A Grammar of Mualang: An Ibanic Language of Western Kalimantan, Indonesia

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Conventions and Abbreviations

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

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

CONTENTS

1   GENERAL INTRODUCTION

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

1.1   The speakers and their country

Mualang is a term that the people use to refer to themselves, the language they speak, and the land they dwell on. It is also used as an exonym. According to a legend (Paternus 2001:3), the name Mualang originates from the name of a person who died on the river which was then named after him, when the people of Mualang fled from *tem'away/tem'awang* 'the settlement' of *Tampun Juah*. The story of Tampun Juah[1] is a myth of origin well known among the people and shared also by surrounding ethnic groups. *Tampun Juah* was the place from where various related ethnic groups began to spread out, according to the story (see also Dunselman 1955:279). Dunselman mentioned that the location might be in the region of the Sai and Sekayam rivers, a bit further on the western side of the Mualang area.[2]

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Mualang area is located about 300 km upstream on the Kapuas River from Pontianak, the capital of West Kalimantan province. It can be reached by land and/or water. However, during the rainy season villages become inaccessible or hard to reach. Also in the dry season they are isolated and lack modern facilities and infrastructure. Much of the area is hilly with clay roads or trails that become flooded and slippery when it rains. People have to walk for hours between places and because transportation is expensive, many hardly ever travel out of their area. Many people even have never been in the capital city of the province. Electricity is only available in the capital towns of the *kecamatan*s, and even there only from evening till morning. A few people own a generator running a few hours in the evening to watch television. Only a few places have an elementary school, whereas higher education is found only in the capital towns of the *kecamatan*s. Balai Sepuak has a theological school at senior high school level, founded by missionaries. Some Mualang people have acquired higher education[6] and obtained various prominent positions in society (as teachers, university lecturers, medical doctors, priests, etc. – even, the present bishop of the Catholic Church of West Kalimantan is from downstream Mualang). A majority of the Mualang people have become Christians since the 1930's, with Catholics mostly in the Downstream area and members of the protestant *Gereja Kemah Injil Indonesia*, in the Upstream region.

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

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

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

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

Map 2: Main Mualang-speaking Area
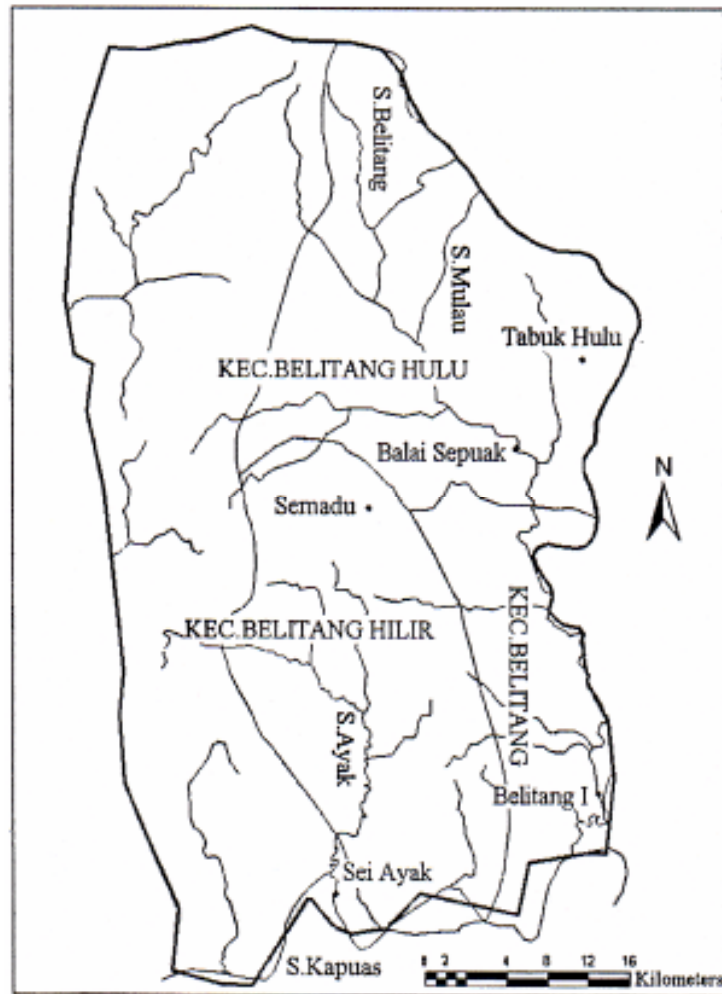
Note: Kab. = *kabupaten* (district); Kec. = *kecamatan* (subdistrict); S = *sungai* = river.

1.2 Daily life and culture

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

After harvest time, from May until June people celebrate the big *gaway* 'feast, festival' to thank God[9] for the harvest, thus, completing the yearly cultivation cycle. Food (pork and chicken cooked in bamboo and delicacies made of rice) is provided for guests who go from house to house. The harvest period is also a perfect time for *gaway balaki-bini* 'feast for marriage', during which several traditional ceremonies are still performed, such as *nuntung* (or *b(a)any'ung* as it is called in the Downstream area) 'picking up the bride by the groom at her place' and *b(a)ajar* 'giving advice (to the couple)'.

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

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

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[8] For further information on cultivation, see Drake (1982).
[9] Before Christianity replaced the traditional beliefs, the feast was dedicated to the god *Petara* and to other gods, such as *Puyang Gana* 'god of the land'.
[10] See Dunselman (1954, 1955, 1959a, b) for more details.
[11] Paternus (2001) documents traditional wickerwork and other artefacts. Drake (1988) describes textile weaving among the Mualang people in former times. I have not seen nor heard whether people are still practicing these handicrafts, but I did see traditional ornamented containers and hats being used.

1.3   Genetic affiliation

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.4 Sociolinguistic situation

1.4.1 Dialects

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

a) the downstream speakers have a relatively flat intonation, whereas speech in the upstream regions has more intonational "ups and downs";

b) high vowels in final open syllables are optionally lowered among the Upstream speakers (e.g. *kate* 'how'), whereas among Downstream speakers, they tend to remain high (e.g. *kati* 'how'). Other examples: *mate* vs. *mati* 'die', *bine* vs. *bini* 'wife'. It appears that speech style determines pronunciation in the Upstream variety;

c) postploded nasals and nasal preplosion are in general less audible or "lighter" in the downstream speech compared to those in the upstream pronunciation.

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

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

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

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

Meaning	Downstream	Upstream
'coconut scraper'	*bingkung*	*kelingkung*
'big pig'	*lang'u'*	*kelimpay*

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

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

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

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

1.4.2   Language in use

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

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

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

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

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

1.5   Previous studies

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

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

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

1.6   Aims and theoretical framework

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.7　　　　**Field methods and data base**

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

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

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

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

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

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

2   PHONOLOGY

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

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

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

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

2.1   Phoneme inventory

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

2.1.1   Consonant inventory

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

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

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

Table 2.1: Consonant phonemes

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

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

        /b/   vs   /m/   biɣah   k.o. (itchy and inedible) yam
                            miɣah   'red'
                            sabak   'to cry'
                            sama   'same'

		/w/	bayʔ	'to bring; to summon'
			way	'my!' (interjection)
			sabak	'to cry'
			sawaʔ	'python'
/m/	vs	/n/	maŋ(-maŋ)	'suddenly'
			naŋ	'don't!'
			lamaʔ	'long (of time)'
			anak	'child'
			lam	'morning'
			dan	'branch (of a tree)'
/t/	vs	/d/	tua	'we' (2d.incl.)
			dua	'two'
			ituŋ	'to count'
			iduŋ	'nose'
		/s/	tamaʔ	'to enter; deep wound'
			sama	'same'
			ntiʔ	'if'
			nsia	'human being'
			mit	'small'
			mis	'be finished'
		/c/	taɣik	'to pull'
			caɣik	'be torn apart'
			panti	'thin bridge made of trunk or board'
			paɲci	'beautiful'
/d/	vs	/n/	diʔ	'you' (2s.fem.)
			niʔ	'grandmother' (vocative)
			aday	'to exist'
			inay	'mother'
		/l/	dawun	'leaf, vegetable'
			lawun	'slow'
			padam	'off (of light)'
			malam	'night'
/n/	vs	/l/	nam	'six'
			lam	'morning'
			iniʔ	'grandmother'
			iliʔ	'downstream'
			akan	'son in law'
			akal	'mind'
		/ŋ/	nak	'child' (vocative)
			ŋaʔ	'to let, stop there'

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

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

2.1.2   Vowel inventory

Table 2.2 displays the four vowels available in Mualang.

	front	central	back
high	i		u
mid		ə	
low		a	

Table 2.2: Vowel phonemes

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

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

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

2.2   Segmental Phonology

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

2.2.1   Consonants

2.2.1.1   Stops

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

/p/   [p]   voiceless bilabial stop

          /pia?/   [pia?] ~ [piya?]   'so, like that'
          /apa/   [apa]   'what?'

          [p˺]   unreleased in word final position
          /idup/   [idʊp˺] ~ [idop˺]   'live, alive'

/t/   [t]   voiceless apico-dental stop

          /tampak/   [tampak˺]   'bright'
          /kitu?/   [kitɔ?]   'hither'

          [t˺]   unreleased in word final position
          /jat/   [jat˺]   'bad'

/c/   [c]   voiceless alveopalatal stop

          /cəlap/   [cəlap˺]   'cold'
          /paɲci/   [paɲci]   'beautiful'

/k/   [k]   voiceless dorso-velar stop

          /kiba?/   [kiba?]   'left'
          /pakay/   [pakay]   'eat'

          [k˺]   unreleased in word final position
          /buk/   [bʊk˺] ~ [bɔk˺]   'hair'

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

          /kisah/ [kisah] ~ /gisah/ [gisah]   'story'
          /kumpul/ [kumpol] ~ /gumpul/ [gumpol]   'to   gather,   have   a
                                                     church service'

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

          /ta-kalah/   [təkalah] ~ [təgalah]   'be able to defeat,
                                                      defeatable'
          /da-kumay/   [dakumãy] ~ [dagumãy] 'be called'

/ʔ/   [ʔ]   voiceless glottal stop

           /gigaʔ/   [gigaʔ]   'to look for'
           /agiʔ/   [agɛʔ]   'again, still'

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

/b/   [b]   voiced bilabial stop

           /bulaʔ/   [bulaʔ]   'to lie'
           /abaʔ/   [abaʔ]   'to follow; and; with'

/d/   [d]   voiced apico-alveolar stop[3]

           /datay/   [datay]   'to come'
           /duduk/   [dudɔk˺]   'to sit'

/j/   [j]   voiced alveopalatal stop

           /jaɣi/   [jaɣi]   'arm'
           /ujan/   [ujaᵗn] ~ [ujan] 'rain'

/g/   [g]   voiced dorso-velar stop

           /guʔ/   [gɔʔ]   'sound'
           /bagas/   [bagas]   'handsome'

2.2.1.2   Nasals

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

2.2.1.2.1   *Plain Nasals*

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

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[3] Once in extremely rapid speech, I heard /d/ occasionally pronounced as a flap [ɾ], as in /ti dabayʔ/ [teɾəbayʔ] 'which is brought'.
[4] See for example, McGinn (1982) on Rejang and Blust (1997) for Borneo languages.

/m/	[m]	voiced bilabial nasal	

/malam/	[mãlaᵖm] ~ [mãlam]	'night'
/mpu/	[mpu]	'have'
/amat/	[amãtˀ]	'true; very; although'
/lam/	[laᵖm] ~ [lam]	'morning'

/n/	[n]	voiced apico-alveolar nasal	

/nama/	[nãmã]	'name'
/ntiʔ/	[ntɛʔ]	'if'
/anak/	[anãkˀ]	'child'
/laban/	[labaᵗn] ~ [laban]	'enemy'

/ɲ/	[ɲ]	voiced alveopalatal nasal	

/ɲaw/	[ɲãw]	'to die; already'; perfect marker
/paɲay/	[paɲãy]	'long'

/ŋ/	[ŋ]	voiced dorso-velar nasal	

/ŋaw/	[ŋãw]	'to use; for; with'
/ŋkadah/	[ŋkadah]	'to face (up)'
/mualaŋ/	[mũãlaᵏŋ] ~ [mũãlaŋ]	Mualang

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

[mũlʊt] 'lips'   [ɲãwã] 'mouth'

[+nasal]   [+nasal]

Some examples:

/nəma/	[nə̃mã]	'because'
/mayuh/	[mãyõh]	'many, much'
/bəŋawan/	[bəŋãwãᵗn] ~ [bəŋãwãn]	Bengawan

| /nuʔ ia/ | [nɔ̃ʔ ĩã] | '(it) belongs to him/her' |
| /pəN-jawuh ah/ | [pəɲãwõh ãh] | (NOM.far-*ah*) 'the distance, for sure' |

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

/gənap/	[gənãp̚] ~ [gənãmᵖ] ~ [gənãm]	'even, not less or more'
/mit/	[mĩt̚] ~ [mĩnᵗ̚] ~ [mĩn]	'small'
/nak/	[nãk̚] ~ [nãŋᵏ̚] ~ [nãŋ][5]	'kid' (vocative)

Consequently, a word final $[N_1 \tilde{v} N_2]$ (in which N_1 and N_2 are (identical) nasal consonants) may be the realization of $/N_1 V N_2/$ or of /N V C/ (in which C is /p, t/, or /k/); but only in the latter case it alternates with the realizations [N ṽ C] and $[N_1 \tilde{v} N_2 C]$.

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

The so-called final preploded nasals [ᵖm], [ᵗn], and [ᵏŋ] occur optionally in the following environment:

/C V N/   →   [C V N] ~ [C V ᶜN]

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

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[5] This latter realization is the only possible realization of /naŋ/ 'don't!'.

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

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

/malam/	[mã.la^{p}m] ~ [mã.lam]	'night'
/kayin/	[ka.yí^{t}n] ~ [ká.yɪn]	'clothes'
/ujuŋ/	[u.jo^{k}ŋ] ~ [u.joŋ]	'tip; end'

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

/tuhan/	[tu.han] ~ [tu.ha^{t}n] ~ [tu.hatn]	'Lord'
	→ increasing air pressure	

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

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

Preplosion also occurs in borrowings, e.g.:

[pəɣaturan] ~ [pəɣatura^{t}n]	'rules' (from Indonesian *peraturan*)
[pəsətujuan] ~ [pəsətujuwa^{t}n]	'agreement' (from Indonesian *persetujuan*)

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

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

---

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

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

2.2.1.2.2   *Postploded Nasals*

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

/tim'ak/	[ti.mᵇak˺]	'to shoot'
/in'uʔ/	[i.nᵈɔʔ]	'female, mother (of animals)'
/tuɲ'uk/	[tu.ɲʲɔk˺]	'finger, point finger, to point'
/tiŋ'iʔ/	[ti.ŋᵍɛʔ]	'tall, high'

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

/man'iʔ/	[ma.nᵈɛʔ] ~ *[ma.nᵈɛ̃ʔ]	'take a bath'
/tin'uk/	[ti.nᵈɔk˺] ~ *[ti.nᵈɔ̃k]	'to sleep'
/tim'ak/	[ti.mᵇak˺] ~ *[ti.mᵇãk˺]	'shoot'
/kan'uŋ/	[ka.nᵈɔᵏŋ]	'female, mother (of animals)'
/aɲ'uŋ/	[a.ɲʲɔᵏŋ]	'finger, point finger, to point'
/piŋ'an/	[pi.ŋᵍaᵗn]	'tall, high'

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

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

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

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

/kəmih/ [kə.mɛ̃h] 'urinate' vs. /(kə) m'ih/ [(kə) mᵇɛh]   '(to)   you (2s.masc)'

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

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

| /im'iɣ/ | [i.mᵇɛɣ] ~ [i.mɛɣ] | 'bucket' (cf. Indonesian *ember*) |
| /san'al/ | [sa.nᵈal] ~ [sa.nal] | 'sandal' (cf. Indonesian *sandal*) |

2.2.1.3   Fricatives

/s/   [s]   voiceless grooved alveolar fricative

/sampay/	[sampay]	'to arrive; until'
/asu/	[asu]	'to hunt'
/panus/	[panṵs]	'short'

---

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

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

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

/ɣ/   [ɣ]   voiced velar fricative

/ɣəmpah/	[ɣəmpah]	'side dish'
/daɣuŋ/	[daɣɔᵏŋ] ~ daɣɔŋ]	'valley'
/sabaɣ/	[sabaɣ]	'fence for trapping fish'

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

/h/   [h]   voiceless glottal fricative

/padah/	[padah]	'to say, to tell'
/ɣuɣuh/	[ɣuɣɔh]	'to fall'

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

2.2.1.4   Lateral

/l/   [l]   voiced apico-alveolar lateral

/labuh/	[labɔh]	'to fall'
/alam/	[alaᵖm] ~ [alam]	'inside'
/bakal/	[bakal]	'wound'

2.2.1.5   Approximants

/w/   [w]   voiced bilabial approximant
/y/   [y]   voiced palatal approximant

/wan/	[wan]	'you' (2s.hon)
/gaway/	[gaway]	'feast'
/inaw/	[inãw]	'to look for'
/kaya/	[kaya]	'loud'
/naday/	[nãday]	'no, not'

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

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

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

/kəliaʔ/	[kəliaʔ] ~ [kəliyaʔ]	'previous time'
/ɣiu/	[ɣiu] ~ [ɣiyu]	'to long for'
/sium/	[sium] ~ [siyʊm] ~ [siyʊᵖm]	'to kiss'

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

/bayik/	[bayɛkˀ]	'good, beautiful'
/kayit/	[kayɪtˀ]	'to hook'
/ɡawuk/	[ɡawɔk]	'to long for'
/jawuh/	[jawɔh]	'far'
/duwit/	[duwɪtˀ]	'money'
/bəɣuwiʔ/	[bəɣuwɛʔ]	k.o. bird

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

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

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

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

2.2.2   Vowels

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

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

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

/i/ is realized as follows:

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

/u/ is realized as follows:

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

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

/iniʔ/	[inɛ̃ʔ]	'grandmother'
/bini/	[binĩ]	'wife'
/intu/	[intu]	'to take care of, to look after'
/kiaɣaʔ/	[kiaɣaʔ]	'banyan tree'
/ulun/	[ulʊᵗn] ~ [ulʊn]	'slave'
/dua/	[dua] ~ [duwa]	'two'
/unsay/	[unsay]	'to sprinkle'

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

/m'ih/	[mᵇɛh]	'you (2s.masc)'
/pən'iŋ/	[pənᵈɛᵏŋ]	'ear; to eardrop'
/bayik/	[bayɛk]	'good; beautiful'
/pikiɣ/	[pikɛɣ]	'to think'
/tikiʔ/	[tikɛʔ]	'to climb, to descend'
/buk/	[bɔk]	'hair'
/labuh/	[labɔh]	'to fall'
/lamuɣ/	[lamɔ̃ɣ]	'sunset sky'
/tuʔ/	[tɔʔ]	'this'
/gusuŋ/	[gusɔᵏŋ]	'to follow, to meet'
/ukuy/	[ukoy]	'dog'
/uy/	[oy]	'hay!' (interjection)

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

/idup/	[idʊp]	'to live, alive'
/cukup/	[cukʊp]	'enough'
/mit/	[mĩt]	'small'
/sawut/	[sawʊt]	'to reply'
/musim/	[mũsɪm]	'season'
/sium/	[siʊm]	'to kiss'
/kin/	[kɪᵗn]	'thither (far)'
/səŋkit/	[səŋkɪt]	'usual'
/ɲun/	[ɲõn]	'that far away'
/amis/	[amĩs]	'be finished'
/jəbul/	[jəbʊl]	'bottle'
/panus/	[panõs]	'short'
/kayil/	[kayɪl]	'fish hook; to fish'
/gumpul/	[gumpʊl]	'to gather; church service'

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

/səŋkit/	[səŋket]	'usual'
/idup/	[idop]	'to live, alive'
/kin/	[ken] ~ [keᵗn]	'thither (far)'
/amis/	[amẽs]	'be finished'
/jəbul/	[jəbol]	'bottle'
/gumpul/	[gumpol]	'to gather; church service'

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

/bini/	[binĩ] ~ [binẽ]	'wife'
/mati/	[mati] ~ [mate]	'to die'
/kati/	[kati] ~ [kate]	'how'
/tunu/	[tunũ] ~ [tunõ]	'to burn'
/jəlu/	[jəlu] ~ [jəlo]	'animal'

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

/ə/   [ə]   mid central unrounded vowel

/kəmih/   [kəmɛ̃h]   'urinate'
/təpayan/   [təpayaᵗn] ~ [təpayan] 'jar'

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

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

/pətataw/   [pətataw] ~ [patataw] 'riddle'
/gəɣamaʔ/   [gəɣamã̄ʔ] ~ [gaɣamã̄ʔ] 'crab'
/pətaɣa/   [pətaɣa] ~ [pataɣa]   'deity'

/a/   [a]   low central unrounded vowel

/amuʔ/   [amɔ̃ʔ]   'plan'
/alam/   [alaᵖm] ~ [alam]   'inside'
/diŋa/   [diŋã̄]   'hear'

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

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

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

2.2.2.1   Vowel sequences

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

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

2.2.2.2   Status of diphthongs

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

/naday/	[nãday]	'no, not'
/isaw/	[isaw]	'machete'
/ukuy/	[ukoy]	'dog'

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

a)   The occurrence of such segments is restricted to word-final position. And, if we consider the overall syllable structure of the language, the CVC sequence is dominant, especially at word-final position. A random sample of 1500 words showed that 76% of the words ended in (C)VC, 15% in (C)V, and 9% in a vowel plus a glide. These figures favor a VC interpretation rather than a diphthong interpretation for *ay*, *aw* and *uy*.

b)   A qualitative argument is the fact that both segments are fully articulated. That is, monophthongization, a process frequently encountered with diphthongs, appears to be exceptional. Thus far I have only encountered two cases where *ay* optionally becomes [i, ɪ, e]: [tay] ~ [ti, tɪ, te] (relativizer) and [utay] ~ [utey, uti, utɪ, ute] 'thing'. This is in line with the idea that Mualang predominantly displays fortition.[18]

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

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

2.2.2.3   Curious clusters

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

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

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

a)   phonetically the sequences [aw] and [ay] before [ʔ] sound similar to final [aw] and [ay] without a following glottal stop, such as in /kətaw/ 'to harvest', /bədaw/ 'not yet', and /jalay/ 'road';

b)   the duration of words like /awʔ/, /bayʔ/, and /tawʔ/, differs less from the duration of a regular CVC syllable than from a bisyllabic sequence CVVC;

c)   Analysis of [awʔ] ~ [auʔ] and [ayʔ] ~ [aiʔ] as /auʔ/, /aiʔ/ would be at variance with the finding that a high vowel before a posterior consonant is lowered, and that there are no (other) sequences /a/ and a high vowel without an intervening glide.

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

The final segment cluster /-uyʔ/ has not been found. However, the form [bəɣuwɛʔ] (/bəɣuwiʔ/) 'k.o. bird' exists.

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

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

2.3   **Syllable and root structure**

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

   The only complex word-final CC cluster that exists in the language consists of an approximant w or y followed by a glottal stop such as in *bayʔ* 'bring', *tawʔ* 'know, can, may' (cf. section 2.2.2.3. above). The complex word initial cluster CC, however, may be a plain nasal followed by a homorganic voiceless stop mp, nt, ɲc, ŋk or a plain nasal n followed by a fricative ns. Therefore, below I will use the frame $(N)(C_1)V(C_2)$ as a basic syllable structure, where N represents a nasal consonant, C_1 a non-nasal consonant if preceded by a nasal, or otherwise – like C_2 - any consonant. The nasal – voiceless obstruent appears in word-initial and –medial position, e.g.:

mpat	'four'
ntiʔ	'if'
ɲcik	'tiny'
ŋkadah	'to face up'
nsana	'the day before yesterday'
ampiɣ	'almost'
antu	'supernatural being, ghost'
paɲci	'beautiful'
ɣaŋkay	'dry'
pansaʔ	'pass'

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

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

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

Monosyllabic roots:

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

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[20] There is no heterorganic cluster across syllable boundaries, thus e.g. *bunsu* 'youngest born', not **buŋsu*, as in Malay.

NCVC	ntiʔ	'if'
VCC	awʔ	'yes'
CVCC	bayʔ	'to bring'

Disyllabic roots:

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

Trisyllabic roots:

CV.V.CV	kuali	'cooking pan'
CV.V.CVC	kiaɣaʔ	'banyan tree'
CV.CV.V	kəmua	2d.excl.
CV.CV.VC	bəɣuaŋ	'bear'
CV.CV.CV	səgala	'all kinds'
CV.CV.CVC	gəɣamaʔ	'crab'
CV.CVN.CV	səmanta	'randomly'
CV.CVN.CVC	kəlampuʔ	k.o. tree
CVN.CV.V	mənsia	'human'
CVC.CV.CV	gəɣgasi	'name of a ghost'
CVN.CV.CVC	səŋkukuɣ	Sengkukur (name of person)
NCV.CV.CVC	mpəɣəcit	'to squirt'

Quadrisyllabic roots:

CV.CV.CV.VC	pəɣəkuan	'wrist'
CV.CV.CV.VC	kələmpətan	'backside of knee'
CV.CVC.CV.VC	kələnsuaŋ	'to starve'
CV.CVC.CV.CVC	kəlampəpat	'firefly'

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

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

(N) C_1 ə C_2 V (C_3) →   (N) C_1 C_2 V (C_3)

This pattern shows that a schwa may be deleted when being in between consonants in which C_1 is less sonorous than C_2, except when C_1 is a fricative *s*. This is in line with the so-called sonority hierarchy (e.g. Hooper 1976) in the syllable structure. Hooper proposes a scale of sonority from vowels as the most sonorous, followed by glides, liquids, nasals, continuants and finally plosives as the least sonorous. A complete list of possible derived clusters is as follows (the spelling of examples is phonemic):

pn'	pn'iŋ	'ear'
mpl	mpliaw	'(tail-less) gibbon'
pɣ	pɣaw	'proa'
tl	tlaɲ'aŋ	'nude'
tɣ	tɣay	'to try'
cl	clap	'cold'
cɣ	cɣita	'story'
kb	kban	'kind'
km	kmih	'to urinate'
kn	kniŋ	'eyebrow'
ks	ksay	'very dry'
kɣ	kɣan	'to like, often'
kl	klat	'taste of astringent'
ŋkɣ	ŋkɣaŋan	'sand'
bn	bnih	'seed'
bs	bsay	'big'
bɣ	bɣam	'sweet traditional alcohol made of sticky rice'
bl	blutuk	k.o. *rambutan* fruit
dɣ	dɣas	'fast'
jɣ	jɣamiʔ	'former field that has been harvested and left to grow'
jl	jlu	'animal'

---

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

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

Some clusters occur frequently due to the fact that they are easy to pronounce. In these clusters, syncopation occurs relatively independent of speech tempo, while also some of the clusters seem to be considered as genuine consonant clusters by native speakers rather than reduced syllables. Examples of these are *mpliaw* '(tail-less) gibbon', *pɣaw* 'proa'. A few such clusters occur at syllable boundary, initiated by the fricatives /s/ and /ɣ/, e.g.: /pəsta/ 'feast', /bəɣsih/ 'clean', /bəɣkat/ 'blessing', /təɣbay/ 'to fly', /kəɣja/ 'to work', /gəɣgasi/ 'name of a ghost'. As the examples *mpliaw* and *ŋkraŋan* show, even sequences of three consonants occur when a root already contains a sequence nasal—voiceless stop, hence $NC_1C_2V_2$; another example is /mplawak/ 'spider'. In such cases the nasal either becomes syllabic or is less manifested.

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

2.4   Stress

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

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

(2-4) *jadi, kisah uɣaŋ tuay N-padah mənua tuʔ*
       So   story person old   ACT-say world this

       *da-təmpaʔ **buɣuŋ təmpaʔ**. ntiʔ masa tuʔ mah,*
       PASS-forge Bird   Forge   if   time this *mah*

       ***tuhan** tay N-pulah dunia.*
       Lord   REL ACT-make world
       'Thus, the story of the older people says that this world was forged by the Forging Bird. (But) now (we know), it was GOD who made the world.'

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

(2-5)   ***tuhan ŋa-tawʔ,   tuhan   ŋa-tawʔ**.*
        Lord ACT-know Lord   ACT-know
        'God knows, God knows.'

    Different intonational patterns conveying different overtones (e.g. emotion, expectation, etc.) also trigger shift of word stress. For instance, an ultimate stress on [nadáy] 'no, not' is likely to occur in a neutral situation, whereas penultimate stress expresses the speaker's strong rejection.
    Especially in quadrisyllabic words, the main stress is clearly penultimate with a secondary stress on the initial syllable. Primary stress and secondary stress differ in intensity. In the following examples of default stress patterns (`) marks secondary stress and (´) primary stress:

<div style="padding-left:3em">

təmpáʔ	'to forge'
úma	'dry rice field'
kəmúa	2d.excl.
pətátaw	'riddle'

</div>

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

suáyak	'divorce'
tòbəlían	'ironwood'
kùaŋkákuk	sound made by a particular bird (onomatopoeia)

2.5   **Morphophonemics**

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

2.5.1   **Alternation of vowel segments in prefixes and prepositions**

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

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

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

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

[24] See Chapter 5 for a description of the prepositions.

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

/pəN- + pakay/   [pəmãkay] ~ [pamãkay] (NOM-eat) 'food'
/sə- + sənti/   [/səsənti] ~ [sasənti] (ONE-centimeter) 'a
                                                  centimeter'
/tə- + tin'uk/   [tətin^duk] ~ [tatin^duk] (MID-sleep) 'fall a sleep'
/ŋə- + taw?/   [ŋə̄-taw?] ~ [ŋãtaw?] (ACT-know) 'know'

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

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

2.5.2   Vowel deletion

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

V → ∅   /C__ + V   /da- + am'i?/   [dam^bɛ?]   (PASS-take) 'be taken'
                      /pə- + uma/   [pumã]   (CAUS-rice.field) 'cultivate
                                                    (land) as a rice field'
                      /ba- + inum/   [binõm]   (ANPAS-drink) 'have a
                                                     drink'
                      /sə- + aɣi/   [saɣi]   (ONE-day) 'a day'

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

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

            /s- + uti?/   [sutɛ?]   (ONE-CLASS) 'a/one
                                        long-shaped entity'
            /s- + igi?/   [sigɛ?]   (ONE-CLASS) 'a/one
                                        round-shaped entity'
            /s- + iku?/   [sikɔ?]   (ONE-CLASS) 'a/one
                                        animate entity'

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

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

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

V → ∅	/ C__ + C	/ba- + ɣan'aw/	[bɣanᵈaw]	(ANPAS-visit) 'have a visit, play around'	
		/pəɣ- + ati/	[pɣati]	(CAUSE-heart) 'to pay attention to'	
		/ŋə- + lalin/	[ŋlalɪn]	(ACT-plait) 'plait'	
		/sə- + bilik/	[sbilɛk]	(ONE-room) 'one room'	

2.5.3   Glottal stop insertion

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

∅ → ʔ	/ CV __ + V	/ba- + uma/	[bəʔumā]	(ANPAS-rice.field) 'work in the rice field'
		/da- + am'iʔ/	[dəʔamᵇɛʔ]	(PASS-take) 'be taken'
		/da- + intu/	[dəʔintu]	(PASS-take.care) 'be taken care of'

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

2.5.4   Nasal assimilation in *N*-prefixation

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

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[26] In other positions an approximant is optionally inserted (see the "approximant insertion" in 2.2.1.5).
[27] One anomalous form shows no post-assimilation obstruent deletion, namely: *m-bela* 'ACT-defense'. This is clearly a case of Indonesian influence, in which the base *bela* (with the non-native *e*) is still considered a foreign word.

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

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

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

N→n/__	$\begin{Bmatrix} t \\ d \end{Bmatrix}$	/N- + tunu/	→	/nunu/	[nũnũ]	'burn'
		/N- + diŋa/	→	/niŋa/	[nĩŋã]	'hear'
		/pə(N)- + tin'uk/	→	/pənin'uk/	[pənĩn^dɔk]	'bed'
		/pə(N)- + duduk/	→	/pənuduk/	[pənũdɔk]	'sitting place'

N→m/__	$\begin{Bmatrix} p \\ b \end{Bmatrix}$	/N- + pasaw/	→	/masaw/	[mãsaw]	'set up'
		/N- + bunuh/	→	/munuh/	[mũnɔ̃h]	'kill'
		/pə(N)- + pakay/	→	/pəmakay/	[pəmãkay]	'food'
		/pə(N)- + bəsay/	→	/pəməsay/	[pəmɔ̃say]	'size'

N→ɲ/__	$\begin{Bmatrix} j \\ s \end{Bmatrix}$	/N- + juaʔ/	→	/ɲuaʔ/	[ɲũãʔ]	'give'
		/N- + sabak/	→	/ɲabak/	[ɲãbak˺]	'cry'
		/pə(N)- + jawuh/	→	/pəɲawuh/	[pəɲãwɔ̃h]	'distance'
		/pə(N)- + sakit/	→	/pəɲakit/	[pəɲãkɪt]	'sickness'

N→ŋ/__	$\begin{Bmatrix} k \\ g \end{Bmatrix}$	/N- + kampuɣ/	→	/ŋampuɣ/	[ŋãmpɔɣ]	'chat'
		/N- + gusuŋ/	→	/ŋusuŋ/	[ŋũsɔ^kŋ]	'chase'
		/pə(N)- + kawut/	→	/pəŋawut/	[pəŋãwʊt]	'scoop'
		/pə(N)- + gaga/	→	/pəŋaga/	[pəŋãga]	'gladness'

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

N→ɲ/__ c	/N- + cuɣi/	→	/ɲcuɣi/	[ɲcuɣi]	'steal'
	/pə(N)- + cuɣi/	→	/pəɲcuɣi/	[pəɲcuɣi]	'thief'

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

N→ŋ/__ V	/N- + iliʔ/	→	/ŋiliʔ/	[ŋĩlɛʔ]	'go downstream'
	/N- + ukuɣ/	→	/ŋukuɣ/	[ŋũkɔɣ]	'measure'
	/N- + apa/	→	/ŋapa/	[ŋãpa]	'why?'

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

/pə(N)- + ipaʔ/   →   /pəŋĩpaʔ/   [pəŋĩpaʔ]   'place of peeking'

/pə(N)- + umpan/ →   /pəŋumpan/   [pəŋūmpaᵗn]'food'

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

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

N→ŋə/__ ⎰ N ⎱   /N- + maʔ/   →   /ŋəmaʔ/   [ŋɔ̃mã̃ʔ]   'carry on the back'
          ⎨ ɣ ⎬
          ⎩ l ⎭   /N- + ŋaʔ/   →   /ŋəŋaʔ/   [ŋɔ̃ŋã̃ʔ]   'let go'
                    /N- + lalin/   →   /ŋəlalin/   [ŋɔ̃lalɪᵗn]   'weave'
                    /N- + ɣawut/   →   /ŋəɣawut/   [ŋɔ̃ɣawʊtˀ]   'to scrape (with a knife)'

                    /pə(N)- + maʔ/   →   /pəŋəmaʔ/   [pəŋɔ̃mã̃ʔ]   'backpack'
                    /pə- + luah/   →   /pəluah/   [pəluah]   'size'
                    /pə- + ɣarɣ/   →   /pəɣaɣi/   [pəɣaɣi]   '(the) run'

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

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

2.5.4.1   Nasal assimilation in partial reduplication

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

/pə(N)- + bəsay/ + RED   →   /pəməsay-məsay/   'very big size'
/pə(N)- + paɲay/+ RED   →   /pəmaɲay-maɲay/   'very great length'
/pə(N)- + tiŋ'iʔ/ + RED   →   /pəniŋ'iʔ-niŋ'iʔ/   'very great height'
/pə(N)- + jawuh/ + RED   →   /pəɲawuh-ɲawuh/   'very great distance'

2.5.4.2   Problem of *ŋəN*- form

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

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

Roots	*N*-prefixation	Forms occurring with *da*-passive / inverse voice
bayʔ 'to bring'	*ŋə-mayʔ*	*da-bayʔ* / *bayʔ* (not **kə-bayʔ*)
jat 'bad'	*pəŋə-ɲat* 'badness'	
buah 'fruit'	*ŋə-muah* 'look for/collect fruit'	No form **kəbuah*
jabaw 'bamboo shoots'	*ŋə-ɲabaw* 'collect bamboo shoots'	No form **kəjabaw*
bulaʔ 'to cheat s.o.'	*ŋə-mulaʔ*	*da-kə-bulaʔ* / *kə-mulaʔ*
jadi 'to become'	*ŋə-ɲadi* 'make to become s.t.'	*da-kə-ɲadi* (*da-kə-jadi* (?))
duduk 'to sit'	*ŋə-nuduk* 'make s.o. sit'	(?)
bəsay 'big'	*ŋə-məsay* 'make bigger'	*bəsay, kə-bəsay, kə-məsay*
cf. *panus* 'short'	*manus* 'make s.t. shorter'	*panus*
tiŋ'iʔ 'tall, high'	*ŋə-niŋ'iʔ* or *niŋ'iʔ* 'make higher'	*tiŋ'iʔ* (not **kə-tiŋ'iʔ*)

Compare also the following forms:

tawʔ 'to know'	*ŋə-tawʔ* (not **ŋənawʔ*) 'know s.t.'	*da-kə-tawʔ* (not **da-tawʔ*) cf. *kə-tawʔ* (INCH-know) 'get caught'
labuh 'to fall'	*ŋə-labuh* 'make s.t. fall'	*da-labuh, da-kə-labuh*

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

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[29] We can see a similar case in some other seemingly frozen forms with other prefixes, e.g.: *banucuʔ* (*ba-n-ucuʔ* =ANPAS-N-grandchild) 'have a grandparent-grandchild family relationship'; *kəminaŋ* (*kə-N-pinaŋ* =NOM-N-betel nut) 'ingredients (betel nut, betel and lime (from shell)) for chewing'; *kəmansay* (*kə-N-pansay* =NOM-N-scoop) 'rattan fish scoop'.

2.5.5   Alternate forms of prefixes and prepositions

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

2.5.5.1   Antipassive *ba-*

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

2.5.5.2   Passive *da-*

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

2.5.5.3   Middle *tə-*

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

2.5.5.3   Causative *pə-*

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

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

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

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

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

2.5.5.3 Preposition *da*

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

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

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

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

2.6 Orthography

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

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

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

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

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

3 THE LEXICON

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

3.1 Morphological units

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

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

    A separate category of *particles* has to be distinguished in Mualang. Phonologically, particles are similar to words in that they carry a primary stress in careful speech. However, they cannot have the status of a full word due to their obligatory co-occurrence and sometimes fusion with another word. The *illocutionary markers* (see 9.4 in Chapter 9) such as *bada'* in (3-1) behave in such a way. Conjunctions (e.g. *isa'* 'so that', *keba'* 'therefore'), aspect and modality markers (e.g. *nyaw* 'perfect marker', *tengan* 'progressive marker'), and prepositions (e.g. *ari* 'from', *upa* 'as, like') also show characteristics of particles.
    A *clitic*, like an affix, does not bear stress. However, a clitic differs from an *affix* in that it functions beyond the word level, that is, at phrase level. By definition, then, some prepositions, such as *da* and *ka* (see 2.5 in Chapter 2), can be treated as clitics.

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

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

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

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

3.2   Morphological processes

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

3.2.1   Prefixation

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

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

3.2.2   Reduplication

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

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

3.2.3 Compounding

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

3.3 Word classes

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

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

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

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

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

In the following, word classes discussed individually.

3.3.1   Nouns

3.3.1.1   Semantic properties

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

3.3.1.2   Syntactic properties

The main syntactic distributional characteristics of nouns are that:

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

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

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

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

> *da*   *utan*
> LOC   forest
>
> 'in the forest'

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

> *rumah*   *aki'*
> house   grandfather
>
> 'grandfather's house'

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

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

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

> *manuk*   *tu'*
> chicken   this
>
> 'this chicken'

3.3.1.3   Morphological properties

3.3.1.3.1   Derivational morphology: nominalization

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

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

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

3.3.1.4   Subclasses of nouns

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

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

3.3.1.4.1   Proper names

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

3.3.1.4.2   Pronouns

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

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

Table 3.1 Pronouns

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

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

Second person

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

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

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

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

Third person

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

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

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

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

Reflexive *diri'*

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

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

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

Indefinite pronouns

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.3.1.4.3   Terms of address

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

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

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

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

aki' (short form: *ki'*) 'grandfather' is primarily used by an *ucu'* 'grandchild' to his/her grandfather. Outside the family circle it is also used to address a man (approximately above 50 years old) who is or appears to be (relatively) much older than the speaker.
ini' (*ni'*) 'grandmother' is the gender opposite of *aki'*.
ucu' (*cu'*) 'grandchild' is the age opposite of *aki'* and *ini'*.
apay (*pay*) 'father'.[9]
inay (*nay*) 'mother' is the gender opposite of *apay*.
apa' (*pa'*) is used to address one's father-in-law. Outside the family circle it is also used towards a male sufficiently older than the speaker, but not old enough to be called *aki'*.
ibu' (*bu'*) is the gender opposite of *apa'*.

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

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

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[8] Separate detailed research is necessary for a comprehensive survey of the use of the various terms of address.
[9] In the Downstream district, *mpay* is more common for both forms.

3.3.2   Verbs

3.3.2.1   Semantic properties

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

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

3.3.2.2   Syntactic properties

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

3.3.2.3   Morphological properties

3.3.2.3.1   Voice marking

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

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

3.3.2.3.2   Derivational morphology

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

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

3.3.3   Adverbs

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

3.3.4   Quantifiers

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

3.3.4.1   Numerals

For counting in Mualang the following cardinal numerals are used:

satu, sa'   1
dua   2
tiga   3
mpat   4
lima'   5
nam   6
tujuh   7

lapan	8
semilan	9

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

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

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

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

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

3.3.4.2   Non-numeral quantifiers

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

3.3.4.3   Quantifying auxiliaries

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1. lengths, widths, and heights
depa' 'a length of both hands outstretched to the sides of the body'
senyiku 'measure for less than a *depa'*, that is length from one hand stretching to the side of the body to the end of the elbow of another hand which is folded at the elbow and put horizontally across the chest'
satengah depa' 'length from one hand stretching to the side of the body to the middle of the chest'
jingkal 'a span from one's thumb to the tip of one's middle finger'
sengawul 'a span from one's thumb to the joint of one's middle finger' (or: 'less than a *jingkal*')
pencuay 'height by standing upright with raised arms, measured from one's toes to the tip of one's middle finger'
gawang 'measure of a small circle formed by touching together the tips of both one's thumbs and one's middle fingers'
senyulan 'similar to *gawang*, but using thumbs and pointing finger'
senyintik 'half of a gawang'
dejak 'measure from one's heel to the tip of one's toes'
tempap 'the width of one's hand from the side of the palm of the hand to the other side'
sinti 'centimeter'
mitir 'meter'
kilu 'kilometer'
renti 'length from the tip of the thumb sticking out laterally from an otherwise clinched fist to the heel of the fist'

2. Weights
gram 'gram'
kilu 'kilogram'

3. Volumes
kulak or *gantang* 'a traditional wooden container' (equals 10 *ling* or 2½ kg)
ling or *muk* 'a small condensed milk can' (1 *ling* = ¼ kg)

4. Extents of time
ari 'day'
bulan 'month'
lam 'morning'

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

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

5. Collections, parts and sections
kerat 'a small slice of meat'
kumpal 'a big slice of meat'
ruas 'clump (of bamboo)'
belayan 'bush (of bamboo)'
piak 'part'

6. Terms for kinds
keban 'kind, group'
leman 'kind'
keba 'all kinds'

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

3.3.5 Demonstratives

Demonstratives are used for pointing to an object or a place. Mualang has four demonstratives: *tu'*, *ia'/nya'*, *nyin* and *nyun*. The primary relevant parameter that defines their use is distance from a point of reference. The reference point may be a speech participant, the moment of speech, or a constituent of a clause. This will be further discussed in Chapter 4. For the present purpose, a general meaning is provided, with the relative distance as its parameter, schematically pictured in Figure 3.2. (Note: PR_1 = speaker, PR_2 = hearer)

Figure 3.2: *Demonstratives in relation to relative distance from the point of reference*
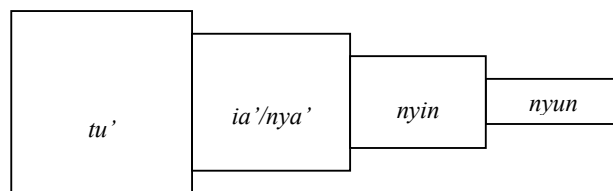
Tu' means 'this', implying that the object is close to the relevant point of reference (PR), that is PR_1 or the speaker. *Ia'* or *nya'* means 'that', indicating that the object is relatively far from PR_1, but it may also be near PR_2, the hearer. *Nyin* means 'that over there', the object is relatively far from all speech participants. The farthest is *nyun* 'that far away'. *Tu'* and *ia'/nya'* tend to directly point to the object due to its

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.3.6   Prepositions

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

(3-12)   a. Locative
>>> *da* 'LOC'
>>> *ka* 'to'
>>> *ari* 'from'
>>> *ntara* 'between'
>>> *sampay/nyantuk* 'until'

>> b. Instrument, Recipient, Manner
>>> *ngaw* 'with'

>> c. Source of action/event
>>> *ulih* 'by, as a result of (someone's) doings'

>> d. Similarity
>>> *upa* '(be) like, as'

>> e. Accordance
>>> *nuna'* 'according to'

>> f. Orientation
>>> *ngusung* 'to'

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

3.3.7   Pragmatic markers

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

3.3.8   Connectives

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

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

b. Complex connectives
    ulih amat pia' 'nevertheless', *udah ia'* 'after that', *puku' ia'*
    'in short'

3.4   Multiple membership

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

3.5   Precategoriality

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

3.6   Doublets of lexical items

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

4 NOUN PHRASES

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

4.1 Constituency and word order in the noun phrase

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

(4-1)   Constituent order of NP

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

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

4.1.1 Heads of NP

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

4.1.1.1   Pronouns

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

(4-2)   ***Ku***   *nitaw'*   *bada'.*
         1s   not.know   *bada'*
         'I don't know' (or 'I have no idea).'

(4-3)   *Aw', pia',*   *kati*   *kami*   *N-kumay*   ***m'ih***   *ah?*
         yes   like.that   how   1p.excl   ACT-call   2s.masc   *ah*
         'Ok, as you said, how do we call for you (to come) then?'

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

(4-4)   [*Kita'*   *nam*]   *sunyi'*   *kah!*
         2p   six   quiet   *kah*
         'The six of you be quiet please!'

(4-5)   [*sida'*   *tay*   *ba-bagi*   *ramu*   *nya'*]
         3p   REL   ANPAS-devide   property   that
         'they who were dividing up property (among themselves)'

(4-6)   *Malam*   *datay*   *agi'*   [*sida'*   *Puyang*   *Gana*].
         night   come   again   3p   P   G
         'In the night Puyang Gana and his associates came again.'

The use of a personal name after a pronoun as in (4-6) is a typical construction to mean the person and others associated with him/her.[1] Pronouns can also be reduplicated for an emphatic purpose (see section 4.3.4 below).
    The reflexive pronoun *diri'* 'self' can appear as a single head, occupying various syntactic positions (see section 7.2.11):

(4-7)   *Ia*   *N-tapuk*   *diri'*   *ari*   *bini*   *ia.*
         3s   ACT-hide   self   from   wife   3s
         'He hid himself from his wife.'

(4-8)   *Udah*   *ia'*   *diri'*   *ti*   *ba-laki-bini*   *N-padah ....*
         already   that   self   REL   ANPAS-husband-wife   ACT-say
         'After that they themselves who are going to marry say....'

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

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

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

4.1.1.2   Demonstratives

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

(4-10)   **Tu'/ia'**   ti   *da-beri'*   *sida'.*
         this/that   REL   PASS-give   3p
         'This/that is what was given by them.'

(4-11)   **Nya'** *tay   pemenaw*   *ku.*
         that   REL   knowledge   1a
         'That is what my knowledge is. (That's all I know).'

(4-12)   **Tu'**   *ku*   *N-padah*   *ka*   *m'ih ....*
         this   1s   ACT-say   to   2s.masc
         'Here I am going to tell you ….'

(4-13)   a. *Belitang   Ulu   aba'   tay   semak   **nya'** ....*
            B   U   and   REL   close   that
            '(The region of) Belitang Ulu and that which is close by ....'

         b. *Belitang   Ulu   aba'   tay   semak   **nyin** ....*
            B   U   and   REL   close   that.over.there
            '(The region of) Belitang Ulu and that which is over there....'

(4-10) and (4-11) are anaphoric usages, and also in (4-11) the demonstrative *nya'* refers back to the whole story just told. It is only *tu'* that can be used cataphorically; see example (4-12). *Nya'* and *nyin* in (4-13a and b) are two more examples of anaphoric use. The choice between *nya'* and *nyin* show how the speaker as a first point of reference (PR$_1$) determines the next point of reference (PR$_2$). The use of *nya'* in (a) means that the subdistrict of *Belitang Ulu* was chosen as the PR$_2$ by the speaker (PR$_1$), whereas with *nyin* in (b), it was the hearer and the speaker that were chosen as the PR$_2$; both of them were distantly located from the place and its surrounding area.

4.1.1.3   Quantifiers

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

(4-14)   **S-iku'**   *da-pulah*   *ia, nama ia Am'un Menurun.*
         ONE-CLASS   PASS-make   3s   name   3s   A   M

         S-iku'   *ti*   *in'u'*   *nama*   *Pukat*   *Bengawan.*
         ONE-CLASS   REL   female   name   P   B
         'One was made by him, his name was Am'un Menurun. The other one that was female was named Pukat Bengawan.'

(4-15)   *Putus*   **tujuh**, *amis*   **uga'**.
         broken   seven   finished   all
         'The seven (scarves) were broken, all was finished.'

(4-16)   **Mayuh** *agi'*   *ti*   *da-tam'ak*   *dia'.*
         many   again   REL   PASS-plant   there.(near)
         'There are many more (kinds of plants) that are planted there.'

4.1.1.4   Nouns

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

4.1.2   Modifiers of the NP

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

4.1.2.1   Quantifying phrases

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

           b. *dua kilu   babi*

---

[2] The idea of categorizing classifiers and measure words under the label of quantiying auxiliaries was taken from the discussion in Alieva et al. (1997:224ff) concerning Indonesian; the authors consider the Indonesian classifiers to be *kata bantu bilangan* ('numeral auxiliaries') that grammatically behave largely like measure words.
[3] For the major semantic features of nouns, see Givón (2001a:55-59).
[4] These terms are taken from Givón (2001a:57).
[5] See section 3.3.4.3 for an explanation of *renti* and other measure words.

two   MEAS   pork
'two kilograms of pork'

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

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

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

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

          [*Dua*   *kacung*]   *N-lumpat*   *gaga*.
          two   frog   ACT-jump   happy
          'There suddenly came two strange frogs. The two frogs were jumping happily.'

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

(4-24)   *s-ari*
          ONE-day
          'one day'

(4-25)   *mpat*   *tawun*
          four   year
          'four years'

4.1.2.1.1   *The numeral prefix se-*

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

(4-26)   *s-iku'*   *urang*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

          'sixty one people'

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

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

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

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

'They live in the same house.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.1.2.1.2   *Floating quantifying phrases*

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

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

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

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

buah   bukit tujuh buah   darung ga'.
CLASS   hill   seven CLASS   valley   also
'Again they cut down an area as large as the one they had done
already, seven hills and seven valleys.'

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

bung ka kiba'   s-uti'.
part to left   ONE-CLASS
'That being the case, he took one of Pukat Bengawan's ribs from the
left side (of his chest).'

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.1.2.2   Nouns

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

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

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

(4-39)   [*tulang   rusuk*]N$_1$ [*Pukat   Bengawan*]N$_2$
          bone   rib   P   B
          'Pukat Bengawan's rib'

(4-40)   [*uma*]N$_1$ [*ia*]N$_2$
          rice.field   3s
          'his/her rice field'

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

(4-41)   [*baruh*]N$_1$ [*peraw*]N$_2$
          bottom.part   proa
          'the bottom part of the proa'

(4-42)   [*daerah   ulu*]N$_1$ [*sungay Ketungaw*]N$_2$
           area   upstream river   K
          'the upstream area of the Ketungaw River'

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

(4-43)   [*urang*]N$_1$ [*laki*]N$_2$
          person   male
          'a male (person)'

(4-44)   [*din'ing*]N$_1$ [*kelibak*]N$_2$
           wall   tree.bark
          'wooden bark wall'

(4-45)   [*jelu*]N$_1$ [*ay'*]N$_2$
           animal   water
          'water animal'

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

(4-46)   [*sungay*]N$_1$ [*Ketungaw*]N$_2$
           river   K
          'the Ketungaw River'

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

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

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

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

4.1.2.3   Participial attributes

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

(4-50)   *Adat*   [*N-pulah   rumah   baru*]   *tu'*...
               custom   ACT-make   house   new   this
               'The traditional custom of building a new house ....'

(4-51)   *Adat*   [*N-kubur   anak   ajang*]   *mudah.*
               custom   ACT-grave   child   death.at.young.age   easy
               'The custom of burying a child that dies at an early age is easy.'

(4-52)   *Masalah*   [*ba-uma–bataya'*],
               problem   ANPAS-rice.field–precategorial

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

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

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

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

ba-pin'ah-pin'ah.
ANPAS-move-RED
'(I) want to tell a story of the way to do slash-and-burn cultivation /
(... the way people do ...).'

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

4.1.2.4   Verb phrases

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

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

(4-56)   a. *tepayan   itam   besay*
jar   black   big
'big black jar'

b. *tepayan   besay   itam*
jar   big   black
'big jar that is black' (lit. 'black big jar')

(4-57)   *sedua   ba-duay*[8]   *nya'*
3d.coll   ANPAS-sibling.in.law that
'those two having a sibling-in-law relationship'

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

(4-59)   *ubi   tunu*
cassava   bake
'baked cassava'

(4-60)   *pisang   sumay*
banana   cook
'boiled banana'

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

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

(4-62)   *jelu   piara*
           animal   domesticate
           'domesticated animal'

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

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

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

4.1.2.5   Prepositional phrases

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

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

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[9] Static intransitive verbs refer to adjectival-like verbs; see section 7.1.2 for such verbs.
[10] For the inherent boundedness and duration of verbs, see for example Givón (2001a:287ff).

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

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

(4-64)   *Padah   ka* [*sida'   da   rumah*]   *ti   N-tung'u'   ia.*
            say   to   3p   LOC   house   REL   ACT-wait   3s
            'Tell them at home who is waiting for her!'

(4-65)   *Upa   tih   da-am'i'   ia   tulang   rusuk   Pukat   Bengawan*
            as   *tih*   PASS-take   3s   bone   rib   P   B

            [*bung   ka kiba'   s-uti'*].
            part   to left   ONE-CLASS
            'That being the case, he took one of Pukat Bengawan's ribs from the left side (of his chest).'

(4-66)   *Keban   [raja   ari   nya'*]   *ka'   N-pinta'   ia ....*
            all.kind king   from   that   want   ACT-ask   3s
            'All kinds of king from there wanted to propose her ....'

(4-67)   *... ngaw   [peti'   ari   buluh*].
                use   k.o.animal.trap   from   bamboo
            '... use an animal trap (made) of bamboo.'

(4-68)   [*Kemansay ngaw N-ulih   ikan   tu'*] *da-pulah   ari   uwi.*
            fish.scoop   for   ACT-get   fish   this PASS-make   from   rattan
            'This fish scoop for getting fish is made of rattan.'

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

4.1.2.6   Relative clauses

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

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

'the person who said to me'

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

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

4.1.2.7   Demonstratives

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.1.2.7.1   *Temporal orientation*

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

----------- past (*tih*)-------- present --------- future (*lah*)-------

```
  ⊥____|_____|_____|_____|_____|_____|____
```
(*nyun*) (*nyin*) (*nya'/ia'*) (*tu'*) (*nya'/ia'*) (*nyin*) (*nyun*)

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

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

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

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

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

(4-80)   a. Past reference with demonstratives

bulan	*nya'*	*tih*	'last month'
bulan	*nyin*	*tih*	'more than a month ago'
bulan	*nyun*	*tih*	'months ago'

     b. Present and future reference with demonstratives

bulan	*tu'*		'this month'
bulan	*nya'*	(*lah*)	'next month'
bulan	*nyin*	(*lah*)	'more than a month ahead from now'
bulan	*nyun*	(*lah*)	'months ahead from now'

4.1.3   Appositive and conjoined noun phrases

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.2   Nominalization

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

(4-86)   Verbal derivation to noun

B → N~PARTICIPANT~ of B

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

4.2.1   *Pe(N)-*

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

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

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

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

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

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

c)   intransitive verbs of state: patient, experiencer

mati 'dead'	*pemati*	'death; deceased person'
idup 'alive'	*pengidup*	'domestic animals; life'
mabuk 'drunk'	*pemabuk*	'drunkard'

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

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

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

padah 'say, tell'	*pemadah*	'saying'
pikir 'think'	*pemikir*	'thought; thinker'
peda' 'see'	*pemeda'*	'sight'

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

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

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

mayuh 'many, much'	*pemayuh*	'amount'
jalay 'road'	*pejalay* (**penyalay*)	'the walk, trip'[11]
guraw (precategorial)	*peguraw* (**penguraw*)	'joke, tease; toy; place of playing'.[12]

---

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

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

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

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

4.2.2   *Per-*

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

(4-88)   *mpu* 'have'   *perempu* 'possession' (patient nominalization)[13]
          ulih 'gain'   *perulih* 'gain' (patient nominalization)
          atur 'order, arrange'   *peratur* 'rule' (result nominalization)
          ayun 'swing'   *perayun* 'swing' (as for a baby) (instrument nominalization)
          anyut 'swept away'   *peranyut* 'the being swept away (by water)' (action nominalization)

4.2.3   *Ke-*

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

(4-89)   *turun* 'descend'   *keturun* 'descendant'
          kaya 'rich'   *kekaya* 'wealth'
          rusak 'damaged'   *kerusak* 'damage'
          biasa 'habitual'   *kebiasa* 'habit'
          dua' (precategorial)   *kedua'* 'part'
          putus 'broken'   *keputus* 'decision'

Two *ke-*derivations (with optionally reduplicated bases) are used to introduce time adverbial clauses (see also section 10.4):
          panyay 'long (distance)   'kepanyay*(-panyay*) 'after so long (in distance or time)'
          lama' 'long (time)'   *kelama'*(-*lama'*)' 'after so long (in time)'

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

(4-90)   *pansay* 'scoop (fish)'   *kemansay* 'k.o. rattan basket used to scoop fish'
          pinang 'betelnut'   *keminang* 'ingredients (betel nut, betel and lime (from shell)) for chewing'

---

pelawang 'door, house, household'. All of them are nouns; but it seems to me that the forms with *pe-* have a nuance of plurality.
[13] Note that the *e* (schwa) in *perempu* is an epenthetic vowel added to conform to the canonical syllable structure.

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

4.3 Non-verbal reduplication

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

4.3.1 Noun reduplication

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

(4-91) *Da-kumpul* **batu-batu**, *da-susun* *aba'* **dan-dan**
PASS-gather stone-RED PASS-arrange with branch-RED

kayu, baru' *da-pulah* *upa* *pagar.*
tree then PASS-make like fence
'Stones were gathered, they were arranged with tree branches, then they were constructed like a fence.'

(4-92) *Kemansay ngaw N-ulih* **ikan** *tu'* *da-pulah* *ari uwi.*
fish.scoop for ACT-get fish this PASS-make from rattan

---

[14] See also footnote 31 in Chapter 2.

'This fish scoop for getting fish is made of rattan.'

With plural quantifiers, such as numerals greater than one, nouns are usually not reduplicated. This may be due to redundancy and definiteness of number (especially of the numeral quantifiers). However, nouns are nevertheless reduplicated with the indefinite non-numeral quantifier *mayuh* 'many' in (4-93). The reason that reduplication occurs here may be due to the indefiniteness of the quantifier itself as well as for emphatic reasons:

(4-93) *Keba'   urang tuay melia'   mayuh **kata-kata**   mali.*
         therefore person old   past.time many   word-RED   taboo

        'Therefore the old people of the past had many taboo words.'

Some reduplicated nouns do not designate plurality of the entity expressed by the base; instead they are used verbally or adverbially expressing the main property or characteristic of the reduplicated entity expressed by the base:

(4-94) *lam* 'morning'   *lam-lam* 'in the (typical) morning (time), early in the morning'
        malam 'night'   *malam-malam* 'at (typical) night (time), late at night'
        aki' 'grandfather' *aki'-aki'* '(someone) resembling a grandfather'; 'grandfathers'
        in'u' 'female'   *in'u'-in'u'* '(someone) resembling a woman'; 'females, women'

(4-95) *Sida' angkat pagi   lam-lam.*
         3p   go   tomorrow   morning-RED
        'They're leaving tomorrow (early) in the morning.'

(4-96) *Ia ba-jalay   rakuk-kerakuk   upa **aki'-aki'**.*
         3s ANPAS-road   bent-RED   like grandfather-RED
        'He walks bent over like a grandfather.'

4.3.2   Derived noun reduplication

Of the derived nouns, only *pe(N)*-derived nouns regularly undergo reduplication. Three kinds of reduplication can be distinguished:

1. Full reduplication, in which the whole word is reduplicated. Because this kind of reduplication expresses plurality, only the count agent and instrument derivations may be subjected to this process:

    pe(N)-curi   (NOM-steal)   *pencuri-pencuri* 'thieves'
    pe(N)-mayin   (NOM-play)   *pemayin-pemayin* 'players, games'

pe(N)-datay	(NOM-come)	*penatay-penatay*	'arrivals, places of origin'
pe(N)-palu'	(NOM-hit)	*pemalu'-pemalu'*	'hammers'

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

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

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

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

4.3.3　　　　Quantifier reduplication

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

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

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

---

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

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

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

(4-100)   *am'i'   mimit-mimit*
           take   little-RED
           'take little by little'

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

4.3.4   Pronoun reduplication

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

(4-101)   *Tem'u'   **ku ka ku** ti   da-suruh.*
           end 1s   to   1s REL   PASS-order
           'At the end it is me and me again that will be ordered (to do it).'

(4-102)   *Nsia   mulay ari   tem'away   Labay Laway sampay   ka*
           human   begin from settlement L   L   until   to

           *Tampun   Juah nisi'   da-padah   **sida'   sanu'-***
           T   J   EXIST.NEG   PASS-tell 3p   3.INDEF-

           ***sida'   sanu'**....*
           RED
           '(The migration story of) people from the settlement of Labay Laway to Tampun Juah has not been told by those very people from there ....'

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

4.4 **Nominal Compounding**

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

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

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

    a)   generic compounds
    b)   specific compounds

4.4.1 **Generic compounds**

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

(4-104) *apay-inay* (father-mother)   'parents'
        aki'-ini' (grandfather-grandmother)   'grandparents'

---

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

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

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

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

1)   animals (cf. single words: *jelu* 'animal', *peN-idup* (NOM-live) 'domestic animals'):
    a)   stock (e.g. when talking of food, offerings): *babi-manuk* (pig-chicken)
    b)   large animals causing damage in the rice field: *babi-rusa'* (pig-deer)
    c)   animals living on trees causing damage: *beruk-kera'* (short-tailed macaque–long-tailed macaque)
    d)   small animals causing damage: *tupay-bunya'* (kinds of rodents)

2)   Cooking utensils:
    a)   plate-related tools: *ping'an-mangkuk* (plate-bowl)
    b)   cooking containers: *kuali-periuk* (frying.pan-boiling.pot)
    c)   scoops: *sengkidaw-catuk* (rice.spoon-eating.spoon)

3)   Kinship affiliation:
    a)   relatives: *ayung-gempung* (family-precategorial)
    b)   family: *bilik-lawang* (room-house)
    c)   grandparent: *aki'-ini'* (grandfather-grandmother)
    d)   parent: *apay-inay* (father-mother)
    e)   spouses: *laki-bini* (husband-wife)
    f)   sibling: *menyadi'-senih* (sibling-precategorial)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.4.2   Specific compounds

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

(4-110)   *ay'-mata*
           water-eye
           'tears'

(4-111)   *anak-buah*
           child-fruit
           'helper'

(4-112)   *rumah-panyay*
           house-long
           '(traditional) longhouse' (cf. with phrasal structure 'long house')

(4-113)   *ben'a-tuay*
           thing-old
           'antique (object)' (cf. with phrasal structure 'old thing')

(4-114)   *ay'-idup*
           water-alive
           'uncooked water'

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

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[19] Such lexicalization is also found in reduplicated forms, e.g. *kekura'* 'tortoise', *reribu* 'k.o. tree' (in Pungak (1976b:136), where it is said that the word is derived from *ribu* 'thousand', and that it symbolizes a long life).
[20] Similar cases occur in English as well (cf. Givón 2001b).

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

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

(4-115) *senapang   patah*
gun   broken
'(k.o.) rifle'

(4-116) *sekulah   Alkitab*
school   Bible
'theological school'

(4-117) *binyak   tanah/buk*
oil   soil/hair
'kerosene/pomade'

5   PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES

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

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

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

(5-2)   *Ia   aba'   ku N-pakay.*
               3s   with   1s ACT-eat
               'It was with me, that he ate.'

(5-3)   *Aba'   ku   ia   N-pakay.*
               with   1s   3s   ACT-eat
               'He ate with me (rather than with someone else).'

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

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

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

5.1   Locative prepositions

5.1.1   The preposition *da*

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

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

(5-4)   *Ia   diaw   da   padung.*
             3p   stay   LOC   attic
             'He stayed quiet in the attic.'

(5-5)   *Amang ku, utay ia'   aday da   ia/Apay Aluy.*
             think   1s   thing that exist LOC 3s/AA
             'I think, the thing is on him/Aluy's father.'

(5-6)   *Agi'   nam   da   ku.*
             still   six   LOC   1s
             'There are still six of them with me.'

(5-7)   *Nya',   da   ia'/da   tu'.*
             that   LOC   that/LOC   this
             [while pointing] 'There it is.' (lit. 'at that/at this')

b)   to specify a particular point in time:

(5-8)   *Udah   ia',   ku diaw ditu',   da   tawun   1970.*
             already   that   1s stay here   LOC   year   1970
             'After that, I lived here, in 1970.'

(5-9)   *Da   jaman   kelia'   tih, naday   isi'   semprut.*
             LOC   time   old.time   *tih*   NEG   content   spray
             'In the past, there was no pesticide.'

c)   to mark a locative oblique participant:

(5-10)   *Sida'   N-pesaw   da   ku tih.*
             3p   ACT-order   LOC   1s *tih*
             'They told me the message.'

(5-11)   *Jadi, ia' da-ke-ingat   kah,   bayik   da   di',*
              so   that   PASS-INCH-remember   *kah*   good   LOC   2s.fem.

              n'u',   m'ih,   gas, ...
              TOA   2s.masc   TOA
              'So, remember that, whether it's on you, young lady, or you, young
              man, ….' [if your body gets sick, your bones get tired, you take a rest]

5.1.2   The preposition *ka*

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

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

(5-12)   *urang   Mualang   k=ili'/k=ulu*
              person   M   to=downstream/to=upstream
              'the Mualang from the downstream/upperstream (area)'

(5-13)   *Ku ka'   kin,   ka   rumah   sida'   ia'.*
              1s   want   thither.far   to   house   3p   that
              'I want to go over there, to their house (there).'

(5-14)   *Ia   ba-jalay   mansang   ka   pian   bang   ka   jalay.*
              1s   ANPAS-road   go.to   to   bathing.place   part   to   road
              'He walked going toward the bathing place of the part leading to the
              road.'

(5-15)   *Da-buay   ka   ia.*
              PASS-throw   to   3s
              '(It was) thrown to him.'

(5-16)   *N-tebuk   kayu,   tama'   ka   ia' ...*
              ACT-make.hole   wood   enter   to   that
              'He made a hole in a tree, (and) entered into it ...'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.1.3 The preposition *ari*

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

a) location:

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

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

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

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

b) time:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(5-40)   *Nisi'   tuay   ari   ku.*
               EXIST.NEG old   from 1s
               'Nobody is older than I am.'

(5-41)   *Sampay dia'=m   gisah, nisi'   lebih ari nya' agi'.*
               until   there.near=*m* story EXIST.NEG more from that   again
               'It's just until that point that the story goes, it doesn't go any further
               than that.'

5.1.4   The preposition *ntara*

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

(5-42)   *S-iku'   ntara   sida' menyadi' mimpi.*
               ONE-CLASS   among they siblings   dream
               'One among those siblings dreamt.'

(5-43)   *N-dinga pia'   Aji Melayu ntara   dua peN-pikir.*
               ACT-hear like.that haji M   between   two NOM-think
               'Hearing this, Haji Melayu was of two opinions.'

(5-44)   *Sedang aba' antu   ga' kita   se-peN-peda'   rumah,*
               whereas with   ghost also 1p.incl ONE-NOM-see   house

               cuma   ntara   pian.
               only   between   bathing.place
               'Whereas with the ghosts, we lived close to each other.' (lit. 'we were
               of one house sight (we could see each other's house), only with the
               bathing place in between)

(5-45)   *ntara   lam-lam   sampay tawas   ari*
               between morning-RED   until   day.time day
               'between early morning and noon'

5.1.5   The preposition *sampay* and *nyantuk*

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

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

(5-47)   *Ia' pia'   cara urang   Mualang   ba-uma-*
          that like.that way   person   M   ANPAS-rice.field–

          bataya'   ari   lama'   kelia'   nyantuk   ka   pitu'   bah.
          PREC (?)   from   long   old.time   until   to   like.this *bah*
          'That's how the people of Mualang work their rice fields from long
          ago in the past until the present time.'

(5-48)   *Tung'u'   s-uti'   sampay   dua   bulan.*
          wait   ONE-CLASS   until   two   month
          'Wait for one or as much as two months.' (Lit. 'wait for one to two
          months')

(5-49)   *...kira-kira   lapan   ratus   sampay   dua   kilu mitir   ari*
          approximate   eight   hundred   until   two   kilo meter from

          kampung.
          village
          '… about 800 meters to 2 kilometers from the village.'

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

(5-50)   *Sampay   da   sabar   bubu   Aji   Melayu, ...*
          arrive   LOC   fish.trapping.fence k.o.fish.trap   haji   M
          'Arriving at/reaching the fish trap of Haji Melayu ....'

(5-51)   *Bila   sampay   ditu'?*
          when   arrive   here
          'When did you arrive here?'

5.2   Non-locative prepositions

5.2.1   The preposition *ngaw*

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

(5-52)   *Sempang   ia'   sampay   ka   pitu'   agi' da-ngaw   urang.*
          proverb   that until   to   like.this still PASS-use   person
          'The proverb is still used by people until now.'

(5-53)   *Nema   urang   tuay kelia'   tih ngaw kampil.*
          because person old   old.time *tih* use   k.o.traditional backpack
          'Because the elders in the past used a backpack.'

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

a)   Instrument 'with, by':

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

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

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

b)   Manner 'with, by':

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

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

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

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

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

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

c)   Purpose 'for, to be used (as)':

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.2.2   The preposition *aba'*

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

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

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

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

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

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

(5-70)   *Ia   diaw   aba'   ini'   ia.*
          3s   stay   with   grandmother   3s
          'She stayed with her grandmother.'

(5-71)   *Sida'   ia'   naday   ba-kamuh   aba'   urang   bukay.*
          3p   that   NEG   ANPAS-mix   with   person   other
          'Those people did not mix with other people.'

(5-72)   *Ah, payah   aba'   di'   tu'   dah!*
          uh   hard   with   2s.fem   this   *dah*
          'Uh, everything is just so hard with you!'

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

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

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

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

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

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

(5-75)   *Antu   tu'   mulai   pedih   ati   **ngaw**   kita.*
          ghost   TOP   begin   sick   liver   with   1p.incl
          'The ghosts began to get irritated with us.'

(5-76)   *N-peda' pia'   ba-tanya'   udih   sedua **ngaw**   petara   Senta.*
          ACT-see like.that ANPAS-ask   *udih*   3d   with   god   S
          'Seeing this, both of them questioned god *Senta*.'

(5-77)   *Padahal   ku tu'   mpu   kuasa   **ngaw**   tanah-ampah   tu'.*
          in.contrast 1s TOP   have   power   with   land-PREC   this
          'Contrary to this, I am the one who has the authority over the lands and everything on them.'

(5-78)   *Nema   kita   naday   cucuk   **ngaw**   sida'   ia'.*
          because   1p.incl. NEG   fit   with   3p   that
          'Because we did not go along with them (those people).'

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

(5-79)   *Udah temu cara aba' akal ....*
          after   find   way   and   trick
          'After having found some method and trick ….'

(5-80)   *Ukuy aba' nyawung   ti   da-bunuh ....*
          dog   and   cat   REL   PASS-kill
          'The dog and cat that were killed ….'

5.2.3   The preposition *ulih*

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

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

(5-82) *N-gali   angkis   d=alam   lubang,   angkis*
        ACT-dig   k.o.porcupine LOC=inside   hole   k.o.porcupine

        ulih,   ari   pun   malam.
        get   day   pun   night
        'Digging in the hole for a porcupine, (when) getting the porcupine, the day turns night.' [a riddle]

(5-83) *Urang   aday   b-ulih   babi.*
        person   exist   ANPAS-get   pig
        'People did get pigs (from hunting).'

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

(5-84) *Tu'   da-bay'   ulih   dua urang.*
        this PASS-bring   by   two person
        'This was brought by two people.'

(5-85) *Asa pia',   tiki'   ulih m'ih!*
        if   like.that   climb   by   2s.masc
        'If so, you climb it (the tree)!'

(5-86) *Nyawa   ia penuh ulih pipit   ti   da-pakay   ia.*
        mouth   3s full   by   sparrow   REL   PASS-eat   3s
        'His mouth was full of the sparrows he was eating.'

(5-87) *Asa pia',   naday nyamay   kita' ulih ku.*
        if   like.that   NEG   comfortable   2p   by   1s
        'If so, you all do not feel comfortable because of me.'

5.2.4   The preposition *upa*

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

(5-88) *Burung naday mawa   upa m'ih   tu'.*
        bird   NEG   stupid as   2s.masc   this
        'The bird is not stupid like you here.'

(5-89) *Sedua idup upa urang   menyadi'.*
        3d   live like person   sibling
        'They two lived like siblings.'

(5-90) *Mayuh   agi'   tay   da-tam'ak   dia',   upa ubi,*
        many   again REL   PASS-plant there.near as   cassava

        arum,   ntimun,   nyeli' ....
        spinach   cucumber   corn
        'There are still many other things that are planted there such as
        cassava, spinach, cucumber, corn …'

5.2.5   The preposition *nuna'*

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

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

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

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

(5-93) *Aday   ga'   pentik[2]   da-pulah   nuna'*
        exist also small.wooden.statue   PASS-make   according.to

        pe-mayuh   urang   se-bilik.
        NOM-many   person   ONE-house
        'It happened also that *pentik* were made according to the number of
        people of the whole household.'

(5-94) *Sida' angkat ari   nya'   nuna'   dany'i   se-mula.*
        3p   go   from   that   according.to promise   ONE-beginning
        'They went from there according to the original promise.'

(5-95) *Nuna'   tusuy   urang   tuay kelia'   ah, ...*
        according.to   story   person old past.time ah
        'According to the very story told by the old people in the past, ….'

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

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

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

5.2.6 The preposition *ngusung*

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

(5-96) *Ku ka'   pulay   ka kampung kami   agi',   ka'*
       1s want go.home to village   1p.excl again want

      N-gusung   anak-bini   ku.
      ACT-meet   child-wife   1s
      'I am going back again to our village, I want to meet my family (lit. my wife (and) child.'

(5-97) *Ila'   ku N-gusung   m'ih.*
      later 1s   ACT-meet   2s.masc
      'I'll meet/catch up with you later.'

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

(5-98) *...isa'   antu   nitaw'   N-tiki'   N-gusung   ia.*
      so.that   ghost   cannot   ACT-climb   ACT-meet   3s
      '… so that the ghost could not climb up to get him.'

(5-99) *Ia N-temuay   N-gusung   apay-inay.*
      3s ACT-visit   ACT-meet   father-mother
      'He visited his parent.'

(5-100) *Ba-ran'aw   N-gusung   Bujang Jat agi'   da   studiu.*
      ANPAS-PREC   ACT-meet   TOA   bad   again LOC studio
      'Have a visit again with Brother Baddie at the (broadcasting) studio.'

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

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[3] Cf. Malay/Indonesian verbal root *turut* 'follow' and the derived preposition *menurut* 'according to'.
[4] The examples were obtained from a story written by an informant from the village of Sungai Antu in the Upstream area. He is in his fifties and has been away from his village of origin for many years.

(5-101)   *Kita'   arus   N-pinta'   ngusung   ku   dulaw.*
           2p   must   ACT-ask.for   unto   1s   first
           'You must ask for it from me first.'

(5-102)   *Ba-tanya'   sedua agi'   ngusung   Petara   Senta   nya'....*
           ANPAS-ask   2d   again unto   deity   S   that
           'Both of them asked again of the god Senta …'

(5-103)   *Mayuh   basa   adat   tay   da-ajar   ngusung   kita.*
           much   norms custom   REL   PASS-teach   unto   1p.icnl
           'Many were the norms and customs that were taught to us.'

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

5.3   Complex prepositional phrases

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

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

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

           tay   N-padah ....
           REL   ACT-say
           'After a long time, there was (someone) among the people who said
           ….'

(5-105)   *Baru'   s-iku'   (ari)   ntara   sida'   menyadi'*
           then   ONE-CLASS   from   among/between   3p   sibling

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

(5-106)   *Ba-pinta'*   *kita*   *Mualang*   *tu'*   *sampay* *ka* *tengah*
             ANPAS-ask   1p.incl M   this   until   to   middle

             malam. *Naday* *putus*   *malam,* *sampay* *ka* *ari* *pagi.*
             night   NEG   broken night   until   to day tomorrow
             'As for us, the Mualang, making a marriage proposal is done until the middle of the night. If no decision is made that night, it continues until the following morning.'

(5-107)   *Baru'* *ntawa'*   *tu'* *tadi',*   *kisah* *tih,* *da-tikam*
             then   k.o.fruit this a.while.ago story *tih* PASS-throw

             ari   *pucuk* *ntawa'* *sampay* *ka* *gang'ang*[5].
             from point k.o.tree until   to   balcony
             'Then the *ntawa'* fruit (mentioned a while ago), the story goes, was thrown from the top of the *ntawa'* tree to the balcony.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6   PREDICATE NOMINALS AND RELATED CONSTRUCTIONS

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

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

6.1   Predicate nominals

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

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

6.1.1   Equative clauses

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

(6-1)   *Adat   ia'   babi   tujuh   iku'.*
            custom   that   pig   seven   CLASS

            'The custom (to fine an infringement) is seven pigs.'

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

(6-3)   *Uma   ku   nya',   ukay   tu'.*
            rice.field   1s   that   CONT.NEG   this
            'My rice field is that one, not this'

(6-4)   *Sida'   mayuh.*
            3p   many
            'They are many.' (or: 'There are many of them.')

In some cases the determination of which constituent constitutes the subject and which one the predicate would at first glance be questionable, especially when a demonstrative occupies a syntactic position as in (6-2 and 6-3). However, by definition, the constituent that presents the new information is considered the predicate. In (6-3) the negation indicates what is the predicate, namely *tu'* 'this', since only predicates can be negated. As for the subject, it can be marked as "topical", that is with *tu'* 'TOP' (see further section 9.3 in Chapter 9), e.g.:

(6-5)   *Juah   tu'   nama   nsia.*
            J   TOP   name   human
            'As for Juah, it is a human's name.'

   The nature of negation in predicate nominals is different from the one in predicate verbals. As negation will be treated more fully in Chapter 9, it is mentioned here only briefly. If the predicate contains a referent of the subject, as in (6-1 to 6-3), it is negated by the negator *ukay*, as seen in (6-3). If the predicate is descriptive of the subject as in (6-4), it is negated by *naday*. Note, however, that the

negator *ukay* can also be used instead of *naday* to lend contrastive focus to the predicate: 'not A (but B)'. Compare for instance (6-6a and b):

(6-6)   a. *Kubur   Aji Melayu naday   s-iku'.*
              grave   haji M   NEG   ONE-CLASS
              'Haji Melayu did not have just one grave.' (lit. 'Haji Melayu's grave was not just one.')

          b. *Kubur   Aji Melayu ukay   s-iku'.*
              grave   haji M   CONT.NEG   ONE-CLASS
              'It wasn't (only) **one** grave that Haji Melayu had.'

(6-6a) is a clausal negation, containing the speaker's negative assertion that the number of Haji Melayu's grave is more than one; whereas in (b) the speaker counter-asserts someone's (e.g. the hearer's) mistaken belief about the number of Haji Melayu's grave.

Clausal modification for aspect and modality are always possible with descriptive predicates as in (6-4). For other predicates such a modification seems to operate only with nouns that potentially imply some physical or temporal change or development. E.g. *dara* 'young woman' (6-7), *miak* 'child' (6-8) and *tawas* 'noon' (6-9):

(6-7)   *Lama' ka lama' ia tih   nyaw   dara.*
          long   to long 3s *tih* PERF   young.woman
          'With the passing of time she had become a young woman.'

(6-8)   *Ia   agi'   miak.*
          3s   still   child
          'She was still a child.'

(6-9)   *Ari nyaw   tawas.*
          day PERF   noon
          'It was already noon.'

6.1.2   Comparative clauses

Mualang uses different grammatical strategies for comparison of an entity having a gradable quality to some other entity with the quality in the same degree and in a higher degree. In this section I will discuss three types of comparative constructions distinguished in Mualang: comparison of equivalence (6.1.2.1), of higher degree (6.1.2.2), and of maximal degree (superlative) (6.1.2.3). There are four main elements that typically appear in a comparative construction (cf. Payne 1997:89): 1) the *subject* of the clause; 2) the *standard*, against which the subject is compared; 3) the *marker* of comparison, and; 4) the comparative *quality*.

6.1.2.1   Comparative clauses of equivalence

Basically there are three kinds of syntactic structural patterns that can be used to express comparison of equivalence: a) comparison with equative clauses (6.1.2.1.1), b) comparison with attributive clauses (6.1.2.1.2), and c) comparison with active clauses (6.1.2.1.3).

6.1.2.1.1   Comparative equative clauses of equivalence

In this type of comparison, the quality of the subject is compared to that of the "standard" element by using the marker *sebela'/bela'* or *sama* 'same'. *Sama* is a Malay/Indonesian borrowing. For the sake of convenience, I will only use *bela'* in the examples below to represent these markers. The quality itself is expressed in possessive noun phrases in which the entities under comparison are the possessor of the possessed quality. Since quality is coded in a verb, it must be nominalized with the nominalizer *pe(N)-*. The whole construction, thus, appears as follows:

POSSESSIVE.NP[QUALITY/SUBJECT]-MARKER-POSSESSIVE.NP[QUALITY/STANDARD]

Some examples are:

(6-10)   [*PeN-besay   ia*]NP   *bela'*   *aba'*   [*peN-besay   ku*]NP.
            NOM-big   3s   same   with   NOM-big   1s
            QUALITY/SUBJECT MARKER   QUALITY/STANDARD
            'He is as big as me.' (lit. 'His bigness is the same compared with my bigness.')

Some syntactically reduced structures occur beside the "full-fledged" construction of (6-10) each with its own semantic nuance:

(6-11)   a. *PeN-besay   ia   bela'   peN-besay   ku.*
               NOM-big   3s   same   NOM-big   1s
                'He is as big as me.' (lit. 'His bigness is the same as my bigness.')

            b. *PeN-besay   ia   bela'   aba'   ku.*
               NOM-big   3s   same   with   1s
                'His size is the same as mine.' (lit. 'His bigness is the same compared with me.')

            c. *Ia   bela'   peN-besay   aba'   ku.*
               3s   same   NOM-big   with   1s
                'He is of the same size compared with me.')

            d. *Ia   bela'   peN-besay   ku.*
               3s   same   NOM-big   1s
                'He is of the same size as me.' (lit. 'He is the same as my bigness.')

    e. *Ia peN-besay ku.*
      3s NOM-big 1s
      'He is my size.' (lit. 'He is my bigness.')

    f. *PeN-ting'i'   ku   urang   ia'.*
      NOM-tall/high 1s person   that
      'Of my length is that person.'

Form (e) is the smallest structure possible, in which the quality of the standard element becomes the quality compared. The use of the prefix *peN-* here is obligatory and may therefore be viewed as marker of comparison (cf. **Ia besay ku* '3s-big-1s' etc. is not grammatical). Example (f) differs from (e) and the other examples in that it has the order predicate-subject, emphasizing the predicate, also intonationally focus.

6.1.2.1.2 Comparative attributive clauses of equivalence

In comparative attributive clauses the use of the marker *sebela'/bela'* or *sama* 'same' and the preposition *aba'* 'with' are obligatory. The quality appears in the form of a verb stem. For example:

(6-12)   a. *Ia*   *bela'*   *ting'i'*   *aba'*   *ku.*
           3s   same   tall/high   with   1s
           SUBJECT MARKER QUALITY STANDARD
           'He is equally tall as me.'

           b. **Ia   bela' ting'i' ku.*
              3s   same tall   1s

           c. **Ia ting'i' (aba') ku.*
              3s tall   with   1s

The verb stem may also appear in initial clause position if focussed:

(6-13)   *Besay ia bela' aba' ku.*
          big   3s same with 1s
          'Equally big is he compared with me.'

6.1.2.1.3 "Dynamic" comparative active clauses of equivalence

The present description of this type of comparison should be considered as a preliminary and tentative note which needs to be reexamined with a larger number of speakers. The comparative construction in (6-14) below was found in a story; in it, the comparative quality is expressed with a static intransitive verb marked with the active prefix *N-*; the structure looks like: $NP_{SUBJECT}$ *N*-$V_{MARKER-QUALITY}$ $NP_{STANDARD}$:

(6-14)   *Dulaw*   *tih* [*besay*   *gerama'*]   [*N-besay*]
          previously   *tih* big   crab   ACT-big
                             SUBJECT   MARKER-QUALITY

          [*kuali*   *s-igi'*].
          cooking.pan   ONE-CLASS
          STANDARD
          'In the past the size of crabs was as big as a cooking pan.' (or possibly:
          'In the past the size of crabs equaled a cooking pan in size.')

In elicitation, the following clause with the quality *besay* 'big' appeared to be also acceptable:

(6-15)   *Kera'*   *N-besay*   *mpliaw.*
          long.tailed.macaque   ACT-big   tail-less.gibbon
          'The *kera'* is as big as the *mpliaw*.' (or: 'The *kera'* equals the *mpliaw*
          in size.')

It seems that the verb *besay* 'big' in such active comparative clauses expresses a general idea about size. The majority of the speakers that I questioned about it judged the use of static intransitive verbs other than *besay* 'big' in such a comparative construction as ungrammatical, e.g.:

(6-16)   *Pun   *tu'*   *N-ting'i'*   *pun ia'.*
           tree   this   ACT-tall   tree   that
          'This tree is as tall as that tree.'

Two young speakers (aged between 24 to 30 years old) accepted clauses like (6-16) with the comparative meaning as grammatical as long as they do not involve a human subject, since in that case *N-ting'i'* would be interpreted as a causative:

(6-17)   *Urang*   *tu'*   *N-ting'i'*   *pun*   *ia'/ku.*
           tree   this   ACT-tall   tree   that/1s
          'This person made that tree/me higher.' (*'This person is taller than
          that tree/me')

6.1.2.1.4   *"Absolute" comparative attributive clauses of equivalence*

If the elements compared serve both as and the standard of comparison, i.e. "X and Y are of the same Quality", the marker *bela'/sebela'* 'same' will obligatorily be used and the quality appears either as a verbal stem (6-19) or with the nominalizer *peN-* (6-18), e.g.:

(6-18)   a. *Kemua   bela'   peN-baruh.*
                1d.excl   same   NOM-low
                'Both of us are equally short.'

        b. *Bela' peN-besay   rumah seniku'   ia'.*
                same   NOM-big   house   3d   that
                'Of the same size – are the houses of the two of them.'

        c. *PeN-ting'i'   sida' ia'   bela'.*
                NOM-high   3p   that same
                'The height of them is the same.'

(6-19)   a. *Sida'   ia'   bela'   ting'i'.*
                3p   that same   high
                'They are of the same height.'

        b. *Bela'   ting'i' sida' ia'.*
                same   high   3p   that
                'Of the same height – they are.'

6.1.2.2   Comparative clauses of higher degree

The order of the elements in the comparative construction of higher degree is SUBJECT-QUALITY-MARKER-STANDARD. This differs from the comparative construction of equivalence in the absence of a marker that precedes the quality and in the presence of the preposition *ari* 'from' before the standard. The subject may be in clause-initial position, which is the unmarked position (6-20a, 6-21 and 6-22), or it may follow the expression of the quality, which then becomes focused, as in (6-20b):

(6-20)   a. *Pasak   besay   ari   tiang.*
                peg   big   from   pole
                SUBJECT   QUALITY   MARKER   STANDARD
                'The peg is bigger than the pole.' (a proverb meaning one's consumption is bigger than one's gain)

        b. *Besay   pasak   ari   tiang.*
                big   peg   from   pole
                QUALITY   SUBJECT   MARKER   STANDARD
                'It is bigger – the peg than the pole.'

(6-21)   *Batang   ting'i'   ari   tung'ul.*
          trunk   high   from   tree.stump
          SUBJECT   QUALITY   MARKER   STANDARD

'The trunk is higher than the stump.' (a proverb meaning acting beyond one's rights or limits; being higher in position than one deserves to be)

(6-22)   *Nisi'   tay   tuay   ari   ku.*
          EXIST.NEG   REL   old   from   1s
          SUBJECT   QUALITY   MARKER   STANDARD

'There is no one who is older than I am.'

In some instances the marker *lebih* 'more' is used before the quality element as in (6-23). However, such a use of *lebih* is most likely a case of Malay/Indonesian influence, since the construction without *lebih* as described for (6-20 – 6-22) is much more frequent in texts of elder speakers. Note that *lebih* is not used in (6-20) and (6-21) which are traditional sayings/proverbs. Besides, the use of *lebih* seems to be semantically redundant in Mualang:[1]

(6-23)   *Tung ku   lebih galak   ari   tung   m'ih.*
          part 1s   more fertile   from   part   2s.masc
          SUBJECT   QUALITY   MARKER   STANDARD

'My part (a tree) grows more fertile than your part.'

