

PACIFIC LINGUISTICS  
Series A - No.78

PAPERS IN WESTERN AUSTRONESIAN  
LINGUISTICS No.3

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Canberra, A.C.T. 2601  
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Typeset by Dianne Stacey and Sue Tys  
First Published 1988

Printed by A.N.U. Printing Service  
Bound by Adriatic Bookbinders Pty Ltd

The editors are indebted to the Australian National University for assistance in the production of this series

This publication was made possible by an initial grant from the Hunter Douglas Fund.

ISSN 0817-6760      ISBN 0 85883 382 4

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# BABA MALAY: THE LANGUAGE OF THE 'STRAITS-BORN' CHINESE

Sonny Lim

## 1. INTRODUCTION

This investigation of Baba Malay was carried out in Malacca and based on approximately 15 hours of recorded speech from a total of 25 informants ranging in age from 18 to 85. The chief method used to elicit speech samples from them was to invite them to talk about aspects of their unique culture, such as their cuisine, their marriage, birth and funeral ceremonies, the impact of modern changes on their traditions and on their personal lives. No difficulties were encountered in eliciting samples of Baba Malay. Generally, native speakers of Baba Malay were enlisted to conduct the interviews in my presence, but on the occasions when these assistants were unavailable, I conducted the interviews myself. My less-than-fluent Baba Malay proved to be no hindrance as a few carefully chosen questions were enough to inspire my informants to talk at great length.

It will be observed from the linguistic illustrations used in the following pages that English words are frequently used by my informants. This is because until recently nearly all 'Straits-born' Chinese, if they received any education, were educated in English. That is to say, they went to schools which offered English as the medium of instruction. If they formally studied Standard Malay at all, they studied it as a second language at school. Recent changes in educational policy in Malaysia will mean that the present generation of Straits-born Chinese, or Baba Chinese as they are often referred to, like every other ethnic group in Malaysia, will be educated primarily in Standard Malay.

In addition to Baba Malay, speech samples of Chitty-Indian Malay and the Malay of a Malaccan Portuguese and a non-Baba Chinese were also recorded for the purposes of comparison. Each of these represented a major non-Malay ethnic group found in Malacca, and a comparison of the three varieties of 'reduced Malay' spoken by them with Baba Malay was an aid in placing Baba Malay in perspective with other varieties of 'reduced Malay' in Malacca.

While this investigation may offer linguistic insights into Baba Malay, it is not meant as an exhaustive description of the language. Its primary aim where a linguistic description is concerned is to point out the distinguishing features of Baba Malay and to relate them where appropriate to the two source-languages, Hokkien and Malay. It has also to be noted that no attempt has been made to frame the linguistic description within any specific current linguistic theory as it is felt that much of the theoretical discussion still remains unsettled. In any case, it was felt that linguistic enquiry may still

proceed profitably independent of the dictates of specified theoretical frameworks, and that concern with any particular linguistic framework is of less importance for our purposes than seeing which of the insights offered by recent linguistic research best explain or describe the specific linguistic phenomenon under scrutiny. Thus, the linguistic approach used in the following pages lies well within the theoretical domain of general linguistics even though it avoids adherence to any one linguistic theory.

For the sake of convenience and simplicity, an orthographic system has been devised for Baba Malay, which, being an oral, uncodified language, currently has no written form. This seemed preferable to the alternative of a phonetic transcription because, quite apart from its inconvenience, the focus in this investigation is essentially on the syntactic structure of Baba Malay rather than on its phonological structure. The orthographic system used for Baba Malay has been guided by the Standard Malay system for the purpose of easy cross-reference. The table below sets out the system.

| Baba Malay orthographic system |       |        |       |        |       |        |
|--------------------------------|-------|--------|-------|--------|-------|--------|
|                                | SOUND | SYMBOL | SOUND | SYMBOL | SOUND | SYMBOL |
| CONSONANTS                     | /p/   | p      | /tʃ/  | c      | /r/   | r      |
|                                | /t/   | t      | /dʒ/  | j      | /w/   | w      |
|                                | /k/   | k      | /s/   | s      | /m/   | m      |
|                                | /b/   | b      | /h/   | h      | /n/   | n      |
|                                | /d/   | d      | /l/   | l      | /ɲ/   | ny     |
|                                | /g/   | g      | /j/   | y      | /ŋ/   | ng     |
| VOWELS                         | /i/   | i      |       |        |       |        |
|                                | /e/   | e      | /ɛ/   | ɛ      | /o/   | o      |
|                                | /ə/   | ê      | /a/   | a      | /u/   | u      |

It should be noted that because an orthographic system has been used for Baba Malay throughout these pages, any peculiarities of individual pronunciation of the informants are not revealed, nor are the ellisions and contractions of natural speech. Thus, for example, *punya* is usually pronounced [pia] or [mia], and *sêmua* is pronounced [smua]. The policy being followed is that for the sake of easy recognition, the existing Malay spelling of words should be retained unless the Baba Malay pronunciation is so distinctively and consistently different from that suggested by the Malay orthography and it does not permit the variant pronunciation suggested by that orthography. Thus, Baba Malay has *bole*, *mintak*, *pigi* and *pake* where Malay has *boleh*, *mintak*, *pergi* and *pakai*. On the other hand, a word such as *tahun* is always pronounced [taun] in Malay, with a silent 'h', and this spelling has also been adopted for Baba Malay in which the 'h' is also not sounded.

