to go by canoe'	(jukung 'canoe')
bakapal	'to go by ship'	(kapal 'ship')

Notice that the prefix ba- typically marks intransitivity (cf. 4.3.1), but ba- verbs derived from noun bases are semantically transitive since the instrument, incorporated in the verb, is the semantic object. The verb basapidaq, for example, is equivalent to makay sapidaq 'to use the bicycle' where the bicycle is the object of makay 'to use.'

## 4.3.3 State locative verbs

State locative verbs are derived by attaching ba- to noun bases. The affixation of ba- to nouns specifying things possessed, alienably or inalienably, derives verbs meaning to possess the entity designated by the base. (For the argument for classifying this type of verbs as state locative verbs, see 7.3.2.3.)

Some examples are:

bamuwey	'to have pimples'	(muwey 'pimples')
bapangup	'to have a lid'	(pangup 'lid')
batulung	'to have a hole'	(tulung 'hole')
bangaran	'to have a name'	(ngaran 'name')
baduwit	'to have money'	(duwit 'money')

It should be pointed out that Maanyan has two prefixes to indicate the feature which in Banjarese and Bahasa Indonesia is marked by ba- and ber- respectively. Some verbs which in Banjarese are marked by ba-

such as babungkus 'to have a wrapping' and baluang 'to have a hole', are expressed in Maanyan as bapundut or ipundut and baluwang or iluwang respectively, with no difference in meaning. The prefix i-, however, cannot be used to specify state locative verbs as above.

#### 4.3.4 Reflexives

Reflexives are marked by i-. The term reflexive is used here in a broad sense to refer to an action which affects the agent of the action, regardless of its being syntactically transitive or intransitive. In cases of incorporated objects, the reflexive verbs are semantically transitive, but formally intransitive. In other words the prefix i- functions as a detransitivizer, as does prefix pa- with reciprocal verbs (see 4.3.5). The prefix i- occurs with action verb bases and noun bases, as seen in the following derivations.

##### (i) i- + intransitive verb base

The affixation of i- to an intransitive verb base derives verbs meaning: to perform the activity designated by the base.

Some examples are:

iselem	'to dive'	(selem 'dive')
isaninaq	'to hide oneself'	(saninaq 'hide oneself')
isalindung	'to shelter oneself'	(salindung 'shelter oneself')
iwuwuy	'to take a shower'	(wuwuy 'take a shower')
isaqawuy	'to wash one's face'	(saqawuy 'wash one's face')

##### (ii) i- + noun base

The affixation of i- to noun bases specifying clothes, articles, or medicine used by people derives verbs meaning to use or to utilize the entity designated by the base for oneself.

Some examples are:

isalawar	'to wear trousers'	(salawar 'trousers')
ikuwing	'to wear a sarong'	(kuwing 'sarong')
isapatu	'to wear shoes'	(sapatu 'shoes')

itatambaq	'to cure oneself by taking medicine'	(tatambaq 'medicine')
ipupur	'to powder one's face'	(pupur 'face powder')
ikasay	'to apply ointment on one's own body'	(kasay 'ointment')

Note that with this type of base, the prefix *i-* alternates with the prefix *ba-*. Thus *isalawar*, for example, is the same as *basalawar*.

#### 4.3.5 Reciprocal verbs

Reciprocal verbs are marked by *pang-* and *i-*. The prefix *pang-* always occurs with transitive action bases, whereas the prefix *i-* occurs with nouns specifying kinship terms. They are illustrated in the following derivations:

##### (i) *pang-* + transitive action verb

The affixation of *pang-* to transitive verb bases derives verbs meaning to perform reciprocally the activity designated by the base.

Some examples are:

panalu	'to meet e.o.'	(halu 'meet')
pamupuk	'to hit e.o.'	(pupuk 'hit')
pangindiq	'to see e.o.'	(indiq 'see')
panuraq	'to spit on e.o.'	(ruraq 'spit')
panyiyuk	'to kiss e.o.'	(siyuk 'kiss')
panyambaq	'to catch e.o.'	(jambaq 'catch')
panyujut	'to pull e.o.'	(jujut 'pull')

Derivatives with *pang-* may take the prefix *i-*. The occurrence of *i-* seems to be motivated by the characteristic function of *pang-* as a detransitivizer, and this function coincides with that of *i-*. In fact reciprocal verbs in Maanyan are regarded as intransitive since they never take an overt object.

##### (ii) *i-* + noun

The affixation of *i-* to nouns denoting kinship terms of equal

status derives verbs meaning to be in the relationship designated by the base.

Some examples are:

ipulaksanaqi	'be brothers/ sisters'	(pulaksanaqi 'brother/sister')
ituwari	'be cousins'	(tuwari 'cousin')
ihengaw	'be friend with'	(hengaw 'friend')
idarangan	'be husband and wife'	(darangan 'husband,wife')
idaup	'be in-laws'	(daup 'brother/sister in law')

#### 4.3.6 Process verbs

Process verbs are derived by affixing ba- to adjective bases. The affixation of ba- to adjective bases derives verbs meaning to acquire the state designated by the base.

Some examples are:

bahanteq	'to become big'	(hanteq 'big')
basanang	'to become happy'	(sanang 'happy')
bamunuk	'to become fat'	(munuk 'fat')
balajuq	'to become fast'	(lajuq 'fast')
baqambaw	'to become tall'	(ambaw 'tall')

ba- may not be affixed to three syllabic adjective bases. For these bases the inchoative notion is manifested syntactically using a modifier magin 'more, increasing' (e.g. magin kakuring 'to become green', magin malaing 'to become hot' and magin matuqeh 'to become old').

## 4.3.7 Causative verbs

Causative verbs are marked by *ampi-* or its allomorphs, *san-*, and *tang-*. The causative derivatives may in turn take the prefix *ng-* denoting [+control], *na-* denoting passive, or *ta-* denoting involuntary action. The prefix *ampi-* and its allomorphs can be attached to adjective, process and intransitive verb bases. (For the occurrence of allomorphs of *ampi-*, see 4.1.2.)

(i) *ampi-* + adjective

The affixation of *ampi-* or its allomorphs to adjective bases forms verbs meaning to cause the causee to acquire the state designated by the base.

Some examples are:

<i>ampihanteq</i>	'to enlarge'	( <i>hanteq</i> 'big')
<i>ampikaqeh</i>	'to repair'	( <i>kaqeh</i> 'good')
<i>ampihanang</i>	'to hurt'	( <i>hanang</i> 'hurt')
<i>ampambaw</i>	'to heighten'	( <i>ambaw</i> 'tall')

(ii) *ampi-* + process verb base

The affixation *ampi-* or its allomorphs to process verb bases derives verbs meaning to cause the causee to be in a situation designated by the base.

Some examples are:

<i>sameteng</i>	'to sink'	( <i>leteng</i> 'sink')
<i>samelum</i>	'to bring to life'	( <i>welum</i> 'live')
<i>sanawuq</i>	'to drop'	( <i>lawuq</i> 'fall')
<i>samare</i>	'to cure'	( <i>ware</i> 'good')
<i>santumbang</i>	'to fell'	( <i>tumbang</i> 'fall')

(iii) *ampi-* + intransitive verb base

The affixation of *ampi-* to intransitive verb bases derives verbs meaning to cause the causee to perform involuntarily the action as designated by the base.

Some examples are:



ampikiyak	'to make s.o. cry'	(kiyak 'cry')
ampiqaanreq	'to put s.o. to bed'	(anreq 'sleep')
apinriq	'to build'	(inriq 'stand')
ampiharung	'to seat s.o.'	(harung 'sit')

The causative prefix *ampi-* also occurs with perception verb bases *dinung* 'see' and *rengey* 'hear' to form *ampidinung* 'show' and *ampirengey* 'allow to be heard'. In this case the bases should be interpreted in the passive form, not as their transitive counterpart, normally marked by *ng-*. (Cf. the passive *rengey* and the active *ngarengey* in *eyawni puwang rengey* 'His voice cannot be heard' and *aku ngarengey eyawni* 'I heard his voice.') The reason is that passive verbs behave more like stative verbs than action verbs. In this notion perception verbs meet the requirement as the bases of causative derivatives. The occurrence of *ampi-* with transitive verb bases is not possible as seen by the ungrammaticality of *\*ampikutaq* ('cause (sth.) to be eaten) and *\*ampiqaalap* ('cause (sth.) to be taken).

#### 4.3.8 Affected verbs

Affected verbs are marked by *ka-an* or *ka-en*. These prefixes may cooccur with adjective, process verb and noun bases. Generally the bases specify unpleasant corporeal states, processes, or situations.

##### (i) *ka-* + state verb + *-an*

The affixation of *ka-an/-en* to adjective bases derives verbs meaning to be affected by the state designated by the base.

Some examples are:

kaqiyengan	'to be affected by the dark'	(iyeng 'dark')
karisakan	'to be affected by the cold'	(risak 'cold')
kawehuqan	'to be affected by the wetness'	(wehuq 'wet')
kapateyan	'to be affected by the death of someone'	(patey 'dead')

##### (ii) *ka-* + process verb + *-an*

The affixation of ka-en to process verb bases derives verbs meaning to be affected by the process designated by the base.

Some examples are:

kakayeman	'to be affected by sinking'	(kayem 'sink')
katapingan	'to be affected by drifting'	(taping 'drift')
kalawuqan	'to be affected by falling'	(lawuq 'fall')
kawawayan	'to be affected by a loss'	(waway 'lost')

ka- + noun base + - an/-en

The affixation of ka-an/-en to noun bases denoting natural events derives verbs meaning to be affected by the events as designated by the base.

Some examples are:

kaquranan	'to be affected by rain'	(uran 'rain')
kariwutan	'to be affected by storms'	(riwut 'storm')
kamalemen	'to be affected by night'	(malem 'night')
kalalemen	'to be affected by flood.'	(lalem 'flood')

#### 4.3.9 Involuntary verbs

Involuntary verbs are marked by ta-, ka-, and pa-. The prefix ta- can be attached to most transitive and intransitive verb bases. The prefix ka- occurs with a limited number of bases, usually those denoting potentially uncontrollable action. The prefix pa- occurs only with verb bases denoting a falling event involving human beings. The derivation with pa- is not productive either.

(i) ta- + verbal base

The affixation of ta- to transitive or intransitive action verbs derives verbs meaning to perform the action designated by the base involuntarily or by mistake.

Some examples are:

taharung	'to sit invol.'	(harung 'sit')
taqanreq	'to sleep invol.'	(anreq 'sleep')

taqinriq	'to stand up invol.'	(inriq 'stand')
takiyak	'to cry invol.'	(kiyak 'cry')
taqalap	'to take by mistake'	(alap 'take')
tararah	'to step by mistake'	(rarah 'step')
tategey	'to hold invol./ by mistake'	(tegey 'hold')
tapupuk	'to hit by mistake'	(pupuk 'hit')

## (ii) ka- + intransitive verb base

The affixation of ka- to potentially uncontrollable human activity derives verbs meaning to get involved in the activity designated by the base involuntarily.

Some examples are:

kakihik	'to laugh invol.'	(kihik 'laugh')
kaqelan	'to be awakened invol.'	(elan 'awaken')
kaqanreq	'sleepy'	(anreq 'sleep')
kaqiyuh	'find (unexpectedly)'	(iyuh 'find')
kahabaq	'find (unexpectedly)'	(habaq 'find')

Notice that from the base anreq 'sleep' we can derive the intransitive [+control] manreq 'to sleep, to go to bed'. For kaqandreq 'sleepy', the subject of this verb has no control over the action designated by the base, and hence can be regarded only as the experiencer of the action. The same is true for the subjects of the other ka- verbs as above. These verb bases cannot take involuntary prefix ta-.

## (iii) pa- + verb of falling

The affixation of pa- to verb bases denoting the action of falling derives verbs meaning to be in a state of falling as designated by the base. These states are generally those that are unwanted.

Some examples are:

pagalinser	'to slip'	(galinser 'slip')
pasalangay	'to fall on one's back'	(salangay 'lie backward')

pasaleqep 'to fall on one's face' (saleqep 'fall on one's face')  
 pasanawuq 'to fall' (sanawuq 'fall')

#### 4.3.10 Passive verbs

Passive verbs are marked by prefix na- which can be attached to transitive verb bases, including causative verbs.

Some examples are:

naqalap	'to be taken'	(alap 'take')
napupuk	'to be hit'	(pupuk 'hit')
nadinung	'to be seen'	(dinung 'see, look')
naqampikiyak	'to be made to cry'	(ampikiyak 'make cry')
naqampihanteq	'to be enlarged'	(ampihanteq 'enlarge')

Passive verbs are also manifested by transitive verbal bases (see chapter 8 for details).

#### 4.4 Adjective formation

Adjectives are of two types, unaffixed and ma- adjectives. ma- adjectives are mainly derived from adjective bases. This derivation does not involve a productive process of affixation; they seem to have the ma- prefix inherently and hence are not treated in the discussion of adjective formation. There is, however, one type of ma- adjective which is derived from intransitive verb bases. The derived adjectives generally specify inclination, and are translatable into 'fond of ... as designated by the base'. This will be treated here along with superlative adjectives, excessive adjectives, and similitude adjectives.

##### (i) Adjectives expressing inclination

The prefix ma- attached to intransitive verb bases derives adjectives denoting inclination to do an action or be in a state designated by the base.

Some examples are:

mababur	'to be inclined to fight'	(babur 'fight')
matungkaw	'to be inclined to cry'	(tungkaw 'cry')
makihihik	'to be fond of laughing'	(kihihik 'laugh')
mapusuq	'to be fond of telling a lie'	(pusuq 'tell a lie')
masangit	'to be inclined to get angry'	(sangit 'get angry')

## (ii) Superlative adjectives

Superlative adjectives are formed by adding panga- to an adjective base.

Some examples are:

pangatuqeh	'oldest'	(matuqeh 'old')
pangarumis	'smallest'	(rumis 'small')
pangaqambaw	'tallest'	(ambaw 'tall')
pangaqintem	'darkest'	(maintem 'dark')
pangariyang	'reddest'	(mariyang 'red')

## (iii) Excessive adjectives

Excessive adjectives are formed by adding the affix ka-an to an adjective base.

Some examples are:

kahanteqan	'too big'	(hanteq 'big')
karumisan	'too small'	(rumis 'small')
kaqimbeqan	'too short'	(imbeq 'short')
kaqambawan	'too tall'	(ambaw 'tall')
kalaleman	'too deep'	(lalem 'deep')

## (iv) Similitude adjectives

Similitude adjectives are formed by attaching the prefix am- to a noun base. The derived adjectives express that an entity is similar to the entity designated by the base.

Some examples are:

mupu	'mannish'	(upu 'male')
amiyaq	'childish'	(iyaq 'child')

amawey	'womanish'	(wawey 'woman')
amukuy	'tail-like'	(ukuy 'tail')

## CHAPTER 5

## NOUN PHRASES

A noun phrase is a syntactic construction with a noun as its head. All other elements of the NP help restrict the reference of the head. Accordingly a noun phrase can involve only a noun when there is no modifier of the noun. The common nouns, personal pronouns, and proper nouns discussed previously may be regarded as NPs.

In most cases a Maanyan noun phrase consists of a noun and one or more noun modifiers which generally follow the head. The categories that make up the modifiers of a noun are deictics, adjectives, verbs, and nouns.

## 5.1 The internal structure of NPs

The NPs have the following internal structures:

## (a) Noun + Noun

- |                   |                    |
|-------------------|--------------------|
| (1) lewuq kayu    | 'wooden house'     |
| house wood        |                    |
| (2) ume ijat      | 'Ijat's ricefield' |
| ricefield Ijat    |                    |
| (3) ulun maqanyan | 'Maanyan people'   |
| people Maanyan    |                    |

## (b) Noun + Deictic

- (4) lewuq yeruq 'that house'  
house that
- (5) lewuq yiti 'this house'  
house this
- (6) ulun hang yiti 'the people here'  
people at here

## (c) Noun + Quantifier

- (7) ulun ramaq 'many people'  
people many
- (8) ulun katuluh 'all people'  
people all
- (9) sapiq ruweh kaukuy 'two cows'  
cow two CLSF

## (d) Noun + adjective

- (10) ume sa lagaq 'large ricefield'  
ricefield REL large
- (11) kapuy sa mahilak 'white lime'  
lime REL white
- (12) mandaw sa batatah amas 'gold-carved sword'  
sword REL carved gold

## (e) Noun + Verb

- (13) ulun sa bagawi 'a/the man who worked/is  
man REL work working'
- (14) iyaq sa ngalap punsi 'a/the child who took/is  
child REL take panana taking the bananas'
- (15) wadiyan sa ngampiware inehni 'a/the shaman who cured  
shaman REL cure mother-his his mother'



(f) Noun + prepositional phrase

- |                            |                          |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| (16) ulun hang tumpuk yiti | 'people in this village' |
| people at village this     |                          |
| (17) surat ma pambakal     | 'a/the letter to the     |
| letter to village head     | village head'            |
| (18) ulun teka gunung      | 'a/the the man from      |
| man from mountain:         | the mountain'            |

In (a-c) we see that no marker occurs between the heads and their modifiers, but in (d) and (e) a relativizer *sa* 'that' precedes the modifiers. These constructions are relative clauses to be discussed in chapter 6).

In Maanyan, as in Bahasa Indonesia, we find numerous *sa*-less NPs of the categories (d) and (e). They generally occur when the strength of syntactic bond, following Foley's (1980:175) terminology, is great so that no relativizer or ligature is needed. For example, *mandaw batatah amas* 'a/the gold-carved sword' is more tightly bound than *mandaw sa batatah amas* 'a/the sword which has gold carving', as the English translations show. In the former no further modifier can be added between the head and the noun modifier, e.g.,

- (19) \**mandaw ambah batatah amas*  
 sword father carved gold  
 ('father's gold-carved sword')

No such constraint is imposed to the latter,

- (20) *mandaw ambah sa batatah amas*  
 sword father Rel have-carving gold  
 'father's sword which has gold carving'

In the same way *kapuy mahilak* 'white lime', *ruyan lawuq* 'ripe ruyan (a kind of fruit) which falls to the ground', *ulun bagawi* 'man who works', and *wurung samiding* 'bird which flies' are more tightly bound than *kapuy sa mahilak* 'lime which is white', *ruyan sa lawuq* 'ruyan which

fell to the ground', ulun sa bagawi 'man who works', wurung sa samiding 'bird which flew'. The tightly bound NP construction generally denotes a compound or generic meaning. As such the NP has a fixed structure and often has a quite distinct meaning from an ordinary NP with sa. As we noted above, ruyan lawuq means 'ripe ruyan' apart from the fact that the ruyan 'fell to the ground'. Generic usage of a noun phrase is illustrated in the following sentences:

(21) ulun ngantaraq pigawiyān himat rajin  
 man look for job must diligent  
 'People looking for a job must be diligent.'

(22) ulun nganup puwang rawek  
 man hunt NEG noisy.  
 'People who hunt are not noisy.'

Quantifiers normally follow their head noun as in (c). However, some violate the normal order. The quantifiers tatiyap 'every', kawan, heneq 'much, many', ekat 'only', and papire 'some' always precede the head.

(23) (ta)tiyap ulun tumpuk  
 every people village  
 'every village person'

(24) kawan warik  
 many ape  
 'many apes'

(25) heneq kenah  
 many fish  
 'many fishes'

It seems to be the case that for some quantifiers different orderings are semantically distinct. This is illustrated in the following sentences:

(26) *sadiq naqan tumpuk eteqen uneng ulun ramaq/\*ramaq ulun*  
 formerly exist village Eteen place people many/ many people  
 'A long time ago there was a village called Eteen where  
 many people lived.'

(27) *hang tumpuk yeruq naqan wawey mawiney, ramaq ulun/*  
 in village the exist girl beautiful many man  
 \**ulun ramaq ngantane wawey yeruq*  
 man many TR-propose girl the  
 'At that village there was a beautiful girl. There  
 were many men proposed to her.'

In (26), the normal order, *ramaq* 'many' simply specifies the number of people. In (27), the reversed order, the speaker gives information not only about the number of people but also about the existence of some number of people. In this case the second clause of (27) can be regarded as an existential clause, in which *ramaq* is the predicate, and *ulun ngantane wawey yeruq* is the subject. It is manifested in the English translation.

There is a less explicit semantic distinction involved in the different order of constituents of a NP. The NPs *sapiq ruweh kaqukuy* and *ruweh kaqukuy sapiq* both mean 'two cows'. The difference, if any, is a matter of the pragmatic information each NP may convey. Such a difference is marked by the stress pattern. In the normal pattern the primary stress falls on the first element of a NP. Thus in (28) below the primary stress falls on *sapiq* 'cow' and in (29) on *ruweh* 'two' (stressed element is underlined):

(28) *aku midi sapiq ruweh kaqukuy*

I buy cow two CLSF

'I bought two cows.'

(29) aku midi ruweh kaqukuy sapiq

I buy two CLSF cow

'I bought two cows.'

The constituent with primary stress always carries new information as opposed to the unstressed constituent which has no such implication and can be regarded as background information.

We have already noted that numeral quantifiers do not require the relativizer *sa* to precede them. The relativizer may be present to mark a special contrast. Thus corresponding to (28) is (30):

(30) aku midi sapiq sa ruweh kaqukuy

I buy cow REL two CLSF

'I bought the two cows.'

In (28) *ruweh kaqukuy* simply indicates the number of cows, whereas the relativized modifier *sa ruweh kaqukuy* in (30) indicates the number in comparison with another number. Thus (30) means that 'I bought the two cows (instead of, say, the five cows) among several subsets of a group of cows.' The significant meaning of the underlined NP in (30) will be discussed further in chapter 6.

#### 5.1.1 Complex noun phrases

A noun phrase may be extended so that either the head or the modifier consists of a phrase. The following examples show a diagrammatic analysis of the layered structures of NPs.

(31) [ulun balawaq]

people Balawa

'people of Balawa'

(32) [ulun [tumpuk balawaq]]

people village Balawa

'people of Balawa village'

- (33) [[ulun [tumpuk balawaq]] yeruq]  
 man village Balawa the  
 'the people of Balawa village'
- (34) [[[ulun balawaq] \*(sa) heqey] yeruq]  
 man Balawa REL brave the  
 'the brave man of Balawa'
- (35) [[[[ulun balawaq] \*(sa) mawuleq] nelang lungaq] yeruq]  
 man Balawa REL lazy and stupid the  
 'the lazy and stupid man of Balawa'
- (36) [[[ulun \*(sa) heqey] nelang \*(sa) munuq pangalat] yeruq]  
 man REL brave and REL kill thief the  
 'the brave man who killed the thief'

The layers may be extended as long as they meet the following conditions:

1. the first right hand modifier is a noun or a NP (31,32).
2. the second modifier other than the deictic must be preceded by sa (34,35). (\*(sa) signals that sa is obligatory).
3. two modifiers of the same category must take a coordinator nelang 'and' or atawaq 'or' in between (35,36).
4. the deictic must come at the end of the construction (33-36).

With regard to the deictic constraint, we will see that the following sentence is ungrammatical:

- (37) \*ulun balawaq yeruq sa ngalap punsi tulak pi jumpun  
 man Balawa the REL TR-take banana go to forest  
 ('The man from Balawa who took the bananas went  
 to the forest.')

In (37) the deictic yeruq occupies the wrong position. The structure, however, is acceptable if the relative clause following yeruq is interpreted as having an appositive reading. In standard orthography an apposition is placed between two commas:

(38) ulun balawaq yeruq, sa ngalap punsi, tulak pi jumpun  
 man balawa the REL TR-take banana go to forest  
 'The man from Balawa who took the bananas went  
 to the forest.'

In (38) the relativizer sa functions to nominalize the verb phrase ngalap punsi 'to take bananas'. The resultant construction, sa ngalap punsi 'the one who brought the bananas', is in apposition with the preceding NP ulun balawaq yeruq 'the man from Balawa' and thus a non-restrictive relative clause. As such it gives additional information to the preceding NP. The order of the apposed phrases may be reversed, but only by keeping yeruq 'the' to mark the first occurring phrase.

(39) sa ngalap punsi \*(yeruq), ulun balawaq (\*yeruq)  
 REL TR-take banana the man Balawa the  
 tulak pi jumpun  
 go to forest  
 'The man who brought the bananas, a man from Balawa,  
 went to the forest.'

In (39) sa ngalap punsi 'the one who took the bananas' is the subject, and hence must be definite. ulun balawaq 'a man from Balawa', here gives extra information to the subject and accordingly may not take a deictic yeruq. (\*yeruq) signals that yeruq must be deleted).

#### 5.1.2 Noun + Noun constructions

Special attention is needed with the noun + noun construction, where a number of different relationships can exist between the two nominal constituents. The clearest case is that of possessive relation. Various other relationships are covered under the term noun phrase of characterization. Each type will be discussed below.

## 5.1.2.1 Possessive constructions

The possessive construction consists of the thing possessed represented by the head, and the possessor, represented by a nominal modifier. Some examples are:

- (40) lewuqku                    'my house'  
       house-my
- (41) lewuq    ambah            'father's house'  
       house    father
- (42) hengaw    pulen            'Pulen's friend'  
       friend    pulen
- (43) kakah        here            'their grandfather'  
       grandfather their
- (44) tangan    warik            'a/the ape's hand'  
       hand        ape
- (45) ariq    lewuq            'a/the pillar of the house'  
       pillar house

The examples above exhibit three different kinds of possessive relation. In (40-41), lewuqku 'my house' and lewuq ambah 'father's house', the relation expressed is ownership. In (42-43) waway pulen 'Pulen's wife' the relation is kinship. In (44,45) tangan warik 'ape's hand' and ariq lewuq 'a/the pillar of the house' the relation is part-whole. The type of relation between the two nouns can be reflected in their semantic features. An ownership relation requires the second noun to be [+animate] as in (40,41) and (42,43). A kinship relation requires the first noun to be a kinship term, as in (42,43). A part-whole relation can be identified by comparing the meaning of the members of the NP construction. From the comparison we can determine whether or not the head can be interpreted as a part of the nominal modifier, as in (44,45).



These three types of possessive relation can be related to an important distinction in possessive constructions, that between inalienable and alienable possession. In inalienable possession the relation between the two nouns is permanent. No intervening element is allowed to occur between the two nouns. In Maanyan inalienable possession covers kinship and part-whole relations. Alienable possession covers an ownership relation. In this relation a verb 'to own' may be inserted between the possessor and the thing possessed. Thus besides *lewuqku* 'my house' and *lewuq ambah* 'father's house' there are also *lewuq watku* and *lewuq wat ambah* with no difference in meaning. On the other hand, it is unusual or unacceptable to say \**wawey wat ambah* 'father's wife' and \**tangan wat warik* 'the ape's paw' instead of *wawey ambah* and *tangan warik*.

#### 5.1.2.2 Noun phrases of characterization

A noun phrase of characterization is similar in form to the possessive construction; the two nominal constituents are juxtaposed without any linking particle. The difference is that in possessive construction either the first or the second constituent has the feature [+human] or [+kinship], but no such feature is present for either constituent of a NP of characterization. The semantic range of this type of construction is so varied that no straightforward generalization can be drawn. NPs of characterization are of many different types. Consider the following examples:

- (46)a. *belek weyah* 'rice can'  
           can rice
- b. *lewuq kambeq* 'haunted house'  
           house ghost
- (47)a. *ulun ampah* 'Ampah people'  
           people Ampah



- b. ranuq ugang 'well water'  
water well
- (48)a. mutur jip 'jeep'  
car jeep
- b. pandita yakup 'Reverend Yacob'  
priest Yacob
- (49)a. lewuq kayu 'wooden house'  
house wood
- b. kapal wasiq 'iron boat'  
boat iron

In (46a) the first element is a container, and in (46b) a place. The relation which this feature indicates is use. Container and place are uneng in Maanyan, and this word may be added, though not very commonly, to a construction of this type. Thus the following forms are synonymous:

- |              |                    |                 |
|--------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| belek weyah  | belek uneng weyah  | 'rice can'      |
| can rice     | can place rice     |                 |
| lewuq kambeq | lewuq uneng kambeq | 'haunted house' |
| house ghost  | house place ghost  |                 |

In (47) the relation expressed is that of origin. Origin may be marked syntactically by the preposition teka 'from'. The following forms are synonymous:

- |              |                   |                |
|--------------|-------------------|----------------|
| ulun ampah   | ulun teka ampah   | 'Ampah people' |
| people Ampah | people from Ampah |                |
| ranuq ugang  | ranuq teka ugang  | 'well water'   |
| water well   | water from well   |                |

In (48) the second nouns are names of the entities referred to by the first nouns. The relation, therefore, is of naming. Naming may be indicated explicitly by the verb bangaran 'have-name, to be called'. The following structures are synonymous:

mutur jip	mutur bangaran jip	'jeep'
car jeep	car called jeep	
pandita yakup	pandita bangaran yakup	'Reverend Yacob'
priest Yacob	priest called Yacob	

In (49) the second element of the NPs is a material. The relation which the two nouns express is material. There is no specific word to indicate this relation. Other examples are:

pipik ebak		'wall made of bark'
wall bark		
tapay	diteq	'fermented sticky rice'
fermented sticky		
rice	rice	

## 5.2 The status of noun phrases

The most important semantic function of noun phrases (NPs) in a clause is that they refer to participants and accessories of actions and states. Coincident with these functions, the participants are introduced, identified, discussed, replaced by other NPs, emphasized, and possibly reintroduced with a different status. To indicate these types of status, NPs generally bear various markers (morphological or syntactic) which show what particular status they hold. The problem of ambiguity often arises, since less marking is provided in a language than the number of statuses conveyed.

Foley and V. Valin (1985:287) describe three sets of contextual factors which are relevant to the discourse status of an NP. The first factor relates an NP to its actual reference. An NP is referential if it actually refers to an entity in the world, and non-referential if it does not. The second factor relates an NP to the speaker's assumption about the hearer's ability to uniquely identify the referent of an NP. An NP is definite if the speaker assumes that the hearer can uniquely

identify the referent of the NP, and indefinite if the speaker does not have such an assumption. The third factor relates an NP to its introductory status in a discourse. A NP which is being introduced in a discourse is new (new information), and that which is already established in the discourse is given (old information). In this thesis we will use the terms specificity for referentiality, definiteness for the speaker's assumption about the hearer's ability to identify the referent, and anaphora for the introductory status of the information.

In (5.1) we have described the grammatical structure of NPs. In this section we will show how different forms of NPs reveal the different status of participants in a discourse. For the purpose of explicit exposition of the status of NPs, we will make use of the symbols [S] for specificity, [D] for definiteness, and [A] for anaphora, and the value + and - to indicate the presence or absence of these three contextual factors. The contextual factors to be discussed are presented in Table 5-1.

Table 5-1 Contextual Factors

1. NP and its referent
  - a. [+S] = specific/referential
  - b. [-S] = non-specific/non-referential
2. NP and the speaker's assumption of hearer's ability to identify the referent
  - a. [+D] = definite
  - b. [-D] = indefinite
3. NP and its introductory status
  - a. [+A] = anaphoric, given information
  - b. [-A] = non-anaphoric, new information

Given the above categories there are theoretically eight possible classes of nouns.

1. [-S, -D, -A]
2. [-S, +D, -A]
3. [-S, -, +A]
4. [-S, -D, +A]
5. [+S, -D, -A]
6. [+S, +D, -A]
7. [+S, +D, +A]
8. [+S, -D, +A]

The question arises as to whether all classes of NPs (1-8) have surface structure representation in Maanyan and how they are represented. We will try to answer this question and account for the interpretation of each class informally.

#### 5.2.1 NPs and specificity

The difference between [+S] and [-S] is exemplified in the following sentences:

(50) hi pulen midi sapidaq  
 PM Pulen buy bicycle  
 'Pulen bought a bicycle.'

(51) hi pulen hamen midi sapidaq  
 PM Pulen want buy bicycle  
 'Pulen wanted to buy a bicycle.'

The noun sapidaq 'bicycle' in (50) refers to a specific bicycle. It refers to an actual entity in the world and thus sapidaq is [+S]. In (51) sapidaq can either refer to a specific bicycle or any bicycle as illustrated in the following sentences:

(52)a. aku hamen midi sapidaq. merekni raleh, catni

I want buy bicycle brand-its Raleigh paint-its

maqintem anri haragaqni kurang teka jatus ribu rupiah

black and price-its less from hundred thousand rupiah

'I want to buy a bicycle. It is a Raleigh, black, and costs less than Rp 100,000.'

b. aku hamen midi sapidaq. merek inun eleh asal kuwat

I want buy bicycle brand what ever provided strong

'I want to buy a bicycle. Any brand will do as long as it is a long lasting one.'

In (52a) a particular bicycle is referred to by the speaker as he can describe its features. *sapidaq* is thus [+S]. In (52b), however, *sapidaq* refers to any bicycle since the additional information implies that the speaker has no specific bicycle in mind. Thus, *sapidaq* is [-S]. It seems that the different interpretation of the noun *sapidaq* in (50) and (51) can be ascribed directly to the different semantic features of the predicates. In (50) the predicate *midi* 'to buy' refers to realis action, whereas in (51) it refers to irrealis action. The latter is referred to by Stockwell et al. (1973:93) as an 'opaque context' which, in English, is marked by words or phrases such as *wants*, *is looking for*, etc. In an opaque context the NP may have a [+S] as well as a [-S] interpretation. In (51) the opaque context is marked by the modal *hamen* 'want'.

The realis-irrealis opposition is also observed in (53) below:

(53)a. waweyni rahat ngutaq ruyan

wife-his still eat ruyan (k.o.fruit)

'His wife is eating ruyan.'

- b. waweyni hamen ngutaq ruyan  
 wife-his want eat ruyan  
 'His wife wants to eat ruyan.'

In (53a) the realis feature is manifested by the progressive action *rahat ngutaq* 'is eating'. It requires a specific object, thus *ruyan* is [+S]. In (53b), as in (52a,b), the predicate is irrealis and hence *ruyan* can have a [+S] or a [-S] interpretation. The realis and irrealis features have a direct relation to the referentiality of the NP following them. This is evident in the following sentences which contain the predicates *kaiyuh* 'to find' (realis) and *ngantaraq* 'to look for' (irrealis).

- (54)a. aku kaqiyuh galang  
 I find bracelet  
 'I found a bracelet.'
- b. \*aku hamen kaqiyuh galang  
 I want find bracelet
- (55)a. aku ngantaraq galang  
 I look for bracelet  
 'I am looking for a bracelet.'
- b. aku hamen ngantaraq galang  
 I want look for bracelet  
 'I want to look for a bracelet.'

In (54) the feature realis is lexicalized in the verb *kaqiyuh* 'to find'. This verb takes a referential/specific object, i.e. *galang* 'bracelet'. As a realis verb, *kaqiyuh* may not take the modal particle *hamen* 'want' since it may refer to the feature irrealis or provides an opaque context. On the other hand, the predicate *ngantaraq* 'to look for' in (55) implies an irrealis or opaque context. The object *galang* can thus mean a particular bracelet or any bracelet. As an irrealis verb *ngantaraq* may take the modal particle *hamen*. The same interpretation of

verbs such as looking for and *golek* 'to look for' (Javanese) as having a [+specific] feature is also presented respectively in Foley and Van Valin (1985:287) and Soemarmo (1975:24).