In contrast to the comparison of higher degree, no special grammatical marker is employed for a comparison of a lesser degree. It is simply lexical, that is, another static verb with the opposite meaning would be used, for example, *mit* 'small' over *besay* 'big', e.g.:

(6-24)   *Pipit   mit   ari   manuk   renyaw.*
          sparrow   small from   chicken rooster

'Sparrows are smaller than roosters.'

6.1.2.3   Superlative clauses

There are two types of superlative constructions, namely those with the marker *paling*, secondly those with a cleft construction using the relativizer *tay/ti*:[2]

(6-25)   *Ia paling/ti   ting'i'   da   kampung   tu'.*
          3s very/REL   tall   LOC   village   this

'He is very tall/the tallest in this village.'

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[1] In contrast to Mualang, standard Indonesian typically employs *lebih* as the marker in comparative constructions of higher degree.
[2] The marker *paling* might be a Malay/Indonesian loan.

(6-26) *Ia   paling/ti   panay   da   ntara   sida'   menyadi'.*
3s   very/REL   smart   LOC   between   3p   sibling
'He is very smart/the smartest among those siblings.'

Although the construction with *tay/ti* is a cleft construction, the superlative reading can be understood via the context and the existence of the quality expression together with the locative phrase, which evokes a picture of the standard of comparison. The use of cleft constructions for comparison is most likely due to their contrastive function (see section 9.2.3 in Chapter 9). In superlative comparison, the element under focus is compared with other elements of the same group, e.g. with "all people in the village" in (6-25) or "the other siblings" in (6-26).

6.1.3   Exclamatory clauses

Formally, exclamatory clauses are expressed by nominalization of verbal clauses, yielding a possessive NP in which the subject of the corresponding/original clause has become possessor and the nominalized static intransitive verb is the possessed element. Such a form is illustrated in (6-29), in comparison to the ordinary verbal clause (6-27) and the regular possessive NP (6-28):

(6-27) *Nsia   ia'   bayik.*
human   that   good
'That man is kind.'

(6-28) *Kira   aday   urang   N-peda'   peN-bayik   ku.*
wish   exist   person   ACT-see   NOM-good   1s
'I wish there would be someone who would see my kindness.'

(6-29) *PeN-bayik   nsia   ia'!*
NOM-good   man   that
'How kind that man is!'

Syntactically the possessive form in (6-28) is a constituent NP, whereas in (6-29) the whole form is a complete utterance. In (6-29) a typical long, high pitch falls on the final syllable of the nominalized verb indicating an emotional overtone. The rationale behind this usage of the possessive form is something like "the X's quality is such that I could say no more".

   The nominalized form is often reduplicated and followed by the demonstrative *nya'* 'that' to add more intensity. The associated pitch now shifts to *nya'*.[3]

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[3] The use of a possessive NP construction for exclamatory clauses is not unusual. The Muna language, which is also a Western Malayo-Polynesian language, spoken in southeastern Sulawesi, exhibits a similar phenomenon as in Mualang (see Berg 1989:172ff for Muna). This phenomenon is also found in various Malay varieties. Indonesian utilizes *nya*, generally meaning '3s.non-subject', as in (i). Ambonese Malay, chiefly spoken in the central Moluccas, employs the possessive marker *pung*, as in (ii) (cf. Minde 1997:322). In all of these languages a special intonation marks the exclamatory rendering.

(6-30)   *PeN-besay-N-besay   nya'   rumah ia'!*
          NOM-big-N-RED   that   house that
          'How big that house is!' ('That house is HUGE!')

(6-31)   *PeN-bula'-N-bula'   nya'   m'ih!*
          NOM-lie-N-RED   that   2s.masc
          'What a big liar you are!'

(6-32)   *Pe-nitaw'-nitaw'   nya'!*
          NOM-stupid-RED   that
          'How very stupid!'

For pragmatic focus on the subject, the subject may be fronted. Compare, e.g. (6-30) and (6-31) with (6-33) and (6-34) respectively:

(6-33)   *Rumah   ia' peN-besay-N-besay   nya'!*
          house   that NOM-big-N-RED   that
          'That house is so big!'

(6-34)   *M'ih   peN-bula'-N-bula'   nya'!*
          2s.masc   NOM-lie-N-RED   that
          'You're such a liar!'

6.2   **Predicate locatives**

A predicate locative is simply a juxtaposition of NP and (NEGATION-ASPECT) PP without any intervening copula (6-35). The PP predicate can be fronted for focus (6-36):

(6-35)   *Inay   da   pian.*
          mother LOC   bathing.place
          'Mother is at the bath place.'

(6-36)   *Biasa   da   uma   ia, nti' agi' lam.*
          usually LOC rice.field 3s if   still morning
          'Usually he's in the rice field if it's still morning time.'

  (i)   *Sopan-nya   anak   itu!*
          polite-3s   child   that
          'How polite is that child!'

  (ii)   *Ana   pung   pamalas   (saja e)!*
          child POSS lazy   just e
          'How (just) lazy he is!' (lit. 'The child's laziness')

The prepositional phrase in the NP PP construction is not limited to a location; other semantic types of PP can also fill the predicate of the clause as in the following examples (see also Chapter 5 for other examples):

(6-37)   *Udah   nya' sida' ka   utan.*   = destination
          already   that 3p   to   forest
          'After that they went to the forest.'

(6-38)   *Tu'   ngaw   m'ih.*   = benefactive
          this   for   2s.masc
          'This is for you.'

(6-39)   *Ku   aba'   m'ih.*   = associative
          1s   with   2s.masc
          'I am with you.' (also: 'I and you')

The NP PP construction is typically negated with the clausal negator *naday* 'no, not' or the contrastive negator *ukay* 'no, not', as in (6-40 – 6-42) below. This differs from the use of negators in existentials (see section 6.3 below; for negation in general, see Chapter 9):

(6-40)   *Agi' jeman   ia' sida' bibas,   naday   da   baruh*
          still time   that 3p   free   NEG   LOC   bottom

          kuasa   raja.
          power   king
          'During that time they were free, not under the authority of the king.'

(6-41)   *Ukay,   ia   ukay   da   uma,   da   rumah.*
          CONT.NEG 3s   CONT.NEG   LOC   rice.field LOC   house
          'No, he's not in the rice field (but) at home.'

(6-42)   *Bini   m'ih   naday   ngaw kuli.*
          wife   2s.masc   NEG   for   coolie
          'Your wife is not to be (treated as) a coolie.'

Location is a central element involved not only in the discussion of predicate locatives, but also in existentials and possessive clauses. The following sections will deal with the latter two clause types.

6.3   Existentials

Existential constructions assert the existence of an entity, typically in a particular location and/or time. However, location and time are adjuncts since they are optional syntactically. The intransitive existential verb *aday* is used in existentials. It will be glossed throughout as 'exist', but in addition to the notion 'exist, to be there'

(existential-presentative), it also covers the notion 'to be in/at' (locative) and 'have, to be at (subject's) disposal' (possessive). The structure of existentials is analysed as follows:

1. *aday* NP   (existential-presentative construction)
2. NP *aday* (NP)   (non-existential-presentative construction)

The construction *aday* NP is an existential-presentative construction with a fixed order of constituents. It is typically used to introduce the existence or occurrence of a NP entity in discourse for the first time. As found across languages (see e.g. Freeze 1992), the NP argument of such an existential-presentative is typically indefinite, thus compare the following Mualang examples with their English renderings:

(6-43)   *Ha! Aday*   [*s-iku'*   *gerama'*   *besay*]*!*
          uh   exist   ONE-CLASS   crab   big
          'Uh! There is a big crab!' (Unexpectedly someone saw a crab in the trap)

(6-44)   *Jeman   dulaw*   *da   se-buah*   *kampung   aday*
          time   previously   LOC   ONE-CLASS   village   exist

          [*ini'*   *aba'   ucu'*   *ti*   *miskin   aba'   tay*
          grandmother   and   grandchild   REL   poor   and   REL

          pedih   idup].
          difficult   live
          'In the olden times in a village there were a grandmother and a grandchild who were poor and who lived in difficult circumstances.' (The opening of a story)

(6-45)   *Baru'   ilang   kisah   ia'   tih, aday* [*kisah   Antu   Belang*].
          then   lost   story   that   *tih* exist   story   ghost   B
          'Then after that (part of the) story is over, there's a story of ghost Belang.'

(6-46)   *Ari   jawuh   ia   N-peda'   aday* [*tepayan*].
          from   far   3s   ACT-see   exist   jar
          'From a distance he saw there was a jar.'

The indefiniteness of the NP (or the fact that the NP referent is not identifiable, because it has not been mentioned in previous discourse), constrains the occurrence of the NP argument before *aday*. Thus (6-43b – 46b) are not alternatives for the structure *aday* NP:

(6-43b)   **Ha!* [*Siku' gerama' besay*]_{NP} *aday!*
(6-44b)   **Jeman dulaw da sabuah kampung* [*ini' aba' ucu' tay miskin aba' tay pedih idup*]_{NP} *aday.*

(6-45b)   **Baru' ilang kisah ia' tih,* [*kisah Antu Belang*]$_{NP}$ *aday.*
(6-46b)   **Ari jawuh ia meda'* [*tepayan*]$_{NP}$ *aday.*

Syntactically this means that the NP argument cannot occupy the subject slot in clause-initial position, hence the *aday* NP structure is not an *aday*-fronting construction. Given the fact that SVO is the unmarked word order in Mualang, the NP should be able to occupy that initial position if it is a typical subject as in "regular" clauses. This is in line with Givón (2001:191ff) who noticed the rather non-prototypicality of the "logical" subject of the existential clause as compared to a neutral-clause in all languages. Freeze (1992:555) argues cross-linguistically that the normal form of the existential has a locative argument in subject position. This is partly true for Mualang. The location element in Mualang is optional; however, if it surfaces syntactically, it is typically before *aday* NP, as can be seen in (6-44 and 6-46) above.

   The existential-presentative can be complex, in which case *aday* takes a complement clause (see section 10.3 of Chapter 10), e.g.:

(6-47)   *Peda'   kah, m'ih,   aday   urang   datay!*
          look   *kah* 2s.masc   exist   person   come
          'Take a look please, you, there is someone coming!'

(6-48)   *D=alam   kampung   aday jelu   tengan ba-kumpul.*
          LOC=inside   village   exist animal PROG   ANPAS-collect
          'In the village there were animals gathering.'

(6-49)   *Ia N-peda'   aday   tajaw   anyut,   sangkut   da*
          3s ACT-look   exist   k.o.jar be.swept.away   stuck   LOC

          sabar   bubu   ia.
          fence.for.fishtrap k.o.fish.trap 3s

          'He saw there was a jar swept away (by the river), (that) got stuck at the fence leading to his fish trap.'

(6-50)   *Melia' tih   naday kala' aday urang   ba-jadi   mali.*
          old.time *tih* NEG   ever   exist person   ANPAS-become   taboo
          'In the past there were never people engaging in a taboo marriage.'

   We turn now to the second type of construction, "the non-existential-presentative", namely NP *aday* (NP). Consider again the examples (6-43 – 6-46); all the NPs following *aday* are in brackets. *Siku'* in (6-43) has to be interpreted as an "indefinite marker", not a number (see section 4.1.2.2.1; also section 9.1). In (6-44 – 6-46) the NPs appear in bare forms without any marker for (in)definiteness. Without contexts, they may have either interpretation, as indefinite or definite. However, in all these examples they have to be interpreted as indefinite because of their contexts (they have not been mentioned previously) and their structure (i.e. the existential-

presentative). Bare NPs may also have a definite interpretation if they are identifiable in discourse, e.g. in previous clauses. Thus compare the sequence in (6-51a and b):

(6-51)   a. *Diaw,   nang   ba-gu',   aday antu!*
             quiet   don't   ANPAS-sound   exist ghost
             'Be quiet, don't make any noise, there is a ghost!'

          b. *"Ha, ha!"*   [*Antu*]   *udah   aday   da   baruh*
             laughing   ghost   PERF   exist LOC   bottom.part

             kayu   da   jalay Apay Aluy diaw.
             A   still   tree   LOC   place father

             '"Ha, ha." The ghost was already under the tree where   Aluy's father was standing still.'

(6-51b) has the structure NP *aday*, which is not presentative functionally. The NP argument is clearly the syntactic subject. The presence of the prepositional adjunct *da baruh kayu* 'under the tree' makes the construction NP *aday* LOC be read as a predicate locative, as seen in the English rendering. However, a "pure" predicate locative is verbless, as described in section 6.2 above. There is a subtle difference between the constructions of NP PP and NP *aday* PP: in the first construction, the location is the focus (although it implies the existence of the NP entity), whereas in the latter it is the existence of the NP entity in a particular place that is emphasized. If no location is mentioned, the notion 'to be there/present/in' is prominent:

(6-52)   *Wan   aday   bah?*
          2s.hon exist   *bah*
          'You were really present?'

(6-53)   *Waktu sida'   aday aba'   apay-inay,   naday*
          when   3p   exist with   father-mother NEG

          N-pakay   umpan ....
          ACT-eat   cooked.rice
          'When they were with their father and mother, they did not eat rice ….'

(6-54)   *Ku aday, da-any'ung   apay-inay   ka   pala'   darung.*
          1s exist PASS-escort   father-mother   to   head   valley
          '(When) I was born, I was taken by my father and mother to the upper part of the valley.'

(6-55)   *Aday   sida'?*
          exist   3p
          'Are they there (present in the house)?'

In (6-54) *aday* has an inchoative meaning 'to be born, begin to exist'. In (6-55), *aday* is fronted for focus.

Existential clauses are negated with the existential negator *nisi'* '(there is/was) nothing', glossed as EXIST.NEG, and *naday* 'not exist'.[4] Usage and differences of the various negators are discussed specifically in Chapter 9. The following clauses serve as illustrations:

(6-56)   *Nisi'   ari   alam   gua.*
          EXIST.NEG   from   inside   cave
          'Nothing came out of the cave.'

(6-57)   *Baru'   tay   layin   nisi'   agi'.*
          then   REL   other   EXIST.NEG   again
          'Then, there was nothing else.'

(6-58)   *Cuba   nti'   naday   kita'   wih.*
          try   if   not.exist 2p   wih
          'Imagine what it would be like if you weren't here.'

A quantifying phrase can follow the construction NP *aday* to quantify the subject NP. It seems that *aday* displays a more copula-like function in such contexts:[5]

(6-59)   *Sida'   Buwi Nasi   aday   tujuh   iku'   menyadi'.*
          3p   B   N   exist seven   CLASS   sibling

          'The *Buwi Nasi*s consist of seven siblings'

(6-60)   *Sida'   ti   ba-rumah   kediri'   aday   dua keluarga.*
          3p   REL   ANPAS-house   alone   exist two family
          'Those/the ones who stayed by themselves in a separate house were two families.'

(6-61)   *Miak   aday   mayuh   dia'.*
          child   exist   many   there.(near)
          'There were many children there.'

Finally, it should be mentioned here that the existential-presentative has developed also some sort of focus device. This pragmatic effect is discussed together with other pragmatic devices in Chapter 9. The verb *aday* is also used to express the notion of possession, as explained in the following section.

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[4] *Naday* also functions as the clausal negator 'no, not' (see section 9.5). There seems to be no difference in meaning between *naday* and *nisi'* as existential negators.
[5] However, a more typical function like the Indonesian linker *ialah/adalah* is absent in Mualang.

6.4   Possessive clauses

There are two types of possession predication in Mualang. The first one is marked
by the use of the "absolute" possessive markers *mpu* and *nu'*: both may be translated
as 'possession' and are used in a predicate nominal construction: NP [*MPU/NU'* NP]
where the second NP refers to the possessor. The difference between their usages is
subtle and requires more examination. One significant difference noticed is that *mpu*
refers to an active possession or ownership over something, and can act as a verb
meaning 'to possess, to own', as in (6-65); whereas *nu'* on the other hand simply
indicates that 'something belongs to the possessor', therefore it seems that it cannot
be used with an "inalienalble" entity like *anak* 'child' as in (6-63), while it can with
mpu as in (6-62). The possessive NP may be fronted for focus purposes (8-64).

(6-62)   *Uma/anak   tu'   mpu   ku.*
          rice.field/child   this   POSS   1s
          'This rice field/child is mine (or: is my own).'

(6-63)   *Uma/*anak   tu'   nu'   ku.*
          rice.field/child   this   POSS   1s
          'This rice field is mine (or: belongs to me).'

(6-64)   *Nama   ia',   mpu   ku   tanah   ia'.*
          name   that   POSS   1s   land   that
          'That means, that land is mine.' (Lit. 'my possession is that land')

(6-65)   *Sapa   mpu   tajaw   nya'?*
          who   own   k.o.jar   that
          'Who owns the jar?'

The second type of possessive clause is marked by the use of the non-existential-
presentative *aday*. The structure of the *aday*-possessive clause is NP₁ *aday* NP₂, in
which NP₁ is the syntactic subject indicating the "possessor", whereas the NP₂ refers
to the "possessed entity". This neutral word order is exemplified in (6-66a). For the
purpose of focus, the predicate (6-66b) and the possessed element (6-66c) may be
fronted. Note that in (6-66c) *babi* 'pig' and *manuk* 'chicken' are pronounced
intonationally separate from *kita* '1p.incl'; if they are uttered under a single phrasal
intonational contour, then they mean 'our pig/chicken', which results in a
completely different construction.

(6-66)   a. *Sida'   aday   akal.*
                 3p   exist   trick
                 'They had a trick/an idea.'

              b. *Aday   akal   sida'.*
                 exist   trick   3p
                 'A **trick**/an **idea** they had.'

    c. *Nema   babi   kita   udah   aday, manuk   kita*
       because   pig   1p.incl   PERF   exist   chicken   1p.incl

       udah   aday,   lengkap   dih   rumpah   kita   tu'.
       PERF   exist   complete   *dih*   side.dish   1p.incl   this

       'Because we already have pigs and we already have chickens, our side dishes are now complete.'

The NP₂ is normally indefinite, regardless of animacy, cf. *akal* 'trick' in (6-66a) and *anak* 'child' in (6-67a). It may be definite in some cases, as in (6-67b) where it is modified by the demonstrative *tu'* 'this'. However such a clause is most likely to occur in the presence of the possessed entity at the time of speaking.

(6-67)   a. *Ku tu'   aday anak.*
         1s   this   exist   child
         '(As for me) I have a child (children).'

        b. *Ku tu'   aday anak tu'.*
         1s   this   exist   child   this
         '(As for me) I have this child (with me).'

The demonstratives may also appear in a construction like (6-67b) but the intended meaning is "like this/that", e.g.:

(6-68)   *Ku aday isaw   tu' da   rumah.*
        1s exist machete this LOC house
        'I have this kind of machete at home.'

   The NP₁ or the subject may be both human (6-66 and 6-67) above and non-human (6-69 – 6-71) below:

(6-69)   *Rumah   seniku'   aday gang'ang.*
        house   2d   exist balcony
        'The house of the two of them has a balcony.'

(6-70)   *Dulaw   tih Dampak aday rumah panyay.*
        previous.time *tih* D   exist house long
        'Previously the village of Dampak had a (traditional) longhouse.'

(6-71)   *Nyelipan nya' aday bisa.*
        centipede that aday poison
        'The centipede had poison.'

As seen in their English translation, the NP subjects in (6-67 – 6-71) can be interpreted as the possessor. However, such an interpretation is likely if the subject is animate, but seems to be less clear if the subject is inanimate. In the following examples the subjects (*rumah kami* 'our house' in (6-72), *tajaw nya'* 'that jar' in (6-

73), and *rumah* 'house' in (6-74) look more like a location than a possessor (cf. (6-69 – 6-71):

(6-72)   *Kemari'   rumah   kami   aday   urang   ti   N-curi.*
          yesterday house   2p.excl exist person REL   ACT-steal
          a. '(?)Yesterday our house had a thief.'
          b. 'Yesterday our house had a thief in it.' (or: 'Yesterday there
             was a thief in our house.')

(6-73)   *Tajaw   nya'   aday   nsia   d=alam   nya'.*
          k.o.jar that   exist human.being   LOC=inside   that
          'The jar had a person in it.'

(6-74)   *Da   kampung   sida'   urang   pecaya'   nti'   naday   N-jua'*
          LOC village   3p   person believe   if   NEG   ACT-give

          ulih   diri'   ka   kawan   ti   semak,   [rumah   aday   sial].
          gain   self   to   friend REL   close   house   exist unluck
          'In their village people believe that if somebody does not share his
          own (hunting) gains with his neighbors, his house has bad luck.'

Freeze (1992:582-583) observes that in English the nature of the possessive relation in a 'have' predication is constrained by the [human] value of the subject: if the subject is [+human], the "theme" (his term for the NP$_2$) can be both inalienably and alienably possessed. But, if the subject is [-human], then the "theme" has to be inalienably possessed (e.g. *the tree has branches*), or a 'characteristically associated' noun (e.g. *the flour has weevils (in it)*, otherwise there has to be an *in situ* locational phrase anaphoric to the   [-human] subject (e.g. ***the flour** has a ring **in it***, cf. **the flour has a ring*). This kind of possessive relation between the NP$_1$ and NP$_2$ seems to be also possible in Mualang *aday*-possessive constructions. However, in Mualang an anaphoric locational phrase as in English is optional: in (6-73) *d=alam nya'* may be left out without essentially changing the meaning of the clause. Actually, according to Freeze, it is a cross-linguistical fact that the NP$_1$ or the subject of the 'have' predication is locative (Freeze 1992). In Mualang, the locative nature of the subject as in (6-72) through (6-74) supports this view, and it is most likely that it is the inalienability of the NP$_2$ vis-à-vis the NP$_1$ subject (being characteristically associated with it) that enables the possessive reading in cases such as (6-67) and (6-69). If the NP$_1$ is location, then the NP$_2$ is the existing element whose location is specified in the NP$_1$. The *aday*-possessive clause thus basically shares a syntactic similarity with the *aday*-existential-presentative construction. This is not surprising as the interrelationship between locative, existential and possessive predications is well known cross-linguistically. Freeze (1992:586) argues that in many languages the structures of existential and possessive ('have') predication are identical, and only partially distinguished in some languages by the presence or absence of the preposition. Mualang seems to belong to the latter type. As seen in various examples of the existential constructions in 6.3, the location, if it surfaces, is expressed through a prepositional phrase, whereas in the possessive construction the

location appears in the syntactic subject position without a preposition. Some linguists (e.g. Freeze 1992) have argued that in the possessive construction the location argument is the result of "location raising", that is, a locational adjunct becomes a syntactic locative subject. Thus compare the locational adjunct *da suti' kampung* 'in one village' in (6-75a) with the locative subject *suti' kampung* 'one village' in (b):

(6-75)   a. ...*da*   *s-uti'*   *kampung* *aday* *tiga* *puluh*
               LOC   ONE-CLASS   village   exist   three unit.of.ten

              buah   *pintu.*
              CLASS   door
              '… in one (i.e. in each) village there were 30 families.'

    b. ...*s-uti'*   *kampung* *aday* *tiga* *puluh*   *buah*
            ONE-CLASS   village   exist   three unit.of.ten   CLASS

              pintu.
              door
              '… one (i.e. each) village had 30 families.'

Also consider the locational prepositional phrase in (6-76a), the "location raising" in (b), and the "possessor (of the location) raising" in (c):

(6-76)   a. *Aday* *cula* [*da*   *kaki* *Belang* *Patung*].
           exist   horn LOC foot B   P
           'There was a horn on Belang Patung's foot'

    b. [*Kaki* *Belang*   *Patung*] *aday* *cula.*
          foot   B   P   exist horn
          'The foot of Belang Patung had a horn (on it)'

    c. [*Belang*   *Patung*] *aday* *cula* *da*   *kaki*
          B   P   exist horn LOC foot
          'Belang Patung had a horn on (his) foot'

Payne (1997:127) suggests the involvement of topicalization (highly correlated with definiteness and animacy) as a main functional difference between the elements in the existential, locational and possessive clauses. My preliminary study of some texts reveals that the *aday*-possessive construction is often used when the existence of the NP$_2$ is introduced, but it is the location or the possessor of the NP$_2$ that is topicalized (being the subject of the clause), exhibiting "topic continuity" (i.e. the location or possessor continues to be the topic of discussion). Consider the following examples. (6-77) is taken from a narrative story. In the previous paragraphs the story depicted how King Sua found Puyang Gana and took care of him. Then, he was said to have a daughter, who was introduced "all of a sudden".

    A similar introduction of the "possessed" element can be seen in (6-78) and (6-79) as well.

(6-77)   *Jadi Raja Sua tih aday anak in'u',   nama Dara Reja'.*
          So   King S   *tih* exist child female   name D   R

          Aa   pia'.   "Aw'!"   jaku' ia,   "Tu'=m,   n'u',
          ah   like.that. well   say   3s   this=*m*   TOA

          ngaw   laki   di'."
          for   husband   2s.fem
          'So, King Sua, you know, had a daughter named Dara Reja'. Ah,
          that's so. "Well!" he said, "This (=Puyang Gana), my daughter, is to
          be your husband."

(6-78)   *Ha, pia'.   Ku aday kisah ti   lucu.*
          ha like.that   1s exist story REL funny
          'Ha, this is it. I have a funny story.'

(6-79)   *Putung Kempat   tu' aday peN-sakit   tay   da-sebut*
          P   K   this exist NOM-sick REL   PASS-mention

          urang   peN-sakit   bangkang.
          person NOM-sick   bruise/ulcer
          'As for Putung Kempat, she had a disease that people called *bangkang*
          (bruises and ulcers).'

The introductory function of *aday* is typical of the existential-presentative clause. It
makes sense, then, that there is a structural similarity between the existentials and
the *aday*-possessive construction. Note also that this is why in the latter, the NP$_2$ (or
the "possessed" element) is normally indefinite, as is the case with the existential
constructions. Another grammatical similarity between the two clauses is that both
are negated by the existential negator *nisi'* or *naday* (see the examples for the
existential-presentative in 6.3):

(6-80)   *Nyaw   malam sida' nisi'   guris.*
          already   night 3p   EXIST.NEG   matches
          'It was already night and they had no matches.'

(6-81)   *Nyaw   ke-lama'   babi ia' sem'uh   jara', ulih*
          already   NOM-long   pig that recovered *jara'* but

          nisi'   jungur agi', aba' pen'ing   kanan   ia
          EXIST.NEG   snout again and   ear   right(.side) 3s

          nisi'   agi'.
          EXIST.NEG   again
          'After a long time the pig had recovered, but he had no snout anymore
          and his right ear was not there anymore.'

(6-82)   *Urang tuay kelia' naday   alat-alat, naday   senapang.*
          person old   old.time not.exist tool-RED not.exist rifle
          'The old people of the past had no tools, no rifles.'

A note needs to be added on the quantifier *mayuh* 'many, much' and *sikit* 'a little, a few'. These quantifiers appear with or without *aday* in the existential and possessive clauses. It is probable that these indefinite quantifers inherently contain the sense of existence. However, the use of *aday* seems to more explicitly emphazise the existence of an entity. The following are two examples (cf. also example (6-4) above):

(6-83)   *Urang tuay kelia' (aday) mayuh/sikit   kata-kata   mali.*
          person old   old.time (exist) many/a.little   word-RED   taboo
          'The old people of the past had many/few taboo words.'

(6-84)   *Nya' mah N-suruh   da   daerah Sepawuk nya' (aday)*
          that   *mah* ACT-cause LOC region S   that   exist

          mayuh mas   pitu'.
          many   gold   like.this
          'That is why in that Sepauk region there is a lot of gold now.'

7   SIMPLE VERBAL CLAUSES AND ARGUMENT STRUCTURE

In Chapter 6 I have dealt with predicate nominals and some constructions related to them. In this chapter I will turn to predicates that are verbal. In the first place the discussion will be concerned with the verb and its core arguments and their morphosyntactic marking in clauses. Mualang is an inconsistent SVO language. Subjects and objects are not marked morphologically, indirect (and oblique) objects are introduced by a preposition. Verbs are morphologically marked with prefixes. There are no suffixes. Verbal prefixes have two different functions, namely 1) VALENCE INCREASER (or VALENCE for short), and 2) VOICE MARKER. Valence increasing operators, discussed in 7.1.3.1, include verbal prefixes that derive verbs from noun roots or increase transitivity of verbal roots. Such derivational operations yield an inflectable stem. In discourse, such a verbal stem can be inflected for voice (discussed in 7.2), using a Voice prefix (see example (7-2). Thus, the voice marker operates after valence increasing prefixation. One voice prefix, namely *ba-*, can operate directly on a noun stem (7-3). Basically the verb structure in Mualang may be represented as follows (parentheses mark optionality; a stem may consist of a single root):

(7-1)   Verb structures:
         a. **LEXICAL STEM = (VALENCE) − (NOUN/)VERB ROOT**
         b. **GRAMMATICAL VERB = VOICE − STEM**

As an illustration, consider (7-2) and (7-3):

(7-2)   a. *diri*
         stand
         'stand'

         b. *N-*   *pe-*   *diri → meniri*   (Active Voice)
         ACT-   CAUS-   stand
         VOICE   VALENCE   STEM
         'cause to stand up, make s.t. stand or erect'

         c. *da-*   *pe-*   *diri → dapediri*   (Passive Voice)
         PASS-   CAUS-   stand
         VOICE   VALENCE   STEM
         'put in erect position'

(7-3)   *ba-*   *peN-*   *tam'ak* → *bapenam'ak*
        ANPAS-   NOM-   plant   (Antipassive Voice)
        VOICE   NOMINALIZER   STEM
            'do cultivation work'

Following the discussion on the classification of verbs (7.1) and on voice constructions (7.2), advancement of peripheral elements to core syntactic roles will be discussed in (7.3).

7.1   Classification of verbs

Verbs in Mualang are divided into two major groups: *intransitive* and *transitive*. This distinction is based on the semantic roles of the participants typically associated with the verb. For the current analysis, I have adopted the major semantic roles proposed in Givón (2001a:107), which is summarized as follows:[1]

> 1) *agent* = the participant, typically animate, who acts deliberately to initiate the event, and thus bears the responsibility for it, e.g.: **Mary** kicked John;
> 2) *patient* = the participant, either animate or inanimate, that either is in a state or registers a change-of-state as a result of an event, e.g.: *Mary saw **John***;
> 3) *dative* = a conscious participant in the event, typically animate, but not the deliberate initiator, e.g.: ***John*** *knew Mary*;
> 4) *instrument* = a participant, typically inanimate, used by the agent to perform the action, e.g.: *She chopped firewood **with an axe***;
> 5) *benefactive* = the participant, typically animate, for whose benefit the action is performed, e.g.: *He fixed the roof **for his mother***;
> 6) *locative* = the place, typically concrete and inanimate, where the state is, where the event occurs, or toward which or away from which some participant is moving, e.g: *He went **to the store***;
> 7) *associative* = an associate of the agent, patient or dative of the event, whose role in the event is similar, but who is not as important, e.g. *with her father* in: *She worked **with her father***;
> 8) *manner* = the manner in which an event occurs or an agent performed the action, e.g: *He left **in a hurry***.

Verbal bases can be monomorphemic (i.e. consist of merely a root), or polymorphemic (i.e. consist of a (derived) stem).[2] The subdivision into various intransitive and transitive verbs is further outlined in (7.1.2) and (7.1.3), respectively.

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[1] Givón's analysis of semantic roles broadly follows that of Fillmore (1968) and Chafe (1970). I have also benefited from Payne's (1997:48ff) discussion of semantic roles, which is based primarily on the work of Comrie (1989) and Fillmore (1968).
[2] A root contains the basic lexical meaning of a word. The basic meaning can be modified by means of prefixes, reduplication or both.

7.1.2   Intransitive verb roots

Intransitive verbs are univalent (i.e. they have a semantic valence of one). They typically express a property, state, or situation involving only one participant (Payne 1997:171). In Mualang, verb roots grouped as intransitive typically include the following:

1) words prototypically categorized as adjectives in the literature (cf. Payne 1997:63; Givón 2001a:82ff), e.g.:
    a.   age: *tuay* 'old', *muda'* 'young', *manta'* 'raw', *muduh* 'ripe';
    b.   dimension: *besay'* 'big', *mit* 'small, little', *panyay* 'long', *panus* 'low, short', *jawuh* 'distant', *semak* 'close';
    c.   color: *mirah* 'red', *ijaw* 'green, blue', *putih* 'white';
    d.   value: *bayik* 'good, pretty'[3], *jat* 'bad', *bagas* 'handsome';
    e.   physical characteristics: *gemu'* 'fat', *ringkay* 'thin', *rangkay* 'dry'; *kukuh* 'strong';
    f.   shape: *bujur* 'straight', *buntar* 'round';
    g.   human propensity/mental states: *gaga* 'glad', *pedih* 'sad, difficult, sick', *ingkuh* 'dilligent', *luntus* 'lazy', *lelak* 'tired', *lemaw* 'weak, lazy', *kerampak* 'arrogant, egotistical', *pan'ay* 'clever', *mawa* 'stupid', *takut* 'afraid', *ringat* 'angry';
    h.   speed: *sigat* 'fast', *lawun* 'slow'.

2) locomotion verbs (in Payne's sense (1997:56)), i.e. verbs describing "no simple motion but movement out of one scene and into another". There is no internal process depicted. Some of them express only one trajectory of movement. For example: *rari* 'run (away)', *datay* 'come', *angkat* 'go', *pulay* 'come/go home', *tama'* 'enter', *pansut/keluar* 'exit, come out', *sampay* 'arrive, achieve', *terbay* 'fly', *tim'ul* 'emerge', *teng'elam* 'sunk', *turun* 'descend', *pin'ah* 'move (intransitive)', *labuh* 'fall, drop'. Some other verbs are very close to this sense in that they describe no movement but rather a still or a static position, e.g.: *duduk* 'sit', *diri* 'stand up', *tin'uk* 'sleep', *dani* 'wake up', *diaw* 'stay, quiet', *ting'al* 'stay', *nugaw* 'stay quiet (go nowhere)',;

3) various other states, e.g.: *tum'uh* 'grow (intransitive)', *idup* 'alive', *mati* 'dead', *sunyi* 'quiet', *ilang* 'lost', *aday* 'exist', *anyut* 'swept away (by water)', *selabuk* 'hide one's self', *bira'* 'defecate', *kemih* 'urinate', *mutah* 'vomit', *semuh* 'recovered', *mimpi* 'dream', *suayak* 'divorced', *ingat* 'remember', *riu* 'to be long', *putus* 'broken', *ka'* 'want', *ayap* 'lost', *mabuk* 'to be drunk', *tem'u'* 'finished, done', *miskin* 'poor', *kaya* 'rich', *cawis* 'finished'.

I will use the term 'static intransitive verbs' to generally refer to the "adjectival-like" intransitive verbs; non-static intransitive verbs will be referred to as 'dynamic intransitive verbs'. All intransitive roots can appear directly in the clause without a

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[3] The meaning 'pretty' occurs in the Downstream speech.

prefix (7.2.2). Some can be semantically modified by the use of certain voice prefixes (e.g. with *te-* (see 7.2)).

7.1.3   Transitive verb roots

Transitive roots have at least a semantic valence of two, involving an *agent* and a *patient*. Some roots allow three core arguments in a clause. Some examples of transitive roots are *bunuh* 'kill', *pangkung* 'hit, beat', *tunu* 'burn', *am'i'* 'take', *pakay* 'eat', *inum* 'drink', *beri' / jua'* 'give', *beli* 'buy'.

   Morphosyntactically transitive roots require the active prefix *N-* in simple active clauses (see 7.2.3). Transitive verbs can also be derived with the use of a valence increasing operator, which will be discussed in 7.1.3.1 below.

7.1.3.1   Valence increasing prefixes and derived transitive verb stems

Valence increasing prefixes raise the valence of a word. They can verbalize a noun, or transitivize an intransitive or nominal root or, in some cases, increase the degree of transitivity (i.e. in the sense of Hopper and Thompson 1980) of a transitive verb. The verb stems derived from such a derivational operation may be used as such (i.e. with "zero-marking") or must occur with a voice prefix in order to fully function in discourse. There are two grammatical processes which increase the valence of words:

   1)   morphologically unmarked derivation
   2)   derivation by means of the causative prefix *pe-*.

Each of them is discussed below.

1. Morphologically unmarked verbal derivation

There are a lot of common nouns that can be used as, or converted into, a verbal form directly without any morphological marking. Such an unmarked noun-to-verb derivation is also recognized in English as noticed in Givón (2001a:81; e.g. *can* 'put … into a can' (as a verb)). For illustration in Mualang consider (7-4):

(7-4)   *Unmarked noun to verb derivation*

Noun		→	Verb
ili'	'downstream'	→	'to go downstream (a river)'
catuk	'spoon'	→	'to scoop (food, etc.) with a spoon'
tusuy	'story'	→	'to tell (a story, etc.)'
getah	'latex; sticky sap of plant'	→	'to trap (something) with sticky sap'
tugal	'a pointed stick to make holes for seeds'	→	'to make holes for seeds with a stick, to dibble'

The derivations are transitive verb forms with "inverse zero-marking" (see 7.2 below). The transitivity of these derivations is morphologically evident from the existence of parallel verbal forms with the inflectional voice prefixes *N-* and *da-*, or

the inverse zero marking. Thus, the derived stems in (7-4) can be used with voice inflection as follows:

(7-5)   *Voice forms (including those with zero marking) for transitive denominal verbs*

Derived verb stem	Active	Passive	Inverse
ili'	*N-ili' (= ngili')*	*da-ili'*	*ili'*
catuk	*N-catuk (= ncatuk)*	*da-catuk*	*catuk*
tusuy	*N-tusuy (= nusuy)*	*da-tusuy*	*tusuy*
getah	*N-getah (= ngetah)*	*da-getah*	*getah*
tugal	*N-tugal (= nugal)*	*da-tugal*	*tugal*

Since Mualang only has prefixes, I include the unmarked derivation under the same category, that is, valence increasing prefixes, together with the causative *pe-*. The various derivative meanings resulting from the unmarked noun to verb transitivizing operation have to do with carrying out an action against an object that primarily involves the noun root in question. The entity expressed in the noun root is treated semantically as generic and is incorporated into the meaning of the verb form in some way as in (7-6):

(7-6)   *Derivative meanings of the nominal verb stems*

a) as an incorporated (generic) object. The action is carried out toward something with or in relation to the object expressed in the nominal root, e.g.:

tusuy 'a story'	→	'to tell (a story)'
kisah 'a story'	→	'to tell (a story)'
umung 'a talk'	→	'to talk'
salak 'a bark of a dog'	→	'to bark (e.g. a squealing sound)'
sawut 'a reply'	→	'to reply'
pikir 'a thought'	→	'to think'
jabaw 'bamboo shoots'	→	'to look for bamboo shoots'
umpan 'cooked rice, food'	→	'to feed'
benih 'seed'	→	'to sow'
ludah 'saliva'	→	'to spit at'
bum'u 'spice'	→	'to put spice on (food)'
laban 'enemy, rival'	→	'to oppose, fight'
kan'ung 'womb, content'	→	'to be pregnant (with), to contain'

b) as an incorporated instrument. The action is carried out with the assistance of what the nominal root indicates, e.g.:

pen'ing 'ear'	→	'to eardrop, to listen to'
catuk 'spoon'	→	'to scoop (food) with a spoon'
getah 'latex or sticky sap plant'	→	'to trap (something) with of sticky sap'
sumpit 'blowpipe gun'	→	'to shoot with a blowpipe'
tugal 'a pointed stick to make holes for seeds'	→	'to make holes for seeds with a stick'

c) as an incorporated location, e.g.:

ili' 'downstream'	→	'to go downstream (a river)'
ulu 'upstream'	→	'to go upstream (a river)'
kubur 'grave'	→	'to bury'

Hopper and Thompson (1984:745-746) have noticed that it is apparently a universal for languages to require a special nominalizing morphology to derive a noun from a verbal form but not the other way around. The direction of the zero derivation proposed for Mualang is a confirmation of this tendency. In Mualang, if the root is lexically a verb, it would take a nominalizing prefix to derive a nominal form (see Chapter 4).

A similar case of morphologically unmarked derivation is also apparent in many intransitive verb roots that can be used transitively as well, e.g.:

(7-7)   *Meanings of transitive verb stems derived from intransitive verbs*

INTRANSITIVE	→	TRANSITIVE
ting'i' 'high, tall'	→	'heighten'
besay 'big'	→	'make bigger'[4]
labuh 'fall, drop'	→	'drop (something)'
idup 'alive'	→	'take care (plant, animal), operate (engine), put on (fire, lamp)'
pan'i' 'take a bath'	→	'bathe (somebody)'
pedih 'sick, sad'	→	'make sad, make to suffer'
pulay 'go/come home'	→	'return (something)'
pin'ah 'move (oneself)'	→	'move (something)'
anyut 'be swept away (by water)'	→	'make (something/somebody) be swept away'

Semantically the intransitive roots are neutral, in the sense that the state they indicate is not presented as the result of an action. They simply denote that the subject is in that state, without any further semantic implication. *Pecah* 'break' (as in '*the window broke*'), for example, does not imply that the state is the result of an action, as may be seen in the English *broken* (as in '*the window is broken*'). This fact suggests that the intransitive root is the base, and not vice versa.

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[4] Another derivative use of *besay* 'big' has the meaning 'as big as' (see 6.1.2.1.3 of Chapter 6).

The derivative meaning always increases the valence of the base: e.g., with static intransitive roots the derived verb indicates that there is a causer who makes something to be in the state expressed by the base, e.g. *ting'i'* 'heighten'. This type of derivation is productive and no other morphological operators are available. The majority of derived transitive verbs are formed via this unmarked operation.

2. The causative pe-

The morphophonemics of the causative *pe-* (and its allomorph *per-* and *pel-*) is discussed in Chapter 2 (section 2.5). This prefix is not very productive. With a few exceptions it adds a certain causative meaning to the base, which can be a verb (both intransitive and transitive) or a noun. With a transitive base, it may denote that the action is carried out together by many people or against many objects (thus increasing the "degree" of transitivity of the base). The *pe-* stems are inflectable for voice with the prefixes *N-*, *da-*, or the zero inverse (see 7.2.5). However, some *pe-*derived stems normally appear in passive constructions rather than in others, for example, *pe-bunuh* 'kill many/with many' is usually used in the passive, e.g. *babi da-pe-bunuh* (pig-PASS-CAUS-kill) 'the pig was killed (by a group of people); many pigs were killed'. The following examples are found in my corpus of data:[5]

(7-8)　　*Derived causative pe- stems*

ROOT	→ ***pe*-DERIVED STEMS**
uma 'rice field'	*p-uma* 'cultivate (land) as a rice field'
amis 'finished'	*p-amis* 'make finished completely'[6]
guraw 'a joke'	*pe-guraw* 'tease, make a fool of'
nselan 'a rite of making an offering'	*pe-nselan* 'make a rite for offering'
diri 'stand'	*pe-diri* 'erect (a lying object)'
nyamay 'comfortable'	*pe-nyamay* 'let (someone) feel comfortable' (used only in passive voice)
duduk 'sit'	*pe-duduk* 'put in a seat'
anyung 'escort'	*per-anyung* (also *pe- anyung*) 'escort in a mass, escort many'
bunuh 'kill'	*pe-bunuh* 'kill many/with many (usually with a big object and a

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[5] Thus far I have only found one example where the *per-* derives an intransitive verb from a noun base, that is, *ay'* 'water'→ *per-ay'* 'contain much water' (e.g. *getah ia' per-ay'* (rubber.sap-that-CAUS?.water) 'the rubber sap has much water in it'. However, with the (unique?) prefix *pel-*, a transitive verb stem is derived: *pel-ay'* 'put or add water into something' (e.g. *rempah da-pel-ay'* (side.dish-PASS.CAUS?.water) 'the side dishes have water added to them').

[6] These two forms *p-uma* and *p-amis* were found to be usually pronounced with *p-* only, and not *pe-*.

	generic agent; used only in passive voice)'
ati 'liver'	*per-ati* 'pay attention to'

In the last three derivatios no causative meaning can be observed.

Some illustrations in clauses:

(7-9)   *Asa pia',   nitaw'   da-pe-nyamay!*
          if   like.that   cannot   PASS-CAUS-comfortable
          'If that's so, they cannot be allowed to be so comfortable!' (we have to take revenge)

(7-10)   *Pakay manta', pakay uga', p-amis,   mpa'!*
          eat   raw   eat   all   CAUS-finished   chew
          'Eat (them) uncooked, eat (them) all, finish (them), chew!'

(7-11)   *Pe-duduk   miak kin!*
          CAUS-sit   child thither.far
          'Put the child in the seat over there!'

Having established the grammatical features of verbal stems, I now turn to a discussion of the various voice prefixes used with the stems in their contexts.

7.2   Voice constructions

By voice I refer to what has been traditionally called, among other labels, *active* and *passive voice* or *diathesis*. In general I refer to the definitions proposed in Payne (1997, 1999) and Givón (2001a, b). Voice has recently been viewed as a way of adjusting the relationship between grammatical relations (*subject, object,* etc.) and semantic roles (*agent, patient, benefactive,* etc.) (Payne 1997, 1999). Givón primarily defines voice in terms of functions, e.g. in terms of relative topicality of the *agent* with respect to the *patient*. The functional domain of voice is coded by a family of syntactic constructions in any given language (cf. Givón 2001b Ch. 13). Mualang employs several prefixes for different types of voice constructions. "Voice prefixes" should be distinguished from the typical derivational prefixes (as discussed in section 7.1. above).

The present section (7.2) explores the morphosyntax and functions of various types of clauses – hence (sub)-types of verbs marked by the voice prefixes. It is claimed in Givón (2001a, b) that it is basic for grammatical description to begin with the simple clause, either intransitive or transitive, that is, the main declarative, affirmative, stative or active clauses, of which "all other clause-types may be seen as *variations"* (see Givón 2001a:105). It is then best to assume the simple clause as the reference point for the present description.

This description begins first by providing a background for the notions of semantic roles and grammatical relations applied in the present analysis of Mualang (7.2.1), then followed by the simple stative intransitive clause (7.2.2) and the simple active transitive clause (7.2.3). After that, other voice constructions will be

described: *da-* passive (7.2.4), inverse (7.2.5), a comparison of the active, passive and inverse (7.2.6), *ba-* antipassive (7.2.7), unvolitional middle *te-* (7.2.8), inchoative *ke-* (7.2.9), adversative *kena'* (7.2.10), reflexives (7.2.11), and reciprocals (7.2.12). Finally, 7.3 will discuss advancement operations on peripheral elements.

7.2.1   Semantic roles and grammatical relations

Semantic roles have been addressed in 7.1. Here grammatical relations (GRs) are discussed. Grammatical relations are relations between arguments and predicates (Payne 1997:129). In Mualang the following core GRs are attested: *subject* (S), *direct object* (or simply *object* = O)*, indirect object* (IO). For optional (i.e. non-core) arguments, the term *oblique* will be used. Properties that can identify the GRs in Mualang are 1) relative word order of constituents; 2) prefixal marking on the verb. Indirect objects (and obliques) are marked with a preposition. The pragmatically unmarked word order is SV(O). All voice prefixes refer to the subject of the clause (in relation to the other arguments). The syntactic and semantic status of arguments will be discussed in relation to the relevant prefixes. As an illustration, consider:

(7-12)   *Ia*   *tin'uk.*
            3s   sleep
            S (dative)
            'He/she is sleeping.'

(7-13)   *Sida'*   *N-beri'*   *ku*   *ka*   *tanah.*
            3p   ACT-give   1s   to   land
            A-S   V   benefactive-O   patient-IO
            'They gave me some land.'

7.2.2   Zero marking: Simple stative intransitive clauses

Simple intransitive (i.e. static and dynamic) verbs directly appear in clauses in "bare" forms, i.e. morphologically unmarked. I will refer to such clauses as stative clauses, in contrast to, for example, active ones (see 7.2.3 below). They take one single argument as the subject of the clause. "Zero marking" in such a way marks no agentive dynamism but stativity, that is, the subject of the clause is described as being in a particular state. The semantic role of subject is non-agent, covering both patient and dative (of a mental state). Zero marking typically applies to intransitive verb roots described in 7.1.1.

     The unmarked word order of simple stative intransitive clauses is SV, with VS as its pragmatic alternative. The unmarked SV order is neutral intonationally and pragmatically:

(7-14)   *Kebila*   [*m'ih*   **pulay**]*?*
            when   2s.masc   go.home
            'When are you going home?'

(7-15)   *Jadi,* [*Dara   Jantung   tu'*   **panci,   alap**],   *jaku' kita*
        so   D   J   this   pretty   beautiful   say   1p.incl

        pia'.   [*Kulit*   **putih   kuning**].
        like.that   skin   white   yellow
        'Thus, Dara Jantung was very beautiful, so we said. (Her) skin was yellowish white.'

(7-16)   *Padi   bedaw   **muduh**.*
        rice   not.yet   ripe
        'The rice has not ripened yet.'

(7-17)   *Udah   N-pakay   kulat,*   [*sida'*   **mabuk**]   *semua.*
        after   ACT-eat   mushroom   3p   drunk   all
        'After having eaten mushroom, they all were drunk.'

The VS order is marked pragmatically and usually also intonationally (i.e. pronounced with relatively high and lengthened pitch on the verb). The VS order tends to be used to emphasize the event/verb, rather than the subject. In (7-18 – 7-22) below some pragmatic factors are involved in the focusing of the verb or event. In (7-18 – 7-19) the subjects carry old information and the verbs (i.e. *mit* 'little' in (7-18) and *salah* 'wrong' in (7-19) emphasize the state of the subjects. In (7-20), the fronted event *N-pabat* 'ACT-slash' is highlighted in a 'tail-head linkage' construction with the preceding clause to provide the background for the following event. In a similar way, the verb *datay* 'come' is also emphazised. In (7-21) the event *turun* 'descend' is fronted as being something happening as a fulfillment of a wish; it also shows a 'tail-head' connection with the preceding clause. However, the subject is emphasized to increase the suspense. In (7-22) the event *datay* 'come' is fronted to emphasize the unexpectedness of the event.

(7-18)   *Jadi, mulay ari   Dayang   Putri.   Dayang   Putri diaw aba'*
        thus   begin   from   D   P   D   P   stay   with

        ini'   *Aman   Tungku   Kebayan.*   [*Agi'*   **mit**   *ia*], ...
        grandmother   A   T   K   still   little   3s
        'Thus, (I tell the story) beginning from Dayang Putri. Dayang Putri lived with her grandmother, Aman Tungku Kebayan. She was still **little**, ...'

(7-19)   *Pia',   a,   laya' jat, seniku'.* [**Salah**   *seniku'*].
        like.that   ha   fight   bad   2d   wrong   2d
        'So, fighting is bad, both of you. Both of you are **wrong** (if you fight each other).'

(7-20) *Aw', N-pabat   agi'   s-ari   ia'. Udah [N-pabat*
        well ACT-slash again ONE-day that after ACT-slash

        sida']   peN-besay   tay   kemari'   tih, pulay.   Malam,
        3p   NOM-big   REL   yesterday *tih* go.home night

        [*datay agi'   Puyang Gana aba'   bala   pe-suruh   ia*].
        come   again P   G   with   all.kind NOM-order 3s
        'Well, they slashed again (all the trees) the whole day. Having slashed
        a large part (of the area) they did yesterday, they went home. At night,
        there **came** again Puyang Gana and all his helpers.'

(7-21) *Lama' ka lama' ia tih nyaw dara.   Aday dih, aday*
        long   to long   3s *tih* PERF maiden   exist *dih* exist

        turun   upa   ti   kedeka'   ia. [Turun   urang   laki] ....
        descend   as   REL will   3s   descend   person male
        'Long after that she had become a maiden. (Then) there was, really,
        somebody who came down like she had been longing for. There came
        down a **man** ....'

(7-22) *Baru'   tay   ke-dua,   nti' benung kita   ba-laya',*
        then   REL   ORD-two   if   PROG   1p.incl ANPAS-fight

        [*datay keban   temuay senganay,   tem'away*
        come   all.kind guest   Malay.people former.settlement

        bukay] ....
        other
        'Then the second thing would be, when we are fighting each other,
        that (suddenly) all kinds of guests would come visiting, the Malays,
        other people (then we would hurriedly make up with one another so
        that others would not know we had been fighting)....'

    Some stative verbs usually appear subjectless. These include verbs related to the
weather, e.g. *ujan* 'it rains' (also a noun), *guntur* 'it's thundering' (also a noun),
celap 'it's cold', *angat* 'it's hot'.
    Further usages of intransitive verbs are discussed below.

7.2.2.1   Zero marking and the middle voice

Many intransitive verbs described in 7.1.2 points 2 and 3 may also be used
transitively (see list (7-7) above). Clauses containing such verbs may imply that the
subject undergoes a change of state due to a process or an action of an agent or a
causer, rather than carrying out an action. To some extent this situation is similar to
the function of middle voice in other languages (cf. Payne 1997:216). Verbs having
such a 'middle voice' are, among others, *anyut* 'swept away (by water)', *putus*
'broken, be apart', *pin'ah* 'move', *lela'* 'crushed', *pecah* 'broken', *labuh* 'fall, drop'.

The agent or causer appears optionally in a prepositional phrase headed by the preposition *ulih* 'by, as a result of what (X) did', e.g.:

(7-23)   a.   Active
                Ku N-labuh   buah.
                1s   ACT-drop   fruit
                'I dropped the fruit.'

          b.   'Middle'
                Buah   labuh   (ulih ku).
                fruit   drop   (by me)
                'The fruit fell/dropped (by my doings, as a result of what I
                did).'

          c.   Inverse
                Buah   ia'   ku   labuh.
                fruit   that   1s   drop
                'That fruit was dropped by me.'

The 'middle' construction in (7-23b) may be compared to the inverse in (c) (see 7.2.5 and 7.2.6 for the inverse). However, in the middle construction the situation is a process rather than an action, whereas in the inverse the activity of an agent is apparent.[7]

7.2.2.2   Zero marking in other construction-types

Zero marking is not only used in the middle voice but also:

          a) when a verb, either intransitive or transitive, functions as an attribute of
              a NP (see 4.1.2.4 in Chapter 4), e.g.:

                tuay 'old', as in *urang tuay* 'old person'
                terbay 'fly', as in *kapal terbay* 'airplane'
                tunu 'burn, bake', as in *ubi tunu* 'baked cassava'

          b) in imperatives (Chapter 9, subsection 9.6.2)
          c) in an inverse construction (7.2.4)

    All the zero marking constructions mentioned in this section (7.2.2) have in common that the zero marking on the verb codes non-agentivity.[8]

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[7] Payne (1997:217) compares a middle construction with a passive, in which the latter "treats the situation as an action carried out by an agent but with the identity of the agent downplayed"; whereas in the former the situation is conceived as a process. In Mualang a similar comparison holds between the middle and inverse construction.
[8] With the imperative this "non-agentivity" is to be interpreted as the fact that an agent is hoped for, but not yet actualized.

7.2.3 The nasal prefix *N-*: active voice

The nasal prefix *N-* is used with transitive verbs primarily to code *active-transitive* voice.[9] With a verb marked by *N-* the agent of the event is assigned the subject role in the clause. In the prototypical transitive clause, the patient object always appears. All verbs that exhibit prototypical transitivity have to be marked with the prefix *N-* in the simple active-transitive clause, as in (7-24a), otherwise the clause is ungrammatical, as in (b). The unmarked word order is SVO.

(7-24)   a. *Ku N-bunuh   manuk.*
            1s ACT-kill   chicken
            'I killed a chicken.'

        b. **Ku bunuh   manuk.*
            1s ACT-kill   chicken
            'I killed a chicken.'

Givón (2001a:109, based on Hopper and Thompson 1980) provides the following defining features for the semantic prototype of a transitive event: "1) agentivity: having a deliberate, active *agent*; 2) affectedness: having a concrete, affected *patient*; and 3) perfectivity: involving a bounded, terminated, fast-changing event in real time." Syntactically, "clauses and verbs that have a *direct object* are transitive. All others are syntactically intransitive." In Mualang, verbs that can take *N-* can be readily recognized as belonging to transitive stems as described in 7.1.3 (but consider also 7.2.3.1 below). More examples are shown below:

(7-25)   *Sida' N-pulah   jimut.*
          3p   ACT-make   k.o.snack
          'They made *jimut*.'

(7-26)   *Apay Aluy N-iga'   jabaw.*
          father A   ACT-look.for   bamboo.shoots
          'Aluy's father was looking for bamboo shoots.'

(7-27)   *Jadi kita   N-pantap   kayu dua   tiga   uti' ….*
          so   1p.incl ACT-slash   wood two   three CLASS
          'So, we cut wood into two or three pieces .…'

(7-28)   *Keba'   adat   kita   Mualang, asa ka'*
          therefore customs 1p.incl M   if   want

          ba-laki–ba-bini,   ti   laki N-anyung   ramu.
          ANPAS-husband–ANPAS-wife   REL male ACT-escort   wealth

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[9] See Chapter 2 for the morphophonemics of the nasalization of the prefix *N-*.

'Therefore, our Mualang customs are, when we want to get married, the male one brings the bride price.'

7.2.3.1   Transitivity and unspecified objects

Many transitive verbs – that normally take a patient object and *N*- prefix – can also be used without an overt object, while the agentive character of the subject is still indicated by the active *N*- prefix on the verb. As such, they are syntactically intransitive, e.g.:

(7-29)   *Ku* **N-pakay**   *dulaw.*   (Object = food)
            1s   ACT-eat   first
            'I eat first.'

(7-30)   *Udah   ia'   sida'* **N-ili'.**   (Object = location: river)
            already   that   3p   ACT-downstream
            'After that they went downstreams.'

(7-31)   *Bini   ia   agi'* **N-kan'ung**(Object = a baby or babies)
            wife   3s   still   ACT-womb
            'His wife is pregnant.'

(7-32)   *Urang* **N-pan'i'**   *da   pian.*   (Object = one's body)
            person   ACT-bathe   LOC   bathing.place
            'People take a bath at the (open public) bathing place (at the river side).'

(7-33)   *Baru'   apay-inay* **N-sawut.**   (Object = utterances)
            then   father-mother   ACT-reply
            'Then the parents replied.'

I will consider the absence of such a syntactic object, as shown in (7-29 – 7-33) above, as *object omission*, to distinguish it from *zero anaphora* (9.1.3 in Chapter 9). In the case of zero anaphora, the object really appears syntactically but is then dropped in the subsequent discourse. In the case of object omission, on the other hand, the patient of the verb never surfaces syntactically and this applies to transitive verbs whose patient is stereotypical, habitual or generically predictable (cf. Givón 2001a:136; 2001b:168ff). In the examples (7-29 – 7-33) the predictably generic patient is put in parentheses. However, such verbs can also take a specified patient, hence surfacing as a syntactic object in the clause. Thus, compare the syntactically intransitive use of the *N*-verbs in (7-29 – 7-33) with their syntactically transitive counterparts in the examples (b) below (the verb is in bold face whereas its object underlined):

(7-29b)   *Waktu   sida'   menyadi'   aday   aba'   apay-inay,*
             when   3p   sibling   exist   with   father-mother

	naday	**N-pakay**	<u>*umpan,*</u>	**N-pakay**	<u>*arang.*</u>
	NEG	ACT-eat	rice	ACT-eat	k.o.fruit

'When the siblings were with their parents, they didn't eat rice but (ate) a kind of fruit.'

(7-30b)   *Sida'* **N-ili'**   <u>*sungay*</u>   <u>*Ketungaw.*</u>
           3p   ACT-downstream   river   K
           'They went downstream on the Ketungau River.'

(7-31b)   *Ku agi'* **N-kan'ung**   <u>*anak*</u>   <u>*ti*</u>   <u>*tuay.*</u>
           1s   still   ACT-womb   child   REL   old
           'I was still pregnant with my oldest child.'

(7-32b)   *Ini'*   **N-pan'i'**   <u>*ucu'.*</u>
           grandmother   ACT-bathe   grandchild
           'The grandma is bathing her grandchild.'

(7-33b)   *Kita'* **N-padah**   <u>*"ukay",*</u>   *naday*   *pecaya.*
           2p   ACT-say   CONT.NEG   NEG   believe
           'You all said 'no', not believing (what I said).'

More examples of transitive verbs that can have a zero object:

> *sumpit* 'shoot with a *sumpit* ('blowpipe'; generic patient object: wild animals vs. specified object, e.g. *babi* 'pig')'
> *asu* 'hunt' (generic patient object: wild animals vs. specified object: *kijang* 'deer')
> *inum* 'drink' (generic patient object: liquid vs. specified object: *ay'* 'water')
> *sumay* 'cook' (generic patient object: food vs. specified object: *umpan* 'rice')
> *ulu* 'go upstreams' (generic patient object: rivers vs. *Sungay Ketungaw* 'Ketungau River')
> *tiki'* 'climb' (generic patient object: a house's ladder, i.e. 'to come in' vs. specified object: *pun* 'tree')
> *tugal* 'make holes for seeds' (generic patient object: fields vs. specified object: a particular field)

The patient of some verbs is actually integrated in discourse at the moment of speaking. This is the case with verbs of perception and verbs referring to mental processes, e.g. *pikir* 'think', *peda'* 'look', *dinga* 'hear', and with various verbs of utterance such as *padah* 'say', *seraw* 'shout loudly', *sawut* 'reply', *tanya'* 'ask', *sabak* 'cry', *salak* 'bark (of a dog)', *umung* 'talk', *ciap* 'sound of young chickens'. For example, the patient of *padah* 'say' is what the speaker himself is saying, or has heard from others (cf. example 7-33b), or it may be encoded in the form of "indirect speech". Some other verbs have an incorporated patient object. This is very common with verbs derived from a nominal root which have the noun as their generic object,

e.g. *kisah*, *tusuy*, *jerita* 'to tell (a story)', *kulat* 'look for mushrooms', *jabaw* 'look for bamboo shoots', *benih* 'sow (i.e. put seeds in the ground)', *ludah* 'spit (i.e. to throw out saliva)'.

In most cases, the situation resembles an "antipassive" use (cf. Givón 2001b:168ff). However, I am inclined to simply see the phenomenon as object omission, rather than as a grammatical antipassive construction, on the following grounds:

1) the verb is still marked with the active-transitive *N-*, and not with an intransitive verb marking (cf. Payne 1997:219);
2) although there is some semantic and pragmatic motivation for the patient object omission, the omission seems to become a lexical matter (i.e. confined to some verbs only), rather than a (productive) grammatical device (i.e. one that may be applied to any or most transitive verbs). The verb *N-tim'ak* (ACT.shoot), for instance, always needs an overt object;
3) the antipassive function is much more clearly witnessed in *ba-* clauses (see 7.2.7).

7.2.3.2   The use of active *N-* in comparative clauses of equivalence

As explained in subsection 6.1.2.1.3 in Chapter 6, one special case has been found in which the active (?) prefix *N-* is used with a static intransitive verb in comparative clauses of equivalence. In these clauses the subject refers to the entity whose quality expressed by the base of the verb is compared to a standard, but the expression for the standard of comparison, for example *kuali sigi'* 'a cooking pan' in (7-34) below, cannot stand as an object, since the clause cannot be passivized. Therefore syntactically such comparative clauses are considered intransitive.

(7-34)   *Dulaw*   *tih* [*besay   gerama'*]   [*N-besay*] [*kuali*
            previously *tih* big   crab   ACT-big   cooking.pan
                                  SUBJECT   MARKER-QUALITY

            s-igi'].
            ONE-CLASS
            STANDARD
            'In the past the size (lit. big) of crabs was as big as a cooking pan.' (Or possibly: 'In the past the size (lit. big) of crabs equaled a cooking pan in size.')

This use of *N-* in comparative clauses and in constructions with unspecified objects (see 7.2.3.1 above) displays a decrease in transitivity, as compared to the typical use of *N-* with highly transitive verb roots.

7.2.4   The *da-* prefix: prototypical passive voice

Morphosyntactically, the *da-* prefix is indicative of a prototypical transitive event.[10] This means that a transitive verb with an unspecified patient as described in 7.2.3.1 cannot take *da-*. With the *da-* prefix, it is the patient of the event which becomes the subject of the clause, whereas the agent is optional, or not required for the grammaticality of the clause. It can be omitted or, if present, be demoted to an oblique role (cf. Payne 1997:204). This is in contrast with the active-transitive *N-* clause where both the agent and the patient are required (see also section 7.2.3.1 exceptions to this rule). The unmarked syntactic position of the subject of the *da-* passive is preverbal. For contrast, an active-transitive clause as well as a corresponding passive is given in the following examples:

(7-35)   a.   Active
                 Urang   *N-curi*   *manuk   ku.*
                 person   ACT-steal   chicken   1s
                 S – Agent   V   O – Patient
                 'Somebody stole my chicken.'

           b.   Passive
                 Manuk   ku   *da-curi.*
                 chicken   1s   PASS-steal
                 S – Patient   V
                 'My chicken was stolen.'

Since Mualang also has *advancement* processes (see 7.3), some peripheral participants can be promoted to become arguments. In the active-transitive *N-* clause they become direct objects. As such they can also be the subject of the *da-* passive clause. Thus, the semantic role of the subject of the *da-* clause may also be a benefactive (7-36), a locative (7-37), or even a possessor (7-38):

(7-36)   Benefactive subject
           Ku da-beri'   *kita' ka tungku'*   *tanah.*
           1s   PASS-give   2p   to cooking.pot   soil
           'I was given a clay pot by you all.'

(7-37)   Locative subject
           a. *Jalay   da- pe-lintang*   *ka kayu.*
              road   PASS-CAUS-lay.across   to wood
              'The road was blocked with wood.' (lit. 'The road was laid across with the wood.'

           b. *Da-ili'*   *sa' Ketungaw   nyin.*
              PASS-go.downstream   3p   K   that.over.there
              'The Ketungau (river) was passed downstreamward over there by them.'

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[10] The morphophonemic alternation of *da-* is discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.5.

(7-38)   Possessor subject
          Burung   ia'   da-tamit   ka   kaki.
          bird   that   PASS-tie   to   foot
          'The bird had its feet tied.' (lit. 'The bird was tied to (its) feet)'

The agent may surface syntactically in non-argument status in two ways: 1) as an oblique with the preposition *ulih* 'by', or 2) not preceded by a preposition as a kind of "complement" to the verb. Structurally the *ulih*-agent phrase serves as an adjunct of the clause and therefore may have any other constituent interposed between it and the verb (7-39), or it may be moved around relative to the verb (cf. 7-40). If, however, it is a complement to the verb, there cannot be any intervening elements (7-41), and hence, structurally the agent constitutes an integral part of the VP. Or in other words, it is internal to the VP. Intonationally the verb and the agent complement are pronounced as a single phrase; if for pragmatic reasons the subject is moved to a post-verbal position, the agent is still in its position, as in (7-42). In the following examples the agent-phrases are underlined:

(7-39)   *Tu'   da-kerja   (ila')   <u>ulih dua iku'   nsia.</u>*
          this   PASS-work   later   by   two CLASS   human
          'This is done (later) by two persons.'

(7-40)   <u>*Ulih dua iku'   nsia*</u>   *tu'   da-kerja.*
          by   two CLASS   human   this   PASS-ork
          'By two persons this is/will be done.'

(7-41)   *Segala   umpan   apa   segala   da-tang'ung*
          all.kind   food   what all.kind PASS-bear

          *(ila')   <u>urang   ti   N-tugal.</u>
          (later)   person   REL   ACT-dibble
          'All kinds of food and other stuff are borne by the person who is doing the sowing activity.'

(7-42)   *Da-kawut   <u>ini'</u>   beras   se-jeput.*
          PASS-scoop grandmother   rice   one-pinch
          'A pinch of rice was scooped by the grandmother.' (lit. 'be scooped by the grandmother a pinch of rice')

There is no constraint in terms of person or number of the oblique agent:

(7-43)   *Tajaw   nya'   da-simpan   (ulih) <u>ku/kita'/sida'.</u>*
          jar   that   PASS-keep   (by)   1s/2p/3p
          'The jar was kept by me/you/them.'

7.2.5 Zero marking: inverse voice

As with the *da*-passive, the inverse construction is used for a transitive event that prototypically requires the involvement of an agent and a patient. Instead of a patient a benefactive or locative may occur as the non-agentive argument. The morphosyntactic features of the inverse construction in Mualang are:

1) the patient (or benefactive or locative) and the agent are obligatory, that is, they usually surface syntactically;
2) the patient (or benefactive or locative) is placed in clause-initial position, followed by the agent and the verb (= PAV (Patient-Agent-Verb) order). The agent and verb cannot be separated by any other constituent;
3) the verb appears in the stem form, i.e. it is not marked morphologically;
4) the agent can be a noun or a pronoun of any person or number.

The following examples are given as a first illustration (the English translations are only meant as approximations):

(7-44)   *Tajaw nya' Aji Melayu temu da   sabar bubu   ia.*
           k.o.jar that haji M   find LOC fence k.o.fishtrap 3s
           P   A   V
           'That jar Haji Melayu found at the fence leading to his fishtrap.'

(7-45)   *M'ih,   Apay Aluy, m'ih   ukay   urang*
           2s.masc father A   2s.masc CONT.NEG person

            kayangan.   M'ih   N-tipu   kami.   Asa
           place.of.gods 2s.masc ACT-deceive 1p.excl whenever

            pia',   m'ih   kami   bunuh.
           like.that 2s.masc 1p.excl kill
                       P   A   V
           'As for you, Aluy's father, you're not a heavenly man. You deceive us. Therefore, you're going to get killed by us.'

(7-46)   *Tu'   sida' beri' ka ku.*
           this   3p   give to 1s
           P   A   V
           'This they gave to me.'

The analysis of inverse clauses is indeed problematic in many languages, especially in contrast with passives (cf. Payne 1997:210, Givón 2001b:161), and Malayic languages are no exception. The constructions illustrated in examples (7-44 – 7-46) above are also commonly found in Malay/Indonesian, and have been analyzed as passive clauses (e.g. Chung 1976, Verhaar 1978). Semantically they also may encode an active sense, due to the obligatoriness of the agent (Verhaar 1978:12, citing also Fokker 1951). However, for Mualang I am inclined to assume that such

clauses encode a distinct voice, that is, the inverse (in reference to Payne 1997, 1999 and Givón, 2001a, b). The inverse needs to be distinguished from the active and passive on morphosyntactic grounds (explained here) and on pragmatic grounds (see 7.2.6).

Morphosyntactically, the three voices have the following primary pragmatically unmarked word order of arguments (with a relatively flat or neutral/unbiased intonation, and no pause between the arguments). The syntactic variants are pragmatically marked (e.g. for emphasis):

ACTIVE	=	agent – *N*-verb – patient (= AVP ~ VPA)
INVERSE	=	patient – agent – verb (= PAV ~ VAP)
PASSIVE	=	patient – *da*-verb (agent) (= PV(agent) ~ V(agent)P)

The inverse is similar to the active in that the agent and patient are syntactically obligatory in both clauses (although with some "exceptions" that will be explained later). However, in the active the main order is AVP and the verb is morphosyntactically marked with the *N-* prefix, indicating that the agent is the subject of the clause (cf. (7-23) above). If the agent is moved, it has to follow the patient, as in (7-47). In other words, the patient has to be closer to the verb (VPA order).[11] Other minor variations may be found, but no longer with a single intonation contour, as in (7-48) (a comma signals a pause, the agent and patient are topicalized):

(7-47)   *Agi'   N-pulah   jimut   sida'.*
          still   ACT-make   k.o.snack   3p
                   V   P   A
          'They ARE still making snacks / Still making snacks, they are.'

(7-48)   *Ku,   ia=m,   naday   mampu   N-lawan* ...
          1s   3s=*m*   NEG   afford   ACT-oppose
          A   P   V
          'It is only him that I wasn't able to fight …' (the others have all been beaten by me.)

In the inverse, although the patient and the agent occupy preverbal position, the patient is always in initial position in the primary PAV order. The position of P and A determines how V is marked morphologically.

The inverse also resembles the *da*-passive construction in that both have P in initial position, instead of A. However, in the latter the A is optional and if it surfaces, it is not an independent argument. In contrast, A in the inverse is required. Syntactically, the obligatoriness of A in the inverse is clearly seen from its

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[11] According to Foley and Van Valin (1985:305), "a *pivot* is any NP type to which a particular grammatical process is sensitive, either as controller or as target". In this sense, the agent subject of the active clause in Mualang may be viewed as the "pivot", because the agent subject (rather than the patient object) is sensitive to the *N-* marking on the verb, and may be moved around relative to the verb.

"blocking" position in between P and V that contributes to the zero marking of V. For the exceptional case where for discourse considerations the A in the inverse may be left unmentioned I refer to section 7.2.6 of this chapter.

One problematic issue for the inverse is to determine the grammatical functions of P and A, i.e. to determine which one is the subject of the clause. With the *N*-marking in the active clause it is clear that the agent is the subject. If the initial position and the *N*- marking are criteria for the subjecthood of the agent, then A of the inverse does not qualify as the subject. Also, recalling the zero marking in intransitive verbs that codes non-agentivity (7.2.2), one may conclude that the zero marking in transitive verbs decreases the agentivity of the agent. If A is not the subject of the inverse, what is it? If A is not the subject, then P is the only candidate for the subject of the inverse. In the present analysis I am inclined to view it in this way, based at least on the following criteria:

      1) the position of P as a "pivot" (in the sense of Foley and Van Valin (1985);

      2) relativization.

In the inverse it is P, rather than A, that is "sensitive" to (or is referenced by the marking in) V. This can be seen from the relatively flexible position of P, which may be postverbal. If P moves to postverbal position, A's position has to be adjusted accordingly. The alternative word orders of the unmarked PAV are as follows:

(7-49)   *Kayit sida' antu.   Mati antu   tu'.* = VAP
             hook 3p   ghost die   ghost this
             V   A   P
             'They **hooked** the ghosts. The ghosts **died**.'

(7-50)   *Ka' ku' ting'i'   rumah tu'.*   (**Ku ka' ting'i' rumah tu'*)
             FUT 1s   highten house this
             Verb phrase   P
             '**I'm going to raise** this house/MAKE this house **higher**.'

In (7-50) A is inside the VP (in which the verb is preceded by the modal *ka'* 'FUT'), and it is fixed in that position when P is postverbal. However, A is also postverbal intervening between V and P, if P is in postverbal position, as in (7-49). A has to move since the AVP order is not permitted (AVP is the unmarked order of an active clause (hence requiring the *N*- marking on V)). With any position of P, A is always closer to V and it may not be in clause-initial position, hence the alternative orders of the unmarked PAV V or the verb phrase is always clause-initial (VAP or Verb phrase – P). (Compare these word orders with the one in (7-47), which is an example of the opposite: an active clause in which A is flexible and the patient object is closer to the verb). Intonationally A and V are pronounced as a single phrase. The syntactic status of A is thus like an agent complement of V.

As regards relativization (dealt with in more detail in Chapter 10, section 10.5), it is P, and not A, that is relativized with the inverse construction (0 = the gap; the relative clause is in brackets):

(7-51)   *Aday   mas   tay*   [0 *ku simpan*].
          exist   gold REL   1s   keep
          'There is gold that I kept.'

In the *da*-passive the agent is not required but may surface syntactically (for some reasons, see 7.2.6 below). The reverse applies to the inverse in which the agent is required, although in some cases it may not surface syntactically. In my observation ommission of the agent occurs commonly when it is generic. In the following examples the agent is 'people in general' (7-52) and 'those who were attending the rite' (7-53):

(7-52)   *Asa   urang temu N-curi   jelu,   ia kena'*
          whenever   person find   ACT-steal   animal   3s suffer

          hukum   adat.
          law   custom
          'Whenever a person was found stealing animals, he/she was fined.'

(7-53)   *Manuk   pakay p-amis   da   pian.*
          chicken eat   CAUS-finished LOC bathing.place
          'The chickens were eaten up at the bathing place.'

7.2.6   The use of active, passive and inverse clauses: a preliminary note

In section 7.2.3 - 7.2.5 the morphosyntax of the active *N-*, passive *da-* and zero inverse constructions has been discussed without paying attention to their functions. Since a separate full discourse study is actually needed for this purpose, the present description is only meant to give a rough picture. As with their morphosyntax, there is a valid reason to contrast the functions of these three voice types as a paradigm. The basic semantics of the event or verb used in clauses that code these three voices is not affected: the agent acts upon the patient semantically in accordance with the intended lexical meaning of the transitive verb. The use of *N-*, *da-* and zero marking on the verb is thus not derivational (as will be discussed later, this is in contrast to the use of other prefixes such as *te-*, *ba-* etc.). However, their use on the verb does affect the transitivity of the event or de-transitivize it in another way. To explain this, I shall adopt the idea of semantic and pragmatic principles of de-transitive voices proposed in Givón (2001b, Ch. 13).

According to Givón, de-transitive voice constructions are primarily semantic or primarily pragmatic. In the primarily semantic voice constructions the transitivity of the prototypical transitive event is affected or decreased in terms of the three main semantic parameters: "agentivity of the agent/subject; affectedness of the patient/object; telicity or perfectivity of the verb" (op.cit.: 93).

In primarily pragmatic de-transitive voice constructions, on the other hand, the semantics of transitivity in such terms is not affected: "In surveying pragmatic voice constructions, one notes first that the very same semantically-transitive event, coded by the very same prototypical telic verb, active agent and affected patient – our transitive event 'theme' – can be rendered by several de-transitive voice constructions ('variations'). Clearly, the semantics of transitivity is not affected in

such constructions. Rather, they render the same semantically-transitive event from different pragmatic *perspectives*. These perspectives turn out to involve, primarily although not exclusively, the *relative topicality* of the agent and patient" (op.cit.: 93). He proposes four main pragmatic voice constructions that are commonly attested cross-linguistically: active(-direct), inverse, passive and antipassive. In the first two constructions, both the agent and patient are topical; however, in active voice the agent is more topical than the patient, whereas in the inverse it is the patient that is more topical than the agent. In the passive the patient is topical and the agent is "demoted". Conversely, in the antipassive, it is the patient that is demoted and the agent is the only topical argument (op.cit: 93-94). (For the antipassive in Mualang, see 7.2.7 below).

More discourse work is needed to comprehensively examine the differences and use of the primarily pragmatic voice constructions in Mualang. Here, I will present some salient aspects of their use in discourse. First, the *N*-active, *da*-passive and zero-marking inverse in Mualang closely fit the situation described in Givón's definition, with the last two showing pragmatic de-transitivizing. In other words, the use of these prefixes does not affect the valence of the verb (in the sense that it is still transitive semantically). If the valence is not affected, the arguments of the event may simply be "rearranged" in terms of *perspectivization*. It is thus worth viewing these three constructions in Mualang from this point of view.

For the notion of perspectivization, the following quotation from Charles Fillmore (cited in Shibatani 1996:158) serves to present a general idea: "We recognize scenes or situations and the functions of various participants in these scenes and situations. We foreground or bring into perspective some possibly quite small portion of such a scene. Of the elements which are foregrounded, one of them gets assigned the subject role and one of them if we are foregrounding two things gets assigned the direct object role in the clause. Something like a *saliency hierarchy* determines what gets foregrounded, and something like a *case hierarchy* determines how the foregrounded nominals are assigned grammatical functions."

Basically a particular voice construction is selected depending on which participant is employed by the speaker as his/her reference point in presenting a message. The speaker can switch back and forth from one type of construction to another between clauses. In (7-45) above, for example, the addressee is the point of reference and the topic of conversation (= *Apay Aluy*); first the active clause is used to report his action with him as an agent (= *m'ih nipu kami* 'you've deceived us'). The next clause is still about him, but now as a patient; in this situation the inverse construction is used since the agent is highly involved in or concerned with the action executed upon the patient (= *asa pia', m'ih kami bunuh* 'therefore, you're going to get killed by us'). The whole situation highly involves both the speaker and the addressee to a great extent with the latter becoming the point or the topic of the conversation and the reference point for the message. A similar situation is seen in the following excerpt of a narrative:

(7-54)   *Aji   Melayu   N-padah: "Tajaw   nya'   ku   temu   da   sabar*
         haji   M   ACT-say   k.o.jar that   1s   find LOC fence

         bubu   nyin   Tajaw   nya'   anyut   da   ataw
         fish.trap that.over.there k.o.jar that   swept.away LOC top

         ay',   ku   am'i',   ku   buka'."
         water   1s   take   1s   open
         'Haji Melayu said: "That jar I found at the fence leading to the fish
         trap over there. That jar was swept away on the water, I took (it), I
         opened (it)."'

There are two "speakers" in (7-54): the story teller and the character of the story
(Haji Melayu). For the story teller, Haji Melayu is the topic of the talk, and he is
reported as performing an action, hence the active voice is used (= *Aji Melayu
madah* 'Haji Melayu said'). In the story Haji Melayu was asked about the origin of a
jar that he found, then he told his story about the jar (hence the reference point for
the message) and that he himself found the jar, which makes the agent relevant in
the event, hence the inverse voice is used (= *(...ku am'i', ku buka* '(that jar) I took, I
opened'). (Note that in the inverse clauses here mention of the jar was omitted as a
result of the zero anaphora strategy (see 9.1.3 in Chapter 9).

   Since the agent in the inverse is involved directly in the discourse, it has to be
specified, i.e. surface in the clause. However, as seen in the examples (7-52 – 7-53),
it is also the case that when the agent is generic, it does not appear in the clause. The
reverse case is noticed in the passive: the agent is not obligatory since it is not
relevant, but may surface in the clause if specification for completeness of the
picture presented is deemed necessary.

(7-55)   *Udah   N-ketaw,   padi   **da-bay'**   ka   rumah.*
         after   ACT-harvest   uncooked.rice PASS-bring   to   house

         *Udah   ia',   baru'   **da-irik**.   Udah   **da-irik**,*
         already that   then   PASS-thresh   after   PASS-thresh

         ***da-ngkuh**   ka   durung,   isa'   aman,   naday*
         PASS-keep   to   padi.storage   so.that   safe   NEG

         da-pakay   pipit.
         PASS-eat   sparrow
         'After harvesting, the uncooked rice is brought to the house. After that
         (it) is threshed. After having been threshed, it is kept in the storage so
         that it is safe, (and) will not be eaten by the sparrows.'

(7-56)   *Ku aday, da-any'ung   apay-inay   ku ka alam babas.*
         1s exist   PASS-escort   father-mother 1s to inside forest
         '(When) I was born, I was brought away by my parents into the
         forest.'

In (7-55) agentless passive forms are used several times. In all cases the intended agent is generic, that is the farmers or the people who are doing the harvest. In the last clause (i.e. *naday dapakay pipit* 'not eaten by sparrows') the agent, the sparrows, is specified. There is no sense of an "active" involvement; the whole clause seems to simply present a statement about the patient undergoing an event. (7-56) presents a similar case: the agent *apay-inay ku* 'my parents' was not directly involved at the moment of speaking but is mentioned as additional information.

The agent of the *da*-passive may also appear in a phrasal adjunct headed by the preposition *ulih*. It seems that the agent phrase is meant for emphasis or for re-identifying who is the agent of the event. Usually the agent has already been mentioned in the preceding discourse. Since the agent phrase is an adjunct, it may be fronted for focusing purposes, (cf. 7-39 and 7-40 above).

The *da*-passive construction with an agent (without *ulih*) is often used to highlight the event itself that happens to a patient. The typical word order used for this purpose is VS, which means that the verb (or verb phrase) is fronted and the patient-subject is moved to postverbal position. Some examples:

(7-57)   *Datay   ka   laman,   da-kumay   ia   Apay   Aji ...*
          come   to   yard   PASS-call   3s   father   A
          'Arriving at the yard, he **called** Mr. Haji.'

(7-58)   *Da-beri'   sida'   darah   ka   antu.*
          PASS-give   3p   blood   to   ghost
          'They **gave** the blood to the ghosts.

(7-59)   *N-peda'   pia',   da-buka'   ini'   bungkus*
          ACT-look   like.that   PASS-open   grandmother   wrap

          dawun.
          leaf
          'Looking that way, the grandmother **opened** the leaf wrap.'

All the events in the *da-* main clauses of (7-57 – 7-59) are perfective, punctual, depicting "abrupt" events. Example (7-57) also shows how a non-passive construction is used in the dependent clause for backgrounding while the *da-* passive in the main clause is used for foregrounding the event (also in (7-56)).[12] Although this needs further study, such a use of the *da-* passive may correlate with its use in building up the climax of a narrative, e.g.:

(7-60)   *Beruang   naday   rari.   Ia   nugaw.   Apa   agi'   tih   keluar*
          bear   NEG   run   3s   still   what   again   tih   exit

          *semua, nema   N-bunuh   jelu.   **Datay   ka   rumah,***
          all   because   ACT-kill   animal   come   to   house

---

[12] Cf. also Hopper (1979) for a similar case found in Classical Malay.

da-sangkuh,   da-tum'uk,   da-pantap,   da-sumpit.
PASS-spear   PASS-beat   PASS-cut,   PASS-spear

Mati   jara'   beruang   tu'.
die   *jara'*   bear   this
'The bear did not run away. It was standing still. What's more, all people came out, because they were going to kill an animal. (Then when the people) arriving at home   (with the bear), it was speared, beaten, cut, blowpiped. (And) DEAD was this bear.'

In an inverse construction the event or the verb may also be fronted, with the agent appearing postverbally, for focusing purposes. However, its discourse function does not cover the use of *da-* such as in (7-60). Structurally it may look similar to the *da-* passive, but semantically the "active" sense of the agent is still implied, e.g.:

(7-61)   *Udah   da-tunu   tih sa' menyadi'   ia',   angus   uma*
             after   PASS-burn   *tih* 3p sibling   that burnt   rice.field

             sida',   pakay   api. (=VA)
             3p   eat   fire
             'After having been burnt by those siblings, their rice field got burnt, consumed by the fire.'

(7-62)   *Da-am'i'   Putung Kempat. Jadi   mas, ntawa'*. **Pajak**
             PASS-take   P   K   become   gold k.o.fruit enter

             ia *d=alam   tepayan*.   (= VA)
             3s   LOC=inside   jar
             'It (the *ntawa'* fruit) was taken by Putung Kempat. It became gold, the *ntawa'* fruit. (Then) she PUT it inside the jar.'

Note that in (7-61 – 7-62) the patient-subject of the inverse construction is deleted (i.e. zero anaphora, see Ch. 9) since it is coreferential with the subject of the preceding clauses.

     Finally, it should be noted here that the use of zero-marking in the inverse construction most likely has a semantic correlation with that in noun phrases containing transitive verb roots as their attribute (see 4.1.2.4 of Chapter 4), as in *ubi tunu* (cassava-burn) 'baked cassava', *ubi sumay* (cassava cook) 'boiled cassava', etc. Syntactically the head noun may be considered as occupying a subject position, thus the NP has an SV order. Note that as a NP, the nominal head and the modifying verb in such phrases are pronounced under a single (phrasal) intonation contour.

7.2.7   The *ba-* prefix: The antipassive voice

This section describes the formal and semantic characteristics of *ba-* constructions, that is, clauses in which the verb or predicate is marked with the prefix *ba-*. The allomorphs of *ba-* were described above in Chapter 2. The following features typically characterize *ba-* clauses:

1) the predicate (the verbal word) contains the prefix *ba*-;
2) the subject is preverbal in unmarked word order;
3) the patient syntactically behaves in several different ways. However, in all cases it is not an independent argument;
4) the *ba*- clauses are syntactically intransitive;
5) semantically a *ba*- construction describes the situation of an agent carrying out an activity. The patient is not an issue in the description of the situation, or it is irrelevant. As the patient is "demoted", the agentivity of the argument subject may not be typical as it is in the active *N*- clauses. It may just be an "actor".

The *ba*- prefix is productively used with transitive verbs and with nouns. It is also prefixed to a few intransitive verbs. The type of bases, to which it is attached, correlates with the syntactic behaviour of the patient. Each of the bases will be described below. The morphosyntactic and semantic features of *ba*- clauses generally fit the description of the antipassive function (cf. Payne 1997:219ff, Givón 2001b:168ff).[13] Nevertheless, some peculiarities apply to the antipassive *ba*- of Mualang. Prefixation with *ba*- is not purely a de-transitivizing operation, since it can be attached to a nominal base as well, hence increasing the valence of the base. Also, although pragmatically the antipassive is considered the converse of the passive (i.e. in the first the patient is "demoted" whereas in the latter it is "promoted"; cf. Givón 2001b:168), in Mualang *ba*- clauses are highly contrasted semantically with the active *N*- clauses. A detailed discussion is presented below.

7.2.7.1 *Ba*- with transitive base

Ba- clauses primarily depict the agent subject as being engaged in an activity (on something). As such it is very common to find transitive verbal bases occurring with *ba*-. Examples (7-63 and 7-64) illustrate such typical *ba*- forms:

(7-63)	*ba-bunuh*	ANPAS-kill	'be engaged in X-killing'
	ba-pulah	ANPAS-make	'be engaged in X-making'
	ba-tunu	ANPAS-burn	'be engaged in X-burning'
	ba-tim'ak	ANPAS-shoot	'be engaged in X-shooting'

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[13] However, there appears to be some disagreement between Payne and Givón. Payne (1997:219) lists the following prototypical formal characteristics of antipassives: 1) the P (patient) argument is omitted or appears in an oblique case; 2) the verb (phrase) has some overt marker of intransitivity; 3) the "A" (agent) appears in the absolutive case. Givón (2001b:172), on the other hand, suggests that antipassives in nominative languages do not affect the morpho-syntax of either the verb or the subject agent, but of the object alone. If we follow Givón's proposal, then the object omission in some *N*- verbs (see 7.2.3.1) should be considered an antipassive construction as well. I will just leave this case open for future debate, but for the present analysis I make a distinction between such an object omission with *N*- verbs and the antipassive coding in *ba*- clauses. At least it is clear that functionally *ba*-clauses highlight the action whereas the *N*- clauses with object omission do not. Also, the antipassive function of the *ba*- construction applies to almost any transitive verb, whereas object omission is limited to some transitive verbs only.

	ba-tebas	ANPAS-slash	'be engaged in X-slashing'
(7-64)	*ba-pakay*	ANPAS-eat	'be engaged in (X-)eating'
	ba-inum	ANPAS-drink	'be engaged in (X-)drinking)'
	ba-sumay	ANPAS-cook	'be engaged in (X-)cooking'
	ba-padah	ANPAS-say	'be engaged in (X-)saying'
	ba-pikir	ANPAS-think	'be engaged in (X-)thinking'

Verbs in (7-63) are prototypical transitive verbs, which require an agent and a patient as in (7-65a). With such transitive verbs, the *ba-* verb has to take a patient, as in (7-65b):

(7-65)   a. Active
Urang   N-bunuh   *(babi-manuk).
person   ACT-steal   pig-chicken
'People killed pigs and chickens.' (at the party)

b. Antipassive
Urang   ba-bunuh   *(babi-manuk),
person   ANPAS-kill   pig-chicken

ba-pulah   *(jimut).
ANPAS-make   k.o.snack
'People were engaged in pig-chicken-killing and *jimut* making.' (at the party)

The main semantic difference between the active and antipassive use is that in the active the agent is described as acting against a patient; the patient is directly affected. In the antipassive the agent is not shown as directing the action against the patient, rather it is presented as just doing the activity on the patient. The patient in the antipassive tend to be semantically generic (or plural), and indefinite.[14] In (7-65b) the patient is 'pigs and chickens' in general, they are not referential (i.e. the speaker did not have a specific reference of pigs and chickens in his mind at the moment of speaking). In the active (7-65a) 'pigs and chickens' may or may not be referential. In the former interpretation the action of killing pigs and chickens is a habitual activity done on those particular animals. In the latter, the action is carried out once.