The spelling of Hokkien words follows, with modifications, the system of romanisation used by Chiang Ker-Chiu in his *A Practical English-Hokkien dictionary*. The system is as follows:

| Hokkien orthographic system |          |                 |                    |          |          |        |
|-----------------------------|----------|-----------------|--------------------|----------|----------|--------|
| CONSONANTS                  | SOUND    | SYMBOL          | SOUND              | SYMBOL   | SOUND    | SYMBOL |
|                             | /p/      | p               | /p <sup>h</sup> /  | ph       | /s/      | s      |
|                             | /t/      | t               | /t <sup>h</sup> /  | th       | /h/      | h      |
|                             | /k/      | k               | /k <sup>h</sup> /  | kh       | /m/      | m      |
|                             | /b/      | b               | /ts/               | ch       | /n/      | n      |
|                             | /d/      | d               | /ts <sup>h</sup> / | chh      | /ŋ/      | ng     |
|                             | /g/      | g               | /dʒ/               | j        | /l/      | l      |
|                             | /ʔ/      | ʔ               |                    |          |          |        |
| VOWELS                      | /i/,/ĩ/  | i,ĩ             | /a/,/ã/            | a,ã      | /o/,/õ/  | o,õ    |
|                             | /e/,/ẽ/  | e,ẽ             | /ɔ/,/õ/            | ɔ,õ      | /u/,/ũ/  | u,ũ    |
| TONES                       | 1st tone | upper even      |                    | unmarked |          |        |
|                             | 2nd tone | upper           |                    | '        |          |        |
|                             | 3rd tone | upper departing |                    | `        |          |        |
|                             | 4th tone | upper entering  |                    |          | unmarked |        |
|                             | 5th tone | lower even      |                    | ^        |          |        |
|                             | 6th tone | upper           |                    | '        |          |        |
|                             | 7th tone | lower departing |                    | -        |          |        |
|                             | 8th tone | lower entering  |                    | l        |          |        |

### 1.1 Baba Malay and the question of pidgins and creoles

'Baba Malay' is the name given to the native language of a community of people in Malaysia and Singapore who are commonly referred to as the 'Babas' or 'Straits-born Chinese'. The Straits-born Chinese are the descendants of the earliest Chinese settlers in the Malay peninsula who arrived there primarily from the southern Chinese province of Fukien long before the period of mass emigration from China (i.e. the latter half of the 19th century) which was to result in the present ethnic Chinese composition of the region. The first major Chinese settlements were in Malacca, though after the foundation of the ports of Penang and Singapore in the years 1786 and 1819 respectively, both these islands also saw major Chinese settlement. Together, Malacca, Penang and Singapore, all found along the important narrow strip of seaway known as the Straits of Malacca, make up, along with Labuan, the 'British Straits Settlements'; hence the source of the initially somewhat enigmatic designation 'Straits-born' to these Chinese immigrants.

Today, the most concentrated pocket of Straits-born Chinese or Babas in the Malay peninsula is to be found in Malacca, the smallest of the 11 states that make up the nation of Malaysia. In all other places, the Baba is hard to pick out from the rest of the community, having been greatly outnumbered by the non-Straits-born Chinese who, taken together, comprise some 40% of the population of Malaysia, and are the second largest ethnic group in the country. The present numbers of the Babas, however, cannot be gauged. Even apart from the fact that they are officially designated 'Chinese' for all purposes (they are so in the national census), continual marriage with other Chinese means that the boundaries for such terms as 'Baba' and 'Chinese' have become rather nebulous. It is only in a place such as Malacca, regarded by many Straits-born Chinese as the ancestral homeland of the Baba, that the Baba community has been close-knit enough to maintain its identity more successfully. The distinctness of the Baba identity there is plainly evident: the style of dress favoured by the women, the forms of jewellery, the distinctive cuisine, the customs and rites, the traditions, all are neither strictly Chinese nor Malay, but an interesting and unique blend of both.

Although the Baba is descended from the first Chinese settlers, he is not a 'Baba' by virtue of this fact alone. Another, and more significant defining feature of this designation is the fact that he has mixed Chinese-Malay ancestry, a consequence of the fact that the immigration of Chinese women took place much later than the immigration of Chinese men. The first Chinese settlers were, in fact, all males who, in the absence of Chinese women, married local Malay women. It is out of this inter-racial background that the language of the Baba Chinese developed.

The language of the Baba Chinese, popularly known as 'Baba Malay', therefore has its basis in the two relevant languages, Malay and Hokkien-Chinese, the latter because the first Chinese immigrants were in fact predominantly from the Hokkien-speaking province of Fukien in southern China. The fact that Baba Malay has its basis in both these two languages is not immediately obvious. The language appears, apart from the obvious Hokkien loan words, to be simply a reduced form of Malay, having undergone the process of 'simplification' in the Hymesian sense (i.e. reduction in the complexity of the outer form - Hymes 1971:65-85), which is one of the three parameters along which Hymes proposed to define the processes of pidginisation and creolisation. However, when the pidginisation/creolisation process can be defined along another parameter, that presented by the notion of 'convergence', the influence of Hokkien will be seen to be greater than is initially apparent.