In examples (50-55) we see that all NPs are represented by bare nouns. Typically a bare noun refers to a non-referential entity unless a certain context, like the semantic feature of the predicate or additional information such as that given by an aspectual auxiliary *rahat* 'in progress' tells us otherwise. Bare nouns also indicate generic entities. Generic nouns are [-S], as illustrated in (56a,b) below:

(56)a. *ulun maqanyan malihara iwek*

people Maanyan TR-raise pig

'The people of Maanyan raise pigs.'

b. *gawiyany ulun maqanyan ngantaraq uwey*

work people Maanyan TR-look for rattan

'The livelihood of the Maanyan people is looking for rattan.'

In (56a,b) the objects *iwek* 'pig' and *uwey* 'rattan' refer to a whole class of pig and rattan. NPs referring to the whole class of object are generic. Generic NPs are non-referential and like non-specific NPs, they are also unmarked in Maanyan. A generic interpretation of bare NPs generally follows from a generic predication, as in (56) above and in (57) below:

(57) *aku puwang ngunuq ruyan*

I NEG TR-like ruyan

'I do not like ruyan/any ruyan.'

As noted above, in some cases the interpretation of specificity of a NP is determined by the verb it cooccurs with. The *i-* verbs in Maanyan are examples of such a class. They indicate general activity, and as such may only take non-specific objects. On the other hand, no such constraint is imposed by the corresponding *ng-* verbs. Observe the following examples:



(58)a. hi ineh iwuwiq lumbah/\*lumbah'yiti

PM mother wash dish dish this

'Mother is doing dish-washing/ -\*this dish-washing.'

b. hi ineh muwiiq lumbah/lumbah yiti

PM mother TR-wash dish dish this

'Mother is washing the dishes/these dishes.'

(59)a. waway yeruq ipapas lantay/\*katuluh lantay

woman the sweep floor all floor

'The woman is doing floor-sweeping/\*all floor-sweeping.'

b. waway yeruq mapas lantay/katuluh lantay

woman the TR-sweep floor all floor

'The woman is sweeping/the floor/all the floors.'

The predicates iwuwiiq 'to wash' (58a) and ipapas 'to sweep' in (59a) can only take a bare noun, as shown by their cooccurrence with lumbah 'dish' and lantay 'floor', but not with the same nouns which have a specific referent. The nouns lumbah and lantay in these sentences do not refer to a particular dish and floor, but to the entire class of dish and floor. These NPs in their generic reference are not true objects of their predicates because they are not directly affected by the actions designated by the verbs. Rather they are adverbial-like modifiers or function like incorporated objects. Their function is to modify the meaning and to limit the scope of the activity designated by the verbs. In these functions lumbah and lantay are inseparable from the verbs they modify, and they cannot take any article or modifier to mark their referentiality, as seen by their non-cooccurrence with the asterisked nouns in the sentences above.

Other classes of verbs do not have a particular marking to indicate the feature non-referential for their objects. As we see in (56a,b) the generic interpretation of the objects iwek 'pig' and uwey



'rattan' is attributable to the generic reference of the subjects *ulun maqanyan* 'people of Maanyan' and *gawiyān ulun maqanyan* 'the livelihood of Maanyan people' respectively. Thus in (56a,b) both the subjects and the objects are non-specific. If the subject is specific and definite, then the object should also be interpreted as specific.

- (60) *ulun yeruq ngutaq iwek*  
 man the TR-eat pig  
 'The man is eating/ate pork.'

In (60) *iwek* 'pig' refers to an actual entity, that is meat from the pig or pork that the man is eating.

### 5.2.2 NPs and definiteness

We have already discussed the feature specificity and its manifestation in the grammar of Maanyan. We now turn to the feature definiteness. Recall that a NP is [+D] if the speaker assumes that the hearer can uniquely identify the referent of the NP, and [-D] if the speaker does not have such an assumption. To elaborate the distinction between [+D] and [-D] let us examine the following sentences:

- (61) *hi pulen ngalap bajuq*  
 PM Pulen TR-take shirt  
 'Pulen took a shirt.'
- (62) *pulen ngalap bajuq yeruq*  
 Pulen TR-take shirt that  
 'Pulen took the/that shirt.'
- (63) *pulen ngalap bajuq sa naqamiq guruq*  
 Pulen TR-take shirt REL PASS-give teacher  
 'Pulen took the shirt that the teacher gave.'

In (61) the speaker assumes the hearer cannot identify the referent of the shirt, so *bajuq* 'shirt' is [-D]. Non-definite nouns in Maanyan are unmarked just like non-specific/non-referential nouns. On the other

hand, in (62) and (63) the speaker assumes that the hearer can uniquely identify the referent of the shirt. In (62) the hearer knows the referent of the shirt because it is visible to him. Definite nouns acquired in this way are called 'non-linguistically anaphoric', following Stockwell et al. (1973:74). The visibility of an entity is marked linguistically by the deictic *yeruq* 'that' and *yiti* 'this'. As noted in (3.5.6) *yeruq* is also interpretable as the definite article *the* in English. In both interpretations (that and the) *yeruq* denotes [+D]. In (63) the hearer's ability to identify the referent of the shirt is attributable to his prior knowledge, as specified by the relative clause following the noun. Thus either visibility or prior knowledge of the referent makes up the criteria for [+D]. In fact, as noted in Stockwell et al. (1973:74), philosophers such as Sorensen (1959) and Vendler (1968) do not make a distinction between definite nouns with relative clauses such as in (63) and non-linguistically anaphoric nouns as in (62). In Maanyan the articles *yeruq* 'that' and *yiti* 'this' are typically deictics. When used non-anaphorically they are always accompanied by some gesture such as pointing. Therefore no ambiguity will arise when *yeruq* and *yiti* are used in this sense. Likewise no ambiguity will appear if *yeruq* is used anaphorically since the context will indicate which object is referred to.

In Maanyan unique entities are generally expressed by unmarked nouns although they are definite. The English sentence 'The moon is full' is translated into Maanyan as (65a), not (64b):

- (64)a. *wulan ampat balas*  
 moon fourteen  
 'The moon is full.'
- b. \**wulan yeruq ampat balas*  
 moon the/that fourteen

No definite article may follow *wulan* 'moon'. In the same way entities

such as tuhan 'God', gubernur 'governor', pambakal 'village head', and baritu 'Barito river' never take the article yeruq 'the/that' if they are regarded as unique.

### 5.2.3 NPs and anaphoricity

Let us now turn to the feature anaphoric (A). This feature plays an important role in discourse grammar besides its role in sentential grammar. Consider the following illustrations:

- (65) hi pulen ngakaliq kenah. hampe itati hanye puwang  
 PM Pulen TR-look for fish up to now he NEG  
 kaqiyuh kenah/\*kenah yeruq  
 find fish fish the

'Pulen is looking for fish. Up to now he has not found any fish/\*the fish.'

- (66) hi pulen kaqiyuh kenah. kudeq \*kenah/kenah yeruq  
 PM Pulen find fish but fish fish the  
 puwang iyuh nakutaq  
 NEG able PASS-eat

'Pulen found some fish. But the fish are not edible.'

- (67) hi pulen midi sapidaq. kudeq hanye puwang  
 PM Pulen TR-buy bicycle but he Neg  
 sindiq sapidaq yeruq  
 like bicycle the

'Pulen bought a bicycle but he does not like the bicycle.'

- (68) pulen midi sapidaq. kudeq upu yeruq puwang sindiq  
 Pulen TR-buy bicycle but young man the NEG like

'Pulen bought a bicycle but the young man does not like it.'

In (65) kenah 'fish' is [-S,-D,-A]. The feature [-A] comes from the fact that kenah is being mentioned for the first time. (For the feature [-S] and [-D] please refer to sentences (55) and (61).) The

second mention of *kenah* in (65) converts the feature [-A] into [+A]. Since this *kenah* is still [-S] it cannot be expressed by *kenah yeruq* 'the fish'. We notice here that [+A] noun is unmarked if the aforementioned entity is [-S]. In (66), *kenah* is [+S,-D,-A] (cf. (54a)). The second mention of it converts the feature [-A] to [+A]. Since the first *kenah* is [+S], the second mention of *kenah* must take the article *yeruq* 'the'. This NP has the features [+S,+D,+A]. We notice here that the feature [D] is independent from the feature [A]. We have [-D,+A] noun (65) and [+D,+A] noun (66). The conversion of [-A] to [+A] does not necessarily convert [-D] to [+D]. On the other hand, the combination [+D,+A] is dependent on the feature [+S]. A [+D] noun cannot include the feature [-S].

Soemarmo (1975:26-27) seems to allow the conversion of [-D] to [+D], though only indirectly. Analogous to his analysis of Bahasa Indonesia and Javanese, sentences (69,70) of Maanyan will be analyzed as follows:

(69) *hi pulen ngantaraq kenah*  
 PM Pulen TR-look for fish  
 'Pulen is looking for fish.'

(70) *kenahni ngaheng nasangaq*  
 fish-his want PASS-fry  
 'The fish will be fried.'

*kenah* in (69) is [-D,-A]. If (70) follows (69), the noun *kenahni* 'the fish' would, in Soemarmo's analysis, have the feature [+D,+A]. However, according to Soemarmo the conversion of [-D] to [+D] is not a direct result of the conversion of [-A] into [+A]. Rather it is the result of the conversion of [-D] to [+D] which occurs in an omitted transitional clause between (69) and (70), something like (71):

(71) amun kaqiyuh kenah ...

if find fish

'If he catches the fish, ...'

kenah 'fish' is interpreted as [+D,+A] (see Soemarmo 1975:26). Our position and analysis of (69,70), including (71), is quite different from that of Soemarmo. Firstly, kenah in (71) is not [+D,+A] since it refers to a hypothetical fish as indicated by the subordinator amun 'if'. Thus kenah is [-D, +A]. The speaker still assumes that the hearer cannot identify its referent. The same interpretation is true of (72) if it follows (69).

(72) hampe taqati puwang kaqiyuh

up to now NEG find

'Up to now he has not caught any.'

In (72) the anaphoric noun kenah is covert or omitted, and the speaker assumes that the hearer does not know its referent. Thus the deleted kenah is [-D,+A], the same features as kenah in (69) and (71). Secondly, (70) can directly follow (69), but the second mention of kenah expressed by kenahni does not change the speaker's assumption that the hearer cannot identify the referent of kenah. Thus kenahni in (70) is [-D,+A], not [+D,+A] as Soemarmo claims. We believe that -ni in Maanyan, -e in Javanese, -nya in Bahasa Indonesia and in Banjarese function merely to convert [-A] to [+A], not [-D] to [+D] directly or indirectly. The feature [+D] is expressed in Maanyan by the deictic yeruq 'the/that'. If a NP containing yeruq also has [+A], it cannot directly follow [-D,-A]. Sentence (73), for example, cannot directly follow (69).

(73) kenah yeruq ngaheng nasangaq

fish the want PASS-fry

'The fish will be fried.'

The infelicity of (73), if it directly follows (69), is due to the

constraint that [+D] cannot immediately be derived from [-D,-A]. We argue that the conversion of [-D] to [+D] cannot be analyzed using only a combination of the two features, [D] and [A]. Sentence (73) will be felicitous if (71) intervenes between (69) and (73). *kenah* in (71) is [+S,-D,+A] and *kenah yeruq* in (73) is [+S,+D,+A]. In other words we need the feature [+S] in order to be able to account for the conversion of [-D] to [+D]. Using these three features we argue that:

- (i) definite anaphoric nouns (N + *yeruq*) cannot result from [-S] nouns; (73) cannot directly follow (69).
- (ii) the difference between *-ni* and *yeruq* (both are translatable into English 'the') is that *-ni* marks indefinite anaphoric nouns, *yeruq* definite anaphoric nouns.

The difference is formulated as:

noun-ni	---	[+S,-D,+A]
noun yeruq	---	[+S,+D,+A]

A consequence of (ii) is that noun *-ni* cannot be used for a noun when it is firstly introduced into a discourse. This interpretation of *-ni* is contrary to Soemarmo (1975:24), who claims the corresponding *-e* and *-nya* in Javanese and Bahasa Indonesia are [+D] markers, and hence may occur with a noun introduced for the first time in a discourse.

We have already observed that anaphoric nouns are marked in Maanyan by the article *yeruq* 'the' and *-ni* (literally 'his'). Each marker has different constraints. With conjoined nouns, *yeruq* refers to the whole set and *-ni* to a member of the set. For instance,

- (74) *hi pulen ngalap ruyan anri nanakan*  
 PM Pulen TR-take k.o.fruit and k.o.fruit  
 'Pulen took ruyan and nanakan.'

- (75)a. \*kudeq ruyan yeruq huqan mihak  
 but ruyan the not yet ripe  
 ('But the ruyan has not ripened yet.')
- b. kudeq ruyan anri nanakan yeruq huqan mihak  
 but ruyan and nanakan the not yet ripe  
 'But the ruyan and nanakan have not ripened yet.'
- c. kudeq ruyanni huqan mihak  
 but ruyan-his not yet ripe  
 'But the ruyan has not ripened yet.'
- d. \*kudeq ruyan anri nanakanni huqan mihak  
 but ruyan and nanakan-his not yet ripe  
 ('But the ruyan and nanakan have not ripened yet.')

In (74) ruyan and nanakan (names of fruit) form a set. Reference to a set as a whole has to be expressed with yeruq, as in (75b). On the other hand, reference to a member of a set must be expressed by adding -ni, not yeruq, as seen in (75c).

Anaphoric reference to human nouns is expressed with corresponding personal pronouns. The article yeruq is optional with personal pronouns.

(76) hi nalaw tulak ma pakan. hanye (yeruq) ngendey parey  
 PM Nalaw go to market he the TR-bring paddy  
 'Nalaw went to the market. He brought some rice.'

(77) hi pulen anri hi nalaw tulak ma pakan. here (yeruq)  
 PM Pulen with PM Nalaw go to market they the  
 midi parey erang kabelek  
 TR-buy rice one CLSF  
 'Pulen and Nalaw went to the market. They bought  
 a can of rice.'

Maanyan has no pronoun, anaphoric or deictic, corresponding to English 'it', to replace a common noun. Anaphoric reference to a common noun is expressed by adding the article yeruq 'the' to the noun.



(78) hi pulen midi sapidaq. sapidaq yeruq masih waqu  
 PM Pulen TR-buy bicycle bicycle the still new  
 'Pulen bought a bicycle. It is still new.'

In (78) sapidaq is [+S,-D,-A], and sapidaq yeruq [+S,+D,+A]. If an anaphoric noun refers to an existing [+D] noun (N +yeruq), the article huniq(en) 'just mentioned' should be added to this construction, as seen in (79):

- (79)a. hi pulen midi sapidaq yeruq hang ampah  
 PM Pulen Tr-buy bicycle the at Ampah  
 'Pulen bought the bicycle at Ampah.'
- b. sapidaq yeruq huniqen kaqi napakay badagang  
 bicycle the just mentioned want PASS-use do business  
 'It will be used for doing business.'

In (79) repeating the same form of NP is rather awkward unless the article huniqen 'just mentioned' is added to the NP.

In this connection we might ask how Maanyan refers to an anaphoric noun which is a member of a set or group of nouns. Firstly, the question will be addressed to the case of a group of nouns incorporated in a reciprocal verb. As we see in (4.3.5), certain type of reciprocal verbs are derived from a kinship term by prefixing i- or pang-. If a representative of this kinship term is referred to anaphorically, the relativizer sa, functioning as a nominalizer, must precede the member to be referred to.

- (81)a. here ruweh ipulaksanaqi/panatataq/panaqandiq  
 they two be sibling  
 'They are brothers/sisters.'
- b. sa andiq haut idarangan  
 REL little bro. already married  
 'The little brother is married already.'



- (81)a. here ruweh ituwari  
 they two be cousins  
 'They are cousins.'
- b. sa waway sakulah hang jaqar  
 REL female study at Jaar  
 'The girl studies at Jaar.'

Notice that ituwari 'cousin' has no specific term for its member. It can be referred to by its sex, age, or other relevant and distinctive characteristics.

Coreferentiality of reference may also be expressed using what we call a superordinate noun. Roughly defined, a superordinate noun is one of a subclass of nouns covering a number of members who share certain semantic features. Consider the following examples:

- (82)a. hi pulen midi gula anri rangi  
 PM Pulen TR-buy sugar and salt  
 'Pulen bought some sugar and salt.'
- b. barang yeruq pakay hanye bagawi ma ume  
 thing the for he work at ricefield  
 'Those things will be used at the ricefield.'
- (83)a. hi pulen midi gula  
 PM Pulen TR-buy sugar  
 'Pulen bought some sugar.'
- b. iyaq yeruq basapidaq ma pakan  
 boy the ride bicycle to market  
 'The boy rode a bicycle to market.'

The nouns barang yeruq 'those things' and anak yeruq 'the child' in (83) are superordinate nouns of gula and rangi and pulen respectively. As anaphoric nouns, superordinate pronouns must be followed by the article yeruq 'the'.

Having accounted for how each class of noun is represented in the

grammar of Maanyan, we are now in a position to answer the question whether or not each of the hypothetical eight classes of nouns has a syntactic representation. We have argued that [+D] nouns must also be [+S]. Thus there will be no noun in classes 2 and 3. Other noun classes have, in fact, a number of representations, as will be shown in Table 5-2.

Table 5-2 Noun phrase representation

Class	Features	Representation	Examples
1	[-S,-D,-A]	N	(51),(55)
2	[-S,+D,-A]	-----	-----
3	[-S,+D,+A]	-----	-----
4	[-S,-D,+A]	N	(65) (second mention of N)
5	[+S,-D,-A]	N	(54a),(66,68 first mention of N)
6	[+S,+D,-A]	N + yeruq	(62) (if it is introduced for the first time)
7	[+S,+D,+A]	N + yeruq N + yeruq + huniqen	(66) (79b)
8	[+S,-D,+A]	N + -ni N	(70) (71) (if it follows (69))

There is still one problem: how do we interpret the nouns which are introduced in questions and in ignorative clauses? In both clause types they are represented by bare nouns, as exemplified in (84) and (85) below:

- (84) hanyuq naqan sapidaqlah  
 you exist bicycle-Q  
 'Have you got a bicycle?'

(85) eyaw pulen hanyuq naqan sapidaq  
 say Pulen you exist bicycle

'According to Pulen you have a bicycle.'

In both (84) and (85) the actual existence of sapidaq 'bicycle' is being questioned or is hearsay. It is thus [-S]. In this regard the speaker may or may not assume that the hearer can uniquely identify the referent of bicycle. Thus it may be [+D] or [-D]. If it is [+D], then our claim that [+D] nouns must also [+S] will be weakened. However, since the most dominant feature in questions and ignorative clauses is the speaker's ignorance, including his ignorance of the hearer's ability to uniquely identify the referent, we would better interpret nouns in such clauses as [-D]. Such nouns are syntactically unmarked. Thus our claim that [+D] nouns must also be [+S] still holds.

## CHAPTER 6

## RELATIVE CLAUSES

A relative clause is used within a noun phrase and functions as a modifier of the noun or noun phrase (NP). It is different from other types of modifier in that a relative clause (RC) always modifies a noun or noun phrase which is coreferential with some argument in the RC. This argument is called the relativized position or  $NP_{rel}$ , following the notation of Andrews (1975). In Maanyan the  $NP_{rel}$  is normally the subject of the clause. It constitutes the head of the NP construction specified by the RC. Semantically, the head NP specifies a class of objects being the domain of relativization to which the thing referred to by the whole NP construction belongs. Thus in the NP construction,

- (1) karewaw            sa    batanruk mahilak yaruq  
       water buffalo REL horned    white    the  
       'the white horned water buffalo'

the head NP karewaw 'water buffalo' specifies the class of objects to which the white horned water buffalo belongs. This definition of RC is different from Keenan's (1985). Keenan (1985:141) refers to the NP construction consisting of a head plus a restrictive clause and a determiner as a restrictive relative clause. In this thesis the RC is equivalent only to Keenan's restrictive clause, that is, the clause marked by the relativizer sa.

## 6.1 The strategies of forming RC

In relation to the NP<sub>rel</sub> there are two strategies of forming RC in Maanyan, the basic and the non-basic. The basic strategy applies to the subject of a clause. It is called basic because it relativizes the easiest or the highest NP in Keenan and Comrie's (1977) Accessibility Hierarchy (AH). The non-basic relativizes other positions in the AH.

### 6.1.1 The basic strategy

The basic strategy relativizes only the subject of a clause. It is the commonest way of forming a RC in Maanyan. In the RC the NP<sub>rel</sub> is gapped so that the RC is formally subjectless. The RC occurs to the right of the head NP and is marked by the invariant relativizer *isa* or *sa*. For convenience we will refer to the relativizer simply as *sa* since Maanyan frequently drops *i-* which marks reciprocal verbs (cf. *i-panyiuk ~ panyiuk* 'to kiss e.o.', *i-panalu ~ panalu* 'to meet e.o.' (See (4.3.5)). Moreover, the relativizer *isa* is similar to *isaq* meaning 'one'. Thus referring to the relativizer as *sa* will help disambiguate these homophonous words.

The semantic role of NP<sub>rel</sub> can be identified by the prefix of the verb. If, for example, the verb of the RC bears the *ng-* prefix it is the actor which is relativized. If it bears *na-* prefix, it is the patient which is relativized. This interpretation is illustrated in the following sentences:

- (2) *ulun sa ngendey punsi yeruq ...*  
*man REL TR-bring banana the*  
 'the man who brought the bananas ...'
- (3) *punsi sa naqendey daya ulun yeruq ...*  
*banana REL PASS-bring AM man the*  
 'the bananas that the man brought ...'

In (2) the NP<sub>rel</sub> is the actor and in (3) the patient. Both are the

syntactic subjects of relative clauses. Not every subject, however, can be relativized. The subject of an equational sentence, for example, is not relativizable. Thus the subject of (4),

- (4) ulun yeruq guru  
 man the teacher  
 'The man is a teacher.'

cannot be relativized, as seen by the ungrammaticality of (5),

- (5) \*ulun sa guru yeruq ...  
 man REL teacher the  
 ('The man who is a teacher ...')

As we will see in (7.3.1.2), one function of RC is to nominalize the predicate. Since in equationals the predicate is a noun or noun phrase, relativizing it is unnecessary. In the following sections we will discuss the relativization of subjects, starting from the non-problematic cases.

#### 6.1.1.1 NP<sub>rel</sub>: subject of a verbal clause

All subjects of verbal clauses are relativizable. In the examples below the NP<sub>rel</sub> is marked by  $\emptyset$  in the RC. The RC is placed inside square brackets.

- (6) anak [sa  $\emptyset$  manrus] yeruq ngiyak  
 boy RC REL take a bath that cry  
 'The boy who is taking a bath is crying.'
- (7) anak [sa  $\emptyset$  ngendey punsi] yeruq sakulah hang banjar  
 boy RC REL TR-bring banana that study at banjar  
 'The boy who brought the bananas is studying at Banjar.'
- (8) wawey [sa  $\emptyset$  iwuwiq] yeruq akenku  
 woman RC REL wash plate that niece-my  
 'The woman who is washing (plates) is my niece.'

- (9) ulun [sa Ø hawiq] yeruq haut tulak ma pakan  
 man<sub>RC</sub> REL come<sub>RC</sub> the already go to market

'The woman who came has already gone to market.'

- (10) tataqni [sa Ø muneng hang jaweten] matey  
 uncle-his<sub>RC</sub> REL stay at Jaweten<sub>RC</sub> die

'His uncle who stayed at Jaweten died.'

- (11) anakni [sa Ø lawuq hang hungey] yeruq leteng  
 son-his<sub>RC</sub> REL fall to river<sub>RC</sub> the drowned

'His son who fell into the river was drowned.'

Direct objects (DOs) cannot be relativized. But by the use of passive voice they can be made sentential subjects, and then they can be relativized. Thus the DO in (7) can be relativized, as in (12):

- (12) punsi [sa Ø naqendey daya anak] yeruq huqan mihak  
 banana<sub>RC</sub> REL PASS-bring AM boy<sub>RC</sub> the not yet ripe

'The bananas that the boy brought are not ripe yet.'

In connection with the passive subjects, basic relativization also applies to the subjects of [-control] verbs, namely, ta- verbs.

- (13) akenku [sa Ø takutaq taqulang kenah] yeruq mekum  
 niece-my<sub>RC</sub> REL ACC-eat bone fish<sub>RC</sub> the ill

'My niece who accidentally swallowed the fish bones became ill.'

In (13) the accidental prefix ta- does not affect the transitivity of the base kutaq 'to eat' and hence subjectivization of its DO through passivization is possible whence it is relativizable.

- (14) taqulang kenah [sa Ø takutaq (daya) akenku]  
 bone fish<sub>RC</sub> REL Acci-eat AM niece-my<sub>RC</sub>  
 haut najuwat daya duktur  
 already PASS-take by doctor

'The fish bones which were accidentally swallowed by my niece have been taken out by the doctor.'

Notice that with ta- verbs there is no difference in the form of the predicate between the active and the passive. Passive clauses are able to take the agentive marker *daya*, thus being differentiated from active clauses. If we ignore the agentive marker, the ta- verbs seem to allow both the subject and the DO to be relativized directly. In fact in both (13) and (14) it is the subject which is relativized. Another verb which behaves similarly to ta- verbs is *wuwah* 'to hit'. This verb, either in active or in passive voice, never takes any verbal prefix, and hence changing the DO into the subject of the clause does not affect the form of the verb. Consider the following sentences:

(15) *tampalengni wuwah palanduk*  
 trap-his hit mousedeer  
 'His trap caught a mousedeer.'

(16) *palanduk yeruq wuwah tampalengni*  
 mousedeer the PASS-hit trap-his  
 'The mousedeer was caught by his trap.'

In the above sentences we have two different semantic roles for the subjects, as agent in (15) and patient in (16). These semantic roles are not morphologically marked in the verb. Even the agent marker of the passive clause (*daya*) is generally absent in (16), but like (14) with a ta- verb, (16) is in fact a passive sentence. The absence of agent marker in (16) is part of the generalization that in passive the agent marker is optional. (See chapter 3.) The subjects of (15) and (16) are both relativizable, as seen in the following sentences:

(17) *tampalengni [sa ∅ wuwah palanduk] yeruq eneqni*  
                         RC                                        RC  
 trap-his REL hit mousedeer that PASS-set-he  
 hang wading lewuq  
 at back house  
 'His trap that caught the mousedeer was set (by him)  
 at the back of the house.'



- (18) palanuk [sa Ø wuwah tampalengai] yeraq tetek ambah  
 RC REL hit trap-his RC that PASS-cut father  
 'The mousedeer that his trap caught was cut into pieces  
 by my father.'

Maanyan is different from Banjarese and Bahasa Indonesia in that it has no affix to mark benefactive and locative arguments as direct objects. These semantic relations are marked with a preposition *ma*, *pakay* 'to, for', or *hang* 'at, in, on' respectively and normally occur after the DO, as seen in (19) below:

- (19) aku midi waday pakay hi ineh  
 I TR-buy cookie for PM mother  
 'I bought some cookies for my mother.'

There are two words, however, which employ word order to indicate beneficiaries and goals as direct objects, that is, *ngamiq* 'to give', and *ngajar* 'to teach'. For these verbs a beneficiary or a goal may precede the DO without a preposition. For example,

- (20) aku ngamiq hi mamaq erang karawen bajuq  
 I TR-give PM uncle one CLSF shirt  
 'I gave my uncle a shirt.'
- (21) aku ngajar hi mamaq basa indonesia  
 I TR-teach PM uncle-my language Indonesia  
 'I teach my uncle Bahasa Indonesia.'

Compare (20) and (21) with the following (22) and (23) which employ the normal basic order:

- (22) aku ngamiq erang karawen bajuq ma hi mamaq  
 I TR-give one CLSF shirt to PM uncle  
 'I gave my uncle a shirt.'
- (23) aku ngajar basa indonesia ma hi mamaq  
 I TR-teach language Indonesia to PM uncle  
 'I teach my uncle Bahasa Indonesia.'

Sentences (22) and (23) might be influenced by Banjarese or Bahasa Indonesia which allow the two suffixless verbs *maajar* (Banjarese) and *mengajar* (Bahasa Indonesia) to take a beneficiary as DO. Other benefactive verbs take the suffix *-akan* in Banjarese, and *-kan* in Bahasa Indonesia if the beneficiary functions as a direct object.

Returning to sentences (20) and (21), we will see that the passive voice can subjectivize the (benefactive) DO *hi mamaq* 'my uncle' whence it can be relativized, as illustrated below:

- (24) *hi mamaq [sa ∅ amiqku erang karawen bajuq]*  
 PM uncle REL PASS-give-I one CL:SF shirt<sup>RC</sup>  
*haut matuqeh*  
 already old

'My uncle to whom I gave a shirt is old.'

- (25) *hi mamaq [sa ∅ ajarku basa indonesia]*  
 PM uncle REL PASS-teach-I language Indonesia<sup>RC</sup>  
*haut matuqeh*  
 already old

'My uncle to whom I teach Bahasa Indonesia is old.'

The relativization of an ordinary beneficiary, i.e. the benefactive argument marked with a preposition, will be discussed under the second strategy.

#### 6.1.1.2 NP<sub>rel</sub>: subject of adjectival clause

All subjects of adjectival clauses are relativizable.

- (26) *ulun [sa ∅ mekum] yeruq haut naqendey*  
 man<sup>RC</sup> REL sick<sup>RC</sup> that already PASS-bring  
*hampi rumah sakit*  
 to hospital

'The sick man has been brought to the hospital.'

(27) sapiqni [sa Ø ruweh kaukuy] naqalat daya ulun  
 RC REL two CLSF RC PASS-steal AM man  
 cow-his

'Two of his cows were stolen by someone.'

In (26,27) the predicates of the RCs are an adjective and a numeral. The RC of (26) has the same basic meaning as verbal RCs discussed previously, i.e. a neutral modifier of the head noun. In (27), however, the RC sa ruweh kaukuy also has a contrastive reading. It indicates that the owner has other cows in addition to the two cows already mentioned. This contrastive reading cannot be attributed to the fact that the head NP is specific, since a generic head followed by a RC still expresses the contrastive reading, as seen in (28):

(28) sapiq [sa Ø ruweh kaukuy naqalat ulun]  
 RC REL two CLSF RC PASS-steal man  
 cow

'The two cows were stolen by someone.'

In the contrastive reading the relativizer sa is obligatory; the deletion of it makes the numeral function as an ordinary modifier in the NP construction, NP + numeral + classifier. Thus the numeral in (29) below has a neutral reading.

(29) sapiq ruweh kaukuy naqalat ulun  
 cow two CLSF PASS-steal man

'Two cows were stolen by someone.'

#### 6.1.1.3 NP<sub>rel</sub>: subject of adjunctive clause

The adjunctive clause has a prepositional phrase predicate. It gives information about the location, source or direction of an event implicitly described by the prepositional phrase predicate. The relativizer sa is optional in most RCs of this type.

##### a. NP<sub>rel</sub>: subject of locational clause

A locational clause is marked by hang 'at, in, on'.

(30) kasianni [(sa) Ø hang jakarta] matey  
 father-in-law-his<sup>RC</sup> REL in Jakarta die<sup>RC</sup>

'His father-in-law who lived in Jakarta died.'

(31) bujang upu [(sa) Ø hang tumpuk yiti] manuwu  
 bachelor male<sup>RC</sup> REL from village this handsome<sup>RC</sup>

'The youths of this village are handsome.'

In (30,31) the relativizer sa is optional. Its presence or absence has no effect on the interpretation of the NP construction. However, (30) and (31) have different interpretations. In (30) the NP has a contrastive reading. It implies that the man represented by -ni 'his' has another father-in-law besides the one who lives in Jakarta. In (31) the RC does not trigger the contrastive interpretation. The neutral reading of the head NP in (31) is due to the fact that the RC's predicate, represented by a PP hang tumpuk yiti, can be replaced just by the NP tumpuk yiti 'this village'. Thus bujang upu (sa) hang tumpuk yiti is equivalent to bujang upu tumpuk yiti 'the youths of this village.' Phenomena like this apply also to source clauses, as below.

b. NP<sub>rel</sub>: subject of source clause

A source predicate is marked by the preposition teka 'from'.

(32) wawey [(sa) Ø teka tumpuk yiti] mawiney  
 girl<sup>RC</sup> REL from village this beautiful<sup>RC</sup>

'The girls of this village are beautiful.'

In (32) the NP wawey (sa) teka tumpuk yiti is equivalent to wawey tumpuk yiti in which the preposition is deleted. The parallelism only occurs when the locative argument indicates the source relation with the head NP. (See 5.1.2.2). Other examples of parallel constructions are:

(33) ruyan [(sa) Ø teka tumpuk yiti] ~ ruyan tumpuk yiti  
 ruyan<sup>RC</sup> REL from village this ruyan village yiti<sup>RC</sup>

'the ruyan (k.o. fruit) of this village'

- (34) weyah [(sa) Ø teka baritu] ~ weyah baritu  
           RC                                          RC  
 rice      REL      form Barito      rice Barito  
 'the rice from Barito'

If no source relation is implied, the preposition is obligatory (cf.

(30) kasianni sa hang jakarta 'his father-in-law who is in Jakarta' and \*kasianni jakarta).

c. NP<sub>rel</sub>: subject of directional clause

A directional predicate is marked by the preposition ma or (ham)pi 'to'.

- (35) lalan [(sa) Ø ma tumpuk yiti] rusak  
       RC                                          RC  
 road      REL      to village this      bad

'The road to this village is bad.'

- (36) ulun [sa Ø hampi pakan] yeruq huqan mudiq  
       RC                                          RC  
 man      REL      to      market      that      not yet return

'The man who went to the market has not returned yet.'

In the examples above we see that the relativizer is optional in (35), but obligatory in (36). The occurrence of the relativizer sa is governed by the potentiality of the head NP to become an agent in the RC. If the head NP has the potential to become an agent of the clause, such as an animate NP, sa is obligatory, otherwise it is optional.

Consider:

- (37) mutur [(sa) Ø ma tumpuk yiti] butit tuqu  
       RC                                          RC  
 car      REL      to village this      few      very

'The number of cars coming to this village are very few.'

- (38) pagaway kasehatan [\* (sa) Ø ma tumpuk yiti] butit tuqu  
                                           RC                                          RC  
 officer health                                  REL      to village this      few      very

'The health officers who came to this village are few and far between.'

In (37) mutur 'car' is not a potential agent of the RC, thus the relativizer sa is optional. On the other hand, pagaway kasehatan



- (45) ulun [sa jari wadiyan] yeruq tulak ma gunung  
 RC REL become shaman RC the go to mountain  
 'The man who became the shaman went to the mountain.'

- (46) lewuq [sa jari balay adat] yeruq matuqeh tuqu umurni  
 RC REL become hall custom the old very age-his  
 'The house which is used as a temple is very old.'

In normal discourse the speaker does not normally relativize the subject of an equational clause. Instead he repeats the nominal predicate of a preceding equational clause, modifying it with the deictic yeruq. In this way the nominal predicate becomes the subject which anaphorically refers to the predicate of preceding equational. Thus (47) and (48) below are more natural than (45) and (46) as bound utterances in a discourse following (41) and (42) respectively.

- (47) wadiyan yeruq tulak ma gunung  
 shaman the go to mountain  
 'The shaman went to the mountain.'

- (48) balay adat yeruq matuqeh tuqu umurni  
 hall custom the old very age-his  
 'The temple is very old.'

#### 6.1.2 The non-basic strategy

This strategy relativizes positions in a clause other than the subject. Under this strategy the NP<sub>rel</sub> leaves a pronominal trace in the clause. Since the pronouns in Maanyan always indicate human objects, then only the arguments of a clause which have [+human] reference are normally associated with this strategy. These are the beneficiaries, human goals, sources, comitatives, and possessors in genitive constructions. Among all these positions the possessor is the easiest to relativize.