Another difference is syntactic, namely the grammatical relation of the patient in the antipassive *ba-*. Although it appears postverbally as in the active, it is not affected semantically nor related syntactically to the verb (cf. the English translation in (7-65b). Its status seems comparable to the so-called object incorporation in other languages, cf. *fox-hunt, baby-sit* in English (cf. also Givón 2001b:169), that is, it becomes part of the *ba-*verb, hence is not an independent argument. (This is comparable to the status of agent in the *da-* passive).

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[14] This is in agreement with what Givón (2001b:169) indicates as semantic correlates of the typical patient in antipassives.

The object incorporation as explained above is one of the possible patterns of syntactic behavior of the patient used with typically transitive verbs. Some transitive verbs may also denote a reciprocal action lexically, e.g. *bunuh* 'kill', *temu* 'meet', *tim'ak* 'shoot'. With such verbs, the patient may be collapsed into the plural agent-subject since they are coreferential. The construction thus becomes reciprocal (see 7.2.12 for reciprocal constructions). Such a function cannot be formed with the active *N-* (7-66a) but it is possible with the antipassive *ba-* (7-66b):

(7-66)   a. Active *N-*
          *Sida'   N-bunuh/N-temu.
          3p   ACT-kill/ACT-meet
          'They killed/met each other.'

          b. Antipassive *ba-*
          Sida'   ba-bunuh/ba-temu.
          3p   ANPAS-kill/ANPAS-meet
          'They killed / met each other.'

If one party of the joint action is "extracted", it functions as a patient and is expressed in a prepositional phrase headed by *aba'* 'with':

(7-67)   *Ia   ba-bunuh/ba-temu   aba' sida'.*
          3s ANPAS-kill/ANPAS-meet with 3p
          'He and they killed each other/he met with them.'

These two cases of *ba-* constructions present further evidence for the non-argument status of patient. Other evidence is yet witnessed in section 7.2.7.2 below.

Some *ba-* (lexically defined) forms can have a reflexive meaning, as in (7-68), in which the subject actually acts upon itself. If the patient is a different entity, then it is specified (added in (7-68) in parentheses).

(7-68)

ba-pin'ah (*rumah*)	ANPAS-move	'move one's self (house, i.e. move to another house)'
ba-lepa (*tulang-urat*)	ANPAS-rest	'rest one's self (bones and blood vessels, i.e. to take a rest)'
ba-diri	ANPAS-stand	'stand'
ba-guay	ANPAS-run	'run'

The patient in *ba-* clauses is optionally omitted or specified, as in (7-69b). This occurs with verbs whose objects are predictable, as in (7-64). The same applies to the active *N-* (see 7.2.3).

(7-69)   a. Active *N-* with optional specified object

          Udah   ia', sida' N-inum (*beram*).
          already   that 3p   ACT-drink (k.o.alcohol)

'After that they drank (*beram*).'

b. Antipassive *ba-* with optional specified object

Udah   ia',   sida'   ba-inum (*beram*).
already   that   3p   ANPASS-drink (k.o.alcohol)
'After that they (were) engaged in (*beram*)-drinking.'

7.2.7.2   *Ba-* with nouns or noun phrases

Besides with transitive verbs, *ba-* is also productively used with nouns, noun phrases, and nominal compounds, .e.g:

(7-70)   *Urang Mualang biasa   ba-uma,*
           person M   habitually ANPAS-dry.rice.field

           nisi'   sawah.
           EXIST.NEG   wet.rice.field
           'The Mualang people usually do dry rice field cultivation, there are no wet rice fields.'

(7-71)   *Ntawa'   ba-buah.*
           k.o.tree   ANPAS-fruit
           'The *ntawa'* tree bears fruit.'

(7-72)   *Ba-laki–bini,   bar-anak   ka Ruay Mana.*
           ANPAS-husband–wife   ANPAS-child   to   R   M
           'Getting married, (they) gave birth to R M.'

In (7-70) *ba-uma* means all kinds of activities usually done in association to the *uma* 'dry rice field'. In association with *buah* 'fruit' as in (7-71) it means to produce fruits, and this naturally occurs with a non-human fruit bearer. That is why the "actor"-subject may be a non-human, e.g. a tree. What a living creature primarily does socio-culturally with children is to have them or to produce them as in (7-72). In general, then, semantically *ba-* clauses express that the actor-subject carries out an activity that is habitually or generally done on or associated with the noun base. The nominal base together with the prefix *ba-* forms the verbal word. In other words, *ba-* has a derivational function and the patient itself is incorporated in the verbal form. The derived meanings vary. Although some derivatives seem to show semantic regularities, they are basically idiosyncratic, that is they are partly due to socio-cultural specificities, e.g.:

(7-73)   Common derived meanings of *ba-* + noun ("<noun>" indicates whatever the nominal base refers to)

a. Produce <noun>:   *bar-anak* (child)   'give birth, have (a) child(ren)'
                            ba-buah (fruit)   'have fruit'
                            ba-telu' (egg)   'produce eggs'

	ba-gu' (sound)	'produce a sound, noisy'
b. Possess <noun>:	*ba-pala'* (head)	'have a head, be headed'
	ba-rega (price)	'be valued (lit. have a price or value)'
	ba-tabiat (behavior)	'behave (lit. have a behavior)'
	ba-nama (name)	'be famous (lit. have a name)'
c. Spend <noun> (with temporal nouns):	*ba-malam* (night)	'spend the night'
	ba-tawun (year)	'spend a year/years
	ba-bulan (month)	'spend a month/months'
d. Have a relationship to <noun>:	*ba-laki* (husband)	'get married (of a woman), have a husband'
	ba-bini (wife)	'get married (of a man), have a wife'
	ba-keka' (brother-in-law)	'have a brother-in-law relationship, address s.o. as a brother-in-law'
e. "Irregular" activities associated with <noun>:	*ba-uma* (dry rice field)	'do cultivation in the field'
	ba-rumah (house)	'live, settle'
	ba-peN-tam'ak (NOM-plant)	'do cultivation'
	ba-papan (board, bed)	'give birth'
	ba-rim'a' (forest)	'work the forest to open a rice field'
	ba-panaw (*panu*, k.o. skin desease)	'have or suffer *panu* desease'

Some noun bases can be reduplicated for intensifying plurality, e.g.:

(7-74)   *Ba-* + noun + Reduplication
           ba-ari-ari (ANPAS-day-RED) 'spend days and days'
           ba-bulan-bulan (ANPAS-month-RED) 'spend months and months'
           ba-jalung-jalung (ANPAS-bowl-RED) 'exist in an amount of many
            bowls'
           ba-macam-macam (ANPAS-kind-RED) 'various (lit. have many kinds)'

Although the base to which *ba-* is attached is a noun rather than a verb, I prefer to label the function of *ba-* as antipassive, based on the following considerations: a typical function of a prefix may not always work consistently, some irregularities may still exist. The active *N-*, for example, does not always require an agentive subject and a patient object, but may appear to be used intransitively. In the same vein, *ba-* is not consistently employed with a verbal base, but may also be affixed to a noun base. Although it is attached to a noun base, the resultant meaning it performs still has an antipassive element, that is, the event or the action does not directly affect an object but is generically associated with it. Nouns that are used with the antipassive prefix *ba-* normally cannot undergo "zero" derivation to become

a verb that can have the active *N-* attached, e.g. *uma* 'rice field' cannot become **N-uma*.

As explained in 7.1.3.1 a number of nouns may be viewed as undergoing a morphologically unmarked derivation to yield a verb. *Ba-* attached to such bases may be derivationally ambiguous, e.g.:

(7-75)   *Ba-* + nouns or denominalized verbs
        ba-laban (*aba'*) (ANPAS-enemy/fight (with)) 'be engaged in fighting
            (with)'
        ba-pen'ing (*burung*) (ANPAS-ear/listen (to bird)) 'be engaged
            in (bird-) listening'
        ba-tugal (*lubang*) (ANPAS-stick.for.making.holes (hole)) 'be
            engaged in (hole-) dibbling'
        ba-palu' (*urang*) (ANPAS-mallet/strike (person)) 'be engaged
            in (person-) striking'
        ba-ili' (*sungay*) (ANPAS-downstream/go.downstream (river)) 'be
            engaged in going downstream (a river)'
        ba-kubur (*bangkay*) (ANPAS-grave/bury (body)) 'be engaged in
            (body-)burying'

7.2.7.3   *Ba-* with other types of wordclasses

Ba- also occurs with a few static intransitive verbs, adverbs and numerals. Basically it means to carry out an activity in the manner or state expressed in the base, hence such forms are often used adverbially (some always appear in a reduplicated form), e.g:

(7-76)   *ba-rami* (ANPAS-crowded/busy) 'have fun, have a party'
        ba-buruh (ANPAS-hurry) 'act in a hurry, be hurried'
        ba-lebih (ANPAS-more) 'have more, be superfluous'
        ba-dua (ANPAS-two) 'act together in pairs'
        ba-lubah-lubah (ANPAS-slow.and.quiet-RED) 'be slow and quiet'
        ba-amat-amat (ANPAS-true-RED) 'be true, really'

The following are some examples of their use:

(7-77)   *Da   kampung   nya'   mayuh   urang   aday   ba-rami.*
        LOC   village   that   many   person   exist   ANPAS-crowded
        'In the village many people were having fun (i.e. having a party).'

(7-78)   *Sida'   ba-buruh   angkat.*
        3p   ANPAS-hurry   go
        'They were in a hurry to start off.'

7.2.7.4   *Ba-* with precategorial forms

Ba- also occurs with a few precategorial roots. The following are some examples:

(7-79)   *ba-ran'aw* 'go on a visit'
              ba-guraw 'joke around'
              ba-lepa 'take a rest'

7.2.7.5   *Ba-* with compounds

The antipassive *ba-* can also be used with nominal and verbal compounds. A general discussion about this will be provided in section 8.2 in Chapter 8. As an illustration, consider *ba-laki-bini* 'become husband and wife, get married' in (7-72) above.

7.2.8   The prefix *te-*: Unvolitional-resultative middle voice

It is problematic to classify *te-* clauses in terms of a voice typology, such as proposed in Payne (1997) and Givón (2001a, b). Syntactically it resembles a passive in that the patient appears as subject and the only argument of the clause. On the other hand, the "agent" also can be subject, although in that case the clause is not active, and the agent is not agentive (i.e. not conscious, volitional, controlling, initiating). Therefore, since it seems to be in-between structurally, I will tentatively (mostly for structural reasons) label *te-* clauses as coding some variant of middle voice (glossed as MID), that is, an unvolitional-resultative one, which is different from the one mentioned in 7.2.2.1. The morphophonemics of *te-* are discussed in Chapter 2. The morphosyntactic and semantic features of *te-* constructions are as follows:

   1) the verb is marked with the prefix *te-*;
   2) if the patient is the subject, it constitutes the only argument in the clause (7-80). The "uncontrolling" agent may appear but is not an independent argument (7-81);
   3) the agent is not agentive according to its typical function (cf. the agent in a typical active *N-* clause). It does not have control over the occurrence of the event. The uncontrolling agent can become the subject, but the patient has to occupy an indirect object position, marked with the preposition *ka*. The patient is obligatory (7-82);
   4) the clause is syntactically intransitive, i.e. it contains a subject that is not typical agentive and there is no patient (direct) object;
   5) semantically, *te-* clauses mostly apply to transitive verbs, with a few intransitive ones. They describe a situation in which the event occurs

without volition by the agent. There are two basic meanings in *te*-clauses:[15]

a)   unintentionality
b)   ability and/or possibility

The following examples are typical *te-* clauses:

(7-80)   *Ia*   *te-bunuh.*
           3s   MID-kill
           Patient-S
           'He got killed (not by an intentional act).'

(7-81)   *Selawar   m'ih*   *te-bay'*   *(ulih)   ku.*
           pants   2s.masc   MID-bring   by   1s
           Patient-S   Agent
           'Your pants were accidently carried away (with me).'

(7-82)   *Ia*   *te-bunuh*   *ka sida'.*
           3s   MID-kill   to 3p
           Agent-S   Patient-IO
           '(It happened to him that) he killed them unintentionally.'
           '(It could just happen that) he would be able to kill them.'

If there is only one participant in the clause, the subject is definitely the patient, as in (7-80). If both the uncontrolling agent and patient appear, one of them has to be marked after the verb. It is the agent that is marked without a preposition or with the preposition *ulih*, as in (7-81). This case is similar to the agent of the *da-* passive. It is the patient if marked with the preposition *ka*, as in (7-82). This *ka*-patient is required in the clause; otherwise the clause becomes (7-80). Since the *ka*-patient is obligatory, I consider it an indirect object.

   The semantics of *te-* clauses is worthy of a detailed study in the future. Here some preliminary insights are provided. Since the event occurs without volition, there are basically two meanings that appear in *te-* clauses: 1) unintentionality and 2) ability and/or possibility. The semantic interpretation depends at least on the following aspects (and context can help in clarifying the intended meaning):

a)   agent- vs. patient-subject
b)   realis vs. irrealis event
c)   types of verbs.

A semantic aspect of unintentionality typically appears when the event is realis or has already happened (past-perfect), as in (7-80) and the first interpretation in (7-82), regardless of the semantic role of the subject. The ability and/or possibility interpretation most likely pertains to clauses where the subject is the uncontrolling

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[15] The prefix   *te-* in the Iban of Sarawak encodes these two meanings as well (cf. Asmah 1981:61ff).

human agent and the event is irrealis, that is, it is in the future tense (7-82, second interpretation), negative-past tense (7-83), or conditional (7-84):

(7-83) *Naday   antu   te-inum   ka   darah.*
        NEG   ghost   MID-drink   to   blood
        '(Contrary to their intention) the ghosts were not able to drink (up) the blood.'

(7-84) *Naday   sida'   te-temu   ka   m'ih   asa   m'ih*
        NEG   3p   MID-find   to   2s.masc   whenever   2s.masc

        selabuk   ditu'.
        hide   here
        '(It would happen to them that) they would not be able to find you whenever you hide here.'

Ability and possibility have a semantic correlate. By itself ability includes a possibility, and this is most likely to occur with prototypical transitive events/verbs. A possibility meaning alone, by itself, occurs in an irrealis (future) event and with less typical transitive verbs.

In all cases, unintentionality and ability and/or possibility suggest a common meaning, namely that the event would occur or occured without volition.

An explanation needs to be provided for the occurrence of the uncontrolling agent as subject of the clause. One possible answer to this is semantic. Since the "supposed" agent, although directly involved in the event, does not have control over what has happened or could happen, he/she (and not only the patient) could be to some lesser degree "affected" by the uncontrolled event. In all contexts examined thus far, when the uncontrolling agent appears as subject (and the patient is "demoted" into the indirect object position), the clause suggests that the agent is focused and gets "affected" in some way since the occurrence or non-occurrence of the event is beyond his/her expectation. For example, in negative clauses as in (7-83 and 7-84), the events were detrimental to the uncontrolling agents (*antu* in (7-83) and *sida'* in (7-84)), since they (i.e. *antu* and *sida'*) actually wanted the event to happen (according to the stories). On the other hand, in affirmative (non-negative) clauses the event takes place or can take place beyond the uncontrolling agent's will or expectation and this could be detrimental to him/her (e.g. for bearing any consequences caused by the event), even though it would seem as though he/she is the one who is acting against a patient. This kind of a situation is more apparent in verbs like *teguk* 'drink once in one "movement" (of liquid)':

(7-85) a. *Ipuh   te-teguk   ulih   ia.*
            k.o.poison   MID-drink.at.once   by   3s
            'The poison accidentally got swallowed by him.'

        b. *Ia   te-teguk   ka   ipuh.*
            3s   MID-drink.at.once   to   k.o.poison
            '(It happened to him that) he accidentally swallowed the poison.'

In (7-85a) *ipuh* is supposedly a "normal" patient, but it is less affected, actually. It is the uncontrolling agent *ia* '3s' in (7-85b) that is definitely affected by the event. If such an uncontrolling agent-subject would be considered as a kind of "patient", and the supposed patient alone would be considered as something like an external "causer", then the construction looks like a passive. Alternatively, then, *te-* clauses could be regarded as coding an (unvolitional-resultative) passive.[16]

Te- also occurs with some intransive verbs, such as *te-tinuk* (MID-sleep) 'fall/get asleep', *te-duduk* (MID-sit) 'be in a sitting position'. Such verbs also involve unvolitionality.

Some forms seem to be historically frozen with the prefix *te-*. However, since we have no synchronic evidence for the use of the assumed roots, such forms are at best considered lexical, e.g. *tekanyat* 'be surprised', *tepelanting* 'fallen headlong', *tepuruk* 'fallen vertically from a slippery place', *terentak* 'shocked'.

7.2.9   The prefix *ke-*: inchoative state

The use of verbal *ke-* is not productive. A few occurences in the data show that *ke-*clauses are intransitive, that is, they only have one argument, which is the patient-experiencer subject. Basically they have an inchoative meaning (glossed as INCH), combined with a notion of unexpectedness, e.g.:

(7-86)   *ke-ingat* (INCH-remember) 'get to remember unexpectedly'
             ke-taw' (INCH-know) 'be known (caught) unexpectedly'
             ke-tin'uk (INCH-sleep) 'fall asleep unexpectedly'
             ke-pikir (INCH-think) 'unexpectedly think (about something)'
             ke-dinga (INCH-hear) 'unexpectedly get to hear (something)'
             ke-putus (INCH-broken) 'get broken unexpectedly'

Some examples in clauses:

(7-87)   *Ku ke-taw'   ia.*
             1s   INCH-know   3s
             'I got caught by him.'

(7-88)   *Ia   teka   N-cabut   tulang   rusuk   ia,   baru'*
             3s   right.away   ACT-pull.out   bone   rib   3s   then

             pen'ing   ku   ke-putus.
             ear   1s   INCH-broken
             'All of a sudden he took out his rib (which he used as a machete), then my ear got cut off.' (A pig was fighting with a man)

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[16] In the cognate *ter-* clauses in Malay/Indonesian a passive sense is more apparent and dominant. However, some cases still show an uncontrolling agent-subject, e.g. *dia ter-minum air* (3s-*ter*.drink-water) 'he accidentally drank the water'.

The Iban language of Sarawak has corresponding *te-* clauses which are very similar to those of Mualang. However, it seems that the preposition *ka* of Mualang corresponds with a suffix *–ka* in Iban (see Asmah 1981:61ff).

Being an experiencer, the subject undergoes an event caused by another participant, as is apparent in (7-87). Note that the participant *ia* '3s' in this example is not a typical agent since he/she did not carry out any volitional or intentional action. Rather, the event simply occurred to him/her.

Some forms like the following seem to be lexically frozen with the prefix: *kesuput* 'compelled', *kelupa* 'forget', *kemedih* 'get sad'.

7.2.10 *Kena'*: adversative passive

Kena' is used as a regular main verb, meaning 'afflict; hit (a target); put on (clothes)'. However, it can also function as an auxiliary verb to denote adversative passive. The following are the morphosyntactic and semantic features of the *kena'* adversative passive:

1) the adversatively affected patient is the subject of the clause;
2) the agent is optional. If the agent is expressed, it appears either directly after the verb, or in an *ulih* agent-phrase (as in the *da-* passive);
3) both auxiliary *kena'* and the main verb appear unmarked morphologically;
4) semantically, the *kena'* adversative emphasizes the patient having an action inflicted upon it. The agent is de-focused and unvolitionality is not implied, although the event may tend to be unvolitional. The adversative situation is most likely to occur with typically transitive verbs with a clearly physically affected patient and punctual action, e.g. *bunuh* 'kill', *tim'ak* 'shoot', *pantap* 'slash', *pangkung* 'hit, beat', *palu'* 'strike'.

Some examples in clauses (ADVR = adversative):

(7-89) *Ukuy kena' bunuh (ulih) sida'.*
dog ADVR kill by 3p
'The dog got killed by them (was inflicted with their killing).'

(7-90) *Ku kena' bula' ia.*
1s ADVR deceive 3s
'I got deceived by him (was inflicted with his deceiving).'

(7-91) *Uma urang kena' pan'uk.*
rice.field person ADVR burn
'The rice field of other people got burned (was inflicted with the burning).'

7.2.11 Analytic reflexive clauses with *diri'*

Prototypically in a reflexive construction the subject and the object refer to the same entity (Payne (1997:198ff). Reflexives in Mualang can be classified as being

analytic, that is, they are marked by the invariable reflexive pronoun *diri'* 'self'. Syntactically the *diri'* reflexives do not represent a specific type of voice construction. Since by definition the subject acts upon itself, voice constructions that are used to express a reflexive meaning typically have an agent(-like) subject. The verb usually has one of the following affixes: active *N-* (7-92 – 7-93), the antipassive *ba-* (7-94), zero stative with an agent-like subject (7-95), and the unvolitional middle *te-* (7-96). As a pronoun, *diri'* may occupy various syntactic roles.

(7-92)　　*Ia　N-tapuk　　diri'　ari　　bini　　ia.* (= Active, direct object)
　　　　　3s　ACT-hide　　self　from　wife　3s
　　　　　'He hid himself from his wife.'

(7-93)　　*Ia　ba-cakap　　　ka　diri'.* (= Antipassive, dative-oblique)
　　　　　3s　ANPAS-chat　　to　self
　　　　　'He talked to himself.'

(7-94)　　*Ia　ka'　idup　aba'　diri'.* (= Zero stative, associative-oblique)
　　　　　3s　want　live　with　self
　　　　　'She wants to live by herself.'

(7-95)　　*Ia　N-pantap　　kayu,　te-pantap　　ka　diri'.*
　　　　　3s　ACT-slash　　wood　MID-slash　to　self
　　　　　(= Unvolitional middle, indirect object)
　　　　　'He cut the wood, (but) it cut him(self).'

Diri' can also express a possessor if that is coreferential with the subject:

(7-96)　　*Ia　N-padah　ka　laki　　　diri'.* (= Active, possessor)
　　　　　3s　ACT-say　to　husband　self
　　　　　'She said to her own husband.'

Finally, *diri'* can also function as the subject to mean 'oneself'. Such a use of *diri'* is contrastive or emphatic in comparison to ordinary pronouns like *m'ih* '2s.masc' or *ia* '3s'.

(7-97)　　*Diri'　ka'　　kikay?*
　　　　　self　want　to.where
　　　　　'Where are you yourself going?' (I mean you and not others)

(7-98)　　*Diri'　budu.*
　　　　　self　stupid
　　　　　'You yourself (and not others) are a fool.'
　　　　　'She/he herself/himself (and not others) is a fool.'

Some verbs may be in part reflexive lexically, and may appear with *ba-*, as in (7-69) under 7.2.7.1 above.

7.2.12 Reciprocal clauses

Prototypically reciprocal clauses express that the agent and the patient act upon each other. They are different from reflexives in that reciprocals primarily involve two unique entities and that the action is mutual; whereas with reflexives this is not the case. E.g. in the reflexive *sida' ba-kaca* (3p-ANPAS.mirror) 'they saw themselves in the mirror' (and not *they saw each other in the mirror), both the agent and the (implied) patient refer to the same individual. Reciprocal constructions are formed in two ways:

> a) with the antipassive *ba-* construction;
> b) with the use of the anaphoric operator *pangan*, basically meaning 'friend, partner'

Ba- reciprocals have been introduced in 7.2.7.1. Syntactically, this construction type applies only to verbs that lexically may indicate a reciprocal action, e.g. *ba-bunuh* 'kill (each other)', *ba-temu* 'meet (each other)', *ba-laya'* 'fight (each other)', *ba-cakap* 'chat with (each other)'. With such *ba-* verbs, the subject is always plural, covering both the agent and the patient of the event. A repetitive reciprocal action is expressed by reduplication (see 8.3.1 of Chapter 8).

For verbs that lexically cannot express a reciprocal action, it seems that the word *pangan* 'friend, partner' can be used to derive a construction with a reciprocal sense. As attested in the data, the *pangan* reciprocals are used with the active prefix *N-* (7-99 – 7-100) and antipassive *ba-* verbs (7-101 – 7-102). With antipassive *ba-*verbs *pangan* is introduced by preposition *ka* 'to':

(7-99)   *Asa   anak   ba-laki-bini,*   *apay   aba'   inay*
         when   child   ANPAS-husband-wife   father   and   mother

         dua   piak   N-kumay   pangan   "isan".
         two   part   ACT-call   partner   *isan*
         'When children are married, parents of both parties address each other with "*isan*".

(7-100)   *Asa   naday   menyadi',   tentu   sida'   N-aru   pangan.*
          when   NEG   sibling   certain   3p   ACT-disturb   partner
          'If (they) would not be siblings, they would certainly disturb each other.'

(7-101)   *Sida'   ba-duay   ka   pangan.*
          3p   ANPAS-sibling.in.law   to   partner
          'They addressed each other as sibling-in-law/they have a sibling-in-law relationship to each other due their wives being siblings.'

(7-102)   *Kemua   ba-duay   ka   pangan.*
          1d.excl   ANPAS-brother.in.law   to   partner
          'We two have a brother-in-law relationship with one another due to our wives being siblings.'

Reciprocality does not change the semantic difference between the "active *N-*" and "antipassive *ba-*" voice types.

7.3   **Advancements of peripheral elements as arguments**

The term "advancement" is used here rather loosely. It refers to a construction in which a peripheral participant is "advanced" or "promoted" into a (core) argument position, which in Mualang can be the grammatical direct object or the subject of the clause (cf. a typical definition in Payne 1997:186ff). The operation, as attested thus far in the corpus, only applies to the peripheral participants of benefactive, locative and uncontrolling agent against the (core) argument patient. In all cases the peripheral elements come to occupy the syntactic position typical for the patient of a transitive event, whereas the patient itself is "demoted" into an indirect object, which is marked with the preposition *ka.* In the active voice construction an erstwhile peripheral benefactive or locative participant, is placed right after the verb (the direct object position), while the "old" patient-direct object becomes the indirect object.[17] Examples (7-103) and (7-104) show the involvement of typical benefactive and locative peripherals respectively:

(7-103)   a.   *Sida'   N-beri'   tanah   ka   ku.*
                 3p   ACT-give   land   to   1s
                 Agent-S   V   Patient-O   Benefactive-Oblique
                 'They gave some land to me.'

           b.   *Sida'   N-beri'   ku   ka   tanah.*
                 3p   ACT-give   1s   to   land
                 Agent-S   V   Benefactive-O   Patient-IO
                 'They gave me some land.'

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[17] The advancements in Mualang partially correspond to the function of the suffix *-kan* in standard Indonesian and *–ka* in the Iban of Sarawak (cf. e.g. Asmah 1981 for Iban). In Indonesian, for example, *-kan* is used, among others, to advance a benefactive participant into a direct object position (such as in (b) below; cf. (a) in which the benefactive participant is an oblique). However, the syntactic status of the patient participant differs in these languages: in Indonesian it may be considered a "second direct object", whereas in Mualang it becomes an oblique. Compare the following examples:

        (a)   *Ayah   mem-beli   buku   untuk   saya.*
               father   ACT-buy   book   for   1s
               'Father bought a book for me.'

        (b)   *Ayah   mem-beli-kan   saya   buku.*
               father   ACT-buy-*kan*   1s   book
               'Father bought me a book.'

(7-104)   a.   *Ia*   *N-isi'*   *ay'*   *ka*   *kuali.*
                 3s   ACT-content   water   to   cooking.pan
                 Agent-S V   Patient-O   Locative-Oblique
                 'She is putting water into the pan.'

          b.   *Ia*   *N-isi'*   *kuali*   *ka*   *ay'.*
                 3s   ACT-content   cooking.pan   to   water
                 Agent-S V   Locative-O   Patient-IO
                 'She is filling the pan with water.'

As seen in (7-103) and (7-104), word order determines the direct object position of an argument, that is, it directly follows the *N*-verb. In the (a) examples, the patient is the primary (direct) object, and the *ka*-headed elements (benefactive in (7-103) and locative in (7-104)) are oblique, whose absence cannot disturb the basic meaning of the clause. In the (b) examples the benefactive (7-103) and locative (7-104) occupy the direct object position, whereas the patients in both cases are expressed in the prepositional phrase headed by *ka*. They are required, otherwise *ku* '1s' in (7-103b) and *kuali* 'pan' in (7-104b) will be interpreted as the patient (e.g. *Ia ngisi' kuali* may mean 'she is putting the pan (into some other location)'). Also, if *kuali* in (7-104b) is interpreted as the patient, it would be the *kuali* itself that was put in the water and not the other way around. Hence *ay'* 'water' in (b) has to be considered an argument, namely the indirect object.[18]

More examples of advancement of benefactives:

(7-105)   a.   *Inay*   *N-beli*   *kayin* *baju* *ka* *ia.*
               mother ACT-buy clothes shirt to 3s
               'Mother bought clothes for her.'

        b.   *Inay*   *N-beli*   *ia*   *ka*   *kain*   *baju.*
               mother   ACT-buy   3s   to   clothes shirt
               'Mother bought her clothes.'

(7-106)   a.   *Sida'* *N-ganti*   *selawar* *baju* *ka* *Apay* *Aluy.*
               3p   ACT-change pants   shirt to father A
               'They put pants and shirts on Aluy's father.'

        b.   *Sida'*   *N-ganti*   *ia*   *ka*   *selawar*   *baju.*
               3p   ACT-change   3s   to   pants   shirt
               'They dressed him in pants and shirts.'

---

[18] I have found, thus far, only one case of the so-called "dative shift" in Paternus (2001:29): *kita' meri' ku tanah* (2p-*N*.give-1s-land) 'you all gave me land', in which the patient *tanah* 'land' appears without the preposition *ka* (cf. example (7-103)). My informant rejected such a construction as being atypical for Mualang. In all cases that I have observed the patient is marked with *ka.*

More examples of advancement of locatives:

(7-107)   a.   *Sida'*   *N-gulay*   *gula*   *ka*   *beram.*
              3p   ACT-mix   sugar   to   k.o.alcohol
              'They mixed sugar into the *beram*.'

          b.   *Sida'*   *N-gulay*   *beram*   *ka*   *gula.*
              3p   ACT-mix   k.o.alcohol   to   sugar
              'They mixed the alcohol with sugar.'

(7-108)   a.   *Sida'*   *N-pe-lintang*   *kayu*   *ka*   *jalay.*
              3p   ACT-CAUS-block   wood   to   road
              'They put wood on the road (to block it).'

          b.   *Sida'*   *N-pe-lintang*   *jalay*   *ka*   *kayu.*
              3p   ACT-CAUS-block   road   to   wood
              'They blocked the road with wood.'

The possibility of benefactives and locatives appearing as core arguments is also evidenced in *da*-passive and inverse constructions. In these constructions they come to occupy the subject position while the former patient is coded in the *ka* prepositional phrase as the indirect object. Examples (7-109b – 7-110b) show *da*-passives with benefactive subject (note that in (7-109b) the benefactive subject *ku* '1s' is dropped):

(7-109)   a.   *Babi*   *da-bunuh*   *ngaw*   *ia*   *N-pakay.*
              pig   PASS-kill   for   3s   ACT-eat
              Patient-S   *da*-V
              'Pigs were killed for him to eat.'

          b.   *Ku*   *din*   *nyamay,*   *Da-aduh*   *N-pakay,*
              1s   there.(far) comfortable   PASS-arrange   N-eat

              N-inum   *beram,*   **da-bunuh**   **ka**   **babi,**
              ACT-drink   k.o.alcohol   PASS-kill   to   Pig
                                             da-V   Patient-IO

              da-pulah   **ka**   **jimut.**
              PASS-make   to   k.o.snack
              da-V   Patient-IO
              'I lived there comfortably, eating was prepared, drinking *beram*, pigs were killed (for me), snacks were made (for me).'

(7-110)   a.   *Tanah*   *da-beri'*   *sida'*   *ka*   *ku.*
              land   PASS-give   3p   to   1s
              Patient-S   *da*-V   Agent   Benefactive-Oblique
              '(Some) land was given by them to me.'

   b.   *Ku*   *da-beri'*   *sida'*   *ka*   *tanah.*
        1s   PASS-give   3p   to   land
        Benefactive-S   *da*-V   Agent   Patient-IO
        'I was given (some) land by them.'

Examples (7-111b and 7-112b) show *da*-passives with locative subject:

(7-111)   a.   *Kayu*   *da-pe-lintang*   *ka*   *jalay.*
               wood   PASS-CAUS-block   to   road
               Patient-S   *da*-V   Locative-Oblique
               'The wood was used to block the road.' (Lit. 'Wood was blocked
               to the road')

          b.   *Jalay*   *da-pe-lintang*   *ka*   *kayu.*
               road   PASS-CAUS-block   to   wood
               Locative-S   *da*-V   Patient-IO
               'The road was blocked with the wood.'

(7-112)   a.   *Darah*   *da-unsut*   *ka*   *mulut*   *ku.*
               blood   PASS-smear   to   lips   1s
               Patient-S   *da*-V   Locative-Oblique
               'Blood was smeared on my lips.'

          b.   *Mulut*   *ku*   *da-unsut*   *ka*   *darah.*
               lips   1s   PASS-smear   to   blood
               Locative-S   *da*-V   Patient-IO
               'My lips were smeared with blood.'

Examples (7-113b) and (7-114b) show the inverse with a benefactive subject (the
agent is dropped):

(7-113)   a.   *Darah*   *antu*   *beri'*   *ka*   *sida'.*
               blood   ghost   give   to   3p
               Patient-S   Agent   V   Benefactive-Oblique
               'Blood was given to them by the ghosts.'

          b.   *Kami*   *dulaw*   *beri'*   *ka*   *darah.*
               1p.excl   first   give   to   blood
               Benefactive-S   V   Patient-IO
               'We first were given the blood.'

(7-114)   a.   *Tikay*   *kita*   *ancaw*   *ka*   *temuay.*
               mat   1p.incl   spread   to   guest
               Patient-S   Agent   V   Benefactive-Oblique
               'A mat we spread (on the floor) for the guest.'

b. *Temuay   kita   ancaw   ka tikay,*
    guest   1p.incl   spread   to mat
    Benefactive-S Agent   V   Patient-IO

    kemay ka biday.
    spread to rattan.mat
    V   Patient-IO
    'For the guest we spread a mat, we open out a rattan mat.'

Example (7-115b) shows the inverse with a locative subject:

(7-115) a. *Kayu   urang   pe-lintang   ka jalay.*
             wood   person CAUS-block   to road
             Patient-S   V   Locative-Oblique
             '(A piece of) wood was used by people to block the road.'

         b. *Jalay   urang   pe-lintang   ka kayu.*
             wood   person CAUS-block   to road
             Locative-S   V   Patient-IO
             'The road people blocked with (a piece of) wood.'

The following instances with *beri'* 'give' have been found where the benefactive is simply fronted in the prepositional phrase without becoming the subject, e.g.:[19]

(7-116) *Ngaw   Bujang   Jat   ku   beri'   ka   buah   kemayaw.*
         for   B   J   1s   give   to   fruit k.o.fruit
         'For BJ I will give a *kemayaw* fruit.'

(7-117) *Ngaw   aki'   ku   beri'   ka   ubi.*
         for   grandfather   1s   give   to   cassava
         'For my grandfather I will give cassavas.'

In another case in (7-118) below, *darah* 'blood' is not expressed as a direct object but rather as an oblique with the preposition *ka*. Here transitivity of the action *N-inum* 'ACT-drink' obviously becomes decreased, most likely due to the fact (i.e. according to the content of the story) that the action of drinking by the agent *kita* '1p.incl' never takes place with blood as a suffering patient:

(7-118) *Kati akal kita? Kita   tu'   bila jama   N-inum*
         how   mind 1p.incl 1p.incl   TOP   when habitually   ACT-drink

         ka darah? Naday   sa-sang'up.
         to blood   NEG   RED-be.able/prepared
         'What should we do? As for us, when do we ever drink blood? We won't be able (to do that).' (They were forced to drink blood)

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[19] These examples were collected from some young speakers.

In the unvolitional middle *te-* the uncontrolling agent can also occupy the subject position, which is typically occupied by the obligatory patient (see 7.2.8). Thus, in the example (7-80) and (7-81) above the subject is definitely a patient. But, if it is moved, it has to be marked with *ka*, as in (7-82). The possibility of the uncontrolling agent occupying the subject position of *te-* clauses is probably due to its being more like a patient semantically.

More research is needed in order to establish the semantic nature of the advancements. It seems that such an operation applies more easily to the locative element than to the benefactive. As for the benefactive, a great number of examples were found in the *da-* passive clauses than in active *N-* clauses. It was easier for my informants to construct or understand advancements of benefactive in the *da-* passives than in the active *N-* clauses. Also, it is easier to have a benefactive advancement with verbs that inherently imply the existence of a benefactive such as *beri'* 'give' and *beli* 'buy', than with, for example, the verb *bunuh* 'kill'. In the second clause of the following example a benefactive is simply implied:

(7-119) *Nang   arap   nu'   urang.   Pulah   ka   tali!*
         don't   hope   POSS   person   make   to   rope
         'Don't expect (to use) someone else's. Make a rope (for yourself)!'

8   OTHER VERB-PHRASE OPERATIONS

This chapter is concerned with verbs and verb phrases, as is Chapter 7. While the preceding chapter describes verbal prefixes and the arrangement of arguments in the clause, the present chapter deals with the remaining operations associated with verbs or verb-phrase: verbalization (8.1), verbal compounding (8.2), reduplication (8.3), and tense, aspect, mode (TAM for short), as well as other adverbial modifications (8.4).

8.1   Verbalization

Verbalization derives a verb from a noun root. This process has been described in separate sub-sections in Chapter 7. To put them together, verbalization is accomplished through unmarked derivation (or zero morphology, see 7.1.3.1) and the causative *pe-* (see 7.1.3.1).

Note that a kind of reversed process is also associated with Mualang verbs viz. nominalization that changes verbs into nouns. Nominalization is discussed in section 4.2 of Chapter 4.

8.2   Verbal compounding

The whole discussion pertinent to nominal compounding as described in section 4.4 of chapter 4 is also applicable to verbal compounding, except that the latter expresses events or states. As with nominal compounds, verbal compounds can be grouped as being generic (8.2.1) and specific (8.2.2). Following these two sub-sections, in (8.2.3) the use of verbal compounds will be exemplified.

8.2.1   Generic compounds

As with generic nominal compounds (4.4.1), constituents in a verbal generic compound are strung together to form a single generic meaning. The constituents are verbal roots belonging to similar or related semantic domains. They are semantically combined to form a variety of actions or states occurring in a situation.

(8-1)   *pakay-sumay* (eat-cook) 'do activities related to cooking and eating'
pakay-ipung (eat-eat) 'eat without side dishes (eat a simple meal)'
pakay-mpa' (eat-chew) 'eat (around), simply eat whatever is served'
tipah-biah (reject.by.pushing.aside-wave.aside) 'reject totally and rudely by hitting aside'
beri'-jua' (give-give) 'give generously'

rantak-irit (draw-draw) 'draw and draw'

beli-belany'a (buy-do.shopping) 'buy things'

tampar-terejang (slap-run.into) 'hit and beat'

sipak-ten'ang (kick-kick.out) 'kick out (at) intensely with all kinds of kicking'

pulay-balik (come.home-return) 'go back and forth'

amis-lengis (finished-thoroughly.clean/cleared) 'finished completely'
rung'u'-pedih (sick-sick/sad) 'seriously sick'

pangkap-berap (hug-embrace) 'embrace and hug'

sium-lulum (kiss-kiss) 'kiss and kiss'

The members of these compounds are semantically closely related. In some cases the whole compound has become frozen (both constituents being precategorial; examples 8-2a), whereas in other cases (only) one of the members is never used by itself but only as a constituent of a compound (examples 8-2b):

(8-2)   a. *peluntang-pelanting* 'helter-skelter'
            kun'ang-katang 'go back and forth'
            kulang-kalik 'go back and forth'

        b. *bolak-balik* (precategorial-return) 'go back and forth'

           getar-ganyar (tremble-precategorial) 'tremendously tremble'

           putih-belanyi (white-precategorial) 'very white'

           pamar-piar (separated-precategorial) 'scattered around, dispersed'
           mati-lesi (die-precategorial) 'die (away)'

           barah-buruh (precategorial-hurried) 'be in a big hurry'[1]

           bereta-berama (together-precategorial) 'together'
           pelintang-putang (lie.across-precategorial) 'be in disarray'

           pabit-parit (involve-precategorial) 'involve/drag one another into'
           mutah-jurah (vomit-precategorial) 'vomit excessively'

8.2.2   Specific compounds

As with some of the nominal compounds (see 4.4.2 of Chapter 4), verb phrases containing a verb and usually a noun, may become frozen lexically acquiring a specific meaning, e.g.:

(8-3)   *pinta'-diri'* (ask-self) 'ask permission to leave'
         un'ur-diri' (withdraw-self) 'resign'
         any'ung-ramu (escort-things) '(ceremonially) escort brideprice'
         mati-pungkak (die-young(?)) 'die at a young age'

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[1] The form *buruh-arah* also occurs with the same meaning.

> *kibaw-manuk* (wave-chicken) 'wave at a chicken (in a rite)'
>
> *limpang-umung* (switch.direction-talk) 'by the way'
>
> *pan'i'-nemiak* (bathe-child) 'bathe a child ritually'
>
> *tunsun-purih* (arrange-descendant) 'track down the history of descendants'
>
> *mayin-alu* (play-pestle) 'play k.o. traditional game'
>
> *rari-diri'* (run-self) 'run away'
>
> *berani-mati* (brave-die) 'be ready to take a risk'

8.2.3 Use of verbal compounds with and without voice prefixes

Like verbal roots, compounds from verb roots appear in clauses with different voice prefixes, depending on their meaning. As attested in the data, those with intransitive meaning are zero marked (8-4 and 8-5) or prefixed with the middle *te-* (8-6), while those with transitive meaning can be used with prefixes of the active *N-* (8-7 and 8-8), the passive *da-* (8-9), the inverse (8-9), and the antipassive *ba-* (8-10):

(8-4) *Ia   ba-guay   **peluntang-pelanting**.*
3s   ANPAS-run   helter-skelter
'He ran helter-skelter.'

(8-5) *Malam, sida'   **tin'uk-ngantuk**.*
night   3p   sleep-feel.sleepy
'At night they all had a sleep (i.e. felt sleepy, and then slept).'

(8-6) *... Putung Kempat   **te-puntang-panting***
    P   K   MID-precategorial-do.with.great.effort

anyut ....
swept.away
'… Putung Kempat was hit here and there being swept away ….' (by an eddy of water)

(8-7) *Ditu' ku N-pakay   nyamay,   din   anak-bini   ku*
here   1s ACT-eat   comfortable   there.(far) child-wife   1s

***N-pakay-N-ipung**.*
ACT-eat-ACT.eat.without.sidedishes
'Here I have been eating well, overthere my wife and child eat plain rice (a very simple meal).'

(8-8) *Udah   ia',   sida'   **N-pinta'   diri'**   pulay.*
already   that'   3p   ACT-ask   self   go.home
'After that they asked permission to leave.'

(8-9)   *Nti'   aday   ti   taw'*   **da-beri'-jua'**   *barang ka ayung*
          if   exist REL   can   PASS-give-give   thing   to relatives

          nya',   aw',   kita   **beri'-jua'**!
          that   well   1p.incl. give-give
          'If there are things (e.g. food, clothes) that could be given away to
          relatives, then, we give them!'

(8-10)   *Ba-sabak   dih sida' menyadi',*   **ba-sium – ba-lulum**,
          ANPAS-cry   *dih* 3p   siblings   ANPAS-kiss–ANPAS-kiss

          ba-pangkap – ba-berap.
          ANPAS-hug–ANPAS-embrace
          'Those siblings then cried, gave big kisses and hugs to one another.'

In many cases the verbal components of the generic compound have both the same
prefix, as in (8-7) and (8-10). However, the compound stem can also take only one
prefix, as in (8-6) and the first clause of (8-9), in which the prefix is attached to the
first element. This is probably due to the elements being very tightly integrated
semantically and structurally.

    Verbal compounds may also be formed from denominal verbs, prefixed with the
antipassive *ba-* or the active *N-* (8-11a) and from a nominal compounds (8-11b)
through prefixation with *ba-*:

(8-11)   a. *N-keparat–N-bansat*   '(ACT-heathen–ACT-scoundrel)   'scold
             (somebody)'
             ba-laya'–ba-tengi'   (ANPAS-quarrel–ANPAS-dispute)   'have
                disputes'
             bar-anak–ba-buah (ANPAS-child–ANPAS-fruit) 'have
             descendants'
             ba-uti'–ba-guraw (ANPAS-disturb–ANPAS-tease) 'tease
             around'
             ba-padi–ba-beras (ANPAS-paddy–ANPAS-uncooked.rice)   'own
                or harvest rice abundantly'
             ba-babi–ba-manuk   (ANPAS-pig–ANPAS-chicken)   'own   or
                raise lots of stocks'

          b. *ba-laki–bini* (ANPAS-husband-wife) 'get married; be husband and
                wife'
             ba-rumah–tang'a' (ANPAS-house–ladder 'have a house or
                household'

In verbs derived from nominal compounds (examples 8-11b) the nouns had a tighter
semantic integration prior to prefixation. In compounds formed from prefixed nouns
(examples 8-12b, 8-13b), however, each prefixed noun contributes separately to the
meaning of the compound. Compare the following clause pairs:

(8-12)   a. *Udah   ia', sida' tay   ka'   ba–laki-bini ....*
                 already   that   3p   REL FUT   ANPAS-husband-wife
                                                  (= ba- + laki-bini)
                 'After that, they who were going to get married ....'

     b. *Sida' tay   ba-laki–ba-bini ....*   **(= ba-laki + ba-bini)**
                 3p   REL   ANPAS-husband-ANPAS-wife
                 'Those who are already married ....' Or also:
                 'Those who have a husband and who have a wife ....'

(8-13)   a. *Sida'   ia'   bar-anak – buah.*   **(= bar- + anak-buah)**
                 3p   that   ANPAS-child-fruit
                 'They have helpers.'

     b. *Anti'   mati, sida' nsia   naday   bar-anak –*
                 if   die   3p   human   NEG   ANPAS-child-

             ba-buah.   **(= bar-anak + ba-buah)**
             ANPAS-fruit
             'If they are dead, they, the human beings, won't have descendants (anymore).'

Some compounds with the (b) pattern of (8-12) and (8-13) seem to have become frozen lexically, for example, *bereta-berama* (together-precategorial) 'together', in which the *ba-* syllables are reduced forms of former *ba-* prefixes.

     In sum, verbal compounds occur in the following structural patterns (each followed by an example):

     a) zero marked or [verbal compound], e.g. *kun'ang-katang* 'go back and forth';
     b) Prefix-[verbal compound], e.g. *N-pinta' diri'* (ACT-ask–self) 'ask permission to leave';
     c) [Prefix-verb]-[Prefix-verb], e.g. *N-pakay–N-sumay* (ACT-eat–ACT-cook) 'cook and have a meal'
     d) Prefix-[nominal compound], e.g. *ba-laki–bini* (ANPAS-husband–wife) 'get married';
     e) [Prefix-noun]-[Prefix-noun], e.g. *bar-anak–ba-buah* (ANPAS-child– ANPAS-fruit) 'have descendants'.

     Structurally the generic verbal compounds may resemble verb sequences and serial verb constructions (see Chapter 10). Verbal compounds mainly exhibit highly semantic – hence structural – integrity between their constituents, and therefore their members have to be closely related semantically. In a verb sequence, there is a pause between the verbs, which signals that the activities are carried out separately. Compare the sequence of verbs in (8-14) below with the compound in (8-5) above:

(8-14)   *Sida'   ngantuk,   tin'uk.*
          3p   feel.sleepy   sleep
          'They felt sleepy and slept (then went to sleep).'

(8-14) differs from (8-5) in that in the latter case the whole process or situation related to being sleepy, going to sleep until falling asleep is wrapped semantically into one compound form. Note also that in (8-14) the order of the verbs iconically reflects the order of the events referred to, which is not necessarily the case in compounds.

   Verbal compounds differ from serial verbs in that the latter are multi-clausal structurally, and semantically one of their constituent members modifies the other in some ways, hence their constituent members vary and belong to different semantic fields. Verbal compounds, on the other hand, are mono-clausal and semantically they refer to one single activity or state.

   However, some constituents that frequently occur in compounds also appear in verb sequence. Such sequences occur with words that are not precategorial. The resultant parallelisms are often found in ritual texts, e.g. as in (8-16) and (8-17). This might suggest a historical multi-clausal source of verbal compounding (cf. the regular multi-clausal sentence in (8-15)).

(8-15)   *Nema   N-suruh   balang   mati   tih, nyaw*
          therefore   ACT-cause   fail   dead   *tih* already

          da-tipah   aba'   da-biah   ay'   inum ....
          PASS-push.aside   and   PASS-wave.aside   water drink
          'Because (what) caused (them) not to die was that the drinking water was hit aside (and fell) ....'

(8-16)   *Tu'   mah   kami   N-kibaw   kami   N-kitaw,   kami*
          this   *mah* 1p.excl. ACT-wave   1p.excl   ACT-wave   1p.excl

          N-tipah   kami   N-biah...
          ACT-push.aside 1p.excl.   ACT-wave.aside
          'Here we're doing the offerings (by all kinds of waving activities, usually with a kind of leaf).' (Cited from Paternus (2001:30))

(8-17)   *...da-pampas   juata   jawa'   isa'   mis,*
          PASS-reward   god   k.o.plant in.order.that finished

          isa'   cawis,   isa'   lengis.
          in.order.that   finished in.order.that cleared
          '... (Whoever hinders) will be rewarded (i.e. punished) until utterly and completely wiped out (by the god).' (Cited from Paternus (2001:54))

8.3   **Verbal reduplication**

Verbal reduplication is more variegated than nominal reduplication (see 4.3 of Chapter 4) both structurally and semantically. Basically verbal reduplication is a grammatical strategy used to code the same event as indicated by the non-reduplicated verb (action or state) but repeatedly or continuously for a particular period of time.[2] Structurally the verb base coding the event is reduplicated in several ways, signaling the degree of semantic integrity of the repetitive or durative event. Structurally the reduplication may be regarded as morphological and syntactic; both will be described below in 8.3.1 and 8.3.2 respectively.

8.3.1   **Morphological reduplication**

Verbal morphological reduplication shows a highly semantic integrity of the same action or state occuring repetitively during a particular period of time. The repetitions are not conceived of as separate situations characterized by the same event (see syntactic reduplication below), but rather as a single event. Morphological reduplication vs. syntactic reduplication may be compared to verbal compounding vs. serial verbs or verb sequences (cf. 8.2. above). For example, consider (8-18):

(8-18)   a.   *Kacung   N-lumpat.*   (= non-repetitive action)
                  frog   ACT-jump
                  'The frog jumped.'

            b.   *Kacung   N-lumpat-lumpat.*(= morphological reduplication)
                  frog   ACT-jump-RED
                  'The frog jumped around.'

            c.   *Kacung   N-lumpat,   N-lumpat   (sampay   jawuh).*
                  frog   ACT-jump   ACT-jump   until   far
                                                    (= syntactic reduplication)
                  'The frog jumped, and jumped (until it was far away).'

In (8-18a) the action of jumping took place one time (or is referred to as an invariant habit); in (b) it took place many times but as a whole the repetitions are regarded as expressing a single complex movement, e.g. up and down aimlessly. In (c), each verb describes a separate event, the same as in the first interpretation of (a). Morphological reduplication is a derivational process which as such may result in some unexpected changes in meaning and word class, as will be described further below.

      Formally, there are several patterns of morphological reduplication:

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[2] Some words are characterized by "lexical repetition", i.e. they look like reduplicated forms, but lack a non-reduplicated base. Examples are: *silu-silu* 'quiet' (cf. *silu* 'nail'), *mang-mang*, usually used in the expression *naday mang-mang* 'suddenly'. By definition such words are not considered the product of a synchronic process of morphological reduplication.

1) Full reduplication of the root without further affixation, e.g.:

> *lubah-lubah* (slow.and.quiet-RED) 'slowly and quietly'
> *mit-mit* (small-RED) 'in small sizes/amounts/pieces'
> *sigat-sigat* (quick-RED) 'quickly'
> *sikit-sikit* (little-RED) 'little by little'
> *tuay-tuay* (old-RED) 'moderately old'
> *idup-idup* (live-RED) 'alive'

If the root is prefixed for voice with a syllabic prefix, the reduplication still applies to the whole root, e.g.:

> *ba-guay-guay* (ANPAS-run-RED) 'run (continuously), run around'
> *ba-pin'ah-pin'ah* (ANPAS-move-RED) 'move (around) from one place to another'
> *da-kayuh-kayuh* (PASS-paddle-RED) 'be paddled (continuously)'
> *da-tiki'-tiki'* (PASS-climb-RED) 'be climbed (continuously)'
> *te-bagi-bagi* (MID-divide-RED) 'get divided up'
> *te-tucuk-tucuk* (MID-stab-RED) 'get stabbed repeatedly'
> *N-lumpat-lumpat* (=*ngelumpat-lumpat*) (ACT-jump-RED) 'jump around/repeatedly'
> *N-labuh-labuh* (=*ngelabuh-labuh*) (ACT-drop-RED) 'drop repeatedly'
> *N-rusak-rusak* (*ngerusak-rusak*) (ACT-broken-RED) 'break/damage repeatedly'

If the prefix is non-syllabic (allomorphs of *N-* with roots which do not begin with *l* or *r*), the whole prefixed word is reduplicated:

> *N-ili'-N-ili'* (*ngili'-ngili'*) (ACT-downstream-RED) 'continuously go downstreams'
> *N-bunuh-N-bunuh* (*munuh-munuh*) (ACT-kill-RED) 'kill repeatedly'
> *N-kampur-N-kampur* (*ngampur-ngampur*) (ACT-chat-RED) 'chat repeatedly/on and on'
> *N-pakay-N-pakay* (*makay-makay*) (ACT-eat-RED) 'have a meal (with various ingredients/dishes and relatively long)'

However, in practice the reduplication of words can be limited in length phonologically. On the average more than four syllables in total may be considered too long and not economical, and so cases of phonological truncation are also heard, notably in rapid speech, e.g. *ba-terudi–terudi* → *baterudi-rudi* (ANPAS-chase.after-RED) 'follow/compete with one another', *ba-keramak–ramak* (ANPAS-claw-RED) 'claw (each other) on and on', *ba-macam–macam* → *bamamacam* (ANPAS-kind-RED) 'be of many kinds, various'.

Full reduplication is common in the language. Semantically, some additional meanings may arise depending on the verb type. Reduplication with transitive and dynamic intransitive verbs normally does not change the lexical meaning of the base. In (8-19) and (8-20) the reduplicated form indicates duration of the activity. In

the case of transitive verbs reduplication may also imply plurality of the patient (8-21):

(8-19) *N-inaw–N-inaw*   *apa,*   *m'ih?*
      ACT-look.for-RED   what   2s.masc
      'What have you been looking for (since some time ago)?'

(8-20) *Miak* *ia'*   *ba-sabak–sabak.*
      child   that   ANPAS-cry-RED
      'The child keeps crying.'

(8-21) *Babas* *da-tebas-tebas*   *sampay*   *luah.*
      forest   PASS-cut-RED   until   large
      'A wide area of forest is cleared (by cutting grass and bushes/trees).'

Reduplicated static intransitive verbs may be used predicatively (8-22 – 8-24) and attributively (8-25 – 8-27). In such usages, the reduplicated forms express that the state indicated by the verbal root is on the average the case (with the implication that the noun of which it is said to be the case is a mass noun, as in (8-22), or has to be interpreted as plural as in (8-25 and 8-26), or is true to a relative extent (as in (8-23, 8-24 and 8-27)).

(8-22) *Padi*   *nyaw*   *kuning-kuning.*
      rice   already   yellow-RED
      'The rice has all become yellow.'

(8-23) *Ku* *bayik-bayik*   *ja'.*
      1s   good-RED   *ja'*
      'I am just fine.'

(8-24) *Urang*   *nya'*   *mit-mit.*
      person   that   small-RED
      'That person is small (i.e. on the average he has a small and short body).'

(8-25) *kayu*   *mit-mit*
      wood   small-RED
      'wood in small pieces'

(8-26) *urang*   *tuay-tuay*
      person   old-RED
      'on the average old people'

(8-27)   *urang   bayik-bayik*
          person   good-RED
          'on the average good person (of behaviour)'

Reduplicated static intransitive verbs are also used with another verb, in which case they function adverbially expressing various manners with intensifying meaning. The event coded in the verb root itself implies a repetitive or durative action or state. As adverbs, their position in the clause is relatively flexible. Some examples:

> *sigat-sigat* 'very fast (as fast as one could be)'
> *lubah-lubah* 'very slowly and quietly (as much as one could be)'
> *bayik-bayik* 'very carefully (as careful as one could be)'
> *mimit-mimit* 'little by little'
> *jawuh-jawuh* 'very far (as far as one could be)'
> *amat-amat* 'really'
> *mati-mati* 'with extremely great effort'
> *idup-idup* 'alive'

(8-28)   *Piara-idup   bayik-bayik!*
          take.care.of-live good-RED
          'Cultivate it and grow it carefully!'

(8-29)   *Am'i'   mimit-mimit!*
          take   little-RED
          'Take little by little'

(8-30)   *Lubah-lubah   ia   turun.*
          slow.and.quiet-RED   3s   descend
          'Slowly and quietly he came down.'

(8-31)   *Ia   mati-mati   N-tam'ak   padi.*
          3s   die-RED   ACT-plant   rice
          'He worked very hard planting the rice.'

2) Reciprocal reduplication. This reduplication applies only to *ba*-verbs, with the following pattern: *root–ba-root*. It denotes that the action is repeatedly carried out one against or after another, e.g.:

> *balas–ba-balas* (*den'am*) (pay.back–ANPAS-RED) (revenge) 'take revenge on one another'
> *bunuh–ba-bunuh* (kill–ANPAS-RED) 'be engaged in killing each other'
> *bantu–ba-bantu* (help–ANPAS-RED) 'be engaged in helping each other'
> *tim'ak–ba-tim'ak* (shoot–ANPAS-RED) 'be engaged in shooting each other'
> *tugal–ba-tugal* (dibble–*ba*-RED) 'be engaged in making holes for seeds one after another'

    sawut–ba-sawut (reply–ANPAS-RED) 'be engaged in replying to each
     other'

As seen in the following examples, the subject of the clause is always plural:

(8-32) *Melia' ah, sida' balas–ba-balas den'am.*
     in.old.times *ah* 3p repay-ANPAS–RED revenge
     'In the old times they took revenge on one another.'

(8-33) *Sida' ia' kayuh–ba-kayuh.*
     3p that paddle-ANPAS-RED
     'They paddled (the proa) one after another.'

(8-34) *Burung sawut–ba-sawut.*
     bird reply-ANPAS-RED
     'Birds are replying to one another.'

  Lexically reciprocal verbs may also be reduplicated "regularly", e.g. *ba-bunuh–bunuh* 'kill each other', *ba-tulung–tulung* 'help each other'. However, they differ from the "reciprocal reduplication" in that the regular reduplication does not necessarily yield a reciprocal meaning, thus *babunuh-bunuh* can also mean 'repeatedly engage in killing activity'.

3) Reduplication with sound changes in the root. In this pattern, the whole root is reduplicated, but with some changes or variations in one or some of its phonemes (mostly vowels). There is no regular phonological pattern of changes that can be reconstructed. Most of such reduplicated forms have been lexicalized or fixed in pairs. Sound changing reduplication expresses a repetitive occurence of the same event in a variety of ways (sounds, emotions, movements, situations, etc.), e.g.:

    tekakak-tekikik 'laugh continuously with various sounds'
    kasak-kusuk 'be restless with all kinds of busy movements'
    bulak-balik 'be busy with going to and returning from a particular place'
    kucar-kacir 'be scattered around (into all kinds of places or directions)'
    kutak-katuk 'make various sounds of tapping'
    licak-lacik 'very muddy and wet'
    kerap-terap 'fall/get stumbled here and there'

8.3.2   Syntactic reduplication

Syntactic reduplication shows a process of repetition of the same event. Formally there are two kinds of syntactic reduplication:

1) verb *ka* verb: this kind of reduplication conveys continuity, a process of becoming more and more, e.g.:

besay ka besay 'become bigger and bigger'
panay ka panay 'become smarter and smarter'
taw' ka taw' 'become more and more knowledgeable'
bayik ka bayik 'become better and better'
semak ka semak 'come closer and closer'
ketawa' ka ketawa' 'continue to laugh'
N-sabak ka N-sabak (ACT-cry to ACT-cry) 'continue to cry'
N-ili' ka N-ili' (ACT-downstream to ACT-downstream) 'continue to go
    downstream'
da-salay ka da-salay (PASS-dry.over.fire to PASS-dry.over.fire) 'continue to
    dry over the fire'
da-gulay ka da-gulay (PASS-mix to PASS-mix) 'continue to mix'

(8-35)   *Miak ia' besay ka besay.*
       child that big   to big
       'The child is growing bigger and bigger.'

(8-36)   *Sida' N-ili'   agi', N-ili'   agi'*
       3p   ACT-downstream   again ACT-downstream   again

       Ketungaw. N-ili'   ka N-ili',
       K   ACT-downstream to ACT-downstream

       N-ili'   ka N-ili',   baru' datay
       ACT-downstream to ACT-downstream   then   come

       ka ili'.
       to downstream
       'They went downstream on the Ketungau River again, they went down
       the river. They kept going downstream, then they arrived downstream.'

(8-37)   *Nemiak ia' N-sabak ka N-sabak ka' angkat.*
       child   that ACT-cry to ACT-cry want go
       'The child keeps crying wanting to go.'

(8-38)   *Beram   ia' da-salay   ka da-salay*
       alcohol that PASS-dry.over.fire   to PASS-dry.over.fire

       sampay ay'   nya' mirah.
       until   water that red
       'The *beram* is heatened more and more until the water turns red.'

2) A verb can also simply be repeated to express a repetition. Each repetition has its own word stress, hence these verbs do not constitute a single phrase. Examples of this can be seen in (8-18c) and the first clause of (8-36).

Finally, a reduplicated form can become lexicalized with a particular meaning, e.g. *kun'ang-kekun'ang* 'go back and forth'.

8.4   Tense, aspect, mode and other adverbial modifications

In this section the primary ways of expressing tense (8.4.1), aspect (8.4.2), mode (8.4.3) and other adverbial expressions (8.4.4) are described.

8.4.1   Tense

So-called "tense" (i.e. "the relation of the time of an event to some reference point in time" (Payne 1997:236)) is not expressed grammatically in Mualang. It is simply left unspecified and disambiguated by the context:

(8-39)   *M'ih   N-pakay   apa?*
            2s.masc ACT-eat   what
            (a) 'What did you eat?'
            (b) 'What are you eating?'
            (c) 'What will you eat/are you going to eat?'

A time adverb can be used to explicitly specify the temporal relations involved. Generally time adverbs refer to various situations in the past, present and future, e.g.:

-     past: *melia'* 'in the old times', *dulaw* 'formerly, a long time ago', *kemari'* 'yesterday', *tadi'* 'a while ago', *baru'* 'just a while ago';
-     present: *tu'* 'now' (locationally it means 'this'), *nyaw pitu'* 'now, nowadays', *ke tu'* 'to the present time' (locationally it means 'to this');
-     future: *pagi* 'tomorrow', *ila'* 'later', *dudi ari* 'in the coming days'.

(8-40)   *Dulaw   tih,   ia   keran   kitu'.*
            fomerly   *tih*   3s   often   hither
            'Before, he often came here.'

(8-41)   *Nyaw   pitu'   rumah   panyay   nisi'   agi'...*
            already like.this   house   long   EXIST.NEG   again
            'Nowadays there are no longhouses anymore ...'

(8-42)   *Ila'   ku   kin.*
            later   1s   thither.(far)
            'I'll go over there later.'

It is only 'near future' that is expressed in the form of an auxiliary, namely *ka'* 'be going to' (see also Chapter 10 on serial verbs):

(8-43)   *Ka' kikay,   di'?*
          FUT   to.where   2s.fem
          'Where are you going?'

8.4.2   Aspect

Comrie (1981:3) gives a general definition for aspect as "different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituentcy of a situation." A similar definition is provided by Payne (1997:238): "aspect describes the internal temporal shape of events or states." In Mualang, aspectual meanings are expressed analytically by means of auxiliaries, or they can be deduced from the context. A discussion of aspectual auxiliaries is given here:

a. Perfect aspect: *nyaw, udah* 'already'

Both *nyaw* and *udah* express perfect aspect. In certain contexts they are translatable as 'already'. In many constexts their meanings overlap and they may be used interchangeably, hence the difference between them is subtle.[3] *Udah* (phonologically reduced to *dah*) also has developed into an illocutionary marker (see 9.4 in Chapter 9). In the construction *udah ia'* 'after that' which functions as a kind of conjunction (see section 10.6.1.4) *udah* cannot be replaced by *nyaw*. As a perfect auxiliary, *udah* emphasizes the accomplishment of an event while it also makes a contrast between the state of affairs "before" and "after". *Nyaw* does not seem to imply such a change in the state of affairs; it simply refers to something that has happened, e.g.:

(8-44)   *Ia N-peda'   urang   tuay, buk nyaw   putih.*
          3s ACT-see   person old   hair already white
          'He saw (met) an old person, her hair was already grey.'

(8-45)   *Ia N-peda'   urang   tuay ia'   agi', buk udah   putih.*
          3s ACT-see   person old   that again hair already white
          'He saw (met) that old person again, her hair had turned grey (compared to the last time he saw her).'

In (8-46) the use of *nyaw* again merely presents a statement about what has happened, but *udah* in (8-47) implies the speaker's deliberate accomplishment of the activity (he wanted to do something and he did it already):

(8-46)   *Antu nyaw N-dinga   gu'   Apay Aluy.*
          ghost PERF ACT-hear sound father A
          '(Beyond Aluy's father's expectation) the ghost has heard father of Aluy's father's voice.'

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[3] To some extent the similarity between nyaw and udah may be comparable to Indonesian telah and sudah. See, for example, Minde and Tjia (2002), for a discussion about the latter and related matter in Ambonese Malay.

(8-47)   *Ku udah   N-padah   ka   ia.*
          1s PERF   ACT-say   to   3s
          'I have told him.'

b. Progressive aspect: *tengan, benung*:[4]

(8-48)   *Ia   tengan   N-pakay.*
          3s   PROG   ACT-eat
          'He is/was eating.'

(8-49)   *Nti'   benung   kita'   ba-laya'* ...
          if   PROG   2p   ANPAS-quarrel
          'If you were having a quarrel ...'

Tengan is commonly used, whereas *benung* is rare; it is considered as an old word.

c. Durative aspect: *lagi'/agi'* 'still'[5]

(8-50)   *Ia   bedaw*[6] *angkat.   Agi'   N-pan'i'.*
          3s   not.yet   go   still   ACT-bathe
          He's not going yet. He's still taking a bath.'

d. Completive: *mis* 'finished'

(8-51.)   *Nti'   kita'   mis   ba-kerja,* ....
          if   2p   finished   ANPAS-work
          'If you all are finished working, ...'

Mis is also used as a main verb (see Chapter 10 on serial verbs).

e. Repetitive/semelfactive aspect: *kepa'* 'often'; *keran* 'like to do, often do'; *gah* 'ever, once'; *kadang/kadang-kadang/tekadang* 'sometimes'; *jarang* 'seldom, rarely'

(8-52)   *Urang   dah   kepa'   N-pinta'   ia.*
          person PERF   often   ACT-ask.for   3s
          'People have often courted her.'

(8-53)   *Keran   ka   Punti?*
          like   to   P
          'Do you like going/often go to the city of Pontianak?'

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[4] Sometimes the alternant form *tengah* 'middle' was heard instead of *tengan*.
[5] Note that as an adverb *(l)agi'* means 'again'.
[6] *Bedaw* is the negation of *nyaw/udah*. See section 9.5 of the next chapter on negation.

(8-54)   *Ku gah   ka rumah   ia.*
          1s ever   to house   3s
          'I have ever been to his house.'

(8-55)   *N-tanya'   ka ti   in'u'   ia', kadang-kadang   naday*
          ACT-ask   to REL   female   that sometimes   NEG

          N-sawut.
          ACT-reply
          '(We) asked to that female, sometimes she did not reply.'

(8-56)   *Nti'   aday,   ulih jarang.*
          if   exist   but seldom
          'If there was, it was however rare.'

The aspectual meaning of the auxiliary *keran* may have developed from its usage as a verb meaning 'like', as in (8-57) below. Its iterative meaning may be derived from the sense "like to do something again and again". Hence, it implies habituality.

(8-57)   *Ia keran   N-pakay   jimut.*
          3s like   eat   k.o.snack
          'He likes to eat *jimut*.'

Gah 'ever' sometimes may be interpreted as 'several times'. Mualang has special expressions for 'never', namely *naday kala'* and *nikala'* 'never'.[7]
     The iterativity of *kepa'* and *keran* differs from the one expressed by reduplication in that in the latter it is only concerned with a repetitive occurrence of a single event at one single time, whereas in the former, a single event is iterated on and on over time and not once at a particular time.

f. Habitual aspect*: biasa* 'usually', *nitaw'* 'habitual inability'

(8-58)   *Nema   biasa   kita   Mualang   tu'   ti   laki*
          because   usually   1p.incl   M   TOP   REL   male

          N-tugal,   ti   in'u'   N-benih.
          ACT-dibble   REL   female   ACT-seed
          'Because it is usual for us, the Mualang, the men do the dibbling, the women put the seeds in.'

(8-59)   *Sida'   nitaw'   ba-laya'.*
           3p   HAB.INAB   ANPAS-quarrel
           'They don't get used to having quarrels.'

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[7] The short form *kala'* 'never' also exists e.g. *Kala' ku N-dinga* .... 'I've never heard of ....'

A combination of tense-aspect auxiliaries is also attested, as in (8-52) above and in the following examples:

(8-60)   *Ku   tu'   bedaw   sempat   pulay.   Agi'   ka'*
         1s   TOP   not.yet   have.time   go.home   still FUT

        N-getah.
        ACT-sticky.sap.of.plants
        'As for me, I am not ready to go home yet. I am still going to do animal-trapping with sticky sap.'

(8-61)   *Mataari   udah   turun.   Nyaw   ka'   malam.*
         sun   PERF   descend   PERF   FUT   night
        'The sun has set down. It's already going to be night.'

Some aspectual meanings may be conveyed by morphological means. Iterative meaning, as noted in 8.3 above, can be expressed by reduplication. Some verb types are more likely to be associated with a particular aspectual meaning. *Te*-verbs (see 7.2.9 of Chapter 7), for instance, can express inchoative meaning, whereas *ba*-verbs tend to refer to habitual activities, e.g.:

(8-62)   *Ia   ba-uma/   ba-kerja   dia'.*
         3s   ANPAS-rice.field   ANPAS-work   there.(near)
        'He cultivates the rice field/works there.'

However, overall context plays an important role. As the following example shows, once the aspectual (and tense) background has been provided or understood, it is typically omitted or not mentioned in the subsequent discourse:

(8-63)   A: *Ia   tengan   N-pakay.*   B: *Dini   ia   N-pakay?*
      3s   PROG   ACT-eat   where   3s   ACT-eat
     A: 'She is eating.' B: 'Where is she eating?'

8.4.3   Mode

The typology of mode is treated in somewhat different ways in the literature (cf. e.g. Chung and Timberlake 1985, Payne 1997, Givón 2001a).[8] The present discussion is meant only to provide a basic description of how the so-called category of mode, mood or modality is expressed in Mualang. Therefore, the concept of this category will be applied rather loosely. As mentioned in Payne (1997:244; cf. also Chung and Timberlake 1985:241), "the highest-level distinction in modal operations is

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[8] The term mode is often (but not always) used interchangeably with mood and modality in the literature (Payne 1997:244). Chung and Timberlake (1985) seems to make a distinction between the term mood and mode. The present description does not attempt, however, to make such a distinction.

between realis and irrealis, though like most conceptual distinctions these terms describe a continuum. A prototypical realis mode strongly asserts that a specific event or state of affairs has actually happened, or actually holds true. A prototypical irrealis mode makes no such assertion whatsoever. Irrealis mode does not necessarily assert that an event did not take place or will not take place. It simply makes no claims with respect to the actuality of the event or situation described."

In Mualang the category of mode is primarily expressed periphrastically through modal auxiliaries or adverbs. The realis sense is apparent in the past perfective event (determined simply by the context or a temporal adverb; e.g. as in (8-64)) or in the perfect event with the auxiliary *nyaw* or *udah* 'PERF', as in (8-46 – 8-47) above.

(8-64)   *Melia'*   *ah, sida'*   *balas–ba-balas*   *den'am.*
          in.old.times   *ah* 3p   repay-ANPAS-RED   revenge
          'In the old times they took revenge on one another.'

Grammatically, it is only the prefixes *te-* (irrealis) and *ke-* (inchoative) that can be used to assert some sort of modal meanings (see Chapter 7 for their functions). Negation could be included in this subsection; however, it will be deferred until Chapter 9. Other kinds of irrealis assertions are expressed analytically through auxiliaries, adverbs or extraclausal particles, which will be given below. The following five sub-types can be distinguished:

a. Optative: the particle *kira* 'wish'; the auxiliaries *arap* 'hope', *ka'* 'want';

(8-65)   ***Kira*** *aday urang   datay* ...
          wish exist person   come
          'I wish somebody would come ...'

(8-66)   *Ku arap wan   datay kia'*   *wih.*
          1s hope 2s.hon come thither.(near) *wih*
          'I hope you'll come there, will you?'

(8-67)   *Ku ka'   aba'   m'ih*   *kin.*
          1s want follow 2s.masc   thither.far
          'I want to follow you thither.' (Also: 'I am going to follow you thither.')

b. Potential: the auxiliaries *talah/alah* 'be able'; *taw'* 'can, be able to, may'; *nitaw'* 'cannot, may not'[9]

(8-68)   *Ku talah   N-pupuh   sida'.*
          1s be.able ACT-chase   3p
          'I was able to chase after them.'

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[9] *Dapat* 'can, be able to' was also in use, but I am not sure whether this is native to Mualang or a borrowing from Malay/Indonesian.

(8-69)   *Taw'   ku   N-tiki'?*
          can   1s   ACT-climb
          'May I come in?' (lit. 'May I climb (the ladder) up into your house')

(8-70)   *Nya'   mah,   jang,   nitaw'!*
          that   *mah*   TOA   can't/may.not
          'That, you can't/may not (do), boy!'

c. Obligation: the auxiliaries *alah/arus* 'must'; *perlu* 'need'; *nusah* 'needn't'

(8-71)   *Urang, nti' ka'   ba-kerja   ba-uma,   alah*
          person if   want ANPAS-work   ANPAS-rice.field   must

          N-pinta'.
          ACT-ask.for
          'If anybody wants to work the rice field, he must ask (you for permission).'

(8-72)   *Mayuh   ti   perlu   da-cakap   kita.*
          many   REL   need   PASS-talk 1p.incl
          'There are many that need to be discussed by us.'

(8-73)   *Nusah   di'   angkat bah.*
          needn't 2s.fem   go   *bah*
          'You really don't need to go.'

d. Probability: the particle *amang* 'think':

(8-74)   ***Amang***   *ku umur agi'   lima-nam   tawun.*
          think   1s   age   still   five-six   year
          'I think (maybe) her age was still about 5 or 6 years.'

e. Certainty: the adverb *amat* 'true, really':

(8-75)   ***Amat***   *ku N-padah   ka m'ih.*
          true   1s   ACT-say   to   you
          'Indeed I've told you (about that).'

Various facets of modal senses are also found in the use of "illocutionary markers". However, they cover more than merely modal senses or speaker's attitude. These illocutionary markers are discussed separately in Chapter 9 (section 9.4).

8.4.4 Other adverbial modifications

Adverbial modification normally adds meaning to the verb primarily via adverbs, along with several other syntactic constructions. Semantically, adverbial modification can be divided into several subclasses discussed in the next sections.

8.4.4.1 Manner

Adverbial manner is realized in several ways. First, by the use of serial verb constructions (=SVC; see section 10.2 of Chapter 10), in which the second verb, most likely a static intransitive verb, functions as a manner adverb to the first verb. The bold sequences in the following examples illustrate such serial verb constructions:

(8-76) *Tay nama **pulay puang**, ngay kami.*
        REL name go.home empty not.want 1p.excl.
        'What is called going home empty (i.e. if you turn down our marriage proposal), that's something we surely don't want to do.'

(8-77) *Arus **ba-kerja keras**=m kita'!*
        must ANPAS-work hard=*m* 2p
        'You all must really work hard!'

Some *ba*-derived verbs with stative meaning may also function adverbially, e.g.:

(8-78) *Ka' N-kisah kati cara ba-uma*
        want ACT-story how way ANPAS-rice.field

        ba-pin'ah –pin'ah
        ANPAS-move-RED
        '(I) want to tell you about how to do "slash and burn cultivation".' (lit. 'I want to tell about how to do rice field work by moving around' (from one place to another))

(8-79) *Turun **ba-lubah – lubah**, ia N-inaw tay*
        descend ANPAS-slow/quiet-RED 3s ACT-search REL

        ba-gu'.
        ANPAS-sound
        'Descending slowly and quietly, he looked for what had made a sound.'

Se-derived words may also be used adverbially, indicating the way the action of the preceding main verb is enacted (for the numeral prefix *se-*, see 4.1.2.1.1):

(8-80)   *Pukat Bengawan aba'   Am'un   Menurun   idup*
          P   B   and   A   M   live

          se-peN-pakay,   se-peN-sumay,   se-tin'uk–ngantuk ...
          ONE-NOM-eat   ONE-NOM-cook   ONE-sleep-feel.sleepy
          'Pukat Bengawan and Am'un Menurun shared their lives in very
          respect.' (lit. 'Pukat Bengawan and Am'un Menurun lived being one of
          eating, one of cooking, one of sleeping-feeling sleepy')

Secondly, some static intransitive verbs are optionally introduced by the preposition *ngaw* 'with', while others require *ngaw* in order to function adverbially. Obviously further research is needed to establish possible regularities, constraints, and/or semantic differences. The following examples in (8-81 – 8-84) reflect the judgment of one of my informants:

(8-81)   *Ia ba-guay*   (**ngaw*)   *sigat.*
          3s ANPAS-run   (with)   fast
          'He ran fast.'

(8-82)   *Ku ditu' N-pakay*   (**ngaw*)   *nyamay.*
          1s here   ACT-eat   (with)   comfortable
          'Here I eat comfortably.'

(8-83)   *Ia angkat ngaw   nyamay.* (?*Ia angkat nyamay*)
          3s go   with   comfortable
          'He took off happily.'

(8-84)   *Ia kerja (ngaw)   bayik.*
          3s work   (with)   good
          'She works well.'

Ngaw in combination with a noun (phrase) can also express manner; in which case *ngaw* is obviously obligatory:

(8-85)   *..., jaku'   ia   ngaw suara   ba-getar.*
            say   3s   with   voice   ANPAS-tremble
          '..., he said with a trembling voice.'

(8-86)   *Ngaw pedih ati   urang tuay kita   angkat ari*
          with   sick   heart person old   1p.incl go   from

          dia'.
          there.near
          'Sadly and angrily our parents went away from there.'

In (8-85 – 8-86) *ngaw* heads a noun phrase, which structurally shows isomorphism with the typical instrumental function of *ngaw* (see section 5.2.1); in fact one may conclude that Mualang does not make a semantic difference between what is interpreted as an expression of manner and an instrumental expression. (See also section 10.2 on SVC).

Thirdly, a prepositional phrase headed by *upa* 'like' may also be used adverbially to express manner (see also section 5.2.5):

(8-87)   *Ia turun   lawun   upa pe-jalay   munsang.*
          3s descend   slow   like NOM-road   weasel
          'He walked down slowly like the walk of a weasel.'

Fourthly, some reduplicated forms of static intransitive verbs (SIV) may be used adverbially to express manner. At the beginning or end of the clause they have the meaning 'in a manner as SIV-like as possible', the difference being a matter of pragmatic presentation. Only between subject and predicate the adverbial meaning is 'in a SIV manner':

(8-88)   *Ia   ba-guay   sigat-sigat.*
          3s   ANPAS-run   fast-RED
          'He ran as quickly as he could.'

(8-89)   *Sida'   ba-jalay   lubah-lubah.*
          3p   ANPAS-road   slow/quiet-RED
          'They walked as slowly and quietly as they could.'

(8-90)   *Lubah-lubah   sida'   ba-jalay.*
          slow/quiet-RED   3p   ANPAS-road
          'It was as slowly and quietly as they could that they walked.'

(8-91)   *Sida'   lubah-lubah   ba-jalay.*
          3p   slow/quiet-RED   ANPAS-road
          'They slowly and quietly walked.'

Finally, two lexical manner adverbs are noticed for their frequent use, namely *pitu'* 'like this, so' and *pia'* 'like that, so', e.g.[10]

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[10] *Pitu'* and *pia'* correspond to the prepositional phrases *upa tu'* 'like this' and *upa ia'* 'like that', respectively. These periphrastic forms suggest a historical contraction that yielded the lexical manner adverbs. See also Pungak (1976a) for a similar conclusion. The sound *i* in *pitu'* could be part of the proto form of *tu'*, which may correspond to the proto Malayic form *(i)tu(')* 'that' that is proposed in Adelaar (1992:127, 129).

(8-92) *Arus   N-pulah   **pia'-pitu'**.*
        must   ACT-make   like.that-like.this
        'You must do such and such.' (lit. 'You must do like that (and) like this.')

8.4.4.2   Instrumental

The instrumental adverbial construction is expressed through the prepositional phrase headed by *ngaw* 'with' and followed by a noun (phrase). This usage has been noted in section 5.2.2 of Chapter 5; in the previous section it was pointed out that structurally similar prepositional phrases function as manner adverbials.

(8-93) *Nang   ba-bunuh   ngaw   sangkuh.*
        don't   ANPAS-kill   with   spear
        'Don't kill each other with spears.'

8.4.4.3   Location and direction

Locative and directional meanings can be added to the verb via three strategies: a) lexical adverbs, b) prepositional phrases, and c) serial verb constructions. Each of these strategies will be described below.

a) Lexical adverbs

Mualang has the following lexical adverbs: locative: *ditu'* 'at this place (here)', *dia'* 'at that place (there; relatively near)', *din* 'at that place over there (relatively far away)'; directional: *kitu'* 'to this place here (hither)' (also used as a time adverb meaning 'to this day (to the present time)'), *kia'* 'to that place (thither; relatively near)', and *kin* 'to that place over there (thither; relatively far away)'. All of these adverbs seem to be historically complex words involving (proto-forms of) the locative and directional prepositions *da* 'LOC' and *ka* 'to' and of the demonstratives *tu'* 'this' and *ia'* 'that'. As adverbs, they occupy various positions in the clause, as in:

(8-94) *Ila'   ku   kin.*
        later   1s   thither.far
        'I'll go over there later.'

(8-95) *Ia   din.*
        3s   there.far
        'He is over there.'

(8-96) *Dia'   ia   N-tung'u'.*
        there.near   3s   ACT-wait
        'There she waited.'

Examples (8-94 and 8-95) show that with adverbs a verb meaning 'go' and 'to be LOC' is implied.

b) Prepositional phrases

Various locative and directional phrases with their heading prepositions have been given in Chapter 5. Horizontally, the stream of a particular river is used as a point of reference against which the location or direction of an entity is established, namely: *ulu* 'upstream' and *ili'* 'downstream', e.g. (see also example (8-36) above):

(8-97)   *Antu   Gergasi   k=ili'–k=ulu,   ka   ili'*
         ghost   G   to=downstream–to=upstream   to   downstream

         ka   ulu   N-inaw   gu'   kacung ....
         to   upstream   ACT-look.for   voice   frog
         'The ghost Gergasi went downstream and upstream back and forth looking for the voice of the frog ....'

(8-98)   *Dua   iku' ....   ti   s-iku'   da   ili'.*
         two   CLASS   REL   ONE-CLASS   LOC   downstream
         'Two (frogs) .... one of them was at the downstream side.'

However, their use has somewhat developed conceptually with *ili'* being able to refer to a direction heading away from the place of origin and *ulu* heading back to the place of origin, e.g. *ili' ka Jakarta ari Mualang* 'head to Jakarta away from the Mualang area'.

    Parts of an entity (notably body parts) are used also as specification of a location or direction relative to a certain point of orientation, which may be implied or overtly expressed, e.g. *ataw* 'upper part, top' and *baruh* 'bottom, lower part', *mua* 'face, front part', *belakang* 'back, back part', *kiba'* 'left(handed)', *kanan* 'right(handed)', etc. These words have to be combined with a locational or directional preposition. For some examples, the reader is referred to section 5.3 of Chapter 5.

c) Serial verb constructions
A general discussion of serial verbs will be given in Chapter 10. One of their functions is to combine the notion of direction with other activities or events. Some motion verbs occupying the second verb position add such meanings to the preceding verb. *Turun* 'descend' and *tiki'* 'ascend' usually indicate movement in a vertical direction, whereas verbs like *pulay* 'go home', *datay* 'come', *rari* 'run (away)' imply a horizontal one, e.g.: *rari turun* (run-descend) 'run down', *bay' tiki'/pulay/rari* (bring ascend/go.home/run.away) 'bring up/back/away'.

8.4.4.4   Other adverbs

Other non-directional or locational adverbs express various notions such as degree, limitation/specification. Some of them are listed in the following examples (in bold face):

(8-99)   *Bayik   pin'ah **aja'**   kita   ari   tu'…*
              good   move   just   1p.excl from   this
              'We'd better just move out from here …'

(8-100)   *Ia **lampar**   gaga.*
              3s too   happy
              'She's very happy.'

(8-101)   *Nyaw   lama'   **gila'**!*
              already   long   extremely
              'It already takes a very long time!'

(8-102)   ***Haja***   *precis   laki   ia.*
              solely   exact   husband 3s
              'He's all exactly like her husband.'

(8-103)   *Ngapa N-beri'   **gulung**   mayuh   **amat**?*
              why   ACT-give excessively   many   really
              'Why did you give too much?' (or, 'Indeed, you gave too much (of it).')

(8-104)   *M'ih   nyaw   **dulaw**   datay   ari   ku.*
              2s.masc   already   earlier   come   from   1s
              'You came earlier then I did.'

(8-105)   *Ka'   da-beri'   **ga'**?*
              want PASS-give   also
              'Do you want (it) also?' (lit. '(You) want to be given too?')

Some lexical adverbs may modify constituents other than a verb, e.g. a quantifier (8-106), or an object (8-107):

(8-106)   ***Haja***   *s-igi' – s-igi'   ia'   buah   ntawa'.*
              solely   ONE-CLASS-RED   that   fruit   k.o.fruit
              'That *ntawa'* fruit was the only one (on the tree).'

(8-107)   *Ku, ia **aja'** naday   mampu   N-lawan …..*
              1s   3s just   NEG   be.able.to   ACT-enemy
              'It is only him that I cannot beat ….' (others were already beaten)

9 PRAGMATICALLY MARKED STRUCTURES

This chapter discusses major types of primarily pragmatically-motivated structures, that is, structures that are markedly used to express *pragmatic statuses*.[1] This latter term has to "do with choices speakers make about how to efficiently adapt their utterances to the context, including the addressee's presumed 'mental state'" (Payne 1997:261). Payne notes the following pragmatic notions that are often used to describe pragmatically marked structures: *given*, *new*, *presupposed*, *focus*, *topic*, *identifiable*, and *referential*. In what follows the morphosyntactic devices employed for such structures are described, as well as their most typical functions in discourse. However, much study still needs to be done in the future with respect to their discourse function. Thus the present analyses concerning this issue are preliminary in nature.

This chapter is divided into several main sections as follows: identifiability, referentiality and anaphoric reference (9.1), focus articulation (9.2), marked-topic articulation (9.3), illocutionary markers (9.4), negation (9.5), non-declarative speech acts (9.6), and exclamations (9.7).

9.1 Identifiability, referentiality and anaphoric reference

This section will discuss Identifiability (9.1.1), Referentiality (9.1.2), and Anaphoric reference (9.1.3).

9.1.1 Identifiability

Identifiability is concerned with the speaker's assumption about a particular referent being identifiable by the addressee (Payne 1997, Ch. 10; cf. Givón (2001, Chapter 10) who uses the term "definiteness"). Mualang utilizes the following grammatical marking for coding the identifiability status of a referent: the numeral prefix *se-* 'ONE', spatial demonstratives *tu'* 'this' and *ia'* 'that', temporal adverbs and apposition. Each of these is explained below.

a. The numeral prefix se- 'ONE' plus a classifier
The numeral prefix *se-* has been discussed in 4.1.2.2.1 of Chapter 4. Besides being used for counting, *se-* + *classifier* is also typically used for asserting the

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[1] This chapter owes much to the outline for analysis proposed in Payne (1997, Chapter 10). In general I have also much benefited from the discussion regarding pragmatic issues in Givón (2001a, b).

indefiniteness of a newly introduced entity. By using it, the speaker assumes that he or she is referring to something that the addressee would not be able to identify. Reference may be either referential (specific) as in (9-1), or non-referential (non-specific) as in (9-2). Context usually determines the interpretation.