Baba Malay is essentially the Malay language pared down to the minimum, with the expected morphological and some syntactical features of Malay altered or missing, and with radically modified phonology. Affixation, for instance, a feature of Malay, is not a systematic process in Baba Malay, so that affixes are either not analysed as separate morphological entities at all, or are used in a way that is idiosyncratic and not associated with speakers of Malay (e.g. *ketawa-kan* to *laugh*, has a suffix, *-kan*, the presence of which would not be acceptable to a speaker of Malay). In addition, there are many examples of the process of semantic neutralisation that is frequently associated with pidgin and creole languages, such as the neutralisation of the inclusive-exclusive distinction of *kita* and *kami* (1st person plural pronoun) and the human-nonhuman distinction of *laki-laki* and *jantan* *male* found in Malay. Semantic extensions, as represented by the extension of the word *banyak* *many* to fulfil the function of an adjectival intensifier *very*, are also a feature of Baba Malay. To the

non-linguist, the overall impression is that of a vulgar and 'market-place' language whose chief virtue is that from time to time its peculiarities do provide moments of mirth. To the linguist, however, these impressions are familiar enough; they are encountered wherever any kind of proximity between a 'pidginised' variety and its source language is found. And the term 'pidginised' does spring immediately to the mind because it is a readily accessible and convenient one.

However, the use of such a readily-accessible term does nothing in the way of providing definitions, for to the linguist confronted with a linguistic variety of the type exemplified by Baba Malay, the ability to characterise it precisely in linguistic terms is of some theoretical importance. It certainly demands an adequate description. In this particular case, reaching out for the established labels is a natural response to the demand, but one finds that the need to qualify and modify these labels arises much too rapidly and too frequently for comfort. It is clearly inevitable, then, that one should arrive at the conclusion that the labels themselves are imprecise.

However, although imprecise, the labels need not be a bad thing, for they serve to provide reference-points against which all the facts of the specific case may be measured up, useful sign-posts that tell us how close or how far we are from the mark. Against the established sign-posts, then, the patois or 'mixed-language' Baba Malay, being the native tongue of a portion of the speech community, would be a 'creole', while Bazaar Malay (a closely related 'reduced' variety in widespread use in the region as a lingua franca - see below), being the native tongue of no one, would be a 'pidgin'. This is the usual first step in the sorting out and labelling process, and although of course, the matter is quite a bit more complex than this and has in fact been recognised to be so by linguists, particularly in the last few years, this basic criterion does serve to underline an important distinction within the category of 'reduced languages'. For the acquiring of native speakers by a language is not merely a simple fact. It has sociological and linguistic interest because of the kind of changes that take place within both the speech community and its linguistic system during the process of the language's acquisition of native speakers. Something significant happens when a reduced language becomes the native tongue of a community that makes it important and necessary that a distinction be made between a variety that is the unique property of a group of human beings and a variety that is not uniquely the property of anyone. For convenience, therefore, we shall call one a 'pidgin' and the other a 'creole', although it must be kept in mind that it is also our intention to question both the adequacy and the accuracy of the type of relationship that is usually posited between them.

Any consideration of Baba Malay will need to take note of the other reduced Malay variety very widespread in the Malay peninsula, and that is the variety commonly known as 'Bazaar Malay'. Bazaar Malay is the lingua franca of the non-English-educated Malays, Indians and Chinese of Malaysia and Singapore (those who are English-educated will use English as a lingua franca).

It should be noted at this point that the Bazaar Malay in widespread use in these two countries differs from the other variety (or varieties) of pidgin Malay used in the Indonesian archipelago, though it too is known as 'Bazaar Malay'. The reason for taking note of this version of Bazaar Malay is that it bears a striking resemblance to Baba Malay and the two are clearly related. This fact has obvious theoretical significance and will be examined in the course of this study.

The purpose of the investigation undertaken here is two-fold. First, it is to examine where a 'mixed language' such as Baba Malay stands in relation to the theoretical perspectives on the linguistic processes of pidginisation and creolisation that have emerged in recent years and to place Baba Malay firmly within the bounds of those perspectives. It is intended, of course, that such an approach will both contribute to clarifying Baba Malay as a language-type, as well as to clarifying the theory underpinning discussions of pidginisation and creolisation. Secondly, it is to provide, for the first time, a record of Baba Malay as a language, its basic syntactic make-up and the source of some of its enigmatic characteristics, for although many know 'about' the language, its existence as a *rational* linguistic system is not commonly acknowledged. The record, however, is not intended as a comprehensive grammar of the language, but serves merely to note the basic features of its structure and to highlight the areas of its uniqueness as a language distinct from its source languages, Hokkien and Malay.

## 2. BABA MALAY: THE SOCIAL, HISTORICAL AND LINGUISTIC BACKGROUND

### 2.1 Baba Malay and present-day Malacca

Before proceeding to sketch in the history of Chinese immigration to Malacca and the historical conditions out of which Baba Malay developed, it is necessary to look at the position of Baba Malay in present-day Malacca for a contemporary perspective on the language.