6.1.2.1 NP<sub>rel</sub> : possessor in genitive construction

Relativization of the possessor in a genitive construction is a device used for the topicalization of this constituent.

- (49)ulun [sa lewuqni hanteq] yeruq tulak pi jawa  
 RC RC  
 man REL house-his big the go to Java

'The man whose house is big went to Java.'

The topicalized element in (49), 'ulun 'man'', is equivalent to a constituent of the subject NP in (50) below:

- (50) lewuqulun yeruq hanteq  
 house man that big

'That man's house is big.'

It means that the relativization of the possessor can also be interpreted as relativization of subject using the basic strategy. The only difference is that relativization of possessor leaves a pronominal trace in the RC.

Genitive constructions having a part-whole relationship may also have their possessor relativized. In this construction the constituent that makes up the 'whole' part of the genitive construction does not necessarily have the feature [+human]. This is an exception to the constraint that the non-basic strategy applies only to [+human] objects. In this construction -ni 'its' represents both singular and plural common nouns, as illustrated in (51) and (52):

- (51) lewuq [sa pipikni papan] yeruq rarang haragaqni  
 RC RC RC  
 house REL wall-its board the expensive price-its

'The house with wooden walls is expensive.'

- (52) warik [sa peqeni tepuq] yeruq mihawuntung  
 RC RC RC  
 ape REL leg-its broken the pregnant

'The ape whose legs are broken is pregnant.'





(57) aku hamen nunung ulun, ma hanye aku ngirim duwit  
 I want visit man to he I TR-send money  
 'I want to visit the shaman, to whom I sent some money.'

(58) aku hamen nunung ulun, anri hanye aku babur hingkariweq  
 I want TR-visit man with he I fight yesterday  
 'I want to visit the man, with whom I fought yesterday.'

## 6.2 Constraints on the NP<sub>rel</sub>

As has been noted previously, the domain of the NP<sub>rel</sub> or the head noun is a class of objects to which the thing referred to by the RC belongs. This characteristic of the NP<sub>rel</sub> involves a constraint that the head must be non-specific or generic, not definite in reference. Thus a NP whose structure is N + deictic may not become the head of the RC. Compare the following structures:

(59) lewuq \*yiti/\*yeruq [sa ∅ widiku] ...  
           house this that      RC      REL      PASS-buy-I  
 ('this/that house which I bought...')

(60) lewuq erang kawuwaq [sa ∅ widiku] ...  
           house Indef CLSF      RC      REL      PASS-buy-I  
 'a house which I bought...'

Deictics yeruq 'that' and yiti 'this' in (59) always denote definite objects and hence the noun specified by them cannot be specified by a RC. On the other hand, a NP modified by a numeral as in (60) denotes a non-specific object and as such may allow a RC to modify it.

A noun whose reference is inherently definite, such as personal pronouns and proper names, may never accept a RC as its modifier. However, if a proper name refers to more than one person, it may certainly be relativized.

(61) hi yabes [sa hawiq hingkariweq] haut idarangan  
 RC RC RC  
 PM Yabes RC come yesterday already married

'Yabes who came yesterday is married.'

(62) anraw sanayan [sa haut paitah] tanggal dime  
 RC RC RC  
 day Monday REL already pass date five

'Last Monday was the fifth.'

In (61,62) the proper names should be interpreted as referring to non-unique entities, and hence may take a RC as the modifier. If Yabes in (61) represents a unique entity, the RC following it must be non-restrictive.

### 6.3 The position of a deictic in the NP + RC construction

In the NP + RC construction the deictic, if any, always occurs at the end of the construction. It refers to the whole NP if the head is the only noun in the construction. In the following examples the reference of the deictic is indicated by an arrow.

(63) [ [ume [sa lagaq]]yeruq/yiti]  
 NP NP RC RC NP NP  
 ricefield REL large that this  
 'that/this large ricefield'

If the construction has two nouns, the deictic yeruq 'that' may refer to either noun. Since yeruq also functions as a definite determiner, the following noun phrase,

(64) iyaq sa ngendey punsi yeruq  
 child REL TR-bring banana that/the

will have three-way ambiguity.

(65)a. [ iyaq [sa ngendey [pungsi yeruq] ] ]  
 NP RC NP NP RC NP  
 'the child who brought those bananas'

b. [ [iyaq [sa ngendey punsi] ] yeruq ]  
 NP NP RC RC NP NP  
 'that child who is bringing the bananas'

c. [ [iyaq [sa ngendey punsi] ] yeruq ]  
 NP NP RC RC NP NP  
 'the child who brought the bananas'

In (65a) the deictic *yeruq* refers to *pungsi* 'banana'. This object may be present or anaphoric. In both interpretations, however, the speaker does not specify the presence of *iyaq* 'child', the subject of RC, and accordingly the predicate *ngendey* 'to bring' is interpreted as occurring in the past. The noun *iyaq* 'child' itself must be anaphoric and is thus interpreted as 'the child'. On the other hand, in (65b,c) *yeruq* refers to the construction N + RC. In this situation, if *yeruq* is interpreted as pointing to *iyaq* 'child' which is present as in (65b), the action *ngendey* 'to bring' should be interpreted as being in progress. If, however, *yeruq* refers to an anaphoric situation, i.e. the propositions which include the existence of a child and that he brings some bananas, as in (65c), the verb *ngendey* should be interpreted as occurring in the past.

To disambiguate (65b) and (65c) the appropriate aspectual particle such as *rahat*, *bunsung*, or *ganyah* 'in progress' or the adverbial *hingkarieweq* 'yesterday' should be added to the RC. Thus (65b) is equivalent to (66a), and (65c) to (66b):

(66)a. *iyaq sa rahat ngendey punsi yeruq ...*  
 child REL in progress TR-bring banana the  
 'that child who is bringing the bananas...'

b. iyaq sa ngendey punsi yeruq hingkariweq

child REL TR-bring banana the yesterday

'the child who brought those bananas yesterday...'

To indicate that yeruq functions only anaphorically, the particle huniq or huniqen 'just mentioned, aforementioned' should be added to it, as in (67):

(67) iyaq sa ngendey punsi yeruq huniq

child REL TR-bring banana the aforementioned

'the aforementioned child who brought the bananas...'

'the child who brought the aforementioned bananas ...'

The deictic yiti 'this' never causes ambiguity; it always points to the closest noun in the construction.

(68) [iyaq [sa ngendey [punsu yiti] ] ]  
 NP RC NP NP RC NP

child REL TR-bring banana this

'the child who brought these bananas'

#### 6.4 Headless RCs

As noted earlier, the deictic yiti 'this' and yeruq 'that' may not occur directly following the head noun in a NP construction whose modifier is a RC. If it so happens, the whole construction becomes a sentence (not a NP), and the RC becomes headless, standing alone to form a NP. Consider the following structures and their intonational pattern:

(69) [anak [sa ngendey punsi yiti] ] ...  
 NP RC NP

child REL TR-bring bananas this

'the child who brought these bananas ...'

(70)a. [[anak yiti] [sa ngendey punsi yeruq] ]  
 S RC RC S

child this REL Tr-bring banana that

'It is this child who brought those bananas.'

b. [[sa ngendey punsi yeruq] [anak yiti] ]

'It is this child who brought those bananas.'

Structure (69) does not have falling intonation, since it is a NP. Structure (70), on the other hand, has falling intonation since the NP + NP structure, where the first NP is definite, is a sentence. (See 3.5.1.2).

As in many other Western Indonesian languages, the relativizer functions as a nominalizer for verbs and other non-nominal parts-of-speech. As a NP, the headless RC can occur in the position that a noun may occupy. It can occur as subject, direct object, and nominal predicate:

(71) sa ngendey surat yiti anakku

REL TR-bring letter this son-my

'The one who brings the letter is my son.'

(72) aku hamen ngindiq sa nawidi ulun yeruq

I want TR-see REL PASS-buy man the

'I want to see the thing that the man bought.'

(73) hiyeq sa hawuwang lewuq

who REL inside house

'Who is inside the house?'

Headless RCs are generally used to express non-specific reference of objects, as in (71,72). As such they are frequently used in questions such as (73) above because the things being queried are always non-specific or unknown. Moreover, in questions the objects being queried are regarded as more important or more emphasized. To express this pragmatic feature, the RC is the most suitable device to use. Thus instead of the neutral question in (74) below, the sentence structure with RC in (75) is more expressive.

(74) hiyeq ngendey barang yiti

who TR-bring thing this

'Who brought this thing?'





## CHAPTER 7

## BASIC CLAUSE TYPES

In general two classes of clause types are posited in Maanyan, one basic and one non-basic. Basic clause types are those whose structures are generally simple, short and contain no other clauses as their proper sub-parts. They are pragmatically neutral, that is no pragmatic implications are included in the interpretation. Basic clause types will be discussed in this chapter, non-basic clause types in the following chapters. In this thesis basic clause types are defined in semantic terms, not by syntactic phenomena. We will first discuss the criteria of basic clause types, the notions semantic relation, grammatical relation, and selectional feature.

## 7.1 The criteria for basic clause types

In determining what type of clauses can be regarded as basic, several factors have to be taken into account. These are primarily word order, focussing, the question of whether or not a clause contains a sentential complement as its proper sub-part, and the semantic relation that argument(s) bear with their predicate.

In its basic word order, Maanyan is typologically a SVO language. A clause is regarded as basic if the subject precedes the predicate, and the object, if any, follows it. Basic and non-basic clauses are illustrated in (1) and (2) below:



(1)a. ulun yeruq hawiq

S            V

man the come

'The man is coming.'

b. ulun yeruq mupuk antahuqku

S            V        O

man the TR-hit dog-my

'The man hit my dog.'

(2)a. hawiq ulun yeruq

V        S

come man the

'The man is coming.'

b. antahuqku napupuk daya ulun yeruq

S            V            PERIPH

dog-my        PASS-hit AM    man the

'My dog was hit by the man.'

(1a,b) are basic; they have the SV(O) order. On the other hand, (2a,b) are non-basic since the order of constituents is not SV(O). The passive sentence in (2b) has no object, instead a peripheral argument functioning as the agent follows the verb. The SVO order as the criterion of a basic clause should not be taken literally. There are certain clauses which in their basic form require different ordering from SVO. In one sub-type of existential clauses the predicate precedes its subject. For example,

(3)a. sadiq        naqan erang kawuwaq tumpuk

V                            S

old time exist one        CLSF        village

'In olden times there was a village.'

b. \*sadiq        erang kawuwaq tumpuk naqan

old time one        CLSF        village exist

(3a) is basic since in terms of basic word order it has no alternative other than the VS order.

With respect to focusing, typologically Maanyan is not a focus language like Tagalog, other Philippines languages like Mindanao, and Murut, a language of Sabah, North Kalimantan. (See Prentice 1976 for the latter.) In these languages the NPs in focus are marked morphologically on the verb. In Maanyan focussing is done by way of nominalizing the verb phrase. A clause containing a focussed constituent is regarded as non-basic. Compare the basic, non-focussed (1a) above with the focussed clause structure (4a,b) below:

- (4)a. ulun yeruq sa hawiq  
 man that REL come  
 'It is that man who came.'
- b. ulun yeruq sa mupuk antahuqku  
 man that REL TR-hit dog-my  
 'It is that man who hit my dog.'

Sentences (4a,b) have ulun yeruq 'the man' as the subject and the nominalized phrases, sa hawiq 'who came' and sa mupuk antahuqku 'who hit my dog' as the predicates. In terms of word order they are not different from the basic sentences (1a,b). However, these sentences focus their subjects. In uttering them the speaker highlights these NPs as the focus of attention, or gives them the status of new information. Thus in terms of their pragmatic function, (4a,b) are non-basic.

Passives, complex sentences, and sentences with a sentential complement as one of their arguments are non-basic. These types of sentences will be discussed in chapters 8, 9 and 10.

The most important criterion in distinguishing basic clause types is the semantic relation or semantic role holding between the predicate

and its associated arguments. A predicate such as *munuq* 'to kill'<sup>1</sup> designates the roles of killer and the thing killed. The killer's role will be called agent and the thing killed patient. Two clauses are considered to belong to the same type if they share the same set of semantic roles. Since the notions of semantic relations are crucial in determining basic clause types, they will be addressed in the following sections.

#### 7.1.1 Semantic relations and grammatical relations

The two most important components of basic clauses in Maanyan are the predicate and its associated arguments. In the analysis of clauses that we are going to apply here, we employ the principle that the predicate dictates what kind of argument(s) must accompany it in the clause. This is in fact the position that most linguists hold (e.g. Fillmore (1968), Prentice (1971), Chafe (1970), Andrews (1985), Foley and Van Valin (1980; 1984)). Among Indonesian linguists who also hold this position are Silitonga (1972) in analyzing the Batak language, and Tampubolon (1983) in analyzing Bahasa Indonesia. As we have noted above, the predicate such as *munuq* 'kill' requires two participants, the killer and the killed. Consider the following example.

- (5) *ulun yeruq munuq antahuq*  
 man the TR-kill dog  
 'The man killed a dog.'

The predicate *munuq* describes an event in which an entity kills another. The NP preceding the predicate plays the role of agent, and that following it plays the role of patient. The relation between a predicate and its arguments like this is called a semantic relation. The predicate contains the semantic structure which directly enables it

---

<sup>1</sup>This example is taken from the illustration in Andrews (1985:62) for the verb kill in English.

to account for the semantic roles of its arguments. As Foley and Van Valin (1984:27) emphasize,

... relations such as agent, patient, theme, or locative are not independently existing primitive relations which are assigned arbitrarily to verbs; rather, they are relations which are derived from the semantic structure of predicates themselves.

The term 'role' we will call relation for the reason that it will be consistent with the term 'semantic relation' we employ. Roles are nothing but the relations between the predicate and the accompanying nominals.

In syntactic terms, the agent in (5) is the subject, and the patient is the object. Subject, object and indirect object are called grammatical relations. We will frequently refer to this terminology when we discuss the semantic relations of clauses under consideration.

The semantic structure that I adopt in this thesis is that of Chafe (1970). Chafe's semantic structure is chosen for the reason that it is ample for a practical analysis without hiding important facts about the semantic characteristics of verbs and other types of predicate in Maanyan. However, we will also incorporate recent proposals related to the terminology of relations. In this regard Foley and Van Valin's (1984) interpretations of the notions of agent, patient and the like are taken into consideration.

#### 7.1.2 Semantic relations and selectional features

As we have emphasized, the predicate dictates its accompanying argument(s) in a clause. In Maanyan predicates are generally represented by verbs and adjectives. Minor clause types have nominals and prepositional phrases as predicates. The way a predicate dictates the presence of accompanying argument(s) is determined by the features inherent to the verb, adjective, nominal or prepositional phrase functioning as predicate. We will call these features, following Chafe (1970:105), selectional features<sup>2</sup>, since their primary functions are to

<sup>2</sup>selectional unit in Chafe's term.

select the accompanying argument(s)<sup>3</sup> and the relation or role that the arguments bear to the predicate.

As we have noted in chapter 4, the major selectional features relevant to Maanyan are state, process, and action. Different from Chafe (1970), who directly associates the feature process with process verbs, causative verbs, and any transitive verbs, we only apply it to the first two types of verbs since it is with these verbs that the patient undergoes change of state, whereas with transitive verbs the patient is the entity affected by the action. For transitive verbs I introduce the feature affected to replace Chafe's process. The necessity of this feature in Maanyan is attributable to the existence of affected verbs which are represented by ka-an verbs (see 4.3.8).

A verb with the selectional feature state is called state verb, and one with the selectional feature process, affected or action is called a process verb, affected verb, or action verb respectively. A state verb requires the presence of an accompanying nominal which is its patient. The patient specifies the entity which is in a state or condition. Thus *ulun yeruq ambaw* 'The man is tall' has a predicate *ambaw* 'tall' which specifies the state or condition of the patient *ulun yeruq* 'the man'.

The process, affected and action verbs are different from state verbs in that they can answer the question *wuwah inun N* 'What happened to N?' where N is a nominal or noun phrase. A process verb specifies a change of state, quality, or condition of being. In the sentence *bakahni bahanteq* 'His ulcer became bigger' the predicate *bahanteq* 'become big(ger)' specifies the change of state of the nominal *bakahni* 'his ulcer'. Since what is involved in the process is still the

---

<sup>3</sup>noun(s) in Chafe's term.

relation between the nominal and the state, this nominal is also called the patient. The patient of a process verb is the entity which undergoes a change of state. An affected verb specifies the entity which is affected by the event designated by the verb. In the sentence *hanye kaquranan* 'He was caught in the rain', the predicate *kaquranan* specifies the entity which is affected by the event *uran* 'rain'. This entity is thus a patient as well. An action verb, on the other hand, specifies that an activity or action is done by the agent of the clause. As a rule of thumb, following Chafe's (1970) test for English, an action verb can answer the question *inun sa nagawi N* 'What did N do?' where N is a nominal. In the sentence *pulen hawiq* 'Pulen came', the verb *hawiq* 'to come' can answer the question above. The action verb specifies an entity, the agent, which performs or instigates the action.

Action, process and affected verbs are generally marked morphologically, though we will find a few instances of unmarked action verbs and process verbs. The feature 'state' is primarily represented by adjectives. Adjectives are typically unmarked, but some are marked by the prefix *ma-*. This morphological marker, however, is not rule-governed, and thus can be regarded as being formed in the level of lexicon.<sup>4</sup> In what follows I will discuss state clauses, process clauses, action clauses and affected clauses. Nominal clauses and some minor clauses are discussed under state and action clauses. It should be pointed out that besides the relations agent and patient, there are other relations such as beneficiary, instrumental, locative and the like. These relations will be accounted for when we discuss the relevant clause types.

---

<sup>4</sup>The prefix *ma-* is a vestige of a proto Austronesian prefix as is evidenced in Tagalog adjectives, (see Schachter and Otanes 1972).

## 7.2 The organization

The following description of clause types is organized into major types and various subtypes, with attention paid to the parts of speech of the predicate and the argument relations. In the discussion I also include, if necessary, the paraphrased versions of basic clause types. In each basic clause type the relations involved in it are defined. This is done because there may possibly be a difference between the relations of the same type when occurring in different clause types. (Note the difference between the patients of affected verbs and those of process verbs.)

It should be noted that the number of arguments that a predicate can take is not always transparent, because the arguments taken into account are not only those which appear on the surface, but also those occurring in the semantic structure of the predicate. For practical purposes, the term 'basic clause type' also refers to sub-types of clauses.

## 7.3 Stative clauses

The predicates of stative clauses denote a state, quality, or condition of being. They cover adjectives, existential verbs, nominal predicates and verbs of perception and cognition. Accordingly there are three subtypes of stative clauses, that is, (i) the state clause type, (ii) the existential clause type, and (iii) the perception/cognition clause type.

### 7.3.1 State clauses

State clauses are a class of clauses whose predicates denote states. A state predicate requires the presence of a patient. The patient is the predicate argument which is in a state or condition, or which has a certain quality. State clauses are exemplified in the following sentences:



(6) guruq yeruq hanteq

P Adj

teacher the big

'The teacher is big.'

(7) lewuq yiti maqeh

P Adj

house this good

'This house is good.'

(8) ulun yeruq guru

P NOM

man the teacher.'

'The man is a teacher.'

(9) ambahni pambakal

P NOM

father-his village head

'His father is the village head.'

In (6,7) the predicates hanteq 'big' and maqeh 'good', describe the state of the entities guruq yeruq 'the teacher' and lewuq yiti 'this house'. In (8) the predicate guruq 'teacher' is different from the patient guruq in (6). In the former guruq does not refer to a physical object in the world called guruq as in (6), rather it refers to the quality of a person associated with the job of guruq. In this sense the nominal subject in (8) can be said to be in a condition specified by the nominal predicate guruq. Accordingly this predicate also has the selectional feature [state]. The same interpretation also holds for the predicate nominal pambakal 'village head'. The interpretation of equationals as state clauses is in line with Chafe (1970:202), and Schachter and Otnes (1972:61) who group nominal and adjectival clauses under equational clauses. Since all predicates in (6-9) denote a state or condition of being, the entities described by the predicates are patients.



According to the nature of their predicates, there are two subtypes of state clauses; state adjectival clauses and state nominal clauses. The first we will call adjectival clauses, and the second equational clauses. These subtypes will be discussed in turn.

#### 7.3.1.1 Adjectival clauses

A state adjectival clause is a clause whose predicate is an adjective. Adjectival clauses are exemplified in (6,7) and in the following sentences:

(10) anak yeruq mawuleq

P            Adj

boy    the    lazy

'The boy is lazy.'

(11) ruyan yiti mamis

P            Adj

ruyan    this    sweet

'This ruyan is sweet.'

(12) bajuqni mariyang

P            Adj

shirt-his red

'His shirt is red.'

(13) peqe ulun yeruq mahanang

P            Adj

foot man    the    painful

'The foot of that man is painful.'

Adjectival predicates may take two features which ordinary verbal predicates cannot.

a. Most adjectival predicates can be premodified or postmodified by the intensifier *tuqu* 'very' or *tatuqu* 'very much', and its negative *puwang banget* 'less'. These intensifiers express that the state or quality denoted by the predicate is intensified or diminished.

(14) iyaq yeruq rumis tuqu/tuqu rumis  
child the small very very small

'The child is very small.'

(15) hanyuq lungaq tuqu/tuqu lungaq  
you stupid very very stupid

'You are very stupid.'

(16) weyah yiti puwang sangat maqeh  
rice this NEG very good

'This rice is not very good.'

As (14) and (15) show, the intensifier tuqu 'very' can precede or follow the predicate. Its negative puwang sangat always precedes.

(b) Most adjective predicates can take three degrees of comparison namely, positive, comparative, and superlative. The positive degree of adjectival predicates describes only the state, condition or quality of being. Sentences (8-11) are examples of the positive degree of adjectival predicates.

A comparative adjectival predicate has the same form as that of the positive degree. This predicate takes a norm comparison besides the patient. The norm is represented by a prepositional phrase marked by teka 'from, than'. A negative comparative adjectival predicate is marked by a negative intensifier puwang sangat preceding it.

(17) ruyan yiti manis teka ruyan yeruq  
ruyan this sweet from ruyan that

'This ruyan is sweeter than that ruyan.'

(18) lewuqku puwang sangat maqeh teka lewuqnu  
house-my NEG very good than house-your

'My house is not as beautiful as your house.'

(19) rambutan yiti manis teka gulaq  
rambutan this sweet than sugar

'This rambutan is sweeter than sugar.'

- (20) ruyan maraquh teka nanakan  
 ruyan tasty than nanakan

'Ruyan is tastier than nanakan.'

Comparative adjectival predicates generally express the degree of quality of an entity compared with the quality of another entity which forms the norm comparison. It is also possible to compare a single entity with respect to its property at a certain location or time. Usually the norm comparison is deleted, as seen in (21a,b):

- (21)a. anak yiti pintar hang sakulah teka hang lewuq  
 child this well behaved at school than at house  
 'This child is better behaved at school than at home.'

- b. wunge yiti maqeh hang kaqayat teka hang kariweq  
 flower this good at morning than at afternoon  
 'This flower is more beautiful in the morning than  
 it is in the afternoon.'

Superlative adjectival predicates take a prefix panga- and an optional pronominal suffix -ni, as seen below:

- (22) anak yiti pangapintar hang sakulah  
 child this most intelligent at school  
 'This child is the most intelligent pupil at school.'

- (23) ambahni pangatatawni tawuk yeruq  
 father-his most rich-his time the  
 'His father was the richest at that time.'

Notice that in both (22) and (23) the superlative adjectives also contain the semantic feature of comparison in the sense that the patients have the superlative degree of quality in comparison with the quality of other similar entities/objects which exist at school (22) and at that time (23). Sentences (22) and (23) can be paraphrased as follows:

(24) anak yiti pangapintarni amun natanding anri  
 child this most intelligent-his if PASS-compare with  
 kawan anak lain hang sakulah  
 PL child other at school

'This child is the most intelligent student compared  
 with other students at school.'

(25) ambahni pangatatawni amun natanding anriulun  
 father-his most rich-his if PASS-compare with person  
 lain tawuk yeruq  
 other time the

'His father is the richest person compared with other person  
 at that time.'

Adjectival clauses cover a type of meteorological or ambient  
 clauses whose predicates are adjectives. Consider the following  
 examples:

(26)a. kaqi

hot

'It is hot.'

b. kaqi hang gunung/malem diye

hot at mountain/night last

'It was hot at the mountain/last night.'

c. anraw kaqi

day hot

'It is hot.'

In (26) the predicate kaqi 'hot' describes the weather which is  
 normally related to an environmental locative. The locative may be  
 expressed by temporal or locational adverbs. Ambient clauses are  
 different from ordinary state clauses in that the former are  
 characterized by the possibility that they may be represented merely by  
 the ambient predicate, as in (26a) or the predicate and the locative,

as in (26b). Moreover the only subject that occurs with the predicate is the noun *anraw* 'day', as in (26c). Apparently, as in every state clause, the subject of an ambient clause is a patient, but in this case the patient is assigned not only to the subject *anraw*, but also to the whole environment which includes the locative. Other adjectival ambient predicates are *maqintem* 'dark', *maraqay* 'bright, clear', and *marisak* 'cold'.

Like any adjectival clause, the intensity of weather situations can be expressed. The intensification can be done by adding the intensifier *tuqu* preceding the predicate:

(27)a. *kaqi tuqu hang luar*

hot very at outside

'It is very hot outside.'

b. *marisak tuqu malem yeruq huni*

cold very night the aforementioned

'It was very cold last night.'

#### 7.3.1.2 Equational clauses

Another way of describing an entity is by means of identifying it with another entity. The predicate then consists of a nominal, and has one argument. Clauses of this type we will call equationals.

Equational clauses are exemplified in the following sentences:

(28) *ambahni pangalat*

P NOM

father-his thief

'His father is a thief.'

(29) *guruq yeruq inehni*

P NOM

teacher the mother-his

'The teacher is his mother.'

In (28,29) the subjects ambahni 'his father' and guruq yeruq 'the teacher' are identified by other entities functioning as predicates. Like sentences (8) and (9) the predicate pangalat 'thief' in (28), for example, does not refer to a living human being called a thief, instead it refers to the multiple properties by which a thief is normally characterized. In this respect equational predicates are, in a broad sense, similar to state predicates. This similarity merits their being classified as a subtype of state clauses. One important characteristic of equationals, as implied by the terminology, is that reversing the order of constituents is permissible as long as an appropriate intonation accompanies it. The subject-predicate and predicate-subject intonational patterns corresponding to (28,29) are illustrated below:

(30) ambahni pangalat  
S P

(31) guruq yeruq inehni  
S P

(32) pangalat ambahni  
P S

(33) inehni guruq yeruq  
P S

Since intonation is determined by the position of the subject relative to the predicate, determining which constituent is the subject and which is the predicate is very important. It should be noted that nominal predicates whose function is to identify the referent of an argument need not be referential. Thus if one of the NPs which makes up a clause is referential and the other is not, the referential NP is the subject, the non-referential one is the predicate. As we have discussed in chapter 5, referentiality is identifiable either by the semantic content of NPs or marked by a deictic yiti 'this', yeruq 'that', or yaruq 'that yonder'. Non-referential NPs are either

unmarked or marked by a numeral erang 'a, one', normally followed by a numeral classifier. In (30) and (32) ambahni 'his father' is the subject despite its position since pantakaw 'thief' is non-referential, and thus the predicate. In (31) and (33) both NPs are referential and each NP is potentially the subject of the clause. If the speaker chooses the first NP to be the one he wants to identify, this NP is the subject, and the subject-predicate intonation is used. If, on the other hand, he chooses the second NP as the one he identifies, then this NP is the subject, and the predicate-subject intonation must accompany his choice.

The subject of equationals may also be non-referential. This is the situation in which a generic entity is identified. In this type of equational, both subject and predicate are generic:

(34) wawuy satuwaq liyar

wild boar animal wild

'Wild boars are wild animals.'

(35) ruyan kutaqen warik hang jumpun yeruq

ruyan food ape at forest that

'ruyans are apes' food in that forest.'

Both the subject and the predicate in (34) and (35) are generic; no particular object in the world is referred to by wawuy 'wild boar', satuwaq 'animal', ruyan 'a kind of fruit' and kutaqen 'food'

On the basis of the differences to which the predicates refer, we will distinguish three types of equationals, (i) equational of characterization, (ii) equational of measurement, and (iii) equational of similarity. In an equational of characterization the predicate characterizes the referent of the argument. Sentences (28-35) are equational of characterization. In (28), for example, the nominal pangalat 'thief' does not refer to a person physically, but rather to properties which pangalat possesses. The properties are, among others,



stealing another's property, bad character, being outlawed, disliked and feared by society, and many other unfavourable traits. These properties describe or characterize the subject argument ambahni 'his father'.

Identification of an entity may also be effected by referring to its substance. NPs describing a substance constitute the predicate of an equational clause and necessarily occurs without a determiner:

(36) lewuqni papan  
house-his board  
'His house is made of board/wood.'

(37) hapaw lewuqni sirap  
roof house-his k.o. roof  
'The roof of his house is sirap.'

In (36,37) the predicates identify the subject argument as a whole. The relation between the predicates and the subjects is that between an entity and its substance. If only one part of the entity represented by the subject argument is described, the name of the part can be put as an element of the predicate phrase:

(38) lewuqni pipik papan  
house-his wall board  
'His house has boards for walls.'

(39) lewuqni hapaw sirap  
house-his roof sirap  
'His house has a sirap roof.'

In (38,39) the predicates identify the subject arguments by referring to their parts. The relation between the predicates and their subjects is part-whole. (39) has the same words as (37). However, it is clear that what is described in (39) is different from that of (37). In the former it is the house which is being described, whereas in the latter it is the roof of the house.



Equationals are also used to describe measurement of an entity. Measurement can identify dimension, age, speed, value, time and number. These are expressed using units of measurement; kiluq 'kilogram' for weight, repeq 'fathom' for length, taqun 'year' for age or time, and others. These units of measurement constitute the predicate of an equational whose structure is a cardinal number plus an optional classifier corresponding to the measurement unit. The things being measured are the subject of the clause. In Maanyan they are represented by a nominalized adjective whose structure is an adjective followed by a NP. The type of adjective which are nominalized correspond to the semantic types of adjective: dimension, age, speed, value and time (see Dixon 1982:16) and number, which is subsumed under the limiting adjective (see Bloomfield 1933:203-206). Equationals of measurement are illustrated in the following sentences:

- (40) ambaw umeni            jatuh            repeq  
 long    ricefield-his one hundred fathom  
 'His rice field is one hundred fathoms long.'
- (41) umur ambahku    dimempuluh taqun  
 age father-my fifty            year  
 'My father is fifty years of age.'
- (42) lajuq muturni walumpuluh pal  
 speed car-his eighty            kilometer  
 'The speed of his car is eighty kilometers.'
- (43) haragaq kenah yiti ruweh ribu            rupiyah  
 price fish this two thousand rupiah  
 'This fish costs two thousand rupiahs.'
- (44) lawah takam            masiq            erang mingguq  
 period we excl. harvest one            week  
 'Our harvest time is one week.'

(45) jamalah sapiqni ruweh kaqukuy

number cow-his two CLSF

'He has two cows.'

In (40-45) the predicates specify dimension, age, speed, value, time and number respectively. They are regarded as equational predicates because the meanings they convey can be interpreted as equalizing the referent of the entity expressed in the nominalized adjective. The predicate jatuh repeq 'one hundred fathoms' in (40), for example, is interpretable as an equal in length of his ricefield, denoted by the subject of the equational. The same interpretation is also true for the predicates of (41-45).

Adjectives generally occur in antonym pairs. If nominalized adjectives are taken from these pairs, it is the positive or the unmarked member which is chosen. The term unmarked member is adopted from Dixon (1982:18) to refer to the member of an antonym pair which carries a neutral or no particular presupposition. It is used in a neutral question such as the English how long is the stick? Here the adjective long does not imply that the stick is long, whereas the adjective short used in that context presupposes that the stick is short.

The left-hand members of the following pairs are used in the nominalization of adjectives:

ambaw	'tall, long'	:	imbeq	'short'
weqat	'heavy'	:	dingey	'light'
hanteq	'big'	:	rumis	'small'
bukaq	'wide'	:	hipit	'narrow'
laing	'hot'	:	marisak	'cold'

As in English, the unmarked members of the above pairs should be used in questions inquiring about measurement. The question word used for this purpose is pire 'how much'. For example:

(46) pire        ambaw lewuqnu  
 now much long house your  
 'How long is your house?'

(47) pire        weqat wuwaq yiti  
 how much heavy fruit this  
 'What is the weight of this fruit?'

Questions with respect to the marked members of antonym pairs cannot be introduced with the question word pire. Rather a phrase yalah inun 'like what' is used preceding the nominalized adjective which is marked by -ni, literally meaning 'its'. For example:

(48) yalah inun risakni ranuq yeruq  
 like what cold-its water the.  
 'How cold is the water?'

(49) yalah inun rumisni injil yeruq  
 like what small-its Bible the  
 'How small is the Bible?'

These questions carry the presuppositions that the water in (48) is cold and the Bible in (49) is small. The answers to yalah inun questions also constitute predicates of equational clauses, but of a different type. They do not refer to measurement, instead they refer to the norm comparison. Sentence (48) may have the following answer:

(50) risak ranuq yiti yalah (risak) es  
 cold water this like cold ice  
 'This water is as cold as ice.'

The predicate yalah (risak) es 'as cold as ice' specifies the coldness of the subject argument risak ranuq yiti 'the coldness of this water'. This interpretation implies that the referent of the predicate is identical (in a broad sense) to the referent of the subject. Consequently (50) can be regarded as an equational. We will call this an equational of similarity. This type of equational is different from

other types in that the predicate is marked by the preposition yalah 'like', such as in (49,50), and sameh anri 'the same as', as illustrated in (51) and (52) below:

(51) wurung yiti sameh anri wurungku  
 bird this same with bird-my  
 'This bird is the same as my bird.'

(52) erang lusen sameh anri duwa walas  
 one dozen same with twelve  
 'One dozen is equal to twelve.'

With regard to adjectives for age, speed, value and number, the nominals describing these parameters are not derived from a member of the antonym pairs. Instead a suppletive noun umur 'age' is used for the pair matuqeh 'old' : mudaq 'young', lajuq 'speed' for hinang 'fast' : lambat 'slow', nilay 'grade' or haragaq 'price' for value. For numbers the nominals are jamalah 'number' or heneq 'many', but are usually optional.

### 7.3.2 Existential clauses

Existential clauses are a group of clauses whose predicate is represented by the verb naqan 'exist' or its equivalents. The predicate has the features [state, locative]. These clauses describe the existence of an entity at a certain location. They have two arguments, a theme, that is the entity whose location is at issue, and a location where the event takes place. Existential clauses are exemplified in the following sentences.

(53) inehni naqan hang sungking  
 T V L  
 mother-his exist at kitchen  
 'His mother is in the kitchen.'

(54) naqan erang kaqulun wawey mawiney hang tumpuk yeruq  
 V T L  
 exist one CLSF woman beautiful at village the  
 'There was a beautiful woman in that village.'

(55) aku naqan duwit dime rupiyah  
 L V T  
 I exist money five rupiah  
 'I have got five rupiahs.'