(9-1)   *Jeman   dulaw   da   se-buah   kampung   aday*
         time   previously   LOC   ONE-CLASS   village   exist

         ini'   aba'   ucu'   tay   miskin   aba'   tay
         grandmother   and   grandchild   REL   poor   and   REL

         pedih   idup.
         difficult   live
         'Once in a village there were a grandmother and a grandchild who were poor and who lived in difficult circumstances.' (The opening of a story)

(9-2)   *Ku   N-pinta'   da-putar   s-uti'   lagu   ja'.*
         1s   ACT-ask   PASS-turn   ONE-CLASS   song   *ja'*
         'I am asking to just play a song (for me).'

b. Spatial demonstratives

Spatial demonstratives *tu'* 'this', *ia'* 'that', *nyin* 'that over there', and *nyun* 'that far away' have been discussed in 4.1.2.1 of Chapter 4. They are the most common device to mark a NP as identifiable or definite. A NP is modified in this way normally when it is mentioned for the second time, or when it has not appeared for some time in a discourse so that the demonstrative helps the addressee to recall it.

(9-3)   *..., jaku'   nsia   ia'.*
         say   human   that
         '..., said the/that man.'

(9-4)   *Tajaw   tu'   ku temu   da   sabar   bubu   nyin.*
         jar   this   1s find   LOC   fence   k.o.fish.trap   that.over.there
         'This jar I found at the fence of the fish trap far over there.'

c. Temporal adverbs

Several temporal words such as *tadi'* 'a while ago', *kemari'* 'yesterday', can also be used as a device for locating a particular referent. As the term suggests, such "temporal deictics" refer back to the referent on the basis of time rather than space as the spatial demonstratives do in "spatial" discourse. E.g.:

(9-5)   *Dini   miak tadi'   tih?*
         where   child a.while.ago   *tih*
         'Where is the child that was just here a while ago?' (lit. 'Where is the "a-while-ago"-child?')

(9-6) <u>*Duwit   kemari',*</u>   *kati   bah?*
money   yesterday   how   *bah*
'That money of yesterday, how about it?' (lit. '"Yesterday's money",
how is it?')

(9-5) was uttered at the moment of a "discourse vacuum" (i.e. no previous
conversation was held; the speaker went somewhere for a moment and came back
finding out that the child was gone). In such a situation an actual time reference is
used rather than a spatial discourse marker. (9-6) is similar in that the context relies
on the temporal reference of the event.

d. Apposition
Apposition is also helpful in re-enforcing the identifiability of a referent in the form
of a (paraphrastic) "afterthought", e.g.:

(9-7) *Baru'   pulay   ka kisah   ia',   kisah   sida'   Bejit   Manay* ....
then   go.home   to   story   that   story   3p   B   M
'Then going back to that story, the story of Bejit Manay and his
siblings ....'

(9-8) *Putung   Kempat,   menyadi'   tay   in'u'....*
P   K   sibling   REL   female
'Putung Kempat, the female sibling ....'

(9-9) *... jaku'   Dara   Reja',   bini   Puyang   Gana.*
say   D   R   wife   P   G
'said Dara Reja', the wife of Puyang Gana.'

e. Zero marking
An entity can appear without any marking (such as demonstratives), and yet its
referent is still identifiable. Such a usage requires a maximal context such that the
referent is still fresh or accessible in the addressee's mind. A maximal context has
been found at least under the following conditions:

1) The referent was just mentioned in the immediately preceding discourse, as in (9-
10) below. The first mentioned *tepayan* 'jar' in the first clause will be explained
later in the next subsection on referentiality. Here our focus is the second mention
which refers back to the same *tepayan* in the earlier clause without any marker. If
the two occurrences of *tepayan* would have been interrupted by a change of the
"theme" or if the story would have changed temporarily, the second mention would
have been marked, for example, with a demonstrative *ia'* 'that'.

(9-10)   *Ari   jawuh   ia   N-peda'   aday   **tepayan**₁.   "Apa   utay   ia'?"*
           from   far   3s   ACT-see   exist   jar   what   thing   that

           jaku'   ia.   Baru'   da-gusung.   Peda'   ia   d=alam
           say   3s   then   PASS-go.after   see   3s   LOC=inside

           tepayan₂   *aday   nsia.*
           jar   exist   human
           'From a distance he saw that there was a jar. "What is that thing?" he
           said. Then he went after it. It appeared to him inside the jar there was a
           person.'

2) The referent is "unique" in the story, hence no ambiguity arises. Much earlier in the context the referent *gua* 'cave' in (9-11) has appeared sporadically and it is the only 'cave' referred to in the story.

(9-11)   *Nisi'   ari   alam   **gua**.*
           EXIST.NEG   from   inside   cave
           'Nothing came out of the cave.'

3) The referent is associated with another referent in discourse or context (see Payne 1997:264 for this). In (9-12) below, *padung* 'attic' is directly identifiable due to its being part of the house intended in the story. Similarly, *apay* 'father' in (9-13) is due to its association with the addressee:

(9-12)   *Ia   N-tiki'   ka   ataw   **padung**.*
           3s   ACT-climb   to   upper.part   attic
           'He climbed up to the attic.'

(9-13)   *Dini   **apay**   wih?*
           where   father   *wih*
           '(I am wondering) Where is your father?'

9.1.2   Referentiality

Referentiality and identifiability are similar but not identical to each other (Payne 1997:264). Payne notes two general understandings of referentiality: objective and discourse referentiality. Objective referentiality is concerned with whether a particular (individuated) entity in the real or imaginary world (e.g. in the speaker's mind) is referred to, and is thus referential, or whether the entity is designated as generic or non-specific, and thus non-referential.[2] Definite (or identifiable) entities are most commonly referential (cf. Givón 2001a:441). Thus, the grammatical marking of an identifiable entity explained in 9.1.1 above also encodes the entity as (objectively) referential. Unlike objective referentiality, discourse referentiality deals

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[2] Cf. Givón's usage of the terms "referring" vs. "non-referring" (see Givón 2001, Ch. 10).

with the continuing presence of a referent in subsequent discourse. Below I will describe how the referentiality status of an entity is typically coded in Mualang.

a. Marking of "generics"
The non-specificity (or referential status) of an entity may be implied by the use of the numeral prefix *se-* as mentioned in 9.1.1 above. On the other hand, if the generic meaning of an entity is intended, making it non-referential and non-identifiable (in the sense that it is not individuated), then the nominal referent is coded in several ways:

- appearing unmarked:

(9-14) *Ku aday, da-any'ung   apay-inay   ku ka alam babas.*
1s exist   PASS-escort   father-mother   1s to inside forest
'(When) I was born, I was thrown away by my parents into the forest.'

(9-15) *Beram   tu'   da-pulah   ari beras pulut.*
k.o.alcohol TOP PASS-make   from rice   glutinous.rice
'*Beram,* is made from *pulut* rice.'

- appearing in plural forms, by reduplication (9-16), compounding (9-17), or with "indefinite" quantifiers such as *uga'* 'all', *keban* 'all kinds of', *bala* 'many/much (in a large group)' (9-18):

(9-16) *Nurut   urang-urang   tuay kelia'   tih, ...*
according.to   person-RED   old   past.time *tih*
'According to the old people of the past, ...'

(9-17) *M'ih   tay   mpu   tapang-lalaw.*
2s   REL   have   k.o.big.tree-k.o.big.tree
(Said to a god) 'You who have all (big) trees.'

(9-18) *Mayuh   tay   da-tam'ak   dia', jenis bala nsawi, ...*
many   REL PASS-plant   there kind   many Chinese.cabbage
'Many that are planted there (in the field), all kinds of Chinese cabbage ....'

- appearing unmarked as unspecified objects of habitual activities or certain activities usually associated with those objects (as in antipassive constructions, see Chapter 7), e.g.:

(9-19) *Agi'   N-getah   burung.*
still   ACT-sticky.sap.of.plant   bird
'He is trapping birds with sticky sap.'

(9-20)   *Urang   ba-bunuh   <u>babi-manuk</u>,   ba-pulah   <u>jimut</u>.*
person ANPAS-kill   pig-chicken   ANPAS-make   k.o.snack
'People do/did pig-chicken-killing and *jimut* making (at the party).'

b. Existentials and referentiality
While the use of the prefix *se-* introduces the appearance of an indefinite entity into discourse, the existential-presentative construction *aday* NP,[3] on the other hand, asserts the existence of a first-time-mentioned entity. Therefore, the NP referent is referential and normally appears unmarked in this construction. The indefiniteness of the NP of an *aday* construction may (but does not have to) be explicitly expressed by the use of the prefix *se-* and the relevant classifier, e.g.:

(9-21)   *Dulaw   tih,   N-pin'ah   lubang kubur ... nurut*
before *tih* ACT-move   hole   grave   according.to

ke-pecaya'   urang   Mualang,   aday s-iku'   nsia
NOM-believe   person M   exist ONE-CLASS   human

mati   da   kampung ....
die   LOC   village
'In former times if people changed a grave (and left the one that had been opened), according to the belief of the Mualang, somebody would die in the village ….'

9.1.3   Anaphoric reference

A separate extensive discourse study is needed regarding the semantic and pragmatic considerations that determine the speaker's choice of a particular anaphoric device. Although the texts examined seem to indicate that grammatical relations *subject* and *object*, and types of voice construction, are also involved, it is not yet entirely clear how relevant they are in this respect. In this section I shall merely list all grammatical devices commonly used in Mualang for anaphoric reference. The term anaphoric reference has to do with ways of referring back to a coreferential antecedent in the preceding clause(s). Mualang employs the following three grammatical devices for this purpose:[4]

1. Pronouns
2. Definite full-NPs
3. Zero anaphora

Mualang has only independent pronouns, which are discussed in Chapter 4. The term "definite full-NPs" will be used to characterize the re-appearance of an NP in its full form, with or without an overt definite marker (e.g. a demonstrative, see 9.1.1 above). This includes a personal name. Zero anaphora is "zero"-referencing of a

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[3] For the presentative-existentials and their examples, the reader is referred to section 6.6.3 of Chapter 6.
[4] Such devices are well documented cross-linguistically in Givón (2001, Chapter 9).

coreferential antecedent, i.e. by deletion of the referent in subsequent discourse (for the sake of convenience, in the following examples [Ø] is used to mark zero anaphora). The excerpt of a narrative in (9-22) below will first be used to show some situations in which all these three devices are employed:

(9-22)　(1)　*Aday* **kisah** **urang** **tuay** **kelia'**　*tih,* *kisah*
　　　　　　exist　story　person　old　old.time　*tih*　story

　　　　　mula-mula **menua** **tu'** *da-pulah* **urang**.
　　　　　beginning-RED　world　this　PASS-make　person
　　　　　'There is a story from our ancestors from olden times, a story of how this world was made in the beginning.'

　　　(2)　*Jadi, kisah urang tuay N-padah menua tu'*
　　　　　　So　story　person　old　ACT-say　world　this

　　　　　da-tempa' **Burung** **Tempa'**.
　　　　　PASS-forge　Bird　Forge
　　　　　'So, the story from our ancestors said that this world was forged by the Forging Bird.'

　　　(3)　*Nti'* *masa* *tu'* *mah,* **Tuhan** *ti* *N-pulah* *dunia.*
　　　　　　if　time　this　*mah*　Lord　REL　ACT-make　world
　　　　　'(But) now, (we know) it was God who made the world.'

　　　(4)　*Ulih kisah urang tuay kita Mualang,* **Burung**
　　　　　　but　story　person　old　1p.incl　M　Bird

　　　　　Tempa'.　*Jadi* **Burung** **Tempa'** *N-tempa'* *tanah,*
　　　　　Forge　so　bird　forge　ACT-forge　earth

　　　　　[Ø] *N-tempa'* *langit,* *[Ø] N-tempa' apa*
　　　　　[Ø]　ACT-forge　sky　[Ø] ACT-forge　what

　　　　　semua *tay* *aday.*
　　　　　all　REL　exist
　　　　　'But (according to) the story of our Mualang ancestors, it was the Forging Bird. Thus, the Forging Bird forged the earth, forged the sky, forged all that exists.'

　　　(5)　*Keban* *tanam, keban kayu, rumput,* *ikan,* *jelu,*
　　　　　　all.kind　plant　all.kind wood　grass　fish　animal

　　　　　burung, *semua da-tempa'* **ia,** *sampay* **ia**
　　　　　bird　all　PASS-forge　3s　until　3s

　　　　　N-tempa' *nsia.*
　　　　　ACT-forge　human

'All kinds of plants, all kinds of trees, grass, fishes, animals, birds, all were forged by him, until he forged men.'

(6) *Jadi   mula   **ia**   N-tempa'   nsia   tih,   kisah,*
    so   beginning   3s   ACT-forge   human   *tih*   story

    *da-tangkal   **uwi   sega'**,   [Ø]   da-tegah.*
    PASS-cut   rattan   k.o.rattan   [Ø]   PASS-startle
    'Thus, in the beginning he forged men, so the story goes, he cut some *sega'* rattan, (and then) startled it.'

(7) [Ø]   *Da-tegah,*   [Ø]   *ketawa'   ka   ketawa',*
    [Ø]   PASS-startle   [Ø]   laugh   to   laugh

    [Ø]   *nitaw'   jadi   nsia.*
    [Ø]   can't   become   human
    'Being startled, it laughed and laughed, (but) couldn't   become a man.'

(8) *Baru'   **ia**   ba-pikir: "N-pulah   tanah,"   jaku'   ia.*
    then   3s   ANPAS-think   ACT-make   soil   say   3s
    'Then he thought: "(I) make (them from) soil," he said.'

(9) *Baru'   **ia**   N-pulah   tanah.   [Ø]   Da-bentuk,*
    then   3s   ACT-make   soil   [Ø]   PASS-shape

    [Ø]   *pulah   tubuh,   pulah   kaki-jari,   pulah   mata-mua,*
    [Ø]   make   body   make   foot-hand   make   eye-face

    idung-nyawa,   pen'ing-telinga.
    nose-mouth   ear-ear
    'Then he made (the human being from) soil. It was shaped by creating a body, creating feet and hands, creating eyes and face, nose and mouth, (and) ears.'

(10) *Da-tegah,   baru'   [Ø]   jadi   nsia   idup.*
    PASS-startled   then   [Ø]   become   human   alive
    '(When) it was startled, then it became a living human being.'

(11) *S-iku'   da-pulah   **ia**, nama ia Am'un Menurun.*
    ONE-CLASS   PASS-make   3s   name   3s   A   M

    S-iku'   ti   in'u'   nama Pukat   Bengawan.
    ONE-CLASS   REL   female   name   P   B
    'One was made by him, his name was Am'un Menurun. The other one that was female was named Pukat Bengawan.'

(12) *Jadi,* ***Am'un Menurun aba' Pukat Bengawan tu',*** *nya'*
so　　A　　M　　and　P　　B　　　　TOP　that

mula-mula　　nsia　　ti　　aday　di　　menua　tu'.
beginning-RED　human　REL　exist　LOC　world　this
'Thus, Am'un Menurun and Pukat Bengawan, those were
the first human beings in this world.'

In the first three clauses in (9-22) above several participants are introduced in the
story, e.g., *kisah urang tuay kelia'* 'the story of the old people of olden times',
menua tu' 'this world', *urang* 'person' in (1); *Burung Tempa'* (2); and *Tuhan* 'Lord'
in (3). The participants are referred to by means of NPs (including names). Then, in
(4) the full-NP *Burung Tempa'* is used due to its being relatively distant after its first
mention in (2). Starting from (4), and continuing to (11), the *Burung Tempa'* is
established as the topic or the central character in that part of the story. This is one
typical use of the full-NP, as seen also in (12), in which the full-NP *Amun Manurun
aba' Pukat Bengawan* 'AM and PB' is used in order to become the topic in the
subsequent part of the story.

In (4) zero anaphora is used to anaphorically refer to *Burung Tempa'*. The zero
anaphora is used when the clauses are still within a "clause-chain" and there is
grammatical subject continuity, i.e. *Burung Tempa'*. It is also seen in (6) where the
zero refers to *uwi sega'* 'rattan *sega'*', which is also the subject of the immediate
following clause within the same clause-chain. Example (7) also illustrates the same
situation.

Grammatical subject and object may be zero. In (6), for example, the zero
subject of *da-tegah* 'PASS-startle' is governed by the subject of the preceding
clause, whereas in (9), it is the object of the preceding clause that governs the zero
subject of *da-bentuk* 'PASS-shape' in the following clause. A zero object is
exemplified in (9-23) below, where it is coreferential with the *ntawa'* tree mentioned
in the previous clauses:

(9-23)　　*"...aday　buah　ntawa'　　d=ataw　　nyin.　　　　Buh,*
　　　　　exist　　fruit　k.o.fruit　LOC=above　that.over.there　come.on

kita　　N-tiki'　　　[Ø]　ah!"　Tiki'　sida'　ntawa'　tih.
1p.incl　ACT-climb　[Ø]　*ah*　climb　3p　　*ntawa'　tih*
'... there's a *ntawa'* fruit up there. Let's climb (it)!" (So), they climbed
the *ntawa'* tree.'

(9-24)　　*Jadi,　asa　　　aday　maram　　tu'　anyut　　　　da-peda'*
　　　　　so　　whenever　exist　k.o.fruit　this　swept.away　　PASS-see

kita',　datay kin,　　　　aa, siap　dih　kita'　N-serang　　[Ø].
2p　　come　thither.far　　well　ready　*dih*　2p　　ACT.attack　[Ø]

> 'Thus, whenever you see *maram* fruits being swept away (on the river), go there, ah, be ready to attack (them).'

Further study is needed to thoroughly examine how relevant the grammatical relations (subject, object) are in controlling zero anaphora.

Pronouns are used, among others, in the following situations:

1) when the referent is the topic in the subsequent clause(s), e.g., in (9-22) above, starting from (4), until (11), *ia* '3s' refers to *Burung Tempa'* which is the topic;

2) when there is a "reference-switch" from one clause to another, e.g., in (5) in the first clause *keban tanam* 'all kinds of plants', etc. is the subject of the clause and then it changes to *ia* '3s' in the second clause; and

3) when there is a change in the "theme" of the story, usually displayed by different clauses (marked by a period), e.g. as shown in a change of theme in (6) and (7) to (8); in (6) and (7) the story is about creating men from rattan, then it changes to making soil to create human beings.

9.2   Focus articulation

The term "focus" has been used in literature with different intentions. What is meant here is that, in a focus articulation, a special device is used to "highlight" some part of the clause (which may be the entire clause or a particular constituent) as pragmatically marked. This "focused part" is presumed to be unknown to the hearer, hence carrying some pragmatic nuances. The other part that is presupposed (or presumed to be familiar) is not marked. (Cf. Andrews 1985:79-80; Payne 1997, Chapter 10; Givón 2001a, b).[5] Mualang employs the following devices to mark focus: contrastive stress (9.2.1), fronting (9.2.2), cleft constructions (9.2.3), and *aday*-focus (9.2.4), each of which is explained below.

9.2.1   Contrastive stress

The basic (pragmatically unmarked) word order is S-V-O-Oblique (time, place, instrument, etc.). More than one oblique constituent can appear in the clause, and there is a tendency for the one carrying "new information" to be expressed towards the end of the clause, e.g.:

(9-25)   *Ia   ka'   datay   ditu'   **pagi**.*
          3s   want   come   here   tomorrow
          'He wants to come here *tomorrow*.'

---

[5] Many labels have been used for various types of focus-marked constructions, among others 'focus of assertion' and 'constrastive focus' (Givón 2001a, b); 'focus-presupposition articulation' (Andrews 1985:79). Payne's (1997) description in general covers most of them.

(9-26)   *Ia   ka'   datay   pagi   **ditu'**.*
           3s   want   come   tomorrow   here
           'He wants to come tomorrow *here*.'

In this basic word order, a marked stress can be used to mark a particular constituent or part of it (e.g., auxiliary, attribute) *in situ* as "focused", involving no change in word order (cf. "fronting" below). The focused part gets more stressed (with relative loudness and high pitch, which may be accompanied with a longer duration) compared to the "unfocused part" of the clause. This is similar to the so-called "contrastive stress". Contrastive stress (and also cleft constructions – see 9.2.3 below) always involves "a strong assumption of hearer's contrary belief" (Givón 2001b:225). For example, in example 4 (*Burung*) *Tempa'* of the clause '*BURUNG TEMPA' N-tempa' tanah*' (S-V-O) is given contrastive stress. It was made to contrast with *Tuhan* in example 3, in order to emphasize that contrary to the hearer's belief, the Bird was indeed believed by the older people as the creator. An example of verb (or predicate) focus is shown in example 2 of (9-22), in which *da-tempa'* 'PASS-forged' was stressed for contrast with *da-pulah* 'PASS-make' in example 1. The reason was to emphasize the way the world was made. Contrastive stress focusing on the object, the attribute of the instrumental prepositional phrase and the auxiliary are shown in (9-27), (9-28) and (9-29) below, respectively. In (9-27) the hearer thought he heard someone calling him (the speaker), and the speaker corrected him by stressing *m'ih* in order to emphasize that it was the hearer that was called (yelled at) instead of him. In (9-28), in a situation where someone was caught doing something bad, the traditional fine was to kill a BIG pig, not an ordinary size pig. Thus, a contrast in size was made in order to anticipate the hearer's incorrect assumption or ignorance. In (9-29) *nitaw'* 'can't' was emphatically stressed to emphasize how imperative the rule was.

(9-27)   *Ia   N-kumay   **m'ih**.*
           3s   ACT-call   2s.masc
           'He's calling to **you**!' (not me)

(9-28)   *Arus   da-tebus   ngaw   babi   **besay**.*
           must   PASS-redeem   with   pig   big
           'It must be redeemed with a **big** pig.' (not with an animal of a different kind and size)

(9-29)   *... urang   diri' menyadi' **nitaw'** jadi   ba-laki–bini.*
             person   self sibling   can't   become ANPAS-husband-wife
           '... persons who are each other's siblings **can't** be married to each other.'

9.2.2   Fronting

"Fronting-focus" involves placing a focused constituent in the initial position of the clause which is not its "normal" position in the basic word order. Oblique constituents, notably those of time- and place-adverbs, are more flexible in that they

may appear in the middle of the clause. However, primary focus is on the left-most constituents. Loudness, pitch and duration of word stress which occurs in fronting is less outspoken than with contrastive stress. The main fronting possibilities for constituents in various voice construction types are shown below. (Note that in each voice construction type, the grammatical subject is the topic of the clause and occupies clause-initial position, but it is not focused pragmatically. Rather the entire clause in its basic word order (S-V-O-Oblique) is pragmatically neutral. For subject-focusing, a cleft construction (see 9.2.3 below) can be used; whereas for the non-subject constituents, such as V, O, or Oblique, focus is indicated by fronting).

- Simple stative:

(9-30)   a. *Kita' datay   kitu'.*   (= SV, basic order)
             2p   come   here
             'You all came here.'

         b. *"Datay   kita'   kitu'!"*   **Datay**   *sida'   ia'   jara'.*
              come   2p   here   come   3p   that   *jara'*
                                                            (= verb-fronting)
             '"Come here you all!" (And) **come** they did.' (It was a surprise that they (i.e. the animals) listened to the speaker and did come forward)

- Active voice:

(9-31)   a. *Ku N-lawan   ia.*   (= SVO, basic order)
             1s   ACT-enemy   3s
             'I fight with him.'

         b. *Baru'   udah   bala   N-tebang,   aday   panas,*
             then   PERF   all.kind   ACT-slash   exist   hot

             N-tunu   *mah   urang.*(= VS, verb-fronting)
             ACT-burn   *mah*   person
             'Then after having slashed all (the trees), (when) it is the hot season, it is **burning** that the people do.'

         c. *"Ku   aja'   naday   mampu   N-iga'   akal*
              1s   only   NEG   be.able   ACT-look.for   device

             *N-lawan   Aji Kum'ang. Ku, **ia**=m,   naday   mampu*
             ACT-oppose   haji K   1s   3s=*m*   NEG   be.able

             ku N-lawan,   ti   kebukay ta'luk   uga'   ulih ku."
             1s ACT-oppose   REL   other   subject.to   all   by   1s
                                                            (= OV, object fronting)

"'I myself wasn't able to find a way to fight against Aji Kum'ang. As for me, it is only against **him** that I wasn't able to fight, the others have all been beaten by me.'"

- Passive voice:

(9-32)   a. *Uwi   sega'   da-tangkal.*   (= SV, basic order)
            rattan   k.o.rattan   PASS-slash
            Sega' rattans were cut.'

        b. *Jadi   mula   ia N-tempa'   nsia   tih,   kisah,*
          so   beginning   3s ACT-forge   human   *tih*   story

          da-tangkal   uwi   sega',   da-tegah.
          PASS-slash   rattan   k.o.rattan   PASS-startle
                                 (= VS, verb-fronting)
          'Thus, in the beginning he forged men, so the story goes, he **cut** some *sega'* rattans, **startled** them.'

- Inverse voice:

(9-33)   a. *Ntawa'   sida'   tiki'.*   (= PAV, basic order)
            k.o.tree   3p   climb
            'The *ntawa'* they climbed.'

        b. *"Aday   buah   ntawa'   d=ataw   nyin.   Buh*
          exist   fruit   *ntawa'*   LOC=top   that.over.there   come.on

          kita   N-tiki'!"   ***Tiki'***   *sida'   ntawa'.*
          1p.incl   ACT-climb   climb   3p   *ntawa'*
                           (= VAP, verb-fronting)
          '"There's a *ntawa'* fruit up there. Let's climb (it)." (So) **climb** they did the *ntawa'* tree.'

The possible word order variations have been touched upon in Chapter 7 in relation to the structural difference between the voice construction types. Here their pragmatic functions are focused on. One significant difference between "fronting-focus" and "contrastive focus" is that the former does not function to "correct" the hearer's belief. In most cases with fronting, the speaker redirects or reconfirms the hearer's attention toward the importance of the fronted element, e.g. in verb-fronting as in the (b)-clauses of (9-30 – 9-33), the event itself (rather than the subject or object) being highlighted. In (9-30b) and (-33b) the accomplishment of the event is spotlighted. The part of the story in (9-32b) speaks about the process of creating men, and so the order VS – instead of SV – (*datangkal uwi sega'*) is used to highlight HOW it was done. Similarly, (9-31b) is about the process of working the rice field, hence verb-fronting is used. In (9-31c), the topic of the clauses is *ku* '1s'; however, in the second clause it is the fronted-object *ia=m* '3s=*m*' that gets focused

(enforced also with an illocutionary marker '=*m*', see 9.4.13 below) in order to highlight it in comparison with another referent in the following clause.
    The fronting of non-core arguments is exemplified below:

(9-34)   *"Di'   N-tung'u'   ditu'."... **Dia'**   ia   N-tung'u'.*
         2s.fem   ACT-wait   here   there 3s ACT-wait
                                                  (= location-fronting)
         '"You wait here."... (And) **there** she waited.'

(9-35)   *Kami   **malam   tu'**   ka'   ba-pinta'.*   (= time-fronting)
         1p.excl night   this   FUT   ANPAS-ask
         '**Tonight** we're going to make a (wedding) proposal.'

(9-36)   ***Ngaw Bujang Jat** naday kelupa ku N-ucap   trima-kasih.*
         for   brother J   NEG forget 1s ACT-say thanks
                                             (= benefactive-fronting)
         '**To Brother Jat** I don't forget to say thanks.'

9.2.3   Cleft constructions

A nominal constituent of a clause can also be focused by separating it from the rest of the clause with a regular *tay*-relative clause (see Chapter 10 on relative clauses). The structure of such a "cleft construction" is as follows:

(9-37)   NP$_1$ [Ø$_1$ ....]$_{tay\text{-Relative clause}}$

Although formally rather similar, cleft constructions differ from relative constructions, in that they are complete clauses on their own (signaled by a falling clause-final intonation), whereas relative constructions are not. The relativized NP is not realized in the relative clause (indicated by zero (Ø$_1$) for the "gap"). This Ø$_1$ is coreferential with the clefted NP (=NP$_1$). Since Mualang only permits subject relativization, the Ø$_1$ pertains only to subjects; in other words, clefting in Mualang is restricted only to subjects. In addition, it is only NP$_1$ that (optionally) gets contrastive stress, which proves that NP$_1$+ relative clause is not a single NP and that the relative clause is a headless relative clause. Example 3 in (9-22) contains a cleft construction, presented again below in (9-38b):

(9-38)   a. *Tuhan   N-pulah   dunia.*   (= simple active clause)
             Lord   ACT-make   world
             'God made the world.'

         b. *Nti' masa tu'   mah, [Tuhan] [ti   N-pulah   dunia].*
             if   time TOP   *mah* Lord   REL   ACT-make   world
                                      [NP$_1$]   [Ø$_1$ ....]$_{\text{Relative clause}}$
             '(But) now, (we know) it was God who made the world.'

Other examples:

(9-39) a. *Tu' da-beri' sida'.* (= passive clause)
            this PASS-give 3p
            'This was given by them.'

       b. *Tu' tay da-beri' sida'.* (= clefting of passive subject)
            this REL PASS-give   3p
            'It's this that was given by them.'
            (*This (thing) that was given by them ...)

(9-40) a. *Nya' pemenaw' ku.* (= equative clause)
            that knowledge   1s
            'That is what I know.' (lit. 'That is my knowledge.')

       b. *Nya' ti pemenaw' ku udah.*
            that REL knowledge   1s *udah*
                              (= clefting of subject of equative clause)
            'It's that which is what I know.' (lit. 'That which is my knowledge.')

Apparently the clefted topic-subjects in the above examples imply a contrast. In (9-38b) for instance, *Tuhan* 'Lord' is contrasted with *Burung Tempa'* (see 9-22 above for context); in (9-39a) *tu'* 'this' is stressed for it is only that thing that was given and not anything else that could have been given. Similarly in (9-40b), what the speaker knew was that that is what has been told, and nothing else which could be imagined.

    Structurally, a cleft construction constitutes a type of predicate nominal construction (cf. Payne 1997:278), which enables a change in word order (a typical operation of a predicate nominal construction, see Chapter 6). In the reversed order a pause is clearly heard in between the relative clause and the NP, and the construction may seem to resemble the so-called "pseudo-cleft" in English:

(9-41) $[\emptyset_1 ....]_{tay\text{-Relative clause}}$ NP_1

Some examples of reversed cleft constructions or "pseudo-clefts":

(9-42) *Tay N-gusung Janta menyadi' Gegura.*
        REL ACT-go.after   J   sibling   G
        'The ones who followed J (i.e. the descendants of J) were the siblings of Gegura.'

(9-43) *A, baru' tay ke-tiga* "*tuntun mata*".
        well then REL ORD-three   guide eye
        'So, then the third one is "guiding (your) eyes".'

In contrast to the cleft construction, the "pseudo-cleft" is "cataphoric", that is, it is often used to stress something that has not been mentioned by the speaker and is thus supposedly unknown by the hearer. So the focused-element is not anaphoric as it is in the "regular" cleft type. In "pseudo-cleft" construction the focused element is going to be discussed in the following discourse and here the speaker is appealing to the hearer's attention for the first time. It is interesting to note that the NP focused with the "pseudo-cleft" has the potential to be the topic in the subsequent discourse. *Gegura* in (9-42) and *tuntun mata* in (9-43) are in fact what the next several clauses are about.

As a final note, recalling the discussion in 6.1.2 of Chapter 6, cleft constructions can also be used to express a superlative meaning, in which the typical contrastive function of the cleft constructions is still apparent, that is, by contrasting the clefted element with other possible referents, such as in: *ia tay ting'i' da kampung tu'* (3s-REL-tall-LOC-village-this) 'He's the tallest (person) in this village' (compared to other people).

9.2.4   *Aday*-focus

Besides being used in existentials (see 6.3 in Chapter 6), *aday* 'exist' functions also as a focus particle. This idea of the existential particle functioning as a focus device has been noticed in Payne (1997:268) for Indonesian *ada* 'exist'. As Payne suggests, it asserts a "truth-value focus" of the entire clause (not of a particular constituent), countering the assumed presupposition that questions the truth value of the entire clause. This is true for Mualang as well and is commonly used, e.g.:

(9-44)   *Aw', Bang![6]*   **Aday**   *lah*   *ku*   *N-padah*   *ka*   *ia.*
          well   Brother   exist   *lah*   1s   ACT-say   to   3s
          'Well, Brother! I **did** tell (it to) him.'

(9-45)   a. **Nisi'**   *m'ih*   *b-ulih*   *burung.* **Nisi'**
             EXIST.NEG   2s.masc   ANPAS-get   bird   EXIST.NEG

             ku   *N-peda'*   *m'ih*   *ngeN-bay'*   *burung.*
             1s   ACT-see   2s.masc   ACT-bring   bird
             'It is not (true) that you got birds. It is not (true) that I saw you bring birds along."

          b. *Tadi'*   *tih*   *ku*   **aday**   *b-ulih*   *burung.*
             a.while.ago   *tih*   1s   exist   ANPAS-get   bird
             'A while ago I **did** get birds.'

Aday-focus asserts that an event really took place in order to overcome the hearer's disbelief (as in 9-45b), or his doubt (as in 9-44). It is interesting to note that the existential negative *nisi'* is used in the same way to negatively counter presuppositions (as in 9-45a).

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[6] *Bang* 'brother' is a Malay borrowing.

To sum up the discussion above, all grammatical devices used in Mualang to mark focus are displayed again in Table 9.1 below:

Table 9.1: *Focus articulation devices in Mualang*

	Focused element	Pragmatic function
Contrastive stress	any constituent in the basic neutral word order (*in situ*)	To contrast the focused element with some other assumed to be in the hearer's mind.
Fronting	non-subject	Direct the hearer's attention to the importance of the focused element.
Cleft	subject	To contrast the entity referred to by the subject with some other entity supposed to be in the hearer's mind.
Aday-focus	predicate or entire clause	To emphasize the truth value of the event.

9.3   Marked-topic articulation

Andrews (1985:77) explains "topic" as follows: "In topic-comment articulation there is usually one NP, the topic, which indicates what the sentence is about. The remainder of the sentence, the comment, provides information about the topic." A NP argument becomes a topic usually due to its being pragmatically important. Andrews proposed two principal kinds of topics: 'expected topic' and 'switch topic'. With the former, the topicality of the referent is "predictable from the immediately preceding discourse" (op.cit.:78), whereas with the latter it is not. In Mualang the expected topic is normally expressed via the grammatical subject NP of various voice constructions (i.e. active, passive, inverse, see Chapter 7). However, expected-topic articulation with such voice constructions is not "marked" functionally. Marked-topic constructions, which may involve a "switch-topic", are typically associated with such constructions as 'left-/right-dislocation', "topicalization", etc. (cf. Andrews 1985, Foley and Valin 1985, Givón (2001a, b)).[7] In what follows, major constructions with such a functionally marked-topic will be described as employed in Mualang. They are: left-dislocation with *tu'* or a pause (9.3.1), right-dislocation (9.3.2), *aday*-existential-presentative (9.3.3), and *nti'*-preposing (9.3.4).

9.3.1   Left-dislocation with *tu'* or a pause

Dislocation refers to "the placing of a clause element outside the syntactic boundaries of the clause" (Payne 1997:273). In Mualang, the boundary is normally indicated by a particular intonation contour (see below). In left-dislocation, the topicalized element is preposed to the left of the boundary. Mualang frequently utilizes two strategies for this, namely with the topic marker *tu'* (originally a demonstrative meaning 'this'), and simply with a *pause*. I will refer to the topicalization with *tu'* simply as "*tu'*-topicalization" and refer to that with a pause as

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[7] In Givón's terms, such switch-topic constructions function to code 'discontinuous topics' (2001b:254). Analogically, the 'expected topics' may be associated with 'continuous topics'.

"*pause*-topicalization". Both of them create a "gap" in the clause. There are two formal differences between them: 1) in the *tu'*-topicalization the topic marker *tu'* is usually stressed with a rising intonation contour whereas in the *pause*-topicalization the only or final word (if more than one word) of the dislocated part is typically pronounced with a rising intonation followed by a short pause; 2) in the *tu'*-topicalization, there is no resumptive pronoun in the clause, whereas in the *pause*-topicalization a resumptive pronoun is often present (except in the case of zero anaphora, as in (9-53)). As a result, the topicalized element in *pause*-topicalization is extraclausal, i.e. the topicalized element is not a constituent of the clause that contains a comment about it. The following examples are presented for illustration (the topicalized element is underlined):

9.3.1.1   *tu'*-topicalization:

(9-46)   *Baru' ilang kisah ia' tih, aday kisah Antu. Antu ia'*
           then   lost story that *tih* exist story ghost ghost that

           *Raja Sua   nama. Jadi, Raja Sua **tu'***   (*ia) *N-asu.*
           king S   name   so   R   S   TOP   (*3s) ACT-hunt

           N-asu ka   kampung ....   Ke-panyay-panyay   ia ....
           ACT-hunt to dense.forest   NOM-long-RED   3s
           'Then, after that story, there was a story of a ghost. That ghost was named King Sua. **So, this King Sua**, he **went hunting**. (He) went hunting in the jungle .... After a long time he ....'

(9-47)   *Beram   **tu'***   (**nya'*)   *da-pulah   ari   beras*
           k.o..alcohol   TOP   (*that)   PASS-make   from rice

           pulut.
           glutinous.rice
           '**Beram** (that) is made from sticky rice.'

(9-48)   *Beruang aba' kekura' **tu'***   (**seniku'*)   *ba-kawan.*
           bear   and turtle TOP   (*2d)   ANPAS-friend

           Seniku'   ba-jalay ....
           2d   ANPAS-road
           'The bear and turtle (they) made friends. Both of them walked ....'

9.3.1.2   *pause*-topicalization:

(9-49)   *Sida' ... Buwi Nasi tu'   ka'   ba-dua'*
           3p   B   N   TOP FUT ANPAS-divide.(PREC)

           arta .... Aw', waktu ka'   ba-bagi   ia', Raja Sua,
           wealth well time   FUT ANPAS-divide that R   S

> *nama s-igi'*   *antu jara',*   *taw'*   ***ia** bada' ....*
> name ONE-CLASS   ghost *jara'*   know   3s *bada'*
> 'Those Buwi Nasi people, they were going to divide up wealth ....
> Well, when they were going to devide it up, **King Sua**, so it is with a
> ghost, **he** knew it ....'

(9-50)   *Ku tu',*   *semua*   *urang*   *ditu'*   *ta'luk*   *uga' ka*   ***ku**.*
                  1s   this   all   person   here   subjected.to   all   to   1s

                  Cuma   *ti*   *di*   *ulu*   *menua*   *kami*   *tu'=m,*
                  only   REL   LOC   upstream   country   1p.excl   this=m

                  Aji Kum'ang, [*<u>ia=m</u>, ku naday mampu N-lawan*   *ia*.]
                  haji K   3s=m   1s NEG   be.able ACT-oppose   3s
                  'As for me, all people here are submitted to *me*. It's only the one in the
                  upstream of our country, Haji Kum'ang, **him**, I wasn't able to fight
                  against.'

(9-51)   *<u>M'ih</u>,*   *ia'*   *salah!*
                  2s.masc   that   wrong
                  'As for you, that's wrong (of you).'

(9-52)   *<u>Ba-kerja</u>,*   *ku naday N-inyaw*   *urang.*
                  ANPASS-work   1s   NEG   ask.for.help   person
                  'As for working, I don't rely on others.'

(9-53)   *<u>M'ih</u>,*   *ngapa*   *(m'ih)*   *naday N-inum?*
                  2s.masc.   why   (2s.masc)   NEG   ACT-drink
                  '(As for) you, why don't you drink?'

In sentences such as (9-46 – 9-48), the presence of resumptive pronouns (that refer
to the topicalized referent) has not been attested in natural discourse. (The supposed
ones in the examples are preceded by an asterisk and parenthesized). The presence
of the relevant resumptive pronoun would yield to another function, e.g. as a *pause*-
topicalization, rather than a *tu'*-topicalization. The element that can be topicalized in
this way is only the grammatical subject of the clause. Typically, the referent of the
topicalized constituent is very close, e.g. in the immediate preceding clause (*Raja
Sua* in (9-46)), or in context (as in (9-47) where the traditional liquor *beram* was
being discussed). By using the topic marker *tu'*, the referent is made highly topical
in the subsequent clauses, i.e. there will be something very important the speaker is
going to say about the referent, and the speaker is asking for the hearer's attention or

preparing the hearer for this.[8] *Tu'* is originally a demonstrative 'this'. However, the demonstrative meaning is semantically reduced when functioning as a topic marker. In (9-46) for example, it is "redundant" to interpret *tu'* as a demonstrative, since the referent is so close and easily identified. Nevertheless, it seems that the use of *tu'* as a topic marker which signals a cataphorically important referent is associated with its cataphoric usage as a demonstrative, e.g. as may be seen in the following examples:

(9-54)   *Tu'   ku   N-padah   ka   m'ih.*
            this   1s   ACT-say   to   2s.masc
            'This I'm going to say to you.'

(9-55)   *Baru'   tu'   ku   N-ajar   seniku'   tu'.*
            then   this 1s   ACT-teach   2d   this
            'Then, this I'm going to teach to each of you.'

In contrast to the *tu'*-topicalization, when the *pause*-topicalization is used, the topicalized element may or may not have a coreferent in the clause. In (9-49), *Raja Sua* is coreferential with the resumptive subject *ia*. In (9-50), *ku tu'* is coreferential with the resumptive benefactive *ku*, and *ia* with the resumptive object *ia*. In (9-51 and 9-52), the topicalized *m'ih* and *bakerja*, respectively, do not have their co-referent as a constituent in the clause. This feature differs from that of the *tu'*-topicalization. In the *pause*-topicalization, an element (an NP or a clause) can be inserted in between the topicalized referent and the rest of the clause, for example in (9-49) the "additional clause" *nama sigi' antu jara'* intervenes the topicalized NP *Raja Sua* and its comment *taw' ia bada'*. Chances for the presence of a resumptive pronoun are high when such an insertion occurs. Another significant difference is that, functionally *pause*-topicalization is used when there is a switch in topic, e.g. when the topicalized referent is distant and is reintroduced. For example, in (9-49) the topic changes from *sida' Buwi nasi* to *Raja Sua*. In (9-50), it changes from *ku* to *Aji Kum'ang*. On the other hand, in *tu'*-topicalization, the topicalized referent typically just appears in the immediate preceding discourse, e.g. in (9-46) *Raja Sua* is made topical right after its presence in the preceding clause.

9.3.2   Right-dislocation

In right-dislocation, the dislocated part is uttered after the clause. There is a pause between the clause and the right-dislocated part. The right-dislocated part is an "afterthought" added by the speaker for some reason after uttering the clause that usually is under focus, e.g. when the speaker realizes that the hearer may not be able to identify the referent being commented on, and so it is "supplied" again. Some examples below exemplify the case:

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[8] In Givón's sense, it could be said that the marker *tu'* cataphorically signals "thematic importance", i.e. the importance of the referent in the subsequent discourse (see Givón 2001b:254 for this term).

(9-56)   *Da-am'i'*   *Putung*   *Kempat, jadi*   *mas,* **ntawa'**.
         PASS-take   P   K   become   gold   k.o.fruit
         'It (the *ntawa'* fruit) was taken by Putung Kempat, becoming gold, the
         ntawa'.'

(9-57)   *Pia',*   *a,*   *laya'*   *jat,* **seniku'**.   *Salah*   *seniku'*.
         like.that   well   quarrel   bad   2d   wrong   2d
         'So is it, well, quarrel is bad, both of you. It was wrong of both of
         you.'

9.3.3   *Aday*-existential-presentative

The function of existential-presentative constructions in expressing a topical referent
has been well noticed in Givón (2001b, Chapter 16). A similar function is also
noticed in Mualang. The *aday*-existential-presentative clause (see 6.3 in Chapter 6)
is often used, especially, in opening a story to introduce a new indefinite entity
which will be topical in the subsequent clauses: "there is such and such. This such
and such is so and so", etc. One example can be seen in (9-22) above, in which *kisah
urang tuay kelia'* is introduced and becomes the topic in the following clauses.

9.3.4   *Nti'*-preposing

The conjunction *nti'* (or *anti'*) 'if' will be discussed in Chapter 10. Here its function
as a topicalization device is addressed. In the following examples, the use of *nti'*
does not have to do with a "conditional" situation, a typical function of *nti'* as a
conjunction; rather it seems to prepose the NP as a topic about which some
comments are made.[9] Also, there is no predicate present except the preposed-NP
itself:

(9-58)   *Pia'*   *urang*   *Mualang.*   **Nti' suku bukay**,   *tay*   *laki*
         like.that   person   M   if   tribe   other   REL   male

         N-pinta'.
         ACT-ask
         'That's what the Mualang are like. In the case of other tribes, the male
         is the one who does the (wedding) proposal.'

(9-59)   **Nti' di'**,   *naday*   *di'*   *salah.*
         if   2s.fem   NEG   2s.fem   wrong
          (After talking to someone else) 'As for you, you're not wrong.'

The NP-preposing with *nti'* involves a switch-topic in order to make a comparison
with another referent. In (9-58), it is between the Mualang and other tribes; in (9-59)
it is between *di'* '2s.fem' with someone else.
     In Table 9.2 topic articulation devices utilized in Mualang are summarized.

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[9] For the use of conditionals as topics, see, for example, Haiman (1978).

Table 9.2: *Marked topic articulation devices in Mualang*

	Topicalized element	Pragmatic function
tu'-topicalization	subject-NP	Topicalizing a referent in the immediately preceding clause. The referent typically becomes important in subsequent discourse.
pause-topicalization	any element	Involving a switch-topic; the topicalized element is extraclausal.
right-dislocation	any NP	The topicalized NP is expressed as an after-thought.
aday-existential-presentative	subject-NP	Presenting a new referent which is important in the subsequent discourse.
nti'-preposing	non-subject NP	Comparing the topicalized referent with some other entity.

9.4   Illocutionary markers

Illocutionary markers are particles that relate the information content of the clause to attitudes (assumptions, motives, feelings, beliefs, expectations, etc.) the speaker has vis-à-vis the content of the clause or with regard to the situation of the speech act. The use of such markers in Mualang is quite common.[10] Most of them are monosyllabic and their scope in the clause can be a particular element (even a conjunction) or the whole clause. Some of them are used along with a focus articulation device (e.g. contrastive stress, fronting) to further highlight the element under focus. Thus, they are not by themselves focus articulation devices; rather, they provide additional information with respect to the speaker's attitudes toward the focused element. With regard to adverbs, the illocutionary markers differ from adverbs in terms of their syntactic distribution and meaning. Syntactically the position of adverbs is typically flexible in the clause and their meaning is rather straighforward, whereas illocutionary markers cannot float in the clause, while they are also more complex semantically.

Below, the most frequently used markers are listed in alphabetical order with a note on their functions. The list is not exhaustive and a more complete study would be needed in the future. Since no exact label may be given to the individual illocutionary particles, throughout this grammar I prefer to simply gloss each of

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[10] In fact, such markers are common in many spoken speech forms. Jakartan Jakarta/Betawi Malay has such well-known markers as *dong*, *sih*, *deh, nih, tuh*, etc. Kridalaksana (1986) categorized such markers as "phatic markers". Some studies on Western Austronesian languages in which such markers are discussed are Durie (1985) for Achehness, Stoel (2005) for Manado Malay, and Tjia (1994) for Ambonese Malay, which has about 30 such particles.

In my experience, it takes some time for a language learner to "internalize" such illocutionary markers. In practice they can serve as a "criterion" for native speakers to determine whether someone is really emotionally in touch with their language.

them as they are in the English gloss. Preceding each example, some contextual information is provided in square brackets.

9.4.1 *Ah*

Ah, and its variants *eh* and *e'*, are used after a particular element in the clause (which may be clause-final). Its function seems to be very similar to the marker *tih* in that it attempts to bring the hearer's attention to the information in that particular stretch of speech. Some speakers tend to use this marker much more frequently than others.

(9-60)   [The speaker was explaining how to make *lulun.*]
Da-gulay	*gula,*	*gula*	*mirah,*	*gula*	*pasir*	*taw'*
PASS-mix	sugar	sugar	red	sugar	sang	can

ngaw	*N-gulay*	*nyiur*	*ngaw*	*ati*	*lulun,*
for	ACT-mix	coconut	for	liver	k.o.snack

ngaw	*isi'*	***ah****.*
for	content	*ah*

'It is mixed with sugar, palm sugar, (or) granulated sugar can be (used) for blending coconut for the filling of the *lulun*, for its content (you know).'

(9-61)   [The speaker did not see the husband. So the speaker asked the hearer:]
Laki	***ah***	*kikay?*
husband	*ah*	where?

'Where is that husband of yours?'

(9-62)   [The mother was listening to people who were talking. Someone suggested something, and then the mother just agreed with it.]
"Aw',	*pia'*	*mah*	*dih,"*	*jaku'*	*inay*	***ah***	*jara'.*
yes	like.that	*mah*	*dih*	say	mother	*ah*	*jara'*

'"Yes, just let it be like that," said the mother.'

9.4.2 *Bada'*

Bada' has thus far been found to typically appear after these three verbs: *kasih* 'feel pity', *taw'* 'know', and *nitaw'* 'not know', e.g.:

(9-63) | *Kasih* | ***bada',*** | *di'* | *tu'!* |
|---------|----------|-------|--------|
| feel.pity | bada' | 2s.fem | this |

'Pity on you!'

(9-64) | *Ku* | *nitaw'* | ***bada'.*** |
|--------|----------|------|
| 1s | not.know | *bada'* |

'I just don't know.'

9.4.3   *Bah*

Bah indicates a strong assertion of the preceding element or the whole clause. When giving an opinion or an order, the speaker is very certain and argumentative, preventing the hearer from replying.

(9-65)   [The speaker was giving advice to a couple who was getting married, saying that they could tell their problems to their parents to ask for help.]
*Ia'   basa   kita   **bah**, naday   salah   kita'.*
that custom 1p.incl *bah* NEG   wrong 2p
'That is our custom (yes it really is), you would not be wrong.'

(9-66)   [The speaker did not want the hearer to go anywhere.]
*Kita'   ditu'   **bah**!*
2p   here *bah*
'You stay here! (I mean it!).'

(9-67)   [The speaker gave birth to an ugly child and angrily complained about it to a god.]
*Ngapa   **bah** anak   kemua   tu'?*
why   *bah* child   1d.excl   this
'What is the matter with our child?' (or: 'Why is our child like this?')

9.4.4   *Dih*

Dih strongly asserts that an event really has or will have taken place. It is frequently found in verb-fronting constructions V-S in order to emphasize the event under focus. The element that immediately precedes *dih* is usually stressed, that is, pronounced longer, louder and higher in pitch, compared to the other constituents of the clause. It is typically associated with a perfective (past or future) event.[11]

(9-68)   [The oldest brother was disowned by his parents when he was a baby. When they grew up, his younger siblings did not recognize him. Now he comes to them to introduce himself, but they do not accept him. After they have a fight, he explaines what has happened to him.]
*Aa, **baru'**   **dih**   ia N-kisah kejadian   ia da-buay*
ah then   *dih*   3s ACT-story   event   3s PASS-throw.away

*ka   darung,   da-intu   Raja Sua. **Ba-sabak**   **dih***
to   valley   PASS-take.care king S   ANPAS-cry   *dih*

sida'   menyadi',   ba-sium–ba-lulum ....
3p   sibling   ANPAS-kiss–ANPAS-kiss(PREC)

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[11] The meaning of *dih* is very similar to the marker *deh* of Jakarta/Betawi Malay. Example (9-70), for instance, might be translated in that language as *'Ah, skarang kamu deh!'*.

Sida' **N-tesal** **dih**.
3p   ACT-regret *dih*
'It was **then** that he told (them) the story of his being thrown away (by their parents) to the valley, (and) was taken care of by King Sua. Those siblings then **cried out** to each other, kissed each other .... They really regretted (what they had done).'

In the following example, *dih* is used after the conjunction *baru'* then' in order to emphasize that the action of *N-tebang* 'ACT-cut' is carried out only after the event mentioned in the preceding clause has taken place:

(9-69)   [The speaker is explaining the process of opening a forest when doing swidden agriculture]
... udah   N-tebas,   baru'   kita   N-nga'   ba-ming'u –
   after ACT-slash then   1p.incl ACT-let   ANPAS-week-

ming'u   dulaw. **Baru' dih** *kita   N-tebang.*
RED   first   then   *dih* 1p.incl ACT-cut
'... after having slashed, then we leave it for weeks first. Only **then** do we cut them down.'

In (9-70) below, *dih* is used after the second person plural pronoun to emphasize the hearers to comply with the request:

(9-70)   [Ghosts forced several men to drink blood. After having drunk blood, it is now the men's turn to claim the ghosts to drink blood]
*"Aa, tu'   **kita' dih**!" Jaku' sida' nsia   jara'.*
 Ah now 2p   *dih*   say   3p   human *jara'*
'"Ah, now **you**!", said those humans.'

9.4.5   *Dulaw* and *law*

Dulaw 'first, earlier' expresses an intention to comply with an action before doing anything else. Although it is clear that *law* is a short form of *dulaw*, the former seems to be more commonly used in invitations or exhortations while the latter is used in both statements and invitations, e.g.:

(9-71)   *N-pakay* ***dulaw/law!***
ACT-eat first
'Eat first!"

(9-72)   *Ku   angkat   **dulaw**   bah.*
1s   go   first   *bah*
'I'd better just go now."

9.4.6   *Gena*

Gena normally follows an action. It denotes that the action is merely carried out randomly or without a particular aim in mind (e.g. just for killing time):

(9-73)   *N-peda **gena**.*
          ACT-see   *gena*
          '(I am) just seeing around/watching.'

(9-74)   [After having cleared and burnt the field.]
          *... naday kita' taw' teka   N-tugal   **gena**,   alah*
             NEG   2p   can   right.away   ACT-dibble   *gena*   must

          ba-pedara'[12]   *dulaw.*
          ANPAS- offering.(PREC)   first
          '... you **can't** just make holes for planting seeds right away, you must make some offerings first.'

9.4.7   *Ja'*

Ja' may be translated as 'just'. It usually occurs in declarative and imperative clauses to indicate that nothing more is or should be the case than what is expressed in the preceding sentence constituent.

(9-75)   [The speaker rejected an offer to move to a more comfortable place.]
          *Ku   tin'uk   ditu'   **ja'**.*
          1s   sleep   here   *ja'*
          'I will just (simply) sleep here.'

(9-76)   [The hearer was served some spicy meals.]
          *Ah, m'ih   naday ngasi N-pakay,   sikit **ja'** berangat*
          ah   2s.masc NEG   be.able ACT-eat   little *ja'* spicy

          nyaw   naday   betah.
          already   NEG   like
          'Ah, you're not good at eating, it's just a bit spicy and you don't like it.'

9.4.8   *Jara'*

Generally *jara'* could mean something like 'so it is'. In (9-30b) above, *datay sida' ia' jara'* can roughly be 'they just **came** here, so it happened they just did it'. In (9-49), *Raja Sua, nama sigi' antu jara'* may be 'the King Sua, so it is with a ghost'. The following sentence is another example:

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[12] The formative *pedara'* is related to *dara',* which is a precategorial form.

(9-77)   [Puyang Gana's brothers were clearing bushes and cutting down trees to make a rice field without first asking his permission. Then he was told by his father-in-law that he should go to his younger brothers and claim his rights.]

*Uh, angkat **jara'** Puyang Gana tu', datay mah*
oh go *jara'* P G TOP come *mah*

N-peda' pabat sida' ....
ACT-see slash 3p
'Oh, Puyang Gana just (i.e. without waiting or showing any objection) **started off**, he really **came** (following his father-in-law's advice) and saw their cutting (of trees) ....'

9.4.9   *Kah*

Kah occurs usually in imperatives in order to gently persuade the addressee to comply with a request or command, e.g.:

(9-78)   *Am'i' **kah** ulih m'ih!*
take *kah* by 2s.masc
'Please, take it with you!'

(9-79)   *Sunyi **kah** kita'!*
quiet *kah* 2p
'Be quiet, please, you all!'

9.4.10   *Kini*

Kini is placed at the end of interrogative clauses to stress the speaker's wondering, e.g.:

(9-80)   *Dini ia diaw **kini**?*
where 3s live *kini*
'Where does he live now? (I am wondering)'

(9-81)   *Amat n'a' ka' ujan pagi **kini**?*
true not FUT rain tomorrow *kini*
'Would it be really raining tomorrow or not? (I am wondering)?'

9.4.11   *Lah*

Lah is used either after a particular element, or it follows the entire clause. By using it, the speaker makes a strong assertion about that element or the entire clause.

(9-82)   [Puyang Gana comes to his younger brothers and tells them he is their oldest brother. The younger brothers do not believe him, since they have never met him before. So, the oldest of the younger siblings says to Puyang Gana in defense:]

Nisi'   *tuay ari   ku. Ku* **lah** *menyadi'   tuay   kita'.*
EXIST.NEG   old   from 1s 1s *lah* sibling   old   2p
'Nobody is older than I am. I am the one who is your oldest brother.'

(9-83)   [Aluy's father would like to "buy death" (i.e. he would like to die). So, the ghosts of the world of the dead decide to pick him up at his house. They say:]
Asa   pia',   aday kami   N-gusung   ia **lah** ....
whenever   like.that exist 1p.exlc ACT-visit   3s *lah*
'If that is so (i.e. if he really wants to die), we will surely visit him then ....'

Note that the use of *lah* in (9-82) is very close in meaning to that of a contrastive cleft (that is: *ku TI menyadi' tuay kita'* (1s-REL-sibling-old-1p.excl) 'It's me that is your oldest brother'). However, with *lah*, the speaker did not intend to make a contrast, which is the typical effect of a cleft construction. Instead he simply made a strong claim that he was the oldest brother.

9.4.12   *Lay*

Lay is typically used in asking for a favor, in invitations or exhortations in order to draw the hearer's attention toward what is being asked for:[13]

(9-84)   [I was walking and somebody up there at his house yelled at me:]
N-tiki'   **lay***!*
ACT-ascend   *lay*
'Come up/stop by for a while!'

(9-85)   *Jang, kami   ka'   N-tanya'   m'ih   **lay***.*
TOA   1p.excl want ACT-ask   2s.masc *lay*
'Brother, we would like to ask you something.'

(9-86)   [The speaker forgot what he was going to say.]
Ila' **lay***!*
later *lay*
'(Wait) a second, please!'

9.4.13   *Mah*

Mah is used with a particular element (e.g. subject, verb, adverb) that is under focus. The element is spotlighted as containing the most important information that the speaker would like the hearer to pay attention to, since there is some particular presupposition or assumption related to it. The element under focus usually gets more stressed (i.e. pronounced longer in duration and higher in pitch). In (9-22) example 3 above, *mah* in *Nti' masa tu' mah ...* emphasizes the contrast between

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[13] *Lay* is probably a short form of *ulay* 'a moment, a while'.

masa tu' 'present time' and *kelia'* 'old time'. Thus, the speaker is making a statement specifically in relation to the *mah*-marked element, that is, to the present time in that example. *Mah* is also realized weaker as [məh ~ mə] and even only as [m]. This latter variant can be syllabic. The full form *mah* (and the weakened realizations [məh ~ mə] most likely appear in slow, careful speech, whereas the short form *m* is used in rapid speech. Phonologically the form *m* needs a "docking site". Normally it is cliticized to the preceding word under focus:

(9-87) [I was speaking with some people when an older man came in. I stood up and offered him my chair. He rejected and wanted me to just sit there:]
Dia'=m!
there=m
'Just (sit) there!'

(9-88) [After having told a story, the speaker ends by saying:]
Aw', gisah udah=m   dih.
well story finished=m dih
'Well, the story really is over.'

If *m* follows a consonant it may become syllabic, unless it is followed by a word beginning with a vowel, in which case it becomes phonetically the onset of the next syllable. Yet I consider it an enclitic since it often occurs sentence-finally.

In (9-88) the use of the marker *m* was to make a contrast with the hearer's (assumed) thought that the story had not yet been finished. The marker *dih* roughly means that "Yes, it really does". The speaker suddenly made the hearer(s) realize that the story has come to the end by stressing the word *udah* 'finished' with a longer and higher intonation contour.[14]

9.4.14   *Tih*

Tih seems to carry a deictic sense. By using it, the speaker is trying to keep track or maintain the hearer's attention to what he/she is focusing on. For this purpose a speaker can even repeat this marker several times within the same clause. Its scope can be over one element (nominal and non-nominal such as adverbs and verbs) or the whole clause. Some of the examples presented above contain *tih*. In (9-22), example 1 begins with *Aday kisah urang tuay kelia' **tih**,* in which *tih* roughly expresses "As it was told, there really existed a story of our ancestors, and this is about that very story". In (9-22) example 6 *Jadi mula ia nempa nsia' **tih**,* scope of *tih* is the whole clause (thus emphatically referrings back to the same information mentioned in the preceding utterance 5). Roughly it says that the speaker is going to talk about "the same event of creating men that was mentioned earlier" and is attracting the hearer's attention to that topic of the story. In the following two examples, the function of keeping track of the hearer's attention is also apparent

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[14] =*m* follwed by *ia* '3s'is pronounced as [mia] with such frequency that it seems to have become a fixed combination. Nonetheless it should syntactically be analysed as =*m ia*, for example in: *Baru' selamat=m ia dih* (then-safe=m-3s-*dih*) 'Then, his life was really saved.'

from the speaker's supplying the hearer with additional periphrastic explanation (the relevant sentence fragments are underlined):

(9-89)   [The speaker was telling a story that Putung Kempat suffered from a contagious sickness. Her brothers did not want her to live with them, and so they put her in a big jar and had her be swept away by the river. Now, the speaker tells and focuses on what happens with Putung Kempat.]

*Jadi   kisah   Putung   Kempat   **tih**, ti   kena'   peN-pedih*
so   story   P   K   *tih* REL   afflicted NOM-sick

*ia'   **tih**,   asa   malam,   ba-ren'am   ka   ay'   ia.*
that   *tih*   whenever   night   ANPAS-soak   to   water 3s
'So, as for the story of Putung Kempat (you know), who suffered from the disease (you know), whenever it was night, she let herself soak in the water.'

(9-90)   [The siblings were having meals and drinks.]
*Aa,   udah   ia'   **tih**,   udah   ba-pakay–ba-inum   tu'*
Ah   after   that   *tih*   after   ANPAS-eat–ANPAS-drink   TOP

***tih**,   baru'   Putung   Kempat   tu'   ngeN-bay'*
tih   then   P   K   TOP   ACT-call

ipar   N-pan'i' ....
sibling.in.law   ACT-bathe
'Ah, after that (you know), after (they) had have eaten and drunk (you know), then as for Putung Kempat, she called her sister-in-law to take a bath ....'

9.4.15   *Udah*-postposing

Udah (short form: *dah*)[15] as a perfect marker has been described in 8.4.2 of Chapter 8. When used after the verb in verb-fronting constructions, emphasizes the effectuation of the event, e.g.:

(9-91)   [The speaker is explaining what procedure should be followed if a couple would divorce. After such and such things have been fulfilled, ...]
*Sah   **udah**   pia'.*
valid   *udah*   like.that
'(Then) valid it is.'

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[15] The form [udəh] has also been attested. It seems that this form is a weakening pronunciation of *udah*.

(9-92)   [PG's father-in-law told him that his brothers were dividing up their parents' wealth and convinced him that he should visit them and claim his part. Without objection PG left right away.]
Aw', Angkat **udah** *Puyang Gana tu'   tih.*
well   go   *udah*   P   G   TOP   *tih*
'Well, Puyang Gana **did go**.' (i.e. the action of 'going' was really carried out)

9.4.16   *Wih*

Wih involves a feeling or a thought that the speaker seems to ask the hearer to agree with. It is used in all speech acts and has scope either over the preceding constituent or (in clause-final position) the whole clause. Some examples:

(9-93)   [Somebody is writing a letter. She feels that she has written enough and wants to stop.]
Udah   lay **wih***! Nyaw   lelak.*
already *lay wih*   already   tired
'It's enough (for now), don't you think? I am already tired.'[16]

(9-94)   [The speaker and the hearer are going to cook a chicken.]
*Sapa   N-bunuh   manuk   **wih**?*
who   ACT-kill   chicken   *wih*
'Who is going to kill the chicken, you know? (I am wondering who is going to do that, can you think of that)?'

(9-95)   [The speaker begs the hearer not to get angry with him.]
*Nang   saw   ka   ku   **wih**!*
don't   angry   to   1s   *wih*
'Don't be angry at me, would you, please?'

(9-96)   [The speaker sees traces of an animal in his garden which has been eating his sugarcanes.]
*Aday   abi   ti   N-pakay   tebu ....   Apa   **wih** jelu   tu'?*
exist   trace   REL   ACT-eat   sugarcane   what   *wih* animal   this
'There's a trace (of something) eating the sugarcanes .... What kind of animal was it (would you know)?'

The sense of assertion apparent in *bah* is in contrast with the meaning of *wih.* If *wih* in example (9-94) is replaced by *bah*, the meaning of the proposition becomes a past realis, roughly: "Who was it that killed the chicken?".

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[16] The function of *wih* is similar to the use of *ya* in spoken Indonesian or Jakarta Malay, e.g. (9-93) is translatable in Jakartan Malay as *'Udah dulu ya. Udah cape'.'*

9.4.17   Double markers

A clause may have two, or even three, illocutionary markers in succession. Some of them usually occupy clause-final position and occur after other markers. They are *ah*, *bah*, *jara'*, and *dih.* In the following examples brackets indicate the scope of each marker.

(9-97)   [[*Padah* **kah**] **bah**]*!*
          say   kah   bah
          'Come on tell it, will you (I mean it) ?'

(9-98)   [[*Naday   lama'   **tih***] **jara'***],   urang   N-pansa'.
           NEG   long   tih   jara'   person   ACT-pass
          'It didn't last long (you know), (really), that someone passed.'

(9-99)   [After Aluy's father had paid the fine, the problem was thought over
          by the ghosts. They accepted the fine and did not demand anything
          else.]
          Baru'   [*sida'   ia'   tih*]   [[*pulay   **mah***]   **dih**].
          then   3p   that   tih   go.home   mah   dih
          Then, (it happened that) they (those ghosts), really **did** go home.'

For an example of *ah*, see (9-60) above, which has three markers in a row. In (9-97) the speaker stresses the command with *kah* and then adds the marker *bah* to express his being serious about it. In (9-98), the speaker is directing the hearer's attention to the time (*naday lama'* 'not long') after which something happened; and this is reinforced again with the marker *jara'* 'so it was'. In (9-99), the marker *mah* stresses the cruciality of the action *pulay* 'go/return home' and that the ghosts did not do anything else, like staying any longer and demanding something else. The marker *dih* emphasizes that the action is indeed realized.

    To summarize the discussion on the illocutionary markers given thus far above, in the following Table 9.3 the markers, their scope and their pragmatic function are listed.

Table 9.3: Illocutionary markers and the speaker's attitudes

Marker	Scope	Pragmatic function
ah	constituent or entire clause	appealing for attention
bada'	entire clause	emotionally expressive
bah	constituent or entire clause	assertive, high certainty
dih	constituent or entire clause	emphasizing the actuality of the event
dulaw/law	entire clause	prioritizing an event over the other
gena	entire clause	random or aimless action

jara'	entire clause	conclusive (so it is)
ja'	constituent	restrictive
kah	entire clause	pressing for the realization of an action in imperatives
kini	entire clause	expressing one's wondering (in questions)
lah	constituent or entire clause	assertive
lay	entire clause	emphasizing the request for a favor (in invitations or exhortations)
mah/m	constituent	emphasizing the importance of the element under focus
tih	constituent	continued appeal on the hearer's attention
udah (postposing)	verb	emphasizing the effectuation of an event
wih	constituent or entire clause	emotionally expressive, appealing for empathy from the hearer

9.5   Negation

Negative clauses typically present a counter-assertion to some presupposition (Payne 1997:282; cf. also Givón 2001a, Chapter 8). It is because of this function that the discussion of negation is placed here in this chapter on pragmatically-motivated structures. In the current section negative formatives and their functions in Mualang are specifically addressed. Formally, they are all particles, that is, unbounded invariant forms (cf. the definition of negative particles in J. Payne (1985:222)), some of which are (historically) composed of the negative morpheme *ni-* or *n-* and some "basic" form. Most of these basic forms are still recognizable as independent words, either a verb (e.g. a verb of existence and cognition) and an adverb, a modal, or a noun. The form *ni-* appears before the basic forms beginning with a consonant whereas *n-* occurs before a vowel.[17] The individual discussion of the negative particles is presented below.

9.5.1   *Naday*: clausal negation

Naday[18] is the standard means for forming a negative clause. It is normally used for "clausal negation", to negate the entire proposition (in T. Payne's (1997:282). Alternatively it is comparable to the "standard negation" in J. Payne's (1985:198) sense. It denies the occurrence of an event (for example (9-52), repeated below as (9-100)) or a situation (9-101); *naday* cannot be used with predicate nominals (9-102). For negating a predicate nominal, the negator *ukay* is used (cf. example (9-109) below). Throughout this grammar *naday* is glossed 'NEG'.

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[17] In view of the typical phonological vowel deletion process occurring on the vowel of CV-prefixes before bases beginning with a vowel (see 2.5 in Chapter 2), it would make sense to propose (a historical) *ni-* as the underlying form that has undergone such a process.
[18] *Naday* is commonly pronounced as *nday* notably among the speakers of the Upstream dialect.

(9-100)　　<u>*Ba-kerja,*</u>　　　　*ku naday N-inyaw　　urang.*
　　　　　　ANPASS-work　　1s　NEG　ask.for.help　person
　　　　　　'As for working, I don't rely on others.'

(9-101)　　*Ia'　naday　bayik.*
　　　　　　that　NEG　　good
　　　　　　'That is not good.'

(9-102)　　**Ia'　naday　uma　ku.*
　　　　　　that　NEG rice.field　1s
　　　　　　'That is not my rice field.'

Apparently *naday* is historically derived from *ni-* and *aday* 'exist'. Its meaning 'not exist' is apparent in certain contexts, but in that sense it is marginalized by *nisi'* 'existential negative' (see section 9.5.3 below), e.g.:

(9-103)　　*Urang　miskin　mah　naday　isi'.*
　　　　　　person　poor　　*mah*　NEG　　content
　　　　　　'Poor people (as they are) have nothing.' (Lit. 'Poor person not exist contents')

(9-104)　　*Jantung　ia　naday　da　　dada.*
　　　　　　heart　　3s　NEG　LOC　chest
　　　　　　'He's very afraid.' (lit. 'His heart does not exist in (his) chest')

The unmarked order of *naday* is S-*naday*-V-(O), as in the above examples. However, it can be fronted for focus to clause-initial position, as in the examples (9-59) and (9-65) above. In these examples, the negative value of the situation is emphasized.

　　If the verbal predicate is modified by an adverbial expression, the scope of negation applies only to the latter, and not to the predicate. Thus, in (9-105) below, *naday* does not negate the action *ba-jalay* 'walk', since the action did take place; instead it negates the manner adverb *lama'* 'long', regardless of its syntactic position.

(9-105)　　a. *Sida'　naday　ba-jalay　　lama'.*
　　　　　　　3p　　NEG　　ANPAS-road　long
　　　　　　　'They did not walk long.'

　　　　　　b. *Sida'　ba-jalay　　naday　lama'.*
　　　　　　　3p　　ANPAS-road　NEG　　long
　　　　　　　'They walked not long.'

　　　　　　c. *Naday　lama'　sida'　ba-jalay.*
　　　　　　　NEG　　long　　3p　　ANPAS-road
　　　　　　　'Not long they walked.'

The difference between (105a) and (b, c) is focus. Sentence (a) is neutral, whereas sentences (b) and (c) counter-assert some presupposition on the adverbial expression (e.g. the hearer might think that it would take a longer time for the people to walk).

    Naday is also normally used as a plain negative response:

(9-106)   *"Ka'   tin'uk?"*   *"Naday."*
           FUT   sleep   NEG
        '"Are you going to go to bed?"'   '"No."'

9.5.2   *Ukay* 'no, not': contrastive negation

Ukay 'no, not' (below glossed as CONT.NEG) is best compared with *naday*. The latter negates the performance or occurence of the event/situation expressed in *verbal* predicates. *Ukay*, on the other hand, does not deal with the truth value of an event/situation, but it rather denies the essence of the negated element supposedly thought of by the hearer. As an illustration, *naday* in (107a) simply denies the occurrence of an event, namely 'go home'. However, in (b), an event did take place, and *ukay* does not deny its occurrence, but rather it denies that it was that kind of action.

(9-107)   a. *Ia   naday   pulay.*
           3s   NEG   go.home
           'He did not go home.'

        b. *Ku ukay   pulay.* (*Baru' ka'   angkat*.)
           1s   CONT.NEG   go.home just   FUT   go
           'I am not going home. (I am just about to leave).' [The speaker is passing by; the interlocutor mistakenly thinks he is returning home.]

Given its contrastive function to negate only a particular constituent of the clause, especially nominal elements or those elements behaving like a nominal referent (9-108 – 9-110), as such it is typically used with predicate nominals (9-110):

(9-108)   *Ukay   ia', nya'!*
           CONT.NEG   that   that
           'Not that (one), that one (over there)!'

(9-109)   - *Ia   datay   kemari'.*
            3s   come   yesterday

        - *Ukay.   Ukay   kemari', tadi'   bah.*
           CONT.NEG   CONT.NEG   yesterday a.while.ago *bah*
        - 'He arrived yesterday.'
        - 'No, it was not yesterday, it was just a while ago (really).'

(9-110)   *Ia'   ukay   uma   ku.*
            that CONT.NEG   rice.field 1s
            'That is not my rice field.' (I do have a rice field, but you mis-
            identified it)

Because of its contrastive function *ukay* is the appropriate negator for the focused
constituent in cleft constructions:

(9-111)   <u>*Ukay*</u>   *urang tay   budu,   m'ih   kediri'.*
            CONT.NEG   person REL stupid 2s.masc   one's.self
            'It's not others that are stupid, (it's) you yourself.'

(9-112)   *Ukay*   *ia'   tay   da-beri'   sida' ka ku   tih.*
            CONT.NEG   that   REL   PASS-give   3p   to 1s   *tih*
            'It's not that one that was given to me by them.'

Replacement of *uday* by *naday* in (9-111 and 9-112) would yield an ungrammatical
clause.

9.5.3.   *Nisi'*: existential negation

Nisi' is historically composed of *ni-* and *isi'* 'content'.[19] It counter-asserts any
presupposition involving *aday* (cf. Chapter 6 on existentials and 9.2.4 above on
aday-focus), which basically includes the following functions:

a) it denies the existence of the referent of the subject of the clause in place or time.
In this function, *nisi'* becomes part of the predicate, e.g:

(9-113)   *Inay   nisi'   da   dapur.*
            mother EXIST.NEG   LOC kitchen
            'Mother wasn't in the kitchen.'

(9-114)   *Nyaw   pitu'   rumah   panyay   nisi'   agi'.*
            already like.this house   long   EXIST.NEG again
            'Nowadays there are no longhouses anymore.'

b) it is used as an inherently negative quantifier (to use Payne's 1985:204 term) and
can co-occur with the standard negator *naday* (9-118). It is used prenominally, as in
(9-115 – 9-116), or in an absolute form, as in (9-117).

(9-115)   *Nisi'   urang   aba'   ia.*
            EXIST.NEG   person follow 3s
            'There was nobody who followed her.'

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[19] Another typical expression with *isi'* can be seen in the word *bisi'*, from *ba-* + *isi'*, which
means, besides 'have contents', 'there is'.

(9-116)   *Nisi'   apa-apa.*
            EXIST.NEG   what-RED
            'There was nothing.' / 'It doesn't matter / it's nothing.'

(9-117)   *Nisi'   tay   kuat   ari   ku.*
            EXIST.NEG   REL   strong   from   1s
            'There is nobody who is stronger than I am.'

(9-118)   *Nisi'   urang   naday   angkat.*
            EXIST.NEG   person   NEG   go
            'No one did not go.' (everyone left)

c) it counter-asserts the kind of presupposition found in "*aday*-focus" (see 9.2.4) above. It emphatically denies the occurrence of an event, e.g:

(9-119)   *Nisi'   ku   N-peda'   m'ih   ngeN-bay'   burung!*
            EXIST.NEG   1s   ACT-see   2s.masc   ACT-bring   bird
            'There was no such thing as my seeing you bring a bird!'

(9-120)   *Urang nisi'   taw'   N-bantah   kita.*
            person   EXIST.NEG   can   ACT-argue   1p.incl
            'Others will not be able to argue with us.'

(9-121)   *Tu' menyadi'   kula'   b-uma,   N-pabat–N-tebang,*
            this   sibling   TOA[20]   ANPAS-rice.field   ACT-slash–ACT-cut

            nisi'   N-padah,   nisi'   N-pinta'.
            EXIST.NEG   ACT-say   EXIST.NEG   ACT-ask
            'Now your siblings, my son-in-law, are doing rice field work, slashing and cutting down trees, without telling (you) and asking (for your permission).'

d)   it expresses a negative possession:

(9-122)   *Nyaw   malam,   sida'   nisi'   guris.*
            already   night   3p   EXIST.NEG   matches
            'It was already night, they did not have matches.'

(9-123)   *Kera'   tu'   budu,   nisi'   akal.*
            long-tailed.macaque   TOP   stupid   EXIST.NEG   idea
            '*Kera'* was stupid, it hadn't any ideas.'

The expression *n'a' bisi'* 'not exist' as in the following example has the same meaning as *nisi'*:

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[20] A term of address for a son-in-law.

(9-124)   *Diang   apay-inay   n'a'   b-isi'   N-padah ....*
           the.late father-mother not   ANPAS-content   ACT-say
           'The late father and mother never said (lit. 'not exist say') ....'

9.5.4   *Nitaw'*: 'not know', 'can't', 'may not', habitual inability

Nitaw' derives from the combination of *ni-* and *taw'* 'know', 'know how', 'can/may'. *Nitaw'* is the negation of of *taw'*; it can be used on its own as a reply. It functions as a negative verb in its own right when meaning 'not know' (9-125), and as a modal auxiliary when conveying other meanings such as 'cannot' (negative ability) 'may not' (negative permissiveness) (9-126) or 'not get used to' (habitual inability) (9-127).

(9-125)   *Ku nitaw'   bada'.*
           1s   not.know   *bada'*
           'I (just) don't know.'

(9-126)   *M'ih   nitaw'   angkat.*
           2s.masc   can't/may.not   go
           'You can't / may not go.'

(9-127)   *Sida'   nitaw'   ba-laya'.*
           3p   HAB.INAB   ANPAS-quarrel
           'They don't get used to having quarrels.'

Besides *nitaw'*, a "long" form *naday taw'* with the same meanings occurs in competition. It seems likely that the long form is used when the negation itself is more emphasized, for example in "*naday*-fronting":

(9-128)   *Asa   m'ih   da   jalay,   **nitaw'   bada'   jalay**,*
           whenever   2s.masc   LOC   road   not.know   *bada'*   way

           pinang   tu',   m'ih   pakay   isi',   kulit m'ih   tunu.
           bettlenut TOP   2s.masc   eat   content   peel   2s.masc burn

           Naday   m'ih   taw'   tesat.
           NEG   2s.masc   can   lost
           'Whenever you are on the way and don't know the way, eat this bettlenut and burn its peel. (And) you **can't** get lost.'

In (9-128), the fronted *naday* is more focused and emphasized than its "neutral" form *nitaw'* in the preceding clause. Such a use has often been noticed.

9.5.5   *Bedaw* 'not yet'

Bedaw means 'not yet'. It negates the whole clause (9-129) or only a particular constituent, normally an adverb (9-130):

(9-129)   *Padi   bedaw   muduh.*
            rice   not.yet   ripe
            'The rice has not ripened yet.'

(9-130)   *Bedaw   lama'   ia   mansang.*
            not.yet   long   3s   pass
            'He passed by not yet long ago.'

9.5.6   *Nang*: imperative negation

Nang 'don't' is used in imperatives (commands, orders, exhortations, etc.). It can constitute an utterance on its own. (See also 9.6.2.2 on prohibitives)

(9-131)   *Nang   m'ih   k=ili!*
            don't   2s.masc   to=downstream
            'Don't (you) go downstream!'

9.5.7   *Ngay*: 'not want'

Ngay functions as a negative auxiliary meaning 'not want', e.g.:[21]

(9-132)   *S-iku'   ngay   N-tamak   bubu.*
            ONE-CLASS   not.want   ACT-enter   k.o.fishing.trap
            'The other one doesn't want to come into the fishing trap.'

(9-133)   *Ah, ngay   ku.*
            uh,   not.want   1s
            'Uh, I don't want.'

9.5.8   *N'a'* '(or) not'

N'a' is a negative auxiliary. Its use is not entirely clear at this stage of my research. However, it seems that it is normally used in an "alternative" negation, such as *nyaw n'a'* 'already or not', *bedaw n'a'* 'not yet or not', *ngapa n'a'* 'why not', e.g.:

(9-134)   *Kati, aday   n'a'?*
            how   exist   not
            'How is it, is it there or not?'

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[21] Dunselman (1955) has both *ng'ay* (*nggai* in his spelling) and *ngay* (*ngai*). However, I have not heard the former pronunciation. Ketungau Sesat, another Ibanic variety very close to Mualang, has *ngey*, but one older informant, from the village of Natai Ucong, exaggeratedly pronounced it as *nggey* in casual speech. Another speaker of Ketungau Sesat from the village of Sejirak gave me the form *nggay*. This suggests at least a historical *nggay* or *ng'ay* in Mualang.

(9-135)   *Nyaw   n'a'   ia datay kin   wih?*
           already   not   3s come to.there.(far)   *wih*
           'Has he arrived there yet or not (I am wondering)?'

(9-136)   *D=alam   pikir   sida', ntah   agi'   n'a' idup.*
           LOC=inside   thought 3p   not.know   still not   alive
           'In their hearts they did not know whether she was still alive or not.'

(9-137)   *Aw', N-peda'   ia'   nsia   n'a'   nsia.*
           well   ACT-see   that human   not   human
           'Well, he saw that (thing) was like a human but not (really) a human.'

(9-138)   *Ku ditu' ngapa   n'a' nyamay?*
           1s here   why   not   comfortable
           'Why did I feel uncomfortable here?'

9.5.9   *Ntah*: ignorance

Ntah means 'not know'. It expresses the speaker's or the reported speaker's lack of knowledge regarding something. It also carries a connotation of indifference and often occurs twice in a clause: 'whether A or B, I don't know (and don't care really)'. The first or the only *ntah* is always used clause-initially; *ntah* can stand alone as an answer. Examples:

(9-139)   *Ntah   kikay   pe-mansang   ia.*
           not.know   where   NOM-pass   3s
           'I don't know (it's not known) where he passed through.'

(9-140)   *Ntah   ti   laki ntah   ti   in'u'.*
           not.know   REL   male not.know REL   female
           'It's not known, either the male or the female.'

9.5.10   *Nikala'* 'never'

Nikala' 'never' is a negative adverbial auxiliary that can also stand alone as a reply. It is interchangeable with the "long form" *naday kala'*, e.g.:[22]

(9-141)   *Ku nikala'   ka Punti.*
           1s never   to P
           'I've never been to the city of Pontianak.'

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[22] *Kala'* is always used with a negation.

(9-142)   *Sida'   naday   kala'   N-peda'   m'ih   datay.*
        3p   NEG   ever   ACT-see   2s.masc   come
        'They've never seen you come.'

9.5.11   *Nusah* **'needn't': negative obligation**

Nusah 'needn't' has a prohibitive sense. It probably derives historically from *ni-* and *usah*. However, the form *usah* itself does not exist in current Mualang. *Nusah* functions as an auxiliary, but it can be used on its own as a reply.

(9-143)   *Nusah   mah   m'ih   aba'.*
        needn't   *mah*   2s.masc   follow
        'There's no need for you to come along.'

9.5.12   *Nupa* **'not as, not like'**

Nupa is composed of *ni-* and *upa* 'as, like'. Besides *nupa*, *naday upa* also occurs. The difference is not clear at present; however *naday upa* is found more frequently (9-145). *Nupa* seems to appear in idiomatic-like expressions (9-144).

(9-144)   *Nupa kayu   ari   besi, nya'   N-suruh   naday tan.*
        not.as wood   from   iron   that   ACT-cause   NEG   endure
        'Wood is not like iron (wood is not as strong as iron), that's why it's not durable.'

(9-145)   *Anak kemua   naday   upa kemua.'*
        child   1d.excl   NEG   as   1d.excl
        'Our child (the child of two of us) does not look like us.'

Finally it should be mentioned that several negators are also used in special questions, for instance in the function of a question tag (see 9.6 below).

9.6   **Non-declarative speech acts**

Declarative clauses are usually informative and considered the unmarked clause type (Sadock and Zwicky 1985:165, Payne 1997:294). For the most part, the discussion in Chapter 7 exemplifies this type of clause. This section will be dealing only with the morphosyntax and functions of the major speech act types of interrogatives (9.6.1) and imperatives (9.6.2).

9.6.1   **Interrogatives**

Interrogative clauses express "a request for information rather than an assertion" (Payne 1997:295). Several sub-types of interrogatives are discussed below: yes/no questions (9.6.1.1), question-word questions (9.6.1.2), rhetorical questions (9.6.1.3), and indirect questions (9.6.1.4).

9.6.1.1   Yes/no questions

The term yes/no question refers to interrogative clauses that ask for a polarity response, i.e. positive ("yes") or negative ("no"). In Mualang, yes/no questions differ from declaratives only in one respect: it is pronounced with a rising final intonation, in contrast to a falling one in a declarative. The word order of constituents may vary depending on the focused element (see 9.2.2 above):

(9-146)   a. *Ia angkat aba' wan?*
                 3s go   with 2s.hon
                 'Did he go with you?'

            b. *Aba' wan   ia angkat?*
                 with 2s.hon 3s go
                 'With you did he go?'

    Several corresponding negators can be used utterance-finally as question tags in positive yes/no questions. The resulting "tag questions" differ from the corresponding yes/no questions in that they imply that the speaker assumes the content of the yes/no question to be true, but that he is not completely sure of it. With the negative tag he requests the hearer to confirm his expectation.

(9-147)   *Haa,   ka'   da-surup,   naday?*
             (laughing)   want PASS-help   NEG
             'Haa, do you want me to help, or not?'

(9-148)   *M'ih   dah   N-pakay,   bedaw?*
             2s.masc PERF ACT-eat   not.yet
             'You have eaten, haven't you?'

(9-149)   *Tu' nu'   ku, ukay?*
             this belong.to   1s CONT.NEG
             'This is mine, isn't it?'

(9-150)   *Aday, nisi'?*
             exist EXIST.NEG
             'There is, isn't there?'

(9-147) was uttered in the situation where the speaker saw or thought the hearer had a problem but did (contrary to speaker's expectation) not ask for help; and with the negative tag the speaker sought confirmation of his expectation that the hearer in fact did want to be helped. In (9-148), the speaker expected that the hearer had eaten, but would have been impolite not to doubt it. In (9-149), the speaker wasn't quite sure that the thing in question belonged to him, although he thought it did. Similarly, in (9-150) he would not be certain without any doubt that the topic of conversation was there. If the content of the question is negative, the additional pragmatic intent is normally expressed via the use of an illocationary marker, instead

of some sort of a question tag, such as in example (9-155) below where *wih* may function as such.

The tag questions are marked by a slightly rising intonation on the tag. If the intonation on the negator is falling, it is no longer a tag but an alternative. This may be expressed explicitly by the use of *ataw* 'or' (9-151 and 152):

(9-151)   *M'ih   dah   N-pakay   **ataw**   bedaw?*
          2s.masc PERF   ACT-eat   or   not.yet
          'Have you eaten or not yet?'

(9-152)   *Tu'   nu'   ku   **ataw**   ukay?*
          this   belong.to   1s   or   CONT.NEG
          'This is mine or it isn't?'

With such alternative yes/no questions as in (9-151 – 9-152) the speaker seems to be neutral with respect to (un)certainty.

As for responses to yes/no questions, the following means are used:

a)   With the particle *aw'* 'yes'. This particle is a neutral positive reply both for a positive question (as in (9-146)) and for a negative question (as in (9-154).[23]

b)   With a corresponding negator. With respect to positive yes/no questions, a response with negators can only mean to give a negative reply, i.e. what the speaker asked does not hold. For example, a negative reply with *naday* to the question in (9-146) simply means 'No, he didn't'. A negative response toward a negative yes/no question on the other hand can be interpreted both as consent to and as disagreement with what was asked. Usually the context and the intonation contour accompanying the negator clarify the intended meaning sufficiently. With a relatively flat intonation, a response with all relevant negators expresses positively that the speaker agrees with the content of the question. Such a response with a negator, rather than with *aw'*, seems to express a more emphatic consent. For example:

(9-153)   - *M'ih   naday/bedaw   N-pakay?*   - *Naday/bedaw.*
            2s.masc   NEG/not.yet   ACT-eat   NEG/not.yet
          - 'Don't you eat?' / 'Haven't you eaten yet?'
          - 'No, I don't.' / 'Not yet, I haven't.'

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[23] *Aw'* can actually function more than only as an affirmative reply to a question. It is also used as a sign of an agreement in the middle of a talk or conversation to what the speaker is saying, as a neutral sign that the hearer is still following the talk, or as a positive reply to a request/order. It is also used by the speaker in the middle of a stretch of speech to sum up what has been said thus far, before continuing his account: "Yes, so it was/goes"; "Ok". Interestingly, the particle *aw'* is also found in other languages in West Kalimantan, including languages which are not Ibanic such as the Land Dayak language Ahe, and most Malayic dialects (e.g. Delang, Ketapang).

(9-154)   - *Ia nisi'   da   rumah?*   - *Nisi'.*
          3s EXIST.NEG LOC   house   - EXIST.NEG
          - 'He's not at home?'
          - 'No, he's not.'

(9-155)   - *Nya' ukay   ia wih?*   - *Ukay.*
          that CONT.NEG   3s *wih*   - CONT.NEG
          - 'Wasn't that him (or was it)?'
          - 'No, it wasn't him.'