The linguistic situation that exists in Malacca today is not a simple and straight-forward one. In the urban areas, no single ethnic group predominates, and so the question of who speaks what to whom is largely dependent on the ethnic background of the participants and the language in which they received their education. Because of Malaysia's colonial links with Britain, English was until recently the favoured medium of education, and it is still in frequent and widespread use. However, the true lingua franca in Malacca would seem to be the non-standard variety of Malay which, for convenience, we will call 'reduced Malay'. The rule to follow when in Malacca is that if all else fails, use 'reduced Malay'. It is the lowest common linguistic denominator.

The term 'reduced Malay' covers a gamut of linguistic varieties that include Baba Malay and the whole continuum represented by Bazaar Malay. These varieties are all mutually intelligible, but this is not to say that they are all 'the same thing'. Baba Malay can be differentiated from the others by certain syntactic characteristics peculiar to it and by its sizeable lexicon of Chinese loan-words, and against the Bazaar Malay continuum, it is differentiated by its stability of structure. In other words, it is a more clearly-defined linguistic system.

Baba Malay speakers, therefore, may use Baba Malay in communicating with members of other ethnic groups should English be unavailable. Among themselves, i.e. in intra-group communication, Baba Malay is invariably used if either participant has no access to English; otherwise, English or a mixture of both English and Baba Malay may just as likely be heard (socio-linguistic determinants such as the setting and the topic of discourse, for instance, obviously govern the choice of either English or Baba Malay in specific cases).

In recent years, changes in the educational policy of Malaysia have had some effect on the language situation in Malacca. The use of English as a medium of instruction in schools is being gradually phased out in favour of Standard Malay. The effect this will have on the future generations of Baba Malay speakers can only be guessed at, but it does seem that there will be an extension of the linguistic continuum, with Baba Malay (and reduced Malay in general) moving towards Standard Malay, thus bridging the gap that quite clearly exists at present between Standard Malay and reduced Malay. There has thus far been a great difference between these two broadly-labelled varieties because they really constitute two separate systems; no linguistic continuum can be said to have spanned these two varieties thus far. However, the change in this state of affairs is already evident in the speech of Baba Chinese children of school age, in whom there is, for example, a tendency to observe the morphological inflections of Standard Malay. Other influences such as the use of Standard Malay passive structures and vocabulary are also noticeable in the speech of the generation of Baba Chinese who are gaining their literacy in Malay.

The implications of the change in educational policy where Baba Malay is concerned would seem to be obvious. Baba Malay is not likely to remain the language as we now know it. Indeed, the extension of the linguistic continuum would so obliterate the very defining linguistic features of Baba Malay that it would become pointless and also inaccurate to maintain that there would any longer be a demonstrably well-defined and self-contained linguistic system that ought to be identified by any special name.

The position of Baba Malay, like that of many creole languages, is of course made more tenuous by its lack of a current body of literature. It is not possible today to be 'literate' in the language, and this naturally prevents it from being a functional system in every possible way. However, Baba Malay has not always been a language without a written form. For a few years at the end of the last century there was in circulation a daily newspaper in reduced Malay called *Bintang Timor* (*Eastern Star*) published in Singapore and apparently catering to the Baba Chinese community. The language of *Bintang Timor*, although recognisably reduced Malay, does not entirely resemble the Baba Malay as spoken by the Baba Chinese today. Rather, it seems to be an attempt to approximate Standard Malay with its morphological affixation (not entirely systematic) and stylistic formality. The result is clumsy and unmistakably non-Standard Malay, despite its apparent intentions. Aside from *Bintang Timor* (which began publication in 1894), there also existed a large number of works of fiction in reduced Malay, usually reinterpretations of Chinese 'classics' that tell of the exploits of errant warriors. One informant, a woman in her eighties, recalled that she and her brothers and sisters did go to school to learn Standard Malay, though the schooling was merely for a short period of time (two or three years). The purpose seemed more to have been to acquire literacy, to be able to 'read the written word' than to acquire a competence in Standard Malay as such. This would explain the impression gained from looking at the early written literature that the language resembled Standard Malay imperfectly acquired.

Literacy, then, did exist among the Baba Chinese, though it was probably not very widespread and was a prerogative of the wealthy. However, whatever literacy there was in Malay gradually became less widespread in this century (due to the preference among the Baba Chinese for an English education) as evinced by the disappearance of this body of literature. It would seem that

the ability to read and write Malay was not universal enough among the Baba Chinese and did not remain with them long enough for it to lead to the codification of Baba Malay. Had there been an opportunity for the codification of Baba Malay, the development of the language might have taken a different course.

## 2.2 Chinese settlement in Malacca

In the 16th Century, Malacca was a great trading-port. There was a steady flow of trade between Asia and Europe, and Malacca was the most convenient mid-point port of call for merchant vessels from both continents. In fact, goods from both continents changed hands at Malacca as it was not normal for merchant ships, whether east-bound or west-bound, to travel beyond Malacca because sailing conditions were found to be neither congenial nor convenient. The vitality of Malacca as a trading-port may be seen from this contemporary account:

Those from Cairo bring the merchandise brought by the galleys of Venice... Those from Mecca bring a great quantity of opium... In these companies go Parsees, Turks, Turcomans and Armenians, and they come and take up their companies for their cargo in Gujerat and from there they embark in March and sail direct for Malacca; and on the return journey they call at the Maldivé Islands.<sup>1</sup>

Although the Chinese were known to have periodically visited the Malay archipelago from an early date (even as early as the 5th Century), it was not until after the foundation of the Malay kingdom of Malacca at the beginning of the 15th Century that their presence could be said to be of significance (Purcell 1948:14-26). For, although it was possible that there could have been temporary trading settlements, it was only after this date that any evidence of permanent settlements made by the Chinese can be established without doubt. As further attestation to this, Purcell has noted that no records of any Malacca Chinese family go back further than the first half of the 17th Century.