In (53,54) the predicate naqan 'exist' describes the existence of the entities inehni 'his mother' and wawey mawiney 'beautiful girl'. These entities can be said to be in a state of existing at a certain place. Since what is involved in an existential predicate is the relation between a nominal and its location, it is valid to say that the nominals are themes. Furthermore, the predicate naqan requires the presence of the locative relation. The locations are represented by the prepositional phrases hang sungking 'in the kitchen' and hang tumpuk yeruq 'in the village'. The existential verb naqan thus has the selectional features [state, locative]. The difference in the position of the predicate naqan relative to the subject argument is due to the fact that in (53) the predicate merely denotes the existence and location of an entity, whereas in (54), in addition, it also introduces the entity into a discourse. In (55) the predicate naqan describes the existence of duwit dime rupiyah 'five rupiahs'. This nominal is also the theme of the clause. The location is represented by the nominal aku 'I'. As the location is not represented by a prepositional phrase, it functions as the syntactic subject and hence occurs preceding the predicate naqan. Semantically the location/subject is also the owner of the theme.

On the basis of the meaning differences in sentences in (53-55), we can distinguish three subtypes of existential clauses, that is,

Existential clause type 1, Existential clause 2, and Existential clause 3.<sup>5</sup> Each subtype has syntactic and semantic implications.

#### 7.3.2.1 Existential clause type 1 (Ex-type 1)

Existential type 1 describes the existence of an entity. The predicates of Ex-type 1 are naqan 'exist', and its negatives panaqan, puwang uweng, paquweng and ang uweng 'not exist'. The subject of Ex-type 1 is anaphoric in reference and occurs preceding the predicate. The locative is marked by the preposition hang 'at' and follows the predicate. For example:

(56) hanye naqan hang lewuq

T        V                L  
he        exist at        house

'He is at home.'

(57) ulun yeruq naqan hang lewuqku

T                V                L  
man    the        exist at        house-my

'The man is at my house.'

In (56,57) the subjects, represented by the personal pronoun hanye 'he' and the nominal ulun yeruq 'the man' are entities whose location is at issue; they are themes. The locations lewuq 'house' and lewuqku 'my house' are marked by the preposition hang 'at, it, on'. The themes have anaphoric definiteness; they cannot be represented by generic NPs. Thus the function of Ex-type 1 is to specify an entity already existing in the discourse. This anaphoric interpretation follows from the meaning of the verb naqan 'exist'. In this sense even the deictic yiti 'this' is used with anaphoric reference. Consider the following examples:

---

<sup>5</sup>The division is parallel to that of Prentice (1971).

- (58)a. bukuq yiti naqan hang kantur kapala sakulah  
 book this exist at office head school  
 'This book is available in the office of the principal.'  
 Lit. 'This book exists in the office of the principal.'
- b. bukuq yalah yiti naqan hang kantur kapala sakulah  
 book like this exist at office head school  
 'A book of this kind is available in the office of  
 the principal.'  
 Lit. 'A book of this kind exists in the office of  
 the principal.'

In (58a) the deictic yiti 'this' refers to an entity which is present in front of the speaker and hearer. However, what the speaker intends to say appears to be the book stated in (58b). The nominal buku yalah yiti 'a book of this kind' is thus anaphoric, and hence buku yiti in (58a) can be said to be anaphoric as well. Ex-type 1 is differentiated from other existential types in that the predicate naqan may be deleted if it functions only to specify the existence of an entity. Thus (56,57) correspond to (59,60):

- (59) hanye hang lewuq  
 he at house  
 'He is at home.'
- (60) ulun yeruq hang lewuqku  
 man the at house-my  
 'The man is in my house.'

It may be argued that the verb naqan in (56,57) is semantically vacuous. In fact, (59,60) may answer the question:

- (61) hang awe hanye  
 at where he  
 'Where is he?'

in which no overt predicate naqan occurs in the question. The question



word *hang awe* 'where' seems to substitute for the predicate asking for locative information. In the negative, however, the locative argument cannot be directly negated by *puwang*, instead the proper negative existential verb *paquweng* or *panaqan* 'exist' is used. This is illustrated by the grammaticality of (62,63), compared with the ungrammaticality of (64,65) below:

(62) *hanye panagan hang eletku*

he NEG-exist at room-my

'He is not in my room.'

(63) *akennu paquwang lagi hang tumpuk yeruq*

niece-your NEG-exist anymore at village the

'Your little brother is no longer in the village.'

(64) \**hanye puwang hang eletku*

he NEG at room-my

(65) \**akennu puwang lagiq hang tumpuk yeruq*

niece-your NEG anymore at village the

In (62,63) the negative *pa-* or *puwang* negates the existential verbs *naqan* and *uweng* (the latter normally occurs in the negative), not the locative argument. Since the negative requires the occurrence of an existential verb as predicate, we assume that in the affirmative the predicate *naqan* also occurs but may be omitted. The grammaticality of (62,63) and the ungrammaticality of (64,65) indicate that the verb *naqan* is not semantically vacuous.

Some Ex-type 1 clauses express, in addition to the existence of an entity, a sort of manner of location like *andakan* 'place' and *asal* 'origin'.

In the sentences (66,67):

(66) *lewuqni hang iring hungey*

house-his at bank river

'His house is situated on the bank of the river.'

(67) inehni teka jawaq  
 mother-his from Java

'His mother is from Java.'

the manner of location can be expressed by placing the noun andakan 'place' and asal 'origin' preceding the NP. This is illustrated in (68,69):

(68) andakan lewuqni hang iring hunghey  
 place house-his at bank river

'His house is situated on the bank of the river.'

(69) asal inehni teka jawaq  
 origin mother-his from Java

'His mother is a Javanese by origin.'

Sentences (68,69) cannot take naqan as their overt predicate since the noun andakan and asal have replaced and covered the semantic notion of naqan. They are not Ex-type 1, but equational sentences. It should be noted that these sentences are less commonly used than (66,67) or the corresponding focussed structure, as in (70,71).

(70) lewuqni andakanni hang iring hunghey  
 house-his place-its at bank river

'His house is situated on the bank of the river.'

(71) inehni asalni teka jawaq  
 mother-his origin-her from Java

'His mother is a Javanese by origin.'

In these sentences lewuqni 'his house' and inehni 'his mother' are in focus, and as such are separated from their heads in the NP constructions andakan lewuqni 'the location of his house' and asal inehni 'the origin of his mother'.

## 7.3.2.2 Existential type 2 (Ex-type 2)

Existential type 2 also describes the existence of an entity, and optionally its spatio-temporal location. This type is primarily used as a means of introducing an entity into a discourse. Consequently the subject, the only required argument in the clause, is new information. It always appears following the predicate. An optional location, like an adjunct of place, may occur in any position in the clause. Ex-type 2 has no negative:

(72) *sadiq            naqan isa tumpuk*  
       L                V                T  
       olden time exist one village  
       'Once upon a time there was a village.'

(73) *naqan hang tumpuk yeruq wawey mawiney*  
       V        L                                T  
       exist at    village the    woman beautiful  
       'There was a beautiful woman in the village.'

In the examples above the subjects *isaq tumpuk* 'a village' and *wawey mawiney* 'beautiful woman' are entities whose locations are at issue. They are themes of the clause. The locations are represented by temporal location *sadiq* 'olden time' (72) and spatial location *tumpuk yeruq* 'the village' (73). The themes, here, are being introduced into the discourse. They are new information and consequently indefinite in reference. Indefinite nouns are expressed in Maanyan by bare nouns. Because the subject is new information, a definite NP may not occur as the subject of an Ex-type 2, as seen from the ungrammaticality of (74):

(74) \**naqan hang tumpuk yeruq wawey mawiney yeruq*  
       exist at    village the    woman beautiful the

In certain contexts where it is understood that the hearer is presumed to have no prior knowledge of the entity being introduced, a seemingly definite NP may occur as the subject of the clause. For example:

(75) sadiq        naqan tumpuk eteqen

olden time exist village Eteen

'Once upon a time there was a village called Eteen.'

(76) taqati naqan tanuhuy niniq punjut

now        exist story    Nini Punjut

'(Now), there was a story called Nini Punjut.'

The NP tumpuk eteqen 'village Eteen' and tanuhuy niniq punjut 'Nini Punjut story' are unique entities, and are thus definite. As such (75,76) violate the requirement that the subject of Ex-type 2 be indefinite. However, the time adverbials sadiq 'olden times' and taati 'now' suggest that the NPs are being introduced into a discourse. Semantically the constituents of what look like NPs tumpuk eteqen and tanuhuy niniq punjut do not form a construction. The constituents are in apposition with each other. Accordingly it is tumpuk 'village' and tanuhuy 'story' which are introduced in (75,76). They are indefinite since they are unmarked. These sentence are allowed only under a discourse context ellipsis which deletes the constituent of a clause which is understood by the speaker and hearer. Thus the full sentence of (75) and (76) would be:

(77) sadiq        naqan isaq tumpuk bangaran eteqen

olden times exist one village called Eteen

'Once upon a time there was a village called Eteen.'

(78) taqati naqan isaq tanuhuy bangaran tanuhuy niniq punjut

now        exist one story    called story    Nini Punjut.'

'(Now) there was a story called the story of Nini Punjut.'

In both (77) and (78) the subjects isaq tumpuk 'a village' and isaq tanuhuy 'a story' are indefinite, and thus conform to the constraint imposed on Ex-type 2.

## 7.3.2.3 Existential type 3 (Ex-type 3)

Existential type 3 has the same predicate as Ex-type 1, that is naqan 'exist', and its negatives, panaqan, puwang uweng, paquweng ang uweng 'not exist'. In addition, the verb mahi 'finish' can also be viewed as the predicate of Ex-type 3 on the basis that it behaves syntactically the same as other Ex-type 3 predicates, and semantically also indicates the same semantic notion as the negative verbs of EX-type 3. Ex-type 3 is different from Ex-type 1 in that the former describes not only the existence of an entity, but also its possession by what is represented by the subject argument. The interpretation is that the entity exists at a certain place, i.e. in the possession of the subject of the clause. Consider the following sentences:

(79) aku naqan duwit dime rupiyah

L V T  
I exist money five rupiah  
'I have five rupiahs.'

(80) aku naqan buku

I exist book  
'I have a book'

(81)a. lewuq yiti puwang uweng sungking

L V T  
house this NEG exist kitchen  
'This house has no kitchen.'

b. taruweh yiti mahi luwen

L V T  
we-dual this finish food  
'We both have no food.'

In all sentences above the objects are entities whose location is being described. They are themes of the clause. The location is represented by the subject of the clause. As the themes are less salient in nature they are generally represented by indefinite NPs. If the theme is

definite, a paraphrase like Ex-type 1 is possible. In this structure the possessor is expressed as true location. Thus corresponding to (80) is (83) below:

- (83) bukuq yeruq naqan ma aku  
       T                  V          L  
       book that exist on I  
       'I have that book.'

We have already argued in (7.3.2) that the thing possessed plays the theme relation and the possessor the location. In terms of the relation that the verb naqan 'exist' requires, there is no difference between Ex-type 3 and Ex-type 1. Thus despite the fact that the order of the theme and the location in Ex-type 3 is the reverse of that of Ex-type 1, they are semantically the same. However, as we see in (83) the location in Ex-type 1 is represented by a PP, but the location of Ex-type 3 by an NP.

Ex-type 3 predicates are also represented by state locative verbs derived by adding the ba- prefix to noun bases. Some examples are:

- (84) wawey yeruq bamuwey  
       L                  V-T  
       girl the have-pimple  
       'The girl has pimples.'

- (85) pansiq yiti puwang bapangup  
       L                  V-T  
       pan this NEG have-lid  
       'This pan has no lid.'

(84,85) describe the existence, more precisely, the possession of an entity at a certain location, here represented by their subjects. The possessed is the theme and the possessor is the location. Here the themes are incorporated to the verb, marked by the ba- prefix. Semantically they are identical to Ex-type 3, that is, they express possession of an entity. (See 4.3.3 for further examples of state locative verbs.)

### 7.3.3 Perception and cognition clauses

A perception/cognition clause has a perception/cognition verb predicate. This clause describes the situation in which an entity, usually human, perceives or recognizes an object without his volition. The perception and cognition predicate has the selectional features [state, locative]. In the semantic structure the predicate requires the accompaniment of a theme and a location. A theme is an entity (the stimulus) whose location is at issue, and the location is the entity where the stimulus comes into contact. In Maanyan the verbs of this type are marked by prefix ka-. Consider the following examples:

(86) aku kaqindiq kambeq hingkariweq

L V T

I [-VOL]-see ghost yesterday

'I saw a ghost yesterday.'

(87) aku karengey eyaw tungkaw anak

L V T

I [-VOL]-hear sound cry boy

'I heard the sound of a boy's cry.'

(88) aku karasa ngaran ulun yeruq

L V T

I [-VOL]-know name man the

'I know the man's name.'

The predicates kaqindiq 'to see', karengey 'to hear', kataruq 'to know' are non-volitional. The subject aku 'I' in (86-88) does not perform or initiate the action, rather it plays a passive role in the events described by the predicates; it is just the entity with which the objects of seeing and the like come into contact. Such a situation is described in Foley and Van Valin (1984: 48) as follows:



In physical terms, a stimulus of some kind, e.g. visual, auditory, or tactile, comes into contact with a sense organ of the perceiver, and this sets off a complex chain of events in the nervous system of the perceiver. Since the crucial feature of this process is the contact between the stimulus and the sense organ, perception may be viewed as having an essential locational aspect, and accordingly we will analyze perception verbs as having a locative component to their meaning. (See Wierzbicka 1980 for detailed arguments in support of a locative analysis of perception verbs.) The semantic relations inherent in a locative relationship are theme and locative, and as the stimulus is in contact with the perceiver's sense organ, the stimulus would be a theme, and the perceiver's sense organ a locative.

Following this interpretation of perception verbs (and also cognition verbs), (see also Foley and Van Valin 1984:49 for the same interpretation of cognition verbs), the syntactic subject aku 'I' in (86-88) is the locative, and the object involitionally perceived, kambeq 'ghost', eyaw tungkaw anak 'the sound of a boy's cry', and ngaran ulun yeruq 'the man's name' are themes. The theme, as defined by Foley and Van Valin (1984:51), is 'the entity which undergoes a change of location'. The verbs of perception and cognition are thus state locative verbs.

It should be pointed out that the state perception/cognition verbs should be distinguished from their action counterparts marked by prefix ng- (see 7.5).

#### 7.4 Process clauses

A process clause has a process verb predicate. The process verb has the selectional feature [process]. In the semantic structure the process verb requires the accompaniment of a patient, that is, the entity which undergoes a change of state or condition. Process clauses are exemplified in the following sentences:

(89) jukung yeraq leteng

P                    V

canoe the sink

'The canoe is sinking.'

(90) pareyku rahat            nubul

P                                    V

rice-my in progress grow

'My rice is growing.'

(91) inehni            matey

P                    V

mother-his die

'His mother died.'

The verbs leteng 'to sink', nubul 'to grow' and matey 'to die' are process verbs. As such they can take the aspectual particle rahat 'in progress' as seen in (89). This particle, however, only applies to a change of state to another state which is still in transition. It cannot precede a process verb which specifies a change to a permanent state like matey. Furthermore sentences (89,90) can answer the rule of thumb test wuwah inun N 'What happened to N?' where N is the patient undergoing the change of state.

As we have noted in chapter 4 basic process verbs are morphologically unmarked. Other examples of basic process verbs are hansur 'to shatter', daray 'to be broken', welum 'to live', lawuq 'to fall' and tumbang 'to fall down'.

Process verbs can be derived from an adjective base by adding the prefix ba-. Derived process verbs are exemplified in the following sentences:

(92) wuntungni bahanteq  
 P V  
 stomach-his become big  
 'His stomach became big(ger).'

(93) hengawni baqambaw  
 P V  
 friend-his become tall  
 'His friend became tall(er).'

(94) jukungni balawit  
 P V  
 canoe-his become far  
 'His canoe got farther away.'

In (92-94) the predicates bahanteq 'to become big(ger)', baqambaw 'to become tall(er)', and balawit 'to get farther away' denote the change of state for wuntungni 'his stomach', hengawni 'his friend', and jukungni 'his canoe'. In (94) the change of state should be interpreted as a change of position.

The change of state can also be paraphrased using the predicate buluq 'to become' preceding an adjective or a nominal:

(95) bajuqni buluq rumis  
 P V  
 shirt-his become small  
 'His shirt shrinks.'

(96) tumpuk eteqen buluq danaw  
 P V  
 village Eteen become lake  
 'Eteen village became a lake.'

In (95,96) the syntactic subjects bajuqni 'his shirt' and tumpuk eteqen 'Eteen village' are entities which undergo change of state. They are the ordinary patients of process verbs. The verb buluq rumis 'to become

small, shrink' is different from the derived process verb *barumis* 'to become small, shrink' in that the former denotes a change into a permanent state, whereas the latter denotes a change into a transitional state. In (96) the change is from one entity to another entity. However the second entity is not an independent argument of *buluq*. Rather it constitutes a predicate with the verb *buluq*. (96) has thus a one-place predicate with *tumpuk eteqen* as the patient undergoing a change of state.

Like state clauses, process clauses also include a type of ambient clause. Consider the following examples:

(97)a. *uran*

*rain*

'It is raining.'

b. *uran hang gunung*

*rain on mountain*

'It is raining on the mountain.'

c. *uran malem diye*

*rain night later*

'It will rain tonight.'

These sentences describe the weather at a particular place and time. They are ambient clauses but of a different type from state ambient clauses (cf. (97) with state ambient clause (26)). Here the predicate *uran* 'rain' does not seem to express a state, but rather a change of state involving the environment. Furthermore (97) can answer the question *wuwah inun N* where *N* represents the environment at a particular spatio-temporal location. *uran* is thus a process verb. Another process ambient verb is *riwut* 'storm'. With regard to this type of ambient clause, Chafe (1970:102) claims that it should be included as an action clause type on the basis that it can answer the question 'What is it doing?' This progressive test, however, is not very

convincing as a diagnostic criterion for action verbs if it is applied to ambient verbs since it is based primarily on surface phenomena. In Maanyan adding an aspectual auxiliary *rahat* 'in progress' does not change the content of this type of ambient clause since *uran* and *rahat uran* refer to the same event, that is, an event which is in progress. The progressive interpretation of the ambient predicate is attributable to the typical function of ambient clauses, that is, to describe the meteorological or ambient situation. If the predicate is aspectually unmarked, it implies that the event described by the predicate is in progress since it is present before the hearer. It is also the reason why ambient clauses may dispense with their subject. We therefore include (97) as a process ambient clause.

#### 7.5 Affected clauses

An affected clause has an affected verb predicate. The verb has selectional features [process, affected]. In the semantic structure an affected verb requires the presence of two patients, one the patient of a process verb, the other the patient of an affected verb. The definition of these patients will be suspended until we discuss the following representatives of process affected clauses. Consider the following examples:

(98) *hengawni kaquranan*  
 P            V-P  
 friend-his caught in the rain  
 'His friend was caught in the rain.'

(99) *umeni kalalemen*  
 P            V-P  
 ricefield-his get flooded  
 'His ricefield got flooded.'

(100) aku kawawayan sapidaq

P V P

I lose bicycle

'I lost my bicycle.'

(101) anrujut kalawuqan lampuq

P V P

Anrujut fall lamp

'The lamp fell on Anrujut.'

(Lit: 'Anrujut was fallen on by the lamp.')

The verbs kaquranan 'to be caught in the rain', kalalemen 'to be flooded', kawawayan 'to lose' and kalawuqan 'to be fallen on' are affected verbs. These verbs are process verbs as they can answer the question wuwah inun N 'What happened to N' (N being the patient directly affected by the process as designated by the affected verb). In (98) and (99) the predicates kaquranan and kalalemen are accompanied by a single argument, hengawni 'his friend' and umeni 'his ricefield.' In (100) the verb kawawayan is accompanied by the patient aku 'I' and the nominal sapidaq 'bicycle'. These two nominals have an ownership relation. It might be argued that (100) is derived from (102),

(102) sapidaqku waway

bicycle-my become lost

'My bicycle was lost.'

in which a process of focussing the possessor aku applies to front the possessor to the subject position. However, (102) has a completely different interpretation from (100). In the former nothing is said about the affectedness (in physical terms) of the subject sapidaqku 'my bicycle' or the possessor aku 'I', whereas in the latter the affectedness of the subject aku is explicitly expressed. Thus (100) cannot be said to be derived from (102). But one may argue that in (100) the speaker wishes to put forward the subject aku as the topic of

the sentence, being the focus of conversation. For this sentence this interpretation holds, but it does not seem to be the case for sentences (98,99). There is no evidence that the subjects *hengawni* 'his friend' and *umeni* 'his ricefield' are being assigned as the topic of conversation. These sentences are exactly the same as the process clauses discussed previously. They have the same basic word order and convey the same basic semantic information. Moreover topicalization cannot apply to (101) which has the same syntactic structure as (100) and expresses the same grammatical meaning. The difference in behaviour cannot be attributed to the fact that in (101) the relation between the nominal *anrujut* 'Anrujut' and *lampuq* 'lamp' is not of ownership since topicalization is not restricted to the possessor of a genitive construction. It will be against the generality principle if (101) is regarded as basic whereas (100) as derived. I will thus opt for grouping (98-101) as one type, and regard them as a basic clause type.

As we have mentioned before, (98-101) are subtypes of process verbs. All process verbs which we have discussed involve one participant, the patient. Here, particularly in (100) and (101), there is a second participant, *sapidaq* 'bicycle' and *lampuq* 'lamp'. What relations do these nominals have? Note that these sentences contain a semantic predication involving the process verbs *waway* 'to lose' and *lawuq* 'to fall', as in the following sentences:

- (103)a. *sapidaqni waway*  
 bicycle-his lost  
 'His bicycle was lost.'
- b. *lampuq yeruq lawuq*  
 lamp the fall  
 'The lamp fell.'

In these sentences *sapidaq* and *lampuq* are clearly the patients which undergo changes of state or condition. It is this type of patient which



appears in the semantic structure of affected verbs as the second patient. This situation is similar to causative verbs (e.g. ngampirumis 'to make smaller, to decrease' which also contains a semantic predication involving a process verb or VP buluq rumiṣ 'become smaller' (see (95)). In other words, affected verbs require the accompaniment of two patients, one the patient of an affected verb, the other the patient of a process verb. The patient of an affected verb is different from that of a state or process verb in that the former always has an unpleasant state or condition, whereas no such restriction applies to the patient of the latter. In (98,99) the second patient is incorporated in the verbs kaquranan and kalalemen, but it is obvious that in the semantic structure these verbs have the patient uran 'rain' and lalem 'flood' besides the overt patients functioning as the subjects of the sentences. For further examples of affected verbs, see 4.3.8.

#### 7.6 Action clauses

Action clauses have an action verb predicate. The verb expresses an activity or action, something which someone does. Action verbs are of various types depending on the relation(s) which they require as their accompaniment in a clause. Yet all share the same characteristic, namely they require an agent. As we have noted, an action clause can answer the question inun sa N gawi 'What did N do?' where N is a nominal, whereas non-action verbs cannot. In the same way action verbs can be used to construct an imperative sentence, but non-action verbs cannot. Included in action verbs are action intransitive verbs, locative action intransitive verbs, action transitive verbs, instrumental action transitive verbs, locative action transitive verbs, benefactive action verbs, causative action verbs, reciprocal action verbs and reflexive action verbs. Generally action verbs are marked morphologically except for a small number which are unmarked. Passive

verbs, derived from action transitive verbs of various types, are not included in the class of action verbs. They involve not only certain relations or roles which are in effect the same as those of the corresponding action transitive verbs, but they also focus on the patient. They will be discussed in chapter 8.

#### 7.6.1 Action intransitive clauses

An action intransitive clause has an action intransitive verb predicate. The verb has the selectional feature [action]. In the semantic structure an action intransitive verb requires an agent. The agent is the predicate argument which specifies the instigator or performer of the action. Action clauses are exemplified in the following sentences:

(104) ulun yeruq manreq

A            V

man the sleep

'The man is sleeping.'

(105) anaknu rahat minri

A            V

son-your still stand

'Your son is still standing.'

(106) here ruweh maharung

A            V

they two sit

'Both of them are sitting.'

(107) wawey yeruq mangkading

A            V

woman the lie

'The woman is lying down.'

manreq 'to sleep', minri. 'to stand'    maharung 'to sit' and

mangkading 'to lie' are action verbs. These verbs allow only an agent argument. In terms of the parameters dynamic and control introduced by Foley and Van Valin (1980:334) the verbs in (104-107) are stance verbs having the feature [-dynamic, +control]. Nevertheless they are certainly action verbs since they can answer the question *inun sa N gawiq* 'What did N do?' They can also be used to construct an imperative:

- (108) hayuq mangkading  
 REQ lie  
 'Let's lie down.'

The verbs in (104-108) are marked by the prefix *ma-*. However not all *ma-*verbs are intransitive stance verbs. *mudiq* 'to return', *mambay* 'to go up, to ascend', and *minaw* 'to go down, descend' are not stance verbs since they are [+dynamic, +control].

Action intransitive verbs can also be marked by the prefix *i-*. Notice the following examples:

- (109) aku ikeneh ma hengawku  
 I whisper to friend-my  
 'I whispered to my friend.'
- (110) anak yeruq rahat iselem hang hungey  
 boy the still dive in river  
 'The boy is diving in the river.'

The verb *ikeneh* 'to whisper' and *iselem* 'to dive' are action verbs. As such they require an accompanying agent. As action intransitive verbs they do not require an object. The following sentence, for example, is ungrammatical,

- (111) \*anak yeruq iselem jukung  
 boy the dive canoe  
 ('The boy dived a canoe')

since an object *jukung* 'canoe' follows the verb. The base *keneh* and

selem are typically action intransitive verbs and the derived ikeneh and iselem are also action intransitive verbs. Other verbs of this kind include iheraw 'to scream', isalindung 'to hide(oneself)' and isiyang 'to sway'. Since both the bases and the derived verbs are action intransitive verbs, we might conclude that the prefix i- (and for that matter ma-) functions only as a predicator or a verbalizer. However this is not the case since i- can also be prefixed to an action transitive base with a following nominal. The sentences below are semantically action intransitive:

(112) hi ineh iwidi(an)  
 PM mother shop  
 'Mother is shopping/did some shopping.'

(113) wawayeruw iuwuq (lumbah)  
 woman the wash dish  
 'The woman is (dish-) washing.'

(114) here ilelay (parey)  
 they dry paddy  
 'They are (paddy-) drying.'

(115) anak yeruw ipapas (lantay)  
 boy the sweep floor  
 'The boy is (floor-) sweeping.'

The bases of the verbs in (112-115) are widi 'buy' wuwuq 'wash', lelay 'dry' and papas 'sweep'. They are commonly associated with action transitive verbs. These predicates, however, are semantically intransitive despite the presence of a nominal following the verbs. In the case of iwidiyan 'to shop', it is apparent that it never takes an object. When one is talking about shopping using iwidiyan there is no particular object in mind. It is the action itself which is important; the articles to be bought (usually a variety of things) need not be mentioned as they are less important than the action. It is this kind

of meaning that the prefix *i-* expresses when it is attached to an action transitive verb base; it detransitivizes the action transitive base. A similar interpretation is also valid for the verb *iwuwiq* 'to wash', *ilelay* 'to dry' and *ipapas* 'to sweep'. But syntactically these verbs may take a nominal following them. It may thus be argued that the verbs in (113-115) are action transitive. However, the nominal does not behave like an ordinary syntactic object since it cannot take a modifier of any kind as an ordinary object can. The nominal is always generic, not specific. The following sentences where the objects are modified are ungrammatical:

(116) \**wawey yeruq iwuwiq dime kawuwaq lumbah*  
 woman the wash five CLSF plate  
 (\*The woman is doing five-plate-washing.)

(117) \**wawey yeruq iwuwiq lumbah yiti*  
 woman the wash plate this  
 (\*The woman is doing this plate-washing.)

If the nominal following an *i-* verb is not a true direct object, what then is its function in (113-115)? I find that phenomena like these are equivalent to an English incorporated object construction like *key-cutting*. Thus *lumbah* in *iwuwiq lumbah* and the like are incorporated objects. As such they do not play the role of object in the semantic structure. Rather they are adverbial-like modifiers functioning to specify the meaning of the verb. Accordingly the verbs should be regarded as action intransitives, not as action transitives. Deriving intransitive verbs by attaching *i-* to act.c. transitive bases is productive in Maanyan. Other examples are *ikusay* (*wulu*) 'to wash (hair)', *ituhun* (*bajuq*) 'to wash (clothes)', *iwaruwuk* (*kayu*) 'to chop (tree)', and *iqanrey* (*parey*) 'to watch (the paddy)'.

Another type of action intransitive verb is marked by prefix *ba-*. Consider the following examples:

- (118) ambahni bagawi  
 father-his work  
 'His father is working.'
- (119) anak yeruq babentur  
 boy the go naked  
 'The boy went naked'  
 ('The boy was naked.')
- (120) tantara babaris  
 soldier march  
 'The soldiers marched.'
- (121) guruqni lagiq bapander  
 teacher-his still talk  
 'His teacher is still talking.'

The verbs bagawi 'to work', babentur 'to go naked', babaris 'to march' and bapander 'to talk' are action verbs. As such they can be used in commands, as in (122) below:

- (122) adaq babentur  
 NEG-REQ go naked  
 'Don't go naked.'

Notice that (119) is ambiguous. The second meaning assigns babentur 'to go naked' as a state verb meaning 'naked'. This latter meaning is the result of the action 'go naked'. A verb like this is called, following Chafe (1970:124), a state resultative verb. In this sense the verb cannot take the aspectual particle lagiq 'in progress'. The verb babentur thus has two entries, one as an action verb, the other as a state verb.

Some action intransitive verbs, few in number, have either no morphological marker, or take a prefix which is not usually an action intransitive verb marker. Some examples are:

- (123) anak yeruq kakihiq  
 boy the laugh  
 'The boy laughed.'
- (124) pambakal takiyaq  
 village head walk  
 'The village head walked.'
- (125) takam tariyeq  
 we excl. stop  
 'We stop.'
- (126) anaknu ngiyak  
 son-your cry  
 'Your son is crying.'

The first two verbs take prefix ka- and ta- respectively. These prefixes normally mark the semantic feature [-control] (cf. karengey 'to hear invol.' and taqalap 'to take unintentionally'). The verb kakihiq 'to laugh' in (123), however, can be [+control], and thus an action verb. It can be used in an imperative construction as in (127).

- (127) hayuq kakihiq  
 REQ laugh  
 'Let's laugh!'

The verb kakihik behaves like the Banjarese tatawa, the Bahasa Indonesia tertawa and the English laugh in that it may be [-control] or [+control]. The semantic change from the basic and morphologically marked [-control] to [+control] in Maanyan is probably due to the influence of neighboring languages. The verb takiyaq is [+control] derived from the base kiyaq 'to walk' (as attested in the phrase kiyaq sa kiyaq kiyaq 'to keep walking'). It is not clear why this action verb takes ta-; perhaps takiyaq was basic, and kiyaq was then analyzed as the base by analogy to other ta- verbs. The verb tariyeq 'to stop' appears to be basic since there is no base riyeq found as an



independent verb. The verb *ngiyak* 'to cry' (also *nungkaw* 'to cry') is obviously an action intransitive verb since it only allows an agent to accompany it. However it takes the transitive prefix *ng-* which typically marks transitive action. Phenomena like these are also found in Banjarese, Bahasa Indonesia and Javanese where these verbs are also marked by a transitive prefix. (Cf. Bahasa Indonesia menangis, Banjarese manangis and Javanese nangis, all meaning 'to cry').

#### 7.6.2 Locative action intransitive clauses

Locative action intransitive clauses have a locative action intransitive verb as predicate. The verb has the selectional features [action, locative]. In its semantic structure the locative action intransitive verb requires an agent and a locative. The agent is the argument of the predicate which specifies the instigator or performer of the action, and the location specifies the place where, toward which, or away from which the action takes place. Locative action clauses are exemplified in the following sentences:

(128) *hi ineh tulak hampi ume*  
           A       V           L  
 PM mother go     to     ricefield  
 'Mother went to the ricefield.'

(129) *iyaq yeruq minaw hampi hungey*  
           A           V           L  
 boy the go down to     river  
 'The boy went down to the river.'

(130) hi ambah maharung hang karusiq

A            V                    L

PM father sit            in    chair

'Father sat in the chair.'

(131) nalaw mambay tukat

A        V        L

Nalau go up    stairs

'Nalau went upstairs.'

The verbs *tulak* 'to go', *minaw* 'to go down', *maharung* 'to sit' and *mambay* 'to go up' are locative action intransitive verbs. As action verbs they can be used to construct an imperative sentence, as in (132):

(132) hayuq maharung hang karusiq

REQ    sit            in    chair

'Let's sit in the chair.'

As locative verbs they require the presence of a locative relation. It must present in the semantic structure of the verbs. As we might observe, all of the verbs above, excluding *maharung* 'to sit', are motion verbs. Verbs of this kind imply that the agent's referent moves from one location to another, and inherently requires a locative argument. The location is marked by a preposition which agrees with the type of motion verb it occurs with. Like every argument marked by a preposition, however, the location may be deleted. Yet the location can still be intuitively felt if the verb is an inherently locative action intransitive verb. Some verbs like *mambay* 'to go up' (and in some instances *minaw* 'to go down' and *lepuh* 'to go') allow the locative not to take a preposition, as seen in (131), and in the phrases *minaw gunung* 'to go down the mountain', *mambay lewuq* 'to go into the house', and *lepuh ulun aruh* 'to go to (the people holding) a party'.

It should be pointed out that the verbs in (128-131) can also be

classified as (plain) action intransitives if no locative argument is present. In this case the verbs only designate action in general. The verb maharung 'to sit', for example, may specify an action of sitting in general or sitting at a non-specified location. Notice the following example:

- (133) hi ambah maharung  
 PM father sit  
 'Father is sitting.'  
 'Father is sitting (somewhere).'

Sentence (133) does not answer the question hang awe hi ambah maharung 'Where did father sit?', but the question inun sa hi ambah gawi 'What is father doing?' Thus maharung is an action intransitive verb. The verb maharung 'to sit' (and also mangkading 'to lie') therefore has two entries, as an action intransitive verb and a locative action intransitive verb.

Motion verbs such as tulak 'to go', takiyaq 'to walk', lepuh 'to go' and nujuq 'to go in the direction of' may be omitted leaving the location noun preceded by the preposition hampi 'to' to function as the predicate while simultaneously denoting a location. Thus (128) is equivalent to (134):

- (134) hi ineh hampi ume  
 PM mother to ricefield  
 'Mother went to the ricefield.'

The following pair of sentences are semantically the same:

- (135)a. hayuq takam hampi hungey  
 REQ we incl. to river  
 'Let's go to the river.'
- b. hayuq takam tulak hampi hungey  
 REQ we incl. go to river  
 'Let's go to the bank of the river.'

I assume that both (134) and (135a) can be regarded as containing a locative verb, and that its deletion is due mainly to the speaker's tendency to shorten the expression.

### 7.6.3 Action transitive clauses

Action transitive clauses have an action transitive verb predicate. The verb has the selectional features [action, affected]. In its semantic structure the action transitive verb requires the accompaniment of an agent and a patient. The agent is the argument of the predicate which specifies the instigator or performer of the action and the patient is the argument of the predicate which specifies the entity affected by the action. Action transitive clauses are exemplified in the following sentences:

(136) here kuman

A V-P

they eat rice

'They eat rice.'

(137) hanye lakuq duwit

A V P

he ask money

'He asked for some money.'