However, responses with *naday*, *ukay* or *nisi'* toward a negative question may also convey the reverse, i.e. disagreement with the negative content. This happens when they are pronounced with a particular intonation contour: relatively stretched and rising word-finally. For example, in a situation where someone was asked several times to eat but he/she did not eat, then the speaker would ask again for reconfirmation: "*M'ih naday makay?*" 'You don't eat?' The answer *Naday* (uttered with some feeling of irritation) potentially expresses disagreement with *naday* in the repeated question, to the effect that the speaker is saying that he wants to eat.

c)   With the modal auxiliary or main verb used in the question. The modal auxiliary, if any, or the main verb of a yes/no question may be used as a positive response to the question. Such a reply seems to be more emphatic than a response with *aw'*. For example:

(9-156)   - *M'ih   dah   N-pakay?*   - *Dah.*
          - 2s.masc PERF ACT-eat   -   PERF
          - 'Have you eaten?'
          - 'Yes, I have.' (Lit. 'Already.')

(9-157)   - *Ia aday da   rumah?* -   *Aday.*
          3s exist LOC house   - exist
          - 'Is he at home?'
          - 'Yes, he is.' (Lit. 'Exist.')

9.6.1.2   Question-word questions

Question-word questions are also called content questions, information questions, or wh-questions (Payne 1997:299). Such questions ask for particular information specified through question words. The following question words are used in Mualang:

apa	'what'
sapa	'who'
berapa	'how many'
kati	'how'
dini	'where (location)'
kikay	'where (direction)'
ari ni (shortened: *reni*)	'from where'

kebila, bila, kemaya   'when'
ngapa   'why'
ni   'which', 'where'

    Unmarked question-word questions are normally uttered with a rising intonation at the end of the clause. *Kati* dan *ngapa* are normally clause-initial. The positions of *apa*, *sapa,* and *berapa* in the sentence correspond with the position of the noun phrase and quantifier phrase they stand for (see below). The default position of all other question words is clause-initial, but for pragmatic reasons they may become clause-final (to be followed only by a pragmatic particle such as *wih*).

(9-158)   *Kati   N-pulah   tu'?*
              how   ACT-make this
              'How do we make this?'

(9-159)   *Ngapa m'ih   lawun datay pia'?*
              why   2s.masc slow   come   like.that
              'Why did you come so late?'

(9-160)   *Dini   wan   diaw?* (or: *Wan diaw dini?*)
              at.where   2s.hon   live
              'Where do you live?'

(9-161)   *Kikay   sedua?* (or: *Sedua kikay?*)
              to.where   2d
              'Where are you two going?'

(9-162)   *Reni   peN-datay   sida'?* (or: *Panatay sida' reni?*)
              from.where   NOM-come   3p
              'Where did they just come from?'

(9-163)   *Kebila apay   angkat ka uma   wih?*
              when   father go   to   rice.field *wih*
              (or: *Apay angkat ka uma kebila wih?*)
              'When is father going to the rice field then?'

(9-164)   *Ni   selawar   ku?* (or: *Selawar ku ni?*)
              which pants   1s
              'Which (where) are my pants?'

Ni also means 'which (one)', asked to select a particular referent from a number of possible ones, e.g.:

(9-165)   *Miak   ni?*
              child   which.one
              'Which child?'

In (9-158 – 9-164) with the clause-initial question word the focus of the question is pragmatically neutral, i.e. the speaker simply requires the intended information; whereas with the question word in clause-final position the subject of the clause is focused. In (9-161) for instance, when someone comes across two people on the way, it is the direction that is normally asked in passing (as in the first alternative); but the second alternative would be appropriate if the speaker would like to deal with the subject (e.g. if he had been looking for the two addressees).

Kebila, *bila* and *kemaya* are all (near-) synonyms. *Bila* is used most often, whereas the other two are rare. *Kemaya* is considered (by informants) as an old word (or *bahasa dalam* 'deep or old language'). *Apa* (for non-human entities) and *sapa* (for human beings) remain *in situ*, i.e. in the normal syntactic position of the constituent in question (subject, object, possession and oblique), e.g.:

(9-166)   *Sapa   N-bunuh   manuk   wih?* (= in subject position)
           who   ACT-kill   chicken   *wih*
           'Who is going to kill the chicken (would you know)?'

(9-167)   *Ka'   kia'   N-am'i'   apa?* (= in object position)
           want   thither.near   ACT-take   what
           'What do you want to get there?' (lit. 'You go there to get what?')

(9-168)   a. *Ia angkat   aba'   sapa?* (= in "associative" oblique position)
              3s go   with   who
              'He went with whom?'

           b. *Aba'   sapa   ia angkat?*
              with   who   3s go
              (= in "associative" oblique position, but with focus)
              'With whom did he go?'

(9-169)   *Kubur   sapa   ti   aday   da   Nanga   Sepawuk   nya'?*
           grave   who   REL   exist   LOC   estuary   S   that

           Urang   kita   ataw   bukay?
           person   1p.excl   or   other
           'Whose grave is it that is at the Sepauk Estuary? Is it someone of or own people or someone else?'

(9-170)   *Getah   sapa   ia'?*
           latex   who   that
           'Whose latex is that?'

Apa can also be used attributively at the end of a noun phrase:

(9-171)   *Bulan   apa?*
           month   what
           'What month?'

(9-172)   *Nyun   bukit apa   ia'?*
           that.far.away hill what that
           'What hill is that there in the distance?'

Berapa functions as a question word for quantity or a number. As such its position is *in situ* in the quantifying phrase (see Chapter 4), i.e. both pre- and post-nominal, e.g.:

(9-173)   *Aday berapa   iku'   sida'?*
           exist how.many CLASS 3p
           'How many people are they?'

(9-174)   *Tawun berapa?*
           year   how.many
           'What year?'

Generic quantity is questioned with *berapa* followed by the measurement in question, e.g. *berapa lama'* 'how long?', *berapa luah* 'how wide?', *berapa besay* 'how big?'.
   Question-word questions can also be clefted with the relativizer *tay/ti* for contrastive focus which may imply emotional overtones.

(9-175)   *Sapa   tay   ba-tabiat   macam   tu'?*
           who   REL   ANPAS-character   like   this
           'Who was it that behaved like this?'

(9-176)   *Ni   ti   peramu m'ih?*
           which REL   clothing 2s.masc
           'Which one is it that is your clothing?'

(9-177)   *Apa   ti   da-bay'   ia'?*
           what REL   PASS-bring that
           'What is it that is brought?'

(9-178)   *Berapa   ti   Ni'   beli'?*
           how.many REL   grandmother buy
           'How many was it that Grandmother bought?'

In (9-175) the speaker was angry about the thing that happened, and emphatically questioned who was the person who did it. In (9-176), the question was focused for contrast, because there were some pieces of clothing to choose from, and the speaker had to take care of them. In (9-178) the speaker appeared to be annoyed with his grandmother's tendency to buy more than she needed. Clauses such as (9-175 – 9-178) can be used without the relativizer *tay*, in which case the clauses will become pragmatically neutral: the speaker is simply asking for information.

9.6.1.3   Rhetorical questions

Rhetorical questions are those that do not sollicit an actual answer. A speaker will ask a rhetorical question for a number of reasons, all of which ultimately serve the goal of convincing his audience to agree with his point of view. There are two typical ways for forming rhetorical questions as attested in Mualang:

a)   with a particular intonation. This is typically used with question-word questions, in which the question word is pronounced with a longer and higher pitch and the sentential intonation is falling at the end of the clause. Generally contexts help in identifying the rhetorical intent. In the following examples, the stressed question word is capitalized:

(9-179)   ***Apa***   *lah   utay   ia',   naday   jadi?*
            what   *lah*   thing   that   NEG   become
            'What is it that thing, formless in shape?'

(9-180)   *Nti'   ia   naday   salah,*   ***ngapa***   *kita*   *N-padah   salah?*
            if   3s   NEG   wrong   why   1p.incl   ACT-say   wrong
            'If he was not wrong, why did we say he was?'

b)   with a special negative particle, most typically *ukay*, or a combination of *baday ... naday*, e.g.:[24]

(9-181)   *Ukay*   *sempang   urang   tuay   N-padah ....*
            CONT.NEG   proverb   person   old   ACT-say
            'Doesn't the proverb of the old people say ....'

(9-182)   *Baday   m'ih   naday   N-pegay   iku'   ku   pia'?*
            baday   2s.masc   NEG   ACT-hold   tail   1s   like.that
            'Aren't you holding my tail?'

(9-183)   *Baday   m'ih   naday   kitu'   agi'?*
            baday   2s.masc   NEG   to.here   again
            'Aren't you coming here again?'

9.6.1.4   Indirect questions

Indirect questions normally function as complements of verbs of cognition and utterance (cf. Sadock and Zwicky 1985:186).[25] In Mualang, indirect question-word questions usually appear with a final falling intonation (9-184 – 9-186), e.g.:

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[24] It is not certain at present what *baday* itself means. One possibility is that it is derived from *b-aday* 'ANPAS-exist' (cf. *b-isi'* 'ANPAS-content', which has the derivative meaning 'exist').

[25] Indirect questions are called "dependent questions" in Sadock and Zwicky 1985:186. For a discussion of complement clauses, see 10.3 in Chapter 10.

(9-184)   *Ia nitaw'   bada'* [*ari ni   utay ia' datay jara'*].
                3s not.know bada' from where thing that come *jara'*
                'He just did not know where that thing came from (as it did).'

(9-185)   *Urang iran*   [*ngapa ia N-beri'   apay ia kin*].
                person wonder why   3s ACT-give   father 3s to.there.far
                'People wondered why she let her father go there.'

(9-186)   *Ku N-tanya'*   [*kikay   pe-mansang   m'ih*].
                1s ACT-ask   to.where NOM-pass   2s.masc
                'I asked you where you are passing to.'

Since question words are also used as indefinite pronouns,[26] they can occur in a relative clause as the head; and when such relative clauses function as a complement of verbs other than those of cognition and utterance, they structurally resemble the indirect question-word questions. However, intonationally they are uttered as a normal declarative clause, e.g.:

(9-187)   *Kita   kerja* [*apa tay   ba-guna*].
                1p.incl work what REL ANPAS-benefit
                'We work that which is useful.'

Indirect yes/no questions may have a final falling intonation either or not preceded by a slight rise. They may be introduced with *apa* 'whether' (9-188) or simply without it (9-189):

(9-188)   *N-tanya'   kita   tay apay-inay*   [(*apa*) *kita' setuju*].
                Act-ask   1p.incl REL father-mother   what   2p   agree
                'We, the parents asked whether you all agree.'

(9-189)   *Ia ka' N-tanya'* [*m'ih udah mis   N-ketaw,   bedaw.*
                3s want ACT-ask 2s.masc PERF finished ACT-harvest   not.yet
                'He wanted to ask whether you have yet finished harvesting or not?'

9.6.2   Imperatives

Imperatives are a kind of speech act that commands the hearer to perform an action or to be in a particular state. In Mualang the primary grammatical means for expressing imperatives is by using the verb in its bare form, i.e. morphologically unmarked. This is most evident with transitive verbs, since they are the most marked morphologically. Functionally this imperative may be labeled as a "typically direct"

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[26] See 4.1.1.1 in Chapter 4; for relative clauses see Chapter 10.

one, since it directly confronts the addressee with the necessity of performing an action. Formal features of this imperative are as follows:

- it is common for the verb to appear all by itself; in a typical imperative intonation the stressed syllable of the verb tends to be pronounced more dynamically especially if the action is deemed urgent by the speaker; the clause tends to end with an abrupt falling intonation;
- the intended agent (the addressee, or in case of an adhortative the addressee and the speaker) is implied. If it is explicitly expressed (usually in order to emphasize who is the performer), it does not appear as a grammatical subject, but either as a vocative or preceded by the preposition *ulih* 'by';
- the patient of the verb, if it appears, comes directly after the verb.

The following examples illustrate direct imperatives:

(9-190)   a. *Diaw!*
           quiet
           'Be quiet!'

           b. *M'ih / Demung,   diaw!*
              2s.masc/D   quiet
              'You / Demung, be quiet!'

           c. *Diaw,   m'ih / Demung!*
              quiet   2s.masc/D
              'Be quiet, you / Demung!'

(9-191)   a. *Am'i'!*
           take
           'Take it!'

           b. *M'ih / Demung,   am'i'!*
              2s.masc/D   take
              'You / Demung, take it!'

           c. *Am'i',   m'ih / Demung!*
              take   2s.masc/D
              'Take it, you / Demung!'

(9-192)   *Am'i' isaw   kin!*
           take   machete   thither.(far)
           'Get the machete over there!'

(9-193)   *Tu' ubi,   tunu ulih m'ih!*
           this cassava   bake by   2s.masc
           'These are cassavas, you bake them!'

(9-190) and (9-191) illustrate examples with intransitive and transitive verbs, respectively. Examples (b) and (c) contain a pronoun and a person's name separated from the verb by a slight pause; i.e. they function as a vocative, rather than as the grammatical subject. In rapid speech tempo, however, the pause may become inaudible which obscures the difference with intransitive verbs between a vocative and a grammatical subject (cf. the use of a declarative intransitive clause as imperative in "secondary imperatives" below). For transitive imperatives, however, the verb is marked morphologically with the active prefix *N-* if the expression for the agent is the subject. Note that although the structure of the inverse voice such as in *m'ih am'i'* with the zero marking (i.e. without the active *N-*) has *m'ih* as the agent, the utterance of (9-191b) cannot be interpreted as an inverse clause, since it has no overt patient. This fact typically distinguishes the imperative clause from the inverse voice construction. (Compare the use of inverse clauses in "secondary imperatives" below). The appearance of the agent or the performer in an agent-phrase in (9-193) also supports the view that direct imperatives are subjectless grammatically.

That *m'ih/Demung* '2s.masc/Demong' in (9-191c) is not the grammatical object is known from the fact that they are not pronounced with the verb under a single intonation contour as is usually the case with a grammatical object, such as in (9-192), where *isaw* 'machete' is the grammatical object.

However, two verbs have thus far been found to alternatively appear marked with the active *N-* in imperatives, besides being used with a bare form, namely *pakay ~ N-pakay* 'eat' and *tiki' ~ N-tiki'* 'come in, stop by' (lit. 'climb').[27] One possible answer for their frequent use in *N-*forms could be that they are in such common use in daily life:

(9-194)   *N-pakay   bah!*
           ACT-eat   bah
           'Eat, please!'

(9-195)   *N-tiki'   lay!*
           ACT-climb   lay
           'Come in/stop by, come on!'

9.6.2.1   Secondary grammatical means to express imperatives

As has been noticed in Sadock and Zwicky (1985:191): "it is possible to use nearly any sentence (my term: clause) type with the effect of nearly any other, under appropriate circumstances". This holds for Mualang in as fas as an imperative effect can also be achieved by the use of yes/no questions and declarative clauses of any voice type. (9-196 – 9-197) are examples of yes/no questions that are used to get somebody to do something:

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[27] Traditional Mualang longhouses and typical old/traditional houses are relatively high above the ground. People have to climb upon ladders to get into the house. Thus, *N-tiki'* (ACT-climb) 'come in, stop by' (i.e. climb up on the ladders) has to be understood against this background; the verb continues to be used with the derived meaning even though some present-day houses may almost be level with the ground, and thus have no ladders.

(9-196)   *Angkat?* (exhortation)
           Go
           'Should we go/are you ready to go?'

(9-197)   *M'ih   bedaw tin'uk wih?*   (suggestion, order)
           2s.masc not.yet sleep   *wih*
           'Aren't you sleeping yet?' (I want you to go to bed. I am wondering
           why you didn't go to bed yet)

Such imperatives with questions are indirect in nature, i.e. the speaker does not
confront the addressee directly with the necessity of performing the action.
     Declarative clauses too can have an imperative effect under the following
conditions:

-   the agent (whether or not expressed as the subject of the clause) refers to
    the addressee or to the addressee and the speaker;
-   the event is irrealis, i.e. it has not occurred yet;
-   with an "imperative" intonation, the verb receives stronger stress.

No imperative effect has been attested for constructions with the middle *te-*, and the
adversative *kena'*, in which the "agent" has no control over the action. (9-198) – (9-
202) are examples of secondary imperatives, in the shape of respectively an
intransitive (dynamic) stative, an active, an inverse, a passive, and an antipassive
clause.

(9-198)   *Angkat   mah   kita!*
           go   *mah* 1p.incl
           'Let's just get off!'

(9-199)   *M'ih   N-pegay jari' ku!*
           2s.masc   ACT-hold arm   1s
           'You hold my hand!'

(9-200)   *Asa   m'ih   da   jalay, nitaw'   bada'   jalay,*
           whenever 2s.masc LOC   way   not.know   *bada'* way

           pinang   tu'   m'ih   pakay, kulit m'ih   tunu,
           betel.nut this 2s.masc   eat   peel   2s.masc   burn

           naday   m'ih   tesat.
           NEG   2s.masc   lost
           'Whenever you're on the way and don't know the way, this betel nut
           you eat, the peel you burn, that way you won't get lost.'

(9-201)   *Da-bay'   pulay   (ulih   m'ih)!*
           PASS-bring   go.home   by   2s.masc
           'Get (it) brought home (by you).'

(9-202)   *Ba-diri'!*
           ANPAS-self
           'Stand up!'

In comparison with the direct imperatives such declarative clauses with an imperative effect can convey 'mild' imperatives (e.g. a suggestion, advice, or instruction). In accordance with the functional nature of the clause type moreover (see Chapter 7), the speaker can make some particular element of the clause more salient by topicalizing it. This strategy is normally not achievable through the regular direct imperatives which put emphasis solely on the action itself. For instance, with the stative (9-198) the subject is highly involved. With the active (9-199), the agent and the patient are required, with the agent being topicalized. A similar case is found in the inverse (9-200), but with the patient being topicalized. In the passive (9-201), it is the patient alone that is topicalized in relation to the action that is expected to be carried out. With both the inverse and passive constructions the notion of involvement of the addressee as the intended performer of the action is suppressed, which softens the imperative effect. The inverse in (9-199), for example, sounds more like an instruction (or piece of advice) than a command or order. With the inverse and passive constructions, as shown in (9-203 and (9-204) below, the benefactive argument can be foregrounded (that is, the speaker emphasizes the action to be carried out for the benefit of the topicalized element):

(9-203)   *Kami   dulaw   beri'   ka   darah!*
           1p.excl first   give   to   blood
           (= inverse, with topicalized benefactive subject)
           'Give the blood **to us** first!'

(9-204)   *D-am'i'   ka   ay'   (ulih   m'ih)!*
           PASS-take   to   water by   2s.masc
           (= passive, with topicalized (deleted) benefactive subject)
           'Get (for us) the water (by you)!'

Note that we are dealing with "advancements" in (9-203) and (9-204) with the patient *darah* 'blood' and *ay'* 'water' marked with *ka*. In (9-204) the benefactive subject is dropped (zero anaphora).

   Imperatives may be used with some of the illocutionary markers to additionally express the speaker's attitude with respect to the command, order, etc. The illocutionary markers that can be used with imperatives include *wih*, *bah*, *mah*, *lah*, *kah*, *lay*, *ja'*, and *dulaw/law* (see 9.4 for examples and a semantic analysis).

   Different subtypes of imperatives can also be conveyed through the use of several clause-initial particles such as *buh* 'come on' for exhortations and hortative 'let's', *ayuh* for encouragement, *tulung* (lit. 'help') for begging or requesting, *cuba* (lit. 'try') for softening a request. *Buh* can also be used at the beginning or end of the clause. The following are some examples:

(9-205)   *Buh   N-pakay!* (or: *N-pakay buh!*)
           come.on   ACT-eat
           'Come on, eat!' / 'Let's eat!'

(9-206)   *Ayuh   turun!*
          ayuh   descend
          'Come on, come down!'

(9-207)   *Tulung   da-ngkuh   da   jalay!*
          help   PASS-put   LOC   road
          'Can you help putting it on the road!'

(9-208)   *Cuba   wan   kitu'!*
          try   2s.hon   to.here
          'Could you come here!'

9.6.2.2   Prohibitives

Prohibitives are negative imperatives through which the speaker is asking the addressee not to carry out an action. In 9.5 prohibitive negators have been discussed. They are simply applied to any of the imperative forms described above (including the secondary ones). They are *nang* 'don't', a (regular) negative imperative, and modal negators such as *nitaw'* 'can't', 'may not', and *nusah* 'needn't'.

(9-209)   *Kita'   nang ba-laya'!*
          2p   don't ANPAS-quarrel
          'Don't you quarrel!'

(9-210)   *Nitaw'/nusah   angkat!*
          can't.(may.not)/needn't   go
          'You can't (may not)/don't need to go!'

   Besides the word *nang*, the word *adu* is also used with the same meaning. In examples (9-209 and 9-210), it is interchangeable with *nang*. Differences in nuances between their usages are not clear at present.[28]
   The word *mali* is also used in prohibitions. This word is not a negator but contains a negative meaning, namely '(it is) taboo, it is not allowed', e.g.:

(9-211)   [You have to make a decision by yourself now, and if something
           would happen in the future ...]
          Mali   di'   N-tesal.
          not.allowed   2s.fem   ACT-regret
          'You should not regret it!'

9.7   Exclamations

Exclamations are clauses that express the emotional attitude of the speaker. A special construction of exclamations has been noted in 6.1.3, namely with the use of

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[28] Elicitations with various native speakers showed no clues to their differences. My informants always said that those words were just the same.

the nominal prefix *peN-*. Futhermore, exclamations are mostly marked by exclamative particles. These particles appear clause-initially with any clause type and are uttered with a relatively higher pitch and longer duration. Exclamative particles are listed below with their examples:

9.7.1   **Ah**: expressing surprise by the sudden presence of something. The vowel may be lengthened.

(9-212)   *Ah, tu' menyadi' kita,   selamat!*
         Ah this sibling   1p.incl safe
         'Ah, here's our sibling, she's safe!'

If it is uttered with an abrupt stop, *ah* expresses disagreement or rejection, e.g.:

(9-213)   *Ah, ngay   ku!*
         Ah not.want 1s
         'Ah, I won't (I don't want it)!'

9.7.2   **Akay**: expressing (unpleasant) surprise or surprise mixed with disagreement or dislike.

(9-214)   *Akay, naday ku ka'   mati ga'.*
         akay, NEG 1s want die   *ga'*
         'Oh no, I still don't want to die.'

9.7.3   **Ay**: expressing a feeling of surprise.

(9-215)   *Ay! Nang N-padah pia'!*
         ay   don't ACT-say like.that
         'Ah, don't talk like that!'

9.7.4   **Ci'**: expressing indignant disagreement.

(9-216)   *Ci', kala' ku naday N-kelala!*
         ci' ever 1s NEG ACT-recognise
         'Oh no, when didn't I ever recognize (them)!'

9.7.5   **Ha**: expressing surprise by something unexpected.

(9-217)   *Ha! Aday s-iku'   gerama' besay!*
         ha exist ONE-CLASS   crab   big
         'Aha! There's a big crab!'

9.7.6   *Ih*: used to attract the addressee's attention to what is going to be said.

(9-218)   *Ih, kati kula'? Aday sida' N-beri'?*
           Ih how TOA   exist 3p   ACT-give?
           'Hey, how was it with you, my son-in-law? Did it happen that they
           gave you something?'

(9-219)   *Ih, tu' nu'   ku!*
           Ih this POSS 1s
           'Hey, this belongs to me! (not you)'

9.7.7   *Uh*: expressing one's sudden realization of some state of affairs.

(9-220)   *Uh, tu' nu'   wan!*
           uh this belong.to 2s.hon
           'Oh, this belongs to you!'

9.7.8   *Uy*: used when calling somebody to get his/her attention.

(9-221)   *Uy, tu' ku!*
           uy this 1s
           'Hey, it is me!'

9.7.9   *Way*: expressing commiseration.

(9-222)   *Way, kasih bada' di',   wih.*
           way pity *bada'* 2s.fem *wih*
           'Oh dear, what a pity are you!'

9.7.10   *Wih*: expressing pleasant surprise.[29]

(9-223)   *Wih, untung kula'!*
           wih lucky   TOA
           'Wow, lucky you, my son-in-law!'

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[29] This *wih* is different from the illocutionary marker *wih*. As an exclamation, this form
appears clause-initially and is pronounced with a longer and raising intonation. As an
illocutionary marker, the form *wih* occurs after an NP or clause-finally.

10 CLAUSE COMBINATIONS

In previous chapters (especially Chapters 6-9), the discussions have been specifically focused on matters related to simple clauses. In this chapter, I will describe complex construction types that combine two (or more) clauses or verbs. The grammatical means for coherence and semantic-pragmatic inter-clausal relationships will be addressed. Structurally the combinations involve one clause being 'dependent' on another (the main clause), or neither clause being grammatically dependent on the other but both being equally 'independent'. An independent clause can function fully on its own in discourse. A dependent clause cannot function on its own; it needs grammatical, semantic and/or pragmatic information from another clause in order to be understood. For example, clause (a) in (10-1) below, uttered with a non-final clause intonation (marked with a comma), cannot stand in isolation as it depends on clause (b) for its interpretation as a proposition. Clause (b), on the other hand, can fully function by itself, and thus, is an independent, main clause:

(10-1)   (a) *Datay   ka   rumah,* (b) *ia   gaga.*
                come   to   house   3s   happy
                'Arriving home, he was happy.'

The following complex construction types will be discussed in this chapter: Verbal compounds (10.1), Serial verbs (10.2), Complement clauses (10.3), Adverbial clauses (10.4), Relative clauses (10.5), and Coordinate clauses (10.6). Sections 10.2 - 10.5 are concerned with clauses which traditionally are called "subordinate". However, since recently linguists tend to avoid a simple dichotomy of 'subordination' vs. 'coordination', the types of dependent clauses will just be described individually as listed above. [1]

It is common in Mualang to find multi-clausal constructions in which verbs are simply lined up in sequence. In all cases, the verbs involved appear inflected for voice as they do in mono-clausal constructions. Two types of non-final intonation have to be distinguished: 1) intonation which is characteristic of a single clause, i.e. a straight and flat intonation contour without an intonational break between the clauses or verbs, and 2) a flat or slightly rising intonation accompanied by a slight lengthening at the end of the non-final clause. (Note that throughout this grammar an intonation contour such as the latter is marked with a comma). A clause-final intonation (in declarative sentences) on the other hand is normally falling and followed by a pause or stop. To what extent arguments, tense-aspect-modal

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[1] For a discussion, see Haiman and Thompson (1984). Cf. also Givón (2001b, Ch. 18).

information, and semantic interpretation are shared by the different clauses or verbs differ from construction to construction. In the following sections, I will discuss the distinguishing morphosyntactic features and semantics for each construction type, beginning with verbal compounds.

10.1   Verbal compounds

Verbal compounds and how they differ from ordinary verb sequences and serial verbs have been discussed in section 8.2 of Chapter 8. Intonationally the compound is marked by a single intonation contour. Verbal compounds can result in a "lexical union" (in the sense of Noonan (1985:75)), that is, they form a single lexical unit. The most radical ones are seen in compounds of which one or both constituents are precategorial, such as *puntang-panting* (precategorial-do.with.great.effort) 'do something with great effort', *barah-buruh* (precategorial-hurried) 'be in a hurry', *kun'ang-katang* (precategorial-precategorial) 'go back and forth'.

10.2   Serial verbs

Serial-verb constructions (SVCs) in Mualang have the following characteristics:

- a)   Syntactic:
    - a SVC is a combination of two or sometimes three verbs $V_1 V_2 (V_3)$;
    - the series can be continuous ($V_1 V_2 ...$) or discontinuous ($V_1 ... V_2$);
    - verbs in a series are uttered with a non-final intonation, i.e. under a straight-flat intonation contour, with no intervening pause or intonation break, as if it were a single verb;
    - the verbs in the series share one grammatical subject;
    - the verbs in the series share the same tense-aspect-modal information.

- b) Semantic:
    - the verbs in the series are perceived by the speaker as together indicating one complex event, and not two or more distinct events. As such, the verb members that compose the complex event have to express different facets of the event.

The discussion hereafter will be divided accordingly into two parts: the morphosyntax of SVCs (10.2.1) and the semantics of SVCs (10.2.2).

10.2.1   Morphosyntax of SVCs

In examples (10-2) and (10-3) below, the combination of events coded by *datay* 'come' and *peda'* 'to see' are viewed in different ways. Especially in rapid speech, utterances (10-2a) and (10-3) may be extremely hard to distinguish. Although context can provide help, careful observation reveals that the SVC in (10-2a) has clausal intonation similar to that in mono-clausal constructions, i.e. *datay* and *N-peda'* are uttered with a straight-flat intonation, even if there is subject-predicate inversion, as in (10-2b). Semantically, they compose two consecutive facets of one

complex event, that is, the action of 'seeing' was accomplished by 'coming' first to the place of the object. In other words, the total event was perceived as covering the time when the grammatical subject was underway until it was nearby the object. Although the sequence of verbs in (10-3) was also uttered with a non-final clause intonation, in contrast to (10-2a), it showed prosodic features of multi-clausal constructions, i.e. V$_1$ *datay* 'come' was pronounced with a bit longer rising intonation (marked with a comma), separating it from the second clause. The event 'see' occured prior to 'come', and both were distinct events. Sentence (10-3) is therefore a non-serial construction.

(10-2)   a. *Ia datay N-peda'   utay nya'.*
              3s come   ACT-see   thing that
              'He came and saw (came to see) that thing.'

           b. *Datay ia   N-peda'   utay   nya'.*
              come 3s   ACT-see thing   that
              'He CAME and saw (CAME to see) that thing.'

(10-3)   *Ia datay, N-peda'   utay   nya'.*
           3s come   ACT-see thing that
           'He came (closer), (after) seeing that thing.'

   Tense-aspect-modal (TAM) information, as well as negation, applies to the whole SVC, but does not do so in a non-SVC. Thus, comparing (10-2) and (10-3) with (10-4) and (10-5) respectively, it is clear that the negation in non-SVC such as in (10-5) has scope over only one verb and not over all the verbs as it does with the verbs in a SVC such as in (10-4).

(10-4)   *Ia naday datay N-peda'   utay nya'.*
           3s NEG   come   ACT-see   thing that
           'He did not come and see (come to see) that thing.'

(10-5)   *Ia naday datay, N-peda'   utay   nya'.*
           3s NEG   come   ACT-see   thing that
           'He did not come (closer), (after) seeing that thing.'

Another pair of examples in which TAM markers have scope over both verbs in a SVC and where they obviously do not, is the following:

(10-6)   *Ia turun   N-jala   agi'.*
           3s descend ACT-net   again
           'He came down to go net-fishing again.'

(10-7)   *Baru' ia turun   ka ay'   tih, ka' N-pasaw   bubu.*
           then 3s descend to water *tih* want ACT-set.up k.o.fish.trap
           'Then he went down to the water, wanting to set up a fish trap.'

Verbs in SVCs always share at least one argument. Except for the cause-effect SVC (as in (10-10); see below for further details), serialized verbs share the same subject:

a) Subject-V$_{intransitive}$-V$_{intransitive}$:

(10-8)   *Laki   ia tay   mati nyaw pulay   idup agi'.*
          husband 3s REL   die   PERF come.home   live again
          'Her husband who had been dead has come home/back to life again.'

b) Subject-V$_{intransitive}$-V$_{transitive}$-Object:

(10-9)   *Tay laki datay ngeN-bay'   keban   keluarga.*
          REL male come   ACT-bring   all.kind   family
          'The male (i.e. the bridegroom) came bringing all of his relatives.'

c) Subject-V$_{transitive}$-Object-V$_{intransitive}$:

(10-10)   *Ia N-tipah   gelas labuh ka tanah.*
          3s ACT-hit.aside glass fall   to ground
          'He pushed the glass (so it fell) to the ground.'

d) Subject-V$_{transitive}$-Object$_1$-V$_{transitive}$-Object$_2$:

(10-11)   *Ku ka'   aba'   apay N-gusung   wan   kia'.*
          1s FUT/want   follow father ACT-meet   2s.hon thither.near
          'I am going to/want to follow father to meet you there.'

In the cause-effect serialization of (10-10), the object *gelas* 'glass' of the first verb serves also as the logical subject of the second verb, *labuh* 'fall'. Although the logical subject of V$_2$ is not coreferential with the syntactic subject of V$_1$, the event coded in V$_2$ is in fact still associated with the subject of V$_1$ as a causer.

In (10-11) each verb in the series, namely *aba'* 'meet' and *N-gusung* 'ACT-meet' has its own object, *apay* 'father' and *wan* '2s.hon', respectively. Both verbs share the same syntactic subject *ku* '1s'.

As in ordinary single clauses, in SVCs transitive verbs are always inflected for voice, in order to keep the logical subject of the verbs in the series coreferential with each other. The logical subject of the second verb is ellipsed. In (10-9 and 10-11) the second verb takes the active *N-*, which also serves to code the logical subject of the second verb as an agent. The active *N-* marking justifies the existence of the object. In the following example, the *da*-passive is used instead to mark the subject of the second verb as a patient:

(10-12)   *Ia mati da-bunuh.*
          3s die   PASS-kill
          'He died of being murdered.'

Verb marking with inverse voice does not occur in a "normal" SVC except when the object of V₂ is clefted for contrastive purposes, as in (10-13) below, in which – different from (10-2a) - the object *utay nya'* 'that thing' is clefted:

(10-13)   *Utay nya' tay ia datay peda'.*
            thing that   REL 3s come see
            'It was that thing that he came to look at.'

When clefted, the object is moved to clause-initial position, thus preceding the subject and the serial verb. This shows the high structural integration of the verbs in the SVC. It is in fact one of the typical characteristics of SVCs cross-linguistically (see also Payne 1997:308), which distinguishes a SVC from a non-SVC. For example, there is no way to cleft the object of *N-peda'* 'ACT-see' in the multi-clausal sentence (10-3) to the front of the entire construction: **Utay nya' tay ia datay, N-peda'.*

As regards the number of verbs in a SVC, there are several instances in my corpus of three consecutive verbs, e.g.:

(10-14)   *Turun   ba-jalay   N-sumpit,   senua   tih*
            descend ANPAS-road   ACT-blowpipe 3d   *tih*

            ba-malam   ka   kampung ....
            ANPAS-night   to   village
            '(After) going down walking blowpiping (animals), the two of them spent the night in a village....'

(10-15)   *... Putung Kempat   te-puntang-panting*
            P   K   MID-(precategorial)-do.with.great.effort

            anyut   da-bay'   ulak   ay'.
            swept.away PASS-bring   eddy   water
            '... Putung Kempat was bumped around badly, swept away by an eddy of water.'

10.2.2   Semantics of SVCs

Verbs in SVCs refer to components of one complex event, the constituent parts having a particular semantic relationship to each other. As thus far attested in the corpus, the semantic relationships in Mualang SVCs may be qualified as *sequential*, *simultaneous*, *cause-effect*, *state-cause*, *directional*, and *adverbial (manner/aspect) serialization*. However, a sequential or a simultaneous logical relationship of one event to another is also apparent in the four latter types. Thus, one may find overlap in several types of semantic relationships. For example, a cause-effect SVC implies two sequential events. Nevertheless, in each distinguished type a meaning or interpretation other than sequentiality or simultaneousness may be more salient. Each of these types will be described individually below.

10.2.2.1   Sequential serialization

In a sequential serialization, the overall scene of one complex event is described, in which V_1 refers to the initial action or state that precedes the action or state referred to by V_2. The examples (10-2a) and (10-6), presented again in (10-16) and (10-17), show such a relationship.

(10-16)   *Ia   datay   N-peda'   utay   nya'.*
        3s   come   ACT-see   thing   that
        'He came and saw (came to see) that thing.'

(10-17)   *Ia   turun   N-jala   agi'.*
        3s   descend   ACT-net   again
        'He came down to go net-fishing again.'

Although a purposive interpretation could be inferred, a sequential serialization significantly differs from a purposive constructions, marked for instance by *ngaw* 'for' as in (10-18). Here the purposive part (*ngaw*) *N-pinta' di'* '(for) proposing to you' has not happened yet, whereas the event *datay* 'come' has. In (10-19), however, the entire event in the serial construction has occurred:

(10-18)   *Kami   nyaw   datay   ngaw   N-pinta'   di'.*
        1p.excl   PERF   come   for   ACT-ask   2s.fem
        'We have come to propose to you.'

(10-19)   *Jadi   tu',   telany'ur   kami   nyaw   datay*
        so   this,   already.happened   1p.excl   PERF   come

        N-pinta'   di'.
        ACT-ask   2s.fem
        'So, well, it already happened that we have come and proposed to you.'

10.2.2.2   Simultaneous serialization

In a simultaneous serialization, components of the complex event coded in the verbs in series take place at the same time, e.g.:

(10-20)   *Datay   urang   laki   tu'   N-bay'   keban   keluarga.*
        come   person   male   this   ACT-bring   all.kind   family
        'The man **came** bringing the whole family.'

(10-21)   *Buh,   ba-jalay   N-sumpit.*
        come.on   ANPAS-road   ACT-blowpipe
        'Let's have a blowpiping walk.' (i.e. have a walk while blowpiping)

(10-22)   *"Ngapa   naday   angkat?",   jaku'   inay   N-anu'   ia.*
       why   NEG   go   say   mother reprimand 3s
       '"Why didn't you go?", said mother reprimanding her.'

10.2.2.3   Cause-effect serialization

In a cause-effect serialization, V_1 expresses a cause while V_2 the effect. As shown in the example (10-10), repeated below as (10-23), the action *N-tipah* 'ACT-hit.aside' causes the object *gelas* 'glass' to fall *labuh*. More examples are provided in (10-24 – 10-26).

(10-23)   *Ia N-tipah   gelas   labuh   ka   tanah.*
       3s ACT-hit.to.side   glass   fall   to   ground
       'He pushed aside the glass (so it fell) to the ground.'

(10-24)   *Nyelipan   da-palu'   ia   mati.*
       centipede   PASS-strike   3s   die
       'The centipede was striken dead by him.'

(10-25)   *Nyiur   labuh   pecah.*
       coconut   fall   broken
       'The coconut fell and broke.'

(10-26)   *Nemiak   labuh   te-duduk.*
       child   fall   MID-sit
       'The child fell in a sitting position.'

10.2.2.4   State-cause serialization

A state-cause serialization expresses the reverse situation of a cause-effect SVC: V_1 describes the state (or ongoing action as the case may be) and V_2 the cause that made the subject be in the state (or performing the action), e.g.:

(10-27)   *Ia rari   takut.*
       3s run   afraid
       'He ran away being afraid.'

(10-28)   *Buah   ntawa'   nya'   da-tiki'   sida',   da-am'i',   labuh*
       fruit   k.o.fruit   that   PASS-climb   3p   PASS-take   fall

       da-buay   ka   tanah.
       PASS-throw.away   to   ground
       'The *ntawa'* tree was climbed by them, the fruit was taken, (and) fell being thrown away to the ground.'

(10-29)   *Nyelipan   mati da-palu'.*
           centipede   die   PASS-beat
           'The centipede was dead as a result of being beaten.'

10.2.2.5   Directional serialization

Motion verbs V_2 such as *terbay* 'fly (away)', *rari* 'run (away)', *pulay* 'go/come home', and *turun* 'descend', *tiki'* 'ascend' add a directional meaning to V_1. For some examples, consider:

(10-30)   *Tu' babi, bay' pulay   ulih m'ih!*
           this pig   bring go.home   by   2s.masc
           'This is (some) pork, take (it) home!' (lit. '(it) be brought home by you')

(10-31)   *Kudi'   ngeN-bay'   dawun   terbay.*
           wind   ACT-bring   leaf   fly
           'The wind blew the leaves away.' (lit. '… brought the leaves flying')

(10-32)   *Tekanyat,   ia   N-lumpat   turun.*
           startled   3s   ACT-jump   descend
           'Being startled, he jumped down.'

10.2.2.6   Adverbial serialization

In adverbial serialization V_2 modifies V_1 in terms of manner and aspectual information. In manner serialization (10.2.2.6.1) V_2 explains the way V_1 takes place or is carried out. In aspectual serialization (10.2.2.6.2) V_2 indicates the internal temporal progress of V_1.

10.2.2.6.1   Manner serialization

Manner serialization is found, if V_2 is an intransitive verb. Those with adjectival-like meanings are the most likely to occur as V_2 (examples (10-33 – 10-35)), but other verbs occur as well (such as in (10-36)).

(10-33)   *Arus ba-kerja   keras kita'!*
           must ANPAS-work   hard   2p
           'You have to work hard you all!'

(10-34)   *Ngapa m'ih   datay   lawun?*
           why   2s.masc come   slow
           'Why did you come late?'

(10-35)   *Ngapa   di'   tin'uk   mati?*
        why   2s.fem   sleep   dead
        'Why did you sleep like a dead person?' (lit. 'Why you sleep dead?')

(10-36)   *Ka'   N-kisah   kati   cara   ba-uma*
        want   ACT-story   how   way   ANPAS-rice.field

        ba-pin'ah – pin'ah.
        ANPAS-move-RED
        '(I) want to tell you about how to do "slash and burn cultivation".' (lit.
        'I want to tell about how to do rice field work by moving around (from
        one place to another)')

10.2.2.6.2 *Aspectual serialization*

Aspectual meanings are mostly expressed through the use of modals (see Chapter 8). However, cases of aspectual meanings have been found to be expressed via serialization using *mis* 'finished' in V_2 position, and *pulay* 'go/come home' in V_1 position. In (10-37), for example, the use of *mis* expresses the completeness of the event:

(10-37)   *N-pakay   mis,   ia   angkat.*
        ACT-eat   finished   3s   go
        'After having finished eating, he started off.'

Motion verbs are frequently found in V_1 position in sequential and simultaneous serialization. In this respect, one motion verb, namely *pulay* 'go/come home', is worth noting as its use in SVC is rather different semantically, that is, it can encode several meanings: sequential, simultaneous and 'completive-reverse' order:

(10-38)   *Ia   pulay   N-am'i'   ay'.*
        3s   go/come.home   ACT-take   water
        (a) 'He came home to get water.' (= sequential)
        (b) 'He came home from getting water.' (=completive-reverse order)

(10-39)   *Ia   pulay   N-bay'   ay'.*
        3s   go/come.home   ACT-bring   water
        (a) 'He came home carrying water.' (= simultaneous)
        (b) 'He came home from carrying water.' (=completive-reverse order)

(10-40)   *Pulay   N-ketaw,   tay   laki*
        go/come.home   N-harvest   RELmale

        N-ma'   padi.
        ACT-carry.on.one's.back   uncooked.rice
        'Coming home from harvesting, the male ones were carrying rice on their back.' (=completive-reverse order)

The sequential (10-38a) and simultaneous readings (10-39a) have been addressed previously. Our concern here is the "completive-reverse order" reading in (10-38b) and (10-39b) and (10-40), in which, even though it is in V₁ position, *pulay* expresses an action carried out after completing V₂, translatable as "come home/back from doing V₂". Intonationally there is a slight difference: in sequential and simultaneous readings, *pulay* and V₂ have their own (primary) stress, and this is a typical intonation contour of SVCs. In the completive-reverse order reading, however, *pulay* is uttered together with V₂ under a single intonation contour with a single primary stress on V₂. The latter contour is similar to that of a modal auxiliary with its main verb. Another example of the "completive-reverse order" reading is also seen in *dani tin'uk* (wake.up-sleep) 'wake up (from sleeping)'.

10.2.3   Cases of grammaticalization via SVCs

As noted in Chapter 5, the following formatives can function as verbs and also as a preposition and/or a connector: *aba'* 1) 'follow', 2) 'and', *ngusung* 1) 'meet' (morphologically *N-gusung* 'ACT-meet'), 2) 'with', *ngaw* 1) 'use', 2) 'with', *nuna'* 1) 'follow (from behind)' (morphologically *N-tuna'* 'ACT-follow'), 2) 'according to', and *sampay* 1) 'arrive', 2) 'until'. Their use in sequential and simultaneous SVCs shows how the (meaning of the) prepositions may have originated:

(10-41)   *Ku **aba'**   apay N-gusung   wan   kia'.*
           1s follow/and   father ACT-meet   2s.hon thither.near
           a) 'I follow father to meet you there.'
           b) 'Father and I (will) meet you there.'

(10-42)   *Ku ka'   ba-ran'aw   **N-gusung**   m'ih.*
           1s want ANPAS-visit   ACT-meet   2s.masc
           a) 'I want to visit and see you.'
           b) 'I want to go visiting with you.'

(10-43)   *Sida' N-ili'   **ngaw**   peraw.*
           3p   ACT-go.downstreams   use   praw
           a) 'They went downstream using a proa.'
           b) 'They went downstream with a proa.'

(10-44)   *Sida' angkat **N-tuna'**   dany'i   ia.*
           3p   go   ACT-follow   promise   3s
           a) 'They started off following his promise.'
           b) 'They started off according to his promise.'

(10-45)   *Ia rari **sampay**   da   rumah.*
           3s run arrive   LOC   house
           a) 'He/she ran reaching home.'
           b) 'He/she ran until he/she was at home'

In Chapter 5 several morphosyntactic features were shown that accompany the verbs in bold above when they function as verbs and as prepositions or connectors. *Aba'*

and *ngaw* are of special interest as they can be used in various functions. *Aba'* can function both at the phrasal and clausal level (see sections 5.2.2 and 10.6.1.1 of the present chapter). *Ngaw* as a preposition marks the following NP as instrument or benefactive (see section 5.2.1), whereas as a subordinator it marks purposive clauses (10.4.4 below).

10.3   Complement clauses

This section will describe major types of complement clauses in Mualang. A prototypical complement clause is defined in Payne (1997:313, following Noonan 1985) as "a clause that functions as an argument (subject or object) of some other clause." Syntactic forms of complement clauses in relation to the matrix/main clauses vary depending on their structural and semantic integration. Some linguists view the possible kinds of integration as scalar or as constituting a continuum (cf. Payne 1997:314 and Givón 2001a, b). For the current purpose, I have adopted the idea of "complexity continuum" discussed in Payne (1997:313-315). According to Payne, complement clauses can fall somewhere on a *non-finite – finite complement* continuum depending on the degree of structural integration – hence conceptual integration – of the complement clause into the matrix clause. For Mualang, major subtypes of complement clauses are roughly outlined as follows (PCU (taken from Givón 2001b) stands for verbs of "perception, cognition and utterance"):

Non-finite Complements   Finite Complements

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├──────────────────────────────────────────────────┤
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    Nominalized verb–Manipulation verb-type–Modality verb-type–PCU verb-type

Finite complements have formal characteristics of independent clauses, while non-finite complements are less independent and are grammatically reduced in some way. Their possible manifestations in Mualang will be described in subsection 10.3.1. After that, 10.3.2 will deal with the distribution of complement clauses within clauses. Finally, 10.3.3 will highlight similarities and differences between complement clauses and serial verbs.

10.3.1   Finite and Non-finite complements

10.3.1.1   Finite complements

Finite complements in Mualang have the following characteristics:

  a) The complement clause is uttered under an intonation contour separated from its main or matrix verb. Typically, the matrix verb, which precedes the complement clause, is pronounced with a bit prolonged, rather flat or slightly rising intonation contour;

b) The complement clause is like an independent clause: it has its own subject, which needs not be coreferential with that of the matrix clause, and it has its own separate tense-aspect-modal information.

As an illustration, consider example (10-46) (complement clauses are in brackets):

(10-46)   Subject   Verb   Object-complement
           Ku   *N-dinga*   [*ia   udah   datay*].
           1s   ACT-hear   3s PERF   come

           ⟨‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾⟩ ⟨‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾⟩
           main (matrix) clause   complement clause
           'I heard that he has come.'

Note that the grammatical subject of a finite complement clause may not surface syntactically due to zero anaphora (see section 9.1.3). However the intonational features as explained above still hold, e.g.:

(10-47)   *Ku N-dinga*   [*udah   datay*].
           1s ACT-hear   PERF   come

           ⟨‾‾‾‾‾→ ⟨‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾→
           matrix clause   complement clause
           'I heard that he has come.'

Finite complements normally appear without a complementizer as complements of verbs of perception, cognition and utterance (PCU) such as *peda'* 'see', *tilik* 'observe', *ipa'* 'spy, peek', *pikir* 'think', *kira* 'suspect', *padah* 'say, tell', *dinga* 'hear', *taw'* 'know'. Other examples are:

(10-48)   *Ari   jawuh ia **N-peda'** [aday   tepayan*].
           from far   3s ACT-see   exist jar
           'From a distance he saw that there was a jar.'

(10-49)   *Baru' ia **ba-pikir**   [N-pulah   tanah*].
           then   3s ANPAS-think   ACT-make   soil
           'Then he had a thought of creating (men) from soil.'

(10-50)   ... ***nitaw'***   [*ia anyut   k=ili'   jara'*].
                not.know   3s swept.away   to=downstream   *jara'*
                'She didn't know that she was really swept away downstream by water.'

Verbs denoting a mental/emotional state can also take a complement clause as an object of their mental/emotional state, e.g.: [2]

(10-51) *Sida' ia' **gaga** [m'ih   datay].*
 3p   that glad 2s.masc come
 'They were glad that you came.'

(10-52) *Apay **takut** [burung   terbay   rari].*
 father afraid bird   fly   run
 'Father was afraid that the bird would fly away.'

(10-53) ***Pedih*** [kita' suayak].*
 sad   2p   divorced
 'It's sad that you (two) got divorced'

Verbs of cognition and utterance also take *direct* and *indirect quotes* as their finite complements:

(10-54) *Ia pikir [ila' (ia) datay].*   (= Indirect quote)
 3s think later (3s) come
 'He thought that he would come later.'

(10-55) *Apay   Aluy   N-umung   kadiri'   [ka'   pulay].*
 father Aluy   ACT-talk   alone   want   go.home
                                          (= Indirect quote)
 'Aluy's father said to himself that he wanted to go home.'

(10-56) *Puyang Belawan   mulai   ba-pikir:*
 P   B   begin   ANPAS-think

 "[Kati mah   aba' Putung Kempat   tu'?]" (= Direct quote)
   how *mah* with P   K   this
 'Puyang Belawan began to think: "How is it with Putung Kempat?"

(10-57) *Sa' urang-urang   Buah Kana   ngeN-bay':*
 3p   person-RED   B   K   ACT-summon

 "[Angkat   mah   kita!"]   (= Direct quote)
   go   *mah* 1p.incl
 'They, the people of Buah Kana, summoned: "Let's just go off."'

A direct quote is distinguished from an indirect one by its pronoun (usually a first person form, such as *kita* in (10-57)) and intonation, which normally imitates the original statement.

Similar to indirect quotes are "indirect questions". Indirect questions function as finite complements of cognition and utterance verbs. They can, but need not, be introduced with a question word. For illustrative examples the reader is referred to section 9.6.1.4 of Chapter 9.

10.3.1.2   Non-finite complements

Non-finite complements are "more tightly knit, less independent, less like a separate clause from the matrix clause than are finite complements" (Payne 1997:315). In Mualang the following specific characteristics apply:

a) In contrast to finite complements, in non-finite complement clauses, the clausal complement is uttered under a tight intonation contour with the matrix verb, i.e. not separated from the matrix clause; such a contour is comparable to that between a verb and its object noun phrase in a single clause;
b) The verb of the complement clause is independently marked for voice;
c) The subject of the complement clause is highly constrained. It is zero-coded (ellipsed) if corefential with the subject or the object of the matrix clause, or left unspecified (see further explanation below with respect to each subtype of non-finite complements);
d) Tense-aspect-modal information of the complement clause is subject to constraints or left unspecified.

Three subtypes of non-finite complements will be discussed below: a) non-finite complements of a manipulation verb-type; b) non-finite complements with a modality verb-type, and; c) nominalized complements.

a)   Non-finite complements of a manipulation verb-type

Typically in manipulation verbs the agent subject manipulates the patient object to perform something.[3] Examples of such verbs are *asuh* 'cause', *suruh* 'order; cause', *pukung/paksa* 'force', *pulah* 'make', *uti'* 'disturb, jokingly challenge', *bay'* 'call for, summon', *pinta'* 'ask for', *bantu* 'help', *ajar* 'teach'. When taking a clausal complement as its object-complement, the (logical) subject of the complement clause functions as the grammatical object of the matrix clause. The complement-clause subject itself is not expressed grammatically.[4] Its zero-coding is due to the subject being coreferential with the object of the matrix clause. As illustrated in (10-58) below, *Belang Baw* serves as the grammatical object of the matrix clause and the logical subject or agent of the complement clause:

(10-58)   Subject   Verb   Object
           Sida'   *N-suruh*   *Belang Baw*   [*N-am'i'*   *api*].
           3p   ACT-order   B   B   ACT-take   fire

           ⟵—————————————————⟶   ⟵————————⟶
                    Matrix clause   Complement clause
           'They ordered Belang Baw to get fire.'

The grammatical object status of the constituent like *Belang Baw* in (10-58) is evidenced by: 1) a tight intonation contour between the matrix verb and the object,

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[3] For further explanation on manipulation verbs, see, e.g. Givón (2001a:151-153); cf. also Noonan (1985:125-127).
[4] Cf. "paratactic complements" in Noonan (1985:55-56, 76-82).

and 2) the possibility for the object to become the grammatical subject in the passive or inverse clause (see 10.3.2 below).

Typical causative constructions with the verbs *asuh* or *suruh* are constructed in such a way, e.g.:

(10-59) *Tu' N-asuh   ku [N-rut   kita']*.
this ACT-cause   1s ACT-forbid   2p
'This causes me to forbid you all.' (i.e. 'This is why I forbid you all.')

(10-60) *Nya' N-suruh   ia [da-sebut   Belang Ping'ang]*.
that ACT-cause   3s PASS-mention   B   P
'That causes him to be called Belang Pinggang.' (i.e. 'That's why he was called Belang Pinggang.')

More examples:

(10-61) *Sida' N-uti'   ipar   ia' N-inum.*
3p   ACT-jokingly.challenge   sibling.in.law   that ACT-drink
'They challenged their sister-in-law to drink.'

(10-62) *Ia N-paksa   diri' ba-kerja – ba-uma.*
3s ACT-force   self   ANPAS-work – ANPAS-rice.field
'He forced himself to do all kinds of household work (lit. to work and work in the rice field).'

Besides taking a finite complement (see 10.3.1.1 above), verbs of perception, cognition and utterance (PCU) can also take a non-finite complement in the same way as do the manipulation verbs, e.g.:

(10-63) *Sida' naday kala' N-peda'   m'ih   [datay]*.
3p   NEG   ever   ACT-see   2s.masc   come
'They've never seen you come.'

Example (10-63) differs from, for example, (10-46) in that the subject of the complement clause is left unexpressed: grammatically *m'ih* '2s.masc' is part of the matrix clause, that is, its object. Semantically, in non-finite complements with such "manipulative" PCU verbs the (logical) subject of the complement clause is in focus, whereas in the finite ones (e.g. 10-46), the entire event referred to by the complement clause is in focus. Also, aspectual and modal information often do not appear in non-finite complements. Another example of non-finite complement of PCU verbs is given below:

(10-64) *Seniku' N-dinga   gu'   Apay Aji [N-kumay   ukuy]*.
3d   ACT-hear   sound   father haji ACT-call   dog
'Each of the two of them heard the voice of Mr. Haji calling a dog.'

b)   Non-finite complements with a modality verb-type

The term modality verb is taken from Givón (2001a:149ff). Modality verbs include verbs expressing "modal attitude" (such as volition, intent, attempt, ability, necessity and probability) and aspectuality (initiation, duration, achievement, and termination). Examples of modality verbs in Mualang are *ka'* 'want', *keran* 'like (to do)', *ngay* 'not want/will', *cuba* 'try', *perlu* 'need', *mulay* 'begin', *balang* 'fail, cancel', *mis* 'finished', *p-amis* 'finish', *lepa* 'rest'. When such verbs take a clausal complement, the subject of the complement does not surface and is always coreferential with that of the matrix clause. For example:

(10-65)   *Ia   keran   [N-pakay   pekasam]*.
           3s   like   ACT-eat   pickled/fermented.fish
           'He is fond of eating pickled fish.'

(10-66)   *Ku N-cuba   [N-sepu   (kesuling) ja']*.
           1s ACT-try   ACT-blow   (flute)   ja'
           'I am just trying to play (it/the flute).'

(10-67)   *Seniku'   balang   [ba-tunang]*.
           3d   fail   ANPAS-engagement
           'The two failed to get engaged.'

(10-68)   *Sida'   ba-lepa   [ba-rin'as]*.
           3p   ANPAS-rest ANPAS-struggle
           'They stopped fighting/struggling.'

Verbs denoting emotional or mental senses, such as *takut* 'afraid (of)', *gaga* 'glad', *riu* 'long for', may also behave like modality verbs in taking a complement clause. In the following examples (10-69 – 71) the subjects of the matrix and complement clause are coreferential, hence it does not surface in the complement clause:

(10-69)   *Miak   ia   takut   [pulay]*.
           child   that afraid   go.home
           'The child is afraid of going home.'

(10-70)   *Sida'   ia'   gaga [b-ulih   jelu]*.
           3p   that   glad ANPAS-get   animal
           'They are glad to get animals.'

(10-71)   *Ia nyaw   leju'   [da-tanya']*.
           3s PERF   bored   PASS-ask
           'He was tired of being asked.'

Note that these cases are different from (10-51 – 10-53) in which the subjects of matrix and complement clauses are not coreferential.

c)   Nominalized complements

Maximal reduction takes place in a nominalized complement, in which the verb always appears with the subject and tense-aspect-modal information unspecified or unexpressed. In a nominalization type construction, the event is semantically nominalized without nominalizing morphology. The verbal form is retained, that is, it may be prefixed for voice. For example:

(10-72)   [***B-uma***   *tu'],   reti   nya'   [N-pulah   uma*
　　　　　ANPAS-rice.field   TOP   meaning   that   ACT-make   rice.field

　　　　　ngaw   N-tam'ak   padi].
　　　　　for   plant   rice
　　　　　'As for rice cultivation, it means making a rice field for planting rice.'

(10-73)   [***N-tarik***   *isaw-tangkin*   *N-ancam*   *urang*]
　　　　　ACT-draw   machete-k.o.machete   ACT-threaten   person

　　　　　kena'   adat ....
　　　　　afflicted   customs
　　　　　'Taking out machetes and threatening another person results in a customary fine ....'

(10-74)   [***N-any'ung***   *benih   ka   uma*   *tay   da-tugal*]   *arus*
　　　　　ACT-escort   seed   to   rice.field   REL   PASS-dibble   must

　　　　　lam-lam.
　　　　　morning-RED
　　　　　'Taking seeds to the rice field that is going to be dibbled has to be done in the morning.'

(10-75)   [***Butang***   *tu'],   da-temu   ka'   ka laki*
　　　　　 committing.adultery   TOP   PASS-meet   want   to husband

　　　　　bini   urang.
　　　　　wife   person
　　　　　'As for *butang* (committing adultery), it consists of (lit. is found) wanting to (have an affair with) the husband or wife of another person.'

10.3.2   Distribution of complements within clauses

As seen in various examples presented above, complement clauses occupy syntactic functions in the clause analogous to a noun phrase, e.g. as a subject (as in (10-73)) or

an object (as in (10-46)). As with noun phrases, some complement types show variation with respect to their position within the clause. The most flexible position is found in finite complements of PCU-type verbs; the complement clause may appear after the matrix clause, as in (10-46), presented again below as (10-76), or clause-initially before the matrix clause, as in (10-77):[5]

(10-76)   *Ku N-dinga   [ia udah   datay]*.
           1s ACT-hear   3s PERF   come
           'I heard that he has come.'

(10-77)   *[Ia udah   datay]   ku N-dinga*.
           3s PERF   come   1sACT-hear
           '(That) he has come, is what I heard.'

The difference between (10-76) and (10-77) is a matter of focus: in the former it is the event in the matrix clause that gets emphasized, whereas in the latter it is the other way around. Example (10-78) below displays another case, in which the subject of the complement clause is topicalized and the rest of the complement clause appears after the matrix clause.

(10-78)   *Ia,   ku N-dinga   [udah datay]*.
           3s   1s ACT-hear   PERF come
           'As for him, I heard (he) has come.'

   In intransitive clauses the word orders SV and VS are commonly found (see section 7.2.6 and 9.2). A complement may occupy the subject slot as in the following examples which differ in focus in the same way as (10-76) and (10-77):

(10-79)   a.   *[N-tugal   tu']   ba-guna*.
                 ACT-dibble   this ANPAS-benefit
                 'This dibbling (of holes) is useful.'

           b.   *Ba-guna   [N-tugal   tu']*.
                 ANPAS-benefit   ACT-dibble   this
                 'It's useful this dibbling (of holes).'

(10-80)   a.   *[Turun   urang   laki] da-peda'   ia*.
                 descend person   male PASS-see   3s
                 'That a man descended (from the sky) was seen by her.'

           b.   *Da-peda'   ia [kekura'   N-sepu   kesuling]*.
                 PASS-see   3s turtle   ACT-blow   flute
                 'It was seen by him that the turtle was playing the flute.'

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[5] It is also possible to interpret the clause *ku N-dinga* '1s-ACT.hear' in (10-77) as an "afterthought" instead of a matrix clause. This would explain why one does not find the expected inverse construction here.

Note that the positional variation may also occur within the complement clause itself: in (10-80a) the order is VS (*turun* (=V) *urang laki* (=S)), whereas in (10-80b) it is SV(O) (*kekura'* (=S) *nyepu* (=V) *kesuling* (=O)).

The post-matrix-clause position of the complement clause is fixed in the *aday*-existential-presentative construction, due to the nature of this construction:[6]

(10-81)   *Ia N-peda'   aday* [*tajaw   anyut* ....]
            3s ACT-see   exist   jar   swept.away
            'He saw there was a jar being swept away (by water) ....'

(10-82)   *Aday   urang*   [*datay*].
            Exist   person   come
            'There was somebody coming.'

(10-81) is also an example of a complement which serves at the same time as a matrix verb for another complement within the same construction. In the example *aday* 'exist' constitutes the complement for the clause *ia N-peda'* '3s-ACT.see' and simultaneously becomes the matrix verb for *tajaw anyut* 'jar swept away'.

Complements of manipulation verbs, as described in example (10-58), are invariable with respect to their position, whatever the voice of the matrix clause. When passivized, inversed, or clefted, it is only the grammatical object of the matrix clause – which is also the logical subject of the complement – that becomes the clause-initial subject (of the matrix clause), but the complement clause itself remains where it was in the active clause. Thus, (10-58), presented again as (10-83a), can be passivized or inversed as follows:

(10-83)   a. *Sida' N-suruh   Belang Baw* [*N-am'i'   api*].
                3p   ACT-order   B   B   ACT-take   fire
                                              (= Active voice)
                'They ordered Belang Baw to get the fire.'

           b. *Belang Baw   da-suruh   (sida')* [*N-am'i'   api*].
                B   B   ACT-order   (3p)   ACT-take   fire
                                              (= Passive voice)
                'Belang Baw was ordered (by them) to get the fire.'

           c. *Belang Baw   sida' suruh   [N-am'i'   api*].
                B   B   3p   ACT-order   ACT-take   fire
                                              (= Inverse voice)
                'Belang Baw they ordered to get the fire.'

           d. *Belang Baw   tay   sida' suruh   [N-am'i'   api*].
                B   B   REL   3p   ACT-order   ACT-take   fire
                                              (= Clefted)
                'It's Belang Baw that they ordered to get the fire.'

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[6] For *aday*-existential constructions, see section 6.3.

Such a mechanism is not found with non-finite complements of PCU verbs, in which the whole complement is moved, e.g. to subject position when passivized, as in the examples in (10-80).

10.3.3   Differences between constructions with non-finite complements and serial verb constructions

Non-finite complements as described in 10.3.1.2 show structural overlapping with serial verb constructions (SVCs). They also share intonational similarity. For example, both constructions may have Subject-Verb-Object-Verb-Object structure (see (10-83a) and (10-11)). Complements used with modality verbs may share the same subject (e.g. 10-65 – 10-68), a typical feature of SVCs. There being no morphosyntactic marking on the verb, their difference is not always transparent in Mualang. Although in many cases the type of the verbs used disambiguates the two types of constructions, the contrast remains subtle in some cases. For example, the utterance verb *jaku'* 'say' can take a complement clause (10-84) but can also be used in a SVC (10-85):

(10-84)   *"Pulay,   m'ih!",   jaku'   ia.*
      go.home   2s.masc   say   3s
      'Go home, you!' she said.'

(10-85)   *"Aw',   nganti'   upa   sarang   renguang,   buay   ka*
      well   if   like   nest   k.o. anthropod   throw   to

      tanah!"   jaku'   Petara   Senta   N-anu'   sedua   ah.
      ground   say   deity   S   ACT-angry   3d   *ah*
      '"Well, if it (your baby) looks like a nest of anthropods, (then just) throw it away to the ground!", said God Senta reprimanding the two of them.'

Nevertheless, the semantic clue that SVCs depict one single complex event is in most cases sufficient to identify their difference. In (10-85), for example, a SVC interpretation is plausible since the events referred to by both verbs depict one single situation, that is, that *Petara Senta* was reprimanding them and that he did this by saying something angrily. In contrast, a complement clause tends to add a separate assertion to its matrix clause and does not possess a particular semantic relationship to it as do the SVCs.

10.4   Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses are those that function like an adverb (Thompson and Longacre 1985). They are subordinate clauses that modify a verb phrase or a whole clause. A typology of adverbial clauses has been provided, among others, in Givón (2001b) and Thompson and Longacre (1985). The latter source (1985:172) mentions three devices used to form adverbial clauses: subordinating morphemes (consisting of grammatical morphemes with no lexical meaning and those with lexical content), special verb forms, and word order. All three are represented in Mualang, with the

addition that also polymorphemic words may function as subordinators. Hereafter the various types of adverbial clauses in Mualang will be described in the following order: temporal (10.4.1), locative (10.4.2), manner (10.4.3), purpose (10.4.4), simultaneity (10.4.5), conditional (10.4.6), concessive (10.4.7), reason (10.4.8), resultative (10.4.9) and absolutive (10.4.10).

10.4.1 Temporal adverbial clauses

Temporal adverbial clauses add time information to the main clause. In Mualang they are introduced by subordinating morphemes/words, reduplication of stative verbs, and preposing of aspectual auxiliaries. It is very common for adverbial clauses uttered with a non-final intonation (that is, typically with a slight rising intonation contour) to precede the main clause.

a) Subordinating morphemes/words

The following temporal subordinators were attested in the corpus:

1) *sebedaw* 'before': introducing an event that occurred prior to the event expressed by the main clause. The adverbial clause is frequently found before the main clause, although the reverse order is possible. A non-final clause intonation separates both clauses. For example:

(10-86) *Sebedaw   tin'uk,   seniku'   N-sumay.*
  before   sleep   3d   ACT-cook
  'Before going to bed, the two of them cooked.'

(10-87) *Bangkay   miak   da-bungkus   ngaw   tikay, ka   pua',*[7]
  corpse   child   PASS-wrap   with   mat   to   bark.clothes

  sebedaw   aday   kayin.
  before   exist   clothes
  'The corpse of the child was wrapped with a mat, or *pua'*, before there were clothes available.'

2) *waktu* or *senta*: both words mean 'time' and may be used interchangeably, introducing the time setting at which the event in the main clause occurred; they are best translated as 'when':

(10-88) *Waktu   sida'   menyadi'   aday   aba'   apay   inay,   naday*
  time   3p   sibling   exist   with   father   mother   NEG

  N-pakay   umpan ....'
  ACT-eat   rice
  'When the siblings lived with their parents, they didn't eat rice ....'

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[7] *Pua'* is the name of the traditional clothes made of tree bark.

(10-89)   *Senta bar-anak   bini sedua   nya',   tulu   anak   sedua*
           time   ANPAS-child   wife 3d   that   really child 3d

        nya' ....'
        that
        'When the wives of both of them gave birth, it was true that their
        children ....'

3) *sampay* 'until': introducing the termination of the event mentioned in the main clause. *Sampay* is also a verb meaning 'arrive'.

(10-90)   *Ia idup da   daerah Sepawuk   sampay   ia   mati.*
           3s live LOC region S   until   3s   die
           'He lived in the region of Sepauk until he died.'

(10-91)   *Da-tung'u'   sedua   sampay   sedua gali'.*
           PASS-wait   3d   until   3d   lie.down
           'They both waited until the other two laid down for a rest.'

b)   Temporal adverbial clauses with prefixed words either or not reduplicated

A limited number of words prefixed with the nominalizing prefixe *ke-* function as subordinating conjunctions introducing temporal adverbial clauses.[8] The derived time words carry the meaning 'after such and such time'; for example, *ke-panyay* (NOM-long) 'after a long distance/time' (10-92) and *ke-sudah* (NOM-already) 'after completing' (10-93):[9]

(10-92)   *Ke-panyay   ia duduk, ia N-peda'   gerama'.*
           NOM-long   3s sit   3s ACT-see   crab
           'After sitting for a long time, he saw a crab.'

(10-93)   *Ke-sudah   N-peda'   pia',   antu' tu'*
           NOM-already   ACT-see   like.that ghost this

        ba-pekat ....
        ANPAS-agreement
        '(After) having seen this, the ghosts made an agreement ....'

Both derived stative verbs are prefixed with *ke-* ((10-94) and (10-95)) or *peN-* ((10-96) and (10-97) and are reduplicated to indicate that the time was spent in excessive degree:

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[8] The prefix *ke-* was discussed in section 4.2.3.
[9] *Sudah* is a precategorial morpheme, found only in this use with or without reduplication (see (10-97)). It is probably a borrowing from Malay/Indonesian. Another possibility would be that *sudah* was the earlier Mualang form which lost its initial *s-*.

(10-94)   *Ke-panyay – panyay*   *ia ba-jalay*   *ka kampung*   *tih,*
NOM-long-RED   3s ANPAS-road   to dense.forest   *tih*

                   baru'   ukuy   ia   N-pelung ....
then   dog   3s   ACT-bark
'After he had walked a very long distance/for a very long time into the jungle, (then) his dog barked ....'

(10-95)   *Pe-lama' – lama'*   *ia ba-jalay, ...*
NOM-long – RED   3s ANPAS-road
'After he had walked for a very long time, ...'

(10-96)   *PeN-panyay – N-panyay*   *gisah   ia', ...*
NOM-long – *N*-RED   story   that
'After a very long time the story goes, ...'

Also *ke-sudah* may undergo reduplication:

(10-97)   *Ke-sudah – sudah*   *Dara   Reja'   N-inum ...*
NOM-already-RED   D   R   ACT-drink
'After Dara Reja' had drunk and drunk ...'

c) Temporal adverbial clauses with aspectual auxiliary-preposing

Three "phasal" aspectual auxiliaries, namely *bedaw* 'not yet', *agi'* 'still' (durative aspect), and *udah, nyaw* 'already' (perfective aspect) function as a subordinator in clause-initial position.[10] As a subordinator they mean 'before' (like *sebedaw*), 'as long as, during the time of', and 'after' respectively. Examples:

(10-98)   ***Bedaw*** *urang   N-pinta',   kita   dulaw   N-suruh.*
before   person   ACT-ask   1p.incl   first   ACT-order
'Before a person asks (for something), we tell them to do that first.'

(10-99)   ***Agi'***   *d=alam*   *masa   penti,*   *urang   nitaw'*
as.long.as   LOC=inside   time   taboo   person   cannot

                   ba-jalay   *jawuh ....*
ANPAS-road   far
'During (as long as being in) the time of taboo, people could not go far (away) ....'

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[10] For the term "phasal", see Baar (1997) and Minde and Tjia (2002:290): "Phasal polarity expressions are expressions used to contrast a particular situation 'with its opposite from a polarity perspective', where 'the two situations are continuatively or sequentially related' ..."

(10-100)   **Udah**   *da-ren'am,   da-angkat   dulaw.*
            after   PASS-soak   PASS-lift   first
            'After it has been soaked, it must be taken out first.'

(10-101)   **Nyaw** *ke-lama' – lama'   ia ba-kayuh,   N-pansa'*
            after   NOM-long-RED   3s ANPAS-paddle   ACT-pass

            kampung   layin.
            village   other
            'After having paddled (the proa) for a very long time, (he) passed
            another village.'

Nyaw and *udah* can co-occur in the same clause. In this respect, the one that comes
first functions as a subordinator and the latter serves as an aspectual auxiliary,[11] e.g.:

(10-102)   **Udah** *nyaw   tiga   ari, kayu tay da-pe-lintang ....*
            after   PERF   three day   wood REL PASS-CAUS-cross.position
            'After having been there for three days, the (piece of) wood that was
            laid across ....'

(10-103)   **Nyaw** *udah   N-inum   ay'   tih, rusa   tu'   nguap.*
            after   PERF   ACT-drink   water *tih* deer   TOP   yawn
            'Thus, after having drunk water, the deer yawned.'

For focus reasons, adverbial clauses can also be postposed after the main clause,
as in (10-104) below (cf. (10-103)). However, the position before the main clause is
found more often; in this position it provides temporal background information for
the event in the main clause.

(10-104)   *Rusa tu'   nguap,* **nyaw** *udah   N-inum   ay'   tih.*
            deer TOP   yawn   after   PERF   ACT-drink   water *tih*
            'Thus, the deer yawned, after having drunk water.'

Aspectual auxiliaries can also be fronted to clause-initial position for focus
purposes, that is, to stress the predicate with its aspectual information. In such a case
the auxiliary may also be interpreted as a temporal subordinator. Which
interpretation is favored depends simply on the context. An aspectual auxiliary
reading is required when the sentence consists of two independent or main clauses,
such as in the following examples:

(10-105)   *Udah lama'   duduk, temuay   naday datay.*
            PERF long   sit   guest   NEG   come
            'We **have** sat for a long time, (but) the guests did not come.'

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[11] For the difference between *nyaw* and *udah*, see section 8.4.2.

(10-106)   *Agi'   N-pakay   ia,   N-tiki'   wih!*
            still   ACT-eat   3s   ACT-climb   *wih*
            'He's **still** eating, come in, please!'

10.4.2   Locative adverbial clauses

Locative clauses are introduced by the subordinator *dini* 'where':

(10-107)   *N-tan'a*   [*dini   ka'   b-uma*],   *baru'   pabat   sida'.*
            ACT-sign   where   want   ANPAS-rice.field   then   slash   3p
            '(They) put a sign where (they) wanted to work a rice field, then
            they slashed (the trees and bushes).'

(10-108)   *Any'ung   ka* [*dini   teban   tanah   tay   kita'   pinta'   kah*]*!*
            escort   to   where   place   land   REL   2p   ask.for   *kah*
            'Bring it to where the place is that you all are asking for!'

10.4.3   Manner adverbial clauses

Manner adverbial clauses express similarity and are introduced by *upa* 'like, as',
e.g.:

(10-109)   *Am'i'   ay',   tunyaw   ka   jimut.   Da-tunyaw*
            take   water   knead   to   flour   PASS-knead

            [*upa   kita   N-pulah   kuwi*].
            as   1p.incl   ACT-make   cake
            'Get (some) water, (and) knead it with the *jimut* flour. It is kneaded
            the way we make cakes.'

(10-110)   *PeN-datay   kami   tu'   kitu'* [*upa   N-tuju   bukit*
            NOM-come   1p.excl   this   hither   as   ACT-go.to   hill

            ting'i'].
            high
            'Our coming here was like going up a high hill.' (that is, it was hard
            to achieve)

10.4.4   Purposive adverbial clauses

Purposive adverbial clauses are introduced with *ngaw* and *jalay* 'for, in order to',
e.g.:

(10-111)   *Nyiur   da-gulay   gula* [*ngaw   N-pulah   ati   lulun*].
            coconut   PASS-mix   sugar   for   ACT-make   liver   k.o.snacks
            'The coconut is mixed with sugar in order to make the fillings of the
            lulun.'

(10-112)   *Ia siap   kayu* [*ngaw ia N-kayit   kayin   Putung Kempat*].
          3s prepare wood for   3s ACT-hook clothes P   K
          'He prepared (a piece of) wood for him to hook PK's clothes.'

(10-113)   *Tajaw   tay   besay, taw'* [*jalay N-pajak   nsia*].
          k.o.jar   REL   big   can   for   ACT-put.in   human
          'A jar that is big, that can be for putting a person into it.'

(10-114)   *Ku   taw'   bada' teban tay   bayik* [*jalay N-tam'ak   pisang*].
          1s   know   *bada'* place REL   good   for   ACT-plant banana
          'I know a place that's good for planting banana trees.'

The use of *ngaw* and *jalay* in purposive clauses is overlapping. However, it seems that *ngaw* still carries a benefactive sense, besides the purposive one (cf. subsection 5.2.2 in Chapter 5 for the various meanings of *ngaw*), whereas *jalay* is simply purposive. For example, a benefactive sense is more transparent in the following example, in which *jalay* would not be suitable:

(10-115)   *Asa   pia',   ku   bay'   pulay*   [*ngaw   (?jalay*)
          whenever   like.that 1s   bring   go.home   for

          rempah   da   rumah].
          side.dish   LOC   house
          'If so, I'll take it home (to be used) for side dishes at home.'

10.4.5   **Simultaneous adverbial clauses**

Simultaneous adverbial clauses are introduced by *sam'il* 'while', in which two events or actions are decribed as taking place simultaneously, e.g.:

(10-116)   [*Sam'il   N-palu'   tanah*]*,   N-padah   ka Puyang   Gana*
          while   ACT-strike   ground   ACT-say   to P   G

          diri'   ka'   N-tunu.
          self   want   ACT-burn
          'While striking the ground, say to (god) Puyang Gana that you yourself want to do the burning (of the place cleared for planting).'

(10-117)   *"Ngay   ku,"   jaku'   miak   ia'* [*sam'il   N-sabak*].
          not.want 1s   say   child   that   while   ACT-cry
          'I don't want (it), said that child while crying.'

10.4.6   **Conditional adverbial clauses**

Conditional adverbial clauses are introduced by *nti'* (with alternative forms *nganti'* and *anti'*)[12] 'if' and *asa* 'whenever'. Where *nti'*-clauses purely express a condition

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[12] *(Ng)anti'*, but not *nti'*, is also used as a verb meaning 'wait'.

for a single event, *asa*-clauses indicate that the event mentioned in the main clause is triggered each time the condition is fulfilled:

(10-118) [*Nti' N-besay   ia'*],   *naday   bayah   da-pakay   ku.*
          if   ACT-big   that   NEG   enough   PASS-eat   1s
          'If it's as big as that, that's not enough for me to eat.'

(10-119) *... aday   kami   N-gusung   ia   lah,* [*nti'   pia'*],
              exist 1p.exl ACT-go.after 3s   *lah*   if   like.that

          [*nti'   ia ka'   N-beli   pe-mati*].
          if   3s want   ACT-buy   NOM-die
          '... we will go after him, if such is the case, if he wants to buy death.'

(10-120) [*Asa   kita' N-tugal*],   *N-kumay   ku.*
          whenever 2p   ACT-dibble   ACT-call   1s
          'Whenever you all are going to do dibbling for seeds, you call me.'

(10-121) *Ia,* [*asa   malam*],   *ngay   tin'uk.*
          3s whenever   night   not.want sleep
          'As for him, whenever it was night, he didn't want to sleep.'

The word *mali* (cf. another usage in 9.6.2.2) seems to be used also as a negative conditional, translatable as 'lest'. In this sense, *mali*-clauses appear following the main clause, e.g.:

(10-122) *Padi   da-angkut   ka durung,*
          uncooked.rice   PASS-carry   to paddy.store

          [*mali   padi   ba-kulat*].
          lest   uncooked.rice   ANPAS-fungus
          'The uncooked rice is (then) carried to the paddy store, lest it gets moldy.'

(10-123) *Nang   kita' N-uti'   ipar   kita'*
          don't 2p   ACT-jokingly.challenge   sibling.in.law 2p

          N-inum,   [*mali   ia   mutah*].
          ACT-drink   lest   3s   vomit
          'Don't you make your sister-in-law drink, lest she vomits.'

10.4.7   Concessive

Concessive clauses are introduced by *amat* 'although', 'even though'. *Amat* also means 'true; really.'

(10-124)   *Aw', waktu ka'   ba-bagi   ia', Raja Sua,   nama*
            well   time   FUT ANPAS-divide that R   S   name

            s-igi'   antu   jara',   taw'   ia   bada',
            ONE-CLASS   ghost   *jara'*   know   3s   *bada'*

            [*amat   nisi'   urang   N-padah*].
            although EXIST.NEG person   ACT-say
            'Well, when they were going to divide it (the wealth among
            themselves), King Sua, so it is with a ghost, he knew it, even though
            nobody told him.'

(10-125)   [*Amat   ia bini kita*],   *ulih ia   anak   urang.*
            even.though   3s wife 1p.incl   but   3s   child   person
            'Even though she is our wife, (but) she is (still) the child of
            somebody.' (So, don't beat your wife)

10.4.8   Reason

Reason clauses are introduced by *keba'* therefore', *nema* 'because', *ulih* 'because
of'. *Keba'* and *ulih ia'* always occupy the onset of a new clause. *Nema*-clauses may
appear before or after the main clause.

(10-126)   [*Keba'*]   *ku N-rut   melia'   tih.*
            therefore   1s   ACT-forbid   long.ago *tih*
            'Therefore I forbade (you) long ago to do so.'

(10-127)   *Ku naday datay,* [*nema   ujan*].
            1s NEG   come   because   rain
            'I didn't come because it rained.'

(10-128)   [*Nema   N-turut   kami   bah*], *seniku' tu',   saja*
            because ACT-follow 1p.excl *bah*   2d   TOP   really

            tumas-tucuk.
            fit-suitable
            'Because, to us, both of you really match each other (as a pair).'

The verbs *asuh* and *suruh*, which both mean 'order; cause', can in their active
form also be used to express a reason.

(10-129)   *Ku tabin. Nya'   N-asuh / N-suruh   ku naday   aba'.*
            1s fever   that   ACT-cause   1s NEG   follow
            'I got fever. That's why I didn't come along.'

(10-130)   *Ku naday talah agi'. Nya' N-asuh / N-suruh ku pulay.*
            1s   NEG afford again that   ACT-cause   1s go.home
            'I wasn't able (to eat) anymore. That's why I went home.'

In such a usage, both verbs usually appear in the expression *nya'/tu' N-asuh / N-suruh* ... 'that/this ACT-cause ...'. These expressions seem to be used interchangeably.[13]

10.4.9 Resultative

Resultative clauses are introduced by *isa'* and *jalay* 'so that'. It is not clear at present what the difference is between their usages. It seems that with *isa'*, a cause-effect relationship between the main clause and the *isa'*-clause is strongly asserted, i.e. the main clause provides a state of affairs that would trigger the effect in the *isa'*-clause. This implication seems to be absent with the use of *jalay*, which also carries a purposive sense.

(10-131)   *Sunyi'   uga'   lay,* [*isa'   nyamay   ku   jarita*].
            silent   all   *lay* so.that comfortable   1s   story
            'Be all quiet, please, so that I (can) tell the story comfortably.'

(10-132)   *Tay   in'u'   arus   N-ijin   ka laki,*
            REL   female must   ACT-permission to male

            [*isa'   tay   laki   taw'   bada'*].
            so.that   REL   male   know   *bada'*
            'The female (i.e. wife) must ask permission from the male (i.e. husband) so that the male knows (where she is going).'

(10-133)   *Turun   m'ih,   Sengkukur,*   [*jalay   kita*
            descend   2s.masc   S   so.that   1p.incl

            ba-bintih].
            ANPAS-kick.with.shinbone
            'Get down, you, Sengkukur, so that we (can) have a shinbone-fight.'

(10-134)   *N-pinta'   tulung   kita'   N-padah,*   [*jalay   kita*
            ACT-ask   help   2p   ACT-say   so.that 1p.incl

            N-urus   pel-ajar   ka   urang   tay
            ACT-arrange   NOM-teach   to   person   REL

            ba-laki – bini   malam   tu'].
            ANPAS-husband –wife   night   this.
            '(We) ask you all to tell (advise us), so that we (can) give advice to those that are going to be married tonight.'

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[13] One informant judged that the word *asuh* was used mostly by the older generation.

10.4.10   Absolutive

The term 'absolutive' is borrowed from Thompson and Longacre (1985:200). Absolutive clauses in Mualang are quite common. They are characterized by the following features:

- the absolutive clause typically precedes the main clause without any subordinator. A final rising intonation at the end of the absolutive (i.e. dependent) clause separates it from the main clause;
- the absolutive clause is initiated by a finite verb (i.e. prefixed for voice) but always with a zero subject, which is coreferential with the subject in the main clause. The aspectual and modal information is reduced or unspecified;
- The semantic relationship of the absolutive and its main clause is not specified (= absolute), thus it depends on the context;
- the absolutive clause refers back to the event of the immediately preceding clause. The situation resembles a "tail-head linkage", in which the absolutive clause summarizes, repeats, or even elaborates on the content of the immediately preceding clause.

Pragmatically, absolutive clauses seem to re-emphazise the completion of the previously mentioned event, at the same time providing background information (e.g. relating time, place or event) for the event in the main clause. The event in absolutive clauses occurs before or at the same time as the event of the main clause, but the actual temporal arrangement is a matter of interpretation. In the following examples (10-135 – 10-138), clauses in parentheses with the index (2) are absolutive and refer back to events in the clauses indexed with (1).

(10-135)   [*Ia pulay   ka   rumah.*]₁   [*Datay   ka   rumah,*]₂
           3s go.home to   house   come   to   house

           da-anu'   *bini*   *ia.*
           PASS-reprimand   wife   3s
           'He went home. Having come / coming home, he was reprimanded by his wife.'

(10-136)   *Turun   ba-jalay   N-sumpit,*   [*senua   tih*
           descend   ANPAS-road   ACT-blowpipe   3d   tih

           ba-malam   da   kampung.]₁   [*Ba-malam   da*
           ANPAS-night   LOC   village   ANPAS-night   LOC

           kampung   nya'   tadi',]₂   *senua   ka'   tin'uk.*
           village   that   a.while.ago   3d   want   sleep
           'When walking down to do animal-blowpiping, both of them spent the night in a village. Spending the night in the village, both of them wanted to sleep.'

(10-137)   [*Baru'   ia   turun   ari   lubang* ....]₁   [*Turun   lubah-*
          then   3s descend   from   hole   descend   slow/quiet-

          lubah   ka   baruh   rumah,]₂   *ia N-peda'   urang* ....
          RED   to   bottom.part   house   3s ACT-see   person
          'Then he went down from the hole. Going down slowly and quietly
          to the bottom part of the house, he saw people ....'

(10-138)   *Jadi   mula   ia   N-tempa'   nsia   tih,   kisah,*
          so   beginning 3s   ACT-forge   human   *tih*   story

          da-tangkal   uwi   sega',   [*da-tegah.*]₁   [*Da-tegah,*]₂
          PASS-slash   rattan   *sega'*   PASS-startle   PASS-startle

          ketawa'   ka   ketawa',   nitaw' jadi   nsia.
          laugh   to   laugh   can't   become   human
          'Thus, in the beginning he forged men, so the story goes, he cut
          some *sega'* rattan, and then startled it. Being startled, it laughed and
          laughed, (but) couldn't become a human being.'

10.5   Relative clauses

The present section describes characteristics of relative clauses in Mualang. For convenience, the discussion is broken down into typical or major relativization with the marker *tay* (10.5.1), relativization of place (10.5.2), participial relative clauses (10.5.3), and headless relative clauses (10.5.4).

10.5.1   Relative clauses with the marker *tay*

A relative clause functions as a nominal modifier (Keenan 1985, Payne 1997). Payne (1997:325-326) lists the following important elements forming a relative clause: a) the **head** (i.e. the noun phrase modified by the clause, b) the **restricting clause** (i.e. the relative clause), c) the **relativized noun phrase** (i.e. the element within the restricting clause that is coreferential with the head), and 4) the **relativizer** (i.e. a marker that marks the restricting clause as a relative clause). Example (10-140) represents the typical structure of relative clauses (RCs) in Mualang; the relative clause is bracketed in the example:

(10-139)   *Urang N-padah   ka ku.*
          person ACT-say   to   1s
          'Somebody (a person) said to me.'

(10-140)   *urang   tay   [Ø N-padah   ka ku*]
          person REL   Ø ACT-say   to   1s
          'the person who said to me'

Example (10-139) shows a main clause; example (10-140) illustrates a relativization of the element *urang* 'person' of (10-139). Mualang RCs, as seen in (10-140), are postnominal, i.e. following the head (*urang* 'person'), marked by the relativizer *tay*, whereas the relativized NP itself is zero coded (Ø) in the restricting clause. *Tay* has an alternate form *ti*.[14] Relativization only operates on a subject, and for this reason, the form of the verb in the restricting clause has to be adjusted for voice according to the semantic role of the subject. Thus, in (10-140) the relativized NP is an agent-subject and the verb *padah* 'say' in the RC takes the active *N-*. Non-subject relativization (object and oblique) is not attested, e.g.:

(10-141)   *Manuk   ti   ku   N-bunuh.*
             chicken   REL   1s   ACT-kill
             'The chicken that I killed.'

The following examples illustrate subject relativization with various voices according to the semantic role of the subject:

(10-142)   *uma   ti   [dah   da-tunu]* (= patient-subject, passive)
             rice-field   REL   PERF   PASS-burn
             'the rice field that has been burnt'

(10-143)   *darah   tay   [kami   beri'   ka   kita']*
             blood   REL   1p.excl   give   to   2p
                                                (= patient-subject, inverse)
             'blood that we gave to you'

(10-144)   *ini'   aba'   ucu'   ti   [lampar   miskin]*
             grandmother   and   grandchild   REL   very   poor
                                                (= subject, intransitive)
             'a grandmother and a grandchild who were very poor'

(10-145)   *tajaw   tay   [besay]*   (= subject, intransitive)
             k.o.jar   REL   big
             'a jar that is big'

(10-146)   *urang   tuay   tay   [ba-ajar]   nya'*
             person   old   REL   ANPAS-teach   that
                                                (= agent-subject, antipassive)
             'that old person who was doing the instruction (i.e. to the marriage couples)'

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[14] These latter are more common. Vowel harmony may be noticed behind this high – mid vowel alternation, i.e. conditioned by the initial sound of the word that follows *ti*, e.g. [*ti in'u'*] 'REL-female', [*te də-bay'*] 'REL-PASS.bring'. However, this is a tendency rather than a rule. The form *tay* is less frequent; it is used more by the elder generation. The most likely word that may have been the historical source of *tay* is probably *utay* '(indefinite) thing'.