The Chinese population was, initially, not large. At the beginning of the 17th Century, there were only an estimated 300-400 Chinese in Malacca. In 1750, 150 years later, they numbered 2,161 in a total population of 9,635, and by 1860, the Chinese population was 10,039 in a total 67,276 (Purcell 1948:x). By this time, however, Malacca was by no means the only place with a permanent Chinese settlement. To the north of Malacca, the island of Penang, which had been founded in 1786, saw its Chinese population rise to 28,018 in a total of 59,956 by 1860. By the same year too, the number of Chinese in the settlement at Singapore, which was founded in 1819, was 50,034 in a total of 81,734. These figures, while showing the steady increase in number, do not, however, reveal that some very important differences were emerging between the early Chinese settlers and the later immigrants. For it does appear that by the middle of the 19th Century, a clear distinction had already arisen between the 'native' Chinese and the 'sinkheh', the recent arrivals from China. Purcell gives this account of the attitudes of the 'native' Chinese towards the newcomers (Purcell 1948:61):

It is in the Malacca and the Penang of this period i.e. around 1860 that we can obtain a view of the Baba, or Straits-born Chinese, as he was after he had been



conditioned by local influences, but before he was swamped in numbers by the China-born and before he came under the immediate influences, either of the West with its ever accelerating tempo of existence or of cultural revolution in China which gave birth to modern nationalism. The Baba felt his apartness from the newcomers and was inclined to despise them. Some even repudiated the suggestion that they were Chinese at all and claimed to be 'orang puteh' or white men, meaning that they were British subjects and proud of it. They had clubs of their own to which natives of China were not admitted. Yet at the same time they adhered punctiliously to the outward signs of a Chinaman. The queue was a badge of servitude, having been forced on the Chinese by the Manchus, and every Baba knew it, but it had come to be looked on as a badge of honour in his fatherland, and he was careful to preserve it as a tradition of his ancestry as he did his thick-soled shoes, mandarin costumes, and conical hats. He rejected, however, the barbarous custom of binding the feet of his females which was of greater antiquity than the queue, dating from about the tenth century. The Baba's claim to consideration was the claim of most aristocracies — the priority of arrival.

We know that the Straits-born were not pure Chinese by blood, but although they would have Malay or half-caste mothers, children of Babas were almost always brought up in the ways of their fathers; even when the fathers died young and the children were left to the local mothers. Vaughan [see Vaughan 1971] says that it was striking sometimes to see 'black Chinese' with all the characteristics of their fathers strongly brought out. But in Malacca, where the Malays were in majority, he tells us that the women were more prejudiced and leant more to their own people. It is remarkable to consider the tenacity with which those Malacca Baba, who did not speak anything but Malay, adhered to the Chinese way of life, modified though it was by Malay and other local influences.

That there had arisen a difference in appearance and outlook between the Baba and the 'sinkheh' was quite evident. However, the question is, what was the basis for the Baba's perception of his own distinctness of identity? This question is important because one of the things that characterise this distinctness of identity is, of course, the fact that the Baba spoke a different language. Purcell's account raises a few questions on this score. We are told that the Straits-born Chinese had 'Malay or half-caste' mothers, but this should surely be amended to read 'Malay or half-caste ancestry', for I doubt that a 'sinkheh' who took a Malay or half-caste woman for a wife would, simply by such an act, afford his progeny immediate entry into the exclusive circle of the Straits-born community. For a 'sinkheh', the gap between being a lowly new immigrant (who would usually arrive without a cent to his name and whose status on arrival was hardly any different from that of a slave), and a proud and wealthy Baba (to judge by his thick-soled shoes, mandarin costumes and conical hats, in contrast to the sinkheh's 'pair of short drawers tied around

the waist with a piece of string and a pair of straw sandals' — Purcell 1948:62) cannot be so easily bridged, one would imagine, by simply taking a Malay woman for a wife. It is more likely, then, that the Baba identity was already well and truly established by this time, and that the fact of the Babas having Malay or half-caste mothers was significant only at a much earlier stage. From Purcell's account, therefore, it is clear that the fact of the Babas being descended from the earliest Chinese immigrants was one of the factors which contributed to the distinctness of the Baba identity. What is not so clear, however, is that the thing which more than any other set him apart from the new immigrants was his higher economic standing in the community. Sinkhehs, after all, were commonly employed as household servants and gardeners in Baba homes. This feeling of class difference was quite likely a very important factor. Wealth has always had a notoriety for elevating the common man a notch above others who would otherwise have been equally common. The Baba's claim to aristocracy, as given by one's socioeconomic status, was indeed his priority of arrival; it is, as ever, the familiar principle of the 'early bird'.