(138) uci umbaq mamaqni

A V p

Uci follow uncle-her

'Uci lives with her uncle.'

(139) ulun yeruq neweng puhun yiti

A V P

man the cut tree this

'The man cut the tree.'

The verbs kuman 'to eat', lakuq 'to ask', umbaq 'to follow' and neweng

'to cut' are action transitive verbs. As such they require the presence of an agent and a patient. As action verbs they can be used to construct an imperative, as in (140),

(140) hayuq kuman

REQ eat rice

'Let's eat some rice!'

The first three verbs have no prefix to mark the transitive feature. They are, however, inherently action transitive. The verb kuman means 'to eat rice'. The patient nahiq 'rice' may not be present syntactically, but it is certainly present in the semantic structure of the verb. The morphologically unmarked action transitive verbs constitute a minority of the action transitive vocabulary. The majority of action transitive verbs are like neweng in which the prefix ng- is attached to the base. The base teweng 'cut' only occurs in an imperative or a passive sentence, as seen in (141) and (142):

(141) teweng kakaw kayu yeruq

REQ-cut trunk tree the

'Cut down the tree trunk!'

(142) kakaw kayu yeruq tewengni hingkariweq

trunk tree the PASS-cut-he yesterday

'The tree trunk was cut down by him yesterday.'

The base teweng is an action transitive, so are the bases of the transitive verbs ngalap 'to take', mupuk 'to hit', ngalat 'to steal', mambasaq 'to read' and ngenat 'to lift' (see 4.3.2).

Action transitive verbs may be derived from noun bases, as seen in the following examples:

(143) ambahni ngudut udut karetek  
 A V P  
 father-his TR-smoke cigarette clove cigarette  
 'His father smokes clove cigarettes.'

(144) tukang yeruq napaw lewuqku  
 A V P  
 carpenter the TR-roof house-my  
 'The carpenter roofed my house.'

(145) ineh tuqen nuwen upiq  
 A V P  
 mother Tuen TR-make dish taro  
 'Tuen's mother cooked a taro dish.'

(146) ijat nadi sapiq (hang ariq lewuq)  
 A V P L  
 Ijat TR-tie cow on pole house  
 'Ijat tied the cow (to the pole of the house).'

The verbs ngudut 'to smoke', napaw 'to roof', nuwen 'to make a dish' and nadi 'to tie' are derived respectively from udut 'cigarette', hapaw 'roof', luwen 'dish' and tadi 'rope'. The derived verbs are certainly action transitive since each is obligatorily accompanied by an agent and a patient. Other examples are numet 'to sing', nanrik 'to dance' and mintan 'to fish', which are derived from tumet 'song', tanrik 'dance', and wintan 'fish hook' respectively.

There are a number of instances where verbs derived from noun bases require no surface object. ng- verbs like nguwey 'to look for rattan', ngenah 'to look for fish', and mawatang 'to log', and ba- verbs like basapidaq 'to ride a bicycle', bamutur 'to ride a car' and bajukung 'to go by a canoe', for example, never take a syntactic object. Consider the following examples:

(147)a. aku hamen nguwey

A            V-P

I    want    look for rattan

'I want to look for rattan.'

b. \*aku hamen nguwey                    uwey

I    want look for rattan rattan

(148)a. hanye basapidaq

A            V-P

he    ride a bicycle'

'He rode a bicycle.'

b. \*hanye basapidaq                    sapidaqku

he    ride a bicycle bicycle-my

('He rode my bicycle.')

A question may arise, can the (a) sentences above be regarded as having action transitive verbs as their predicates? Recall that we classify verbs in terms of their semantic structures, not just on surface phenomena. The semantic structures of the verbs in (147a) and (148a) are apparent in the following paraphrases:

(149) aku hamen ngantaraq    uwey

A            V            P

I    want    TR-look for rattan

'I want to look for rattans.'

(150) hanye mambay sapidaq

A            V            P

he    mount    bicycle

'He rode a bicycle.'

In (149) and (150) the predicates are represented by independent verbs ngantaraq 'to look for' and mambay 'to mount' followed by an object. The objects are the nominals uwey 'rattan' and sapidaq 'bicycle'. We may thus conclude that in the semantic structure, the verbs nguwey and



basapidaq require the presence of an agent and a patient. The object is said to be incorporated into the verbs. This process is called incorporation in which an object is shifted into the verb and forms a single unit with it. This process should not be identified with the similar process, incorporated object, which generates intransitive verbs like iwuwiq lumbah or the English translation 'to do plate-washing.' discussed in (7.6.1). The incorporated object generates verbs which put emphasis on the action and transfers the object from an object role to an adverbial-like modifier. The incorporation illustrated in (147,148) does not demote the role of the incorporated nominal to an adverbial-like modifier. Thus if the nominal is an object or an instrument, it will keep this role in the semantic structure. Incorporation of this kind includes patient incorporation, instrument incorporation and locative incorporation. Each will be discussed in separate sections.

#### 7.6.4 Instrumental action transitive clauses

Instrumental action transitive clauses (henceforth termed instrumental clauses) have an instrumental action transitive verb as predicate. The verb has the selectional features [action, affected instrumental]. In its semantic structure the instrumental verb requires an agent, a patient and an instrument. The agent is the argument which specifies the entity who manipulates the instrument in bringing the action about, the patient is the entity which is affected by the action, and the instrument is the argument which is used in bringing about the action. Instrumental clauses are exemplified in the following sentences:

- (151) kami kaqi nampaleng palanduk  
 A V-I P  
 we excl. will TR-trap mouse deer  
 'We will trap some mouse deer.'
- (152) tukang yeruq manggaragajiq papan  
 A V-I P  
 carpenter the TR-saw board  
 'The carpenter sawed a board.'
- (153) wadiyan yeruq natambaq ulun rapuy  
 A V-I P  
 shaman the TR-cure man mad  
 'The shaman cured the mad man.'
- (154) ulun yeruq nadi sapiqni  
 A V-I P  
 man the TR-tie cow-his  
 'The man tied his cow.'

The verbs nampaleng 'to set the trap', manggaragajiq 'to saw' natambaq 'to cure' and nadi 'to tie' are instrumental action transitive verbs. These verbs simultaneously represent the predicate and the instrumental relation. Their semantic structures are evidenced in the following paraphrases reflecting (151-154):

- (155) kami kaqi nangkap palanduk anri tampaleng  
 A V P I  
 we incl. will TR-catch mouse deer with trap  
 'We will catch some mouse deer using a trap.'
- (156) tukang yeruq netek papan anri garagajiq  
 A V P I  
 carpenter the TR-cut board with saw  
 'The carpenter cut the board with a saw.'

(157) wadiyan yeruq nyamare ulun rapuy makay tatambaq  
 A                    V                    P                    I  
 shaman the TR-cure man mad with medicine  
 'The shaman cured the mad man using medicine.'

(158) ulun yeruq nuruk sapiqni anri tadi  
 A                    V                    P                    I  
 man the TR-tie cow-his with rope  
 'The man tied his cow with rope.'

The predicates in (155-158) are represented by independent transitive verbs rather than by verbs which simultaneously incorporate the instrument, as in (151-154). The instruments are marked by the preposition *anri* 'with' or *makay* 'with' (derived from the verb *pakay* 'use'). In general the instruments used in the action are those traditionally used in earning a living. Thus there are instrumental verbs like the following: *nikep*, *maluntaq*, *muwu*, and *mintan*, all meaning 'to catch fish' using different kinds of traps or nets, that is, *hikep* 'small fishnet', *luntaq* 'big fishnet', *wuwu* 'round fish trap' and *wintan* 'fish hook'. Likewise the instrumental verbs like *ninjak* 'to trap an animal using *tinjak* 'snare'', *ngehak* 'to trap a bird or an animal using *ehak* 'bird lime'', and *nyunggaq* 'to trap an animal using *sunggaq* 'pointed bamboo''. Instrumental verbs are also derived from instruments used in carpentry and agriculture. These include *mambor* 'to drill', *ngatam* 'to plane', *meqet* 'to chisel', *masiq* 'to harvest using a harvesting knife' and *naruh* 'to cut using a machete'.

#### 7.6.5 Locative action transitive clauses

Locative action transitive clauses have a locative action transitive verb predicate (henceforth termed locative verb). The verb has the selectional features [action, affected, locative]. In its semantic structure the verb requires an agent, a patient and a

location. The agent is the entity which specifies the instigator or performer of the action, the patient is the entity which undergoes a change of location, and the location is the entity which specifies the location toward which or away from which the patient changes its place. Locative action transitive clauses are exemplified in the following sentences:

(159) tempel rahat ngandak taruh yeruq hang sungking

A V P L

Tempel in progress TR-put machete the in kitchen

'Tempel is putting the machete in the kitchen.'

(160) akenku ngalap barang yiti teka sakulah

A V P L

'niece-my TR-take thing this from school

'My niece took this thing from the school.'

(161) marletun ngendey buku ma pakan

A V P L

Marletun TR-bring book to market.'

'Marletun brought some books to the market.'

The verbs ngandak 'to put', ngalap 'to take' and ngendey 'to bring' are locative verbs. As action verbs they can be used to construct an imperative sentence:

(162) andak taruh yiti hang sungking

REQ-put machete this at kitchen

'Put this machete in the kitchen!'

Both the patient and the locative (besides the agent) are obligatory relations semantically, although syntactically the locative is optional for some verbs (e.g., ngalap 'to take', and ngendey 'to bring'). The absence of locative argument may have a different effect from the clause containing it. It can have a subject focus interpretation, as in (163) below :

(163) hi tempel ngandak barang yiti

PM Tempel TR-put thing this

'It is Tempel who put this thing here.'

In (163) the verb ngandak 'to put' requires a locative relation. Failure to meet this requirement results in an unacceptable sentence. However, some speakers accept (163), but under a marked intonation in which the agent tempel is emphasized. In this reading the agent is assigned as new information in contrast to the old information represented by the rest of the sentence. The acceptable (163) is identical with (164) below:

(164) tempel sa ngandak barang yiti

Tempel REL TR-put thing this

'It is Tempel who put this thing (here).'

where the relativizer sa is added preceding the predicate. The resultant structure is a cleft sentence in which the agent is topicalized. In this type of construction, it is the identity of the agent which is being informed or new information, whereas the locative argument is old information, and hence may be deleted.

#### 7.6.6 Benefactive action transitive clauses

A benefactive action transitive clause has a benefactive action transitive verb predicate (henceforth termed benefactive verb). The verb has the selectional features [action, affected, benefactive]. In the semantic structure the benefactive verb requires the accompaniment of an agent, a patient and a beneficiary. The agent is the argument which specifies the instigator or the performer of the action which results in the transfer of an object. The patient specifies the entity which undergoes a process of transfer, and the beneficiary specifies the entity who benefits from the process of transferring of the object. Benefactive action transitive clauses are exemplified in the following sentences:

(165) aku ngirim surat ma matuqeh wawayku

A V P B

I TR-send letter to wife - my

'I sent a letter to my wife.'

(166) matuqeh wawayku narime bajuq teka guruq

A=B V P PERIPH

wife-my TR-receive shirt from teacher

'My wife received a shirt from the teacher.'

(167) aku midi sapidaq ma iyaqku

A V P B

I TR-buy bicycle for son-my

'I bought a bicycle for my son.'

(168) aku ngamiq duwit ma ambahku

A V P B

I TR-give money to father-my

'I give some money to my father.'

The verbs ngirim 'to send', narime 'to receive', midi 'to buy' and ngamiq 'to give' are benefactive verbs. These are different from ordinary action transitive verbs in that they require a beneficiary in addition to an agent and a patient. The beneficiary obligatorily occurs in the semantic structure and is syntactically marked by the preposition ma 'to, for'. However, as is the case with every syntactically non-core argument, it may be deleted. Still, the occurrence of a beneficiary must be understood. With regard to the verb narime, the beneficiary, in this case the receiver, is also the agent, as seen in (166). In the case of the verb midi, the omitted beneficiary implies that it is identical with the agent. Thus the following pair of sentences in (169) are identical in meaning:

(169)a. aku midi sapidaq

A=B V P

I TR-buy bicycle

'I bought a bicycle.'

b. aku midi sapidaq ma aku raqeray

A V P B

I TR-buy bicycle for I myself

'I bought a bicycle for myself.'

Notice that aku 'I' in (170a) takes the double function, as an agent and a beneficiary simultaneously. Other benefactive verbs whose agents also function as beneficiaries are narime 'to receive' and ngihaw 'to borrow'. Their antonyms ngirim 'to send', ngamiq 'to give' and ngampihaw 'to lend', require the agent and the beneficiary to be represented by separate nouns, as in (165).

#### 7.6.7 Causative action transitive clauses

Causative action transitive clauses have a causative action transitive verb predicate. The verb has the selectional features [action, process]. In its semantic structure the causative verb requires the accompaniment of an agent and a patient. In terms of the semantic relations that they require, causative verbs are similar to simple action transitive verbs. With the former, however, the patient in a real sense undergoes a change of state, whence the term process. Moreover, causative verbs are different from plain transitive verbs in at least two major respects. Firstly, they do not refer to a specific action, as action transitive verbs do. There is no specific action which can be said to represent a causative verb like ngampihanteq 'to enlarge'. What we know about the verb is that the action, whatever it is, causes the object to become big. Secondly, in terms of semantic relations, the agent of a causative verb is not only the



performer of the action, but also the one causing a change of state of the patient. Moreover, the patient, as we mentioned earlier, is not only the entity affected by the action, but also undergoes a change of state in a real sense. These differences, I believe, merit causative verbs to be classified separately from simple action transitives. Causative clauses are exemplified in the following sentences:

(170) hi marletun ngampihanteq lewuqni

A V P

PM Marletun TR-cause-big house-his

'Marletun enlarged his house.'

(171) ulun yeruq nyamare ulun mekum

A V P

man the TR-cause-recover man ill

'The man cured the patient.'

(172) hanye nangkaqeh sapidaqnu

A V P

he TR-cause-good bicycle-your

'He repaired your bicycle.'

(173) hi mama ngampanreq andiq

PM A V P

uncle TR-cause-sleep little brother

'Uncle made (my) little brother go to sleep.'

The verbs ngampihanteq 'to enlarge', nyamare 'to cure', nangkaqeh 'to repair' and ngapanreq 'to make someone sleep' are action causative verbs. As action verbs they can be used in an imperative sentence, as in (174):

(174) ampihanteq lewuqni

REQ-cause-big house-his

'Enlarge his house!'

As causative verbs they contain as part of their semantic structure a process clause as follows:

- (175) lewuqni bahanteq  
house-his become big  
'His house became big.'
- (176) ulun mekum yeruq buluq ware  
man ill the become recover  
'The patient recovered.'
- (177) sapidaqni buluq kaqeh  
bicycle-his become good  
'His bicycle became better.'
- (178) andiqku buluq manreq  
little bro.-my become sleep  
'My little brother went to sleep.'

As we noted in (7.4) the verbs bahanteq 'to become big', buluq ware 'to recover, buluq kaqeh 'to become better' and buluq manreq 'to go to sleep' are process verbs. The nouns lewuqni 'his house', ulun mekum 'sick man' sapidaqni 'his house', and andiqku 'my little brother', which are identical to those in (170-173), are entities which undergo a change of state. They are patients of their predicates. In (178) the action verb manreq 'to sleep' occurs following the verb buluq 'to become'. In such a position it assumes the status of a process verb; here andiqku is no longer an agent, rather a patient involved in the process of getting to sleep. The verb manreq is thus converted into a process verb.\*

The bases of ngampi- verbs are state, process and simple action verbs. The use of prefix ngampi- appears to extend beyond these three base types. Consider the following examples:

- (179) hi uci ngampingan usingni pupus  
PM Uci TR-give-name cat-his Pupus  
'Uci calls his cat Pupus.'

(180) kawan ajaranni ngampisabap duniya islam

PL teaching-his TR-make-reason world Islam

leyah jari ruweh

break become two

'His teachings caused the Islamic world to break into two.'

(181) pamarintah harus ngampisameh katuluh lapisan masarakat

government must TR-make-equal all layer society

'The government must treat all classes of society equally.'

(182) hanye ngampiqihaw buku ma hengawni

he TR-make-borrow book to friend-his

'He lent a book to his friend.'

The verbs ngampingaran 'to call, to name', ngampisabap 'to cause', ngampisameh 'to make equal' and ngampiqihaw 'to lend' contain the noun bases ngaran 'name' and sabap 'cause', the base sameh 'equal' and the locative action verb base ihaw 'borrow'. These verbs are probably derived by analogy with the similar derivation in Bahasa Indonesia and Banjarese. In these languages the derivation of the above verbs is done by the combination of affixes meN-i/-kan in BI and maN-i/-akan in Banjarese. (cf. the Maanyan verbs above with the Banjarese mangarani, manyabapakan, manyamaakan, and mainjami). Since Maanyan has no verbal suffix, the function of the combined affixes above is taken over by the causative prefix ngampi-. The verbs ngampingaran and the like are not causative verbs, but are treated as such in Maanyan.

#### 7.6.8 Reciprocal action transitive clauses

Reciprocal action transitive clauses have a reciprocal action transitive verb predicate (henceforth termed reciprocal verb). The verb has the selectional feature [action, affected]. In its semantic structure the verb requires an agent and a patient. The agent is the entity which specifies the instigator or the performer of the action

and the patient is the argument of the predicate which specifies the entity affected by the action. In this respect it is identical with simple action transitive verbs. The only difference is that the additional feature [reciprocal] assigns the agent the role of the patient simultaneously. Reciprocal action transitive clauses are exemplified in the following sentences:

(183) here ruweh rahat (i)panegey

A&P                                  V  
they two                                  hold e.o.

'Those two are holding each other's hand.'

(184) pulen anri matuqeh waweyni (i)panyiyuk

A&P                                  A&P                                  V  
Pulén and                                  wife-his                                  kiss e.o.

'Pulén and his wife are kissing.'

(185) antahuq yeruq (i)pangikit

A&P                                  V  
dog                                  the                                  bite e.o.

'The dogs are biting each other.'

(186) karuweh iyaq yeruq (i)panyujut bajuqni                                  asing asing

A&P                                  V                                  P  
both                                  boy                                  the                                  pull e.o. shirt-his each other

'Both boys pulled each other's shirt.'

The verbs ipanegey 'to hold e.o.', ipaniyuk 'to kiss e.o.', ipangikit 'to bite e.o.' and ipanyujut 'to pull e.o.' are reciprocal verbs. As action verbs they can be used to construct an imperative sentence:

(187) hayuq taruweh (i)panegey

REQ    we two    hold e.o.

'Let's hold each other's (hand).'

The agent in reciprocal action transitives is also the patient, and

hence must be dual or plural. If the agent is a pronominal, it must be a plural, as in (183), here ruweh 'they two'. It should be pointed out that in Maanyan plural common nouns are not always marked. Thus in (185) antahuq 'dog' is not marked for plural but must be interpreted as so. If an agent consists of two nominals, the second nominal must be preceded by the conjunction anri 'and, with', as in (184). In this case the second noun may be removed following the verb. Thus (184) is equivalent to (188) below:

(188) pulen ipanyiyuk anri matuqeh waweyni

A&P V A&P

Pulen kiss e.o. with wife-his

'Pulen and his wife are kissing.'

If the agent of (188) is not simultaneously the patient, then the reciprocal verb must be replaced by a proper transitive verb and the second nominal loses the preposition. Thus the action transitive counterpart of (188) is (189),

(189) pulen nyiyuk matuqeh waweyni

A V P

Pulen TR-kiss wife-his

'Pulen is kissing his wife.'

in which pulen 'Pulen' is the agent and matuqeh waweyni 'his wife' is the patient. As we see in (7.6.3), simple action transitive verbs are marked by prefix ng- whereas reciprocal verbs are marked by (i)pang-.

We may also recall that prefix i- marks simple action intransitive verbs. Verbs marked with i- do not take an overt object. This is also the case for the reciprocal verbs in (183-186). Thus if the agent and the patient are represented by two explicit nominals, the second nominal must be peripheral and marked by the preposition anri 'and, with'.

The prefix (i)pang- generally occurs with a verb base which

designates reciprocal or potentially reciprocal action. It means that only action transitive bases can take this prefix since reciprocal verbs require an agent and a patient. Thus the bases endey 'bring', surat 'write', pupuk 'beat, hit', ihaw 'borrow' and heraw 'call', for example, are potential candidates for reciprocal verbs. Note the following example with ipangendey:

- (190) karuweh pihak ipangendey pangamiqan  
 both party bring e.o. present  
 'Both sides bring presents for each other.'

It is of interest to note that the verb ipanalu 'to meet e.o.' (derived from ipang-halu 'meet') seems to shift its reciprocal character to a simple action transitive, as in the following sentence:

- (191) aku (i)panalu mamaqnu hingkariweq  
 I meet uncle-your yesterday  
 'I met your uncle yesterday.'

In (191) the reciprocal verb (i)panalu (the i- is generally deleted with reciprocal verbs) takes an object without a preceding preposition anri 'and, with', as every reciprocal verb usually requires in such a structure. This situation appears to be attributable to the idiosyncratic characteristic of the verb of meeting. Like English meet, Indonesian bertemu and Banjarese badapat, it can take an object without a preposition despite its reciprocal nature. The object, however, is still the reciprocal object which is simultaneously the agent and the patient of the clause. As such it can not be made the syntactic subject in a passive construction. The proper syntactic object will require that the verb take the ng- prefix, thus manalu 'to meet s.o.'.

## 7.6.9 Reflexive action transitive clauses

Reflexive action transitive clauses have a reflexive transitive verb predicate (henceforth termed reflexive verb). The verb has the selectional feature [action, affected]. In its semantic structure the verb requires an agent and a patient. The patient, however, is also the agent of the clause. Reflexive action transitive clauses are exemplified in the following sentences:

(192) ambahni isaqawuy

A=P V

father-his wash one's face

'His father washed his face.'

(193) yabes isadinaq hang wading lewuq

A=P V

Yabes hide at back house

'Yabes hid (himself) at the back of the house.'

(194) hanye isalawar

A=P V

he put on one's trousers

'He put on his trousers.'

(195) wawey yeruq rahat ipupur

A=P V

woman the still powder

'The woman is powdering her face.'

The verbs isaqawuy 'to wash oneself', isadinaq 'to hide oneself', isalawar 'to put on one's trousers' and ipupur 'to powder one's face' are reflexive verbs. For this type of verb the action initiated by the agent affects the agent itself, and hence no overt object NP is allowed to follow the verb. Syntactically reflexive verbs are intransitive and are marked by the intransitive prefix i-. Semantically, however, reflexive verbs are transitive; the agent is also the patient. This is



evidenced in the following paraphrases corresponding to (194) and (195):

(196) yabes sadinaq tengaqni raqeray hang wading lewuq  
 A V P  
 Yabes TR-hide body-his self at back house  
 'Yabes hid at the back of the house.'

(197) waway yeruq mupur uruwawaqni raqeray  
 A V P  
 woman the TR-powder face-her self  
 'The woman is powdering her face.'

We notice in (196,197) that the reflexive objects/patients are represented by an explicit nominal representing a body part whose structure is body part + raqeray 'self'. Hence the predicates should be represented by the proper transitive verbs sadinaq 'to hide' and mupur 'to powder'. The transitivity is derived by adding the causative prefix san- to the verbal base dinaq 'hide' and the transitive prefix ng- to the nominal base pupur 'face powder'.

## CHAPTER 8

## PASSIVES

In chapter 7 (Basic Clause Types) we have discussed the clause types and the semantic structures pertaining to the verb or predicate of the clause. We may recall that the semantic structures are determined by the accompanying nouns and the relations which the nouns bear to the verb. With respect to action verbs we have seen that the relations are normally marked by a prefix attached to a verb base. In the semantic structure the ordering of relations relative to the verb and to each other (if the verb contains more than one relation) is not an important issue. Thus both the *ng-* and the *na-* verbs in the following sentences are understood as having an agent and an object in their semantic structure.

(1) *ulun yeruq ngalap punsi*  
 man the TR-take banana  
 'The man took some bananas.'

(2) *punsi yeruq naqalap daya ulun yeruq*  
 banana the PASS-bring AM man the  
 'The bananas were brought by the man.'

In both (1) and (2) *ulun yeruq* 'the man' is the agent, and *punsi yeruq* 'the banana' is the patient. These semantic relations constitute the semantic structure of both verbs. Sentences (1) and (2) are differentiated primarily by the ordering of the arguments of the predicate and the prefixes attached to the predicate (*ng-* vs *na-*). A question arises, whether these sentences are both basic, or only one of

them is basic and the other is derived. In the discussion of basic clause types, I purposely exclude sentences of type (2) as belonging to a basic clause type. The term basic clause is reserved for clauses conveying the most neutral meaning and it is generally intended to describe the occurrence of the accompanying selectional relations. Moreover the meaning that a basic clause conveys is used as the basis for describing the meaning of other clauses which contain additional semantic features. In this sense sentence (1), whose predicate is an *ng-* verb, is basic since it merely gives neutral information about a man taking some bananas. In (2), in addition to describing the same basic event, the speaker also expresses his intention to give the object/patient a prominent salient status. This is done by 'packaging' the information, following the terminology introduced by Foley and Van Valin (1985), in a construction commonly known as passive. Passive constructions are thus a packaging of information in a different way from basic action transitives. In the following sections we will discuss the properties of passives and the meanings they entail.

### 8.1 Passive structures

Passives are constructions in which the syntactic object is presented as the syntactic subject. The structures of passives are exemplified in the following sentences:

(3) *sapidaq yeruq nawidi (daya) ambah*  
 bicycle the PASS-buy AM father  
 'The bicycle was bought by father.'

(4) *punsi yeruq alap waway yeruq*  
 banana the PASS-take girl the  
 'The bananas were taken by the girl.'

(5) lewuqku ariqku ma tempel

house-my PASS-sell to Tempel

'My house was sold by me to Tempel.'

(6) sapidaq yeruq haut naqariq

bicycle the already PASS-sell

'The bicycle has already been sold.'

Sentences (3-6) would generally be taken as representatives of passive sentences in Maanyan. The passive of the type in sentence (3) is commonly called in Indonesian linguistics literature a canonical passive (see Chung 1976:60 and Verhaar 1978:11). There are four major characteristic properties obtained from the examples above. They are:

1. The agent marker *daya* may be deleted.
2. The predicates may be represented by a *na-* or a prefixless verb (henceforth zero-verb).
3. The pronominal agent may be cliticized to the verb.
4. The agent may be deleted.

These properties will be discussed in turn.

#### 8.1.1 The optionality of the agent marker

The agent marker is optional if the *na-* verb is directly followed by an agent. If the verb and the agent are separated by a constituent, the agent marker is obligatory. Consider the following pair of examples:

(7)a. sapidaq yeruq nawidi (daya) ambah teka unjat  
bicycle the PASS-buy AM father from Unjat

'The bicycle was bought by father from Unjat.'

b. sapidaq yeruq nawidi teka unjat daya ambah  
bicycle the PASS-buy from Unjat AM father.'

'The bicycle was bought from Unjat by father.'

- (8)a. punsi yiti naqendey (daya) ambah anri sapidaq  
 banana this PASS-bring AM father with bicycle  
 'These bananas were brought by father by bicycle.'
- b. punsi yiti naqendey anri sapidaq daya ambah  
 banana this PASS-bring with bicycle by father  
 'These bananas were brought by bicycle by father.'

The obligatoriness of the agent marker in (b) sentences above can be seen by the ungrammaticality of the following sentences:

- (9) \*sapidaq yeruq nawidi teka unjat ambah  
 bicycle the PASS-buy from Unjat father
- (10) \*punsi yeruq naqendey anri sapidaq unjat  
 banana the PASS-bring with bicycle Unjat

(9) and (10) are ungrammatical, because no agent marker precedes the agents which are separated by a source argument. Sentence (10) may be accepted if it is taken as an agentless passive. In this case the proper noun unjat is interpreted as constituting a genitive construction with the preceding noun sapidaq 'bicycle'. The phrase sapidaq unjat 'Unjat's bicycle' thus takes the role of instrument.

The agent marker is required if the agent of a passive is preposed to the initial position. Thus corresponding to (8) is (11):

- (11) daya ambah punsi yiti naqendey anri sapidaq  
 AM father banana this PASS-bring with bicycle  
 'The bananas were brought by bicycle by father.'

#### 8.1.2 na- and zero as passive prefixes

As we have noted in (7.5), action verbs in Maanyan must take a prefix if they function as a predicate. The active action transitive verbs generally take the ng- prefix. In an active transitive clause the agent is the syntactic subject and the object is the syntactic direct object. If a situation or context requires that the object be the

syntactic subject, the verb must take na- prefix (or zero prefix) to replace the ng- prefix. na- can be attached to all action transitive bases. The following examples are illustrative:

- (12) papan yeruq natetek daya tukang  
 board the PASS-cut AM carpenter  
 'The board was cut by the carpenter.'
- (13) gawiyanni nadinung daya pambakal  
 work his PASS-see AM village head  
 'His work was seen by the village head.'
- (14) upiq yiti naluwen daya uci  
 yam this PASS-dish AM Uci  
 'This yam was cooked by Uci.'
- (15) pangantin yeruq naqampiharung hang ambaw agung  
 bridal couple the PASS-make-sit at top gong  
 'The bridal couple were placed on the gong.'

In (12,13) na- is attached to inherently transitive verb bases tetek 'to cut' and dinung 'to see'. As we may see in (4.3.9), the base dinung and other perception or cognitive verb bases can also have an involuntary interpretation if they take prefix ka-. In (13), however, the passive nadinung 'to be seen' does not cancel the involuntary prefix ka- but the transitive prefix ng- of ninung 'to see, to look'. In (14) na- is attached to a noun base luwen 'dish' and in (15) to a causative verb ampiharung 'to make-sit'. Thus there seems to be no restriction on na- in occurring with action transitive and action causative verb bases.

It should be pointed out that the term transitive here should be understood in its syntactic, not semantic meaning. Passive thus applies to transitive verbs which have an overt object. The semantically transitive verbs such as nguwey 'to look for rattan', napaw 'to make thatch', mawatang 'to look for logs' and other verbs containing an object semantically incorporated into the verb are excluded from

passivization; they are syntactically intransitive. Likewise verbs which are used simply to name an activity without referring to the object which the activity is directed to are taken to be intransitive. The verbs *ngudut* 'to smoke(cigarettes)', *masiq* 'to harvest' and *nyurat* 'to write' are examples of this type of verb when no overt object is present, but they can be regarded as transitive verbs if an object is present. Consider the following examples:

(16)a. *ulun yeruq ngudut*

man the TR-smoke

'The man smoked/smokes/is smoking.'

b. *ulun yeruq ngudut karetek*

man the TR-smoke clove cigarette

'The man smoked/smokes/is smoking a clove cigarette.'

In (16a) *ngudut* 'to smoke' is intransitive, and in (16b) it is transitive. In both sentences the verb *ngudut* is interpretable as habitual or non-habitual. Only in the non-habitual meaning will *ngudut* have a passive counterpart *naqudut*. The reason is that passives are normally used to describe punctual actions and accordingly are inappropriate for describing habitual actions. Verbs which have the quality of being transitive as well as intransitive are called bi-transitive, following Harrison (1976:154) or semitransitive, following Verhaar (1978:13).

Similar characteristics are also found in the transitive verb bases which are prefixed by *i-* and *ng-* (see 4.3.2). Only the *ng-* verbs are true transitives. The *i-* verbs having an incorporated object are syntactically intransitive though semantically they can be regarded as transitive. Thus the passive in (17) below is syntactically associated with the *ng-* verb predicate of (18a), not with the *i-* verb predicate of (18b).



(17) lumbah yeruq nawuwiq daya inehni  
 plate this PASS-wash AM mother-his  
 'The plates were washed by his mother.'

(18)a. inehni muwiq lumbah yeruq  
 mother-his TR-wash plate the  
 'His mother washed the plates.'

b. inehni iwuwiq (lumbah)  
 mother-his INTR-wash plate  
 'His mother is doing plate-washing'.

As we have noted before, verbal bases are generally regarded as pre-categorial. They are not qualified for membership of any parts of speech. Verbal bases, however, occur as passive predicates. For theoretical consistency I posit the prefixless verbs as having a zero prefix. Verbs with a zero prefix are called zero- verbs.

All na- verbs have a zero- verb variant. Thus corresponding to the canonical na- passive in the previous examples, Maanyan allows the verbs to be replaced by zero- verbs, as seen in the following examples:

(19) sapidaq yeruq widi ambah (Cf. 3)  
 bicycle the PASS-buy father  
 'The bicycle was bought by father.'

(20) gawiyanni dinung pambakal (Cf. 13)  
 work-his PASS-see village head  
 'His work was seen by the village head.'

(21) pangantin yeruq ampiharung ulun hang ambaw agung (Cf.15)  
 bridal couple the PASS-make-sit man on-top gong  
 'The bridal couple were placed on the gong by a man.'

The use of a zero- verb as the predicate of a passive sentence has a syntactic consequence: the agent must be placed directly following the verb, and the agent marker must be absent. The agent is not deletable, unlike that of the na- passives. Thus the following

sentences are ungrammatical since they do not conform to these requirements.

(22)a. \*sapidaq yeruq ariq dayaku  
 bicycle the PASS-sell AM  
 ('The bicycle was sold by me.')

(23). \*sapidaq yeruq ariq  
 bicycle the PASS-sell  
 ('The bicycle was sold.')

Zero- verbs are also used in imperative sentences. Does this imply that imperatives are structurally and semantically passive? An imperative construction like this is not peculiar to Maanyan. Banjarese, Bahasa Indonesia, Malay, Batak and Javanese use the same construction in imperatives. However, Maanyan is distinctive in allowing the second person pronominal agent to be cliticized to the verb. Thus Maanyan has agentless imperatives as well as imperatives with an overt agent, as in the following sentences:

(24) alap/alapnu buku yeruq  
 take/take-you book the  
 'Take the book!'

(25) amiq/amiqnu ulun yeruq duwit  
 give/give-you man the money  
 'Give the man some money!'

Sentences (24,25) are paraphrasable as and alternate with (26,27) below:

(26) naqalap dayanu buku yeruq  
 PASS-take AM-you book the  
 'Take the book!'

(27) naqamiq dayanu ulun yeruq duwit  
 PASS-give AM-you man the money  
 'Give the man some money.'

but they do not alternate with:

(28) hanyuq ngalap buku yeruq  
 you TR-bring book the  
 'You bring the man the book.'

(29) hanyuq ngamiq ulun yeruq duwit  
 you TR-give man the money  
 'You give the man some money.'

(28,29) are ordinary declarative sentences, not imperatives.

A third type of imperative also makes use of the passive form, as in (30):

(30) hayuq kutaq/nakutaq waday yiti  
 REQ PASS-eat cookie this  
 'Please eat these cookies.'

but not the active form with ng- prefix.

(31) \*hayuq ngutaq waday yiti  
 REQ TR-eat cake this

The examples above provide evidence that imperatives are structurally passive. Semantically they are also passive since, as is clear from (30), it is not the agent which is prominent but the patient waday yiti 'these cookies'; the agent may be omitted. Only in a request where the speaker is also involved in the activity requested can the active transitive verb be used. For this type of imperative the agent takam 'we incl.' must be present.

(32) hayuq takam ngutaq waday yiti  
 REQ we incl. TR-eat cookie this  
 'Let's have these cookies.'