In the examples given thus far, the restricting clauses are filled by predicating elements that are verbal. However, the restricting part may also contain a non-verbal predicating element, such as a noun (phrase) (10-147), a demonstrative (10-148), an adverb (10-149), a prepositional phrase (10-150), and an ordinal numeral (10-151):

(10-147)   *kita   tay   [in'u']*
              ip.incl   REL   female
              'we who are female'

(10-148)   *uma   ti   [ia']*
              rice.field   REL   that
              'the rice field that is that (one)'

(10-149)   *urang Mualang ti   [dia']*
              person M   REL   there.(near)
              'the Mualang people who are there'

(10-150)   *Nanga Sepawuk ti   [da   ili'   Belitang] ia'*
              estuary S   REL LOC downstream B   that
              'the Sepauk Estuary that is at the downstream part of the Belitang (River)'

(10-151)   *anak   ti   [ke-dua]*
              child   REL   ORD-two
              'the child who is the second (one)'

Such restricting parts with a non-verbal predicate are a bit problematic since all relativized NPs in (10-147) through (10-151) can be paired NPs without the relativizer *tay*, such as in (10-147b) through (10-151b), respectively:

(10-147b)   *kita   in'u'*
              1p.incl   female
              'we female'

(10-148b)   *uma   ia'*
               rice.field   that
               'the/that rice field'

(10-149b)   *urang Mualang dia'*
              person M   there.(near)
               'the Mualang people there'

(10-150b)   *Nanga Sepawuk da   ili'   Belitang ia'*
              estuary S   LOC downstream B   that
               'the Sepauk Estuary of the downstream section of the Belitang (River)'

(10-151b)   *anak   ke-dua*
　　　　　　child   ORD-two
　　　　　　'the second child'

However, syntactically, clauses in Mualang can contain a non-verbal predicating element or elements, as in equative clauses, without a copula (see Chapter 6). Thus, all constructions in (10-147 through 10-151) are indeed described as relative clauses: their plain non-verbal clause counterparts are presented in the (c) examples, hereafter:

(10-147c)   *Kita   in'u'.*
　　　　　　1p.incl   female
　　　　　　'We are female' / 'We are the female group.'

(10-148c)   *Uma   ia'.*
　　　　　　rice.field   that
　　　　　　'A (or the so-called) rice field is that (one).' (E.g. as a reply to such a question: "Which is *uma*?")

(10-149c)   *Urang   Mualang   dia'.*
　　　　　　person   M　　　　there.(near)
　　　　　　'The Mualang people are there.'

(10-150c)   *Nanga   Sepawuk   da   ili'　　　　Belitang   ia'.*
　　　　　　estuary   S　　　　LOC   downstream   B　　　that
　　　　　　'The Sepauk Estuary is (located) at the downstream section of the Belitang (River)'

(10-151c)   *Anak   ia'   ke-dua.*
　　　　　　child   that   ORD-two
　　　　　　'The/that child is the second (one).'

Semantically and pragmatically, the modifying element in plain NPs – (as in the examples (b) above) – has a descriptive function (i.e. the speaker assumes that the referent would be insufficiently identifiable to the hearer without the modifying element), whereas a restricting clause chiefly functions to narrow down the number of possible referents (i.e. the speaker assumes a prior knowledge of the hearer about the identity of the referent of the antecedent (the head of the construction).[15] Example (10-150), for instance, would be uttered in a situation in which both the speaker and the hearer know there is more than one rice field. The relative clause selects the one meant by the speaker in contrast with to the other ones.[16]

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[15] Such a function of a restricting clause correlates with that of cleft constructions (see Chapter 9).
[16] Parallel to the 'optionality' of the relativizer *tay* is the behavior of the Indonesian *yang*. For various discussions regarding relativization and *yang* in Indonesian, see, for example, Kaswanti Purwo (1983, 1988), Verhaar (1983), Steinhauer (1992), and Minde (to appear).

10.5.2 Relativization of place

If place is relativized, the following markers are used as a relativizer: *tay* 'REL', *jalay* 'place', and *dini* 'where'. Usually the head is the generic word for 'place' *teban*, e.g.:[17]

(10-152) *Pelan'uk   ba-jalay   ka teban   [**dini**   ia*
        mouse.deer   ANPAS-road   to place   where.at   3s

        ba-temu   aba'   babi].
        ANPAS-meet   with   pig
        'The mouse-deer walked to the place where it met with the pig.'

(10-153) *... sida' pulay   ka teban   [**jalay** Putung Kempat*
        3p   go.home   to place   place   P   K

        N-ancaw   padi   tadi'].
        ACT-spread   rice   a.while.ago
        '... they went home to the place at which Putung Kempat was spreading the rice (for sun-drying) a while ago.'

(10-154) *... seniku'   angkat ka teban   [**tay** da-padah   kekura'*
        3d   go   to place   REL   PASS-say   turtle

        tadi'].
        a.while.ago
        'Both of them went off to the place that was mentioned by the turtle a while ago.'

Dini and *jalay* are used interchangeably when the locative head appears as the locative adverb (i.e. a non-argument, or adjunct) in the relative clause, as in examples (10-152 and 10-153). The marker *tay* will be used instead if the locative head functions as an argument in the relative clause, as in (10-154). However, it is also common to find the marker *tay* in relative clauses where the locative head functions as a location in the relative clause. In such cases, the locative head appears as an uncertain place and the relativizer *tay* is followed by *jalay* 'place'. *Jalay* seems to function as a "resumptive location" in the restricting clause. Some examples:

(10-155) *Datay ka <u>menua   urang</u>   tay [<u>jalay</u> seniku'   rari*] *....*
        come to country person   REL place   3d   run
        'Coming to the country of other people where (which was the place) the two of them ran away to ....'

---

[17] *Jalay* also means 'road, way', 'for' (purposive clause subordinator), and 'so that' (resultative clause subordinator). In the meaning 'place', it is synonymous with *teban*. Their distribution, however, is different; example (10-153) presents a context in which *teban* is preferred to *jalay*.

(10-156)   *da   tisi   tay   [jalay   ia   N-getah].*
            LOC side.part REL place   3s   ACT-rubber.sap
            'on the side at which (which was the place) he set a rubber sap trap.'

10.5.3   "Participial" relative clauses

What is meant here by "participial" relative clauses are those that have a verbal (i.e. dynamic intransitive and transitive) predicating element but no relativizer linking the head and the restricting clause. Some examples (restricting clauses are in square brackets as above):

(10-157)   *Jenis-jenis   utay   [da-lalin]   aday   gaya kediri'-kediri'.*
            kind-RED   thing   PASS-plait   exist   style alone-RED
            'Various kinds of things (that are) plaited' have their own styles.'

(10-158)   *Sida'   ia'   N-giga'   urang   [N-rusak   keban*
            3p   that ACT-look.for person   ACT-broken   kind

            barang].
            thing
            'They are looking for a person (who) damaged those kinds of things.'

(10-159)   *Baru'   urang   tuay   [ba-ajar   nya']   N-padah ....*
            then   person   old   ANPAS-teach   that   ACT-say
            'Then that old person (who) did the advice-teaching said ....'

"Participial" relative clauses are marginal and they seem to be a case of *tay*-dropping, found in rapid speech and in the presence of sufficient contextual information, the whole NP (i.e. the head and the restricting clause) being uttered under a straight flat intonation contour.

10.5.4   Headless relative clauses

In headless relative clauses the relativizer *tay* and the restricting clause appear without the head noun. The head is normally dropped when its reference is already clear, usually from context. In the following examples headless relative clauses are shown in brackets:

(10-160)   *Kita   Mualang,   nti'   ka'   ba-laki – bini,*
            1p.incl M   if   want ANPAS-husband – wife,

            [tay in'u']   naday kala'   N-pinta'   [tay   laki].
            REL female   NEG   ever   ACT-ask.for   REL   male
            'We, people of Mualang, if we want to get married, the female (one who is female) never proposes to the male (one who is male).'

(10-161)   [*Tay nama pulay   puang*], *ngay   kami.*
        REL name go.home empty   not.want 1p.excl
        'The so-called (that which is called) going home empty, we won't.'
        [The man's party was visiting the girl's party to propose. They
        wanted her to accept their marriage proposal]

(10-162)   *Aday* [*tay kita   tan*], *N-padah kah bah ....*
        exist REL 1p.incl hold   ACT-say *kah bah*
        '(If) there's something we hold/keep (in our heart), we (have to) tell
        it ....'

The following case of a headless relative clause is found even without the relativizer *tay*:

(10-163)   *... Belang Patung N-ipa'   [da-tebas   sida' tadi*].
         B   P   ACT-peek PASS-slash 3p   a.while.ago
        '... Belang Patung peeked at those (trees and bushes that) were
        slashed by them a while ago.'

10.6   Coordinate clauses

Coordination is the grammatical process by which two syntactic units of equal grammatical status are conjoined. With reference to clauses the implication is that neither is dependent on the other as was the case with the types of clauses described in previous sections 10.1 – 10.5. Mualang employs two strategies to link coordinate clauses, namely by using coordinating particles (coordinators) (10.6.1) and by juxtaposition (10.6.2).

10.6.1   Coordination with conjoining particles

In this section the various Mualang coordinators will be discussed together with the semantic relations they express.

10.6.1.1   Conjunction: *aba'* 'and'

Aba' is also used as a verb meaning 'follow' and as the commitative preposition 'with' (see section 5.2.2). As a conjunctive, it functions as a phrasal and clausal coordinator, e.g.:

(10-164)   *Terima'-kasih* [*ka Petara aba' Puyang Gana*], *nema*
        thanks   to deity   and P   G   because

        udah N-ketaw   padi aba' da-beri'   padi ti
        PERF ACT-harvest rice and PASS-give rice REL

        bayik bah.
        good *bah*

'Be grateful to Petara and Puyang Gana, because we have harvested the rice and have indeed been given the good rice.'

(10-165)   *Pukat Bengawan diaw aba' idup kediri'.*
P   B   stay   and   live   alone
'Pukat Bengawan stayed and lived alone.'

(10-166)   *Mungkin   ia N-dinga   aba' taw'   bada' dini*
maybe   3s ACT-hear   and   know   *bada'*   where

peN-diaw   urang   ti   nama   Putung   Kempat.
NOM-stay   person   REL   name   P   K
'Maybe he heard and knew where the home was of the person called Putung Kempat.'

In (10-164) there are two instances of *aba'*. The bracketed one functions at the level of the phrase, whereas the other one, like in the rest of the examples, operates at the clausal level. In fact, in actual discourse, *aba'* is more frequently found as a phrasal coordinator. For clausal coordination juxtaposition appears to be the preferred strategy (see 10.6.2 below).

10.6.1.2   Disjunction: *ataw* 'or'; *ntah ... ntah* 'either ... or'

Ataw 'or' is used both at the phrasal and clausal level, e.g.:[18]

(10-167)   *... nitaw' da-bay'   pulay   ka kampung ataw   ka rumah.*
can't   PASS-bring   go.home   to village   or   to house
' ... cannot/could not be brought back to the village or home.'

(10-168)   *... agi'   idup   ataw   udah   mati.*
still   live   or   PERF   die
'... (is she) still alive or has (she) died.'

Ntah ... ntah is a negative disjunctive coordinator. It basically means 'not know'. As a coordinator *ntah ... ntah* denotes that the speaker does not know and therefore is not sure which option of the propositions holds. It operates on the level of the phrase as well as the clause, e.g.:

(10-169)   *Nema   kami   Mualang   tu',   arus   N-guang,*
because   1p.excl   M   TOP   must   ACT-*guang*

ntah   ti   laki   ntah   ti   in'u'.
not.know   REL   male   not.know   REL   female

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[18] One informant told me that the old word for the disjunctive coordinator in Mualang is *kali'*, synonymous with *ataw*, but that it is rarely used nowadays.

'Because for us, the Mualang, (we/one) must *nguang* (that is, to join the spouse's family on marriage), either the male or the female.' (It's up to the spouses)

(10-170)   *Ntah   idup   ntah   mati ntah   kati kini?*
not.know live   not.know die   not.know   how   *kini*
'Is she alive, or is she dead, or how is she?'

10.6.1.3   Contrast: *ulih* 'but', *sedang* 'whereas, while'

(10-171)   *Ia ka'   pulay,   ulih ia nitaw'   bada' jalay.*
3s want go.home but 3s not.know *bada'* road
'He wanted to go home, but he didn't know the way.'

(10-172)   *Ulih amat   pia',   ku ngay.*
but although like.that 1s not.want
'But in spite of that being so, I won't.'

(10-173)   *Aba' sida' Buah Kana*[19] *kita   tu' se-rumah,*
with 3p B   K   1p.excl TOP ONE-house

sedang   aba' antu ga' kita   se-peN-peda'   rumah.
meanwhile with ghost also 1p.excl ONE-NOM-see house
'With those BK we lived in the same house, (and) meanwhile with the ghosts we were very close as well.' (lit.: we could see each other's house)

(10-174)   *Kati m'ih   ka'angkat,   sedang   bini m'ih*
how 2s.masc want go   whereas wife 2s.masc

bedaw   datay?
not.yet come
'How could you want to leave, whereas your wife hasn't come yet?'

In (10-171) and (10-172) the *ulih*-clause appears at final and initial position, respectively. In both cases the clause introduced by *ulih* decribes a new situation which is contrasted to a previous clause. In (10-71) this is the independent first clause *ia ka' pulay*. In (10-172), the clause *ulih* (…) *ku ngay* is contrasted to a clause in the preceding discourse, referred to in this sentence by *pia'* and explicitly marked as the contrast by *amat*.

One difference between *ulih* 'but' and *sedang* 'whereas, while' is that the latter is more emphatically contrastive.

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[19] *Sida' Buah Kana* refers to the great people of olden times. For further ethnological information about this, see Dunselman (1955 and elswhere).

10.6.1.4   Temporal succession: *baru'* '(only) then'

A *baru'*-clause expresses what happens after the event referred to in the preceding clause(s). It can initiate a new clause. The word *baru'* also means 'newly, just a while ago'. The constructions *udah ia'* also introduces a succession of the preceding clause but it refers anaphorically to the preceding clause and differs from the coordinators, being a prepositional phrase.

(10-175)   *Baru'   nti'   nyaw   ba-lepa   ke-dua   kali',   baru'*
              then   if   PERF   ANPAS-rest   ORD-two   time   then

              urang   N-pakay–N-sumay,   ba-inum.
              person ACT-eat–ACT-cook   ANPAS-drink
              'Then if they have had a rest for the second time, only then the people would cook and eat and drink.'

(10-176)   *Udah   ia'   da-bungkus   ka   dawun   pisang.   Baru'*
              already   that   PASS-wrap   to   leaf   banana   then

              da-jua'   ka   nemiak   ia'.
              PASS-give   to   child   that
              'After that it was wrapped with banana leaf. Then it was given to the child.'

(10-177)   *Udah   ia',   N-peda'   tanah   tay   bayik, ... baru'*
              already   that ACT-see   land   REL   good   then

              N-tebas   bansa   dua tiga   depa'   dulaw.
              ACT-slash   approximately   two three fathom   first
              'After that, (we) look for good land, ... then (we) clear (an area of) about two or three (square) fathoms first.'

10.6.1.5   Conclusive: *jadi* 'so, thus', *puku'* 'in short'

Jadi is a coordinator meaning 'so'. As a verb it means 'become'. The meaning of the coordinator *jadi* may have arisen through a perfective reading of event X in the previous discourse 'X having become' = X being completed.

(10-178)   *Jadi   Apay   Aluy   tu',   amat-amat   ia   ka'   mati   lah*
              so   father   Aluy   TOP   true-RED   3s   want   die   *lah*

              kini ...?
              kini
              "So, as for Aluy's father, we're wondering, does he really want to die ...?'

(10-179)   *Aday   kisah   urang   tuay   kelia'   tih,   kisah   mula-*
      exist   story   person   old   old.time   *tih*   story   beginning-

      mula   menua   tu'   da-pulah   urang.   Jadi,   kisah   urang
      RED   world   this   PASS-make   person   so   story   person

      tuay   N-padah   menua   tu'   da-tempa'   Burung   Tempa'.
      old   ACT-say   world   this   PASS-forge   Bird   Forge
      'There is a story from our ancestors from olden times, a story of
      how this world was made by somebody in the beginning. So, the
      story from our ancestors told that this world was forged by the
      Forging Bird.'

As a coordinator *puku'* means 'in short'. By itself it probably means 'core'. It is not clear whether it was borrowed from Malay/Indonesian (*pokok*).

(10-180)   *Ku din   nyamay.   Da-aduh   N-pakay,   N-inum*
      1s   there.far   comfortable   PASS-serve   ACT-eat   ACT-drink

      beram,   da-bunuh   ka   babi ....   Puku'   nyamay.
      k.o.alcohol   PASS-kill   to   pig   in.short   comfortable
      'I (lived) comfortably there. (I was) served when eating, drank
      beram, pigs were killed for (me) .... In short, it was comfortable.'

(10-181)   *Semua   barang   ti   ka'   da-bay'   ulih   kelupa,   nitaw'*
      all   things   REL   FUT   PASS-bring   but   forget   can't

      da-am'i'   ka rumah   agi',   bayik   ia'   isaw,
      PASS-take   to house   again   whether   that   machete

      kapak.   Puku',   nitaw'   da-am'i'.
      ax   in.short   can't   PASS-take
      'All things that would be brought along but were forgotten, couldn't
      be picked up at home again, whether it was a machete or an ax. In
      short, they couldn't be picked up again.'

10.6.1.6   Inclusive: *bayik* 'whether ... or ...'

The coordinator *bayik* expresses an inclusion without exception of several items mentioned in a sequence. It is translatable as 'whether ... or ...'. Lexically the word *bayik* itself means 'good, kind'. An example of the use of the coordinator *bayik* can be seen in (10-181) above. Another example is given in (10-182):

(10-182)   *Ulih   ia'   ku N-ajar   seniku',   bayik   da*
           Because.of   that 1s   ACT-teach   2d   whether   LOC

           di',   n'u',   m'ih,   gas,   nti' tubuh   pedih ...
           2s.fem   TOA   2s.masc TOA   if   body   sick

           kita' ba-lepa.
           2p   ANPAS-rest
           'Therefore I am advising both of you, whether it's on you, young lady, or you, young man, if you get sick ... you take a rest.'

10.6.2   Juxtaposition

Juxtaposition (conjoining of phrases or clauses without any coordinator) is a common syntactic device in Mualang. The interpretation of the construction usually depends on context and knowledge of the world. Conjunction, succession, contrast, and paraphrase are the most common semantic relations between juxtaposed clauses. They will be discussed in that order in the next paragraphs.

10.6.2.1   Conjunction

A conjunctive relation expressed by juxtaposition is comparable to the use of *aba'* 'and' (cf. 10.6.1.1). One significant difference between the explicit use of *aba'* and conjunctive juxtaposition is that in the case of the former the event or state of affairs being described are presented as a "closed list", whereas juxtaposition suggests an (in principle) unlimitted number of events. Some examples:

(10-183)   *Apay Aluy tu',   luntus, tiap   ari tin'uk, nisi'*
           father Aluy TOP lazy   every day sleep   EXIST.NEG

           kerja.
           work
           'As for Aluy's father, he was lazy, every day (he just) slept, (and) had nothing to do.'

(10-184)   *Ku din   nyamay.   Da-aduh   N-pakay,*
           1s   there.far   comfortable PASS-serve   ACT-eat

           N-inum   beram,   da-bunuh ka   babi-manuk,
           ACT-drink   k.o.alcohol PASS-kill to   pig-chicken

           da-pulah   ka lulun-jimut.   Puku'   nyamay.
           PASS-make   to   k.o.snacks   in.short   comfortable
           'I (lived) comfortably there. (I was) served when eating, drank *beram*, pigs and chickens were killed for (me), *lulun-jimut* snacks were made for (me). In short, it was comfortable.'

(10-185)　*Ulih　kisah　urang　tuay　kita　　Mualang,　Burung*
　　　　　　but　story　person　old　1p.incl　M　　　　　bird

　　　　　　Tempa'　N-tempa'　tanah,　N-tempa'　langit,
　　　　　　forge　　ACT-forge　earth　　ACT-forge　sky

　　　　　　N-tempa'　apa　semua　ti　　aday.
　　　　　　ACT-forge　what　all　　REL　exist
　　　　　　'But (according to) the story of our Mualang ancestors, the Forging
　　　　　　Bird forged the earth, forged the sky, forged all that exists.'

10.6.2.2　　　Succession

Stylistically, juxtaposition to describe a succession of events seems to present a
more vivid picture than the use of explicit coordinators.

(10-186)　*Rusa tekanyat,　langsung　dani,　　N-lumpat　ka　ay'.*
　　　　　　deer　startled　　directly　　wake.up　ACT-jump　to　water
　　　　　　'The deer was startled, woke up right away, (and/then) jumped into
　　　　　　the water.'

(10-187)　*Buah　ntawa'　nya'　da-tiki'　　sida',　da-am'i',　labuh*
　　　　　　fruit　k.o.fruit　that　PASS-climb　3p　　PASS-take　fall

　　　　　　da-buay　　　　　ka　tanah.
　　　　　　PASS-throw.away　to　ground
　　　　　　'The *ntawa'*　fruit (tree) was climbed by them, (the fruit was)
　　　　　　picked, (then) thrown down to the ground.'

10.6.2.3　　　Comparison-contrast

The states of affairs expressed by the juxtaposed clauses may be interpreted as being
in constrast.

(10-188)　*Nti' lam　　N-umpan　manuk,　nti'　malam　ari*
　　　　　　if　morning　ACT-food　chicken　if　　night　day

　　　　　　N-umpan　nuduk.
　　　　　　ACT-food　puppy
　　　　　　'In the morning (she) feeds chickens, in the evening (she) feeds
　　　　　　puppies.'

(10-189)　*Beruang　mati, kekura'　idup.*
　　　　　　bear　　　die　turtle　　live
　　　　　　'The bear was dead, the turtle was alive.'

Contrast may also stress a counter-expectation, in which the state of affairs in the second clause occurred beyond the speaker's expectation:

(10-190)   *Bedaw   jam   5,   udah   pulay.*
           not.yet   hour   five   PERF   go.home
           'It wasn't five o'clock yet (and yet) (he) had gone home.'

(10-191)   *Padi   bedaw   muduh,   kita'   udah   datay   kitu'.*
           rice   not.yet   ripe   2p   PERF   come   hither
           'The rice wasn't ripe yet, (and yet) you all have come here.'

10.6.2.4   Paraphrase

In paraphrastic juxtaposition the second clause provides a semantic repetition for the preceding clause.

(10-192)   *Beruang naday   rari,   ia   nugaw.*
           bear   NEG   run   3s   stand.still
           'The bear didn't run away, he stood still.'

(10-193)   *Beruk   tu'   diaw,   naday   nyawut.*
           short-tailed.macaque   TOP   quiet   NEG   reply
           'The *beruk* kept quiet, (he) didn't reply.'

Appendix 1:   Texts

In this appendix some texts are presented with their glosses and free translation. All the texts were collected during fieldwork between May 2002 – January 2003 and in June 2005 in the Upstream area from several female and male informants ranging in age from 45 to 65 years old. Text 1 is a long story narrated by an old man, about 65 years old by the time of recording, from the village of Tabuk Hulu. Text 2 is a story about Aluy's father, a funny, stupid-like but tricky character. The story was recorded from a man of about 50 years old, who originated from the village of Ijuk, very close to Tabuk Hulu. Text 3 is of a procedural genre, described by a woman of above 40 years old from Tabuk Hulu. Text 4 contains *pantun*s collected from a couple of above 50 years old from Landau Menarau. Text 5 is a collection of *sempang* 'proverbs', gathered from several informants from different villages. Finally, text 6 presents some samples of *petataw* 'riddles', given by informants from different villages.

Text 1:   *Mulah nsia* 'Creating man'

Aday	*kisah*	*urang*	*tuay*	*kelia'*	*tih,*	*kisah*	*mula-mula*
exist	story	person	old	old.time	*tih*	story	beginning-RED

menua	*tu'*	*da-pulah*	*urang.*
world	this	PASS-make	person

There is a story from our ancestors from olden times, a story of how this world was made by somebody in the beginning.

Jadi,	*kisah*	*urang*	*tuay*	*N-padah,*	*menua*	*tu'*	*da-tempa'*
So	story	person	old	ACT-say	world	this	PASS-forge

Burung	*Tempa'.*
Bird	Forge

So, the story from our ancestors tells that this world was forged by the Forging Bird.

Nti'   masa   tu'   mah,   Tuhan   ti   N-pulah   dunia.
if   time   this   *mah*   Lord   REL   ACT-make   world

But now (we know), it was God who made the world.

Ulih   kisah   urang   tuay   kita   Mualang,   Burung   Tempa'.
But   story   person   old   1p.incl   Mualang   Bird   Forge

But (according to) the story of our Mualang ancestors, it was the Forging Bird.

Jadi   Burung   Tempa'   N-tempa'   tanah,   N-tempa'   langit,
So   Bird   Forge   ACT-forge   soil   ACT-forge   sky

N-tempa'   apa   semua   tay   aday.
ACT-forge   what   all   REL   exist

Thus, the Forging Bird forged the earth, forged the sky, forged all that exists.

Keban   tanam,   keban   kayu,   rumput,   ikan,   jelu,   burung,
kind   plant   kind   tree   grass   fish   animal   bird

semua   da-tempa'   ia,   sampay   ia   N-tempa'   nsia.
all   PASS-forge   3s   until   3s   ACT-forge   human

Various kinds of plants, various kinds of trees, grass, fishes, animals, birds, all were forged by him, and then he forged man.

Jadi   mula   ia   N-tempa'   nsia   tih,   kisah,   da-tangkal
so   beginning   3s   ACT-forge   human   *tih*   story   PASS-cut

uwi   sega',   da-tegah.
rattan   sega'   PASS- startle

So, in the beginning when he forged man, so the story goes, *sega'* rattan was cut, then startled.

Da-tegah,   ketawa'   ka   ketawa',   nitaw'   jadi   nsia.
PASS-startle   laugh   to   laugh   can't   become   human

Being startled, it laughed and laughed, (but) couldn't become a human being.

Baru'   ia   ba-pikir: "N-pulah   tanah",   jaku'   ia.
then   3s   ANPAS-think   ACT-make   soil   say   3s

Then he thought: "I make soil," he said.

Baru'   ia   N-pulah   tanah.
then   3s   ACT-make   soil

Then he made soil.

Da-bentuk   pulah   tubuh,   pulah   kaki   jari,   pulah   mata
PASS-form   make   body   make   foot   arm   make   eye

mua,   idung   nyawa,   pen'ing   telinga.
face   nose   mouth   ear   ear

He shaped it and formed a body, formed feet and hands, formed eyes and a face, a nose and mouth, (and) ears.

Da-tegah,   baru'   jadi   nsia   idup.
PASS-startle   then   become   human   live

It was startled, and then it became a living human being.

S-iku'   da-pulah   ia,   nama   ia   Am'un   Menurun.
ONE- CLASS   PASS-make   3s   name   3s   A   M

One was made by him, his name was AM.

S-iku'   ti   in'u'   nama   Pukat   Bengawan.
ONE- CLASS   REL   female   name   P   B

The other one that was female was named PB.

Jadi   Am' un   Menurun   aba'   Pukat   Bengawan   tu',   nya'
so   A   M   and   P   B   this   that

mula-mula   nsia   ti   aday   di   menua   tu'.
beginning-RED   human   REL   exist   LOC   world   this

So, as for AM and PB, those were the first human beings in this world.

Aw',   ba-laki   ba-bini=m   seniku'   jara',   upa Adam
well   ANPAS-husband   ANPAS-wife=m   3d   jara'   like A

aba'   Awa.
and   A

Well, they then became husband and wife, like Adam and Eve.

Ba-laki–bini,   *bar-anak,*   *bar-anak*   *ka*
ANPAS-husband-wife   ANPAS-child   ANPAS-child   to

Ruay   Mana   aba' Bintang   Muga.
R   M   and   B   M

Having become husband and wife, they had children; they gave birth to Ruay Mana and Bintang Muga.

Jadi   per-anak   Am'un   Menurun   aba' Pukat   Bengawan   tu'
so   NOM-child   A   M   and   P   B   this

bar-anak   ka Ruay Mana   aba'   Bintang   Muga.
ANPAS-child   to R   M   and   B   M

So, as for the descendants of AM and PB, they gave birth to RM and BM.

Bintang   Muga   laki, Ruay Mana   in'u'.
B   M   male   R   M   female

BM was a male, RM a female.

Jadi   seniku'   ia'   menyadi'.
so   3d   that   sibling

Thus, the two of them were siblings.

Ulih   nema   bedaw   isi'   nsia,   aw',   te-paksa   seniku'
but   because not.yet content human   well   MID-force   3d

ba-laki–bini.
ANPAS-husband–wife

But because there were no other human beings yet, well, the two of them were forced to marry each other.

Ba-laki-bini   seniku'.
ANPAS-husband-wife   3d

(And) the two of them became husband and wife.

Jadi   ba-laki-bini,   nema   seniku' jadi   ka
so   ANPAS-husband-wife   because 3d   get.married   to

diri'   menyadi', bar-anak,   bar-anak   ka   mpalang   darah.
self   sibling   ANPAS-child,   ANPAS-child   to   clot   blood

So they became husband and wife; because the two siblings married each other, they gave birth, they gave birth to a clot of blood.

Aduh,   utay   ia'!
ouch   thing   that

O no! What kind of a thing was that!

Keba'=m   kisah   kita   Mualang   tu'   nitaw'   jadi   ka diri'
therefore=*m*   story   1p.incl Mualangthis   can't   so   to   self

menyadi'   ataw   manal[1].
sibling   or   cousin

That's why, as our Mualang story goes, one can't marry one's own sibling or cousin.

Kerna[2]   *ia jadi   mali   tih,   bar-anak   ka   mpalang*
because   3s get.married   taboo   *tih*, ANPAS-child   to   clot

darah.
blood

Because she entered a taboo marriage, she gave birth to a clot of blood.

N-peda'   pia'   da-gantung   ka   pucuk   kayu.
ACT- see   like.that   PASS-hang   to   top.of.tree   tree.

Seeing this, it was hung on the top of a tree.

Da   pucuk   kayu tih mpalang   darah   tu' jadi   rajang.
LOC   top.of.tree tree *tih* clot   blood   this become   k.o.fern

At the top of the tree the clot of blood became a fern.

Baru',   ti   labuh   ka   tanah   jadi   tanah   badi.
then',   REL fall   to   ground   become   soil   cursed

Then, the part that fell to the ground became cursed (or taboo) soil.

Keba'   sampay   ka   <u>tu'</u>   aday   tanah   badi,   wih,   n'u'?
therefore'   until   to   this   exist   soil   curse   wih   TOA

Therefore, until now there is cursed soil, isn't there, sister? (The speaker side-commented to a woman who was listening to the story)

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1 *Manal* is a child of the sibling of one's parent (father or mother).
2 *Kerna* because' is borrowed from Indonesian *karena*.

Aa,   ia'   bar-anak   pertama.
aa   that   ANPAS-child   first

Ah, that was the first delivery.

Bar-anak   ke-dua,   baru'   bar-anak   ka   utay   ia',
ANPAS-child   ORD- two, then   ANPAS-child   to   thing that

nisi'   peda'   kaki   jari,   nisi',   ah,   upa   apa   utay   ia',
nothing   see   leg   arm   nothing ah   like what thing that

naday   kelala   nsia.
NEG   recognize human

Giving birth for the second time, she then gave birth to that thing; there were no feet and hands to be seen, nothing was there. Ah, what was that thing like; it did not look like a human being.

Ah,   karna[3]   nsia   mali   tu',   nitaw'   jadi   ka   diri'
ah   because   human taboo   this   may.not   get.married   to   self

menyadi'.
sibling

Ah, because the humans violated a taboo, they should not get married to their own sibling.

Keba'   sampay   ka   tu'   jalay adat   ia',   urang   menyadi'
therefore until   to   now   way   custom that   person sibling

nitaw'   ba-laki-bini.
can't   ANPAS-husband-wife

Therefore until now the custom is that siblings can't get married to each other.

Adat   ia'   pe-mali.
custom   that   NOM-taboo

The custom for that is that it is a taboo / According to customary law/our customs that is a taboo.

Jadi,   N-peda' ia   naday   jadi   nsia,   da-any'ung   apay   inay
so,   ACT-see that NEG   become   human PASS-escort father mother

ka   pala' darung,   da   utan,   da   kampung   babas.
to   head   valley   LOC   forest   LOC   dense.forest former.rice.field

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[3] See footnote 2.

So, seeing that it hadn't become a human being, it was brought away by the father and mother to the entrance of the valley, into the forest, into the wilderness.

Pia' *kisah.*
like.that story

So that was the story / That's how the story goes.

Baru', *udah* *ia',* *bar-anak* *ka* *Puyang* *Gana.*
then after that ANPAS-child to P G

Then, after that, they gave birth to Puyang Gana.

Mula-mula *ka'* *jadi* *nsia,* *tapi* *bedaw* *jadi* *nsia*
beginning-RED FUT become human but not.yet become human

amat.
true

In the beginning it was going to become a human but did not yet become a true human.

Udah *ia'* *baru'* *bar-anak* *ka* *Bejit* *Manay,* *Belang* *Ping'ang,*
after that then ANPAS-child to B M B P

Belang *Kana',* *Belang* *Baw,* *Buwi* *Nasi,* *Putung* *Kempat.*
B K B B B N P K

After that they gave birth to Bejit Manay, Belang Ping'ang, Belang Kana', Belang Baw, Buwi Nasi, and Putung Kempat.

Putung *Kempat* *in'u',* *anak* *Bintang* *Muga* *aba'* *Ruay* *Mana* *tih.*
P K female child B M and R M *tih*.

Putung Kempat was a female, the daughter of Bintang Muga and Ruay Mana.

Baru' *ilang* *kisah* *ia'* *tih,* *aday* *kisah* *antu.*
then lost story that *tih*, exist story ghost

Then, after that story, there was a story of a ghost.

Antu *ia'* *Raja* *Sua* *nama.*
ghost that King S name

That ghost was called King Sua.

Jadi   Raja   Sua   tu'   N-asu.
so   King   S   TOP   ACT-hunt

So, King Sua, (he) went hunting.

N-asu   ka   kampung   ngeN-bay'   ukuy.
ACT-hunt   to   dense.forest   ACT-bring   dog

(He) went hunting in the jungle taking along a dog.

Ke-panyay-panyay   ia   ba-jalay   ka   kampung   tih,   baru'   ukuy
NOM-long-RED   3s   ANPAS-road   to   dense.forest   *tih*   then   dog

ia   N-pelung   Puyang   Gana   tay   da-any'ung   apay   inay   ka
3s   ACT-bark   P   G   REL   PASS-escort   father   mother   to

alam   darung   tadi'.
inside   valley   a.while.ago

A very long time he walked into the jungle, then his dog barked at Puyang Gana who had been thrown away by his parents into the valley.

Salak.
bark

It barked.

Da-gusung   jara',   da-gusung   kia'.
PASS-chase   *jara'*   PASS-chase   thither.(near)

It was chased, it was chased over there.

Baru',   N-peda'   utay   ia'   ukay   jelu.
then   ACT-see   thing   that   not   animal

Then he (Raja Sua) saw that thing was not an animal.

Aw',   N-peda'   ia'   nsia   n'a'   nsia,   apa   lah   utay   ia'
well   ACT- see   that   human   not   human   what   lah   thing   that

naday   jadi,   da-bay'   ka   rumah   jara'.
NEG   become   PASS-bring   to   house   *jara'*

Well, seeing that it was not really a human, (but) a thing that had not become anything, it was then taken home.

Da-intu,   ah,   da-piara   ia.
PASS-take.care *ah* PASS-look.after   3s

It was taken care of, uh, it was looked after by him.

Ntah   kati-kati   cara   ia N-intu   nsia   ia'   sampay
not.know   how-RED   way   3s ACT-take.care human   that   until

jadi   nsia.
become   human

God knows how on earth he (King Sua) took care of that human until it became a
real human.

Ah,   pia',   jadi   nsia   biasa   upa   kita   pitu'.
ah   like.that',   become   human   normal   like   1p.incl   like.this

Ah, so, it became a normal human like we are.

N-peda'   pia',   tu' jaku' ia: "Tu' ngaw anak   menantu
ACT-see   like.that   this say   3s   This   for   child child.in.law

ku,   nti'   ia   nyaw   jadi   nsia   ti   amat-amat."
1s   if   3s   already   become   human   REL   true-RED

Seeing this, he (King Sua) said: "This (one) is meant to become my son-in-law, if he
has become a real human.

Ah,   ba-macam-macam   cara   ia   N-pulah   isa'   nsia   ia' tih
ah   ANPAS-kind-RED   way   3s   ACT-make   so.that human   that *tih*

jadi   urang   ti   nsia   amat-amat.
become   person   REL   human   true-RED

Ah, all kinds of methods he applied so that that human creature became someone
who was a real human being.

Udah   ia   jadi   nsia   amat-amat   upa kita   pitu',   baru'
after   3s   become   human   true-RED   like 1p.incl   like.this   then

ia   di-cuba   lagi',   jaku'   kisah   kita   Mualang.
he   PASS-try   again   say   story   1p.incl   Mualang

After he had become a real human being like we are, then he was tempted again,
says the story of us, the Mualang.

Aa	*macam*	*beji,*		*suruh*	*beji*		*N-tijang*
ah	kind	strong.human		command	strong.human		ACT-step.on

mata	*pedang,*	*naday*	*bakal,*	*N-rejang*		*sangkuh*
eye	sword	NEG	wound	ACT-stab.upwards		spear

da-anu'		*k=ataw*	*pia',*	*ia*	*naday*	*kena'.*
PASS-INDEF.PRON		to=top	like.that	3s	NEG	afflict

Ah, like a strong man, (when) the strong man was ordered to step on a sword, he did not get wounded; (they) stabbed a spear to be …what-shall-we-call-it … upwards like that, it missed.

"Uh,"	*jaku'*	*ia,*	*"Asa*	*pia',*	*taw'=m*	*ngaw*	*anak*	*menantu*	*ku."*
oh	say	3s	whenever	like.that	can=*m*	for	child	son.in.law	1s

"Oh," he said, "In that case, he can become my son-in-law."

Jadi	*Raja*	*Sua*	*tih*	*aday*	*anak*	*in'u'*	*nama*	*Dara*	*Reja'.*
so	King	S	*tih*	exist	child	female	name	D	R.

So, King Sua, you know, had a daughter named Dara Reja'.

Aa,	*pia'.*
ah	like.that

Yes, like that.

"Aw',"	*jaku'*	*ia:*	*"Tu'=m,*	*n'u',*	*ngaw*	*laki*	*di'.*
well	say	3s	this=*m*	TOA	for	husband	2s.fem

"Well," he said, "My daughter, this is to be your husband."

Tu',	*Puyang*	*Gana*	*tu',*	*nisi'*	*urang*	*N-kilah*	*ia*	*tih.*
this	P	G	this	nothing	person	ACT-surpass	3s	*tih*

"Look here, this Puyang Gana, nobody surpasses him, you know."

Sapa	*urang*	*menua*	*tu'*	*tay*	*ba-kuasa*	*ari*	*ia?*
who	person	world	this	REL	ANPAS-power	from	3s

"Who in this world is more powerful than he is?"

Ia	*ti*	*taw'*	*ngaw*	*anak*	*menantu*	*ku."*
3s	REL	can	for	child	son.in.law	1s

"He is the one who can be my son-in-law."

Ia'   menantu   kawin   resmi   jara'.
that   son.in.law   get.marry   official   *jara'*

So, the son-in-law got officially married indeed.

Jadi, ting'al gisah ia' tih, ting'al lagi' kisah sida' Bejit Manay,
so   leave   story that *tih* remain again story 3p   B   M

sida' Belang   Ping'ang, Belang Kana', Belang Baw,   sida'
3p   B   P   B   K   B   B   3p

Buwi Nasi tu', ka' ba-dua'   arta   apay   inay.
B   N   this FUT ANPAS-divide.(PREC)   wealth father mother

Thus, after that (part of the) story, there is another story of the people of Bejit Manay, of Belang Ping'ang, Belang Kana', Belang Baw, of Buwi Nasi, who were going to divide up their parents' wealth (among themselves).

Karna   apay   inay   mati tih, sida'   menyadi'   ia'   nyaw
because father mother die   *tih* 3p   sibling   that   already

taw'   uga' N-simpan   arta   ben'a.
can   all   ACT-keep   wealth thing

Because their parents had died, those siblings had been able to keep all the wealth.

Jadi   arta   ben'a   ti   aday   di-bagi.
so   wealth thing   REL   exist PASS-divide

Thus, all the wealth that existed was divided.

Aw', waktu ka'   ba-bagi   ia', Raja Sua, nama s-igi'
well   time   FUT   ANPAS-divide   that king S   name ONE-CLASS

antu jara', taw'   ia bada', amat   nisi'   urang N-padah.
ghost *jara'* know   3s *bada'* although   nothing person ACT-say

Well, when they were going to divide it, King Sua, so it is with a ghost, he knew it, even though nobody told him.

"Uh,   anu',   laki   n'u',"   jaku' ia.
oh   what.is.it husband   TOA   say   3s

"Oh, what is it, my son-in-law (lit. husband of my daughter)," he said.

"Tu'   menyadi'   kita'   ba-pe-dua'   arta
this   sibling   2p   ANPAS-NOM-divide.(PREC)   property

da   rumah   sida',   kita'   din.
LOC   house   3p   2p   there.(far)

"Well, your siblings are going to divide up the wealth (among themselves) at their house, at your house over there."

Jadi   kula'   menyadi'   tuay   sida',"   jaku'   ia.
so   TOA   sibling   old   3p   say   3s

"So, my son-in-law, you are their oldest brother," he said.

"Kula'   kin   N-pinta'   bagi   ga'."
TOA   thither.(far)   ACT-ask.for   divide   also

"My son-in-law, you go there to ask for your share too."

Aw',   angkat   udah   Puyang   Gana   tu'   tih.
well   go   udah   P   G   TOP   tih

Well, off he went, Puyang Gana.

Datay   kin,   ia   naday   N-tiki'   ka   rumah,   pas
come   thither.(far)   3s   NEG   ACT-climb   to   house   at.same.time

ia',   sida'   ka'   ba-dua'   bala   utay.
that   3p   FUT   ANPAS-divide.(PREC)   all.(kinds) thing

Arriving there, he didn't go up into the house; at the same moment they were going to divide up all kinds of wealth.

Ari   tanah: "Ih,"   jaku'   ia,   "Anu',   ku   menyadi'   kita'.
from   ground   hey   say   3s   what.is.it   1s   sibling   2p

From below he said: "Hey! Uh, I am your brother.[4]

Anti'   anu',   kita'   ba-dua'   keban   ramu   arta
if   what.is.it   2p   ANPAS-divide.(PREC)   kind   wealth   property

apay   inay   kita,   ku   da-untung   kah   ga'!"
father   mother   1p.incl   1s   PASS-share   kah   also

If, uh, you all are dividing up our parents' property, share it with me too!"

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[4] Traditional Mualang (long)houses are built on poles, high above the ground.

Baru' sida' menyadi': "Nisi'," jaku' Bejit Manay,
then 3p sibling nothing say B M

"Nisi' tuay ari ku.
nothing old from 1s

Then (on behalf of) those siblings Bejit Manay said: "No, we won't. Nobody is older than I am.

Ku lah menyadi' tuay kita.
1s lah sibling old 1p.incl

I am the one who is our oldest brother.

Diang pay Diang nay n'a' b-isi' N-padah
the.late father the.late mother not ANPAS-content ACT-say

aday menyadi' kita bukay ari ku."
exist sibling 1p.incl other from 1s

Our late parents never said that there was an (older) sibling other than me."

"Ba-kati naday," jaku' ia, "Ku matang menyadi' kita'.
ba-how NEG say 3s 1s persistently sibling 2p

"How could it not be so," he (Puyang Gana) said, "I am really your brother.

Ku aday, da-any'ung apay inay ku ka alam babas."
1s exist PASS-escort father mother 1s to inside forest

(When) I was born, I was brought away by my parents into the forest."

Ulih matang naday pecaya ama sida'.
but persistently NEG believe with 3p

But they refused to believe it.

Matang N-padah "nisi'".
insistent ACT-say nothing

They kept saying no.

N-peda' pia': "Aw', naday!"
ACT-see like.that well NEG

Seeing this (Puyung Gana said), "Come on, don't do that!"

"Anu',"   jaku'   sida'.
well   say   3p

"What is it ...." they said.

Teka   ia'   da-beri'   ka   ia,   anu',   tempan   tanah
right.away   that   PASS-give   to   3s   what.is.it anvil   soil

tay   ngaw   ba-tempa'.
REL   for   ANPAS-forge

Right away a what-is-it-called, an anvil made of soil which was used for forging was given to him.

Mm,   tibar   tanah.
Hm   throw   ground

Hm, they threw it to the ground.

"Tu'   untung   m'ih!"
this   share   2s.masc

"This is your share!"

Tang'ung   da-bay'   ka   rumah.
carry.on.the.shoulder   PASS-bring   to   house

It was carried home (by Puyang Gana).

"Ee,   kati   kula'?
Eh   how   TOA

"Eh, how was it, my son-in-law? (King Sua asked after Puyang Gana came home)

Aday   sida'   N-beri'?"   jaku'   Raja   Sua.
exist   3p   ACT-give   say   king   S

"Did they give you something?" said King Sua.

"Nisi'.
nothing

"Nothing.

Nisi', nema sida' naday pecaya ku menyadi','' jaku' ia.
nothing because 3p NEG believe 1s sibling say 3s

Nothing, because they did not believe that I am (their) sibling," said he.

"Padah sida' ukay'.
say 3p no

"They said no.

Tu' tay da-beri' sida'."
this REL PASS-give 3p

This is what they gave me."

"Wih, untung kula'!
wow fortunate TOA

"Wow, how fortunate you are, my son-in-law!

Sapa urang N-hak tanah bukay kula'.
who person ACT-rights land other TOA

Who is it that has the rights over the land other than you, my son-in-law.

Urang, nti' ka' ba-kerja ba-uma, alah N-pinta'.
person if want ANPAS-work ANPAS-rice.field must ACT-ask.for

If anybody wants to work the rice field, he must ask you (for permission).

Nti' naday N-pinta', kula' kena' hak N-tuntut,"
if NEG ACT-ask.for TOA afflict rights ACT-claim

jaku' ia.
say 3s

If that person doesn't ask for your permission, you have the right to claim it," said he (King Sua).

Baru' pulay ka kisah ia', kisah sida' Bejit Manay, menyadi'
then return to story that story 3p B M sibling

tu' tih, ka' ba-uma, pia'.
this *tih* want ANPAS-rice.field like.that

Then going back to the story, the story of those siblings of Bejit Manay, they wanted to work the rice field, you know.

Ka'   ba-uma   sida' tih, udah senta masa N-pabat
want   ANPAS-rice.field   3p   *tih* after time   time   ACT-slash

N-tebang   upa sengkit   tih, ba-uma   wih.
ACT-cut   like usual   *tih* ANPAS-rice.field   *wih*

They wanted to work the rice field. So, after the time of slashing and cutting (bushes and trees) as usual, they worked on the rice field.

Anu'   lay, ba-balik   sikit,   kelupa   ku   kisah.
well   *lay* ANPAS-turn.around   little   forget   1s   tell.story

Well, wait a second, I'm going back a bit, I forgot to tell the (following) story.

Waktu sida' aday aba'   apay   inay,   naday   N-pakay umpan,
when   3p   exist with   father   mother   NEG   ACT-eat cooked.rice

N-pakay arang,   pia'   kisah.
ACT-eat k.o.fruit   like.that story

When they were with their parents, they did not eat rice, (but) they ate *arang* fruit, that was the story.

Jadi,   menyadi'   sida' tu' ba-pan'uk   arang   sengabut.
so   sibling   3p   this ANPAS-burn   k.o.fruit   continuously

So, those siblings kept baking *arang* fruit.

Tebang   kayu,   ba-tunu,   arang   da-pakay.
cut   tree   ANPAS-burn   k.o.fruit PASS-eat

(While) cutting down trees, (and) burning, (they) ate *arang* fruit.

Semenjak   aday Buwi Nasi tih, serta ia N-sabak: "Asi, asi",
since   exist B   N   *tih* so.as 3s ACT-cry   asi   asi

aa, baru' sida' taw'   bada' asi ia', nasi'   da-giga'   ia.
ah   then   3p   know   *bada'* asi that cooked.rice PASS-look.for   3s

As soon as Buwi Nasi was born, he cried out: "ice!, ici!", ah, then they knew that "ice" was the cooked rice that he was looking for.

"Uh," jaku' sida',   "Menyadi'   kita   tu'   nyaw   ka'
oh   say   3p   sibling   1p.incl   this   already   want

N-pakay   umpan,   N-pinta'   nasi',   tu' naday kita   taw'.
ACT-eat   cooked.rice ACT-ask.for   cooked.rice   this NEG   1p.incl know

"Oh," they said, "This brother of ours already wants to eat rice, he asks for rice, this we don't know/have.

N-pan'uk	*arang*	*agi'*	*aja'."*
ACT-burn	k.o.fruit	again	just

We just bake *arang* again."

Uh,	*baru'*	*apay*	*inay*	*N-pesaw*		*ka*	*sida':*
oh	then	father	mother	ACT-give.message		to	3p

"Kasih	*bada'*	*ia*	*N-giga'*		*nasi'.*
feel.pity	*bada'*	3s	ACT-look.for		cooked.rice

Oh, then their parents gave a message to them: "Pity on him, he is looking for rice.

Aa	*ia'*	*ba-balik*		*lagi'*	*kisah*	*ku*	*ia'.*
ah	that	ANPAS-turn.around		again	story	1s	that

Ah, that goes back again to that story of mine.

"Asa	*kemua*	*nyaw*	*mati,*	*kubur.*
whenever	1d.excl	PERF	die	bury

"When we have died, bury us.

Asa	*aday*	*ti*	*tim'ul*	*d=ataw*	*kubur*	*ia',*	*intu*
whenever	exist	REL	emerge	LOC=top	grave	that	take.care

piara	*ulih*	*kita'.*
look.after	by	2p

When something emerges from the grave, you all take care of it.

Pin'ah	*kah*	*apa*	*tay*	*aday*	*tim'ul*	*ia'."*
move	*kah*	what	REL	exist	emerge	that

Move what comes out of there."

Aa,	*baru'*	*da-kubur*		*apay*	*inay*	*ia',*	*mati*	*tih.*
ah	then	PASS-bury		father	mother	that	die	*tih*

Ah, then the parents were buried, they died.

Baru',	*sida'*	*N-peda'*	*baka*	*aday*	*utay*	*tum'uh,*	*aday*	*juna',*
then	3p	ACT-see	body	exist	thing	grow	exist	k.o.leek

aday   padi,   aday   lia',   aday   apa   semua,   da-intu
exist   rice.plant   exist   ginger   exist   what   all   PASS-take.care

ulih   sida'.
by   3p

Then, they saw on the bodies there were things growing, there were leeks, there were rice plants, there was ginger, there were all (kinds of) things - they took care of those things.

Aa,   baru'   ti   tadi'   jadi   padi.
ah   then   REL   a.while.ago   become   rice.plant

Ah, then the things that were taken care of became rice plants

Baru'   kita   nsia   N-pakay   umpan,   badu'   N-pakay   arang.
then   1p.incl   human   ACT-eat   cooked.rice   stop   ACT-eat   k.o.fruit

Only since we human beings eat rice, have (we) stopped eating *arang*.

Baru'   pulay   ka   kisah   ti   tadi'   tih,   sida'   ka'
then   return   to   story   REL   a.while.ago   tih   3p   FUT

ba-uma,   N-pang'ul.
ANPAS-rice.field   ACT-slash.for.sign

Then returning to the story (mentioned) a while ago: they were going to work the rice field, (so) they did *mang'ul*.[5]

Adat   kita   Mualang,   asa   ka'   ba-uma,
custom   1p.incl   Mualang   whenever   FUT   ANPAS-rice.field

N-pang'ul,   dulaw   N-tan'a   dini   ka'
ACT-slash.symbolically   first   ACT-sign   where   FUT

ba-uma.
ANPAS-rice.field

Our Mualang tradition is that whenever we're going to work the rice field, we mark the area first indicating where (we) will make the rice field.

Baru'   pabat   sida'.
then   slash   3p

Then they slashed (bushes and trees).

---

[5] *Mang'ul* means slashing an area as a sign for others that somebody is going to work on that part of the area.

Kisah,	*tujuh*	*darung*	*tujuh*	*bukit*	*udah*	*pabat*	*s-ari.*
story	seven	valley	seven	hill	already	slash	ONE-day

As the story goes, they slashed (an area of) seven valleys and seven hills in a day.

Ah,	*maklum*	*kisah*	*antu,*	*dunging*	*ia'*	*bah.*
ah	be.understood	story	ghost	fairy.tale	that	*bah*

Ah, you must know, it's a ghost story, it's really a fairy tale.

Aw',	*udah*	*N-pabat,*	*jaku'*	*ntua*		*Puyang*	*Gana:*	*"Anu',*
well	after	ACT- slash	say	parent.in.law		P	G	well

kati	*kula',*	*tu'*	*hak*	*kula'*	*ba-tin'ak.*
how	TOA	this	rights	TOA	ANPAS-act

Well, after they had done slashing, the father-in-law of Puyang Gana said: "Well, what do you think, my son-in-law, now it is your right to act.

Tu'	*menyadi'*	*kula'*	*ba-uma,*		*N-pabat*
this	sibling	TOA	ANPAS-rice.field		ACT-slash

N-tebang,	*nisi'*	*N-padah,*	*nisi'*	*N-pinta'.*
ACT- cut	nothing	ACT-say	nothing	ACT-ask.for

(You see), your siblings are working the rice field, slashing and cutting bushes and trees, without telling anything, without asking anything.

Kin	*kula',*	*pe-diri*	*kah*	*kayu*	*ti*	*dah*	*da-pabat*
thither.(far)	TOA	CAUS-self	kah	tree	REL	PERF	PASS-slash

tebang	*sida'."*
cut	3p

Go there, my son-in-law, put the trees upright that have been slashed and cut by them."

Uh,	*angkat*	*jara'*	*Puyang*	*Gana*	*tu',*	*datay*	*mah*	*N-peda'*
oh	go	*jara'*	P	G	this	come	*mah*	ACT-see

pabat	*sida',*	*tujuh*	*darung*	*tujuh*	*bukit*	*pe-luah.*
slash	3p	seven	valley	seven	hill	NOM-large

Oh, Puyang Gana went there imediately, he really came to see their slashing, the size of seven valleys and seven hills.

Luah   uma   ia'   tih,   kisah.
large   rice.field   that   *tih*   story

(And) large was that rice field, the story goes.

Ah,   baru'   ia   ngeN-bay':   "Uy,"   Dara   Belin'ung,   Munsang,
ah   then   3s   ACT-summon   hey   D   bee   weasel

Bujang   Penyadung,   kak   Dara   Itung."
B   P   crow   D   I

Ah, then he (Puyang Gana) summoned: "Hey, Dara Belin'ung (bee), Munsang (weasel), Bujang Penyadung, crow Dara Itung."

Sa'   ia'   macam-macam,   semua   jenis   jelu   da-kumay.
3p   that   kind-RED   all   kind   animal   PASS-call

They were of all kinds, all sorts of animals (they) were called.

"Datay   kita'   kitu'!"
come   2p   hither

"Come here you all!"

Datay   sida'   ia'   jara'.
come   3p   that   *jara'*

And come they did.

"Bah,   apa   tay   m'ih   ka'   kumay   kami?"
bah   what   REL   2s.masc   want   call   we.excl

"Huh, what (names) is it you want to call us?"

"Naday   apa,   kita   tu'   ba-surup   ngeN-diri   bala   kayu
NEG   what   1p.incl   TOP   ANPAS-help   ACT-stand   all   tree

ti   dah   pabat,"   jaku'   Puyang   Gana.
REL   PERF   slash   say   P   G

"Nothing, we'll just help each other putting upright all the trees that have been cut down," said Puyang Gana.

Da-pe-diri   semua,   nisi'   tan'a,   nisi'   N-peda'   bekaw
PASS-CAUS-stand   all   nothing   sign   nothing   ACT-see   trace

abi   ba-kerja.
trace   ANPAS-work

All were put up, no signs, no traces of working could one see.

Malam,	*dah*	*tin'uk*	*ngantuk,*	*tawas*	*ari*	*ka'*	*kia'*
night	PERF	sleep	feel.sleepy	day.time	day	want	thither.(near)

agi',	*sida'*	*ka'*	*ba-kerja.*
again	3p	want	ANPAS-work

At night, after having slept, during day time (the siblings) wanted to go there again, they wanted to work.

Datay	*kia',*	*nisi'.*
come	thither.(near)	nothing

Arriving there, there was nothing.

"Ih,	*ngapa*	*ditu'*	*langan*	*kita*	*kemari'?*
hay	why	here	sitting.place	1p.incl	yesterday

"Hay, what is going on here with our sitting place (we made) yesterday?

Ngapa	*kita*	*kitu'*	*nisi'*	*agi'*	*ti*	*da-pabat*	*kita*
why	1p.incl	hither	nothing	again	REL	PASS-slash	1p.incl

ditu',	*nisi'*	*peda'?*
here	nothing	see

Why is it, we came here (but) there is nothing left of what was cut down by us here, nothing to be seen?

Kayu	*tu'*	*diri*	*uga'."*
tree	this	stand	all

These trees are all standing."

"Tu'	*ditu'*	*abi*	*pabat*	*kita,"*	*jaku'*	*sida'*	*ke-dua*	*jara'.*
this	here	trace	slash	1p.incl	say	3p	ORD-two	*jara'*

"This here is the trace of our cutting," said the second sibling.

"Ah,	*mm*	*se-macam!"*
ah	hm	ONE-strange

"Ah, hm, it's strange!"

Aw',	*N-pabat*	*agi'*	*s-ari*	*ia'.*
well	ACT-slash	again	ONE-day	that

Well, they cut down trees again that whole day.

Udah	*N-pabat*	*sida'*	*upa*	*ti*	*kemari'*	*tih,*	*pulay.*
after	ACT- slash	3p	like	REL	yesterday	*tih*	go.home

After they had cut down (trees) like the the day before, they went home.

Malam	*datay*	*lagi'*	*Puyang*	*Gana*	*aba'*	*keban*	*ulun,*	*keban*
night	come	again	P	G	and	kind	helper	kind

pe-suruh	*ia*	*tih.*
NOM-command	3s	*tih*

At night there came again Puyang Gana and his helpers, his servants.

Ba-diri	*kayu*	*lagi'.*
ANPAS-stand	tree	again

The trees stood again.

Pulay	*asal*	*lagi'*	*jadi*	*utan*	*ti*	*dia'.*
return	origin	again	become	forest	REL	there.(near)

They had been restored into their original state, becoming the forest that had been there.

N-peda'	*pia',*	*turun*	*sida'*	*ari*	*ti*	*ke-tiga,*	*N-peda'*
ACT-see	like.that	descend	3p	day	REL	ORD-three	ACT-see

dah	*nisi'*	*agi'*	*upa*	*ia',*	*nisi'*	*bekas*	*sekali'.*
already	nothing	again	like	that	nothing	trace	at.all

Seeing it was like that, they (the siblings) went down on the third day and saw there was nothing like they had done, no trace at all.

"Asa	*pia',*	*kita*	*ipa',"*	*jaku'*	*sida',*	*"Tu'*	*naday,*	*biar*
whenever	like.that	1p.incl	peek	say	3p	this	NEG	let

ba-bunuh.
ANPAS-kill

"If so, let's take a peek," they said, "We can't let this (happen), even if we have to kill each other.

Naday	*kita*	*sang'up,*	*mati*	*kita*	*kerja*	*pitu'.*
NEG	1p.incl	be.able	die	1p.incl	work	like.this

We can't (go on), we will die if we keep working like this.

Rugi   dih   ia'.
loss   *dih*   that

It's indeed a loss.

Sa-sapa   urang   tu'?"
who-RED   person   this

Who are doing this?."

Sida'   nitaw'   bada',   aday   antu   jara'.
3p   not.know   *bada'*   exist   ghost   *jara'*

They didn't know there were ghosts.

Baru'   di-ipa',   sida'   selabuk   se-belah   pun-pun   kayu.
then   PASS-peek   3p   hide   ONE- side   stem-RED   tree

Then they peeked, they hid behind the trees.

Pia'.
like.that
So it was.

Nyaw   malam   ari,   N-dinga=m   datay   Puyang   Gana   tu'
after   night   day   ACT- hear=*m*   come   P   G   TOP

ngeN-bay'   keban ulun   ia.
ACT-summon   kind helper   3s

When evening had come, they heard Puyang Gana come summoning all his helpers.

"Uy,"   jaku'   ia,   "Munsang,   Bujang   Penyadung,   kak   Dara   Itung!"
hey   say   3s   weasel   B   P   crow   D   I

"Hey," he said, "Munsang, Bujang Penyadung, crow Dara Itung!"

N-am'i'   Dara   Belin'ung,   apa-apa   semua   keban   jenis   jelu
ACT-take   D   bee   what-RED   all   kind   kind   animal

da-kumay: "Kitu'   kita',   aba'   kami   tu'   ba-diri
PASS-call   hither   2p   with   we.(excl)   this   ANPAS-stand

anu'   tu'   agi'!"
what.is.it   this   again

He got Dara Belin'ung, all kinds of animals were called: "Get here, you all, together with us make the trees stand again!"

"Ah,"	*jaku'*	*sida'*	*menyadi'*	*ah,*	*"Nya'*	*m=ia*	*nih.*
ah	say	3p	sibling	ah	that	*m*=3s	*nih*

"Ah," said those siblings, "That's it!

Patut	*kita*	*tu'*	*mati-mati*	*upa*	*tu'*	*kerja."*
no.wonder	1p.incl	TOP	die-RED	like	this	work

No wonder we worked so hard like this."

Serta	*datay,*	*ba-tangkap=m*	*sida'.*
as.soon.as	come	ANPAS-catch=*m*	3p

The moment they came (to where Puyang Gana was), they had a fight.

Ba-tangkap	*sida'*	*menyadi'*	*ia'.*
ANPAS-catch	3p	sibling	that

Those siblings fought each other.

Ke-panyay-panyay,	*nisi'*	*urang*	*t-alah*	*ka*	*sida'.*
NOM-long-RED	nothing	person	MID-beat	to	3p

They fought a long time, (yet) nobody of them was beaten'

Nyaw	*lelak,*	*teka*	*lelak*	*ba-tangkap*	*ah*	*sida'.*
already	tired	right.away	tired	ANPAS-catch	ah	3p

They already got tired, just got tired of fighting.

Jadi	*udah*	*ba-tangkap,*	*jaku'*	*Bejit*	*Manay:*	*"Kati,*
so	after	ANPAS-catch	say	B	M	how

ngapa	*pia',*	*asa*	*kita'*	*kitu'*	*N-tijak*	*kami?"*
why	like.that	whenever	2p	hither	ACT-step.on	1p.excl

So, after having fought, Bejit Manay said: "How is it then, why is it so, whenever you come here you step on us?

"Naday	*kati,"*	*jaku'*	*Puyang*	*Gana,*	*"Waktu*	*kita'*
NEG	how	say	P	G	when	2p

ba-dua'		*peramu*	*kita*	*menyadi',*	*ku*
ANPAS-divide.(PREC)		things	1p.incl	sibling	1s

N-pinta'	*untung,*	*nema*	*ku*	*menyadi'*	*kita',*
ACT-ask.for	share	because	1s	sibling	2p

kita'	*N-padah*	*ukay',*	*naday*	*pecaya.*
2p	ACT-say	no	NEG	believe

"That's not how it is," said Puyang Gana, "When you all were dividing up properties of ours, I asked for my share, because I was your sibling, but you said no', not believing (it/me).

Kita'	*untung*	*tanah*	*tu',*	*tu'*	*masuk*	*tanah*	*ku.*
2p	share	land	this	this	include	land	1s

(Then) you give me this land, this belongs to my land.

Ku	*bar-hak.*
1s	ANPAS-rights

I have the rights (over this).

Nti'	*kita'*	*naday*	*N-pinta',*	*ku*	*taw'*	*N-tuntut*	*kita'.*
if	2p	NEG	ACT-ask.for	1s	can	ACT-claim	2p

If you don't ask me, I can claim (it from) you.

Aday	*hak*	*ku."*
exist	rights	1s

I have the rights."

Aa,	*baru'*	*dih*	*ia*	*N-gisah*	*kejadian*	*ia*	*da-buay*	*ka*
Ah	then	*dih*	3s	ACT-story	event	3s	PASS-throw.away	to

darung,	*da-intu*	*Raja*	*Sua.*
valley	PASS-take.care	king	S

Ah, it was then that he told (them) the story of his being thrown away to the valley, (and) was taken care of by King Sua.

Ba-sabak	*dih*	*sida'*	*menyadi',*	*ba-sium*	*ba-lulum,*
ANPAS-cry	*dih*	3p	sibling	ANPAS-kiss	ANPAS-PREC

ba-pangkap	*ba-berap.*
ANPAS-hug	ANPAS-embrace

Those siblings then wept, kissed each other, (and) had a big hug.

Sida'   N-tesal   dih.
3p   ACT-regret   *dih*

They really regreted (what they had done).

Baru'   sida'   taw'   bada'   ah   diri'   menyadi',   N-angku'
then   3p   know   *bada'*   *ah*   self   sibling   ACT-adopt

pangan   menyadi'.
partner   sibling

Then they knew that they were siblings, and adopted each other as siblings.

N-peda'   pia',   jaku'   Puyang   Gana: "Aw',   tu'   kita
ACT-see   like.that   say   P   G   well   this   1p.incl

dah   ba-temu.
PERF   ANPAS-meet

Seeing this, Puyang Gana said: "Well, look here, now we have met.

Kita'   taw'   bada'   ku   menyadi'   kita'.
2p   know   *bada'*   1s   sibling   2p

You all know that I am your brother.

Naday   ku   N-rut,   jangka'   ku   N-padah   pagi
NEG   1s   ACT-forbid   limit   1s   ACT- say   tomorrow

lusa   asa   kita'   ba-uma,   kita'
the.day.after.tomorrow   whenever   2p   ANPAS-rice.field   2p

alah   N-pulah   nselan,   alah   N-pulah   tan'a   N-pinta'
must   ACT-make   offering   must   ACT-make   sign   ACT-ask.for

ka   ku,   taw'=m   kita'   ba-uma.
to   1s   can=*m*   2p   ANPAS-rice.field

I don't mean to forbid you, butI say that in the future, when you work on the rice field, you have to give offerings, you have to signal asking me, then you may work the rice field.

Baru'   tu'   peN-jadi=m   pabat   tebang,   tunu   tugal,"   jaku'   ia.
then   this   NOM-become=*m*   slash   cut   burn   dibble   say   3s

Then, (you can) slash, cut, burn and dibble the agreed area," he said.

"Jangka' ku ba-dany'i aba' kita' menyadi', asa
limit 1s ANPAS-promise with 2p sibling whenever

kita' ka' N-tunu, ka' N-tugal, N-kumay ku."
2p FUT ACT-burn FUT ACT-dibble ACT-call 1s

"But I make an agreement with you siblings, whenever you're going to burn, you're going to dibble the field, call me."

"Aw', pia', kati kami N-kumay m'ih ah?"
yes like.that how 1p.excl ACT-call 2s.masc *ah*

"Okay, as you said, how can we call you then?"

"Naday pedih.
NEG difficult

"It's not difficult.

Palu' ka pansuh pulut tujuh kali' ka
strike to cook.in.bamboo glutinous.rice seven time to

tanah, datay mah kemua ipar kita'."
ground come *mah* 1d.excl sibling.in.law 2p

Strike the *pansuh pulut*[6] seven times to the ground, both of us (your sister-in-law and I) will then come."

Baru' udah N-pabat N-tebang, udah aday panas,
then after ACT-slash ACT-cut after exist hot

aw', N-tunu mah urang.
well ACT-burn *mah* person

Then after having slashed and burnt (bushes and trees), after the hot season comes, well, it's time for burning (the field).

Udah da-tunu tih sa' menyadi' ia', angus uma
after PASS-burn *tih* 3p sibling that burnt rice.field

sida', pakay api.
3p eat fire

After being burnt by those siblings, the rice field got scorched, consumed by the fire.

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[6] *Pansuh pulut* is glutinous rice cooked in bamboo.

Baru'   sida'   menyadi'   tu'   N-tengah   tegalan
then   3p   sibling   this ACT-go.through   cleared.and.burnt.land

uma   ti   da-tunu.
rice.field   REL   PASS-burn

Then those siblings went through the cleared land of the field that had been burnt.

Baru'   menyadi'   sida'   ti   nama   Belang   Ping'ang   mudik
then   sibling   3p   REL   name   B   P   go.upstream

lempa'   b-ulih   ibun   sawa',   b-ulih   uga'=m   sa'   menyadi'
plain   ANPAS-get   ibun   python   ANPAS-get   all=m   3p   sibling

ia'   keban   ibun,   bekas   pakay   api   keba   jelu,
that   kind   ibun   trace   eat   fire   all.kinds   animal

keba   ular.
all.kinds   snake

Then their sibling who was named Belang Ping'ang went upstream through the cleared burnt plain and got a python; those siblings got all kinds of *ibuns* (i.e. animals that get burnt in the field) left consumed by the fire, all kinds of animals, all kinds of snakes.

Baru'   ia'   ti   dah   da-padah   menyadi':   "Anti'   kita'   udah
then   that   REL   PERF   PASS-say   sibling   if   2p   PERF

N-tunu,   nti'   aday   keba   ibun,   ibun   semenang,   ibun
ACT-burn   if   exist   all.kinds ibun   ibun   k.o.snake   ibun

teng'iling,   naday   kita   taw'   teka   N-tugal   gena,   alah
ant-eater   NEG   2p   may   right.away   ACT-dibble   gena   must

ba-pe-dara'   dulaw."
ANPAS-NOM-offering.(PREC)   first

Then, this is what was said by their sibling (i.e. Puyang Gana): "If you have burnt the cleared land, there are all kinds of *ibuns*, *ibuns* of snakes, *ibuns* of ant-eaters, you can't just make holes and plant seeds as simply as that, you must make some offerings (to gods) first.

Ah, baru'   nyaw   ka'   N-tugal,   pia'   sa'   menyadi'
ah then   already FUT   ACT-dibble like.that   3p   sibling

ingat: "Kita   tu'   mah   dah   da-ajar   menyadi'   kita,
remember   1p.incl TOP   mah   PERF   PASS-teach   sibling   1p.incl

nti' ka' N-tugal, alah ngeN-bay' seniku'", jaku' sida'.
if   FUT ACT-dibble must ACT-invite 3d   say   3p

Ah, then when they were about to dibble, the siblings remembered this: "As for us, we have been taught by our brother that if we're going to dibble, we have to invite the two of them," they said.

"Kita tu' mayuh N-temu bala ibun jelu, teng'iling,
1p.incl now many ACT-find all.kinds ibun animal ant-eater

keban sawa'.
kind   python

"We now have found a multitude of all kinds of burnt animals, ant-eaters, pythons.

Aw', ba-siap   kita   ba-bunuh   babi pulah
well ANPAS-ready   1p.incl ANPAS-kill   pig   make

pe-dara'."
NOM-offering.(PREC)

Well, let's get ready to kill pigs and make offerings."

Cukup   apa   semua.
enough what all

Everything was ready.

Semua ia' sebedaw urang pecaya jara', adat urang
all   that before person believe *jara'* custom person

tuay, adat   kunu.
old   custom ancient

All that happened before the people believed (in God), really, it was the custom of the elder people, the old custom.

Aa, baru' nti' ka' N-tugal,   da-am'i'   sida' pansuh
Ah then if FUT ACT-dibble PASS-take 3p   cook.in.bamboo

pulut   tih, palu' sida' ka tanah   tujuh kali'.
glutinous.rice *tih* strike 3p   to ground seven time

Ah, then if they were going to dibble, they took a *pansuh pulut* (i.e. glutinous rice cooked in bamboo) and struck it seven times onto the ground.

Datay=m   *Puyang*   *Gana*   *aba'*   *bini,*   *aba'*   *Dara*   *Reja'.*
come=*m* P   G   and   wife   and   D   R

And they came, Puyang Gana with his wife, with Dara Reja'.

Datay   *kia',*   *"Tu'=m*   *kami*   *N-kumay*   *seniku'*   *aba'*
come   thither.(near)   this=*m*   1p.excl   ACT-call   2d   with

kami   *N-tugal,"*   *jaku'*   *sa'*   *menyadi'*   *jara',*   *sida'*   *Bejit*
1p.excl   ACT-dibble   say   3p   sibling   *jara'*   3p   B

Manay   *menyadi'*   *ah.*
M   sibling   *ah*

When they came there, "Here we invited both of you with us to go dibbling," said the siblings, Bejit Manay and his brothers.

"Aw',"   *jaku'*   *ia*   *jara',*   *"Aba'*   *N-tugal=m*   *kemua*   *tu'."*
yes   say   3s   *jara'*   follow   ACT-dibble=*m*   1d.excl   this

"Okay," he said, "We follow you (as you go) dibbling, the two of us."

Baru'   *sida'*   *ba-pakay*   *ba-sumay,*   *b-inum*   *keban*   *ay'.*
then   3p   ANPAS-eat   ANPAS-cook   ANPAS-drink   kind   water

After that they had big meals, drinking (various) kinds of liquids.

Melia'   *tih*   *bala*   *beram*   *d-inum*   *urang.*
long.time.ago   *tih*   all.kinds   k.o.alcohol   PASS-drink   person

In the past, you know, all kinds of *beram* were drunk by the people.

Baru'   *sida'*   *ka'*   *aba'*   *N-tugal.*
then   3p   FUT   follow   ACT-dibble

Then they were going to follow (the siblings) dibbling.

Aw',   *ka'*   *N-benih*   *ia*   *jara',*   *anu',*   *Putung*   *Kempat,*
well   want   ACT-seed   3s   *jara'*   what.is.it   P   K

menyadi'   *ti*   *in'u'.*
sibling   REL   female

Well, she wanted to plant seeds, what's her name, Putung Kempat, the female sibling.

Nema	*biasa*	*kita*	*Mualang*	*tu'*	*ti*	*laki*	*N-tugal,*
because	usually	1p.incl	Mualang	TOP	REL	male	ACT-dibble

ti	*in'u'*	*N-benih.*
REL	female	ACT-seed

Because it is usual for us, the Mualang, (that) the male does the dibbling, (and) the female plants seeds. (The story teller's comment)

Jaku'	*Dara*	*Reja',*	*bini*	*Puyang*	*Gana:*	*"Adu,*	*kita*	*adu*	*alah*
say	D	R	wife	P	G	don't	1p.incl	needn't	must

N-benih,	*ila'*	*N-benih,*	*anti'*	*sida'*	*udah*	*N-tugal."*
ACT-seed	later	ACT-seed	if	3p	PERF	ACT-dibble

(However) Dara Reja', the wife of Puyang Gana said: "No, we don't have to plant seeds, we will sow later, if they have done the dibbling."

Aw',	*balang*	*sida'*	*N-benih.*
well	cancel	3p	ACT-seed

Well, they canceled planting the seeds.

Udah	*sida'*	*menyadi'*	*N-tugal,*	*udah*	*mah*	*tugal*	*ia',*	*da-am'i'*
after	3p	sibling	ACT-dibble	after	*mah*	dibble	that	PASS-take

ia,	*Dara*	*Reja',*	*benih,*	*da-am'ur,*	*N-atur*	*diri'*	*tama'*
3s	D	R	seed	PASS-spread	ACT-arrange	self	enter

ka	*lubang*	*tugal,*	*kisah*	*tih.*
to	hole	dibble	story	*tih*

After the siblings had dibbled, after the dibbling, by her were taken, by Dara Reja', the seeds and spread out, and they (the seeds) arranged themselves (automatically) coming into the holes, that was the story.

Maka[7]	*ku*	*N-padah*	*dunging,*	*kisah*	*tih.*
therefore	1s	ACT-say	fairy.tale	story	*tih*

Therefore I said it is a fairy tale, the story. (The story teller's comment)

Udah,	*udah*	*ba-tugal,*	*baru'*	*sida'*	*ba-bunuh*	*babi*
already	after	ANPAS-dibble	then	3p	ANPAS-kill	pig

manuk,	*ba-pakay*	*ba-inum,*	*bay'*	*beram.*
chicken	ANPAS-eat	ANPAS-drink	bring	k.o.alcohol

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[7] *Maka* 'that is why, therefore' is a Malay/Indonesian borrowing.

Having done that, after having dibbled, they killed pigs and chickens, had meals and drinks, brought *beram*.

Sida'	*N-uti'*	*ipar*	*ia'*	*N-inum.*
3p	ACT-make.joke	sibling.in.law	that	ACT-drink

They jokingly challenged their sister-in-law to drink.

Jaku'	*Puyang*	*Gana:*	*"Nang*	*kita'*	*N-uti'*		*ipar*
say	P	G	don't	2p	ACT-make.joke		sibling.in.law

kita'	*N-inum,*	*mali*	*ia*	*mutah.*
2p	ACT-drink	lest	3s	vomit

Puyang Gana said: "Don't you make your sister-in-law drink, lest she vomits.

Nti'	*ia*	*mutah,*	*ia*	*nday*	*upa*	*mutah*	*kita."*
if	3s	vomit	3s	NEG	like	vomit	1p.incl

If she vomits, she doesn't vomit like us."

"Uh,	*alah*	*mutah*	*keka'.*
oh	must	vomit	older.sibling.in.law

"Oh, the older sister-in-law has to vomit.

Jalay	*kita*	*taw'*	*se-jalay*	*sengabut,"*	*jaku'*	*sa'*	*menyadi'*	*jara'.*
so.that	1p.incl	can	ONE-road	continuously	say	3p	sibling	jara

That way we could walk together," said those siblings.

Ke-sudah-sudah	*Dara*	*Reja'*	*N-inum ....*
after.and.after	D	R	ACT-drink

After Dara Reja' has drunk and drunk ....

"Nang,"	*jaku'*	*ia,*	*Puyang*	*Gana,*	*"Apa*	*da-pukung-pukung*
don't	say	3s	P	G	what	PASS-force-RED

N-inum	*beram,*	*mutah*	*ga'*	*ia,*	*mabuk*	*ia*	*tih."*
ACT-drink	k.o. alcohol	vomit	also	3s	drunk	3s	*tih*

"No," said he, Puyang Gana, "Why do you force her to drink *beram*, she will vomit, she will be drunk."

Serta	*ia*	*mutah*	*ka*	*tanah,*	*N-peda'*	*tanah*	*ijaw*	*rumput,*	*ah*
so.as	3s	vomit	to	ground	ACT-see	ground	green	grass	*ah*

rumput   uga'-uga'.
grass   all-RED

So as she vomited to the ground, they saw the ground turned completely green like grass.

"Ah   nih,"   jaku' Puyang   Gana, "Tu' N-asuh   ku N-rut   kita'.
ah   *nih*   say   P   G   this   ACT-cause   1s ACT-forbid   2p

"Ah, here you are," said Puyang Gana, "That's why I forbade you all.

Tu'   asa   naday tajam siku   kita' menyadi', naday kita'
this   whenever   NEG   sharp elbow   2p   sibling   NEG   2p

t-ulih   ka   padi   beras.
MID-get   to   paddy uncooked.rice

Look, whenever all you siblings are not strong and diligent, you will not get rice.

Arus   ba-kerja   keras=m   kita'!"
must   ANPAS-work   hard=*m*   2p

You must really work hard!"

Aa, udah ia'   tih, udah ba-pakay   ba-inum   tih,   baru'
ah   after that *tih* after ANPAS-eat   ANPAS-drink   *tih*   then

anu',   Putung Kempat tu'   ngeN-bay'   ipar
what.is.it   P   K   TOP   ACT-invite   sibling.in.law

N-pan'i',   ngeN-bay'   sanu'   N-pan'i',
ACT-take.a.bath   ACT-invite   INDEF.PRON   ACT-take.a.bath

Dara   Reja'.
D   R

Ah, after that, after they ate and drank, then, what's-her-name, Putung Kempat, she called her sibling-in-law to take a bath, she called what's-her-name to take a bath, Dara Reja'.

Putung   Kempat tu'   menyadi' sa' Bejit   Manay, Dara Reja'
P   K   TOP   sibling   3p   B   M   D   R

tu'   bini Puyang Gana, ipar   ia, N-pan'i'.
TOP   wife P   G   sibling.in.law   3s   ACT-take.a.bath

Putung Kempat was the sister of Bejit Manay and his brothers, Dara Reja' was the

wife of Puyang Gana, her sister-in-law, they took a bath.

Jadi,   ia   ka'   k=ili'.
so   3s   want   to=downstream

So, she (Putung Kempat) wanted to go downstream.

"Ih,   nang   di'   k=ili'   ku,   n'u',   adi'!"
hay   don't   2s.fem   to=downstream 1s   TOA   younger.sibling

jaku' Dara Reja',   "Mali   di'   jangkit   panaw   ku."
say   D   R   lest   2s.fem contagious skin.disease 1s

"Eh, don't go downstream from me, younger sister! said Dara Reja', "Lest you catch my skin disease."

Kisah   tih,   Dara Reja'   ba-panaw   mas,   seluruh
story   *tih*   D   R   ANPAS-skin.disease   gold   whole

tubuh   panaw   mas.
body   skin.disease   gold

So as the story goes, Dara Reja' caught the yellowish *panaw* skin disease, her whole body had the yellowish *panaw*.

"Ih,   alah   jangkit,   keka',   baday   naday   bayik?"
eh   must   contagious   older.sibling.in.law   *baday* NEG   good

jaku' Putung   Kempat.
say   P   K

"Eh, I have to get it too, older sister-in-law, isn't that good?" said Putung Kempat.

"Di',   nang,   di'   naday   tan!"
2s.fem   don't   2s.fem   NEG   endure

"You, no, you can't endure it!"

Aa,   tengik   ia   matang   N-pan'i'   k=ili'   m=ia.
ah   stubborn 3s   persistent ACT-take.a.bath to=downstream   m=3s

Ah, she was stubborn, insisting on taking a bath at the place downstream.

Apa   teka   serta   ia angkat   ari   ay',   N-peda'   aday
what   right.away   as.soon.as 3s emerge   from   water ACT-see   exist

bangkang   tum'uh   seluruh   tubuh.
bruise/ulcer   grow   whole   body

Right away as she emerged from the water, she saw bruises and ulcers growing all over her body.

"Tu',	*da',*[8]	*di'!"*	*jaku'*	*ia,*	*"N-asuh*	*ku*	*ka'*	*N-rut.*
this	look	2s.fem	say	3s	ACT-cause	1s	want	ACT-forbid

"Now look, you!" she (Dara Reja') said, "That's why I wanted to forbid you.

Tu'	*bila*	*di'*	*nyaw*	*tum'uh*	*pitu',*	*bila*	*di'*	*tan*
this	when	2s.fem	PERF	grow	like.this	when	2s.fem	endure

upa	*ku?"*
like	1s

Now when in your case it has grown like this, when in your case could you endure it like me?"

Baru'	*dih*	*kisah*	*ti*	*menyadi'*	*tih.*
then	*dih*	story	REL	sibling	*tih*

Then, (we turn to) the story of those siblings.

"Bila	*taw'*	*da-bay'*	*ka*	*rumah*	*jara'?*
when	can	PASS-bring	to	house	*jara'*

"How could she be brought home?

Kati	*kita*	*aba'*	*n'u'*	*tu'?"*
how	1p.incl	with	TOA	this

What should we do with our younger sister?"

Jaku'	*sida'*	*menyadi'*	*ti*	*laki*	*ah.*
say	3p	sibling	REL	male	*ah*

Those male siblings said:

"Aw',	*nti'*	*anu',*	*teka*	*anyut=m."*
well	if	what.is.it	right.away	swept.away=*m*

"Well, if uh, just let her be swept away by the water."

Baru'	*sida'*	*N-am'i'*	*tajaw*	*ka*	*rumah.*
then	3p	ACT- take	big.jar	to	house

---

8 *Da'* is a short form of *peda'* look, see'.

After that they got a big jar from their house.

Tajaw	*ti*	*besay,*	*taw'*	*jalay*	*N-pajak*	*nsia.*
big.jar	REL	big	can	for	ACT-put.in	human

A jar that is big, into which a person can be put.

Da-bekal		*sida'*	*ka*	*bala*	*peN-pakay,*	*keban*
PASS-	provide.provisions	3p	to	all.kinds	NOM-eat	kind

apa	*dia'.*
what	there.(near)

She was provided with provisions of all kinds of food, all kinds of things in there.

Da-anyut	*sida'.*
PASS-sweep.away	3p

They let it be swept away (on the water).

Ari	*ulu*	*ari*	*Ketungaw*	*sida'*	*N-anyut.*
from	upstream	from	K	3p	ACT-sweep.away

From the upstream part of Ketungaw River they let her be swept away.

Nya'	*kisah,*	*ari*	*nyin*	*kisah*	*ia'.*
that	story	from	that.over.there	story	that

That's the story, from there as the story has it.

Da-anyut	*sa'*	*menyadi',*	*pulay.*
PASS-swept.away	3p	sibling	go.home

After the brothers had let her be swept away, they went home.

Aa,	*pulay*	*menyadi'*	*ka*	*rumah.*
ah	go.home	sibling	to	house

Ah, the siblings went home.

Puyang	*Gana*	*aba'*	*bini*	*pulay*	*ka*	*peN-diaw*	*diri'*	*ah.*
P	G	and	wife	go.home	to	NOM-live	self	*ah*

Puyang Gana and his wife went home to their own dwelling.

Jadi   kisah   nya'   ilang.
so   story   that   disappear

So, that's the end of that (part of the) story.

Kisah nya'   udah   lama'-lama',   aw',   b-uma   ba-tawun,
story that   already long-RED   well   ANPAS-rice.field ANPAS-year

ba-intu   ba-ketaw,   ba-apa,   sampay   udah
ANPAS-raise   ANPAS-harvest   ANPAS-what   until   PERF

N-ketaw,   baru' sa'   menyadi'   ingat: "Kati menyadi' kita
ACT-harvest   then   3p   sibling   remember   how   sibling   1p.incl

tu',   n'u'?   Udah   lama'   amat   kita   anyut   dah.
this   TOA   alreadyl   long   indeed   1p.incl sweep.away   *dah*

A long time has passed since that story. Well, they worked the rice field yearly, raised things, did whatever else, until the harvest was over, then those siblings remembered: "How is it with our younger sister? It has been indeed a long time since we let her be swept away.

Ntah   idup,   ntah   mati,   ntah   kati   kini?
not.know   live   not.know   die   not.know   how   *kini*

Is she alive, or is she dead, or how is she?

Nti' anu',   kita   siap N-ansul,"   jaku' sida'   menyadi'.
if   what.is.it 1p.incl ready ACT-follow   say   3p   sibling

If uh, we're ready to go after her," said those siblings.

"Aw', ka',"   jaku' tay   menyadi'   bukay,   "Kita   tu'   bila,
yes   want   say   REL   sibling   other   1p.incl this   when

anu',   ba-jimuy   ngaw da-bay'   bekal,   ngaw
what.is.it   ANPAS-dry   for   PASS-bring   provisions   for

bekal   kita   da   jalay."
provisions   1p.incl   LOC   road

"Yes, I want to," said the other sibling, "When do we, uh, dry (rice) to bring with us as our provision on the road.

Baru'   N-jemuy   padi   pitu',   semua   se-bekal.
then   ACT-dry   paddy   like.this   all   ONE-provisions

Then they dried rice, all (of them) shared the same provisions.

Baru'   sida'   ili'.
then   3p   go.downstream

After that they went downstream.

Ngaw   peraw   sida'   ili',   N-sidi   abi
with   proa   3p   go.downstream   ACT-trace   trace

per-anyut   tempayan.
NOM-swept.away   jar

With a proa they went downstream, tracing the trace of the path of the jar that had been swept away.

Tempayan   tu'   tih dia'   ia'   sangkut,   dia'   sing'ah,
jar   TOP   *tih* there.(near) that get.stuck   there.(near)   stop.by

dia'   nugaw.
there.(near)   stay.quiet

As for the jar, it got stuck over there, it stopped over there, it stayed quiet over there.

Jadi   kisah   Putung   Kempat   tih,   ti   kena'   peN-pedih
so   story   P   K   *tih*   REL   afflict   NOM-sick

ia'   tih,   asa   malam   ba-ren'am   ka   ay'   ia.
that   *tih* whenever   night   ANPAS-soak   to   water   3s

So, as for Putung Kempat, who caught the disease, you know, whenever it was night, she soaked herself in the water.

Jadi   waktu   ia   ba-ren'am   ka   ay'   ia',   datay   ikan   N-pakay,
so   when   3s   ANPAS-soak   to   water that come   fish   ACT-eat

N-pakay,   N-pakay,   peN-sakit   ia   sampay   sem'uh,   bersih.
ACT-eat   ACT-eat   NOM-sick   3s   until   recovered   clean

So, when she soaked herself in the water, fish came and ate, ate, ate her disease until she was recovered, clean.

Aa,   pia'   kisah.
ah   like.that   story

Ah, that was the story.

Jadi   sesudah-sudah   ia ili',   datay   ka   nanga
so   after.so.long   3s go.downstream   come   to   estuary

Sepawuk, nanga Sepawuk ti aday dia' da Belitang tu'.
S estuary S REL exist there.(near) LOC B this

Thus, after such a long time she went downstream, she arrived at the Sepauk Estuary, the Sepauk Estuary that is over there at the Belitang River.

Sampay da sabar bubu Aji Melayu.
arrive LOC trapping.fence fishtrap haji M

She arrived at the fishtrap fence of Haji Melayu.

Aday kisah urang tuay, Aji Melayu N-sabar sungay
exist story person old haji M ACT-trapping.fence river

Sepawuk ia', N-sabar bubu ngaw N-tangkap ikan.
S that ACT-trapping.fence fishtrap for ACT-catch fish

There is the story of (our) ancestors of how Haji Melayu was setting up a fence at the Sepawuk River, how he set up a fishtrap fence for catching fish.