## 2.3 The origin of Baba Malay

### 2.3.1 Baba Malay and the pre-pidgin continuum

The origin of Baba Malay cannot be considered without reference to the related variety, Bazaar Malay. The 19th Century Malay scholar, W.G. Shellabear, who was probably the first writer to give any attention to Baba Malay, in fact wrote of Baba Malay and Bazaar Malay as if they were one and the same language, and astutely noted that 'Low Malay' (which is the term he uses to refer to both varieties collectively) was the unique creation of the Chinese in Malaysia (Shellabear 1913). It would be hard to dispute that Baba Malay and Bazaar Malay are essentially the same language, with the difference that the latter, being a 'pidgin', is more variable in structure and has not the sizeable lexicon of Hokkien loan words to be found in Baba Malay. What is more interesting, however, is Shellabear's observation that what we have called 'reduced Malay' ('Low Malay' is Shellabear's term) was originally created by the Chinese. The investigation undertaken will certainly support Shellabear's claim, and it will be seen that not only is Baba Malay a creation of the Chinese (which is an obvious fact given that its native speakers are ethnic Chinese) but that Bazaar Malay, the lingua franca widespread in Malay peninsula, was also created in large part by the Chinese.<sup>2</sup>

Given what we know about both Baba Malay and Bazaar Malay from this investigation in the following pages, then, the picture of the linguistic situation that existed in Malacca in the 17th and 18th Centuries would seem to be quite clear. The Chinese in Malacca during that period created a pidginised Malay, which gained currency and acceptance due in large part to the economic importance of the Baba Chinese in the community. Shellabear notes that '... in the British settlements ... the Chinese have always had a commanding influence in all business affairs, and in a proportionate degree have left their impress upon the language in which the business of the Settlements has always been transacted ...' (Shellabear 1913:51). Although by far the largest proportion of the population in Malacca was formed by the Malays, the linguistic situation was not a simple bilingual one. There were present in Malacca southern Indians and other traders from the surrounding regions as well. As Whinnom (1971) has pointed out, probably no pidgin arises out of a simple bilingual situation, particularly in a situation where one group is disadvantaged in any way, as for example, by the lack of sheer numbers.

This, however, presupposes that there are no other extraneous 'barriers' between the two groups. Shellabear claims that the Baba Chinese held the language of the Malays in some contempt, no doubt regarding it as the unsophisticated language of a commercially unimportant sector of the community, for Malay is 'bahasa hutan', *the language of the jungle*. Even in a bilingual situation, then, such an attitude on the part of the minority group might well constitute a barrier to the effective learning of the numerically or geographically dominant language. Such an attitude would probably serve to maintain and consolidate the pidginised Malay that was used by the Baba Chinese. Even the initial intermarriage with the Malay women would not have undermined this, for the tendency of the Baba Chinese to cling tenaciously to their Chinese identity would have been another factor in their maintaining their distance from the larger Malay-speaking community.

The linguistic situation, then, was no doubt an interesting one, but due to the paucity of our knowledge regarding the real facts as they existed in that period, more than one hypothesis for the actual manner in which Baba Malay developed is possible.

At this point, however, it may be worthwhile to state an important distinction easily overlooked, and that is the difference between a 'pidgin' and a 'pidginised variety'. The latter term refers to any linguistic variety that has been simplified or reduced in form, while the former is applied to such varieties when they have attained a measure of stability, i.e. when they in time come to exhibit certain norms and hence become much less subject to the personal idiosyncracies of their speakers and other variation of this kind.

Whether Baba Malay was ever a fully-fledged pidgin before undergoing creolisation remains uncertain. If it was, then the situation would be that creolisation took place in only one sector of the speech community while elsewhere the pidgin remained technically a pidgin (thus giving rise to the two varieties for which we have two distinct names). If, on the other hand, there was only some kind of pre-pidgin continuum, then creolisation took place without the varieties having gone through a prior pidgin stage, and the pidgin that is now called Bazaar Malay stabilised independently. The second possibility does seem more convincing. A full-fledged pidgin would hardly have had the time to develop in the light of what we can guess about the frenetic linguistic situation that existed in Malacca then. A reduced form of Malay would have been in vigorous use then, and certainly immediately in use even in the homes of the Chinese who had, after all, married the local Malay women. Given the fact that a reduced form of Malay would probably have been used in Chinese homes as well as, of course, used in the trading community at large, then it does not seem likely that the language we now call 'Baba Malay' would have developed diachronically from the pidgin now called 'Bazaar Malay'. Rather, it would seem that a general form of reduced Malay was in use, a form that was probably quite unstable and variable over a range of speakers, i.e. a pre-pidgin continuum rather than a stable linguistic variety. On examining the two varieties, it would thus appear that a creole emerged against the background of a pre-pidgin continuum, and that furthermore this creole actually exerted some influence on the grammatical structure of the as yet unsettled variety, in the process helping to stabilise its structure. The process was probably never quite as clear-cut as this, and the interaction that took place was likely to have been quite complex, but the mutual clarifying and stabilising effect was clearly a benefit. The establishment of two new, related, though technically distinct, varieties of Malay must have come about more quickly because of the peculiar characteristics of the linguistic situation that existed in Malacca at the time.