A construction like (32) is understandable since in the active form the speaker can make prominent his involvement in the action. In the passive form the role of the agent is demoted and becomes less prominent. On the other hand, the patient takes the prominent position in the sentence. In imperatives the patient is put in sentence final position, as in active transitive sentences. This phenomenon can be

attributed to the fact that in imperatives it is the requested action which is emphasized, and thus rules out the prominent position of the patient.

### 8.1.3 The pronominal agent

The pronominal agent behaves similarly to the possessor in genitive constructions. The singular as well as plural pronominal agents are cliticized to the passive verb or to the agent marker *daya*, if any. Consider the following examples:

(33)a. anak yeruq pupukku huniqen  
 boy the PASS-hit-I just now  
 'The boy was hit by me just now.'

b. buku yiti alapnu diye  
 book this PASS-take-you later  
 'You take this book later.'  
 (Lit. 'This book is taken by you later.')

c. kawaweq yeruq jalakni/najalak dayani  
 deer the PASS-spear-he/PASS-spear AM-he  
 'The deer was speared by him.'

(34)a. kawaweq yeruq huruk kami hang peqe  
 deer the PASS-tie we excl.at foot  
 'The deer's feet were tied by us.'

b. manuk yeruq jambaq naun diye  
 chicken the PASS-catch you pl. later  
 'You all catch the chickens later.'  
 (Lit. 'The chickens are caught by you all later.')

c. lewuqni ampikaqeh here/haqampikaqeh daya here  
 house-his PASS-make-good-they/PASS-make good AM they  
 'His house was repaired by them.'

In (33) the pronominal agents are cliticized and the passive predicates

are zero- verbs except in (33c) where the zero- verb may be replaced by a na- verb. In the latter the agent must take the agent marker. The predicate phrase \*najaklakni 'to be hit by him' is generally unacceptable. In (34) the plural pronominal agents are also cliticized since no constituent is allowed to occur in between the verb and the agent. Notice that sentences (a) and (b) are differentiated from (c) in that the first and second person pronominal agents occur only with a zero- verb, whereas the third person pronominal agents occur with either a zero- or na- verb. This phenomenon seems to be attributable to the fact that the first and second person are participants in the speech act. In such a status they do not need to be foregrounded. The construction with a zero- verb seems to fit in to cover the role of agent. The agent looks like a possessor in a genitive construction. We will call the construction with the possessor-like agent possessive-like passive. This type of passive is similar to object preposing in Bahasa Indonesia, (see Chung 1976:45). (Cf. Bahasa Indonesia ku-ambil 'I-take, to be taken by me' and Maanyan alap-ku 'take-I, to be taken by me'.) Moreover the agent marker cannot be used since it makes the role of agent more explicit. This is not always the case with the third person pronominal agents. As participants in a clause they are not in such a spatio-temporal relationship with the speaker and hearer, and hence the constraints on the first and second person agents do not apply. There is a situation or context where their presence in the discourse needs to be made explicit. This is done by using the agent marker daya, and as a result the na- verb is used instead of a zero- verb. In general zero- verbs are preferable to na- verbs if the agent is a pronoun.

#### 8.1.4 Agent deletion

The information conveyed by a passive sentence may be shared by the speaker and hearer. It is reasonable then that some of the information need not be explicitly expressed. The constituent most likely to be deleted is the agent. The deletion, however, is subject to the following constraints:

1. The agent must be understood by the hearer and can be inferred from the context or the preceding sentences.
2. The deletion may not occur if a zero-verb is used as the predicate.
3. In the absence of a discourse context, the deletion may occur when the passive predicate conveys a completed action.

The constraint imposed on [1] is universal. Thus all agents of na-verbs exemplified in (8.1.2) are deletable provided the appropriate context allows such deletion. Constraint [2] is probably due to the fact that zero-verbs may be regarded as pre-categorial, and hence cannot occur as predicates. By adding an agent directly following the verb, as in the previous examples, a zero-verb ceases to be pre-categorial, but becomes a verbal category. Constraint [3] explains why an agentless passive standing alone is completely acceptable if the verb is modified by the aspectual particle *haut* 'already'. The following sentences express complete actions, and hence the presence of the agent is unnecessary.

(35) *lewuqni haut naqampikaqeh*  
 house-his already PASS-cause-good  
 'His house was already repaired.'

(36) *sapidaqni haut naqariq*  
 bicycle-his already PASS-sell  
 'His bicycle has been sold.'

In the perfective interpretation the verbs *naqampikaqeh* 'to be repaired' .

and naqariq 'to be sold' behave more like state verbs, and hence may dispense with the required semantic relations when they function as action verbs.

## 8.2 Accidental passives

Besides passives with na- verb and zero- verb, Maanyan also has ta- verb passives. As we see in (4.3.9), the prefix ta- conveys the feature [accidental]. If ta- is added to an action transitive, it may also express the function of passive, provided that the patient is realized as the syntactic subject. Compare the following examples:

(37) ijat taqalap sapidaqku

Ijat ACC-take bicycle-my

'Ijat has taken my bicycle by mistake.'

(38) sapidaqku taqalap (daya) ijat

bicycle-my PASS-ACC-take AM Ijat

'My bicycle has been taken by Ijat by mistake.'

In terms of their constituents - disregard the optional agent marker - (37) and (38) are structurally the same. The difference lies in the order of agent and patient relative to the verb. (37) is an ordinary transitive sentence. The agent, the performer of the action, is the subject, and the patient is the syntactic object. In (38) the patient is presented as the syntactic subject and the agent occurs as a peripheral argument preceded by an optional agent marker. By definition (38) is a passive clause. The passive verb, however, has the same morphological marking as the corresponding active. This is the typical difference between ta- verb passives on the one hand, and na- and zero- verb passives on the other. Sentence (38) is used in a situation where the speaker wants to express that the action is done accidentally or by mistake whilst also wanting to put the patient in the salient position in the clause.



There seems to be no restriction with respect to what type of action transitive or action causative verb the prefix *ta-* may attach to. It must be pointed out though that *ta-* passives are sometimes difficult to motivate. It would be very hard to find an appropriate context where the following sentence, for example, occurs as a part of the discourse.

- (39) *ulun yeruq tapaqindiq dayaku ipanyiuk*  
 man the PASS-ACC-see AM-I REC-kiss  
 ('I accidentally saw the man and woman kissing each other.')

Accidental passives are generally highly marked passives and hence the agent may never be deleted. Further examples are:

- (40) *pulisi yeruq tapupukku hingkariweq*  
 police the PASS-ACC-hit-I yesterday  
 'The policeman was accidentally hit by me yesterday.'
- (41) *bukuku tarakit daya anakni*  
 book-my PASS-ACC-burn AM son-his  
 'My book has been accidentally burnt by his son.'
- (42) *wuwaq mantaq yiti tawidini daya pindaqni maqumpuq*  
 fruit unripe this PASS-ACC-buy-him because look-his ripe  
 'This unripe fruit has been accidentally bought by him  
 because it looked ripe.'
- (43) *ulun yeruq tadinung dayaku rahat manrus*  
 man the PASS-ACC-see AM-I still take a shower  
 'I accidentally saw the man taking a shower.'

The accidental feature conveyed by *ta-* also implies that the action is completed. Thus *ta-* verb passive cannot take a future aspectual particle *huqan* 'not yet' or *kaqi* 'will' or a modal *hamen*, *ngaheng* or *sindiq* 'want'.

As we see in (4.3.9), the [-control] feature is also marked by *ka-* in Maanyan, and generally applies to perception and cognitive verb bases.

The verb *tadinung* 'see acc.' in (43) also has *kaḍinung* as its active counterpart.

### 8.3 The meanings and functions of passives

As might be expected, the subject (=patient) of a passive sentence will assume the same properties as those of an active sentence. In both clause types it is the prominent noun phrase in the clause. Thus in a passive sentence it is the patient relation which is prominent. The sentence as a whole is understood as being about the patient, the entity affected by the action. In a broader sense, the subject of a passive can be regarded as the topic of its sentence. Its topicality, however, is weaker in degree than the topic of a cleft or pseudo-cleft sentence. This can probably be attributed to the fact that the subject of a passive sentence is filled by the semantic relation inherent in the semantic structure of the verb. It is the argument entered in the lexical entry of a verb. The topic of a passive is said to be internal whereas the topic of a cleft sentence is external in nature. (See Foley and Van Valin 1984:24-26 for the terminology.) An internal topic is weaker in degree than an external topic. Consider the topics in the following sentences:

(44) *ulun yeruq munuq antahuq*

man the TR-kill dog

'The man killed a dog.'

(45) *antahuq yeruq nawunuq daya ulun yeruq*

dog the PASS-KILL AM man the

'The dog was killed by the man.'

(46) *antahuq yeruqleh sa nawunuq daya ulun yeruq*

dog the-EMPH REL PASS-kill AM man the

'It is the dog that the man killed.'

The topicality of *ulun yeruq* 'the man' in (44) and *antahuq yeruq* 'the dog'

in(45) is more or less of the same degree. They are topics by virtue of their status as the subjects of their clauses. Both topics are filled by the relations that the verb *munuq* 'to kill' requires. Although the passive is more marked, this does not mean that its topicality is stronger than that of the active sentence. The formation of topics in these types of sentence, as Keenan (1985:245) claims, takes place at the level of predicate or verb phrase. On the other hand (46) is a different construction; it is a cleft sentence. *antahuq yeruq* 'the dog', is made a topic by manipulating the sentence in such a way that its role is more emphasized by marking it with the emphasis marker *leh* and changing the predicate into a relative clause. This NP is thus topical at the level of sentence syntax, or semantically, at the level of pragmatics. Its topicality is marked on the NP as well as on the verb. As a result its topicality is stronger than the topics of (44) and (45).

As noted previously, in a passive sentence the patient assumes the topical function. Like every topic, it conveys old information, so the noun or noun phrase functioning as the topic is normally definite or specific. The reason is, as pointed out by Andrews (1985:78), 'it is pointless to make a comment about the referent of a NP if the NP doesn't manage to identify a specific referent to the hearer.' This requirement does not necessarily apply to the object of an active sentence. (Cf. (44) and (45) above.) In (44) the object *antahuq* 'dog' is the information passed to the hearer and hence is new information. As new information it is not necessarily definite or specific; the dog in (44) could be any dog. When the object functions as the passive subject, as in (45), it becomes old information, something that is shared by both the speaker and hearer. On the other hand the identity of the agent in (45) is new to the hearer. It may or may not be passed to the hearer. If it were old information as a result of the occurrence

of (45) as part of a discourse, it could be deleted. In this case, however, the agent must appear in the semantic structure of the verb. My position contrasts with that of Chafe's (1970:219). On the basis of data from English, Chafe claims that a passive sentence like The box was emptied contains no agent in its semantic structure. In Maanyan this sentence is equivalent to (47), not to (48) below:

(47) kutak yeruq naqampikusung  
 box the PASS-CAUS-empty  
 'The box was emptied.'

(48) kutak yeruq kusung  
 box the empty  
 'The box was empty.'

In (47) the predicate is the passive of causative verb naqampikusung 'to be made empty'. It is unimaginable that the action designated by the causative verb has no causer or agent. The agent in (47) is simply deleted, probably due to the context which is so clear that it would be redundant if presented overtly.

Passive verbs are generally characterized as 'eventive' compared with active verbs which are generally 'non-eventive'. This terminology is taken from Bergh (1967:2) and quoted from Verhaar (1978:12). The active ng- verbs are commonly appropriate for expressing actions which are durative or habitual, and hence timeless, as in (49),

(49) tiyap anraw hanye ngutaq ruweh kadikiq anteluy  
 every day he TR-eat two CLSF egg  
 'He eats two eggs every day.'

The use of a passive construction to express this event results in an awkward sentence as in (50),

(50) ?tiyap anraw ruweh kadikiq anteluy nakutaq dayani  
 every day two CLSF egg PASS-eat AM-he  
 'Two eggs are eaten by him every day.'

The eventiveness of the passive is conspicuous with ta- verbs. As we have noted, ta- verbs denote an accidental action, and as a result the action is understood as completed. This seems to conform with the notion eventive. Both accidental and completed actions can never be habitual and timeless. They must be eventive.

In the same way a durative action is not compatible when packaged in a passive construction. Thus the idea expressed in (51) below is better expressed in (52):

(51) ?lewuq yeruq haut erang taqun hamen naqariqni  
 house the already one year want PASS-sell-he  
 'He has wanted to sell the house for a year.'

(52) hanye haut erang taqun hamen ngariq lewuq yeruq  
 he already one year want TR-sell house the  
 'He has spent a year trying to sell the house.'

The reason why (51) is questionable is that erang taqun 'one year' entails duration whereas the passive verb entails fixed time. No such incompatibility can be found in the active declarative (52).

## CHAPTER 9

## COMPLEMENTATION

The term complement in traditional grammar is used to refer to any obligatory argument of a predicate other than the subject of the sentence. It covers the objects of transitive verbs, nominal, adjectival, and adverbial expressions following the copula, and other obligatory elements such as adjuncts of place, as in the English sentence I put the plate on the table.

In the following description the term 'complement' is used in relation to the construction commonly called complementation. In complementation the term 'complement' is used in the sense of sentential complement. Following Noonan (1985:42) we define complementation as a syntactic construction that arises when a notional sentence or predication is an argument of a predicate. In other words a predication can be viewed as an argument of a predicate if it functions as the subject, object, or other obligatory argument of that predicate. Subject and object complements are exemplified in the following sentences:

- (1) **hanye puwang hamen sakulah yeruq ngulah inehni sangit**  
 he NEG want study that TR-make mother-his angry  
 'That he did not want to go to school made his mother angry.'
- (2) **hanye nunyuq anakni ngendey punsi yiti**  
 he TR-order son-his TR-bring banana this  
 'He asked his son to bring these bananas.'

The bold-faced structures of (1) and (2) are sentential complements,

subject and object respectively, of *ngulah* 'to make' and *nunyuq* 'to order'. These complements are not marked, that is, no complementizer precedes them, nor is there any syntactic manipulation to nominalize the predication such as in the English that-clause or gerundive construction. The deictic *yeruq* 'that' in (1) as a NP marker is optional.

There are basically two types of complement, sentence-like complements and subjectless complements. Sentence-like (S-like) complements have roughly the same syntactic structure as ordinary clauses. The complement of (1) is a S-like complement. A subjectless complement type is one whose subject is absent. Normally this situation occurs if the subject of the complement is coreferential with the subject or object of the main clause. In (2) the subject of the complement and the object of the main clause are coreferential, and hence the complement is subjectless. A subjectless complement can also be observed in the following sentences;

(3) *hanye mawuleq paqajar*

he lazy learn

'He is too lazy to study.'

(4) *ulun yeruq bahasil ngamule parey*

man the manage TR-grow rice

'The man managed to grow rice.'

In (3) and (4) the notional subjects of the complements are the same as the subjects of the matrixes (*hanye* 'he' and *ulun yeruq* 'the man') and thus should necessarily be deleted under the coreferential NP principle. This type of complementation in some linguistics literature is also called verb serialization. Serial verb constructions generally contain two or more predicates sharing a common core argument. In this thesis serial verb construction is regarded as a type of complementation, but will be discussed in chapter 10.



In the discussion that follows, complementation will be described in terms of the predicates which may take a complement. Such predicates are called complement-taking predicates (CTPs), following Noonan (1985:43). The CTPs are classified on the basis of their uses rather than the properties of any given verbs. Generally speaking different uses of a particular verb as a CTP are always associated with the different prefixes attached to the verb base. For instance, the verb *indiq* 'to see' can be used as an immediate perception predicate as well as a propositional attitude predicate, as seen below:

(5) *aku kaqindiq inehni hawiq hingkariveq*

I see invol. mother-his come yesterday

'I saw his mother coming yesterday.'

(6) *indiqnu aku yenaq mangamet kudeq tuquni aku yenaq*

see-you I this eagle but actually I this

*murunsia*

human being

'You think I am an eagle, but actually I am a human being.'

In (5) the predicate *kaqindiq* 'to see invol.' describes the actual event of the coming of one's mother. In (6), however, if the predicate *indiq* 'to see' is interpreted as an act of seeing, the sentence is infelicitous since it contradicts the fact that in the first junct the speaker claims that he is an eagle, and in the second junct he is a human being. Sentence (6) will make sense if the verb *indiq* is interpreted in its usage, not as a physical perception act, but as a propositional attitude predicate, meaning 'to think'. The syntactic structures of the complements in (5) and (6) are the same; both are sentence-like complements. The difference lies in the uses of the CTPs. With *indiq* as their base, an immediate perception predicate is marked by prefix *ka-*, a propositional attitude predicate by zero or unmarked. Thus we treat *indiq* in (5) and (6) as distinct types of CTP.

### 9.1 Propositional attitude predicates

Propositional attitude predicates express a mental attitude regarding the truth of the proposition embodied in their complement. The propositional attitude predicates may be positive as in the verbs *parisaya*, *harap* 'to believe', *minda*, *pinda*, *gere*, *kunuq* 'to think', or negative as in the verbs *puwang harap* 'does not believe' and *ang sangat harap* 'less-believe, to doubt', *bembang* 'to doubt'. These predicates take S-like complements.

(7) *hanye harap/harapni warunganni maqeh tuqu*  
 he believe/believe-him cage-his good very

'He believed his cage was very good.'

(8) *aku minda/pindaku hanye tataw*  
 I think/think-me he rich

'I think he is rich.'

As these examples show the matrix may have either SV or VS order. The latter looks like a genitive construction. However, we have already argued in chapter 3 that it is not the case. The bases are in fact forms of passive verb. Therefore *kurunganni maqeh tuqu* 'his cage is very good' and *hanye tataw* 'he is rich' are sentential complements. The verbs *gere*, *kunuq* 'to think' always precede the subject which is in cliticized form if it is a pronominal.

(9) *gereku inehni haut hawiq*  
 think-me mother-his already come.'

'I think his mother has already come.'

(10) *kunuq nalaw kalaqawe.wangun nampan hanye kaqiyuh kawaweq yeruq*  
 think Nalaw how way in order he get deer the

'Nalaw thought how he could get the deer.'

The complement of verbs of thinking may consist of a single constituent due to ellipsis.

(11) hanye minda/kunuqni maqeh

he think think-him good

'He thinks/he believes it is good.'

The negative propositional attitude predicates puwang harap 'does not believe' and ang sangat harap/bembang 'to doubt' differ in the form of the complement they may take. With the CTP puwang harap the complements always appear in the form of a statement:

(12) aku puwang harap hanye ngaheng ngamiq duwit ma aku

I NEG believe he want TR-give money to me

'I don't believe that he wants to give me any money.'

The CTP ang sangat harap, on the other hand, may take not only a complement in the form of a statement, but also one in the form of an alternate statement, or a question preceded by inunkah 'whether'.

(13)a. aku ang sangat harap hanye ngaheng ngamiq duwit ma aku

I NEG very believe he want TR-give money to I

'I doubt that he wants to give me any money.'

b. aku ang sangat harap inunkah hanye ngaheng ngamiq

I NEG very believe whether he want TR-give

duwit ma aku

money to I

'I doubt whether he wants to give me any money.'

c. aku ang sangat harap hanye ngaheng ngamiq duwit

I NEG very believe he want TR-give money

atawaq puwang

or NEG

'I don't know whether or not he wants to give me any money.'

The use of an alternate statement or interrogative clause as the complement of ang sangat harap clearly indicates an attitude of uncertainty on the part of the subject of the CTP's. In this way the complement and the matrix are compatible.

## 9.2 Predicates of fearing

Predicates of fearing express an attitude of fear on the part of the subject of the CTP that the complement proposition will be realized. They are thus characterized as having experiencer subjects. The verbs that can function as predicates are takut 'afraid' and its negative puwang takut 'not afraid' and gaer 'anxious, afraid'. The complements of predicates of fearing appear in S-like form:

(14) hanye takut iyaqni sakulah hang banjar  
 he afraid son-his study at Banjar  
 'He is afraid that his son will study at Banjar.'

(15) hanye puwang takut hi marletun hawiq  
 he NEG afraid PM Marletun come  
 'He is not afraid that Marletun may come.'

In both (14) and (15) the subject hanye 'he' is the experiencer. The complements iyaqni sakulah hang banjar 'his son will study at Banjar' and marletun hawiq 'Marletun comes' are S-like. Their propositions are not factive, they have not been realized. The complement proposition and the CTP takut or puwang takut also have a cause and effect relation, that is, one's being afraid or not afraid can be attributed to the cause expressed in the complement. However, this relation is different from the same relation expressed by an overt causal adverbial which is marked by daya 'because' in that the latter generally refers to the cause as having been realized. (See 10.2.1 on causal adverbials.)

## 9.3 Implicative predicates

Implicative predicates are discussed in detail by Karttunen (1971). Predicates like bahasil 'to manage', nyubaq 'to try', kaqitung 'to remember', for example, are similar to factive predicates<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Factive predicates are discussed under commentative predicates (9.5) and cognition and perception predicates (9.10).

such as *karasa* 'to know', *manyasal* 'to regret', *kataruq* 'to understand' in that they presuppose the truth of a complement proposition. Implicative predicates, however, are different from factive predicates in that the former take subjectless complements. Moreover, negation of the implicative predicates is equivalent to negation of their complement proposition, while negation of factive predicates does not affect the complement proposition. Compare the following sentences:

Factive:

- (16)a. *hanye karasa inehni mekum*  
 he know mother-his ill  
 'He knew that his mother was ill.'
- b. *hanye puwang karasa inehni mekum*  
 he NEG know mother-his ill  
 'He did not know that his mother was ill.'

Implicative:

- (17)a. *hanye bahasil netek kayu sa hanteq yeru*  
 he manage TR-cut tree REL big the  
 'He managed to cut the big tree.'
- b. *hanye puwang bahasil netek kayu sa hanteq yeruq*  
 he NEG manage cut tree REL big the  
 'He did not manage to cut the big tree.'

In (16), whether in positive or in negative, the implication is that 'his mother was ill'. On the other hand, in (17) the positive matrix predicate affirms that 'he cut the big tree', whereas the negative predicate implies that 'he did not cut the tree.'

Implicative predicates such as *bahasil* 'to manage', *kaqiyuh*, *taqu* 'to be able', *kaqitung* 'to remember', *nyubaq*, *mansubaq* 'to try', *nyampat*, *ngalap kasampatan* 'to take the opportunity', *bahati hati* 'to be careful', and *puwang bahasil* 'to fail'

express the idea that there are some necessary and sufficient conditions which alone determine whether the event described in the complement takes place (see Karttunen 1971:352 for this sort of explanation). With the predicate *bahasil*, for example, this crucial condition may consist of showing the effort, skill, and ingenuity on the part of the matrix subject that lead to the realization of the complement proposition. In this sense the abilitative predicate *kaqiyuh* may have implicative reference provided the context allows such an interpretation. Consider the following examples:

- (18)a. *hanye kaqiyuh ngendey barang yeruq*  
 he be able TR-carry thing the  
 'He is able to carry the thing.'
- b. *hanye kaqiyuh ngendey barang sa weqat yeruq hingkariweq*  
 he be able TR-carry thing REL heavy the yesterday  
 'He was able/managed to carry the heavy thing yesterday.'

In (18a) *kaqiyuh* has only an abilitative interpretation. In (18b) the context represented by *weqat* 'heavy' and *hingkariweq* 'yesterday' indicates that *kaqiyuh* may have an implicative interpretation where the speaker believes (on the basis of the difficulty of carrying out the act and the fact that it is already accomplished) that the subject has not only the ability, but has also made the effort to bring about the completion of the act described in the complement.

In the following examples the individual properties of implicative predicates are not discussed. For a detailed account, see Karttunen (1971).

- (19)a. *aku puwang kaqitung manyat utangku*  
 I NEG remember TR-pay debt-my  
 'I did not remember to pay my debt.'

- b. hanye ngalap kasampatan ngaiyuh duwit salawah jari  
 he TR-take opportunity TR-get, money during become  
 pambakal  
 village head  
 'He took the opportunity to collect money when he became  
 the village head.'
- c. ulun tumpuk nyubaq ngamule sahang hang peqe gunung  
 people village TR-try TR-grow pepper at foot mountain  
 'The village people tried to grow pepper at the foot of  
 the mountain.'

That the predicates are implicative is clearly indicated by the fact that the speakers of these sentences commit themselves to the belief that (20a-c) below are true:

(20)a. aku puwang manyat utangku

I NEG TR-pay debt-my

'I did not pay my debt.'

- b. hanye ngaqiyuh duwit salawah jari pambakal  
 he TR-get money during become village head  
 'He collected money when he became the village head.'

- c. ulun tumpuk ngamule sahang hang paqe gunung  
 people village TR-grow pepper at foot mountain  
 'The village people grow pepper at the foot of the mountain.'

Negative implicative predicates are normally not lexicalized in Maaanyan. Instead they are marked by the negative particle puwang. For example, puwang bahasil 'does not manage, to fail', puwang kaqiyuh 'to fail', puwang kaqitung 'does not remember, to forget' and puwang nyubaq 'does not try'. These predicates typically imply that the complement propositions are false, as seen in (19a) and its implication (20a). Thus the (a) sentences below necessarily imply the (b) sentences:



(21)a. aku puwang bahasil nadap bupati  
 I NEG manage TR-meet district head  
 'I did not manage to see the district head.'

b. aku puwang nadap bupati  
 I NEG TR-meet district head  
 'I did not see the district head.'

(22)a. aku puwang kaqitung nunung inehnu  
 I NEG remember TR-visit mother-your  
 'I did not remember to visit your mother.'

b. aku puwang nunung inehnu  
 I NEG TR-visit mother-your  
 'I did not visit your mother.'

Some predicates such as *sindiq* 'want' and *ngalap kaputusan* 'to decide' and *bajanji* 'to promise', when appearing in a negative sentence, carry an implicative interpretation, but their positive counterparts do not. Consider the positive and the negative pairs below:

(23)a. hanye sindiq tulak ma ume  
 he want go to ricefield  
 'He wanted to go to the ricefield.'

b. hanye puwang sindiq tulak ma ume  
 he NEG want go to ricefield  
 'He did not want to go to the ricefield.'

(24)a. here ngalap kaputusan ngalap wadiyan amunrahu  
 they TR-take decision TR-take shaman Amunrahu  
 'They decided to take the shaman named Amunrahu.'

b. here puwang ngalap kaputusan ngalap wadiyan amunrahu  
 they NEG TR-take decision TR-take shaman Amunrahu  
 'They did not decide to take the shaman named Amunrahu.'

(23a) not imply hanye tulak ma ume 'he went to the ricefield', nor does (24a) imply here ngalap wadiyan amunrahu

'they take the shaman named Amunrahu'. *sindiq* 'want' and *ngalap kaputusan* 'to decide' are not implicative predicates, rather they are desiderative predicates. However, in asserting (23b) and (24b) the speaker must have a knowledge that the propositions contained in the complements are false. *puwang sindiq* 'does not want' and *puwang ngalap kaputusan* 'does not decide' are implicative predicates.

#### 9.4 Desiderative predicates

Desiderative predicates express a desire that the complement proposition be realized. They are characterized as having experiencer subjects. In this respect they have much in common with predicates of fearing and can be regarded as being their opposite since they express a positive feeling about the realization of the complement proposition, as opposed to the negative feeling expressed by predicates of fearing.

Desiderative predicates are distinguishable semantically into two classes. The first is the *harap* class (*harap* 'to hope'), and the second the *sindiq* class (*sindiq* 'want'). The verb *harap* is homophonous with *harap* 'to believe' of the propositional attitude predicate; the former may take the *ng-* prefix, whereas the latter may not. The *harap* class verbs express an emotional attitude toward the proposition whose status is unknown, but could be true. The complements of *harap* class are normally S-like, and are independent in their time reference from the matrix. For example:\*

(25) *aku harap hengawku hawiq kequni*  
 I TR-hope friend-his come tomorrow  
 'I hope that my friend will come tomorrow.'

(26) *aku harap hengawku hawiq hingkariweq*  
 I TR-hope friend-my come yesterday  
 'I hope that my friend came yesterday.'

If the notional subjects of the complement is coreferential with the matrix subject, the complement subjects are optional:

(27)a. aku harap (aku)kaqiyuh hawiq kequni  
 I hope I can come tomorrow  
 'I hope I can come tomorrow.'

b. hanye<sub>i</sub> harap (hanye)<sub>i</sub> kaqiyuh hawiq kequni  
 he hope he can come tomorrow  
 'He hopes he can come tomorrow.'

The sindiq class includes sindiq, hamen, ngaheng (all have more or less the same meaning 'want'), and barancanaq, marancanaq 'to plan'. The sindiq class is different from the harap class in that their complements have dependent time reference. They express a desire that the state or event designated by the complement predicate may be realized in the future relative to the time of speaking. The sindiq class normally takes a subjectless complement due to the coreferentiality of the matrix and the complement subject. For example:

(28) aku  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{hamen} \\ \text{sindiq} \\ \text{ngaheng} \end{array} \right\}$  ngantaraq paqurung hang jumpun

I want TR-look for firewood in forest  
 'I want to look for firewood in the forest.'

(29) aku ngaheng ngamiq taneqku ma garejaq  
 I want TR-give land-my to church  
 'I want to give my land to the church.'

(30) hi ambah marancanaq ngulah lewuq hang yiti  
 PM father plan TR-make house at this  
 'My father planned to make a house here.'

The sindiq/hamen predicates are different from ngaheng and marancanaq/barancanaq by their being unable to take any verbal prefix. In this respect they resemble the future aspectual particle kaqi 'will', and like it, denote futurity. However, they are different from the pure future aspectual auxiliary kaqi in that they always require a human

subject, whereas kaqi is irrelevant to the animacy of the object, as seen in the following sentence:

- (31) barang yeruq kaqi/\*hamen hawiq kequni  
 goods the will want come tomorrow  
 'These goods will arrive tomorrow.'

In addition, these verbs, but not kaqi, can function as independent predicates:

- (32) aku hamen/\*kaqi hanyuq  
 I want will you  
 'I love you.'

If the subjects of matrix and complement are different, only the verbs hamen among the sindiq class may be used:

- (33)a. aku hamen ulun yeruq hawiq kequni  
 I want man the come tomorrow  
 'I want the man to come tomorrow.'
- b. \*aku ngaheng/\*sindiq ulun yeruq hawiq kequni  
 I want man the come tomorrow

Desiderative predicates may also be represented by the phrase maqehni '(I) would like' (derived from maqeh 'good' plus -ni 'his') and pipatutni '(It is) preferable' (derived from pi-patut 'good' plus -ni 'his'). In these phrases -ni is not the participant in the event/state, but rather a dummy pronoun similar to the English it in It is raining, whose function is to moderate the force of the speaker's desire or to give a polite sense to the request denoted by the adjectival predicate it is attached to. As CTPs, these always occur by themselves followed by a S-like complement. For example:

- (34) { maqehni } hanye puwang hawiq  
 { pipatutni }  
 good-his he NEG come  
 'I prefer that he does not come.'

These predicates may be used parenthetically, that is, their position is shifted to the position preceding the predicate of the complement, as in (35) below:

(35) hanye { maqehni } puwang hawiq  
           { pipatutni }  
           he       good-his   NEG    come

'I prefer that he does not come.'

In this use maqehni and pipatutni behave more like the English verbs appear and seem whose status as verbs is apparent in the sentences with a dummy subject and with a normal subject. In Maanyan however, there is no evidence that maqehni and pipatutni functioning as predicates form a clause with the preceding subject. Accordingly we would regard (35) as a version of (34) in which maqehni and pipatutni function as matrix predicates followed by a complement hanye puwang hawiq 'he did not come.'

#### 9.5 Commentative predicates

Commentative predicates provide a comment on the complement proposition. The comment may take the form of an emotional reaction or evaluation (teyun, sasal 'regret, sorry', mahanang atey 'sad', aray 'happy'), and judgement (heran/wauh/ngawauh : 'odd', pahayang, piqahi '(be) a pity', parlu 'important', maqeh 'good'). Both emotional evaluation and judgement are normally made on actual or factive events, i.e., events that people take to be real. (For the term factive, see Kiparsky 1970.) The complement proposition, being pragmatically presupposed, forms part of the background for the participants in a discourse. In Maanyan this kind of complement may be either S-like or subjectless. For example:

(36) aku teyun/sasal hanye puwang hawiq

I regret he NEG come

'I regreted that he did not come.'

(37) hi ineh mahanang atey kadinung wangun iyaqni

PM mother hurt heart see invol. condition son-her

'Mother is sad to see her child's condition.'

Sentences (36) and (37) show that the matrix predicate for emotional evaluation have an overt subject. The subjects are experiencers just like the overt subjects of propositional attitude predicates, since the predicates give information about mental attitudes. Commentative predicates differ, however, from propositional attitude predicates in that the former provide a comment on factual events, whereas the latter express mental attitudes towards the truth of the proposition embodied in their complements.

Commentative complementation which provides a judgement on the complement proposition is structurally different from emotional evaluative complementation. To illustrate the difference, compare (36) and (37) with (38) and (39):

(38) wauh ulun yeruq puwang narime gawiyani yiti

odd man the NEG TR-take job this

'It is odd that the man did not take this job.'

(39) maqeh hanye tulak anraw yiti

good he go day this

'It is good that he went today.'

(40) hayang matuqeh waweyni puwang taqu nyurat

pity wife-his NEG able write

'It is a pity that his wife cannot write/does not know how to write.'

Notice that, different from (36,37), the matrix predicates of judgement commentative CTPs (38-40) have no overt subject. The matrix is

represented merely by the CTPs *waquh* 'odd', *maqeh* 'good' and *hayang* 'be a pity'. This phenomenon is not peculiar to judgement commentative predicates. As we have noted, ambient clauses may also be subjectless (see 7.4). Subjectless clauses occur whenever the contexts clearly suggest who or what the subject is (e.g. weather for ambient clauses, and the speaker for commentative predicates). If judgement is made by a person other than the speaker or if the speaker is explicitly expressed, the following structures or paraphrases are used:

(41) *aku ngawauh ulun yeruq puwang narime gawiyau yiti*  
 I TR-be odd man the NEG TR-accept job this  
 'I regarded it as odd that the man did not take this job.'

(42) *ulun yeruq piqahi matuqeh waweyni puwang taqu nyurat*  
 man the be sorry wife-his NEG able write  
 'That man is sorry that his wife does not know how to write.'

(43) *hanye nganggap maqeh hanye tulak anraw yiti*  
 he Tr-regard good he go day this  
 'He regarded it as good that he went today.'

In (41) the predicate is the transitive *ng-* verb, in (42) the adjective, and in (43) the overt verb denoting manner of commenting, *nganggap* 'to regard'. As we have seen in (9.4), the predicate *maqeh* 'good' may also be used as a desiderative predicate, especially when the subject of the complement is the first person plural. For example:

(44) *maqeh takam tulak itati*  
 good we incl. go now  
 'It is better for us to go now.'

The desiderative interpretation of (44) can be attributed to the fact that when the predicate *maqeh* takes the speaker as its subject, it may trigger the implication that the speaker asks the hearer to do or allow what the complement proposition expresses. In other words, (44) contains an illocutionary act, as illustrated in (45):



(45) aku lakuq takam tulak taqati

I ask we incl. go now

'I'd rather we go now.'

This last interpretation, however, does not preclude (44) from the possibility of being interpreted in a commentative sense. Thus (44) may be translated as 'It is good that we go now.' Note that the desiderative interpretation for (44) can be made unambiguous by adding -ni to maqeh or by using the predicate ware which also means 'good' but is never used as a commentative predicate.

(46) maqehni/ware takam tulak taqati

good-his/good we incl. go now

'It is better for us to go now.'