Sampay dia'=m, nitaw' ia anyut k=ili' jara'.
until there.(near)=m can't 3s swept.away to=downstream jara'

When Putung Kempat arrived there, she couldn't be swept away (any longer) downstream.

Jadi malam nya' Aji Melayu tu' mimpi.
so night that haji M TOP dream

So, on that night Haji Melayu, he dreamed.

Ia mimpi N-peda' bulan, teka da-pangku' ia pia'.
3s dream ACT-see moon right.away PASS-take.on.lap 3s like.that

He dreamed that he saw the moon, right away he took it on his lap, that's how it was.

Dani malam, nitaw' tin'uk.
wake.up night can't sleep

Waking up at night, he couldn't sleep.

"Apa badi mimpi ku?" jaku' ia.
what intent dream 1s say 3s

"What does my dream mean?" he said.

"Nyelah   amat,   naday   kala'   mimpi   pia'."
strange   true   NEG   ever   dream   like.that

"It's very strange, I've never dreamed like this."

Udah ia',   baru'   ia turun   ka   ay'   tih   ka'   N-pasaw   bubu.
after   that then   3s descend   to   water   *tih*   FUT   ACT-set   fishtrap

After that, he then went down to the water, going to set the fishtrap.

Ari   jawuh   ia   N-peda'   aday   tepayan.
from   far   3s   ACT-see   exist   jar

From a distance he saw that there was a jar.

"Apa   utay   ia'?"   jaku'   ia.
what   thing   that   say   3s

"What thing is that?" he said.

Baru'   da-gusung.
then   PASS-go.after

Then he went after it.

Peda'   ia   d=alam   tepayan   aday   nsia.
see   3s   LOC=inside   jar   exist   human

He saw that inside the jar there was a person.

Dia'   aday   urang   dara,   urang   in'u'.
there.(near)   exist   person   young.woman   person   female

In there there was a young woman, a female.

Da-bay'   ka   rumah.
PASS-bring   to   house

She was taken home.

Jadi datay ka rumah, gaga mah   ia jara', nema   aday   nsia   jara',
so   come to house   glad   *mah*   3s *jara'* because   exist   human   *jara'*

ulih   N-temu,   ukay   ulih   N-giga'.
by   ACT-find   not   by   ACT-look.for

Thus, arriving at home, he was indeed glad, because there was a human, found, not sought!

Aw', da-pulah   ngaw bini   ia.
well   PASS-make   for   wife   3s

Well, she was made his wife.

Ba-laki-bini=m   seniku'   dia',   tin'uk   ngantuk,
ANPAS-husband-wife=m   3d   there.(near) sleep   feel.sleepy

N-pakay   N-mpa'   d=alam   rumah   tang'a'   ia.
ACT-eat   ACT-chew   LOC-inside   house   ladder   3s

The two of them got married there, they lived together at his home.

Jadi   ilang   kisah   ia'   tih,   menyadi'   tu'   tih
so   disappear   story   that *tih*   sibling   TOP   *tih*

ba-labuh   ili'   ari   Ketungaw   nyin.
ANPAS-fall   downstream   from K   that.over.there

So, leaving that part of the story, as for those siblings, they started going downstream from Ketungaw River.

Datay   ka   sungay   Keli',   N-dinga   gu'   antu   tu'
come   to   river   K   ACT-hear   voice   ghost this

ba-ngakay   N-aduh   apa,   ba-kayit   duri'.
ANPAS-ouch   ACT-ouch   what   ANPAS-hook   thorn

Arriving at the Keli' River, they heard the voice of the ghosts screaming and sighing of something, hooking each other with thorns.

Duri'   danan   besay   da-kayit   sida',   da-dujut.
thorn   k.o.rattan   big   PASS-hook   3p   PASS-draw

Big *danan* thorns were hooked by them and drawn.

Ah,   ia'=m   kerja   sa'   ia'.
ah   that=m work   3p   that

Ah, that was what they did.

Baru'   sa'   anu'   tu'   tih N-pansa'.
then   3p   INDEF.PRON   TOP   *tih* ACT-pass

Then, they, what's their name, passed by.

"Ih,   kita',"   jaku'   antu,   "Nitaw'   kita'   N-pansa'   gena.
hey   2p   say   ghost   can't   2p   ACT-pass   *gena*

"Hey, you," the ghosts said, "You can't just pass through as you like.

Kita   ba-kayit   duri'!
1p.incl   ANPAS-hook   thorn

Let's have a "thorn-hooking" fight!

Asa   kita'   naday   t-alah   ka kami,   kita'   nitaw'
whenever   2p   NEG   MID-beat   to   1p.excl   2p   can't

N-kilah   tu'.
ACT-pass   this

When you can't beat us, you can't pass through here.

Nga'   tu'=m!"
stop.there   this=*m*

Stop just here!"

"Tu'   se-macam,   kati,   kita   tu'   naday   tan."
this   ONE-kind   how   1p.incl   TOP   NEG   endure

"This is crazy! What can we do, WE won't survive it."

Baru'   jaku'   menyadi'   ti   tuay   ah,   Bejit   Manay: "Naday,
then   say   sibling   REL   old   *ah*   B   M   NEG

anu',   kita   aday   pua'.
well   1p.incl   exist   bark.clothes

Then, the older sibling, Bejit Manay, said: "No, we do, well, we have bark clothes.

Sida'   ia'   takut   ka pua'   bah."
3p   that   afraid   to   bark.cloth   *bah*

They are afraid of the bark clothes (I am pretty sure of that)."

Pua'   ti   adayd=alam   utan   pia',
bark.clothes   REL   existLOC-inside   forest   like.that

da-palu'   ngaw   selimut,   pia'.
PASS-strike   for   blanket   like.that

(I mean) the bark clothes which are in the forest, you know, which are beaten to

make sheets, you know. (The story teller's comment)

Baru'   da-am'i'   sida'   ia'.
then   PASS-take   3p   that

Then they took bark clothes.

Da-kayit   sida' giling pua'   s-iku'   sida' menyadi'.
PASS-hook   3p   roll   bark.cloth ONE-CLASS   3p   sibling

(Then) one of the siblings was rolled up with the bark clothes and was hooked (with thorns).

Da-kayit   jurus   da-bay'   kia',   da-bay'   kitu'.
PASS-hook   straight PASS-bring   thither.(near) PASS-bring   hither

He was hooked and straight away dragged in all directions.

Da-bay'   kia',   naday   pedih.
PASS-bring   thither.(near) NEG   sick

Being dragged away, it didn't hurt him.

Nema   pua'   jara',   nema   pua'   guni.
because   bark.cloth   *jara'*   because bark.cloth gunny.sack

Because of the bark clothes, because of the gunny clothes.

Ah,   udah.
ah   already

Ah, it was over.

"Tu'   kita'!"   jaku'   sida'   jara'.
now   2p   say   3p   *jara'*

"Now, you!" they (the siblings) said.

Kayit   sida'   antu.
hook   3p   ghost

(And) they hooked the ghosts.

Mati   antu   tu'!
die   ghost   this

And dead was this ghost!

"Ah! Adu   kita'   ditu'!
ah   don't   2p   here

"Oh no! Don't you stay here!

Lekas   angkat   kita'   ari   tu'!
quick   go   2p   from   this

Go away quickly from here!"

Naday   kami   te-alah   ka   kita',"   jaku'   antu.
NEG   1p.excl   MID-beat   to   2p   say   ghost

"We can't beat you," said the ghosts.

Baru'   sida'   angkat,   ili'   ari   ia'.
then   3p   go   go.downstream   from   that

After that they started off, going downstream from there.

Ili'   sida'   ari   ia'   agi',   datay   ka   sungay   Birah.
go.downstream   3p   from that again   come   to   river   B

They went downstream again from there, arriving at the Birah River.

Ah,   dia'   antu   N-inum   darah.
ah   there.(near)   ghost ACT-drink   blood

Well, over there ghosts were drinking blood.

Apa   darah   tay   da-inum   sida',   ba-jalung-jalung,   kisah.
what   blood   REL   PASS-drink   3p   ANPAS-big.bowl-RED   story

What kind of blood they drank, I don't know. It was in big bowls, as it is told.

Datay   kia',   anu',   jaku'   antu: "Kita'   nitaw',
come   thither.(near)   well   say   ghost   2p   can't

asa   kita'   naday   te-p-amis   ka   darah   ti
whenever   2p   NEG   MID-CAUS-finished   to   blood   REL

kami   beri'   ka   kita',   nitaw'   kita'   N-kilah   tu'.
1p.excl   give   to   2p   can't   2p   ACT-pass   this

They came there, well, the ghosts said: "You can't (pass through), as long as you're not able to finish the blood we give to you, you can't pass through here.

Nga'   tu'   mah   kita'!"
stop.there this   *mah* 2p

You just stay here!"

"Aw',   barang,"   jaku'   sida'.
yes   whatever   say   3p

"Okay, whatever (you want)," they (the siblings) said.

Baru'   sida'   pulay   ka peraw sida'.
then   3p   return   to proa   3p

Then they (the siblings) went back to their proa.

"Kati   akal   kita?
how   mind 1p.incl

"What should we do?

Kita   tu'   bila   jama   N-inum   ka   darah?
1p.incl   this   when usually ACT-drink   to   blood

As for us, when do we ever drink blood?

Naday   sa-sangup."
NEG   be.able-RED

We're not able to do that."

"Naday   pedih,"   jaku'   pangan   bukay   menyadi'   ah.
NEG   difficult   say   partner   other   sibling   *ah*

"It's not difficult," said the other sibling.

"Peraw kita   tebuk   kah lah, s-iku'   budi
proa   1p.incl make.hole *kah lah* ONE-CLASS   pretend

N-tam'ang   din   N-inum."
ACT-ride.on   there.(far) ACT-drink

"Let's make a leak in the proa, (then) one of us pretends to sail the proa (while) drinking (blood)."

Jadi   darah ia'   keluar   ari   peraw ka ay'.
so   blood   that   exit   from   proa   to   water

So, the blood leaked out from the proa to the water.

Antu   naday   N-kelala   nsia   N-pulah   ti   pia'.
ghost   NEG   ACT-recognize   human   ACT-do   REL   like.that

The ghosts did not realize humans would do a thing like that.

Baru'   sida'   N-gusung   antu: "Taw'=m,"   jaku'   sida'.
then   3p   ACT-go.after   ghost   can=m   say   3p

Then they met the ghosts: "We can do it," they said.

"Kami   dulaw   beri'   ka   darah!"
1p.excl   first   give   to   blood

"Give us the blood first!"

Beri'   antu   darah   sampay   mis   darah   ia,   kerna   nisi'
give   ghost   blood   until   finished   blood   3s   because   nothing

apa-apa sida'ah.
what-RED   3p   ah

The ghosts gave blood until there was no more, because they (the siblings) were just doing fine.

"Aduh,   lampar   ga'   kita'!"   jaku'   antu.
ouch   excessive   also   2p   say   ghost

"Oh no, you are really too much!" said the ghosts.

"Anal   amat   kita'   wih."
strong   true   2p   wih

"You're really strong, (indeed you are)."

"Aa,   tu'   kita'   dih!"   jaku'   sida'   nsia   jara'.
ah   this   2p   dih   say   3p   human   jara'

"Ah, and now you!" said those humans.

"Ba-ganti   dih   kita'   N-inum   darah."
ANPAS-change   dih   2p   ACT-drink   blood

 "It's your turn to drink blood."

Da-beri'   sida'   darah   ka   antu.
PASS-give   3p   blood   to   ghost

They gave blood to the ghosts.

Naday   antu   te-inum   ka   darah.
NEG   ghost MID-drink   to   blood

The ghosts were not able to drink up the blood.

Aa,   baru'   antu   N-asuh   sida'   turun   kin
ah   then   ghost ACT-order   3p   descend   thither.(far)

ka   ili',   N-ili'   terus.
to   downstream   ACT-go.downstream   straight

Ah, then the ghosts ordered them to go further down the river, to go on downstream.

Aa,   ke-panyay   kisah   sida'   ia',   baru'   sa'   menyadi'   tu'
ah   NOM-long   story   3p   that   then   3p   sibling   this

aday   N-peda'   ntawa'   ba-buah.
exist ACT-see   k.o.tree ANPAS-fruit

Ah, then after a long time as their story goes, it happened that the siblings saw a *ntawa'* tree bearing fruit.

Aa,   ia'   nyaw   semak   Sepawuk   mah   sida'   dih.
ah   that PERF   near   S   mah   3p   dih

Ah, that was close to the Sepawuk area, they were indeed.

Haja   si-s-igi'   ia'   buah   ntawa'.
solely   ONE-CLASS-RED   that fruit k.o.fruit

The *ntawa'* fruit was the only one (up there on the tree).

"Uh!"   jaku'   sida',   "Aday   buah   ntawa'   d=ataw   nyin.
oh   say   3p   exist   fruit k.o.fruit LOC=top   that.over.there

"Oh!" they said, "There's a *ntawa'* fruit up there.

Buh,   kita   N-tiki'   ah!"
come   on!   1p.incl   ACT-climb   ah

Let's climb (it)!"

Tiki'   sida'   ntawa'   tih.
climb   3p   k.o.fruit tih

(So,) they climbed the *ntawa'* tree.

Baru'	*ari*	*pucuk*	*ntawa'*	*sida'*	*N-peda'*	*menyadi'*	*Putung*
then	from	top.of.tree	k.o.tree	3p	ACT-see	sibling	P

Kempat	*N-ancaw*	*padi*	*da*	*gang'ang*	*seniku'*	*da*	*nanga*
K	ACT-spread	paddy	LOC	balcony	3d	LOC	estuary

Sepawuk.
S

Then, from the top of the *ntawa'* tree they saw their sister Putung Kempat spreading out rice on their (i.e. PK and her husband's) balcony at the Sepawuk Estuary.

Rumah	*seniku'*	*aday*	*gang'ang.*
house	3d	exist	balcony

Their (Putung Kempat and her husband's) house had a balcony.

Jadi	*dia'*	*ia*	*N-jemuy*	*padi.*
so	there.(near)	3s	ACT-dry	paddy

Thus, there she was spreading out rice to dry in the sun.

Padi	*jemuy.*
paddy	dry

The rice was drying in the sun.

"Uh,	*nyun*	*menyadi'*	*kita*	*benung*	*N-ancaw*	*padi.*
oh	there.far.away	sibling	1p.incl	PROG	ACT-spread	paddy

"Oh, right over there our sister is spreading out rice.

Nyin	*idup*	*menyadi'*	*kita,"*	*jaku'*	*sida'.*
that.over.there	live	sibling	1p.incl	say	3p

Over there our sister lives," they said.

Gaga	*sida'*	*jara'*	*N-peda'*	*menyadi'*	*kelala*	*idup*	*tih,*	*kelala*
glad	3p	*jara'*	ACT-see	sibling	recognize	live	*tih*	recognize

selamat.
safe

They were really glad to see their sister known to be alive, known to be safe.

Baru'	*ntawa'*	*tu'*	*tih,*	*kisah*	*tih,*	*da-tikam*	*ari*	*pucuk*
then	k.o.fruit	this	*tih*	story	*tih*	PASS-throw	from	top.of.tree

ntawa'   ka   gang'ang   ia'.
k.o.tree   to   balcony   that

Then, the *ntawa'* fruit, that was the story, it was thrown from the top of the tree to the balcony.

Da-am'i'   Putung   Kempat,   jadi   mas,   ntawa'.
PASS-take   P   K   become   gold   k.o.fruit

It was taken by Putung Kempat, becoming gold, the *ntawa'*.

Pajak   ia   d=alam   tepayan.
put.in   3s   LOC=inside   jar

She put it inside a jar.

Ia   nitaw'   bada'   ari   ni   mas   ia'   datay   jara'.
3s   not.know   *bada'*   from   where   gold   that   come   *jara'*

She didn't know where that gold came from.

Nyelah   uga'   utay   ia'.
strange   all   thing   that

Very strange that thing was.

Keba'   tanah   Sepawuk   ba-mas,   kisah.
therefore   land   S   ANPAS-gold   story

Therefore it is told that the land of Sepawuk contains gold.

Baru'   dih   sida'   tu'   jurus   ili'.
then   *dih*   3p   this   straight   downstream

After that they went straight on downstream.

Ili',   datay   ka   nanga   Sepawuk.
go.downstream   come   to   estuary   S

Going downstream, they arrived at the Sepawuk Estuary.

Datay   ka   pengkal   Aji   Melayu.
come   to   landing.place   haji   M

They arrived at the Haji Melayu's mooring place.

Da-tamit,   *N-tiki'*   *dia'.*
PASS-tie.up   ACT-climb   there.(near)

Having tied up (the proa), they climbed up there.

Baru'   N-tanya',   anu',   serta   N-tiki'   ka   rumah.
then   ACT-ask   what.is.it   as.soon.as   ACT-climb   to   house

Then they asked, what is it, as they climbed up to the house.

Pas   N-peda'   menyadi'.
at.same.time   ACT-see   sibling

At the same moment they saw their sister.

"Aa,   tu'   menyadi'   kita,   selamat!"   jaku'   sida'.
ah   this   sibling   1p.incl   safe   say   3p

"Ah, here's our sister, she's safe!" they said.

Gaga   mah   sida'   jara',   ba-sium   ba-lulum,
glad   *mah*   3p   *jara'*   ANPAS-kiss   ANPAS-PREC

ba-salam,   ba-apa.
ANPAS-greeting   ANPAS-what

They were really happy, they kissed each other, they greeted each other, and what not.

Aba'   Aji   Melayu   s-igi'   pia'.
with   haji   M   ONE-CLASS   like.that

With Haji Melayu they did the same.

Aa,   dia'=m   sida'   ba-sing'ah,   sida'   dia'.
ah   there.(near)=*m*   3p   ANPAS-stop.by   3p   there.(near)

Ah, there they (the siblings) stopped by, thus they did there.

Da-terima   bayik.
PASS-receive   good

They were welcomed.

Ulih   amat   da-terima   bayik,   Aji   Melayu   tu'   alam
but   although   PASS-receive   good   haji   M   this   inside

pikir   ia,   naday   ia   yakin   ia'   menyadi',
think   3s   NEG   3s   sure   that   sibling

mungkin   ngaw   N-tipu,   ngaw   apa.
maybe   for   ACT-deceive   for   what

However, although they were welcome, as for Haji Melayu, in his mind, he didn't
believe they were siblings, maybe (they wanted) to deceive, or to do (who knows)
what.

Baru'   ia,   dah   se-malam   pertama,   malam   ke-dua,   baru'   ia
then   3s   after ONE-night   first   night   ORD-two   then   3s

N-padah   ka menyadi': "Aw',   kita'   ditu'   mah,   aka',"   jaku'   ia, "Ku
ACT-say   to sibling   well   2p   here   *mah* TOA   say   3s   1s

malam   tu',   anu',   ka'   N-giga'   ikan.
night   this   what.is.it want   ACT-look.for   fish

Then he, after the first night, the second night, then he said to the siblings: "Well,
you just stay here, brothers," he said, "Tonight, uh, I want to look for fish.

Kita'   aba'   menyadi'   kita'   ditu'=m."
2p   with   sibling   2p   here=*m*

You just (stay) here with your sister."

Jadi   ia', kita   nitaw'   bada'   kisah, kati cara ia anu'   tih,
so   that 1p.incl not.know *bada'* story   how way   3s what.is.it *tih*

baruh   peN-tin'uk   Putung Kempat   tu' tih, da-tepu'   ia dawun
under   NOM-sleep   P   K   this *tih* PASS-put   3s leaf

pisang.
banana

So about that (detail in the story), we don't know the story how he, what-is-it, under
Putung Kempat's bed banana leaves were placed by him.

Nema   nti'   aday   apa-apa   kan[9]   dawun   pisang   tu'   jat
because   if   exist what-RED   *kan*   leaf   banana   this bad

jara',   carik   jara'.
jara'   torn.apart   *jara'*

---

[9] *Kan,* a particle that is used to mark a rhetorical question, is clearly a Malay/Indonesian
borrowing.

Because if anything would happen, these banana leaves would be ruined, torn apart, wouldn't they?

Kisah,   ia   ba-jalay.
story   3s   ANPAS-road

According to the story, he (Haji Melayu) went off.

Ulih   ia   naday   ba-jalay,   ia   N-intup.
but   3s   NEG   ANPAS-road   3s   ACT-spy

But he didn't go away, he spied (on them).

Upa malam nya',   se-malam   nya' jara',   tin'uk.
as   night   that   ONE-night   that   *jara'*   sleep

During that night, the whole night, (everybody) slept.

Pia'   tih   kisah,   ia   diaw   da   padung.
like.that   *tih*   story   3s   stay   LOC   attic

That was the story, he stayed quiet in the attic.

Ia   siap   kayu ngaw ia N-kayit   kayin Putung   Kempat.
3s   prepare   wood for   3s ACT-hook   cloth P   K

He prepared a (piece of) wood for him to hook Putung Kempat's clothes (shirts).

Tin'uk.
sleep

(Everybody) slept.

Ting'al   sida'   menyadi'   nyaw tin'uk,   kayin   Putung   Kempat
stay   3p   sibling   PERF sleep   cloth   P   K

di-siah   ia   pia',   telany'ang Putung   Kempat.
PASS-disclose   3s   like.that naked   P   K

Letting the siblings be asleep, the clothes of Putung Kempat were taken off like that, and naked she was. Putung Kempat.

Dani   menyadi'   s-iku',   "Akay,   kati   adi',   jadi
wake.up   sibling   ONE-CLASS   alas   how   younger.sibling marry

ka Raja Suka, urang ba-nama   teka   tin'uk tubuh
to king   S   person ANPAS-name   right.away   sleep   body

telany'ang	*kijang,"*	*jaku'*	*ia.*
naked	deer	say	3s

One of the brothers woke up, "Oh no! What's wrong with you, sister, you are married to King Suka, a famous person, and yet you still sleep completely naked," he said.

Da-apis,	*tutup*	*lagi'*	*kayin.*
PASS-fix	cover	again	cloth

The clothes were fixed, covering (her) again.

Tin'uk.
sleep

(Everybody) slept.

Ulih	*ia,*	*Aji*	*Melayu,*	*naday*	*tin'uk*	*jara'.*
but	3s	haji	M	NEG	sleep	*jara'*

But he, Haji Melayu, didn't sleep, indeed.

Udah	*ia',*	*da-kasi'*	*agi'*	*kayin,*	*telany'ang*	*urang*
after	that	PASS-disclose	again	cloth	naked	person

in'u'	*ia'.*
female	that

After that, he removed the clothes again. The woman was naked.

Malu	*da-peda'*	*jara',*	*dani*	*menyadi'*	*sida'*	*s-iku'.*
ashamed	PASS-see	*jara'*	wake.up	sibling	3p	ONE-CLASS

It was a shameful sight; one of the siblings woke up.

"Akay,	*kati*	*mah*	*di'*	*tu',*	*ah,*	*kasih*	*bada'*	*jara',"*	*jaku'*
alas	how	*mah*	2s.fem	this	ah	feeling.of.pity	*bada'*	*jara'*	say

ia,	*"Jadi*	*ka*	*keban*	*Raja*	*Suka,*	*jadi*	*ka*	*urang*	*ba-nama*
3s	marry	to	kind	king	S	marry	to	person	ANPAS-name

tin'uk	*tubuh*	*telany'ang*	*kijang."*
sleep	body	naked	deer

"Ah, what is it with you, ah, what a pity," he said, "Getting married to King Suka, to a famous person, and yet sleeping totally naked."

Da-apis.
PASS-fix

The clothes were fixed.

Alam	*ati*	*ia:*	*"Tu'*	*amat*	*sida'*	*tu'*	*menyadi'.*
inside	liver	3s	this	true	3p	this	sibling

In his mind (Haji Melayu thought): "It looks like they're indeed siblings.

Pikir,	*anti'*	*naday*	*menyadi',*	*naday*	*betah*	*N-peda'*
think	if	NEG	sibling	NEG	feel.comfortable	ACT-see

tay   pia'."
REL   like.that

I think, if they were not siblings, they wouldn't feel easy seeing something like that."

Sampay	*mis*	*sa'*	*menyadi'*	*ah.*
until	finished	3p	sibling	ah

Until all the brothers had had their turn.

"Udah,	*amat*	*menyadi'*	*sida'*	*tu',"*	*jaku'*	*ia.*
udah	true	sibling	3p	this	say	3s

"Okay then, they are really siblings," he said.

Baru',	*ia,*	*naday*	*N-padah*	*diri',*	*ia*	*pagi*	*malah*	*ia*	*rari*
then	3s	NEG	ACT-say	self	3s	tomorrow	even	3s	run

ari   ia'.
from   that

After that, without saying anything, on the next day he even ran away from there.

Tin'uk	*sida'*	*menyadi'*	*sampay*	*tawas*	*ari.*
sleep	3p	sibling	until	day.time	day

The siblings slept until daytime.

Baru',	*ia*	*tu'*	*datay,*	*budi*	*datay*	*ari*	*pe-jalay*	*diri'.*
then	3s	this	come	pretend	come	from	NOM-walk	self

Then, as for him (Haji Melayu), he came (home), pretending that he came back from his trip.

Udah   ia',   ia   yakin   amat   mah dih,   taw'   m=ia   sida'
after   that   3s   sure   indeed   *mah dih*   know   *m*=3s   3p

menyadi',   amat   menyadi'.
sibling   true   sibling

After that, he was very sure, he knew that they were brothers, real brothers.

Baru'   sida'   N-kisah   ka ia,   N-kisah   asal   mula
then   3p   ACT-story   to 3s   ACT-story   origin   beginning

sida'   aba' menyadi' ia' sampay   menyadi'   ia'   da-anyut.
3p   with sibling   that until   sibling   that   PASS-swept.away

Then they told him the story, telling the story of when they were first with their sister until how she was swept away.

Baru'   ia taw'   bada'   kisah ia'   dih,   mula   da-anyut
then   3s know   *bada'* story that   *dih*   beginning PASS-swept.away

ari   tanah   ay'   sida'.
from   land   water   3p

Only then did he (Haji Melayu) know that story, the beginning of her being swept away from their homeland.

"Kati   lah   sanu',"   jaku'   Aji   Melayu,   "Keka',
how   lah   whosit   say   haji M   older.sibling.in.law

kita'   aday   pen'apat?
2p   exist   opinion

"How is it, uh," Haji Melayu said, "Brothers-in-law, do you have any ideas?

Ku tu',   semua   urang   ditu'   ta'luk   uga' ka   ku.
1s this   all   person here   subject.to   all   to   1s

As for me, all people here are submitted to me.

Cuma   ti   di   ulu   menua   kami   tu'=m,   Aji
only   REL   LOC   upstream   country 1p.excl this=*m*   haji

Kum'ang,   ia=m,   ku   naday   mampu   N-lawan   ia."
K   3s=*m*   1s   NEG   be.able   ACT-oppose   3s

It's only the one in the upstream of our country, Haji Kum'ang, him, I wasn't able to fight him."

"Ia'   gampang,"   jaku'   sida'   jara',   "Wan   aday   mas,
that   easy   say   3p   *jara'*   2s.hon   exist   gold

aday   N-simpan   mas?"
exist   ACT-keep   gold

"That's easy," they said, "Do you have gold, do you keep gold?"

"Ntah   kati   aday   n'a'?"
not.know   how   exist   not

"I wonder, do I have it or not?"

Baru'   jaku'   Putung   Kempat: "Aday!
then   say   P   K   exist

Then Putung Kempat said: "There is!

Aday   mas   ku   simpan."
exist   gold   1s   keep

There's gold that I keep."

"Asa   aday,"   jaku'   sida',   "Pitu'   dany'i   kita,   kami
whenever   exist   say   3p   like.this   promise   1p.incl   1p.excl

lah   N-ran'aw   Aji   Kum'ang   din.
lah   ACT-visit   haji   K   there.(far)

"If there is," they said, "Here's our deal, we will visit Haji Kum'ang over there.

Jadi   cara   kami   N-ran'aw   ia   lah,   sampay   tum'uh   lamur,
so   way   1p.excl   ACT-visit   3s   lah   until   grow   sunset

baru'   kami   N-tanya'   ia,   apa   lamur   ngenurut
then   1p.excl   ACT-ask   3s   what   sunset   according.to

Aji   Kum'ang,   apa   lamur   nti'   pitu',
haji   K   what   sunset   if   like.this

lamur   tay   da-peda'   kita   da   langit   nya'."
sunset   REL   PASS-see   1p.incl   LOC   sky   that

Thus, the way we visit him will be that, (we'll wait) until the sunset glow appears and we'll ask him what according to him the sunset glow means if it is like this, the sunset glow that appears in the sky."

Nema   N-asuh   ia   naday   te-alah   ka   ia,   dia'
because   ACT-cause   3s   NEG   MID-beat   to   3s   there.(near)

aday   maram,   duri'   maram   se-keliling   rumah.
exist   k.o.fruit   thorn   k.o.fruit   ONE-around   house

Because, what caused him (Haji Melayu) to not be able to beat him (Haji Kum'ang) was that over there (at Haji Kum'ang's house) there were *maram* trees, *maram*'s thorns surrounding his house.

Aa,   nya'   N-asuh   Aji   Melayu   naday   t-alah.
ah   that   ACT-cause   haji   M   NEG   MID-beat

Ah, that caused Haji Melayu not to be able to beat (him).

Jadi, jaku' sida' menyadi': "Jadi   asa   aday   maram   tu'
so   say   3p   sibling   so   whenever   exist   k.o.fruit   this

anyut   da-peda'   kita', datay kin,   aa,   siap   dih   kita'
swept.away   PASS-see   2p   come thither.(far)   ah   ready dih   2p

N-serang.
ACT-attact

So, those siblings said: "Thus, whenever you see *maram* fruits being swept away, go there, ah, be ready to attack.

Nya'   dany'i   kita."
that   promise   1p.incl

That's our deal."

Nyaw   ujung   ari, angkat sa' menyadi'   ba-ran'aw   ka   rumah
already   tip   day go   3p sibling   ANPAS-visit   to   house

Aji   Kum'ang   tih.
haji   K   tih

When it was already afternoon, the brothers started off to bring a visit to Haji Kum'ang's house.

Da-sam'ut   bayik   mah   jara'   ulih   Aji Kum'ang,   N-beri'
PASS-welcome   good   mah   jara'   by   haji K   ACT-give

N-pakay,   N-inum,   apa.
ACT-eat   ACT-drink   what

They were heartilly welcomed by Haji Kum'ang, who gave them things to eat, (and)

drink, and (everything) else.

Ke-panyay-panyay   N-umung sampay   nyaw   ujung   ari pia',
NOM-long-RED   ACT-talk until   already   tip   day like.that

tim'ul   lamur   langit.
emerge   sunset   sky

After talking for a long time until it was already late in the afternoon, the sunset sky appeared.

"Ey, limpang   cakap," jaku' sa' menyadi',   "Ey, menurut
hey   turn.off   talk   say   3p   sibling   hey   according.to

Aji Kum'ang, nti' lamur   pitu',   apa,   lamur   apa   tu'?"
haji K   if   sunset like.this what   sunset   what   this

"Hey, by the way," the brothers said, "Hey, according to Haji Kum'ang, if there is a sunset glow like this, what does this sunset mean?"

"Uh tu'   biasa   mah,"   jaku' Aji Kum'ang,   "Tu' udah
oh   this   usual   *mah*   say   haji K   this already

malam-malam   pitu',   udah   aday panas biasa
night-RED   like.this   already exist hot   usuall

tum'uh   lamur   pitu'."
grow   sunset like.this

"Oh, this is just common," said Haji Kum'ang, "When it is already evening like this, when it's hot, the sunset glow usually appears like this."

"Naday!"   jaku'   sa'   menyadi'.
NEG   say   3p   sibling

"No!" said the brothers.

"Kalaw[10]   kami,   kalaw lamur pitu'   tetap   lamur   mas."
if   1p.excl if   sunset like.this constant   sunset gold

"As for us, if it's a sunset like this, it's certainly a sunset for gold."

"Kati   anu'   N-kenal?"
how   what.is.it   ACT-recognize

"How, uh, can we know?"

---

10 *Kalaw* 'if' is a Malay/Indonesian borrowing.

"Ih,   anu',"   jaku'   ia,   "Kalaw   lamur   pitu',   kita   presa   ka
eh   well   say   3s   if   sunset   like.this   1p.incl   check   to

rumah   kita."
house   1p.incl

"Eh, well," he (one of the siblings) said, "If there's a sunset like this, we would
check around our house."

Tadi'   waktu   sida'   N-pansa'   kia',   da-am'ur   sida'
a.while.ago   when   3p   ACT-pass   thither.(near)   PASS-scatter   3p

maram,   da-am'ur   se-keliling   rumah.
k.o.fruit   PASS-scatter   ONE-around   house

A while ago when they (the siblings) passed through there, they scattered *maram*s
around the house.

Baru'   da-presa   kin   ulih   Aji   Kum'ang   jara'.
then   PASS-check   thither.(far)   by   haji   K   jara'

Then it was checked around by Haji Kum'ang.

Ulih   Aji   Kum'ang   da-presa   amat   aday   mas   da   tanah   tu'.
by   haji K   PASS-check   true   exist   gold   LOC   ground   this

Being checked by Haji Kum'ang, indeed there was gold on the ground.

Aa,   baru'   ia   N-perintah   anak   buah   ia,   da-tebas   maram.
ah   then   3s   ACT-command   child   fruit   3s   PASS-cut   k.o.fruit

Ah, then he commanded his servants, (and) the *maram*s were cut (and cleared).

Da-papung   da-pung'a',   da-buay   ka   ay'.
PASS- cut   PASS-cut   PASS-throw.away   to   water

They were all cut and thrown into the water (river).

Jadi   anyut   dih   anu'   tu'   sampay   datay   ka   anu'
so   swept.away   dih   what.is.it   this   until   come   to   what.is.it

Aji   Melayu.
haji   M

So, the what's-it-called (i.e. *maram*s) were swept away until they arrived at the,
what's-it-called (i.e. the place) of Haji Melayu.

Baru'	*Aji*	*Melayu*	*taw'*	*bada'*	*dany'i*	*sida'*	*ah,*	*asa*
then	haji	M	know	*bada'*	promise	3p	*ah*	whenever

maram	*tu'*	*datay*	*kin,*	*bar-arti*	*maram*	*tu'*
k.o.fruit	this	come	thither.(far)	ANPAS-meaning	k.o.fruit	this

udah	*resmi*	*da-anu'*	*urang,*	*da-buay.*
PERF	official	PASS-what.is.it	person	PASS-throw.away

Then Haji Melayu understood their promise that whenever *maram*s arrive there, it means that the *maram*s have really been, uh, thrown away.

Baru'	*datay*	*N-serang*	*ari*	*nyin.*
then	come	ACT-attact	from	that.over.there

Then they came attacking from there.

Aw',	*ia*	*N-putik*	*mas=m*	*tih,*	*Aji*	*Kum'ang*	*nya'.*
well	3s	ACT-pick.up	gold=m	tih	haji	K	that

Well, he was picking up gold, that Haji Kum'ang.

Datay	*bala*	*Aji*	*Melayu*	*N-serang*	*batim'ak-tim'ak*
come	all	haji	M	ACT-attact	ANPAS-shoot-RED

ngaw	*senapang.*
with	rifle

Haji Melayu and all his men came attacking, shooting with rifles.

Rari	*urang*	*menua,*	*anu',*	*Aji*	*Kum'ang.*
run	person	country	what.is.it	haji	K

People of, what's-his-name's, Haji Kum'ang's country ran away.

Aji	*Kum'ang*	*naday*	*dapat*	*rari,*	*anu',*	*teka*	*ngeN-bay'*
haji	K	NEG	can	run	what.is.it	right.away	ACT-bring

pat	*s-uti'*	*mah*	*ia.*
chisel	ONE-CLASS	*mah*	3s

Haji Kum'ang couldn't run away, uh, he right away brought with him a chisel.

N-tebuk	*kayu,*	*tama'*	*ka*	*ia',*	*jadi*	*kum'ang.*
ACT-make.hole	tree	enter	to	that	become	beetle

He made a hole in a tree, (and) entered into it, and became a beetle.

Aday	*kum'ang*	*ti*	*terbay,*	*jaku'*	*kita=m*	*"nyiit",*	*gu'*
exist	beetle	REL	fly	say	1p.incl=*m*	buzz	sound

alam	*kayu.*
inside	wood

There was a beetle that flew, buzzing "nyiit", as we say, a sound inside the wood.

Tama'	*ia.*
enter	3s

He came in (there).

Ia	*selamat,*	*ulih*	*reta*	*ben'a*	*ia*	*amis*	*da-jarah*	*urang.*
3s	safe	but	wealth	things	3s	finished	PASS-plunder	person

He was safe, but his properties were all gone, plundered by the people.

Baru'	*gaga*	*Aji*	*Melayu.*
then	glad	haji	M

Then, Haji Melayu was really glad.

"Aduh,	*cuba*	*anti'*	*naday*	*kita'*	*wih,*	*mati,"*	*jaku'*	*ia.*
ah	try	if	NEG	2p	*wih*	die	say	3s

"Ah, say, if you were not here, I would be dead," he said.

"Ku	*aja'*	*naday*	*mampu*	*N-giga'*	*akal*	*N-lawan*
1s	just	NEG	be.able	ACT-look.for	mind	ACT-oppose

Aji	*Kum'ang.*
haji	K

I myself wasn't able to find a way to fight against Haji Kum'ang.

Ku,	*ia=m,*	*naday*	*mampu*	*ku*	*N-lawan,*	*ti*	*kebukay*
1s	3s=*m*	NEG	be.able	1s	ACT- oppose	REL	other

ta'luk	*uga'*	*ulih*	*ku."*
subject.to	all	by	1s

As for me, it is only against him," he said, "that I wasn't able to fight, the others have all been beaten by me."

Baru'	*sa'*	*menyadi'*	*tih*	*merama*	*dia'*	*mah*	*jara'.*
then	3p	sibling	*tih*	stay.a.while	here.(near)	*mah*	*jara'*

After that, the brothers stayed there (at Haji Melayu's house) for some time.

Berapa	*ari*	*naday*	*kita*	*taw'*	*bada'*	*kisah.*
how.many	day	NEG	1p.incl	know	*bada'*	story

How long it was, we don't know the story.

Baru'	*sida'*	*N-pinta'*	*diri'*	*pulay.*
then	3p	ACT-ask.for	self	go.home

Then they asked permission to leave.

"Ah,	*tu'*	*kami*	*tu'*	*ka'*	*pulay*	*adi',"*	*jaku'*	*sida'.*
ah	this	1p.excl	TOP	want	go.home	younger.sibling	say	3p

"Ah, look, sister, we want to return home," they said.

"Aw',	*tu',*	*n'u',*	*telany'ur*	*kita'*	*ba-laki-bini.*
well	this	TOA	gone.too.far	2p	ANPAS-husband-wife

"Well, look, sister, it already happened that you have become husband and wife.

Serah	*ka*	*kita'=m.*
left.to.o's.discretion	to	2p=*m*

It's just up to you.

Sukur	*gaga*	*kami*	*tu',*	*kita'*	*aday*	*ti*	*N-intu,*
thank.God	glad	1p.excl	this	2p	exist	REL	ACT-take.care

ba-laki-bini."
ANPAS-husband-wife

Thank God, we're glad that you have somebody who takes care (of you), being married."

Baru'	*pulay*	*sida'*	*ia'*	*tih.*
then	go.home	3p	that	*tih*

Then, they did return home.

Pulay,	*datay*	*ka*	*menua*	*diri'*	*jara',*	*upa*	*biasa*
go.home	come	to	country	self	*jara'*	as	usual

ba-uma	*ba-tawun.*
ANPAS-rice.field	ANPAS-year

Going home, they came to their own country, as usual they worked the rice fields

every year.

Ku naday ingat ka bala per-anak tay ngeN-turun
1s NEG remember to all NOM-descendant REL ACT-descend

keban, aday padah urang, Pati ia' ni.
kind exist say person P that *ni*

I don't remember all the descendants that descended, as some people said, the "*Pati*s". (The story teller was trying to track down descendants of the siblings)

Aday ti Bejit Manay N-aday Pati Cerang, N-aday
exist REL B M ACT- exist P C ACT-exist

Pati Lan'a, N-aday Pati Rampung.
P L ACT-exist P R

There is the story that Bejit Manay gave birth to Pati Cerang, who gave birth to Pati Lan'a, who gave birth to Pati Rampung.

Jadi nya' ti N-turun sampay ka kita pitu'.
so that REL ACT-descend until to 1p.incl like.this

Thus, those are the ones who descend to us until the present time.

Aa, nya' N-asuh tadi' tih adat ia', nak,
ah that ACT-cause a.while.ago *tih* custom that son

di-k-ingat urang ari turun-temurun.
PASS-*ke*-remember person from descend-RED

Ah, that's why the custom just mentioned has been remembered by people from generation to generation, son. (By *nak* son', the story teller was referring to me as one of the listeners)

Urang jadi mali, aday adat kita.
person become taboo exist custom 1p.incl

(If) people break a taboo, there is a custom for that.

Asa urang ia', misal ku, aa kemua Jang
whenever person that for.example 1s ah 1d.excl brother

Danil menyadi', lalu anak ku jadi ka m'ih ataw
D sibling then child 1s marry to 2s.masc or

jadi   ka   menyadi'   ia.
marry to   sibling   3s

Whenever such people, for example me, ah, we two, Brother Danil, are siblings, then my child gets married to you or to her brother.

Ia'   mali   berat.
that   taboo   heavy

That's a big taboo.

Adat   ia'   babi   tujuh   iku'.
custom that   pig   seven   CLASS

The custom for that was (a fine of) seven pigs.

Asa   gaway s-iku'   da-buay   ka   ay',
whenever   feast   ONE-CLASS   PASS-throw.away   to   water

da-buay   ka   antu, jaku' kita   tih sebedaw   pecaya.
PASS-throw.away   to   ghost say   1p.incl   *tih* before   believe

Whenever there was a traditional feast held, one of the pigs was thrown away into the water, thrown to the ghosts, our term before we believed in God.

Asa   naday N-penuh adat   pia',   sekuntan aday terjadi,
whenever   NEG   ACT-full custom like.that directly exist happen

misal   aday kerusakan[11] *tubuh   urang   ia', aday keban*
for.example exist damage   body   person   that exist kind

tem'away   apa   rusak   buah,   keba   tanah   rubuh,
former.settlement what damaged   fruit   all.kinds land   collapse

biasa.
usual

Whenever people didn't fulfill the custom like that, something did happen right away, for example, someone got bodily injured, fruit in some *tema'way* went bad, all kinds of landslides happened; that was usual.

Urang   ti   bedaw   pecaya   sampay   tu'   nya'   tejadi   ga'.
person   REL   not.yet   believe   until   this   that   happen   also

(To) people that do not yet believe (in God) until now it still happens too.

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[11] *Kerusakan* 'damage' is a Malay/Indonesian borrowing.

Tapi   kita   ti   dah   pecaya,   nisi'.
but   1p.incl   REL   PERF   believe   nothing

But to us who already believe in God, nothing (happens).

Semua   nya'   da-apus   uga'   ulih darah   Yesus,   pe-mali-pe-mali.
all   that   PASS-delete   all   by   blood   Y   NOM-taboo-RED

All have been wiped out by the blood of Jesus, those taboos.

Tapi   adat-adat   ia'   nitaw'   da-lang'ar,   ia'
but   custom-RED   that   may.not   PASS-transgress   that

da-tetap   ulih   Tuhan.
PASS-stipulate   by   Lord

But the customs themselves may not be transgressed, (because) they are stipulated by the Lord.

Adat   ia'   anya sekedar,   adat   ia'   nitaw'   N-apus
custom   that only   merely   custom   that can't   ACT-delete

ke-rusak   ia'.
NOM-broken   that

The custom alone is merely for the form, (because) the custom can't wipe out damage done.

Jadi   kisah   ia'   nga'.
so   story   that   stop.there

So, the story stops there.

Nya'   ti   pemenaw'   ku   udah.
that   REL   knowledge   1s   *udah*

That is what I know indeed (nothing is more than that) / That is what my knowledge is already.

Text 2:   ***Apay Aluy meli pemati* 'Aluy's father buys death'**

Ah,	*jadi*	*Apay*	*Aluy.*[1]
ah	so	father	A

A, so about Aluy's father.

Apay	*Aluy*	*tu'*	*ka'*	*N-beli*	*pe-mati.*
father	A	TOP	want	ACT-buy	NOM-die

As for Aluy's father, he wanted to buy death.[2]

Nyaw	*ke-lama'*	*ah*	*tih*	*jara',*	*ia*	*tu',*	*nya'=m*	*tih*	*nyaw*
after	NOM-long	*ah*	*tih*	*jara'*	3s	this	that=m	*tih*	already

ka'	*N-beli*	*pe-mati*	*tih.*
FUT	ACT-buy	NOM-die	*tih*

After a long time, that's how it was, he really was about to buy death now.

Jaku'	*sida'*	*anu'*	*tih*	*jara',*	*sida'*	*sebayan:*
word	3p	what.is.it	*tih*	*jara'*	3p	world.of.the.dead

"Asa	*pia',*	*aday*	*kami*	*N-gusung*	*ia*	*lah,*
whenever	like.that	exist	1p.excl	ACT-go.after	3s	*lah*

nti'	*pia',*	*nti'*	*ia*	*ka'*	*N-beli*	*pe-mati.*
if	like.that	if	3s	want	ACT-buy	NOM-die

So, they, uh, those of the world of the dead, said: "In that case, we will go after him, if that is the case, if he wants to buy death.

Apa	*lagi'*	*jara',*	*nema*	*ia*	*ka'*	*mati."*
what	again	*jara'*	because	3s	want	die

What's more then, because he wants to die."

Aw',	*pia'*	*m=ia*	*tu'*	*tih*	*jara'.*
well	like.that	*m*=3s	this	*tih*	*jara'*

Well, that's how it was with him.

---

[1] Traditionally the Mualang people refer to a married adult with the name of his or her, usually, oldest child. Thus, the father of a child Aluy is referred to as *Apay Aluy* 'Aluy's father'.
[2] Aluy's father thought that 'death' was something one could buy.

Baru'   *sida'*   *sebayan*   *tu'*   *tih*   *N-gusung*   *ia*   *tih.*
then   3p   world.of.the.dead   this   *tih*   ACT-go.after   3s   *tih*

Then those of the world of the dead went after him.

Sida'   *ia'*   *tih*   *saja*   *s-ujung.*
3p   that   *tih*   incredibly   ONE-end

They (who came for him) were incredibly abundant (lit. from one end to another end of the road).

Nyaw   *ke-tujuh*   *ari*   *sida'*   *ka'*   *N-am'i'*   *ia.*
after   ORD-seven   day   3p   FUT   ACT-take   3s

On the seventh day, they were going to pick him up.

Baru'   *ia',*   *datay*   *ka*   *Apay*   *Aluy*   *tih,*   *anu'*   *tih,*   *Aluy*
then   that   come   to   father   A   *tih*   what.is.it   *tih*   A

tengan   *ba-ban.*
PROG   ANPAS-make.proa

Then, (when) they were coming to father of Aluy, uh, father of Aluy was making a proa.

Jadi   *N-dinga*   *awuh*   *urang,*   *teka*   *m=N-tingkap*
so   ACT-hear   echo   person   right.away   *m*=ACT-prostrate

diri'   *ka*   *peraw.*
one.self   to   proa

Thus, hearing the echo of people's voices, he right away lied face down inside the proa.

Ah   *dia'*   *m=ia*   *tih,*   *baru'*   *ia*   *N-pen'ing*   *sida'*   *jara'.*
ah   there.(near)   *m*=3s   *tih*   then   3s   ACT-eardrop   3p   *jara'*

Ah, there he was, then he eavesdropped on those people.

Baru'   *sida'*   *N-padah:*   *"Jadi*   *Apay*   *Aluy*   *tu',*   *amat-amat*   *ia*
then   3p   ACT-say   so   father   A   TOP   true-RED   3s

ka'   *mati*   *lah*   *kini,*   *ka'*   *N-beli*   *pe-mati?*
want   die   *lah*   *kini*   want   ACT-buy   NOM-die

Then they said: "So, this father of Aluy, we wonder, does he really want to die, does he want to buy death?

Aw', nya' mah," jaku' sida' keda' jara', "Anti' amat ia
yes   that *mah*   word 3p   other *jara'*   if   true 3s

ngay lah, aw',babi ia   ti   besay lah,
won't *lah* wellpig   3s   REL   big   *lah*

ia'   N-ganti'   mati, ti   ting'i' ari   nturan."
that   ACT-substitute die   REL   tall   from   *nturan*

"Yes, that's it," said another one of them, "If he really won't, well, his pig which is a big one, that will die instead of him,, the one that is taller than a *nturan*[3]."

"Aw'," jaku' sida' jara'.
yes   word 3p   *jara'*

"Yes, it will," they said.

Ah baru' nyaw ke-lama'   udah   ia'   jara' ah, Aluy tu'
ah then   after NOM-long   after that *jara'* ah   A   this

N-pen'ing   di   peraw ia,   da   baruh peraw tih,
ACT-eardrop   LOC   proa   3s   LOC   under proa   *tih*

peraw ti   udah   da-keban   ia.
proa   REL   PERF   PASS-make.proa 3s

Well, then after a long time, (father of) Aluy eavesdropped (on them) in his proa, under the proa, the proa that had been made by him.

Baru' nyaw ke-lama'   datay   ka   rumah, sida'=m ba-jalay.
then   after NOM-long   come   to   house 3p=*m*   ANPAS-road

Then after a long time, they came to the (father of Aluy's) house, they (came) walking.

Baru',   Aluy tu'   pulay   ga'.
then   A   this go.home also

Then, as for (father of) Aluy, he went home too.

---

[3] *Nturan* is a beam on the edge of the floorboard in a traditional longhouse to support the poles of the house. The height from the base of the *teluk* (a small long gutter-like space located between the room (*bilik*) and the long gallery (*ruay*) to the *nturan* is about 50 centimeters.

Baru'   datay   ka   rumah   tih.
then   come   to   house   *tih*

Then, he arrived at home.

Ah,   jadi   sida'   ia'   datay   mah   dih.
ah   so   3p   that   come   *mah* *dih*

Ah, so now they did come.

Ah,   baru'   sida'   N-tanya'   ia   tih   jara':   "Kati   wan
ah   then   3p   ACT-ask   3s   *tih* *jara'*   how   2s.hon

Apay   Aluy,   kati   wan   laju   N-beli   pe-mati?"
father   A   how   2s.hon   agree   ACT-buy   NOM-die

Ah, then that's how it was, they asked him: "How is it then with you, father of Aluy, did you agree to buy death?"

"Akaaay!"   jaku'   ia   ia',   "Mati=m   nti'   pia'   mah   dih.
ouch   word   3s   that   die=m   if   like.that   *mah* *dih*

"Oh, my!" he said, "I would be dead indeed, if that were true.

Naday   ku   ka'   mati   ga'."
NEG   1s   want   die   also

I don't want to die yet."

"Kati   lah   udah?"   jaku'   sida'   jara'.
how   *lah* already   word   3p   *jara'*

"What could we do then?" they said.

"Wan   udah   N-am'u'   tu'.
2s.hon   PERF   ACT-plan   this

"You have planned this.

Asa   wan   ngay,   baru'   wan   N-bunuh   babi   wan
whenever   2s.hon   won't   then   2s.hon   ACT-kill   pig   2s.hon

ti   besay,   ti   ting'i'   ari   nturan."
REL   big   REL   tall   from   *nturan*

When you don't want to die, then you (must) kill your big pig, which is taller than a *nturan*."

"Aw',   barang   nti'   pia'."
yes   whatever   if   like.that

"Ok, whatever you say, if that's how it should be."

"Aw',   pia'   mah   dih,"   jaku'   inay   ah   jara'.
yes   like.that   *mah*   *dih*   word   mother   *ah*   *jara'*

"Yes, just let it be like that," said (Aluy's) mother.

"Aw',   wan   nisi'   guna,   macam-macam   ti
well   2s.hon   nothing   benefit   kind-RED   REL

da-kerja,"   jaku'   Aluy   jara'.
PASS-work   word   A   *jara'*

 "Well, you're so useless, you just do all kinds of odd things," said Aluy. (Aluy reprimanded his father)

Ah, baru'   dih jara',   ah nya'=m   babi   ti   ting'i'   ari   nturan.
ah   then   *dih* *jara'*   *ah* that=*m*   pig   REL   tall   from   *nturan*

Ah, and then, ah, there it was, the pig that is taller than a *nturan*.

Nya'=m   da-bay'   sida'   jara',   saja   galaw   babi   ia',
that=*m*   PASS-bring   3p   *jara'*   incredibly   huge   pig   that

kelimpay,   jaku'   kita.
big.pig   word   1p.incl

That's what would be taken by those people (of the world of the dead); what a huge pig that was, a *kelimpay* as we call it.

Ah baru'   ia'=m   da-bay'   sida'   ah   tih.
ah   then   that=*m*   PASS-bring   3p   *ah*   *tih*

A, then that's what was taken away by them.

Aw'   selamat=m   dih,   naday   m=ia   mati   dih.
well   safe=*m*   *dih*   NEG   *m*=3s   die   *dih*

Well, he was indeed safe, he didn't die.

Baru'   sida'   ia'   tih   pulay   mah dih.
then   3p   that   *tih*   go.home   *mah* *dih*

Then, those people, they returned home.

Aw',	*gisah*	*udah*	*mah*	*dih.*
well	story	finished	*mah*	*dih*

Well, the story really is over.

Text 3:　　　*Mulah lulun* **'How to prepare lulun'**

Glutinous rice is commonly used to make delicacies in Mualang society. During a *gaway*, a traditional feast, guests will surely be served various rice snacks. In the following description a Mualang woman tells how *lulun* is made.

N-pulah	*lulun.*
ACT-make	k.o.snack

Making the snack *lulun*.

Beras	*pulut*	*da-ren'am*	*ka*	*ay'.*
uncooked.rice	glutinous.rice	PASS-soak	to	water

Pulut rice is soaked in water.

Udah	*da-ren'am,*	*da-angkat*	*dulaw.*
after	PASS-soak	PASS-lift	first

After it has been soaked, take it out first.

Dia'	*dah*	*ia*	*amis*	*ay',*	*ia*	*nyaw*	*rangkay,*
there.(near)	after	it	finished	water	it	PERF	dry

baru'	*da-tutuk.*
then	PASS-pound

There, when the water has flowed away, (and) it has become dry, then pound it (to a fine pulp).

Udah	*da-tutuk,*	*baru'*	*da-ayak-ayak.*
after	PASS-pound	then	PASS-sieve-RED

After it has been pounded, sieve it.

Udah	*mis*	*jimut*	*da-tutuk,*	*baru'*	*da-tunyaw*	*ka*	*ay'.*
after	finished	flour	PASS-pound	then	PASS-knead	to	water

After the *jimut* flour has been pounded, then it is kneaded with water.

Ami'	*ay',*	*tunyaw*	*ka*	*jimut.*
take	water	knead	to	flour

Get some water, (and) knead it into the *jimut* flour.

Da-tunyaw   *upa*   *kita*   *N-pulah*   *kuwi.*
PASS-knead   like   1p.incl   ACT-make   cake

It is kneaded the way we make cakes.

Udah   *ia'*   *baru'*   *da-pulah-pulah*   *pitu'*   *jalay*   *kita*
after   that   then   PASS-make-RED   like.this   manner   1p.incl

N-pajak   *nyiur.*
ACT-put.in   coconut

After that, then, it (the dough) is made up like this (the speaker was showing how to shape the dough), so that we can put coconut in it.

Da-pajak   *nyiur*   *ka*   *alam*   *nya'.*
PASS-put.in   coconut   to   inside   that

Coconut is put in it.

Udah   *da-pajak*   *baru'*   *da-kepal-kepal*   *pitu'.*
after   PASS-put.in   then   PASS-hold.in.hand-RED   like.this

After it (the coconut) has been put in, then mold the dough in (your) hand like this.

Nyiur   *da-kelingkung,*   *da-bingkung.*
coconut   PASS-grate   PASS-grate

The coconut is (first) grated and shredded.

Da-gulay   *gula,*   *gula*   *mirah,*   *gula*   *pasir*   *taw'*   *ngaw*
PASS-mix   sugar   sugar   red   sugar   sang   can   for

N-gulay   *nyiur*   *ngaw*   *ati*   *lulun,*   *ngaw*   *isi'*   *ah.*
ACT-mix   coconut   for   liver   k.o.snack   for   content   *ah*

(Then) it is mixed with sugar, palm sugar, (or) granulated sugar can be (used) for mixing with the coconut for the filling of the *lulun*, for its content (you know).

Dia'   *am'i'*   *dawun,*   *da-tungkus.*
there.(near)   take   leaf   PASS-wrap

Then, get some (banana) leaves, (and) wrap it.

Udah   *da-tungkus,*   *da-sumay.*
after   PASS-wrap   PASS-cook

After it has been wrapped, cook it.

Udah	*da-sumay,*	*da-bantir,*	*baru'*	*ia*	*da-pakay.*
after	PASS-cook	PASS-take.out	then	it	PASS-eat

After it has been cooked, it is taken out, then it (can) be eaten.

Text 4: *Pantun*

Pantun is a traditional Mualang quatrain consisting of four lines with an *abab* rhyme scheme. As is well known, *pantun* is a popular genre in all Malay speaking areas. The first two lines in a *pantun* carry an allusive meaning that "set the stage" for referring lines three and four.

Anak   kekura'   ba-cipay-uay,
child   tortoise   ANPAS-flap.around

ba-cipay-uay   da   tampuk   lubuk.
ANPAS-flap.around   LOC   end   deep.place.in.river

Anti'   jawuh   ba-kumay   lam'ay,
if   far   ANPAS-call   wave.to

anti'   semak   ba-kerantam-ba-keremung.
if   near   ANPAS-claw-ANPAS-squeeze

The young tortoise is flapping around (with its paws),
flapping around at the end of the *deep in the river*.
Far apart, people call and wave to each other,
when close to each other, they claw and squeeze each other.

Asa'-asa'   N-jeraw   ntawa',
feel.like-RED   ACT-clear.(branches)   k.o.tree

ntawa'   da-jeraw   da   mpangan   titi.
k.o.tree   PASS-clear.(branches)   LOC   tip   foot-bridge

Asa   N-peda'   urang   in'u'   ia',
whenever   ACT-see   person   female   that

upa   ku   N-peda'   jelu   pe-mali.
like   1s   ACT-see   animal   NOM-taboo

Feel eager to clear the *ntawa'* tree,
the *ntawa'* tree is pruned at the tip of the branch.
Whenever I see that girl,
it is as if I see a taboo animal.

Ikan   tuman   ikan   betisik,
fish   k.o.fish   fish   k.o.fish

ikan   banta'   kelabaw   padi.
fish   k.o.fish   k.o.fish   paddy

Jaman   tu'   jaman   te-balik,
time   this   time   MID-turn.around

urang   in'u'   N-pinta'   urang   laki.
person   female   ACT-ask.for   person   male

The *tuman* fish, the *betisik* fish,
the *banta'* fish the *kelabaw padi* fish.
The present age is an up-side-down age,
the woman proposes to the man.

N-puar   kesa'   di   babas   rim'a',
ACT-pick   k.o.ant   LOC   forest   jungle

kena'   te-puar   ka   dawun   mati.
afflict   MID-pick   to   leaf   die

Nti'   ku   ka',   lama'   kelia',
if   1s   want   long   old.time

nti'   ku   ngay,   sampay   ka   mati.
if   1s   not.want   until   to   die

Picking ants in the forest,
instead of ants, I got scratched by dry leaves.
If I fall in love (with somebody), my love will last long,
if I don't, it won't love him/her even until I die.

Text 5:   *Sempang*

A *sempang* is a saying, an idiom, or a proverb. *Sempang* are metaphorical expressions that are typical for the socio-cultural settings of Mualang society and Mualang world view.

Kala'   N-celuk   puting   d-alam   ulu.
never   ACT-take.out   tip.of.knife   LOC-inside   end.part

Don't ever take the tip of the knife out from its handle. (That is, don't ever say bad things about someone else, since we don't know exactly what is in his/her mind.)

Nupa   kita   taw'   N-tem'us   mata   ka ban'ir.
not.like 1p.incl can   ACT-pierce eye   to broad.lower.parts.of.tree-trunk

We can't see through the broad lower parts of a tree-trunk. (That is, we don't know things that will happen in the future.)

Idup   ba-sun'ang   gaway, mati   ba-sun'ang   bangkay.
live   ANPAS-set.head.to   feast   die   ANPAS-set.head.to   corpse

Life sets head to the feast, death sets head to the corpse / To live is to feast; to die is to become a corpse. (That is, sharing good and bad things together.)

Upa   pukang   ngkadah   buah.
like   small.squirrel   face.up   fruit

Like a squirrel facing a fruit. (Said of a disappointed person (who can't get something he/she likes)

Pasak   besay   ari   tiang.
peg   big   from   pole

The peg is bigger than the pole. (That is, one's consumption is bigger than his/her gain)

Batang   ting'i'   ari   tung'ul.
trunk   high   from   tree.stump

The trunk is higher than the stump. (That is acting beyond one's rights or limits; being higher in position than one deserves to be)

Text 6:   *Petataw 'riddles'*

In Mualang society *petataw* are a kind of fun, time-passing 'guessing-game' in which a person tries to give the correct answer to a riddle. Riddles are proposed in leisure time or whenever people get together.

(1) *Periuk   pecah,   umpan   angus.   Apa?*
     boiling.pot   broken   cooked.rice   burnt   what
     The boiling pot breaks, the rice is burnt.   What is it?

     - Buah   kerinsak   muduh.
       fruit   k.o.fruit   ripe
       It's a ripe *kerinsak* fruit. (The fruit bursts open when it is ripe)

(2) *Buah   ba-rampah   naday   ba-tan'an.*
     fruit   ANPAS-scattered   NEG   ANPAS-CLASS
     'The fruits are scattered around without (being bound in) clusters.'

     Apa?   *- Telu'.*
     what   egg
     What is it?   It's eggs (that are scattered around on the ground).

(3) *Gung   da-pangkung,   gunung   bar-asap.*
     bronze.drum   PASS-beat   mountain   ANPAS-smoke
     'The gong is beaten, the mountain gets smoky.'

     Apa?   *- Limaw da-pangkung..*
     what   citrus fruit
     What is it?   It's a citrus fruit being pounded (or squeezed), which
                             causes the juice being squeezed out.

(4) *Sirat   Apay   Aluy   naday   talah   lipat.   Apa?*
     loincloth   father   A   NEG   be.able   fold   what
     'The loincloth Aluy's father can't be folded.'   What is it?

     - Jalay.
       road
       It's a road. (Aluy's father is a funny character (in a well-known series of
       stories) who often behaves oddly)

(5) *Sangkuh   Apay   Aluy   naday   talah   bilang.*
     spear   father   A   NEG   be.able   count
     'The spears of Aluy's father (are so many) that they can't be counted.'

     Apa?   *- Ujan.*
     what   rain
     What is it?   It's the rain.

(6)   *Tedung*   *gunyung-gunyung*   *N-pantuk*   *kaki*   *tang'a'.*
    k.o.snake   stroll.aimlessly   ACT-peck   foot   stairs
    'The *tedung* snake walks indifferently, biting (at) the foot of the
    ladder.'

    Apa?   *- Jalay*   *mansang*   *ka*   *tang'a'.*
    what   road   go.to   to   stairs
    What is it?   It's the road heading to the ladder (of the house).

(7)   *Api*   *dilang-dilang*   *d-alam*   *tanah.*   *Apa?*
    fire   flare   LOC-inside   ground   what
    'Fire flares in the ground.'   What is it?

    - Kunyit.
    turmeric
    It's the turmeric (in the ground). (Its yellow color looks like flaring
    fire.)

(8)   *Kelupa*   *da-bay',*   *ingat*   *da-ting'al.*
    forget   PASS-bring   remember   PASS-leave
    When we forget it, we take it with us, but when we think of it, we leave
    it.

    Apa?   *- Duri'.*
    what   thorn
    What is it?   It's a thorn (that gets accidentally stuck in one's
    foot).

(9)   *N-gali*   *angkis*   *d-alam*   *lubang,*   *angkis*   *ulih,*
    ACT-dig   k.o.porcupine   LOC-inside   hole   k.o.porcupine   get

    ari   *pun*   *malam.*   *Apa?*
    day   pun   night   what   What is it?
    Digging in the hole for a porcupine, (when) getting the porcupine, the
    day turns night.

    - Tinga.
    remains.of.food
    It's *tinga.* (It's a bit of food that stuck between one's teeth after a meal).'
    (After the remains get taken out, the mouth cavity looks dark ("the day turns
    night") through the small hole between teeth in which the remains got stuck.

(10)   *Dua*   *kadang-kadang,*   *tiga*   *jarang-jarang,*   *mayuh*   *satu*   *daripada*
    two   sometimes   three   rare-RED   many   one   than

    dua   *dan*   *tiga.*   *Apa?*
    two   and   three   what   What is it?
    Two is not many, three is a little, one is many more than two and three.

- *Urang   balaki-bini.*
  person   ANPAS-husband-wife
   It's a married couple (that gives birth to children).

(11) *N'u'rancung   dagu', pan'ay N-sudu'   rawuk   kampung,*
female pointed   chin   clever   ACT-spoon rotten.leaves dense.forest
A girl with a pointed chin, good in scooping rotten leaves.

Dara lempa'   dada,   pan'ay N-kelala   nanga   Lepung.
girl   hollow   chest   clever ACT-recognize   estuary   L
A girl with a hollow chest, good in recognizing the Lepung Estuary.

Apa?   - Kemansay.
what   rattan.fish.scoop
What is it?   It's a *kemansay* (fish scoop).

Appendix 2:   Mualang-English Wordlist

Appendix 2 contains a Mualang-English Wordlist. This wordlist gives more than 1200 main entries of words that are mostly used throughout the book. The order of the entries is alphabetical. The postploded nasals (*m', n', ng', ny'*) are treated as their plain counterparts.

The following abbreviations are used in Appendix 2:

adv	adverb
asp	aspectual marker
class	classifier
conj	conjunction
dem	demonstrative
excl	exclamatory word
iloc	illocutionary marker
intr	interrogative word
meas	measure word
MI	Mualang *Ili'* (Downstream speech)
mod	modal marker
MU	Mualang *Ulu* (Upstream speech)
n	noun
neg	negator
num	numeral
part	particle
prec	precategorial form
pref	prefix
prep	preposition
pron	pronoun
quan	quantifier
toa	term of address
vi	intransitive verb
vt	transitive verb

A - a

aba' *vt ; prep ; conj.* follow; with; and.

abi *n.* trace.

abus *n.* ash.

adap *vi.* face toward.

adat *n.* custom.

aday *vi ; vt ; part.* exist, be born; give birth to; emphatic marker.

adi' *n ; toa.* younger sibling.

adu don't, needn't.

aduh *excl ; vi.* ouch; oh no!, sigh of being hurt or surprised.

agi' *adv ; asp.* again; still.

agih *vt.* prepare.

ah *iloc.* marker appealing for attention

ah *excl.* expressing surprise by the sudden presence of something; ugh (expressing rejection or dislike).

aja' *adv.* just.

ajar *vt.* teach.

  bal-ajar *vi* learn.

  ba-ajar *vi* give advice to a couple that is going to get married.

aji *toa* for a Muslim that has made the pilgrimage to Mecca (Ind. *haji*).

aka' *toa.* for older sibling or a person older than the speaker.

akal *n.* mind, trick.

akan *n ; toa.* for a son in law (MU).

akar *n.* root.

akay *excl.* expressing surprise mixed with disagreement or dislike.

aki' *n.* grandfather.

alah *mod.* must.

alah *vi ; vt.* defeat(ed); beat(en).

alam *n.* inside.

alang *n.* hindrance.

alap *vi.* beautiful.

alu *n.* pestle.

aman *vi.* safe, secure.

amang *adv.* maybe.

amat *adv ; conj.* true, indeed; although.

am'i' *vt.* take (away).

amis *vi.* finished.

ampa' *vi.* empty (husk).

ampir *adv.* almost.

am'u' *n ; vi.* plan; have a plan.

am'ur *vt.* scatter.

anak *n.* child.

  anak buah follower, helper.

  anak nemiak (all kinds of) children.

  per-anak descendant.

anal *vi.* strong.

ancaw *vt.* spread.

anci *toa.* term of endearment for a female child.

ancur *vi.* crushed.

angas *vi.* recovered (from being sick), healthy, fast.

angat *vi ; vt.* hot; heat.

angkat *vi ; vt.* go, start off, emerge; lift.

angkis *n.* k.o. porcupine.

angku' *vt.* adopt.

angus *vi.* burnt.

ansah *vt.* sharpen (knife).

ansul *vt.* follow, go after.

anti' *vt ; conj.* wait; if.

antu *n.* supernatural being, ghost.

antus *vi ; toa.* wise, nicely behaved; term of endearment for a male child.

anu' *pron.* indefinite pronoun for non-human entity; "wuchamacallit", uh (hesitation marker when searching for a word).

anu' *vt.* reprimand.

anya *adv.* only.

any'ung *vt.* escort, bring.

any'ung ramu (ceremonially) escort brideprice.

anyut *vi ; vt.* swept away (by water); sweep away.

    per-anyut *n.* place where one is swept away.

apa what.

apa' *toa.* for father in law; for a person relatively much older than the speaker.

    pa' vocative form.

apay *n.* father.

api *n.* fire, lamp.

apis *vt.* fix.

apus *vt.* delete.

aral *n.* hindrance.

arang *n.* charcoal; k.o. fruit.

arap *vt ; mod.* expect; hope.

ari *prep.* from, since.

    ari ni (allegro form **reni)** from where?

ari *n.* day.

arta *n.* wealth, property.

aru *vt.* disturb.

arum *n.* spinach.

arus *mod.* must.

asa *conj.* whenever.

    asa pia' if so.

asa' *vi.* feel like.

asal *n.* origin.

asap *n.* smoke.

asi *vt.* take and give.

asu *vi ; vt.* hunt.

asuh *vt.* order, command, cause.

    nya' ngasuh ... that's why ...

ataw *n.* top, upper part.

ataw *conj.* or.

ati *n.* liver.

    per-ati *vt.* observe.

atur *vt.* arrange.

aw' *part.* yes, well.

awak *n.* trace.

awak *vt.* open.

awas *vi ; toa.* wise, well behaved; term of endearment for a male child.

awuh *n.* echo, sound or voice heard from a distance.

ay *excl.* expressing a feeling of being surprised.

ay' *n.* water.

    ay' idup uncooked water.

    ay' mati boiled water.

ayak *vt.* sieve.

ayap *vi.* lost.

ayik *toa.* term of endearment for a female child.

aying-aying *n.* sound heard coming from a distance.

ayuh come on!

ayun *vt.* swing.

ayung *n.* family, relatives.

    ayung gempung relatives.

B - b

ba- *pref.* antipassive voice marker.

babas *n.* former rice field which is left to become part of the forest again.

    babas muda recently abandoned rice field (about a year).

    babas tuai old former rice field (ready to be cultivated again).

babi *n.* pig.

baca *vt.* read.

bada' *iloc.* used with words like *(ni)taw'* 'not know' and *kasih* 'feel affection'.

baday *part.* used to form a rhetorical question.

badi *n.* curse, taboo, intent, meaning.

badu' *adv.* last, finished, stop.

bagas *vi ; toa.* handsome; term of endearment for a male child.

bagi *vt.* distribute, divide.

bah   *iloc.* assertive particle.
baka   *n.* body.
bakal   *n ; vt.* wound.
bala   *quan.* all (kinds), many, much.
balang   *vi ; vt.* cancel, fail.
balas   *vt.* pay back.
balik   *vi.* turn around.
balu   *n.* widow, widower.
ban   *vt.* shape with axe, make a proa.
bangkang   *n.* bruise and ulcer.
bangkay   *n.* corpse.
ban'ir *n.* broad lower parts of a tree-trunk.
bansa *n ; adv.* tribe; approximately.
bantir   *vt.* take out (from cooking pan).
bantu'   *vt.* help.
banyaw *quan.* many, much.
barah *n.* abscess.
barah *prec.*
    barah buruh *vi.*be in a big hurry.
barang *n ; adv.* things, goods; whatever.
baru' *adv ; conj.* newly; (only) then.
baruh *n ; adv ; vi ; vt.* bottom part; below, under, low, short; make lower or shorter.
basa   *n.* language, norms.
    basa adat (adat basa) custom, tradition.
    basa Mualang Mualang language
basuk *vt.* wash.
batu   *n.* stone.
baw'   *n ; vi.* smell.
bay'   *vt.* bring, invite, summon.
bayah *adv.* enough.
bayik *vi.* good, kind, pretty (MI).
bedaw   *neg ; conj.* not yet; before.
beji   *n.* super human.
bekal   *n.* provisions (for journey).
bekaw   *n.* trace.
bela'   *adv.* same.
belah   *n.* part, side.
belakang   *n.* backside, back (of body).
belany'a   *vi.* do shopping.
belayan *meas.* bush (of bamboo).

beli   *vt.* buy.
belin'ung *n.* bee.
beliti' *n.* k.o. rambutan-fruit.
belutuk *n.* k.o. rambutan-fruit.
ben'a *n.* things.
bengkak *vi.* swollen.
benih *n ; vi.* seed; plant seed, sow.
benucu' *vi.* have a grandparent-grandchild family relationship.
benung *asp.* progressive marker.
beram *n.* k.o. traditional sweet liquor made of *pulut* rice,.
berani *vi.* brave.
berap *vt.* embrace.
berapa *intr.* how many, how much.
beras *n.* uncooked rice.
berat *vi.* heavy.
bereta *vi.* be together.
    bereta berama *vi.* be together.
beri' *vt.* give.
berkat *n.* blessing.
bersih *vi.* clean.
beruang *n.* bear.
beruk *n.* short-tailed macaque.
beruwi' *n.* k.o. bird.
besa' *n.* blanket.
besay *vi.* big.
besi *n.* iron.
betah *vi.* feel comfortable.
betis *n.* calf (of leg).
biah *vt.* wave aside.
biak *n ; vi.* child; young.
biasa *mod.* usually.
    kabiasa *n.*habit.
bida *n ; vt ; vi.* difference; differentiate; differ.
biday *n.* large rattan mat.
bila *intr.* when.
bilah *class.* for entities with a flat plane.
bilang *vt.* count.
bilik *n.* room, room within a longhouse.
bingkis *vt.* peel.
bingkung *n ; vt.* coconut scraper (MI); grate.

bini *n.* wife.

bintih *vt ; n.* kick with shinbone; a traditional game played by kicking each other's shinbone.

binyak *n.* oil.

bira' *vi.* defecate.

birah *n.* k.o. itchy, inedible yam.

bisa *n.* poison.

buah *n ; class ; vt.* fruit; a 'catch-all' classifier; go collecting fruit.

   kebuah *vt* collect fruit.

buay *vt.* throw away.

bubu *n.* k.o. fishtrap.

budi *vi.* pretend.

budu *vi.* stupid.

buh *excl.* come on!

bujang *toa.* term of endearment for a male child.

bujur *vi.* straight (not bent).

buk *n.* hair.

buka' *vt.* open.

bukay *adv.* other.

bukit *n.* hill.

buku' *n.* joint.

bula' *vi.* lie.

   kebula' *vt.*cheat, deceive.

bulak *prec.*

   bulak-balik *vi.* go back and forth.

bulan *n.* moon; month.

buluh *n.* bamboo.

bung *n.* part, direction.

bunga *n.* flower.

bungkus *n ; vt.* wrapping; wrap.

bunsu *vi.* youngest born.

buntar *vi.* round.

bunuh *vt.* kill.

buruh *vi.* hurried.

   barah-buruh, buruh-arah *vi.* be in a big hurry.

burung *n.* bird.

C - c

cabut *vt.* pull out, pull up.

cakap *n ; vt.* speech, talk; discuss.

cara *n.* way, manner.

carik *vi.* torn apart.

catuk *n.* spoon.

cawis *vi.* finished.

celap *vi ; vt.* cold, cool; make cold or cool.

   celap kakap extremely cold.

celuk *vt.* put one's hand into something to grasp.

cerat *vi.* very eager, greedy.

ceruh *vt.* pound (paddy) to remove husks.

ci' *excl.* expressing disagreement.

ciap *n.* sound of young chickens.

cipay-uay *vi.* flap around.

cit *n.* mouse, rat.

cu' *toa.* vocative for grandchild.

cuba *vt.* try.

cukup *vi.* enough.

cula *n.* horn.

cuma *adv.* only.

curi *vt.* steal.

D - d

da *prep.* at, in, on.

dada *n.* chest.

dagu' *n.* chin.

dah *asp ; conj.* (short form of *udah*), perfect marker; already; after.

dalam *vi.* deep.

dan *n.* branch.

danan *n.* k.o. rattan.

dani *vi.* wake up.

dany'i *n.* promise.

dapat *mod.* can, be able.

dara *n ; toa.* young woman; term of endearment for a female child.

dara' *prec.*
    ba-dara' *vi.* make offerings.
    pe-dara' *n.* offerings.

darah *n.* blood.
    darah getah (all kinds of) blood.

darung *n.* valley.

daruy *toa.* term of endearment for a female child.

datay *vi.* come.

dawun *n.* leaf.

dayang *toa.* term of endearment for a female child.

dejak *meas.* foot.

depa *meas.* fathom.

deras *vi.* fast.

deray *vi.* bright (of flame).

di *prep.* see *da*.

di' *pron.* you (female).

dia' *adv.* there (near).

diang *n.* the late.

diaw *vi.* live, stay, be quiet.

dih *iloc.* emphasizing the actuality of event.

dilah *n.* tongue.

dilang-dilang *vi.* flare.

din *adv.* there (far).

dinga *vi.* hear, listen to.

dingay *toa.* a term used for a female with bad behavior.

dini *adv.* early.
    dini/dina ari early in the morning

dini *intr.* where.

din'ing *n.* wall.

diri *vi* stand.
    ba-diri *vi.* stand.
    pe-diri *vt.* to cause to stand up, to make s.t. stand or erect.

diri' *pron.* reflexive pronoun, self, oneself.

ditu' *adv.* here.

dua *num.* two.

dua' *prec.*
    ba-dua' *vt.* divide.
    pe-dua' *n.* part, division.

duay *n.* family relationship between husbands of women who are siblings.

duduk *vi.* sit.

dujut *vt.* drag, draw.

dulaw *adv ; iloc.* previous time, earlier; first.

duri' *n.* thorn.

duruk *prec.*
    ba-duruk *vi.* carry on mutual-cooperation in a group with others.

durung *n.* a small house used to store rice; it is a bit high from the ground and located outside of the main house.

duwit *n.* money.

duy *toa.* term of endearment for a female child.

G - g

ga' *adv.* also.

gaga *vi.* glad.

gaga' *vt.* chase.

gah *asp.* ever.

galak *vi.* fertile.

galaw *vi.* huge.

gali *vt.* dig.

gali' *vi.* lie down.

gampang *vi.* easy.

gana *vi.* ugly.

gang'ang *n.* unroofed open part or balcony of a traditional house.

gantang see *kulak*.

ganti *vt.* change, substitute, replace.

gantung *vt.* hang.

gari' *vi.* worn out (of clothes); to change (of clothes).

gas see *bagas*.

gasak *vt.* hit.

    ba-gasak ba-rin'as fight each other.

gawang *meas.* measure of a small circle formed by touching together both tips of thumbs and tips of middle fingers'.

gaway *n.* feast, festival.

gawuh *n.* echo.

gawuk (ka) *vi.* long (for).

gelamay *n.* k.o. delicacy made from sticky rice.

gempung *prec.* see *ayung*.

gemu' *vi.* fat.

gena *iloc.* expressing random or aimless action.

genap *vi.* even, not less or more.

gerama' *n.* crab.

gering-gering *n.* feverish feeling.

getah *n ; vt.* sticky sap of plants, latex, rubber sap; trap s.t. with sticky sap. (See also *darah*).

getar *vi.* tremble.

    getar ganyar tremendously tremble.

giga' *vt.* look for.

gigi *n.* tooth.

gila' *adv.* extremely.

giling *vt.* roll, roll up.

gisah *n ; vt.* story; tell a story.

gram *meas.* gram.

gu' *n.* sound, voice.

gua' *n.* cave.

guang *vi.* join the spouse's family after marriage.

guay *vi.* run.

    ba-guay run.

    ba-guai linsay run around.

gula *n.* sugar.

gulay *vt.* mix.

gulung *adv.* too (very), excessively.

gumpul *vt ; vi.* gather, collect; have a church gathering.

guna *n.* benefit.

gung *n.* gong.

guni *n.* gunny (sack).

guntur *n.* thunder.

gunung *n.* mountain.

gunyung-gunyung *vi.* indifferently walk.

guraw *prec.*

    ba-guraw *vi.* tease around; play.

    pe-guraw *n.* joke; toy; place of playing.

    pe-guraw *vt.* tease, make fool of.

guris *n.* matches (for light).

gusung *vt.* chase, go after, meet.

H - h

ha *excl.* expressing surprise at encountering something unexpectedly.

haja *adv.* solely.

hak *n.* rights.

I - i

ia *pron.* he, she, it.

ia' *dem.* that.

ibat *vt.* smash, rudely throw or put onto the ground.

ibu' *toa.* for mother-in-law or for a woman relatively older than the speaker.

ibun *n.* animals that get burnt when a cleared field is put on fire.

idung *n.* nose.

idup   *vi.* live.

iga'   *vt.* look for.

igi'   *n ; class.* seed; classifier for round entities.

   igi' rawung   Adam's apple.

ih   *excl.* used to attract the addressee's attention to what is going to be said.

ijaw   *vi.* green.

ikan   *n.* fish.

iku'   *n ; class.* tail; classifier for animate entities.

ila'   *adv.* later.

ilang   *vi.* lost, disappear.

ili'   *n ; vt.* downstream; go downstream.

im'ir   *n.* (plastic) basket.

inaw   *vt.* look for.

inay   *n.* mother.

ingat   *vi, vt.* remember.

ingkuh   *vi.* diligent.

ini'   *n.* grandmother.

intu   *vt.* take care, look after.

intup   *vt.* spy.

in'u'   *n.* female, mother (of animal).

inum   *vt ; vi.* drink.

ipa'   *vt.* peek, spy.

   pang-ipa' *n.*   place of peeking.

ipar   *n.* sibling in law.

   ipar biras   siblings in law.

ipuh   *n.* k.o. poison.

ipung   *vi.* eat (archaic, literary, polite form), eat simple meal.

iran   *vi.* astonished, amazed.

irik   *vt.* thresh.

irit   *vt.* draw, drag.

isa'   *conj.* so that.

isaw   *n.* machete.

isi'   *n.* contents.

   b-isi'   exist, there is.

isu'   *toa.* for a male behaving badly.

itam   *vi.* black.

itung   *vt.* count.

   per-itung *vt.*   count, take into account.

iu   *n.* shark.

J - j

ja'   *iloc.* just, only.

jabaw *n ; vi.* bamboo shoots; (active form: *ngenyabaw*) collect or look for bamboo shoots.

jadi   *vi.* become, marry.

jadi   *conj.* so, thus.

jaku'   *n ; vi.* word, saying; say

jala   *n ; vt.* net; net-fish.

jalay   *n.* road, walk, place.

   ba-jalay   to walk.

jalay   *conj.* in order to, for.

jalung   *n.* big bowl.

jama   *adv.* usually, commonly.

jaman   *n.* time.

jampat   *vi.* quick, fast.

jang   *toa.* for a male child or a young man much younger than the speaker.

jangka' *n.* guess, limit.

jangkit   *vi.* contagious.

jantung   *n.* heart.

jara'   *iloc.* expressing conclusive statement, 'so it is'.

jarah   *vt.* plunder.

jarang   *asp.* seldom, rare.

jari   *n.* arm.

jat   *vi.* bad.

jawa'   *n.* k.o. millet.

jawuh   *vi.* far.

jay'   bad (MU).

jayit   *vt.* sew.

jebul   *n.* bottle.

jelu   *n.* animal.

jeman   see *jaman.*

jemuy   *vt.* dry.

jeput   *vt.* pinch.

jeraw   *vt.* clear (field, branches).

jerita   *n.* story.

jimut *n.* k.o. fried snack made of glutinous (*pulut*) rice.

jingkal *meas.* a span from thumb to tip of middle finger.

jua' *vt.* give.

juna' *n.* k.o. leek.

jungur *n.* snout.

jurus *vi.* straight.

juy *toa.* term of endearment for a male child.

K - k

ka *prep.* to.

ka' *vt / vi ; mod.* want; future tense marker.

kacung *n.* frog.

kadang(-kadang) *adv.* sometimes.

kah *iloc.* forcing the performing of an action.

kak *n.* crow.

kaki *n.* leg, foot.

kala' *mod.*
  naday kala' never .
  bedaw kala' never yet

kali' *n ; conj.* times; or (?).

kami *pron.* we (excl).

kampil *n.* traditional backpack.

kampung *n.* dense forest, village.

kampur
    N-kampur *vi.* have a chat.

kamuh *vi.* mix.

kana *n ; vt.* k.o. chanted story; chant a story.

kanan *n.* right (of direction).

kangaw *vi.* shout.

kan'ung *n ; vi.* womb, pregnancy; be pregnant, contain.

kapir *n.* soft side part of freshwater turtle (*lelabi*).

karna *conj.* see *kerna*.

kasak-kusuk *vi.* be restless, moving nervously.

kasi' *vi.* sneeze.

kasi' *vt.* disclose.

kasih *n.* feeling of pity.

kasut *n.* k.o. wooden shoes (no longer in use).

katak *n.* k.o. big, edible frog.

kati *intr.* how.

    ba-kati how.

katung *vt.* lift.

kawan *n.* friend.

kawut *vt.* scoop (e.g. with a spoon).

kaya *vi.* loud, rich.

kayil *n ; vi.* fish hook; to fish.

kayin *n.* clothes.

kayit *vt.* hook.

kayu *n.* wood, tree.

kayuh *n ; vt.* paddle; to paddle.

keba *quan.* all kinds.

keba' *conj.* therefore.

kebak *vt.* open.

keban *n.* kind.

kebila *intr.* when.

kebukay *adv.* other.

kebun *n.* garden.

keda' *adv.* other.
    keda' ari some other time, some time (in the future).

kedeka' *n.* will.

kediri' *adv.* alone.

keka' *toa.* for older sibling-in-law.

kekura' *n.* tortoise.

kelala *vt.* recognize, know.

kelalah *vi.* lazy.

kelat *n.* astringent taste.

kelay' *n.* sign.

kelampepat *n.* firefly.

kelempetan *n.* backside of knee.

kelempetang *n.* k.o. wood.

kelensuan *n.* the burnt part of a field prepared for planting.

kelensuang *vi.* starve.

kelia' *adv.* previous time.

kelibak *n.* bark (of wood).

kelimpay *n.* big pig.

kelingkung *n ; vt.* coconut scraper (MU), roundabout route (MI); grate.

keluar *vi.* exit, go out.

kelupa *vi.* forget.

kemansay *n.* rattan fish scoop.

kemari' *adv.* yesterday.

kemasuk *n.* water for washing one's hands before and/or after eating.

kemay *vt.* spread.

kemaya *intr.* when (rarely used).

kemayaw *n.* k.o. fruit.

kemedih *vi.* get sad.

kemih   *n ; vi.* urine; urinate.

keminang *n.* ingredients (betel nut, betel and lime (from shell)) for chewing.

kemua *pron.* both of us (excl., he/she and I).

kena' *vt.* be imposed upon with, afflict.

kenu' as is said.

kenyang *vi.* satisfied (of food).

kepa' *asp.* often.

kepal *vt.* hold in one's hand.

kepua' *n.* k.o. tree whose bark is used for making traditional clothes.

kera' *n.* long-tailed macaque.

keramak (keramang?) *vt.* claw.

kerampak *vi.* arrogant, egotistical.

keran *vt ; asp.* like; often do.

keransi' *vt.* claw.
  ba-keransi'-ba-kerama' claw each other.

kerantam *vt.* claw, pull s.o.'s hair.
  ba-kerantam-ba-keremung fight each other.

kerap *prec.*
  kerap terap fall or stumble here and there.

keras *vi.* hard.

kerat *meas ; vt.* a small slice of meat; slice.

kerawuk *n.* small knife for weeding.

kerejuk *vi.* jump (into).

keremung *vt.* squeeze.

kerinsak *n.* k.o. sweet tasting fruit.

kerja *n ; vi ; vt.* work.

kerna *conj.* because.

kesa' *n.* k.o. ant.

kesudah-sudah *conj.* after such a long time.

kesuput *vi.* compelled.

ketaw *vt.* harvest.

ketawa' *vi.* laugh.

ketaw' *vt.* know (cf. **taw'**)

ketuan *n.* female or male sibling of own's father.

ketup *vt.* bite.

kia'   *adv.* thither (near).
  kia'-kia' to everywhere.
  kia'-kitu' hither and thither.

kiara' *n.* banyan tree.

kiba' *n.* left.

kijang *n.* deer.

kikay *intr.* to where?

kilah *vt.* surpass, pass.

kilu *meas.* kilometer, kilogram.

kin *adv.* thither (far).

kini *iloc.* expressing wondering (of uncertainty).
  kini/ kina ari long time ago.

kira *mod.* wish.

kira-kira *adv.* approximately.

kisah *n.* story, see *gisah*.

kisar *n ; vt.* wooden grinding tool for *padi*; grind the husk off *padi*.

kita *pron.* we (incl.).

kita' *pron.* you all.

kitu' *adv.* hither, up to present time.

ku *pron.* I.

kuali *n.* cooking pan.

kuangkakuk *n.* k.o. bird.

kuasa *n.* power.

kubur   *n ; vt.* grave; bury.

kucar-kacir *vi.* be scattered around (into all kinds of places or directions).

kukuh *vi.* strong.

kula' *toa.* vocative for son- in-law.

kulak *meas.* a traditional wooden container, equals 10 ling or 2½

kg.

kulang-kalik *vi.* go back and forth.

kulat *n ; vi.* fungus, mushroom; dried rubber latex; collect mushrooms.

kuli *n.* coolie.

kulit *n.* skin.

kum'ang *n.* beetle.

kumay *vt.* call.

   kumay kasih term of endearment mainly used for family members.

kumpal *meas.* a big slice of meat.

kumpul see *gumpul*.

kumuh *n.* wrap, cover (blanket, etc.).

kun'ang-katang *vi.* go back and forth.

kun'ang-kekun'ang *vi.* go back and forth.

kuning *vi.* yellow.

kunyit *n.* turmeric.

kutak-katuk *vi.* make various tapping sounds.

kutu *n.* lice.

kutur *vi ; vt.* dirty; make dirty.

kuwi *n.* cake.