If this view of the relationship between Baba Malay and Bazaar Malay is correct, then the relationship that is usually posited between a pidgin and its kin creole, and even the very definition of a creole itself, is called into question. Not only would it no longer be valid to assume that there is always a diachronic relationship between pidgin and creole, but it would also be invalid to insist on a *necessary* prior pidgin stage as a condition in the definition of a creole. Bickerton (1974) and Tonkin (1971) have both propounded the same idea. Bickerton suggests that immediate creolisation must have taken place among children of slaves or immigrant indentured labourers before any pidgin had had time to stabilise because they would have needed immediately a language to use, and Tonkin suggests that creoles may originate as native languages in mixed households and subsequently become contact languages between different ethnic groups. In both suggestions, creolisation is seen to be a relatively immediate process, with pidginisation taking place either concurrently or perhaps even occurring later.

### 3. BABA MALAY AS CREOLE: A BASIS FOR A DEFINITION

If the foregoing discussion reveals anything at all, it is that it is singularly unhelpful to approach the question of pidgins and creoles, and to attempt to define the notions of pidgins and creoles, from the point of view of their evolutionary history. The labels 'pidgin' and 'creole' are, as has been pointed out, useful as an initial working classification of particular linguistic *types*, but they are clearly not the end of the matter, and no completely satisfactory classification can be expected to issue from their application.

Hymes (1971) was among the first to recognise the limitations of these labels and to argue for a more precise definition of these linguistic types. He suggests that the processes of pidginisation and creolisation would be best examined along three parameters:

1. Change in the complexity of the outer form of the variety (i.e. its morphological structure) – positive change being designated by the term 'complication', negative change by the term 'simplification'.
2. Change in the scope of the inner form (i.e. its syntactic-semantic structure) – positive change being designated by the term 'expansion', negative change by the term 'reduction'.
3. Change in the scope of its function – positive change being designated by the term 'extension', negative change by the term 'restriction'.

Pidginisation, then, would be characterised by simplification, reduction and restriction, while creolisation would be characterised by complication, expansion and extension.

This set of criteria, Hymes argues, must be viewed in conjunction with another important criterion: that of 'convergence'. The term 'convergence' refers to the mixture of linguistic elements that is found in pidgins and creoles at each of the phonetic, the lexical, the syntactic and the semantic levels. The criterion of convergence is usually assumed, but Hymes underlines its importance. Convergence, unlike the other criteria already mentioned, does not, of course, distinguish pidgins and creoles from other languages, but it would be clearly strange to talk about the concept of pidgins and creoles if there were no

evidence of convergence whatsoever in the language under examination. Hymes argues that 'if creolization is to have significant meaning... creolization, like pidginization, must be understood as a complex process, involving the occurrence of three components, here expansion, and extension of role, as well as convergence. It is not reducible to any one of them' (Hymes 1971:77).

Hymes' framework seems a reasonable one, and cognisance of it will be taken in this investigation. It does at least provide a set of guidelines to keep in mind during the course of the investigation, and what is more important, it will serve its function *even* in the cases when it may be found to be faulty or inadequate, for that is the inherent value of theoretical frameworks. Perhaps 'faulty' and 'inadequate' are overly strong terms, but there are certainly problems nevertheless.

The first and more obvious of these is associated with the idea of specifying the direction of the changes that take place. Unless one has prior documentation and a description of the pidgin or the pre-pidgin continuum (and this is very uncommon indeed), how does one decide whether there has been complication or simplification, expansion or reduction? The conjectures of the linguist about the earlier structure and form of the language, however plausible, will remain mere conjectures. This is precisely the problem we encounter in our examination of Baba Malay.

The other and not so obvious problem is that where non-European-based pidgins and creoles are concerned, some of Hymes' considerations are not at all relevant. Malay, one of the two languages from which Baba Malay is derived, has a well-established system of affixation; but Hokkien, the other source-language, is an analytic language and its words are largely monomorphemic in nature. In Baba Malay, the systematic process of affixation is virtually non-existent. According to one of Hymes' criteria for distinguishing pidginisation from creolisation, then, there has been a negative change in the complexity of the outer form, a 'simplification'. Clearly this is some evidence of the simplification that Malay underwent, but the fact that there has developed no complexity in the morphological structure of Baba Malay even after all this time (no form of systematic affixation, for instance, has arisen), is no indication that creolisation has not in fact taken place. For it is not illogical that Baba Malay should follow Hokkien in not considering the grammatical function of affixation to be 'necessary'. After all, looked at from the point of language learning, Hokkien is the source- and Malay the target-language. This being the case, many of the apparent pidgin/creole features of Baba Malay could be interpreted simply as examples of source language interference. One typically pidgin/creole feature already noted, that in place of the derivational and inflectional morphological variation found in Malay, there is an invariant relation between form and grammatical function, is in fact the normal state of affairs in Hokkien. It is therefore always prudent to bear in mind the specific nature of the languages on which the pidgin or creole in question is based. This is no less necessary when it comes to examining the changes in the syntactic structure of the pidgin or creole, for, as will be seen with Baba Malay, given the particular syntactic make-up of both Hokkien and Malay and the resulting convergence in Baba Malay, it is by no means a simple matter to decide whether there has in fact been, in Hymes' terms, an 'expansion' or a 'reduction'.