The predicate parlu 'important', when used as a commentative predicate, is normally nominalized by adding the relativizer sa:

(47)a. sa parlu . hanyuq hamen bagawi

REL important you want work

'It is important that you want to work.'

b. ?\*parlu hanyuq hamen bagawi

important you want work

('It is important that you want to work.')

In all examples (36-43, 47) the events expressed in the complements are taken to be real. The complement propositions represent facts which are part of the common ground of the speaker and hearer. Judgement may also be made on non-factual events if they represent the potential occurrence of the proposition embodied in the complement. In Maanyan complements of this type take the particle amun 'if'.

(48) wauh amun hanye puwang narime gawiyani yiti

odd if he NEG TR-accept job this

'It will be odd if he does not take this job.'

(49) maqeh amun hanyuq tulak itati

good if you go now

'It will be good if you go now.'

(50) hayang amun matuqeh waweyni puwang taqu nyurat

pity if wife-his NEG able write

'It would be a pity if his wife could not write.'

The amun complements (48-50) above do not represent specific and punctual events, nor do they indicate conditions for the states or events described in the CTPs to occur since the comments are independent of the complements. Therefore the best interpretation for such complements is potential occurrence. Note that amun 'if' may not appear before the complement of an emotional evaluation predicate. If it does, then a conditional, not evaluative, interpretation results. Thus (51) below has an evaluative interpretation and (52) a conditional interpretation:

(51) aku aray iyaqku bagawi hang kantor bupati

I happy son-my work at office district head

'I am happy that my son worked at the office of the district head.'

(52) aku aray amun iyaqku bagawi hang kantor bupati

I happy if son-my work at office district head

'I would be happy if my son worked at the office of the district head.'

In (51) the complement represents a fact and hence the CTP aray 'happy' is a commentative predicate. In (52) the complement represents the condition for the state described in the matrix to happen. The matrix predicate, whose fulfilment is dependent on the conditional clause, is not a commentative predicate, but the predicate of a consequence clause of a conditional clause type.

In English the predicates odd, good, and important are regarded as

predicates taking subjective complements, that is, the complements function as the subjects of the predicates (Kiparsky 1970: 169). In Maanyan subjective complements are rather unusual, but not ungrammatical. Thus (53-55) below are possible, but less common than (48-50):

(53) ulun yeruq puwang narime gawiyani yiti makaq wawauh  
 man the NEG TR-take job this then odd

'That the man did not take this job is odd.'

(54) hanyuq tulak itati maqeh  
 you go now good

'That you go now is good.'

(55) matuqeh waweyni puwang kataruq nyurat hayang(ni)  
 wife-his NEG know write pity-his

'That his wife cannot write is a pity.'

As we have already noted, Maanyan has no formal device for nominalizing a sentence. Probably this is the reason why (53-55) are not very common. Nominalization of a matrix sentence is done merely by intonation, that is, by giving a longer pause between the matrix/subject and the complement/predicate.

#### 9.6 Causative predicates

Causative predicates express a relation between an agent or a situation, an affectee and a resulting situation. In this relation the agent or the situation functions as a causer and the affectee, as a participant in the resulting situation. This notion does not block the possibility that the affectee is syntactically the object of the matrix. Indeed, as Comrie (1976:266) claims 'causative of [embedded] intransitives should have the embedded subject as direct object'. Causative predicates may be simple such as ngulah 'to make' and ngampisabap 'to cause', where no specific manner of causation is

indicated. They may also give information about the manner of causation, or illocutionary act in Austin's (1962) terminology, in which the intended illocution is explicitly mentioned. Included in this type of causative are *maksaq* 'to force', *nunyuq* 'to ask, to order', *marentah* 'to command' and *lakuq* 'to ask'. What these CTP'S have in common is that they encode a situation where the agent or situation attempts to manipulate the affectee into performing some actions or assuming some state. Consider the following examples:

(56) *pigawiyanni ngulah ambahni sangit*  
 behaviour-his TR-make father-his angry  
 'His behaviour made his father angry.'

(57) *iyaq yiti ngampisabap ambahni maraquh*  
 child this TR-cause father-his happy.  
 'This child made his father happy.'

In (56) and (57) *pigawiyanni* 'his behaviour' and *iyaq yiti* 'this child' represent the causers, and *ambahni* 'his father' the affectee. In simple causative clauses, the causer is not an agent in the sense that it controls or initiates the action embodied in the complement proposition. Accordingly, non-animate NPs, including a nominalized clause, may occur as the subject of simple causative clauses. Even if an animate entity, such as *iyaq yiti* 'this boy' in (57), functions as the subject of a simple causative predicate, it still does not imply that he or she initiates or controls directly the action embodied in the complement proposition. For this very reason (56) and (57) have no passive counterparts, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (58) and (59), since passives only occur if an agentive subject also occurs in a transitive predication.

(58) \**ambahni naqulah daya iyaq yiti sangit*  
 father-his PASS-make AM boy this angry  
 ('His' father was made angry by this boy')

- (59) \*hanye naqampisabap daya iyaq yiti mara<sup>q</sup>uh  
 he PASS-make-cause AM boy this happy  
 ('He was made happy by this child.')

The predicate maksa<sup>q</sup> 'to force' is different from the other manner causative predicates nunyuq 'to order', marentah 'to command', and lakuq 'to ask' in that maksa<sup>q</sup> implies that the complement proposition is factual, whereas the others do not. Accordingly maksa may not take the conjunction n(g)ampan/hampan 'in order to' which the other predicates may optionally take, since this conjunction marks the following predication as non-factual. This is illustrated in the following sentences:

- (60) hi ineh maksa ulun yeruq (\*nampan) tulak  
 PM mother TR-force man the in order to go  
 'Mother forced the man to go.'

- (61) hanye lakuq ulun yeruq (nampan) mangakuq  
 he TR-ask man the in order to confess  
 'He asked the man to confess.'

- (62) hi ineh nunyuq iyaqni (nampan) midi weyah  
 PM mother TR-ask son-his in order TR-buy rice  
 'Mother asked her son to buy some rice.'

- (63) pamarentah marentah ulun tumpuk (nampan) ngamule  
 government TR-command people village in order to TR-grow  
 sahang  
 pepper

'The government ordered the village people to grow pepper.'

In (60) the complement of maksa 'to force' is factual, whereas in (61-63) the complement of lakuq 'ask', nunyuq 'to order' and marentah 'to command' are not. As we will see in (10.2.1), nampan also function as a purposive conjunction. In this function, it is obligatory. In (61-63) nampan is optional, and hence the clauses it introduces are not

purposive adverbials, but rather complements. Since *nampan* is optional, it does not block what transformational grammar calls subject-to-object raising, and since manner causative predicates require an agentive subject, passivization may occur in this type of complementation. Thus corresponding to (60) and (61), for example, are the passives (64) and (65):

(64) *ulun yeruq napaksa tulak daya hi ineh*  
 man the PASS-force go by PM mother  
 'The man was forced to go by mother.'

(65) *ulun yeruq nalakuq dayani (nampan) mangakuq*  
 man the PASS-ask by-him in order to confess  
 'The man was asked by him to confess.'

#### 9.7 Phasal predicates

Phasal predicates describes the phase of an action or state, that is, its inception, continuation or termination. They are represented by the verbs *nukuq* 'to start', *tarus*, *palus* 'to continue', *tariyeq*, *turay*, *taduh* 'to stop', and *luput*, *galis* 'to finish'. The complements of these predicates are subjectless. This implies that both the matrix and the complement share the same core argument, the subject. Moreover, they also share the same time reference. For example:

(66) *here katuluh nukuq masiq teka iring ume*  
 they all TR-start TR-harvest from border ricefield  
 'They all started to harvest from the border of the ricefield.'

(67) *kami tarus takiyaq hampi peqe gunung*  
 we excl. continue walk' to foot mountain  
 'We keep walking toward the foot of the mountain.'

(68) ayuq takam tariyeq bagawi

REQ we incl. stop work

'Let's stop working.'

(69) wawey yeruq luput muwiq lumbahku

girl the finish TR-wash dish-my

'The woman has finished washing my dishes.'

From the above examples we see that only the predicate nukuq 'to start' is clearly marked as a verb (by the prefix ng-). The rest never take any verbal prefix if they function as phasal predicates. Their status as verbs can thus be deduced from their ability to take the same function and have the same distribution as the verb nukuq. Note that the verb nukuq (derived from ng-tuku 'to start') in all occurrences always takes a sentential complement, not a direct object, although prefix ng- normally marks transitivity. Other phasal predicates, if they take the ng- prefix, change their status to transitive verbs, as seen in the following example:

(70) kami nampalus parjalanan hampi laut

we excl. TR-continue journey to sea

'We continued the journey to the sea.'

In this sentence parjalanan 'journey' is the direct object of the transitive verb nampalus 'to continue'.

### 9.8 Pretence predicates

Pretence predicates express that the propositions embodied in the complements are not the real world, but false. In this respect they are exactly the opposite of implicative predicates. The latter presuppose that the complement propositions are true. These CTPs are represented by the verbs purapuraq, papuraq 'to pretend' and papuraq ngantuh 'to pretend to say'. The first takes a reduced complement and the latter a S-like complement:



- (71) hanye papuraq manreq  
 he pretend sleep  
 'He pretended to sleep.'
- (72) aku purapuraq mupuk andiqku  
 I pretend TR-hit little brother-my  
 'I pretended to hit my little brother.'

- (73)a. aku papuraq ngantuh hanye hawiq  
 I pretend TR-mention he come  
 'I pretended to say that he came.'

- b. yabes papuraq ngantuh hengawni paqaduq  
 Yabes pretend TR-mention friend-his marry  
 'Yabes pretended to say that his friend got married.'

It is clear that in asserting (71) and (72) the speaker presupposes that 'he did not sleep' and 'he did not hit his little brother'. Likewise, in (73) the speaker presupposes that 'he did not come' and 'his friend did not get married'. In this sense purapura/papuraq is similar to the negative implicative predicate puwang kaqitung 'to forget' in the sense that it negates the proposition embodied in the complement (see 9.4). However if it is negated, it does not imply that the complement proposition is true. Thus negation of (71) and (72) does not necessarily imply that the complement propositions are true, as does the negation of implicative predicates. (74a) below does not imply (74b), instead it implies the second clause of (74c).

- (74)a. hanye puwang purapuraq manreq  
 he NEG pretend sleep  
 'He did not pretend to sleep.'

- b. hanye manreq  
 he sleep  
 'He slept.'

- c. hanye puwang purapuraq manreq, kudeq hanye tuqu manreq/  
 he NEG pretend sleep but he really sleep  
 hanye bapikir  
 he think  
 'He did not pretend to sleep, but he really slept/  
 he was thinking.'

In (74c) the matrix clause can have the implication that 'he really slept' or 'he did something else'.

### 9.9 Utterance predicates

Utterance predicates are used in sentences describing a simple transfer of information initiated by an agentive subject. The complement represents the transferred information, and the CTP describes the manner of transfer, : illocutionary force of utterance, e.g. by saying, telling, questioning or promising. In Maanyan verbs that function as the illocutionary force predicates are kaqeyaw, 'to say' muntiq 'to ask', ipesen 'to leave a message', iwaraq 'to tell, report', nuwing 'to answer' and bajanjiaq 'to promise'. The subject of the CTP is the source of information and hence if the information comes from the speaker himself, the matrix is not necessarily expressed, leaving the complement the sole constituent of the complementation. The addressee may be expressed as a directional object in the form of a prepositional phrase marked by nengkan, (ham)pi 'to'. In Maanyan the complements of utterance predicates appear mostly in quoted sentences:

- (75) ulun yeruq kaqeyawtakam lagiq muqay wani/  
 man the say we incl. still TR-collect honeycomb  
 adaq naun mahanang atey  
 do not you pl.hurt heart  
 'The man said, 'We are still collecting honeycombs /  
 Don't be sad.''

(76) ulun rama ituntiq inun sa ngulah hanye rapuy  
 man many ask what REL TR-make he mad  
 'Many people asked, 'What makes him mad?''

(77) aku iwaraq ma hi ambah aku hamen tulak pi jawa  
 I tell to PM father I want go to Java  
 'I told my father, 'I want to go to Java.''

In the examples above the complements have no introducing complementatizer. The complement represents an actual speech or quotation. The predicates in (75,76) are marked by the ka- and i- prefix. These prefixes, including ba- in bajanjiq 'to promise', are syntactically intransitive markers. In fact, cross linguistically, utterance predicates or 'say' verbs have an intransitive characteristic. (see Munro 1982:302.) The fact that they are followed by a direct quotation, but not by a concrete object, is indicative of their intransitivity. The verb nuwing 'to answer', derived from tuwing 'answer', takes the ng- prefix, normally a marker of transitive verb. As an utterance predicate, however, its transitivity is ruled out by the intransitive character of 'say' or utterance predicates (see 78).

Since the complements are actual speeches, they may consist of a full sentence including a vocative noun phrase, if any, or just a single word spoken by the speaker whose utterance is reported by the hearer. This is exemplified in the following sentences:

(78)a. iyaq yeruq nuwing aku puwang karasa ngaranni  
 child the TR-answer I NEG know name-his  
 tak ay  
 grandma PART

'The child answered, 'I do not know his name, grandma.''

b. iyaq yeruq nuwing inehku  
 child the TR-answer mother-my

'The child answered, 'My mother.''

c. iyaq yeruq nuwing tulak ma banjar

child the TR-answer go to Banjar

'The child answered, 'Go to Banjar.'

d. iyaq yeruq nuwing hang tumpuk yiti

child the TR-answer at village this

'The child answered, 'In this village.'

The predicates nuwing 'to answer' and ipesen 'to leave a message' may also be followed by the phrase anriq eyaw 'with word', yet what follows is still a quoted utterance, as seen in (79) and (80) below:

(79) ulun yeruq nuwing (anri eyaw) aku puwang hamen mudiq  
man the reply with word I NEG want return

'The man replied, 'I do not want to go home.'

(80) hanye ipesen ma aku (anri eyaw), amun hanyuq mudiq  
he tell to me with word if you return  
tekaq usterali aku naqamiq bajuq  
from Australia I PASS-give shirt

'He asked me, 'Please bring me a shirt if you come back from Australia.'

In (79) and (80) the complement constructions are syntactically in apposition to eyaw 'word'. This equation raises the question whether or not the quoted complements are noun phrases. Before answering the question, let us discuss the following matters. A verb of saying may be replaced by its base, but the order of constituents in the matrix clause changes; the verb must precede the subject. If the subject is represented by a personal pronoun, the personal pronoun must take the genitive/agentive case. Compare the following pairs of matrix sentence constructions:

(81)a. ulun yeruq kaqeyaw ...

man the say

'The man said, ...'

- b. eyaw ulun yeruq ...  
 say man the  
 'The man said, ...'
- (82)a. hanye nuntiq ...  
 he ask  
 'He asked, ...'
- b. tuntiqni ...  
 ask-his  
 'He asked, ...'
- (83)a. iyaq yeruq nuwing ...  
 child the answer  
 'The child answered, ...'
- b. tuwing iyaq yeruq  
 answer child the  
 'The child answered, ...'
- (84)a. aku ipesen ma hanyuq  
 I leave message to you  
 'I ask you, ...'
- b. pesenku ma hanyuq ...  
 message-my to you  
 'My message to you, ...'

The (b) constructions above may be inverted with the complements in initial position, but the (a) constructions may not. Thus corresponding to the upper half of (75), repeated here as (85a), are (85b) and (85c), not (85d):

- (85)a. ulun yeruq kaqeyaw takam lagiq muqay wani  
 man the say we incl. still TR-collect honeycomb  
 'The man said, 'We are still collecting honeycombs.'
- b. eyaw ulun yeruq takam lagiq muqay wani  
 say man the we incl. still TR-collect honeycomb  
 'The man said, 'We are still collecting honeycombs.''
- c. takam lagiq muqay wani eyaw ulun yeruq  
 we incl. still TR-collect honeycomb say man the  
 'The man said, 'We are still collecting honey.'
- d. \*takam lagiq muqay wani kaqeyaw ulun yeruq  
 we incl. still TR-collect honeycomb say man the

Note that the structures *eyaw ulun yeruq*, *tuntiqni*, *tuwing iyaq yeruq* and *pesenku* are identical to genitive constructions such as *lewuqni* 'his house', and *lewuq ulun yeruq* 'the man's house'. However, if matrixes of this type are regarded as genitive constructions, the structure of (85a) must consist of the subject NP represented by the genitive construction, and the predicative NP by what we assume to be the complement. If this is the case, (85a) is an equational sentence identical in structure to (86):

- (86) ulun yeruq guru  
 man the teacher  
 'The man is a teacher.'

And indeed we have an equational sentence whose predicate is a nominalized verb phrase, as in (87):

- (87) gawiyanni ngulah hapaw  
 work-his TR-make roof  
 'His livelihood is making roofs.'

*gawiyanni* 'his livelihood' is clearly a noun phrase since the head *gawian* 'livelihood, job' is a noun derived from the base *gawi* 'work'. *eyaw ulun yeruq* 'he said' and the like, however, are different from the

above equational subjects. Firstly, they can take an adverbial modifier like *anri mehet* 'loudly' or *anri aray* 'happily', evidence that they are verb phrases. Secondly, the structure consisting of the base followed by a nominal which has the potential to become an agent may also indicate a passive construction (see 8.1.2), as in (88):

- (88) *aximsa' yeruq eyaw ulun yeruq ma guru*  
 sentence the PASS-say man the to teacher  
 'The sentence was said by him to the teacher.'

In other words the words *eyaw*, *tuntiq*, *tuing*, and *pesen* in the (b) sentences of (81-84) are verbs, more precisely passive verbs. The clause *eyaw ulun yeruq* in (81b) can be interpreted as 'It is said by the man that...'. This type of passive, which takes a complement, has no subject. The complement *takam lagiq muqay wani* in (85b) is not the subject, as seen by its inability to take the subject position of the following zero-verb passive or *na-* verb passive:

- (89)a. \**takam lagiq muqay wani eyawni*  
 we incl. still TR-collect honeycomb PASS-say-he  
 b.\* *takam lagiq muqay wani naqeyaw dayaqni*  
 we incl. still TR-collect honeycomb PASS-say AM-he

In other words the complement of a verb of saying is not a NP. (89a) can be grammatical if it is regarded as an inverted version of (85b), thus still showing the structure of complementation.

#### 9.10 Cognition and immediate perception predicates

Different from Noonan (1985), who distinguishes verbs of knowing/cognition verbs and perception verbs, we subsume both under the same class on the basis that morphologically and syntactically they behave identically. Moreover, both types of verbs can be directly associated with the acquiring of stimulus in a broad sense, that is, mental stimulus for verbs of knowing, and physical stimulus for verbs of perception.



Cognition and immediate perception predicates name the sensory mode by which the subject directly recognizes/perceives the events encoded in the complement. Maanyan distinguishes between agentive (volitional) and non-agentive (non-volitional) cognition/immediate perception predicates. The distinction is marked by the prefix ka- (non-volitional) and ng- (volitional). Cognitive/immediate perception predicates include verbs such as:

Non-volitional		Volitional	
Immediate perception predicates			
karengey	'to hear'	-	nyanrengay 'to hear, to listen'
{kaqindiq}	'to see'	-	{ngindiq} 'to see, to look'
{kadinung}			{ninung}
kaqinam	'to taste'	-	nginam 'to taste'
kaqenguh	'to smell'	-	ngenguh 'to smell'
Cognition predicates			
karasa	'to know'	-	ngarasa 'to know'
kataruq	'to know'	-	ngataruq 'to know'
kaqitung	'to remember'	-	ngitung 'to remember'

Both the volitional and non-volitional perception predicates can take a complement:

(90)a. aku karengey inehni bagawi hang sungking  
 I hear invol. mother-his work in kitchen  
 'I hear his mother working in the kitchen.'

b. aku hamen nyanrengay gubernur bapidatu  
 I want hear vol. governor make speech  
 'I want to listen to the governor making his speech.'

(91)a. hi ijat kaqindiq ulun yeruq ngalat duwitnu hingkariweq  
 PM ijat see invol. man the TR-steal money-your yesterday  
 'Ijat saw the man stealing your money yesterday.'

b. hi ineh idah ngindiq marletun ngendey punsi yiti  
 PM mother Idah see vol. Marletun TR-bring banana this  
 'Idah's mother saw Marletun bringing these bananas.'

(92)a. aku karasa andiqni haut hawiq  
 I know invol. little brother-his already come  
 'I know that his little brother has already come.'

b. aku hamen ngarasa hang awe hanye tulak  
 I want know vol. where he go  
 'I want to know where he goes.'

The non-volitional cognitive and perception predicates take experiencer subjects, and the volitional ones take agentive subjects. The characteristic feature of perception predicates, which is different from cognitive predicates, is that the event coded by the CTP and that coded by the complement must necessarily be simultaneous. In (91a), for example, the time of seeing and stealing, must be yesterday. With cognitive predicates like those in (92a), the time of knowing may be different from the time of his brother's coming. Sentence (90a) is ambiguous; *karengy* may be interpreted as being used as an immediate perception predicate, i.e. the event of hearing is associated with the physical sound as the result of his mother working in the kitchen. It can also be interpreted as being used as a cognitive predicate, that is, the hearing is the mode (manner) of acquiring knowledge that his mother worked in the kitchen. In the cognitive interpretation *karengy* can be replaced by *karengy habar* 'to hear news' or *kaqiyuh habar* 'to get news'

One important characteristic of immediate perception predicates, as pointed out by Kirsner and Thomson (1976), is that semantically it is the entire event encoded in the complement, not the object of the matrix, which is perceived. In (90b), for example, it is obvious that Ijat cannot hear the governor, but instead he hears the governor giving

his speech. In (91a) it is not ulun yeruq 'the man' who Ijat saw, but the whole proposition consisting of ulun yeruq and the predicate phrase ngalat duwitnu hingkariweq. In (92a), it is not andiqni 'his little brother' that aku 'I' knows, but rather the entire event of his brother's coming.

## CHAPTER 10

## COMPLEX SENTENCES

In traditional grammar the term 'complex sentence' is always associated with coordination and subordination. Coordinate sentences consist of two or more clauses, neither of which is embedded in the other. On the other hand, if one clause is embedded, the structure is called a subordinate sentence. A non-embedded clause can stand alone as a complete sentence, whereas an embedded clause cannot and can only be meaningful if it is attached to a non-embedded clause. To this criterion Foley and Van Valin (1984:240-242) add other criteria, i.e. the whole-whole or independent relation for coordination, and the part-whole or dependent relation for subordination. These criteria are generally considered as being equivalent to the traditional criteria. They are, however, completely different given that the term dependency is a technical term associated with the theory of layered structure of the clause. The layered structure of the clause is marked by the operators corresponding to each layer. In other words the notions coordination and subordination are redefined by Foley and Van Valin to comply with this theory. It should be pointed out that the question of redefinition of the terms embedded and dependent first arises in Olson (1981) in his analysis of Barai, a heavily verb serializing language. His definition is developed further in Foley and Van Valin (1984) and is applied to non-configurational languages like Yimas, Barai, etc. as well as to configurational languages like English. In this redefinition, the terms embedded and dependent are regarded as two different parameters.

The basic idea in Foley and Van Valin (1984:187) is that a clause is conceived as having three layered structures, nucleus, core, and periphery. The nuclear layer corresponds to the predicate, the core layer consists of a predicate and its core argument(s), and the periphery consists of a core layer and its peripheral argument(s). Each layer has its own operators. Thus a nuclear layer has nuclear operators, such as aspect, a core layer has core operators such as modality, and a peripheral layer has peripheral operators such as tense and illocutionary force. The existence of levels and operators is discussed and convincingly argued in Foley and Van Valin (1984:208-225). I will follow and apply these operators in the analysis of complex sentences. In relation to complex sentences, defined as sentences containing more than one predicates, clauses can be joined at any level, nucleus with nucleus, core with core, and periphery with periphery. Constructions built up by these means are called junctures of the corresponding layer, and any individual unit is called a junct. The juncture can be characterized by the level at which two juncts are joined. There are thus three possible junctures: nuclear level, core level, and peripheral level junctures.

The term embedded is used in the same meaning as that used in traditional grammar. An 'embedded' clause forms part of the matrix clause and functions as the argument of the matrix predicate. The term 'dependent' however, is defined differently. In a non-embedded nexus, a junct is said to be dependent upon another if it cannot have an independent operator. Thus dependency relation is determined solely with reference to the operators at a given level of juncture. (See Foley and Van Valin 1984:243). By this notion there is a possibility that a non-embedded clause can take a clause whose operator is dependent upon that of the non-embedded clause. Using the features embedded and dependent as parameters, consider the following illustration:

(1) ulun yeruq tulak ma pakan hingkariweq anri matuqeh waweyni  
 man the go to market yesterday and wife-his  
 tulak ma ume kequni  
 go to ricefield tomorrow

'The man went to the market yesterday, and his wife goes  
 to the ricefield tomorrow.'

Sentence (1) is a typical coordinate sentence. It consists of two junct connected by the coordinator anri 'and'. Each junct can stand alone as an independent sentence; none is embedded in the other. The two junct constitute a whole-whole or independent relation. This is evidenced by the fact that each junct takes different time adverbials, hingkariweq 'yesterday' and kequni 'tomorrow'. Time adverbials function like tense in inflected languages. It has been argued in Foley and Van Valin (1984:209) that tense (and for that matter also time adverbial) is a peripheral operator whose scope is over the whole junct consisting of the predicate, its arguments and locational adverb. Each junct in (1) can thus be said to be independent at the peripheral layer of juncture. On the other hand if one junct is embedded in the other, and the two junct are in a part-whole relationship in terms of operators, the resultant construction is called a subordinate sentence. Consider the following examples:

(2)a. hanye harap inehni puwang iyuh hawiq

he believe mother-his NEG able come

'He believed his mother could not come.'

b. \*hanye himat harap inehni puwang iyuh hawiq ane

he must believe mother-his NEG able come TAG

\*'He must believe his mother cannot come, can't she?'

In (2a) inehni puwang iyuh hawiq 'his mother could not come' is embedded in the superordinate junct hanye harap 'he believed'. The two junct together constitute a single unit. In (2b) the test using

different operators for each junct results in an unacceptable sentence. The modal *himat* 'must' and the tag question *ane* are peripheral operators. *himat* has scope over the clause *hanye harap* and *ane* over the clause *inehni puwang iyuh hawiq*. Although it is possible that *ane*, as an illocutionary force operator, has scope over the whole juncture, this possibility of interpretation for (2b) is remote since the two operators contradict each other. The fact that these juncts cannot take different operators indicates that they are not independent of each other; the second junct is dependent upon the first.

So far the analysis of complex sentences is no different from that of traditional grammar. Now consider the following sentences:

- (3)a. *hanye midi mutur kudeq puwang iyuh nyupir*  
 he buy car but NEG able drive  
 'He bought a car, but cannot drive it.'
- b. \**hanye midi mutur kudeq puwang iyuh nyupirkah*  
 he buy car but cannot able drive-Q  
 (\*He bought a car, but cannot drive it?)

In (3a) the second junct lacks a subject, but it is not embedded in the first junct and vice versa. In traditional grammar, (3a) would be regarded as a coordinate construction. In (3b) we see clearly that neither junct can take an independent operator, that is the illocutionary force statement in the first junct, and question in the second junct. This indicates that the two juncts are not independent. Phenomena such as these where there is no embedding relation between two juncts, but where one junct is dependent upon the other for an operator, are termed cosubordination, following Olson (1981). This type of clause is [-embedded, +dependent].

Using the parameters embedded and dependent there are three types of nexus:



- a. [-embedded, -dependent] = coordination
- b. [+embedded, +dependent] = subordination
- c. [-embedded, +dependent] = cosubordination

There is no construction whose features are [+embedded, -dependent] since an embedded clause must always be dependent with respect to the operator.

As we have already noted there are three levels of junctures and three types of nexus, and since each level can combine with each nexus type, and vice versa, there are logically nine possible combinations. For reasons that will be apparent later, Maanyan has only six possible combinations of nexus and junctures. Each will be discussed below.

### 10.1 Coordination

Coordinate nexus is a construction in which the junct are not in a part-whole relationship, i.e. one junct is not embedded in the other, and both junct may be independently specified for the operators at the given level of juncture (see Foley and Van Valin (1984:243)). Coordinate nexus has the features [-embedded, - dependent]. This nexus type is found in two levels, peripheral and core. The nuclear level coordinate nexus is not found in Maanyan. It is characteristically found in non-configurational languages (see Foley and Van Valin (1984:248)).

#### 10.1.1 Peripheral coordination

Coordinate nexus at peripheral junctures involves two or more peripheries which are in a whole-whole equivalence relationship. Each periphery has its own nuclear, core and peripheral arguments and can be independently specified for the operators at the given level of juncture. In a peripheral coordinate nexus one of the conjuncts is generally marked by a coordinating conjunction anri 'and', nelang 'and sim., whereas', kudeq 'but' or atawaq 'or', as seen in the following examples:

- (4) hanri sakulah hang banjar anri uci bagawi hang kapuas  
 Hanri study at Banjar and Uci work at Kapuas  
 'Hanri studies in Banjar and Uci works in Kapuas.'
- (5) aku hamen ngamiq hanyuq pigawiyen kudeq pakay inun gajiqnu  
 I want TR-give you job but for what salary-your  
 'I want to give you a job, but what do you use your  
 salary for?'
- (6) bayarnu utangnu, atawaq aku ngaduq ma pulisi  
 pay-you debt-your or I TR-tell to police  
 'Pay your debt, or I will call the police.'
- (7) alapnu punsi yiti, aku haut uyuh  
 bring-you banana this I already tired  
 'Bring these bananas, I am tired.'
- (8) heneq tuqu wurung hang wuwuq nelang wuwuq bagarak  
 many very bird in tunnel net and sim. tunnel net move  
 'There are many birds in the tunnel net and the tunnel net  
 moves.'
- (9) haqawe nahi q makuruy nelang aku rangah  
 why rice hard whereas I toothless  
 'Why is the rice hard whereas I am toothless ?'

The sentences above consist of two juncts and each can stand alone as a complete sentence, and hence none of the juncts is embedded in the other. In (4) the two juncts have different peripheral locative adverbials. In (5-7) the two juncts in each sentence are different in illocutionary force; statement and question in (5), and imperative and statement in (6,7). These are peripheral operators and hence (4-7) involve coordinate nexus at peripheral juncture. In (7) the two juncts are merely juxtaposed with no overt coordinator occurring in between. This is known as paratactic construction, following Noonan and Bavin-Wood (1978). Paratactic coordinate construction seems to occur

freely to replace the construction conjoined by the conjunction anri 'and'. This conjunction is the least marked in the sense that it merely functions to conjoin two or more juncts. Coordinate constructions conjoined by anri or arranged paratactically may consist of more than two juncts as long as a pause (identical to a comma in written language) is provided between each two juncts, as seen in (10):

- (10) ineh ma pakan, ambah hang jaqar, (anri) aku nganrey lewuq  
 mother to market father to Jaar and I TR-watch house  
 'Mother went to the market, father went to Jaar and  
 I watched the house.'

The conjunctions kudeq 'but', nelang 'and sim.' and atawa 'or' have an additional function besides their primary function as coordinators. kudeq also specifies that the two juncts it conjoins are in opposition, nelang specifies that the two events in coordinate nexus occur simultaneously, and atawaq indicates that the two juncts are in alternative relation to each other. Because of these additional features these coordinating conjunctions cannot be omitted.

In (8) both the locational and temporal adverbials must be the same since the coordinator which connects the juncts is nelang which by itself implies such interpretation. This situation does not preclude one of the criteria for coordination, i.e. each junct can be independently specified for the operator at a given level. It is only the nature of the coordinator that requires the simultaneity of the adverbial constituents of both juncts. Thus (8) is a peripheral coordinate nexus.

In (9) the coordinate nexus is peripheral as evidenced from the different illocutionary force that each junct can take. In this sentence nelang describes events or states designated by the predicates which are in contrast. In this sense it is similar to kudeq 'but', but with nelang the contrast is made more emphatically and explicitly.

## 10.1.2 Core coordination

Core coordinate nexus involves two non-embedded and independent cores, each with its own set of core constituents and operators. The two junct share the higher level operators such as illocutionary force. Core coordinate nexus is found in complementation constructions whose matrix predicates are jussives such as lakuq 'to ask', and nunyuq 'to order'.

(11) guru lakuq muridni paqajar rajin  
 teacher ask student-his learn diligent  
 'The teacher asked his student to study hard.'

(12) pulen nunyuq anakni bagawi  
 Pulen TR-order son-his work  
 'Pulen ordered his son to work.'

The sentences above have the structure consisting of a matrix clause followed by a complement. In this type of construction the complements are not the objects of the complement-taking predicates lakuq and nunyuq. This is evidenced when a syntactic test like passivization or focusing is applied to (12), as seen below:

- (13)a. \*anakni bagawi nahuyuq daya pulen  
 son-his work PASS-order AM Pulen  
 (\*'That his son work was ordered by Pulen.')
- b. \*anakni bagawileh sa nahuyuq daya pulen  
 son-his work-EMPH REL PASS-order AM Pulen  
 (\*'It is that his son works that Pulen ordered.')

Note that passivization and clefting of the complements as a whole yield ungrammatical sentences. This means that the complements are not embedded core arguments of the complement-taking predicates. Passivization and clefting only apply to the subjects of the complements, as seen below:

(14)a. anakni nahuyuq bagawi daya pulen  
 son-his PASS-order work AM Pulen  
 'His son was ordered to work by Pulen.'

b. anaknileh sa nahuyuq bagawi daya pulen  
 son-his-EMPH REL PASS-order work AM Pulen  
 'It is his son who was ordered to work by Pulen.'

These facts show that anakni 'his son' is the shared argument of the complement-taking predicate and complement predicate. Since the shared argument is core, the juncture must be core level juncture. In order to determine whether the nexus is coordinate or cosubordinate, we have to look at the core level operators, e.g. modality, to see what their scope is. For example:

(15) pulen kaqiyuh nunyuq anakni bagawi  
 Pulen can TR-order son-his work  
 'Pulen can order his son to work.'

In (20) the modal kaqiyuh 'can' specifies the ability of Pulen to make the ordering. It does not have the scope over the complement predicate bagawi 'to work'. Since the modal has scope only over the first junct, then the second junct cannot be said to be dependent upon the first junct for the operator. Sentences (11,12,15) share a core argument and have the features [-embedded, -dependent]. Accordingly they are coordinate nexus at core level.

## 10.2 Subordination

Subordinate nexus is the type of nexus in which one junct is embedded in the other, and consequently the juncts constitute a composite unit (see Foley and Van Valin 1984:249). The two juncts are in a part-whole relationship, with the embedded junct dependent upon the superordinate junct. Accordingly subordinate nexus has the features [+embedded, +dependent]. Subordinate nexus is found in two levels,

peripheral and core. Subordination at nuclear level, as Foley and Van Valin (1984:256) state, has never been found in any language. It is because embedding of a nucleus or predicate into another nucleus is in principle impossible.

One important characteristic of subordinate nexus is that each junct may have a peripheral constituent just like the juncts in a coordinate nexus. However, the two nexus types differ in that in a subordinate nexus only the superordinate junct can have an outer peripheral operator illocutionary force whereas the subordinate junct is always a statement. In coordinate nexus this constraint does not apply; both juncts can have an independent illocutionary force. (Cf. sentences (5-7)).