L - l

laban *n ; vt.* enemy; oppose.

labuh *vi ; vt.* fall; drop.

   labuh ruruh drop (at once and abundantly).

   ba-labuh *vi* originate.

lagi' see *agi'*.

lah *part.* emphatic, assertive particle.

laju *vi.* agreed, settled.

laki *n.* husband, man.

lalin *vt.* plait.

lam *n.* morning.

lama' *adv.* long (of time).

laman *n.* yard.

lamar *class.* for flat thin entities.

lam'ay *vi.* wave.

lampar *adv.* excessive, too.

lamur *n.* sunset sky.

lang *n.* eagle.

langan *n.* pieces of wood arranged on the ground to be used as a sitting place.

langit *n.* sky.

langkaw *n.* hut (in the rice field).

lang'u' *n.* big pig (MI), cf. *kelimpay*; beginning of fruit.

lantang *vi.* large.

lapan *num.* eight.

lata' *n.* mud.

law *iloc.* before doing anything else, first.

lawang *n.* door, house(hold).

lawun *vi.* slow, late.

lay *iloc.* emphasizing a favor, invitation or exhortation.

laya' *n.* quarrel.

lebat *vi.* dense (leaves), heavy (rain).

lebaw *vi.* dense (leaves), heavy (rain).

lebih *adv.* more.

lebuh *vi.* feel affection.

lega' *n.* dry season.

lekas *vi.* quick, fast.

lekaw *adv.* early.

lela' *vi.* crushed, melted.

lelabi *n.* freshwater turtle.

lelak *vi.* tired.

lelang *vi.* play.

leman *n.* kind.

lemaw *vi.* weak, lazy.

lempa' *n.* plain (of land), hollow.

lempung *vi.* light (not heavy).

lengis *vi.* cleared

lenyaw *vi.* lost.

lepa *prec.*

   ba-lepa *vi.* take a rest.

lepas *vi.* get loose.

ler *n.* neck.

lia' *n.* ginger.

licak *n.* mud.

   licak-lacik very muddy and wet.

licin   *vi.* slippery.
lidi   *n.* midrib of a palm leaf.
likun   *adv.* well wrapped.
lima   *num.* five.
limaw *n.* citrusfruit.
limpang   *vi ; vt.* turn off to another direction; change the subject.
   limpang umung/cakap   by the way.
   limpang limang   speak disorderly.
ling   *meas.* a small condensed milk can (cf. Indonesian *kaleng*); 1 ling = ¼ kg.
lintang   *n ; vi.* block, hindrance; across.
   pelintang putang   be in disarray.
lipat   *vt.* fold.
luah   *vi.* large.
luar   *n.* outside.
luay'(-luay')   *vi.* weak.

lubah   *vi.* slow and quiet.

lubang   *n.* hole.
lubuk   *n.* deep place in the river.
lucu   *vi.* funny.
ludah   *n ; vi.* saliva; spit.
lulum   *prec.* see *sium*.
lulun   *n.* k.o. snack made of glutinous (*pulut*) rice with coconut filling. (In Java people call it *kue bugis*).
lumpar   *vt.* cut in big chunks.
lumpat   *vi.* jump.
lunga'   *n.* k.o. knife.
lung'ang   *vi.* cross over.
luntus   *vi.* lazy.
luput   *vi.* miss something.
lusa   *n.* the day after tomorrow.

M - m

ma'   *vt.* carry on the back.
m'a'   *toa.* term of endearment for a male child.
mabaw   *vt.* weed.
mabuk   *vi.* drunk.
macam   *n.* kind.
mah   *iloc.* emphasizing the importance of the element under focus.
majuh   *vi.* eat (rude), scoff.
malam   *n.* night.
mali   *vi.* not allowed, taboo.
mali   *conj.* lest.
malu   *vi.* shy, ashamed.
mampu   *mod.* be able to.
manal   *n.* cousin (children of parent's siblings).
manang   *n.* shaman.
mang-mang   *prec.*
   naday mang-mang   suddenly
mansang   *vi.* go to, set one's course to, towards.
mansing   *quan.* each.
manta'   *vi.* raw.

manuk   *n.* chicken.
maram   *n.* k.o. (red colored) fruit .
mas   *n.* gold.
masa   *n.* time.
mata   *n.* eye.
matang   *adv.* persistent, disobedient, insistent.
mataari *n.* sun.
mati   *vi.* die, dead.
   mati lesi   die (away).
   mati pungkak   dia at young age.
mawa   *vi.* stupid.
mayin   *vi.* play.
mayuh   *quan.* many, much.
melia'   *adv.* long time ago.
mensia   *n.* human.
menua   *n.* country, world.
menyadi'   *n.* sibling.
merama   *vi.* stay temporarily at somebody's house.
miak   *n.* little child.
m'ih   *pron.* you (male).
mimit   *quan.* a little, a few.
mimpi   *n ; vi.* dream.

ming'u *n.* Sunday, week.
minsay-miay *vi.* be in rags, look terrible.
mirah *vi.* red.
mis   see *amis*.
miskin *vi.* poor.
mit   *vi.* small, little.
mitir *meas.* meter.
mpa' *vt.* chew.
mpalang *n.* clot, clod, lump.
mpangan *n.* end, tip.
mpapa' *vi ; n.* run helter-skelter (MI); k.o. wood (MU).
mpat *num.* four.
mpay *n.* father (MI).
mp(e)lawak *n.* spider.
mp(e)liaw *n.* (tail-less) gibbon.
mperecit *vi.* squirt.
mpias *n.* splash (of rain or water).

mpu *vt ; n.* have, possess; possession.
mpulur *n.* inner part of tree.
mua *n.* face, front part.
  mua ari cloudy (about to rain).
Mualang *n.* Mualang person, Mualang territory, Mualang language.
muda *vi.* young.
mudik *vi.* go upstream.
muduh *vi.* ripe, cooked, wise (talk).
muk *n.* can (see *ling*).
mula *n.* beginning.
  mula-mula in the beginning.
mulut *n.* lips.
munsang *n.* weasel.
musim *n.* season.

mutah *vi.* vomit.
  mutah jurah vomit intensively.

N - n

N-   *pref.* active voice marker.
n'a'   *neg.* no, not.
naday *neg.* no, not.
nak   *toa.* kid (vocative); vocative for a person much younger than the speaker.
nam   *num.* six.
nama *n.* name.
nang *neg.* don't.
nanga *n.* estuary.
nasi'   *n.* cooked rice.
nay   *toa.* vocative for mother.
ncik   *vi.* tiny.
nday *neg.* short form of *naday* (MU).
nelay *n.* k.o. tree.
nema *conj.* because.
nemiak *n.* child.
nga' *vi ; vt.* stop there, leave there; let.
ngang *n.* barking sound of dog.
ng'ang *n.* hornbill.
nganti' *conj.* if.
ngapa *intr.* why.
ngaw *vt ; prep ; conj.* use; for, with,

by (instrument); for, in order to
ngay *neg.* not want, won't.
ngkadah *vi.* face (up).
ngkah *vt.* put.
ngkrangan *n.* sand.
ngkuh *vt.* place, put.
ngusung *prep.* to.
ni   *intr.* which, where.
ni'   *toa.* vocative for grandmother.
nih   *excl.* emphasizing what is being pointed to.
nikala' *asp.* never.
ningkuh *vi.* lazy.
nisi'   *neg.* nothing, there is not.
nitaw'   *neg ; vt ; vi.* can't, may not; not know; stupid.
nsana *n.* the day before yesterday.

nsawi *n.* Chinese cabbage.
nselan *n.* a ritual to give offering to a god.
  pe-nselan *vt.* make the ritual of giving the offering.
nsia *n.* human being.

ntah   *neg.* not know.

    ntah … ntah maybe … or …

ntara   *prep.* between, among.

ntawa'   *n.* k.o. fruit.

nti'   *conj.* if.

ntimun   *n.* cucumber.

ntua   *n.* parent-in-law.

nturan   *n.* a beam located on the edge of floorboard of a longhouse to support the poles of the house.

nu'   possessive marker.

n'u'   *toa.* term of endearment for a female child.

nugaw   *vi.* stay quiet, still.

nuna'   *prep.* according to.

nupa   *neg.* not as, not like.

nusah   *mod.* needn't.

nuy   *toa.* term of endearment for a female child.

nya'   *dem.* that.

nyamay   *vi.* delicious, comfortable.

nyantuk   *prep.* until (archaic).

nyaruh   *vi.* astonished.

nyaruk   *vi.* understand.

nyaw   *vi ; asp ; conj.* die (polite); already, perfect marker; after.

nyawa   *n.* mouth.

nyay   *toa.* term of endearment for a female child.

nyelah   *vi.* strange, odd.

nyeli'   *n.* corn.

nyelipan   *n.* centipede.

nyerawuh   *vi.* cry aloud, scream.

nyin   *adv.* that over there.

nyiur   *n.* coconut.

nyun   *dem.* that far away.

P - p

pa   *n.* thigh.

pabat   *vt.* cut, slash (usually small plants like bushes).

pabit   *vt.* involve.

    pabit parit involve or drag one another into s.t.

padah   *vt.* say, tell.

padahal   *conj.* as a matter of fact.

padam   *vi ; vt.* extinguished, off, set (of the sun); put out.

padi   *n.* paddy.

padung   *n.* attic.

pagar   *n.* fence; cage.

pagi   *n.* tomorrow.

pajak   *vt.* put in.

pakat   *n.* agreement.

pakay   *vt ; vi.* eat.

    pakay ipung eat a simple meal.

    pakay sumay do all activities related to cooking and eating.

pala'   *n.* head.

palit   *vt.* rub.

palu'   *vt.* beat, strike.

    palu' pelasah do all kinds of beating and striking.

pam   *n.* k.o. cracker snack made of *pulut* rice.

pamar   *vi ; vt.* separated; separate.

    pamar-piar scattered around, dispersed.

pampas   *vt.* reward.

pe(N)-   *pref.* nominalizer prefix.

panaw   *n.* k.o. skin disease.

pan'ay   *vi.* clever, smart.

panci   *vi.* beautiful (MI).

    panci bayik beautiful and kind.

pangan   *n.* friend, partner, each other.

pangkap   *vt.* hug.

pangku'   *vt.* take on one's lap.

pangkung   *vt.* beat, hit (with a hard thing).

pang'ul   *vt.* give a sign on a prospective rice field by clearing some part of the area that is going to be planted.

pan'i'   *vi ; vt.* take a bath; bathe.

pansa'   *vi.* pass.

pansay   *vt.* scoop.

pansuh *vt.* cook in bamboo.

pansut *vi.* exit.

panti *n.* foot-bridge made of trunk or board.

pantuk *vt.* peck.

pan'uk *vt.* burn.

panus *vi ; vt.* short (not long); make short.

panyay *vi ; vt.* long; make longer.

papan *n.* board.

   ba-papan *vi.* to give birth.

papung *vt.* cut (into chunks).

par *n.* k.o.tray to put food on.

pas *vi ; adv.* neatly fitting; at the same time, right after.

pasak *n.* (wooden) peg.

pasaw *vt.* set (e.g. a fish trap), have a look.

pat *n.* chisel.

pay *toa.* vocative for father.

payah *vi.* unreliable, hard.

payit *vi.* bitter.

pecah *vi.* broken.

pecaya *vi.* believe.

peda' *vt ; vi.* see.

pedih *vi.* difficult, sick, sad.

pegay *vt.* hold.

pejah *vt.* run down, gossip.

pekasam *n.* pickled meat or vegetables.

pelabuh *n.* kitchen room of traditional longhouse.

pelan'uk *n.* mouse-deer.

pelasah *vt.* beat (strongly with a hard object).

pelesit *vi.* slip out.

peluh *n.* sweat.

pelung *n ; vi.* bark (of dog).

peluntang-pelanting *vi.* helter-skelter.

pemenaw' *n.* knowledge.

pencuay *meas.* height measured by standing with hands up from toes to tip of middle finger.

pengkal *n.* landing place (e.g. of boat).

pen'ing *n ; vt.* ear; eardrop.

penti *n ; vt.* prohibition; make a prohibition of.

   mali penti *vi.* have prohibitions.

   penti pantang *n.* all kinds of prohibitions.

pentik *n.* wooden statue (for magic or ritual purposes).

penuh *vi.* full.

penukang *n.* window made on part of the roof.

penyuan *n.* breath.

pepat *vt.* cut into pieces.

peramu *n.* clothes.

peraw *n.* proa, boat.

perekuan *n.* wrist.

periuk *n.* boiling pot.

perlu *mod.* need.

perut *n.* stomach.

pesaw *n ; vt.* order, message; give a message.

pesta *n.* party.

pesuk *vi.* leak.

petang *n.* dark.

petara *n.* deity.

petataw *n.* riddle.

peti' *n.* k.o. animal trap with a sharp pointed bamboo and a rope that shoots the bamboo when the trap is stepped on.

pia' *adv.* like that, so.

piak *n.* part.

piala *n.* pitcher.

pian *n.* bathing place.

pianaw *n.* star (archaic).

piara *vt.* take care, raise.

pikir *vi.* think.

pin'ah *vi ; vt.* move.

pinang *n.* areca nut.

ping'an *n.* plate.

ping'ang *n.* waist.

pinta' *vt.* ask for, propose to (of marriage).

   pinta' diri' ask one's permission to leave.

pipit *n.* sparrow.

pisan *vi.* faint.
pisang *n.* banana (fruit and tree).
pisang kura *n.* pineapple.
pitu' *adv.* like this, so.
   nyaw pitu' now(adays).
pua' *n.* clothes made from *kepua'* bark.
puang *vi.* empty.
puar *vt.* pick (e.g. fruit).
pucuk *n.* top (of a tree leaf).
pukang *n.* k.o. small squirrel.
puku' (ia') *conj.* in short.
pukung *vt.* force.
pulah *vt.* make, do.
pulay *vi.* come/go home, return.
puluh *num.* unit of ten.
pulut *n.* glutinous rice.
pun *n.* tree.
pun *iloc.* emphatic particle.

punas *vi.* died out.

   punas ranas completely died out or finished.
pung'a' *vt.* cut.
pung'ung *n.* back (of body).
pupuh *vt.* chase.
purih *n.* descendant.
putih *vi.* white.
   putih belanyih very white.
putik *vt.* collect, pick up (e.g. from the floor).
puting *n.* tip of a knife or machete that goes in the wooden handle of the knife.
putung *vt.* cut.
   N-putung collect rubber saps.
puyang *n.* great-grandfather.

R - r

radah *vi.* ugly.
radu' *vi.* very ripe.
raja *n.* king.
rajang *n.* k.o. fern.
rakuk *vi.* bent.
rakup *n.* twin.
rama *n.* season.
   rama ujan rainy season.
ramaw
   ba-ramaw-ba-dampaw elopement.
rami *vi.* crowded.
rampah *vi.* scattered.
rampang *n.* waste, remainder.
   rampang-umang remnants.
ramu *n.* wealth, property.
   ramu-reta all wealth and properties.
ranah *n.* flood.
ranaw *n.* used rice field.
ran'aw *n ; vi ; vt.* gathering, visit; go visiting; visit (s.o.)
rancung *vi.* pointed.
rang *n.* jaw.
rangkay *vi.* dry.

   rangkay-kesay extremely dry.
rantak *vt.* drag, draw, pull up.
ranti' *n.* dried branch.
rari *vi.* run (away).
   rari diri' run away.
rarung *n.* coffin.
ratu *toa.* term of endearment for a female child.
ratus *n.* unit of hundred.
rawuk *n.* rotten leaves.
rawup *vt.* get or scoop a handful of (something).
rawut *vt.* scrape (e.g. rattan with a knife to make it smooth).
reban *n.* piece of land that has been cleared and is ready for burning; breast (of chicken).
rebus *vt.* boil.
rega *n.* price, value.
rejang *vt.* stab upwards.
rekung *n.* throat.
rempah *n.* side dish.
   rempah rimah kinds of side dishes.
ren'am *vt.* soak.

rengkiang *n.* case used to store paddy in the house.

renguang *n.* k.o. centipede-like arthropod.

reni *intr.* from where? (short form of *ari ni*).

renti *meas.* length measured from the tip of the thumb sticking out laterally from an otherwise clinched fist to the heel of the fist (used as a unit for measuring the difference between the circumference of a pig's chest and that of an adult person's head).

renyaw *n.* rooster.

repuk *vi.* decayed (of wood).

repung *vi.* crushed (of fire).

reta *n.* goods, property.

reti *n.* meaning.

rian *n. durian* fruit/tree.

ribut *n.* wind.

rim'a' *n.* jungle.

rim'ay alongside.

rin'as *prec.*

   ba-rin'as *vt.* have a fight, wrestle.

ringat *vi.* angry.

ringaw *prec.*

   ba-ringaw *vt.* help each other in harvesting.

ringkay *vi.* thin.

rin'u *vt.* long for.

ritak *vi.* talkative.

riu *vi.* long for.

rua' *vi.* wasteful, prodigal.

ruas *meas.* length of bamboo between two joints.

ruay *n.* the gallery or veranda-like part of the longhouse.

rumah *n.* house.

   rumah panyay longhouse.

rumpah see *rempah.*

rung'u' *vi.* sick.

runtay *vt.* drag rudely.

runtu *vt.* attack.

rupiah *n.* Indonesian money, unit of Indonesian currency.

ruruh *vi.* fall.

rusak *vi ; vt.* broken, damaged; break, damage.

rusuk *n.* rib.

rut *vt.* forbid.

S - s

se- *pref.* numeral prefix 'one'.

sa' *num.* one (only used in stories or ritual texts).

sa' *pron.* they (probably a short form of sida').

sabak *vi.* cry.

sabar *n.* fence for trapping fish.

sadung *vt.* share (food) with others (e.g. when getting animals or having a feast).

saga' *vi.* enthusiastic.

saja *adv.* incredibly.

saka *n.* cross road.

sakit *vi.* sick.

salah *vi ; vt.* wrong; do s.t. wrong against, infringe.

salak *vi.* bark (of a dog).

salay *vt.* smoke or cook rather high above the fire.

sama *adv.* same.

sam'ar *vt.* pounce upon.

sam'il *conj.* while.

sampay *vi ; prep ; conj.* arrive, achieve; until.

sam'ung *vt.* join, connect.

sang *n.* pepper.

sangkuh *n ; vt.* spear.

sangkut *vi.* get stuck.

sang'up *vi.* be able/prepared to.

sanu' *pron.* indefinite pronoun for human; "whosit", "what's-his-name".

sapa *intr.* who.
saring *vi.* loud.
satu *num.* one.
saw *vi.* angry.
sawa' *n.* python.
sawut *vi.* reply.
sebayan *n.* world of the dead.
sebedaw *conj.* before.
sebela' *adv.* same.
seberang *n ; vt.* across; cross.
sebut *vt.* mention.
sedang *conj.* whereas, while.
sedua *pron.* both of you, both of them.
sega' *n.* k.o. big rattan.
segala *quan.* all kinds.
segay *vi.* full, satisfied (of eating).
sekut *vi.* narrow.
selabuk *vi.* hide
selam *vi.* dive.
selama' *conj.* during.
selap *n.* pad (or something like a mat) used to sit or sleep on.
selawar *n.* pants.
selimut *n.* blanket.
semak *vi.* close, near.
semanta *adv.* randomly.
semaru *num.* first.
semenang *n.* k.o. snake.
semilan *num.* nine.
sempang *n.* proverb.
sem'uh *vi.* recovered.
semut *n.* ant.
senapang *n.* rifle.
sengabut *adv.* continuously.
sengah *n.* flu.
senganan *n.* Malay people.
seng'ang *n.* k.o. bush (the leaves are used to make mats, containers, etc.).
sengawul *meas.* a span from thumb to joint of middle finger (or less than a *jingkal*).
sengigit *meas.* a length or height measured from one's feet up to the teeth in standing position.
sengkidaw *n.* rice spoon.

sengkit *adv.* as usual.
seniku' *pron.* both of you, both of them.
senta *n.* time.
senua *pron.* both of you, both of them.
senunuh *vi.* proper.
  naday senunuh improper, shapeless.
senyiku *meas.* measure for less than a *depa'*, namely the length from one hand stretching to the side of the body to the end of the elbow of another hand which is folded at the elbow and put horizontally across the chest.
senyintik *meas.* half of *gawang*.
senyulan *meas.* a span measured from tip of one's thumb to tip of one's forefinger.
sepu *vt.* blow.
sepuh *vt.* gild.
sepuluh *num.* ten.
sepupu *n.* "cousin" relationship between grandchildren.
serah *vi.* left to the discretion of s.o.
serapah *n ; vt.* curse.
seraw *vi.* shout loudly.
serua' *n.* k.o. fishtrap.
sesal see *tesal*.
sudah *prec.*
  sesudah-sudah *conj.* after such a long time.
setegal *adv.* a while.
setiap *quan.* every, each.
setuju *vi.* agree.
siah *vt.* disclose.
sida' *pron.* they.
sidi *vt.* trace.
sigat *vi.* fast.
sikit *quan.* a few, a little.
siku *n.* elbow.
silah *adv.* different.
silu *n.* nail.
silu-silu *vi.* quiet, silent.
sim'ang *vt.* cut.
simpan *vt.* keep.

sing'ah *vi.* stop by.
singkap *class.* for porcelain dishes.
sinti *meas.* centimeter.
sipak *vt.* kick.
sirap *n ; vt.* roof made of slices of wood; set the roof *sirap*.
sirat *n ; vt.* loincloth; put on a loincloth.
sium *vt.* kiss, smell.
   ba-sium ba-lulum kiss each other.
suar *vt.* stretch out hand (to give s.t).
suayak *vi.* get divorced.
sudu' *n ; vt.* spoon, stir.
sukur *excl.* thank God!

suma' *n ; vt.* the season making *pulut* rice cracker (*pam*); make *pam*.
sumay *vt.* cook.
sumpah *n ; vt.* curse.
sumpit *n ; vt.* blowpipe; shoot with a blowpipe.
sun'ang *vt.* set head to, arrange alternately.
sungay *n.* river.
sunyi' *vi.* quiet.
suruh *vt.* command, order; cause.
surup *vt.* help.
susu see *tusu*.

T - t

tabar *vi.* tasteless.
tabi' *n.* greetings.
tabiat *n.* behavior.
tabin *n.* fever.
tacah *vt.* afflict, work.
tadi' *adv.* a while ago.
taga'
   ba-taga' *vi.* satisfied.
tajam *vi.* sharp.
   tajam siku work hard and diligently.
tajaw *n.* k.o. big jar; kind of moon's appearance.
takin *n.* k.o. small container made of rattan or *seng'ang* leaves.
takut *vi.* afraid.
talah *mod.* be able to.
ta'luk *vi.* subject to, surrender.
tama' *vi.* enter.
tam'ah *vt.* add.
tam'ak *vt.* plant.
tam'ang *vi.* ride on (a boat), get fish.
tam'it *vt.* tie up.
tampak *vi.* bright.
tampar *vt.* slap.
tampi' *n ; vt.* winnow
tampuk *n.* end, top.
tampun *vt.* hammer with a piece of wood.

tan *vi.* endure, resist.
tan'a *n ; vt.* sign
tanah *n.* earth, ground, soil, land.
   tanah ampah all lands.
tan'an *class.* cluster (of banana fruits).
tang'a' *n.* ladder, stairs.
tangar *vt.* set a cooking tool on fire.
tangkal *vt.* cut, slash.
tangkap *vt.* catch.
tangkin *n ; vt.* machete; carry (a machete).
tang'ung *vt.* carry on the shoulder.
tanya' *vt.* ask.
tapa' *n.* palm of hand.
tapuk *vt.* hide.
tarik *vt.* pull.
taw' *vi ; mod.* know; can, be able, may.
tawak *n.* k.o. small gong.
tawang *n.* swampland, wet rice field.
tawas *n.* noon, daytime.
tawun *n.* year.
tay relative marker.
tay' *n.* feces.
tayil *meas.* an amount of five porcelain bowls, formerly used to pay a traditional fine.
teban *n.* place, site.

tebang *vt.* cut (usually big objects like trees).

tebas *vt.* cut (relatively small objects like bushes).

tebelian *n.* ironwood.

tebuk *vt.* make a hole.

tedung *n.* k.o. snake.

tegah *vt.* startle (by yelling).

tegalan *n.* land that has been cleared and burnt for cultivation.

tegu' *vt.* touch.

teguh *vi.* strong, hard.

teguk *vt.* drink at once, gulp down.

teka *adv.* right away.

tekadang see *kadang*.

tekakak-tekikik *vi.* laugh continuously with various sounds.

tekanyat *vi.* startled.

telany'ang *vi.* naked.

telany'ur *vi.* gone too far.

teling'u *n.* window (rarely used).

telu' *n.* egg.

teluk *n.* a small long gutter-like space located between bilik and ruay in the longhouse.

tem'awang used in MI, see *tem'away*.

tem'away *n.* former or old settlement site (MU).

temeng'ung *n.* an elder of traditional *adat*.

tempa' *vt.* forge.

tempan *n.* anvil.

tempap *meas.* a width of from the side of the palm of the hand to the other side.

tempayan see *tepayan*.

temu *vt.* find, meet.

tem'u' *vi.* finished, done.

temuay *n ; vi.* guest; go for a visit.

tem'us *vi ; vt.* pierced; pierce.

ten'ang *vt.* kick (out).

tengah *n ; vt.* middle; go through

tengan *asp.* progressive marker.

teng'elam *vi.* sink.

tengi' *n.* dispute.

tengik *vi.* stubborn, insist.

teng'iling *n.* ant-eater.

tentu *adv.* certainly.

tenung *n ; vi.* forecast.

tepaw *vt.* sweep.

> **peN-tepaw** *n.* broom.

tepayan *n.* jar.

tepelanting *vi.* fallen headlong.

tepu' *vt.* put, place, keep.

tepung *n.* k.o. fried snack made of flour.

tepuruk *vi.* fallen vertically from a slippery place.

terap *vi.* stumble.

terapa' *vt.* bump.

teray *vt.* try (out).

ter(e)bay *vi.* fly.

terejang *vt.* run into.

terentak *vi.* shocked.

terudi *vt.* follow from behind.

terus *adv.* straight, direct.

tesal *vi.* regret.

tesat *vi.* get lost.

tetak *vt.* cut.

ti   see *tay*.

tiang *n.* pole.

tiap *quan.* every, each.

tibang *n.* paddy container made of tree bark.

tibar *vt.* throw.

tiga *num.* three.

tih *iloc.* used to keep track of the listener's attention.

tijak *vt.* step on.

tijang *vt.* step on.

tikam *vt.* throw, pelt.

tikay *n.* mat.

tiki' *vt ; vi.* climb, ascend.

tiku *n.* teapot.

tikup *vt.* close.

> **tikup petang** get dark.

tilam *n.* bed.

tiluk *n.* (cooked) rice spoon.

tim'ak *vt.* shoot.

tim'ul *vi.* emerge.

tin'ak *vt.* act upon.

tincin *n.* ring.

tinga *n.* a bit of food that stuck between teeth.

ting'al *vi ; vt.* stay, remain; leave.

ting'ang *vt.* fall upon.

ting'i' *vi ; vt.* high, tall; make higher.

tingkah *vt.* step over.

tingkap diri' prostrate o.s.

tin'uk *vi.* sleep.

tipah *vt.* wave aside.

tipan *vt.* arrange.

tisi *n.* side.

titi *n ; vi.* foot-bridge; walk along the foot bridge or a pathway.

tu' *dem ; adv.* this; now.

tua *pron.* we (you and I).

tuah *n.* good fortune.

tuap *n.* nightjar.

tuaw *n.* nightjar.

tuay *vi.* old.

tubuh *n.* body.

tucuk *vi ; vt.* fit, match; stab.

tudung *vt.* cover.

tugal *n ; vt.* stick used to make holes for seeds; make holes for seeds, dibble.

tujuh *num.* seven.

tulang *n.* bone.

tulu *vi.* really, right.

tulung *vt.* help.

tumas *vi.* fit, match.

   bulan tumas full moon.

tumay *vi.* fall down.

tum'uh *vi.* grow.

   mataari tum'uh sun rises.

tuna' *vt.* follow.

tunang *n.* fiancé(e)

tung *n.* part.

tung'al *vi.* single.

tungking *n.* k.o. container.

tungku *n.* traditional (clay) tripod used to set on a fire for cooking.

tungkus *vt.* wrap.

tungu *n ; vt.* traditional fine; pay the fine.

tung'u' *vt.* wait for.

tunsun *vt.* arrange.

   tunsun purih tracking down the family tree.

tuntut *vt.* claim.

tunu *vt.* burn.

tunyaw *vt.* knead.

tuny'uk *n ; vt.* finger, forefinger; point.

tupas *vi.* unreachable, fuzzy.

turun *vi.* descend.

   ke-turun descendant.

tusu *n.* breast, milk.

tusuy *n ; vt.* story; tell a story.

tut *n.* knee.

tutuk *vt.* pound, peck.

tutung *vt.* beat (drum, gong).

tutup *vt.* close.

U - u

uak *n.* sound of s.o. vomitting.

uay *excl.* my!, expressing commiseration.

ubi *n.* cassava.

ucu' *n.* grandchild.

udah *vi ; asp ; conj ; iloc.* finished; perfect marker, already; after; a particle emphasizing the fulfillment of an event.

   udah nya'/ia' after that.

uga' *quan.* all.

ugal *n.* nangka fruit (MI), see *ugan*.

ugan *n.* nangka fruit (MU), see *ugal*.

uh *excl.* oh; expressing one's sudden realization of some state of affairs.

ui see *uwi*.

ujan *n.* rain.

ujung *n.* tip, end.

   ujung ari afternoon.

ukay *neg.* no, not.

ukum *n ; vt.* law, punishment; punish.

ukur *vt.* measure.

ukuy *n.* dog.

ulak   *n.* eddy.
ular   *n.* snake.
ulat   *n.* caterpillar.
ulih   *n ; vt ; prep ; conj.* gain; gain, get; by; but.
ulu   *n ; vi.* upstream, end part, go upstream.
ulu'   *vt.* run down.
ulun   *n ; vt.* servant, slave; enslave.
uma   *n.* dry agricultural field.
umang   *n.* skin.
umpan   *n ; vt.* cooked rice, food; feed.
  umpan rempah   meal.
umung   *n ; vi.* talk, speak.
umur   *n.* age.
unang   *n.* shrimp.
unsay   *vt.* scatter, sprinkle.
unsut   *vt.* smear.

untung   *n ; vt.* share (one's rights), share.
un'ur   *vi.* step back, withdraw.
  un'ur diri'   resign.
upa   *prep.* as, like.
upa   *n.* appearence, look, upper end of stem (of palm, rattan) (used as vegetables).
urang   *n.* person, other person.
utan   *n.* forest.
utay   *n.* thing.
uti'   *n ; vt.* joke; jokingly urge (s.o.) to do something.
  ba-uti' ba-mayin   *vi.* play or fool around.
uwi   *n.* rattan.
uy   *excl.* hey!

W - w

waktu   *n ; conj.* time; when.
wan   *pron.* you (polite).
was   see *awas*.
way   *excl.* see *uay*.

wi   see *uwi*.
wih   *iloc.* emotionally expressive.
wih   *excl.* expressing pleasant surprise.

Y - y

yu   see *iu*.

Appendix 3: English-Mualang Finderlist

The wordlist below provides cross references to the Mualang - English wordlist on previous pages. Both English entries and Mualang word meanings are stated in general terms without any word class labels.

A - a

a while   **setegal**.
a while ago   **tadi'**.
abscess   **barah**.
abuse   **sumpah**.
according to **nuna'**.
achieve   **sampay**.
across   **lintang**; **seberang**.
act upon   **tin'ak**.
active voice marker **N-**.
adat, elder   **temeng'ung**.
add   **tam'ah**.
adopt   **angku'**.
affection   **lebuh**.
afflict   **kena'**.
afflict   **tacah**.
afraid   **takut**.
after   **dah**; **nyaw**; **udah**.
after such a long time
                kesudah-sudah;
                sesudah-sudah.
after that   **udah nya'/ia'**, *see:*
                udah.
afternoon   **ujung ari**, *see:* **ujung**.
again   **agi'**; **lagi'**.
age   **umur**.
agree   **setuju**.
agreement   **pakat**.
alcohol, k.o. **beram**.
all   **uga'**.
all (kinds)   **bala**.
all kinds   **keba**; **segala**.
almost   **ampir**.
alone   **kediri'**.
alongside   **rim'ay**.
already   **dah**; **nyaw**; **udah**.

also   **ga'**.
although   **amat**.
amazed   **iran**.
among   **ntara**.
and   **aba'**.
angry   **ransing**; **ringat**; **saw**.
animal   **ibun**; **jelu**.
ant   **kesa'**; **semut**.
ant-eater   **teng'iling**.
antipassive voice marker   **ba-**.
anvil   **tempan**
appearance   **upa**
approximately   **bansa**; **kira-kira**.
arm   **jari**.
arrange   **atur**; **tipan**; **tunsun**.
arrange alternately   **sun'ang**.
arrive   **sampay**.
arthropod   **renguang**.
as, like   **upa**.
as a matter of fact   **padahal**.
ascend   **tiki'**.
ash   **abus**.
ashamed   **malu**.
ask   **tanya'**.
ask for   **pinta'**.
ask permission to leave   **pinta' diri'**.
aspect, perfect   **dah**.
astonished   **iran**; **nyaruh**.
at   **da**; **di**.
attack   **runtu**.
attic   **padung**.
aunt   **ibu'**.
axe   **ban**.

B - b

back (of body)   **belakang**; **pung'ung**.
back side   **belakang**.
backpack   **kampil**.
bad   **jat**.

bad (MU)   **jay'**.
balcony   **gang'ang**.
bamboo   **buluh**.
bamboo shoots   **jabaw**.

banana **pisang**.
banyan tree **kiara'**.
bark **pelung**.
bark, clothes **pua'**.
bark (of dog) **salak**.
bark (of wood) **kelibak**.
barking (sound) **ngang**.
basket (plastic ~) **im'ir**.
bathe **pan'i'**.
bathing place **pian**.
be able to **dapat**; **mampu**;
sang'up; **talah**.
beam (of house) **nturan**.
bear (n) **beruang**.
beat **alah**; **palu'**; **pangkung**;
pelasah; **tutung**.
beautiful **alap**.
beautiful (MI) **panci**.
because **karna**; **kerna**; **nema**.
become **jadi**.
bed **tilam**.
bee **belin'ung**.
beetle **kum'ang**.
before **bedaw**; **sebedaw**.
beginning **mula**.
behavior **tabiat**.
believe **pecaya**.
below **baruh**.
benefit **guna**.
bent **rakuk**.
betel (nut) **keminang**.
bettle nut **pinang**.
between **ntara**.
big **besay**.
bird **burung**.
bird, k.o. **kuangkakuk**; **beruwi'**.
bite **ketup**.
bitter **payit**.
black **itam**.
blanket **besa'**; **selimut**.

blessing **berkat**.
blood **darah**.
blow **sepu**.
blowpipe **sumpit**.
board **papan**.
boat **ban**; **peraw**.
body **baka**; **tubuh**.
boil **rebus**.
bone **tulang**.
born **aday**.
both **kemua**.
both of them **sedua**; **seniku'**; **senua**.
both of you **sedua**; **seniku'**; **senua**.
bottle **jebul**.
bottom **baruh**.
bowl **jalung**.
branch **dan**.
branch (dry ~) **ranti'**.
brave **berani**.
break **rusak**.
breast **susu**; **tusu**.
breath **penyuan**.
bridge **panti**.
bright **tampak**.
bright (of flame) **deray**.
bring **any'ung**; **bay'**.
broken **pecah**; **rusak**.
broom **peN-tepaw**, *see:* **tepaw**.
bruise **bangkang**.
bump **terapa'**.
burn **pan'uk**; **tunu**.
burn across (of fire) **jelap**.
burnt **angus**.
bury **kubur**.
bush (of bamboo) **belayan**.
bushes, k.o. (used for mats) **seng'ang**.
but **ulih**.
buy **beli**.
by **ulih**.
by (instrument) **ngaw**.

C - c

cabbage **nsawi**.
cake **kuwi**.

calf (of leg) **betis**.
call **kumay**.

can   **dapat**; **muk**; **taw'**.
cancel   **balang**.
can't   **nitaw'**.
carry on the back **ma'**.
carry on the shoulder   **tang'ung**.
case for padi **rengkiang**.
cassava   **ubi**.
catch   **tangkap**.
caterpillar   **ulat**.
cause (vt)   **asuh**; **suruh**.
cave   **gua'**.
centimeter   **sinti**.
centipede   **nyelipan**.
certainly   **tentu**.
change   **ganti**.
change clothes   **gari'**.
charcoal   **arang**.
chase   **gaga'**; **gusung**; **pupuh**.
chat   **N-kampur**, *see:*
                   kampur.
cheat   **bula'**.
chest   **dada**.
chest (of chicken)   **reban**.
chew   **mpa'**.
chicken   **manuk**.
child   **anak**; **biak**; **miak**;
                   nemiak.
chin   **dagu'**.
chisel   **pat**.
church   **gumpul**.
citrusfruit   **limaw**.
claim   **tuntut**.
classifier, animate   **iku'**.
classifier, flat entities   **lamar**.
classifier, flat plane **bilah**.
classifier, for porcelain dishes
                   singkap.
classifier, for various things **buah**.
classifier, round entities **igi'**.
claw   **keramak (keramang?)**;
                   keransi'; **kerantam**.
clean   **bersih**.
clear (field, branches)   **jeraw**.
clear (land)   **pang'ul**.
cleared   **lengis**.
clever   **pan'ay**.

climb   **tiki'**.
close   **semak**; **tikup**; **tutup**.
clot   **mpalang**.
clothes   **kayin**; **peramu**.
clouded   **mua ari**, *see:* **mua**.
cluster (of bananas)   **tan'an**.
coconut   **nyiur**.
coconut scraper (MU)   **kelingkung**.
coffin   **rarung**.
cold, cool   **celap**.
collect   **gumpul**; **putik**;
                   tampung.
collect fruit   **kebuah**, *see:* **buah**.
collect rubber saps   **putung**.
come   **datay**.
come home   **pulay**.
come on   **ayuh**; **buh**.
comfortable   **nyamay**.
command   **asuh**; **suruh**.
commonly   **jama**.
compelled   **kesuput**.
connect   **sam'ung**.
contagious   **jangkit**.
contain   **kan'ung**.
container, for padi   **tibang**.
container   **tungking**; **takin**.
contents   **isi'**.
continuously **sengabut**.
cook   **sumay**.
cook in bamboo **pansuh**.
cook (put tools on fire) **tangar**.
cooked   **muduh**.
cool   **celap kakap**, *see:* **celap**.
coolie   **kuli**.
cooperation (in group)   **baduruk**, *see:*
                   duruk.
corn   **nyeli'**.
corpse   **bangkay**.
count   **bilang**; **itung**.
count   **per-itung**, *see:* **itung**.
country   **menua**.
cousin   **manal**; **sepupu**.
cover   **kum'uh**; **tudung**.
crab   **gerama'**.
cross   **seberang**.
cross over   **lung'ang**.

cross road **saka**.
crow **kak**.
crowded **rami**.
crushed **ancur**; **lela'**.
crushed (of fire) **repung**.
cry **sabak**.
cry aloud **nyerawuh**.
cucumber **ntimun**.
currency **rupiah**.

curse **serapah**
custom **adat**; **basa adat (adat basa)**, *see:* **basa**.
cut **lumpar**; **pung'a'**; **putung**; **sim'ang**; **tangkal**; **tebang**; **tebas**; **tetak**.
cut into chunks **papung**.
cut into pieces **pepat**.

D - d

dark **petang**.
day **ari**.
day after tomorrow **lusa**.
day before yesterday **nsana**.
daytime **tawas**.
dead **mati**.
decayed (of wood) **repuk**.
deceive **bula'**.
deep **dalam**.
deer **kijang**.
defeated **alah**.
defecate **bira'**.
deity **petara**.
delete **apus**.
delicacy from sticky rice **gelamay**.
delicacy from flour **tepung**.
delicacy from meat or vegetables **pekasam**.
delicacy from rice **lulun**.
delicacy from sticky rice **jimut**; **pam**.
delicious **nyamay**.
dense (of leaves) **lebaw**.
descend **turun**.
descendant **anak**; **purih**; **ke-turun**, *see:* **turun**.
deviate **limpang**.
dibble **tugal**.
die **mati**.
die (polite) **nyaw**.
died out **punas**.
differ **bida**.
difference **bida**.

different **silah**.
differentiate **bida**.
difficult **pedih**.
dig **gali**.
diligent **ingkuh**.
direct **terus**.
direction **bung**.
dirty **kutur**.
disappear **ilang**.
disclose **kasi'**; **siah**.
discretion **serah**.
discuss **cakap**.
disease (skin ~) **panaw**.
disobedient **matang**.
dispute **tengi'**.
distribute **bagi**.
disturb **aru**.
dive **selam**
divide **bagi**; **badua'**, *see:* **dua'**.
divorced **suayak**.
do **pulah**.
dog **ukuy**.
done **tem'u'**.
don't **adu**; **nang**.
door **lawang**.
downstream **ili'**.
drag **dujut**; **irit**; **rantak**.
drag rudely **runtay**.
draw **dujut**; **irit**.
dream **mimpi**.
drink **inum**.
drop **labuh**.
drunk **mabuk**.

dry   **jemuy**; **rangkay**.   during   **selama'**.
durian-fruit/tree   **rian**.

E - e

each   **mansing**; **setiap**; **tiap**.   enter   **tama'**.
each other   **pangan**   enthusiastic   **saga'**.
eager   **cerat**.   erect   **pe-diri**, *see:* **diri**.
eagle   **lang**.   escort   **any'ung**.
ear   **pen'ing**.   estuary   **nanga**.
eardrop   **pen'ing**.   etiquette, custom **basa**.
earlier   **dulaw**.   even   **genap**.
early   **dini**; **lekaw**.   ever   **gah**.
earth   **tanah**.   every   **setiap**; **tiap**.
easy   **gampang**.   excessive   **lampar**.
eat   **ipung**; **pakay**.   exclamation for attention   **ih**.
eat (rude)   **majuh**.   exclamation of disagreement   **ci'**.
echo   **awuh**; **gawuh**.   exclamation for calling   **uy**.
eddy   **ulak**.   exclamation, my!   **uay**.
egg   **telu'**.   exclamation (pointing)   **nih**.
egotistic   **kerampak**.   exclamation (sighing)   **aduh**; **way**.
eight   **lapan**.   exclamation of sudden awareness   **uh**.
elbow   **siku**.   exclamation of, surprise **ah**; **akay**; **ay**;
embrace   **berap**.   **ha**; **wih**.
emerge   **angkat**; **tim'ul**.   exist   **aday**.
emphatic marker **aday**.   exist, there is **b-isi'**, *see:* **isi'**.
empty   **puang**.   exit   **keluar**; **pansut**.
empty (of husk) **ampa'**.   expect   **arap**.
end   **mpangan**; **tampuk**;   extinguished, off, set (of the sun)
              ujung.   **padam**.
endure   **tan**.   extremely   **gila'**.
enemy   **laban**.   eye   **mata**.
enough   **bayah**; **cukup**.

F - f

face   **mua**.   fallen headlong   **tepelanting**.
face to   **adap**.   family   **ayung**; **gempung**.
face (up)   **ngkadah**.   far   **jawuh**.
fail   **balang**.   fast   **angas**; **deras**; **jampat**;
faint   **pisan**.   **lekas**; **sigat**.
fall   **labuh**; **ruruh**.   fat   **gemu'**.
fall down   **tumay**.   father   **apay**.
fall upon   **ting'ang**.   father (MI)   **mpay**.
fallen   **tepuruk**.   fathom   **depa**

feast (traditional) **gaway**.
feces **tay'**.
feed **umpan**.
feel comfortable **betah**.
feel like **asa'**.
female **in'u'**.
fence **pagar**.
fern **rajang**.
fertile **galak**.
festival **gaway**.
fever **tabin**.
feverish **gering-gering**.
few **mimit**; **sikit**.
fiancé(e) **tunang**.
field (burnt ~) **kelensuan**.
field (rice ~) **ranaw**.
fight **ba-rin'as**, *see:* **rin'as**.
find **temu**.
fine, pay **tungu**.
finger **tuny'uk**.
finished **amis**; **badu'**; **cawis**; **mis**;
tem'u'; **udah**.
fire **api**.
firefly **kelampepat**.
first **dulaw**; **semaru**.
fish **ikan**.
fish hook **kayil**.
fish scoop **kemansay**.
fish trap **bubu**; **serua'**.
fish trap (fence of ~) **sabar**.
fit **pas**; **tucuk**; **tumas**.
five **lima**.
fix **apis**.
flap around **cipay-uay**.

flare **dilang-dilang**.
flood **ranah**.
flower **bunga**.
flu **sengah**.
fly **ter(e)bay**.
fold **lipat**.
follow **aba'**; **ansul**; **terudi**;
tuna'.
food **umpan**.
foot **kaki, dejak**.
foot-bridge **titi**.
for **jalay**; **ngaw**.
forbid **rut**.
force **pukung**.
forecast **tenung**.
forefinger **tuny'uk**
forest **babas**; **kampung**; **utan**.
forge **tempa'**.
forget **kelupa**.
fortune **tuah**.
four **mpat**.
friend **kawan**; **pangan**.
frog **kacung**; **katak**.
from **ari**.
from where? **ari ni (reni)**, *see:* **ari**.
front part **mua**.
fruit **buah**; **kemayaw**;
ntawa'; **maram**;
kerinsak; **lang'u'**.
full **penuh**.
fungus **kulat**.
funny **lucu**.
future tense marker **ka'**.

G - g

gain, get **ulih**
gallery of longhouse **ruay**.
garden **kebun**.
gather **kumpul**.
get, gain **ulih**.
get fish **tam'ang**.
ghost **antu**.
gibbon (tail-less ~) **mp(e)liaw**.
gild **sepuh**.

ginger **lia'**.
give **beri'**; **jua'**.
give birth to **aday**.
glad **gaga**.
go **angkat**.
go after **ansul**.
go back and forth **bulak-balik**, *see:*
bulak; **kulang-kalik**;

kun'ang-katang;
kun'ang-kekun'ang.
go downstream **ili'**.
go out **keluar**.
go through **tengah**.
go to **mansang**.
gold **mas**.
gone too far **telany'ur**.
gong **gung**; **tawak**.
good **bayik**.
goods **barang**; **reta**.
gram **gram**.
grandchild **ucu'**.
grandchild, relationship **benucu'**.
grandfather **aki'**.

grandmother **ini'**.
grandparent, relationship **benucu'**.
grate **bingkung**; **kelingkung**.
grave **kubur**.
great-grandfather **puyang**.
greedy **cerat**.
green **ijaw**.
greetings **tabi'**.
grind **kisar**.
ground **tanah**.
grow **tum'uh**.
guess **jangka'**.
guest **temuay**.
gulp down **teguk**.
gunny (sack) **guni**.

H - h

habit **kabiasa**, *see:* **biasa**.
hair **buk**.
haji **aji**.
hammer **tampun**.
handsome **bagas**; **gas**.
hang **gantung**.
hard **keras**; **payah**; **teguh**.
harvest **ketaw**.
have **mpu**.
have a plan **am'u'**.
he **ia**.
head **pala'**.
healthy **angas**.
hear **dinga**.
heart **jantung**.
heat **angat**.
heavy **berat**.
heavy (rain) **lebaw**.
help **bantu'**; **surup**; **tulung**.
help each other **duruk**.
help with harvest **ba-ringaw**, *see:*
ringaw.
helter-skelter **peluntang-pelanting**.
here **ditu'**.
hide **selabuk**; **tapuk**.
high **ting'i'**.
hill **bukit**.

hindrance **alang**; **aral**; **lintang**.
hit **gasak**; **pangkung**.
hither **kitu'**.
hold **kepal**; **pegay**.
hole **lubang**.
hole (make ~) **tebuk**.
hollow **lempa'**.
hook **kayit**.
hope **arap**.
horn **cula**.
hornbill **ng'ang**.
hot **angat**.
house **rumah**.
house(hold) **lawang**.
how **ba-kati**; **kati**.
how many/much **berapa**.
hug **pangkap**.
huge **galaw**.
human **mensia**.
human being **nsia**.
human (super ~) **beji**.
hundred (unit of ~) **ratus**.
hunt **asu**.
hurried **barah buruh**, *see:*
barah; buruh.
husband **laki**.
hut **langkaw**.

I - i

I	**ku**.	in order to	**jalay**.
if	**anti'**; **nganti'**; **nti'**.	incredibly	**saja**.
if so	**asa pia'**, *see:* **asa**.	indeed	**amat**.
illocutionary marker	**ah** (see section 9.4.1), **bada'** (9.4.2), **bah** (9.4.3), **dih** (9.4.4), **dulaw, law** (9.4.5), **gena** (9.4.6), **ja'** (9.4.7), **jara'** (9.4.8), **kah** (9.4.9), **kini** (9.4.10), **lah** (9.4.11), **lay** (9.4.12), **mah** (9.4.13), **tih** (9.4.14), **udah** (9.4.15), **wih** (9.4.16).	indefinite pronoun	**anu'**; **sanu'**.
		inside	**alam**.
		insist	**tengik**.
		insistent	**matang**.
		invite	**bay'**.
		involve	**pabit**.
		iron	**besi**.
		ironwood	**tebelian**.
		it	**ia**.
		in the beginning	**mula-mula**, *see:* **mula**.
imposed	**kena'**.		
in	**da**; **di**.		

J - j

jar	**tajaw**; **tempayan**; **tepayan**.	joke	**guraw**; **uti'**.
		jump	**lumpat**.
jaw	**rang**.	jump (into)	**kerejuk**.
join	**sam'ung**.	jungle	**rim'a'**.
joint	**buku'**.	just	**aja'**; **ja'**.

K - k

keep	**simpan**; **tepu'**.	kitchen	**pelabuh**.
kick	**sipak**; **ten'ang**.	knead	**tunyaw**.
kick with shinbone	**bintih**.	knee	**tut**.
kill	**bunuh**.	knee (backside of ~)	**kelempetan**.
kilogram	**kilu**.	knife	**lunga'**.
kilometer	**kilu**.	knife for weeding	**kerawuk**.
kind	**keban**; **leman**; **macam**.	knife (tip of ~)	**puting**.
kind	**bayik**.	know	**kelala**; **taw'**.
king	**raja**.	knowledge	**pemenaw'**.
kiss	**lulum**; **sium**.		

L - l

ladder	**tang'a'**.	lie	**bula'**.
lamp	**api**.	lie down	**gali'**.
land	**tanah**.	lift	**angkat**; **katung**.
land (cleared and burnt ~)	**tegalan**.	light (not heavy)	**lempung**.
land (cleared ~)	**reban**.	like	**keran**; **upa**.
landing place	**pengkal**.	like that	**pia'**.
language	**basa**.	like this, so	**pitu'**.
lap	**pangku'**.	limit	**jangka'**.
large	**lantang**; **luah**.	lips	**mulut**.
last	**badu'**.	listen to	**dinga**.
late	**lawun**.	little	**mimit**; **mit**; **sikit**.
late (the ~)	**diang**.	live	**diaw**; **idup**.
later	**ila'**.	liver	**ati**.
latex	**kulat**.	loincloth	**sirat**.
laugh	**ketawa'**; **tekakak-tekikik**.	long	**panyay**.
		long for	**gawuk**; **rin'u**; **riu**.
law	**ukum**.	long (of time)	**lama'**.
lazy	**kelalah**; **lemaw**; **luntus**; **ningkuh**.	long time ago	**kini/kina ari**, *see:* **kini**.
leaf	**dawun**.	longhouse	**rumah panyay**, *see:* **rumah**.
leak	**pesuk**.	longhouse, k.o. gutter	**teluk**.
learn	**bal-ajar**, *see:* **ajar**.	look	**upa**.
leave	**ting'al**.	look for	**giga'**; **iga'**; **inaw**.
leave there	**nga'**	look (have a ~)	**pasaw**.
leaves (rotten ~)	**rawuk**.	loose	**lepas**.
leek (k.o.)	**juna'**.	lost	**ayap**; **ilang**; **lenyaw**; **tesat**.
left	**kiba'**.		
leg, lower part of	**kaki**.	loud	**kaya**; **saring**.
lest	**mali**.	low	**baruh**.
let	**nga'**.	lice	**kutu**.

M - m

macaque, long-tailed	**kera'**.	man, male person	**laki**.
macaque, short-tailed	**beruk**.	manner	**cara**, **jalay**
machete	**isaw**; **tangkin**.	many	**bala**; **banyaw**; **mayuh**.
make	**pulah**.	marriage	**guang**.
make cold or cool	**celap**.	marry	**jadi**.
make offerings	**ba-dara'**, *see:* **dara'**.	mat	**biday**; **tikay**.
make prohibition	**penti**.	matches (for light)	**guris**.
Malay people	**Senganan**.	may	**taw'**.

may not	**nitaw'**.	middle	**tengah**.
maybe	**amang**.	milk	**susu**; **tusu**.
meal	**umpan rempah**, *see:*	millet	**jawa'**.
	umpan.	mind	**akal**.
meaning	**badi**; **reti**.	miss	**luput**.
measure	**ukur**.	mix	**gulay**; **kamuh**.
measurement, can	**ling**.	money	**duwit**.
measurement, fathom	**depa**	month	**bulan**.
measurement, foot	**dejak**	moon	**bulan**; **tajaw**.
measurement (for bowls)	**tayil**.	moon (full ~)	**bulan tumas**, *see:*
measurement (for pigs)	**renti**.		**tumas**.
measurement (of height)	**pencuay**.	more	**lebih**.
measurement (of length)	**sengigit**;	morning	**lam**.
	senyiku; **ruas**.	mother	**inay**.
measurement, palm of hand	**tempap**.	mother-in-law	**ibu'**.
measurement (of size)	**gawang**;	mother (of animal)	**in'u'**.
	senyintik.	mountain	**gunung**.
measurement, span	**jingkal**;	mouse	**cit**.
	sengawul; **senyulan**.	mouse-deer	**pelan'uk**.
measurement, wooden container		mouth	**nyawa**.
	gantang; **kulak**.	move	**pin'ah**.
meet	**temu**.	move restlessly	**kasak-kusuk**.
melted	**lela'**.	Mualang	**Mualang**.
mention	**sebut**.	much	**bala**; **banyaw**; **mayuh**.
message	**pesaw**.	mud	**lata'**; **licak**.
meter	**mitir**.	must	**alah**; **arus**.

N - n

nail	**silu**.	nine	**semilan**.
naked	**telany'ang**.	no, not	**n'a'**; **naday**; **nday**;
name	**nama**.		**ukay**.
nangka fruit	**ugal**; **ugan**.	noon	**tawas**.
narrow	**sekut**.	nose	**idung**.
near	**semak**.	not, no	**n'a'**; **naday**; **nday**;
neck	**ler**.		**ukay**.
need	**perlu**.	not allowed	**mali**.
needn't	**adu**; **nusah**.	not as	**nupa**.
net	**jala**.	not know	**nitaw'**; **ntah**.
net-fish	**jala**.	not like	**nupa**.
never	**kala'**; **nikala'**.	not want	**ngay**.
newly	**baru'**.	not yet	**bedaw**.
night	**malam**.	nothing	**nisi'**.
nightjar	**tuap**; **tuaw**.	now	**tu'**; **tu'**.

O - o

observe	**per-ati**, *see:* **ati**.	oppose	**laban**.
odd	**nyelah**.	or	**ataw**.
offerings	**pe-dara'**, *see:* **dara'**.	or (?)	**kali'**.
often	**kepa'**; **keran**.	order	**asuh**; **pesaw**; **suruh**.
oil	**binyak**.	order (in ~ to)	**ngaw**
old	**tuay**.	origin	**asal**.
on	**da**; **di**.	originate	**ba-labuh**, *see: labuh*.
one	**sa'**; **satu**.		
only	**anya**; **cuma**.	other	**bukay**; **kebukay**; **keda'**.
onself	**diri'**.	ouch	**aduh**.
open	**awak**; **buka'**; **kebak**.	outside	**luar**.
open up	**kanit**.		

P - p

pad	**selap**.	pierced	**tem'us**.
paddle	**kayuh**.	pig	**babi**; **lang'u'**.
paddy	**padi**.	pig (big ~)	**kelimpay**.
paddy storage	**durung**.	pinch	**jeput**.
palm leaf (midrib of ~)	**lidi**.	pineapple	**pisang kura**.
palm of hand	**tapa'**.	pitcher	**piala**.
pan (cooking_~)	**kuali**.	pity	**kasih**.
pants	**selawar**.	place	**jalay**; **teban**.
parent in law	**ntua**.	place of playing	**peguraw**, *see:*
part	**belah**; **bung**; **piak**; **tung**.		**guraw**.
part, division	**pe-dua'**, *see: dua'*.	plain (of land)	**lempa'**.
partner	**pangan**.	plait	**lalin**
party	**pesta**. (cf. feast)	plan	**am'u'**.
pass	**kilah**; **pansa'**.	plant	**tam'ak**.
pay back	**balas**.	plate	**ping'an**.
peck	**pantuk**; **tutuk**.	play	**lelang**; **mayin**.
peek	**ipa'**.	plunder	**jarah**.
peel	**bingkis**.		
peg	**pasak**.	point	**tuny'uk**.
pelt	**tikam**.	pointed	**rancung**.
pepper	**sang**.	poison	**bisa**; **ipuh**.
perfect marker	**dah**; **nyaw**; **udah**.	pole	**tiang**.
persistent	**matang**.	poor	**miskin**.
person	**urang**.	porcupine	**angkis**.
pestle	**alu**.	possess, have	**mpu**.
pick	**puar**.	possession	**mpu**.
pierce	**tem'us**.	possessive marker	**nu'**.

pot (boiling ~)   **periuk**.
pounce upon **sam'ar**.
pound   **tutuk**.
pound (of padi) **ceruh**.
power   **kuasa**.
prefix (nominalizer) **pe(N)-**.
prefix, one   **se-**.
pregnancy   **kan'ung**.
pregnant   **kan'ung**.
prepare   **agih**.
pretend   **budi**.
pretty   **bayik**.
price   **rega**.
proa   **ban**; **peraw**.
progressive marker   **benung**; **tengan**.
prohibition   **penti**.
promise   **dany'i**.

proper   **senunuh**.
property   **arta**; **ramu**; **reta**.
propose to (of marriage) **pinta'**.
prostrate o.s. **tingkap**.
proverb   **sempang**.
provisions   **bekal**.
pull   **tarik**.
pull out   **cabut**.
pull s.o.'s hair   **kerantam**.
pull up   **rantak**.
punish   **ukum**.
punishment   **ukum**.
put   **ngkah**; **ngkuh**; **tepu'**.
put in   **celuk**; **pajak**.
put out, extinguish   **padam**.
python   **sawa'**.

Q - q

quarrel   **laya'**.
quick   **lekas**.

quiet   **diaw**; **nugaw**; **silu-silu**;
               sunyi'.

R - r

rags (in ~)   **minsay-miay**.
rain   **ujan**.
raise   **piara**.
rambutan   **beliti'**; **belutuk**.
randomly   **semanta**.
rare   **jarang**.
rattan   **danan**; **ui**; **uwi**; **wi**.
rattan (big ~) **sega'**.
raw   **manta'**.
read   **baca**.
really   **tulu**.
reciprocal marker   **pangan**.
recognize   **kelala**.
recovered   **angas**; **sem'uh**.
red   **mirah**.
reflexive pronoun   **diri'**.
regret   **sesal**; **tesal**.
relative marker   **tay**; **ti**.
relatives   **ayung**.

remain   **ting'al**.
remainder   **rampang**.
remember   **ingat**.
remnants   **rampang**.
replace   **ganti**.
reply   **sawut**.
reprimand   **anu'**.
reservoir   **tampung**.
resign   **un'ur diri'**, *see:* **un'ur**.
resist   **tan**.
rest   **ba-lepa**, *see:* **lepa**.
return   **pulay**.
reward   **pampas**.
rhetorical question marker   **baday**.
rib   **rusuk**.
rice (cooked)   **umpan**; **nasi'**.
rice field   **babas**; **uma**.
rice (glutinous ~) **pulut**.
rice plant   **padi**.

rice (uncooked ~)	**beras**.	roof (wooden ~)	**sirap**.
rich	**kaya**.	room	**bilik**.
riddle	**petataw**.	rooster	**renyaw**.
ride on (a boat)	**tam'ang**.	root	**akar**.
rifle	**senapang**.	round	**buntar**.
right	**tulu**.	roundabout route (MI)	**kelingkung**.
right away	**teka**.	rub	**palit**.
right (of direction)	**kanan**.	rubber	**getah**.
rights	**hak**.	run	**guay**; **ba-guay**, *see:*
ring	**tincin**.		**guay**.
ripe	**muduh**; **radu'**.	run (away)	**rari**.
rite	**nselan**.	run away	**rari diri'**, *see:* **rari**.
river	**sungay**.	run down	**pejah**; **ulu'**.
river (deep place in ~)	**lubuk**.	run helter-skelter	**mpapa'**.
road	**jalay**.	run into	**terejang**.
roll	**giling**.		

S - s

sad	**kemedih**; **pedih**.	settlement	**tem'awang**; **tem'away**.
safe	**aman**.	seven	**tujuh**.
saliva	**ludah**.	sew	**jayit**.
same	**bela'**; **sama**; **sebela'**.	shaman	**manang**.
sand	**ngkrangan**.	share	**untung**.
sap, of plants	**getah**.	share food	**sadung**.
satisfied, of food	**kenyang**; **segay**;	shark	**iu**; **yu**.
	betaga', *see:* **taga'**.	sharp	**tajam**.
say	**kenu'**; **padah**; **jaku'**.	sharpen	**ansah**.
scatter	**am'ur**; **unsay**.	she	**ia**.
scattered	**ampah**; **kucar-kacir**.	shinbone	**bintih**.
scoop	**kawut**; **pansay**; **rawup**.	shocked	**terentak**.
scrape	**rawut**.	shoes (wooden ~)	**kasut**.
scraper	**bingkung**.	shoot	**tim'ak**.
season	**musim**; **rama**.	shopping	**belany'a**.
season, dry	**lega'**.	short	**baruh**; **panus**.
season, of cracker snack (*pam*)	**suma'**.	short (in ~)	**puku' (ia')**.
secure	**aman**.	shout	**kangaw**.
see	**peda'**.	shout loudly	**seraw**.
seed	**benih**; **igi'**.	shrimp	**unang**.
self	**diri'**.	shy	**malu**.
separate	**pamar**.	sibling	**menyadi'**.
separated	**pamar**.	sibling-in-law	**duay**; **ipar**.
servant	**ulun**.	sibling- of father	**ketuan**.
set	**pasaw**.	sibling (younger ~)	**adi'**.
set head to	**sun'ang**.	sick	**pedih**; **rung'u'**; **sakit**.
settled	**laju**.	side	**belah**; **tisi**.

side dish **rempah**; **rumpah**.
sieve **ayak**.
sigh **aduh**.
sign **kelay'**; **tan'a**.
silent **silu-silu**.
since **ari**.
single **tung'al**.
sit **duduk**.
sitting place **langan**.
six **nam**.
skin **kulit**; **umang**.
sky **langit**.
sky (sunset ~) **lamur**.
slap **tampar**.
slash **pabat**.
slave **ulun**.
sleep **tin'uk**.
slice **kerat**.
slice of meat **kumpal**.
slippery **licin**.
slow **lawun**.
slow and quiet **lubah**.
small **mit**.
smear **unsut**.
smell **baw'**; **lulum**; **sium**.
smoke **asap**; **salay**.
snake **ular**.
snake, k.o. **semenang**; **tedung**.
sneeze **kasi'**.
snout **jungur**.
so **jadi**; **pia'**; **nyaw pitu'**,
 see: **pitu'**.
so that **isa'**.
soak **ren'am**.
soil **tanah**.
solely **haja**.
sometimes **kadang(-kadang)**;
 tekadang.
son-in-law **akan**.
sound **gu'**.
sound (distant ~) **aying-aying**.
sound of a chicken **ciap**.
sound of tapping **kutak-katuk**.
sound of vomiting **uwak**.
sow **benih**.
sparrow **pipit**.

speak **umung**.
spear **sangkuh**.
speech **cakap**.
speed up **kibaw**.
spider **mp(e)lawak**.
spinach **arum**.
spit **ludah**.
splash **mpias**
spoon **catuk**; **sudu'**; **tiluk**.
spoon for rice **sengkidaw**.
spread **ancaw**; **kemay**.
sprinkle **unsay**.
spy **intup**; **ipa'**.
squeeze **keremung**.
squirrel **pukang**.
squirt **mperecit**.
stab **tucuk**.
stab upwards **rejang**.
stairs **tang'a'**.
stand **diri**; **ba-diri**, *see:* **diri**.
star **pianaw**.
startle **tegah**.
startled **tekanyat**.
starve **kelensuang**.
statue (wooden ~) **pentik**.
stay **diaw**; **ting'al**.
stay temporarily **merama**.
steal **curi**.
stem (edible part of ~) **upa**
step back **un'ur**.
step on **tijak**; **tijang**.
step over **tingkah**.
still **agi'**; **lagi'**.
stir **sudu'**.
stomach **perut**.
stone **batu**.
stop **badu'**.
stop by **sing'ah**.
stop there **nga'**
story **gisah**; **jerita**; **kisah**;
 tusuy.
story (k.o. chanted ~) **kana**.
straight **jurus**; **terus**.
straight (not bent) **bujur**.
stretch out hand **suar**.
strike **palu'**.

strong	**anal**; **kukuh**; **teguh**.	sunk	**teng'elam**.
stuck	**sangkut**.	supernatural being	**antu**.
stumbled	**kerap terap**, *see:* **kerap**;	surpass	**kilah**.
	terap.	swampland	**tawang**.
stupid	**budu**; **mawa**; **nitaw'**.	swear	**serapah**; **sumpah**.
subject to	**ta'luk**.	sweat	**peluh**.
substitute	**ganti**.	sweep	**tepaw**.
sugar	**gula**.	sweep away	**anyut**.
summon	**bay'**	swept away	**anyut**.
sun	**mataari**	swing	**ayun**.
sunday	**ming'u**.	swollen	**bengkak**.

T - t

taboo	**badi**; **mali**.	term of address, mother	**nay**.
tail	**iku'**.	term of address, older sibling	**aka'**.
take and give	**asi**.	term of address, sibling-in-law	**keka'**.
take (away)	**am'i'**.	term of address, son-in-law	**kula'**.
take care	**intu**; **piara**.	term of address, younger person	
take out	**bantir**.		**nak**.
talk	**cakap**; **umung**.	thank God!	**sukur**.
talkative	**ritak**.	that	*ia'*; **nya'**.
tall	**ting'i'**.	that (far away)	**nyun**.
taste (astringent ~)	**kelat**.	that (over there)	**nyin**.
tasteless	**tabar**.	then	**baru'**.
teach	**ajar**; **ba-ajar**, *see:* **ajar**.	there (far)	**din**.
teapot	**tiku**.	there (near)	**dia'**.
tease	**guraw**.	therefore	**keba'**.
tell	**gisah**; **padah**; **tusuy**.	they	**sa'**; **sida'**.
ten	**sepuluh**.	thigh	**pa**.
ten, unit of	**puluh**.	thin	**ringkay**.
term of address, bad behavior		thing	**utay**.
	dingay; **isu'**.	things, goods	**ben'a**.
term of address, father-in-law	**pa'**,	think	**pikir**.
	see: **apa'**.	this	*tu'*; **tu'**.
term of address, father	**pay**.	thither (far)	**kin**.
term of address, female	**ayik**; **dara**;	thither (near)	**kia'**.
	daruy; **dayang**; **duy**;	thorn	**duri'**.
	n'u'; **nuy**; **nyay**; **ratu,**	three	**tiga**.
	anci.	thresh	**irik**.
term of address, grandchild	**cu'**.	throat	**rekung**.
term of address, grandmother	**ni'**.	throw	**ibat**; **tibar**; **tikam**.
term of address, male	**awas**, **antus**;	throw away	**buay**.
	bagas; **bujang**; **m'a'**;	thunder	**guntur**.
	was; **jang**; **juy**.	thus	**jadi**.

tie up   **tam'it**.
time   **jaman**; **jeman**; **masa**;
              senta; **waktu**.
time, long ago in the past   **melia'**.
time, present **kitu'**.
time, previous   **kelia'**.
time, same   **pas**.
times   **kali'**.
tiny   **ncik**.
tip   **mpangan**; **ujung**.
tired   **lelak**.
to   **gusung**; **ka**; **ngusung**.
together   **bereta**.
tomorrow   **pagi**.
too (superlative) **gulung**; **lampar**.
top   **ataw**; **pucuk**; **tampuk**.
top of tree   **pucuk**.
torn apart   **carik**.
tortoise   **kekura'**.
touch   **tegu'**.
tounge   **dilah**.
towards   **mansang**.

toy   **peguraw**, *see:* **guraw**.
trace   **abi**; **awak**; **bekaw**; **sidi**.
trap for animal   **peti'**.
tray for food **par**.
tree   **kayu**; **pun**.
tree for clothes   **kepua'**.
tree (inner part of ~) **mpulur**.
tree (k.o. ~) **nelay**.
tree-trunk   **ban'ir**.
tremble   **getar**.
tribe   **bansa**.
trick   **akal**.
tripod for cooking   **tungku**.
true   **amat**.
try   **cuba**; **teray**.
turmeric   **kunyit**.
turn around   **balik**.
turn off to another direction **limpang**.
turtle   **kapir**.
turtle (freshwater ~) **lelabi**.
twin   **rakup**.
two   **dua**.

U - u

ugly   **gana**; **radah**.
ulcer   **bangkang**.
understand   **nyaruk**.
unreliable   **payah**.
until   **nyantuk**; **sampay**.
upper part   **ataw**.
upstream   **ulu**.

upstream (go ~) **mudik**.
urinate   **kemih**.
urine   **kemih**.
use   **ngaw**.
usual   **jama**; **sengkit**.
usually   **biasa**.

V - v

valley   **darung**.
value, price **rega**.
village   **kampung**.

visit   **ran'aw**; **temuay**.
voice   **gu'**.
vomit   **mutah**.

W - w

waist   **ping'ang**.
wait   **anti'**; **tung'u'**.

wake up   **dani**.

walk	**gunyung-gunyung; jalay**.	white	**putih**.
wall	**din'ing**.	who	**sapa**.
want	**ka'**.	whosit	**sanu'**.
wash	**basuk**.	why	**ngapa**.
wasteful	**rua'**.	widow	**balu**.
water	**ay'**.	widower	**balu**.
water for washing hands **kemasuk**.		wife	**bini**.
wave	**kibaw**.	will	**kedeka'**.
wave aside	**biah, tipah**.	wind	**ribut**.
wave to	**lam'ay**.	window	**penukang**; **teling'u**.
way	**cara**.	winnow	**tampi'**.
we	**tua**.	wise	**antus**; **awas**.
we (excl)	**kami**.	wise (of talk)	**muduh**.
we (incl.)	**kita**.	wish	**kira**.
we (dual.)	**tua**, **kemua**	with	**aba'**; **ngaw**.
weak	**luay'(-luay')**.	woman (young ~)**dara**.	
wealth	**arta**; **ramu**.	womb	**kan'ung**.
weasel	**munsang**.	won't	**ngay**.
weed	**mabaw**.	wood	**kayu**;
well	**aw'**.	wood, k.o.	**mpapa'**; **kelempetang**.
what	**apa**.	word	**jaku'**.
whatever	**barang**.	work	**kerja, tacah**.
when	**bila**; **kebila**; **kemaya**; **waktu**.	world	**menua**.
		world of the dead	**sebayan**.
whenever	**asa**.	worn out	**gari'**.
where	**dini**.	wound	**bakal**.
where (from ~)	**reni**.	wrap	**bungkus**; **kumuh**; **tungkus**.
whereas	**sedang**.	wrapped	**likun**.
where, to	**kikay**.	wrestle	**ba-rin'as**, *see:* **rin'as**.
which	**ni**.	wrist	**perekuan**.
while	**sam'il, sedang**.	wrong	**salah**.

Y - y

yam (itchy ~) **birah**.		you all	**kita'**.
yard	**laman**.	you (female)	**di'**.
year	**tawun**.	you (male)	**m'ih**.
yellow	**kuning**.	you (polite)	**wan**.
yes	**aw'**.	young	**biak**; **muda**.
yesterday	**kemari'**.	youngest born	**bunsu**.

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Samenvatting

Het Mualang, dat behoort tot de zogenaamde Malayic talen, wordt gesproken in het stroomgebied van de Ayak en Belitung, zijrivieren van de Kapuas in West-Kalimantan, Indonesië. De onderwerpen die in deze grammatica worden behandeld hebben betrekking op de fonologie, morfologie en syntaxis.

Hoofdstuk 1 biedt een algemene schets van de geografie, bevolkingssamenstelling, sociale en culturele aspecten en de taalsituatie in West-Kalimantan. De circa 40.000 sprekers wonen voornamelijk in de onderdistricten (*kecamatan*) Belitang Hulu, Belitang en Belitang Hilir in het district (*kabupaten*) Sekadau. Mualang is een aan het Maleis verwante Iban taal. Twee dialecten worden onderscheiden: Mualang Hulu aan de bovenloop en Mualang Hilir aan de benedenloop van de Belitung. De verschillen tussen deze dialecten zijn gering en liggen vooral op het gebied van vocabulaire en uitspraak. Hoewel Mualang algemeen als dagelijkse spreektaal wordt gebruikt, staan de traditionele taal en cultuur onder druk van globale ontwikkelingen en het Indonesisch.

Hoofdstuk 2 behandelt de belangrijkste fonologische kenmerken: een inventaris van de klinkers en medeklinkers, hun fonetische realisaties, fonologische procédés, lettergreepstructuren, en morfofonologische procédés. In een slotparagraaf worden orthografische conventies gegeven. Een opvallend fonologisch kenmerk van Mualang betreft de nasale medeklinkers: naast de gewone nasalen /m, n, ɲ, ŋ/ is er een zogenaamde 'postploded' reeks /m', n', ɲ', ŋ'/. Bovendien kent het Mualang op woordeind, hoewel slechts op fonetisch niveau, de 'preploded' medeklinkers [ᵖm],[ᵗn], and [ᵏŋ]. Kenmerkende morfofonologische procédés van voorvoegsels en voorzetsels zijn klinkerverandering, klinkeruitstoting, invoeging van de glottisslag, assimilatie van de nasale klinker, alternatieve vormen (bij enkele voorvoegsels) en versmelting van voorvoegsel en nominale stam.

Hoofdstuk 3 geeft een algemeen overzicht van het lexicon. Na een definiëring van de verschillende taalkundige eenheden woord, partikel, clitic, wortel, stam en affix, volgt een bespreking van de diverse woordklassen: naamwoorden (zelfstandige naamwoorden, eigennamen, voornaamwoorden, aanspreektermen), werkwoorden, bijwoorden, kwantificerende woorden (telwoorden, niet-numerieke woorden, kwalificerende en kwantificerende hulpwoorden), aanwijzende voornaamwoorden, voorzetsels, pragmatische partikels (ter markering van focus, topic, illocutionaire waarde, negatie, vraag en uitroep) en voegwoorden. Iedere woordsoort wordt gekarakteriseerd in termen van semantische, morfologische en syntactische kenmerken.

Hoofdstuk 4 beschrijft de morfologische en syntactische kenmerken van de naamwoorden: de mogelijke constituenten van de nominale frase en hun relatieve posities, morfosyntactische procédés met de voorvoegsels *pe(N)-*, *per-* en *ke-*, verdubbeling en nominale samenstellingen.

In hoofdstuk 5 worden structuur en functie van voorzetselgroepen beschreven. Twee typen enkelvoudige voorzetsels worden onderscheiden voor Mualang: locatieve preposities en niet-locatieve preposities. Daarnaast kent de taal ook complexe preposities en combinaties van een prepositie gevolgd door een locatief naamwoord.

Na de bespreking van de verschillende typen frases volgt in hoofdstuk 6 een beschrijving van zinnen met een naamwoordelijk predikaat. Een drievoudig onderscheid wordt gemaakt tussen equatieve zinnen, comparatieve zinnen en uitroepen. Vanwege de semantische en structurele overeenkomsten worden vervolgens ook zinnen met een locatief predikaat, existentiële constructies en bezittelijke constructies besproken.

Zinnen met een werkwoordelijk predikaat zijn het onderwerp van hoofdstuk 7. Na een beschrijving van het werkwoord en zijn argumenten (subject, object, indirect object) worden de formele en semantische kenmerken van verschillende 'voice'-constructies behandeld. Mualang kent de volgende zinstypen ('modus'): statisch intransitief (met zeromarkering), actief (met prefix *N-*), passief (met prefix *da-*), inverse (met zeromarkering), antipassief (met prefix *ba-*), accidenteel-resultatief mediale modus (met prefix *te-*), inchoatief (met prefix *ke-*) en adversatief-passief (met hulpwoord *kena'*). Daarop volgt de bespreking van wederkerende en wederkerige constructies en de mechanismen waarmee de status van perifere elementen wordt verhoogd tot die van argument.

In hoofdstuk 8 worden overige kenmerken van het werkwoord en de werkwoordelijke frase behandeld: de wijze waarop werkwoorden worden afgeleid van een nominale stam, werkwoordelijke samenstellingen, verschillende typen reduplicatie, "tense-aspect-mode" en overige adverbiale modificaties.

Hoofdstuk 9 beschrijft de belangrijkste morfo-syntactische middelen die beschikbaar zijn om woordgroepen en zinnen pragmatisch te markeren. Onderwerpen die aan bod komen zijn: identificeerbaarheid, referentiële status, en anaphora, de uitdrukking van (pragmatische) focus en topic, illocutionaire partikels, negatie, niet-mededelende zinnen en uitroepen.

Daar waar in de hoofdstukken 6 – 9 de structuur van 'simpele', enkelvoudige zinnen werd beschreven, wordt in het slothoofdstuk 10 de vorm van complexe zinnen behandeld. De onderwerpen die worden besproken zijn: werkwoordelijke samenstellingen, seriële werkwoordsconstructies, complementzinnen, adverbiale bijzinnen, relatieve bijzinnen en gecoördineerde zinnen.

Het boek sluit af met een illustratieve collectie teksten (proza, poëzie, gezegdes, raadsels) en woordenlijsten (Mualang-Engels en Engels-Mualang).

Summary

This book presents a linguistic study of the grammar of the Mualang language, a Malayic variety spoken along the basin of the Ayak and Belitang Rivers, tributaries of the Kapuas River, in the Province of West Kalimantan, Indonesia. Grammatical aspects under discussion range from phonology to morphosyntax.

Chapter 1 presents a general account of the geography, demography, socio-cultural situation and language of the speakers of Mualang. The main area where Mualang is spoken is located in the *kecamatan* (subdistricts) of Belitang Hulu, Belitang and Belitang Hilir, in the *kabupaten* (district) of Sekadau. The number of speakers is about 40.000 people. The Mualang language is a member of the Ibanic language group, which is closely related to Malay. There are two dialects recognized within the language, namely Upstream Mualang and Downstream Mualang. The linguistic differences between the two dialects are minor, mainly in the areas of pronunciation and lexical items. Mualang is still used widely in daily life by the people, although unavoidable erosion is taking place.

Chapter 2 describes the major features of Mualang phonology, including an inventory of consonant and vowel phonemes and their phonetic manifestations, their phonological processes, syllable structures, and morphophonemic processes. The orthography used for Mualang throughout this book is given at the end of this chapter. The most prominent features in the Mualang phonology are nasal consonants, which are classified as plain nasals /m, n, ɲ, ŋ/ and postploded nasals /m', n', ɲ', ŋ'/. A similar case is found in the occurrence of the preploded nasals [ᵖm], [ᵗn], and [ᵏŋ], which appear word-finally, and are phonetic in nature. Morphophonemic processes occurring in prefixation and prepositions include alternation of vowel segments in prefixes and prepositions, vowel deletion, glottal-stop insertion, nasal assimilation, alternate forms of individual prefixes and fusion of the prepositions *da* and *ka* with a following noun.

Chapter 3 provides a general picture of the lexicon of the language. Various morphological units are dealt with here. The main aim of this chapter is to identify the parts of speech of Mualang, which are: nouns (including common nouns, proper names, pronouns, and terms of address), verbs, adverbs, quantifiers (including numerals, non-numeral quantifiers and quantifying auxiliaries), demonstratives, prepositions, pragmatic markers (including focus, topic, illocutionary, negative, question, and exclamatory markers) and connectives. Semantic and morphosyntactic characteristics of the parts of speech in question are provided.

Chapter 4 deals with morphosyntax of noun phrases. The discussion covers constituency, word order and morphological processes in the noun phrases such as nominalization (with the prefix *pe(N)-*, *per-* and *ke-*), reduplication and nominal compounding.

Chapter 5 discusses prepositional phrases. All Mualang prepositions are presented together with their functions. Generally they are classified as 1) locative prepositions (*da, ka, ari, ntara, sampay,* dan *nyantuk*), and 2) non-locative prepositions (*ngaw, aba', ulih, upa, nuna',* and *ngusung*).

Beginning with Chapter 6 the discussion switches from the phrase level (chapters 4 and 5) to the clause-level. Chapter 6 describes predicate nominals

(equative, comparative and exclamatory clauses) and related constructions (locative, existential, and possessive clauses).

Chapter 7, in turn, deals with verbal clauses. This chapter discusses simple verbal clauses and the structure of their arguments (subject, object and indirect object). All voice constructions and their morphosyntactic characteristics are provided. These simple verbal clauses include clauses which are: stative intransitive (with zero marking), active (with the nasal prefix *N-*), passive (with *da-*), inverse (with zero marking), antipassive (with *ba-*), unvolitional-resultative middle (with *te-*), inchoative (with *ke-*), and adversative passive (with the auxiliary *kena'*). Reflexive and reciprocal clauses are also described, as well as the advancement of peripheral elements to the status of argument.

Chapter 8 deals with the remaining morphosyntactic processes occurring in verb phrases that are not discussed in the previous chapter. These include verbalization, verbal compounding, reduplication, the expression of tense-aspect-mode, and some other verbal modifications.

Chapter 9 points out pragmatic issues of the language. It discusses the pragmatic status of constituents in the clause, including matters pertaining to identifiability, referentiality and anaphoric reference, focus articulation, marked-topic articulation, illocutionary markers, negation, non-declarative speech acts, and exclamations.

Chapter 10 describes complex constructions involving more than one simple clause, namely constructions involving verbal compounding, serial verbs, complement clauses, adverbial clauses, relative clauses, and coordinative clauses.

The book closes with a collection of representative texts (prose stories, traditional poetry, proverbs, and some riddles), and wordlists (Mualang-English and English-Mualang).

Ringkasan

Buku ini mengkaji aspek gramatikal bahasa Mualang, sebuah ragam Melayik yang dituturkan di sepanjang lembah Sungai Ayak dan Belitang, anak sungai Kapuas, Propinsi Kalimantan Barat. Bidang-bidang yang dikaji di sini mencakup fonologi dan morfosintaksis. Berbagai aspek pragmatis bahasa juga disinggung.

Bab 1 memberikan informasi umum mengenai geografi, demografi, sosio-budaya dan bahasa dari penutur Mualang. Daerah utama bahasa ini terletak di Kecamatan Belitang Hulu, Belitang dan Belitang Hilir, di Kabupaten Sekadau. Jumlah penuturnya kurang lebih 40.000 orang. Bahasa ini termasuk kelompok bahasa Ibanik yang berkerabat dekat dengan bahasa Melayu. Bahasa Mualang terdiri atas ada dua dialek, yaitu Mualang Hulu dan Mualang Hilir, dengan perbedaan linguistis yang kecil, yaitu yang terutama menyangkut pelafalan dan perbedaan leksikal saja. Bahasa Mualang masih kuat digunakan dalam kehidupan sehari-hari penuturnya, namun erosi juga terjadi, tanpa terhindarkan.

Bab 2 menguraikan ciri-ciri utama fonologi bahasa Mualang, yang mencakup inventarisasi fonem konsonan dan vokal, proses-proses fonologis, struktur suku kata serta proses morfofonemis. Ortografi bahasa Mualang yang dipakai dalam buku ini juga diberikan. Yang paling menonjol dalam sistem bunyi bahasa Mualang adalah fonem sengaunya, yang terdiri atas bunyi sengau biasa /m, n, ɲ, ŋ/ dan bunyi sengau "pasca-hambat" (*postploded nasals*), yaitu konsonan sengau yang pengucapannya diikuti dengan bunyi hambat atau letupan, yang dilambangkan dengan /m', n', ɲ', ŋ'/. Mirip dengan ini adalah bunyi sengau "pra-hambat" (*preploded nasals*) [ᵖm], [ᵗn], dan [ᵏŋ], yang terjadi pada akhir kata, dan yang sifatnya fonetis. Proses morfofonemis yang melibatkan prefiks dan juga preposisi mencakup alternasi vokal, penghilangan vokal, penyisipan bunyi hamzah, asimilasi nasal, alternasi bentuk, dan peleburan preposisi *da* dan *ka* dengan nomina yang mengikutinya.

Bab 3 memberikan gambaran umum mengenai keseluruhan sistem leksikon dalam bahasa Mualang. Berbagai satuan morfologis, (misalnya kata, partikel, imbuhan) didaftarkan di sini. Tujuan utama bab ini adalah untuk mengelompokkan jenis kata dalam Mualang, yang terdiri atas 8 jenis kata utama: nomina, verba, pembilang (termasuk kata bilangan, pembilang bukan bilangan, dan kata bantu pembilang/penggolong), demonstrativa, preposisi, pemarkah pragmatis (pemarkah fokus, topik, ilokusioner, pengingkaran, tanya, dan seru), dan kata sambung. Ciri-ciri semantis dan morfosintaktis masing-masing jenis kata bersangkutan diperikan.

Bab 4 membahas morfosintaksis dari frase nomina. Pembahasan mencakup masalah konstituensi dan urutan kata dalam frase nomina dan proses-proses morfologis seperti nominalisasi (yang melibatkan prefiks *pe(N)-* yang produktif, *per-* dan *ke-*), reduplikasi dan kata majemuk.

Bab 5 berurusan dengan frase preposisional. Berbagai preposisi dalam bahasa Mualang diperikan sesuai dengan fungsinya, yang secara umum dibagi atas dua kelompok besar, yaitu 1) preposisi lokatif *da, ka, ari, ntara, sampay,* dan *nyantuk,* dan 2) preposisi non-lokatif (*ngaw, aba', ulih, upa, nuna',* dan *ngusung*).

Mulai bab 6 pembahasan beralih dari tingkat frase (bab 4 dan bab 5) ke tingkat klausa. Bab 6 membahas berbagai konstruksi predikat nominal (klausa ekuatif, komparatif, dan eksklamatori) dan konstruksi lain yang berkaitan seperti predikat lokatif, eksistensial, dan posesif. Dalam bab ini juga disajikan pemerian klausa

komparatif yang beragam, salah satunya dengan hanya menggunakan prefiks nominal *pe(N)-* sebagai pemarkahnya.

Bertentangan dengan bab 6, bab 7 membahas klausa verbal. Di sini dibahas konstruksi klausa verbal sederhana dan penempatan argumen-argumen inti (subjek, objek dan objek tak-langsung). Klausa verbal ditinjau berdasarkan jenis verba yang menjadi inti predikat (intransitif versus transitif) dan valensinya (peran argumen sebagai agen, pasien, datif, dsb.). Dalam bab ini semua konstruksi diatesis dan ciri-ciri morfosintaktisnya dibahas, yaitu intransitif statif (dengan pemarkahan kosong), aktif (dengan prefiks nasal *N-*), pasif (dengan *da-*), inversi (dengan pemarkahan kosong), antipasif (dengan prefiks *ba-*), tengah resultatif—tak-volisional (dengan prefiks *te-*), inkoatif (dengan prefiks *ke-*), dan pasif adversatif (dengan kata bantu *kena'*). Juga dibahas klausa refleksif dengan kata *diri'* dan klausa resiprokal. Pengedepanan konstituen bukan-argumen menjadi argumen juga dibahas.

Bab 8 membicarakan proses-proses morfosintaktis yang terlibat dalam frase verbal yang tidak dibahas dalam bab 7. Ini termasuk verbalisasi, pemajemukan verbal, reduplikasi, sistem kala, aspek dan modalitas, serta beberapa modifikasi verbal lainnya.

Bab 9 berurusan terutama dengan segi pragmatis. Dalam bab ini dibahas status pragmatis dari sebuah konstituen dalam klausa: identifikasi dan pengacuan referen, pemarkahan fokus dan topik, pemarkah ilokusioner, negasi, tindak wicara bukan-deklaratif, dan kata-kata seru.

Bab 10 membahas konstruksi klausa yang kompleks, yang melibatkan lebih dari satu klausa sederhana. Termasuk di dalamnya adalah bentuk majemuk verbal, verba serial, klausa komplemen, klausa adverbial, klausa realtif, dan klausa koordinatif.

Buku ini ditutup dengan sejumlah lampiran, a.l. kumpulan teks (cerita, pantun, peribahasa, teka-teki) dan daftar kata (Mualang-Inggris dan Inggris-Mualang).

Curriculum Vitae

Johnny Tjia was born on March 13th 1965 in the island of Obi, North Mollucas, Indonesia. He finished his undergraduate degree in Russian at the University of Padjadjaran, Bandung in 1988. Between 1990 and 1995 he worked at the Summer Institute of Linguistics (now SIL International), before doing his MA degree in linguistics at the University of Oregon, U.S.A. in 1997. In 2001 he obtained an Advanced Master degree in Asian, African and Amerindian studies at the Research School of Asian, African and Amerindian studies (CNWS), Leiden University, and then continued as an AIO ("assistent in opleiding") at the same institution. He is now working as a linguistics consultant with SIL International-Indonesia.