#### 10.2.1 Peripheral subordinate nexus

Peripheral subordinate nexus has a superordinate junct and a subordinate junct. The latter functions as a peripheral argument of the superordinate junct. They are exemplified in the following sentences:

- (16) damiq nahiq manruq hi ineh tuqen ngalaq panganan  
 after rice cooked PM mother Tuen TR-prepare food  
 'After the rice had been cooked, mother Tuen prepared the food.'
- (17) ineh tuqen nungkaw daya hanye mahanang wuntung  
 mother Tuen cry because she ache stomach  
 'Mother Tuen' cried because she had a stomach ache.'
- (18) hanye harap inehni hawiq kequni  
 he believe mother-his come tomorrow  
 'He believes that his mother will come tomorrow.'
- (19) hanye ituntiq pire haragaq weyah  
 he ask how much price rice  
 'He asked, 'What is the price of rice?''



It is clear that (16-17) are subordinate nexus. The subordinate junct are marked by subordinating conjunctions *damiq* 'af' and *daya* 'because'. They function as adverbial modifiers of superordinate junct and as such may not be independently specified for illocutionary force, as seen in (20,21):

(20) \**hi tuqen ngalaq panganan damiq anruq nahiq yeruq*  
 PM Tuen TR-prepare food after REQ-cook rice the  
 (\*'Tuen prepared the food after cook the rice!')

(21) \**ineh tuqen nungkaw daya inunkah hanye mahanang wuntung*  
 mother Tuen cry because what-Q she ache stomach  
 (\*'Mother Tuen cried because did she had a stomach ache?')

The sentences above are ungrammatical because the subordinate junct are imperative in (20), and question in (21) whereas the superordinate junct are statements. If the situation is reversed, i.e. the superordinate junct is an imperative or question and the subordinate junct, as required, is a statement, the sentences are acceptable, as seen in (22,23):

(22) *kala panganan dami nahiq manruq*  
 IMP-prepare food after rice cook  
 'Prepare the food after the rice is cooked!'

(23) *inunkah ineh tuqen nungkaw daya hanye mahanang wuntung*  
 what-Q mother Tuen cry because she ache stomach  
 'Did Tuen's mother cry because she had a stomach ache?'

The subordinate clauses in (16,17) function as adverbial constituents of superordinate clauses and hence must be regarded as peripheral elements of superordinate clauses. Since they are dependent for an operator, (16,17) are subordinate nexus at peripheral level.

A situation similar to sentences (16,17) also applies to (18,19). Although syntactically the subordinate junct are not marked by a



subordinating conjunction, they are in fact embedded in superordinate juncts. As we may recall the subordinate juncts of (18,19) are respectively complements of propositional attitude and utterance predicates (see 9.1 and 9.9). We have argued that the complements are not objects of the matrix predicates harap 'believe' and ituntiq 'ask'. They cannot be made subjects of the corresponding passives, as seen in the ungrammaticality of (24) below:

- (24)a. \*inehni        hawiq kequñi    naharap        dayani  
           mother-his come    tomorrow PASS-believe AM-him  
           ('That his mother will come tomorrow is believed by him.')
- b. \*pire        haragaq weyah natuntiq dayani  
           how much price    rice    PASS-ask AM-him  
           (\*'What is the price of rice was asked by him.')

Since the complements/embedded juncts are not objects they are therefore peripheral arguments of the matrix predicates. Accordingly, like adverbial clauses, (18,19) are peripheral subordinate nexus.

The embedded clauses like those in (18,19) are termed inner peripheral arguments, following Foley and Van Valin (1984:255), because their presence is required by the CTP.

As mentioned above, the adverbial clauses function as adverbial modifiers of the main clause. In this function they give extra information about the events designated by the predicates of superordinate clauses. They are not arguments required in the semantic structure of the corresponding predicate, instead they are outer peripheral arguments. Adverbial clauses are marked by a subordinating conjunction preceding the subordinate junct. Thus in (16,17) the time adverbial is marked by damiq 'after', and reason by daya 'because'. A list of subordinating conjunctions is provided in (3.7). In the following subsections, these conjunctions are exemplified in actual use, including the conjunctions we have already presented.

## a. Temporal adverbials

Temporal adverbials describe the time when the events designated by the predicates of the superordinate clauses take place. They are marked by the conjunctions *tawuk* 'when', *sahuqán* 'before', *balaluq* 'then', *udi* 'after', *luput* 'finish, after' and *damiq ... balaluq* 'after ... then'.

(25)a. *hanye hawia tawuk anraw uran*

he come when day rain

'He came when it rained.'

b. *aku kataruq kabar yeruq sahuqán karengey teka radiyu*

I know news the before hear from radio

'I knew the news before I heard it on the radio.'

c. *luput masiq parey natuyuk hawuwang punduk*

finish TR-harvest paddy PASS-heap inside hut

'After we had done the harvesting, the paddy was put

in the hut.'

d. *here katuluh nyurak balaluq wurung yeruq galis samiding*

they all clap then bird the finish fly

'They all clapped and then all the birds flew away.'

e. *damiq anraw kaqi balaluq ulun nutung jeweq*

after day hot then man TR-burn leaf

'After it got hot then the people burned the leaves.'

## b. Causative adverbials

Causative adverbials describe the cause which is responsible for the realization of the events or situations designated by the predicates of the superordinate clauses. They are marked by the conjunction *daya* 'because':

(26)a. *hanye paquwa daya mawule*

he poor because lazy

'He is poor because he is lazy.'

- b. aku ngaheng nganup daya takam puwang uweng luwen  
 I want TR-hunt because we incl. NEG exist dish  
 'I want to hunt because we do not have food.'

c. Conditional adverbials

Conditional adverbials describe the conditions which have to be met for the event designated by the predicate of the main clause to take place. They are marked by the conjunction amun 'if'.

- (27)a. amun ngendey uwey himat nalalingkang  
 if TR-bring rattan must PASS-roll  
 'If you bring rattan, it must be rolled.'

- b. hanyuq kaqiyuh mudiq amun gawiyannu haut luput  
 you can return if work-your already finish  
 'You can go home if you have already finished your work.'

d. Purposive adverbials

Purposive adverbials describe the purpose of an activity designated by the predicate of the main clause. They are marked by the conjunctions pakay 'for' and hampan, n(g)ampan 'in order to'.

- (28)a. aku paqajar rajin hampan wansit tamat sakulah  
 I learn diligent in order to quick finish study  
 'I worked hard in order to finish my study quickly.'

- b. uci ibajuq maqeh pakay lepuh ulun aruh  
 Uci wear-clothes good for go people hold party  
 'Uci wore good clothes for the party.'

- c. hayuq wansit kuman nampan takam kaqiyuh ngindiq  
 REQ quick eat in order to we incl. able TR-see  
 panganten batatay  
 bridal couple sit side by side  
 'Please eat quickly so that we can see the  
 bridal couple sitting side by side.'

## e. Resultative adverbials

Resultative adverbials describe the result of an action or state designated by the predicate of the main clause. They are marked by the conjunctions *daya yeruq* 'consequently' and *makaq* 'therefore'.

(29)b. *hanyuq marengen daya yeruq hanyuq puwang karengey*

you deaf because that you NEG hear

*eyaw guru*

voice teacher

'You are deaf, that is why you did not hear the teacher's voice.'

b. *pahuruk wurung bangaw yeruq haut jabuk witus*  
rope bird stork the already old broken

*makaq mapaluy lawuq ma taneq*

therefore Mapaluy fall to ground

'The rope tied to the storks was old and broken, therefore Mapaluy fell down to the ground.'

Clauses with a resultative adverbial are similar to those with a causative adverbial. The difference being, in the former the causal clauses constitute the superordinate junct, whereas in the latter the causal clauses are the subordinate junct.

## f. Concessive adverbials

Concessive adverbials describe certain facts which in ordinary circumstances are responsible for the non-occurrence of the events represented in the superordinate clauses, but in this particular situation the facts do not have such an effect. Concessive adverbials can thus be regarded as negative conditional adverbials. The latter, however, do not represent facts, but rather assumptions. Concessive clauses are marked by the conjunction *biyar* 'although'.

(30)a. biyar iyuhni butit welumni sukup maraquh  
 although income-his small life-his enough happy  
 'Although his income is small, his life is happy enough.'

b. manye tatap hawiq biyar anraw uran  
 he continue come although day rain  
 'He kept coming although it rained.'

g. Similative adverbials

Similative adverbials describe the similarity of events designated by the predicates of the main clauses with those of the subordinate clause. They are marked by the conjunction yalah 'like'.

(31)a. gawinu maqeh maqeh yalah ajaraku hingkariweq  
 do-you good good like PASS-teach-I yesterday  
 'Do it well like I told you yesterday.'

b. kawan anak yeruq babaris yalah ulun hamen jakuq  
 PL boy the march like man want war  
 'The boys marched like people who wanted to go to war.'

10.2.2 Core subordinate nexus

Core subordinate nexus consists of a superordinate junct and an embedded clause functioning as a core. This nexus type is very limited in Maanyan. The reason is Maanyan has no syntactic device to nominalize a clause like the English gerunds or that-clauses, and Bahasa Indonesia's bahwa clauses. A full clause, however, can appear as the subject of a causative predicate. Consider the following examples:

(32) uci puwang sakulah (yeruq) ngampihanang atey  
 Uci NEG go to school the TR-cause-sad heart  
 inehni  
 mother-her  
 'That Uci did not go to school made her mother sad.'

(33) murid murid rawek (yeruq) ngulah guruq sangit  
 students noisy the TR-make teacher angry

'That the students were noisy made the teacher angry.'

In (32,33) the clauses uci puwang sakulah (yeruq) 'Uci did not go to school' and murid muridni rawek (yeruq) 'his students were noisy' are full clauses functioning as subjects of causative verbs ngampihanang 'to hurt' and ngulah - sangit 'to make-angry'. Because the embedded junct is core, the nexus type is core subordination. In these sentences nominalization of a clause is formed mainly by intonation, i.e. the clause must be uttered as a single unit of intonation and separated from the rest of the sentence by a pause. The deictic yeruq 'the, that', typically a noun marker, is optional but here it helps bind the clause preceding it as a unit of intonation.

The possibility of a full clause appearing as the subject of a causative clause can be attributed to the fact that in causative clauses the subject is semantically the causer or the situation that causes the event/state designated by the causative predicate to be realized. In this function the causer is identical to a causal adverbial in an ordinary clause, and hence can be a full clause.

### 10.3 Cosubordination

A cosubordinate nexus is characterized by two juncts which are in dependency relation, but neither of which is embedded in the other. The lack of embedding contrasts a cosubordinate nexus with a subordinate nexus, but like the subordinate nexus both juncts constitute a composite unit. The dependency between the two juncts distinguishes the cosubordinate nexus from the coordinate nexus although the two juncts are not embedded (see Foley and Van Valin 1984:257). The cosubordinate nexus has the features [-embedded, +dependent] and is found in peripheral and core level junctures. Nuclear

cosubordinate juncture, being a feature of non-configurational languages, does not exist in Maanyan.

### 10.3.1 Peripheral cosubordinate nexus

Peripheral cosubordinate nexus involves two non-embedded junct with the subject of the second junct omitted. As with the coordinate nexus, the two junct are conjoined by a coordinating conjunction.

(34) iyaq yeruq mekum hingkariweq anri puwang hamen kuman itati  
 boy the ill yesterday and NEG want eat now  
 'The boy was ill yesterday and did not want to eat today.'

(35) uci ngulah bajuqkah atawaq mambasaq bukuq  
 Uci TR-make shirt-Q or TR-read book  
 'Did Uci make a shirt or read a book?'

(36) yatine nuwen upiq kudeq puwang barangiq ane  
 Yatine TR-make dish taro but NEG use-salt TAG  
 'Yatine made a taro dish, but used no salt, didn't he?'  
 'Yatine made a taro dish, but the dish has no salt,  
 hasn't it?'

The above sentences are similar in structure to the peripheral coordinate sentences in (10.1.1). Each junct may have a peripheral constituent, as in (34), evidence that they are peripheral junctures. The two junct in each sentence (34-36) are conjoined by a coordinating conjunction anri 'and', kudeq 'but' and atawaq 'or'. As we have already noted, the coordinating conjunctions function to connect two or more equivalent junct. Thus none of the junct is embedded in the other. In fact in traditional grammar (34-36) are regarded as coordinate sentences with the second junct in each sentence lacking a subject because of coreferentiality with the subject of the first junct. The absence of the subject of the second junct, however, has a syntactic impact with respect to illocutionary force operators. The junct with



an omitted subject may not have an independent illocutionary force, as seen by the ungrammaticality of (37):

- (37) \*iyaq yeruq mekum anri hantek awe hampi rumah sakit  
 boy the ill and when to hospital  
 (\*'The boy is ill, and when will go to hospital?')

In (37) the first junct is a statement while the second junct is a question. Note that (37) will be grammatical if the subject of the second junct is present. But the resultant construction is an ordinary coordinate nexus.

Only one illocutionary force is allowed in sentences (34-36), and the scope of this operator must be over the entire sentence. In (35) the question marker is attached only to the first junct, yet the second junct cannot have a declarative interpretation. The same meaning and effect also hold if the question marker kah is replaced in the second junct and attached to the noun bukuq 'book', as seen in (38):

- (38) uci ngulah bajuq atawaq mambasaq bukukah  
 Uci Tr-make shirt or TR-read book-Q  
 'Did Uci make a shirt or read a book?'

Sentence (36) is ambiguous as the translations show. The constituent ane is more or less equivalent to the English tag question, but it also specifies the speaker's doubt. As a tag question, it is an outer illocutionary force; its domain is over the entire sentence. (36) can be interpreted, using explicit illocutionary force, as 'I would like you to confirm that Yatine made a taro dish, but the dish had no salt.' In the second function, ane refers to the actuality of the event it is associated with; it is a status operator. Status, like illocutionary force, is also a peripheral operator, but unlike illocutionary force it is not the outermost operator. Its domain is only over the second junct. With ane as a status operator, (36) should be interpreted as 'Yatine made a yam dish, but the dish is likely to be

unsalted.' The difference in interpretation is illustrated in the following bracketed sentences:

First interpretation

(39) S[S[S[yatine nuwen upiq]S kudeq S[puwang barangiq]S]S ane]S

Second interpretation

(40) S[S[yatine nuwen upiq]S kudeq S[S[puwang barangiq]S ane]S]S

In (39) ane is an illocutionary force operator whose domain is over the entire sentence, while in (40) it is a status operator, whose domain is only over the second junct.

That the domain of an illocutionary force is over the entire sentence is clearest in the following sentence:

(41) harungleh hang karusiq nelang mambasaq buku yiti  
 sit-REQ at chair and-SIM TR-read book this  
 'Please take a seat, and read this book.'

The first junct in (41) is imperative but the second junct, syntactically, is not. As we see in (8.1.2), in an imperative sentence the verb occurs in zero-prefix form. The second junct predicate here has the ng- prefix, a hint that it must have a subject preceding it. The subject, however, is omitted under coreferentiality with that of the first junct, which is also omitted, but is recoverable from the imperative status of the clause. The scope of the imperative undoubtedly applies over both juncts, although the predicate of the second junct is not marked for imperative. The speaker's request applies to the action of sitting as well as to the action of reading. Therefore with respect to the illocutionary force operator, the second junct in (41) is dependent upon the first junct.

Returning to sentences (34-36) we see that all have the features [-embedded, +dependent]. The dependency, as is evidenced from the illocutionary force operator, is at peripheral level, and hence (34-36) are peripheral coordinate nexus.

## 10.3.2 Core cosubordinate nexus

Core cosubordinate nexus is found in constructions known as verb serialization, in which two verbs sharing a common core argument are merely juxtaposed with no element intervening between them. A core cosubordinate nexus is exemplified in the following sentences:

(42) here maharung kuman

they sit eat

'They sat eating.'

(43) mamaqni hawiq ngendey parey

uncle-his come TR-bring paddy

'His uncle came bringing some paddy.'

(44) kequni aku nganruq nuwen ma taruweh

tomorrow I TR-cook TR-make-dish for we-dual

'I will cook and make a dish for both of us.'

(45) wawey yeruq maqeh mawiney

girl the good beautiful

'The girl is very beautiful.'

In (42-45) the two predicates are juxtaposed and share a core argument, the subject of the clause. In (42-43) the first predicates are intransitive verbs. In (44) the first verb is transitive, but it is used intransitively to denote the action of cooking in general. In (45) the first predicate is an adjective. Since the first verbs (including the adjective) in these sentences are intransitive, there is no question of embedding in these types of construction, and since the pairs of verbs share a core argument, the level of juncture is core. In order to ascertain whether they are coordinate or cosubordinate nexi, we again have to apply a core level operator test, e.g. using the modal *musti* 'must' or *kaqiyuh* 'can'. Corresponding to (42) and (44) we have:

(46) hanye musti maharung kuman

he must sit eat

'He must sit eating.'

(47) kequni aku kaqiyuh nganruq nuwen ma taruweh

tomorrow I can TR-cook TR-make-dish for we-dual

'I can cook and make a dish for both of us tomorrow.'

The operator *musti* 'must' in (46) has the domain over *hanye maharung* 'he sat' and *hanye kuman* 'he ate'. It cannot have the domain only over the first junct, but irrelevant over the second junct. In the same way the operator *kaqiyuh* 'can' in (47) has the scope over *kequni aku nganruq ma taruweh* 'I will cook for both of us tomorrow' and *kequni aku nuwen ma taruweh* 'I will make a dish for both of us tomorrow'. In terms of operators, the two juncts cannot be independently specified, instead they share the same operator. They are therefore cosubordinate nexus.

Serial verbs of the type *maharung kuman* 'to sit eating' (42) and other examples such as *maharung mambasaq* 'to sit reading', *maharung bapaner* 'to sit talking' and *maharung malamun* 'to sit daydreaming' are productive. The same is true for the serial verb construction of the type *hawiq ngendey parey* 'to come and bring some paddy' (43). The first verb is limited to verbs denoting the action of coming and going, that is, *hawiq* 'to come', *lepuh* 'to go', *tulak* 'to go' and *takiyaq* 'to walk'. Thus Maanyan has examples like *hawiq ngamiq kabar* 'to come tell news', *hawiq ngarawah* 'to come to help', *lepuh ngarawah* 'to go and help', *lepuh ngantane* 'to go and propose', *tulak ngalap tengaqni raeray* 'to go-bring his own body, to go by himself', *tulak ngantaraq uwey* 'to go and look for rattan', *takiyaq ngalap atey mahanang* 'to walk-bring-heart sad, to walk with sorrow' and *takiyaq ngeyaw wadiyan* 'to go and call the shaman'.

Different from those two types, serial verbs of the type in sentence (44) and (45) are not productive. Their composit units consist of two verbs or two adjectives having the same or related meaning. Thus we have examples such as nganruq nuwen 'to cook and make a dish', saleqep salenqey 'to face down -to lie on one's back, to roll over', ngiyak nungkaw 'to cry-to cry, to sob', mulek mudiq 'to return-to go up stream/to return home', hanriyak ikinsay 'to sing-to dance kinsay, to sing and dance kinsay', and ma aruq ma ati/sur sar 'here and there, to and fro', as well as maqeh mawiney 'good-beautiful, very beautiful', penuq pangah 'full-full, very full', matalak maraqay 'clear-bright, very clear, very bright', marisak marekey 'cold-cold, very cold', hanteq ambaw 'big-tall, handsome'. These last two types are regarded as idioms since they have fixed constituents. On the contrary the previous two types are formed using general phrase structure rule; they are not idioms.

## CHAPTER 11

## CONCLUSIONS

Maanyan has eighteen consonant phonemes, four vowels and four phonetic diphthongs. The latter are analyzed as consisting of a vowel followed by either [y] or [w]. In its phonotactics Maanyan is idiosyncratic in that it has the sequence /nr/ (e.g. nganruq 'to cook'), /ns/ (e.g. bunsung 'in progress') and the frequent use of a glottal stop, particularly at word final position (e.g. yeruq 'that', hanyuq 'you' and hawiq 'to come'). The glottal stop itself is phonemic, as seen from the contrast, e.g. between midi 'to buy' and midiq 'to choose'. Maanyan has no geminate consonant, but the sequence nasal + voiced stop is realized as a geminate nasal.

Maanyan is not an inflected language. The grammatical categories aspect, tense, modality and negative are marked syntactically by the corresponding auxiliaries or particles. These auxiliaries are operators at different clause levels. Aspect is a nuclear operator, modality is a core operator and tense, represented by time adverbials, is a peripheral operator.

The person marker hi is used in two functions, one like the Banjarese and Bahasa Indonesia si to refer to a person of lower status or younger age, the other before a kinship term to denote the speaker's family relationship, and hence is translatable as 'my' in English (e.g. hi itak 'my grandfather' and hi mamaq 'my uncle').

Verbal and adjectival<sup>1</sup> derivations are displayed in Table 11-1.

<sup>1</sup>Nominal derivation is not presented here since it does not involve any functional variations.

Table 11-1: Verbal and Adjectival Derivations

Verbal affix	Base	Function
ma-	intransitive V	intransitive
ma-	N	intransitive
i-	'say' V	intransitive
i-	intransitive V	intransitive
ng-	N	intransitive
ba-	intransitive V	intransitive
ng-	transitive V	transitive
ng-	N	transitive
i-	N	transitive
ba-	N	transitive
ba-	N	state locative
pang-	transitive V	reciprocal
ba-	adj.	process
ampi-	adj./transitive V	causative
ka-an	adj./process V/N	affected
ka-	intransitive V	intransitive-invol.
pa-	verb of falling	intransitive-invol.
na-	transitive V	passive
ma-	intransitive V	inclination
pang-	adj.	superlative
ka-an	adj.	excessive
am-	N	similative

Maanyan differentiates the -control and the +control perception and cognition verbs (e.g. kaqindiq, 'to see invol.' : ngindiq 'to see, to look').

Nominal affixes are ka-en, pang-en/-an, pi-/pa-an, pang-, pi- and -an.

Nouns, verbs and adjectives when functioning as modifiers of a



noun behave differently. The verb must take the relativizer *sa*, the adjective takes it optionally, and the noun occurs without it. The N + N construction has either genitive relationship or the relationships covered under noun phrase of characterization. The former exhibits the ownership relation (e.g. *lewuq* here 'their house'), kinship relation (e.g. *ियाqulunyeruq* 'the man's son') and part-whole relation (e.g. *ariqlewuq* 'the pillar of the house'). The latter exhibit the relations such as place (e.g. *belekweyah* 'rice can'), origin (e.g. *ulunampah* 'Ampah people'), naming (e.g. *guruqmarlet* 'the teacher named Marletun') and material (e.g. *lewuqkayu* 'wooden house').

A noun phrase is not marked for referentiality, but referential NP can be deduced from the predicate with which it cooccurs. With an irrealis verb the unmarked NP is normally nonreferential, but with a realis verb it refers to a referential entity. Definite NP is marked by the determiner *yeruq* 'the' which is derived from the deictic *yeruq* 'that'. This determiner may also specify anaphoric entities. This function is frequently emphasized by the modifier *huniquen* 'aforementioned' (e.g. *ulunyeruqhuniquen* 'the aforementioned man'). The deictics *yeruq* 'that' and *yiti* 'this' may occur with a personal pronoun and a proper noun.

A relative clause has the structure relativizer *sa* + subjectless clause. It is used as a modifier of a noun or NP which is coreferential with the subject of the clause. This relativized NP or the NP<sub>rel</sub> specifies a class of objects, and as such must be non-specific; a definite NP may not occur as the NP<sub>rel</sub>. The position commonly relativized is the subject of the clause, except for the subject of an equational clause. Another position which has the potential to be relativized is the possessor of a genitive construction. In the RC the NP<sub>rel</sub> leaves a pronominal trace in the RC (e.g. *ulunsa lewuqni rakit* 'the man whose house was on fire').

Relativization of the possessor is used as a device for topicalizing this constituent. Other positions such as beneficiary, location and instrument are rarely relativized. If they are relativized at all, then like the possessor, they also leave a pronominal trace (e.g. *ulun sa ma hanye aku ngamiq duwit* 'the man to whom I gave some money'). In the NP construction involving a RC, the deictic must occur in final position.

Maanyan is a SVO language. Basic clause types are associated with sentences whose order of constituents is SVO. They convey neutral information. In the analysis of basic clause types we hold the view that the predicate dictates the accompanying arguments. The predicates are represented by verbs, adjectives and nominals. Each predicate type has its intrinsic selectional feature which in turn corresponds directly to the type of arguments it takes. The selectional features relevant to Maanyan are state, process, action, affected, benefactive, locative, instrumental, causative, reciprocal and reflexive. The feature [affected] is introduced in addition to Chafe's [process] on the basis that the patient of affected and that of process verbs are different. The former is the entity which is explicitly affected by the action designated by the verb, whereas the latter undergoes a change of state. Maanyan has four major basic clause types, each with its own subtypes. Table 11-2 illustrates the semantic structures of predicates, which in turn determine the basic clause types.

Non-basic clause types include passives, complementation and complex sentences. Maanyan has two types of passives, the canonical passives with the structure:

NP + na- verb + (AM) + NP  
P A

and the possessive-like passives with the structure:

NP + Ø-verb + genitive NP  
P A

Table 11-2: The Semantic Structure of Predicates

1. Stative clause type	
a. Adj. predicate	(P)
b. Nom. predicate	(P)
c. Existential verb predicate	(T,L)
	(L,T)
d. Perception/cognition predicate	(L,T)
2. Process clause type	
Process verb predicate	(P)
3. Affected clause type	
Affected verb predicate	(P,P)
4. Action clause type	
a. Intransitive verb predicate	(A)
b. Locative intransitive verb predicate	(A,L)
c. Action transitive verb predicate	(A,P)
d. Instrumental action transitive verb predicate	(A,P,I)
e. Locative action transitive verb predicate	(A,P,L)
f. Benefactive action transitive verb predicate	(A,P,B)
	(A=B,P)
g. Causative action transitive verb predicate	(A,P)
h. Reciprocal action transitive verb predicate	(A&P)
	(A&P,A&P)
i. Reflexive action transitive verb predicate	(A=P).

A passive construction is a device to put the patient of the clause in a salient position, a sort of topicalization, but the topic of a passive is weaker in degree than that of a cleft sentence. Passives are generally used to express eventive or non-durative events. They are thus incompatible with expressing habitual actions. They are also

used in imperative sentences. Maanyan imperatives are idiosyncratic in allowing the second person pronominal agent to be cliticized to the passive verb (e.g. alapnu waday yeruq 'please take those cookies').

Complementation is a construction that arises when a notional sentence or predication is an argument of a predicate. The predicate which may take a complement is called the complement-taking predicate (CTP). The semantics of a complementation are determined by the type of CTP. The complementation construction consists of a matrix clause and a complement. Unlike English the matrix may be subjectless. This phenomenon is motivated by the fact that a Maanyan ambient clause, included in basic clause type, may consist of only the ambient predicate. Subjectless matrix occurs, for instance, in a commentative complementation where the subject, functioning as one making the comment, is the speaker of the utterance. The complement can be S-like and subjectless.

S-like complements occur as:

- complements of propositional attitude predicates
- predicates of fearing
- desiderative predicates
- commentative predicates
- utterance predicates
- causative predicates
- cognition/perception predicates

Subjectless complements occur as:

- complements of implicative predicates
- desiderative predicates
- causative predicates
- phasal predicates
- pretence predicates.

Complex sentences are defined as sentences containing more than one

predicate. On the basis of the criteria embedding/non-embedding relation, and dependent/ independent relation, Maanyan has six clause junctures:

peripheral coordinate nexus

core coordinate nexus

peripheral subordinate nexus

core subordinate nexus

peripheral cosubordinate nexus

core subordinate nexus.

The nexus involving the nucleus is not obtained in Maanyan. It is typical non-configurational languages.

## REFERENCES

- Andrews, Avery. 1975. *Studies in the Syntax of Relative Clauses and Comparative Clauses*. Ph.D. Dissertation. MIT.
- 1985. 'The Major Functions of the Noun Phrase'. T. Shopen, ed., *Syntactic Typology and Linguistic Description*, vol. I:62-155. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Austin, J.L. 1962. *How to Do Things with Words*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Bergh, J.D. van den. 1967. *Inleiding tot de Bahasa Indonesia*, door Dr. M.G. Emeis, vierde druk, bewerkt door ----. Pro man.
- Bloomfield, Leonard. 1933. *Language*. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd.
- Chafe, Wallace L. 1970. *Meaning and the Structure of Language*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Comrie, Bernard. 1976. 'Syntax of Causative Construction: Cross Language Similarities and Divergencies'. Masayoshi Shibatani, ed., *Syntax and Semantics 6*: pp 261-312.
- Chung, Sandra. 1976a. 'An Object Creating Rule in Bahasa Indonesia'. *Linguistic Inquiry 7*: 41-87.
- 1976b. 'On the Subject of Two Passives in Indonesian'. *Linguistic Inquiry 7*:89-150.
- Dahl, Otto Chr. 1951. *Malgache et Maanyan: Une Comparaison Linguistique*. Oslo: Egede-Institute.
- Dardjowidjojo, Soenjono. 1967. *Indonesian Syntax*. Ph.D. Dissertation: Georgetown University.
- Denning, E. 1859. *Kitab 'sa Malanungkai wat Moses*. Banjarmasin: No publisher.
- Dioh, Immer. 1957. *Translator. Pengadjaran-Pengadjaran Baha'i Isaq* Kepertjajaan Dunia. Jakarta: Majelis Rohani Baha'i.
- Dixon, R.M.W. 1982. *Where Have All the Adjectives Gone? and Other Essays in Semantics and Syntax*. Berlin: Mouton Publisher.
- Fillmore, Charles J. 1968. 'The Case for Case'. Emmon Bach and Robert T. Harms, eds., *Universals in Linguistic Theory*: pp. 1-88. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Foley, William A. 1980. 'Toward a Universal Typology of the Noun Phrase'. *Studies in Language 4*: 171-199.
- Foley, William A. and Robert D. Van Valin, Jr. 1980. 'Role and Reference Grammar'. Edith A. Moravcsik and Jessica R. Wirth, eds., *Syntax and Semantics 13*: pp. 329-352.
- 1984. *Functional Syntax and Universal Grammar*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- 1985. 'Information Packaging in the Clause'. T. Shopen, ed.,  
Syntactic Typology and Linguistic Description, vol. I: pp. 282-  
363. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hamer, C. den. 1889. Proeve eener vergelijkende wordenlijst van zes in  
de Z.O. Afd. van Borneo voorkomende taaltakken. Tijdschrift voor  
Indische taal-, land- end volkunde. Batavia: No publisher.
- Harrison, Sheldon P. and Salich Y. Albert. 1976. Mokilese Reference  
Grammar. Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii.
- Hudson, Alfred B. 1967. The Barito Isolects of Borneo: A Classification  
Based on Comparative Reconstruction and Lexico Statistics. New  
York: Cornell University.
- 1972. Padju Epat: The Ma'anyan of Indonesian Borneo. New York:  
Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.
- Karttunen, Laurie. 1971. 'Implicative Verbs'. Language 47: pp. 340-359.
- Kawi, Djantera, et. al. 1980. Struktur Bahasa Maanyan. Jakarta: Pusat  
Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa.
- Keenan, Edward L. 1985. 'Relative Clauses'. T. Shopen, ed., Language  
Typology and Linguistic Description, vol. II: pp. 141-147.  
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 1985. 'Passive in the World's Languages'. T. Shopen, ed.,  
Syntactic Typology and Linguistic Description, vol. I: pp. 242-281.  
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Keenan, Edward L. and Bernard Comrie. 1977. 'Noun Phrase Accessibility  
and Universal Grammar'. Linguistic Inquiry 8: 63-99.
- Kiparsky, P. and C. Kiparsky. 1970. 'Fact'. M. Bierwisch, ed., Progress  
in Linguistics: pp. 143-173. The Hague: Mouton.
- Kirsner, R. and S.A. Thomson. 1976. 'The Role of Pragmatic Inference in  
Semantics: a Study of Sensory Verb Complements in English'. Glossa  
10: 200-240.
- Lyons, John. 1968. Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics. London:  
Cambridge University Press.
- 1977. Semantics, vol. II. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Munro, Pamela. 1982. 'On the Transitivity of 'Say' Verbs'. Paul J.  
Hopper and Sandra A. Thomson, eds., Syntax and Semantics 15: pp.  
301-318. New York: Academic Press.
- Nielson, L.F. Don and Alleen Pace Nielson. 1975. Semantic Theory: A  
Linguistic Perspective. Massachusetts: Newbury House Publisher, Inc.
- Noonan, Michael. 1985. 'Complementation'. T. Shopen, ed., Syntactic  
Typology and Linguistic Description, vol. I: pp. 42-140. Cambridge:  
Cambridge University Press.
- Noonan, Michael and Edith Bavin-Woock. 1978. 'The Passive Analog in  
Lango'. Berkeley Linguistics Society IV: 128:139. Berkeley:  
University of California.



- Olson, Michael. 1981. Barai Clause Junctures: Toward a Functional Theory of Interclausal Relations. Ph.D. Dissertation. Australian National University.
- Prentice, D.J. 1971. The Murut Languages of Sabah. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics, C-18.
- Rasik, Nyakau and Horman Ihur. 1960. Hukum Adat Dajak Maanjan. Tamiang Layang: Toko Boris.
- Ray, Sydney H. 1913. The Languages of Borneo. The Serawak Museum Journal, vol. I, No. 4.
- Schachter, Paul. 1985. 'Parts-of-Speech Systems'. T. Shopen, ed., Language Typology and Linguistic Description, vol. I: pp. 3-61. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schane, S.A. 1973. Generative Phonology. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.
- Shopen, Timothy, ed. 1985. Language Typology and Syntactic Description, I, II, III. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Silitonga, Mangasa. 1973. Some Rules on Reordering Constituences and Their Constraints in Batak. Ph.D Dissertation. The University of Illinois.
- Soemarmo, Marmo. 1975. 'The Illusive Simple Noun Phrases'. John W.M. Verhaar, ed., Miscellaneous Studies in Indonesian and Languages in Indonesia, Part I: pp.22-27. Jakarta: Badan Penyelenggara Seri NUSA.
- Sommerstein, H. Allan. 1977. Modern Phonology. London: Edward Arnold Ltd.
- Sorensen, H. 1959. Word Classes in English. Copenhagen.
- Stockwell, Robert P. 1977. Foundation of Syntactic Theory. Englewood Cliff: Prentice Hall.
- Stockwell, Robert P. et al. 1973. The Major Syntactic Structures of English. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.
- Sundermann, H. 1912. Dajakkische Fabeln und Erzählungen: Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nedelandsch-Indie. La Haye.
- Tampubolon, D.P. Verbal Affixations in Indonesian: A Semantic Exploration. Canberra: Department of Linguistics Reseach School of Pacific Studies. Australian National University.
- Vendler, Zeno. 1967. Philosophy in Linguistics. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Verhaar, John W.M. 1978. 'Some notes on the Verbal Passives in Indonesian' John W.M. Verhaar, ed., Miscellaneous Studies in Indonesian and Languages in Indonesia, Part V: pp. 11-19. Jakarta: Badan Penyelenggara Seri NUSA.

Weller, M.G. 1938. Soerat Sarita hengk Lengan Alatalla. Banjarmasin:  
no publisher.

Whorf. 1956. 'Some Verbal Categories in Hopi'. J. Carrol, ed.,  
Language, Thought, and Reality: pp. 112-124. Cambridge, Mass.:  
MIT Press.

Wierzbicka, Anne. 1980. *Lingua Mentalis*. Sydney: Academic Press.

Yamin, Muhammad. 1956. *Atlas Sejarah*. Jakarta: Djambatan.