The first two parameters in Hymes's schema, then, are not without problems. The third, which attempts to specify the changes in the scope of the pidgin/creole's function, is perhaps more straightforward. Where Baba Malay is concerned, its

use as a primary language in the homes of the Straits-born Chinese surely constitutes an extension in scope, albeit a limited one. Baba Malay is never called upon to serve any function more complex than that associated with normal, daily social intercourse.

### 3.1 Convergence in Baba Malay

An examination of the amount and the kind of convergence in Baba Malay provides the most direct and interesting way of observing the results of the linguistic contact between Hokkien and Malay. It will also serve to reveal something of the phonological, morphological and syntactic differences between the two languages.

#### 3.1.1 Phonological convergence

The phonological system of Baba Malay is, curiously enough, completely congruent with that of Malay. None of the uniquely Hokkien phonemic elements can be found in Baba Malay. The most prominent of these, viz., the Hokkien phonemic tones, with their seven-way distinction, are likewise conspicuously absent. Even the body of Hokkien loan words in Baba Malay has been phonologically modified, and rigidly conforms to the phonological pattern of Malay. Hokkien and Malay have the following phonemic inventories of segmental consonants:

| (i) Hokkien |               | LABIAL         | DENTAL          | VELAR          | GLOTTAL |         |
|-------------|---------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|---------|---------|
| STOPS       | unasp. v'less | p              | t               | k              | ʔ       |         |
|             | voiced        | b              | d               | g              |         |         |
|             | asp. v'less   | p <sup>h</sup> | t <sup>h</sup>  | k <sup>h</sup> |         |         |
| AFFRICATES  | unasp. v'less |                | ts              |                |         |         |
|             | voiced        |                | dʒ              |                |         |         |
|             | asp. v'less   |                | ts <sup>h</sup> |                |         |         |
| FRICATIVES  | v'less        |                | s               |                | h       |         |
| NASALS      | voiced        | m              | n               | ŋ              |         |         |
| LATERAL     | v'less        |                | l               |                |         |         |
| (ii) Malay  |               | LABIAL         | DENTAL          | PALATAL        | VELAR   | GLOTTAL |
| STOPS       | v'less        | p              | t               |                | k       | ʔ       |
|             | voiced        | b              | d               |                | g       |         |
| AFFRICATES  | v'less        |                |                 | tʃ             |         |         |
|             | voiced        |                |                 | dʒ             |         |         |
| FRICATIVES  | v'less        | f              | s               | ʃ              |         | h       |
|             | voiced        |                | z               |                |         |         |
| LIQUIDS     | voiced        |                | l               | r              |         |         |
| NASALS      | voiced        | m              | n               | ɲ              | ŋ       |         |
| SEMI-VOWELS |               | w              |                 | j              |         |         |

The consonant inventory of Baba Malay is identical with that of Malay with three exceptions. The voiceless labio-dental /f/, the voiceless palatal fricative /ç/, the voiced dental fricative /z/ and the voiceless velar fricative /x/ are not present in Baba Malay. However, it should be noted that these four phonemes are not indigeneous to the Malay sound system, but were introduced into the system by way of the Arabic loan-words that have been taken into the language. The majority of native Malay speakers tend to avoid these three sounds and substitute instead the voiceless labial stop /p/ for /f/, the voiced palatal affricate /dʒ/ for /z/, the glottal fricative /h/ for /x/, and occasionally the voiceless dental fricative /s/ for /ç/. Thus, the consonant inventory of Baba Malay would look like this:

| (iii) Baba Malay |        | LABIAL | DENTAL | PALATAL | VELAR | GLOTTAL |
|------------------|--------|--------|--------|---------|-------|---------|
| STOPS            | v'less | p      | t      |         | k     |         |
|                  | voiced | b      | d      |         | g     |         |
| AFFRICATES       | v'less |        |        | tʃ      |       |         |
|                  | voiced |        |        | dʒ      |       |         |
| FRICATIVES       | v'less |        | s      |         |       | h       |
| LIQUIDS          |        |        | l      | r       |       |         |
| NASALS           |        | m      | n      | ɲ       | ŋ     |         |
| SEMI-VOWELS      |        | w      |        | j       |       |         |

As can be seen from a comparison of the three tables, there is almost no admixture in the phonological system of Baba Malay (the total consonant and vowel inventory attest to this - see the discussion on vowels below). The system is almost exactly congruent with that of Malay, and there is no interference from the Hokkien system whatsoever. All the lexical borrowings from Hokkien into Baba Malay are phonologically modified to conform to the Malay sound system. The modifications are regular and predictable. Examples:

| HOKKIEN                 | BABA MALAY |                      |
|-------------------------|------------|----------------------|
| /lâu téŋ/               | /lo teŋ/   | <i>upstairs</i>      |
| /th'ra/                 | /tia/      | <i>living-room</i>   |
| /pò pí'a/               | /popia/    | <i>spring-roll</i>   |
| /sin k <sup>h</sup> e?/ | /sinkek/   | <i>new immigrant</i> |
| /tê k'ó/                | /teko/     | <i>kettle</i>        |

The loan words are also without phonemic tone, of course.

The vowel system of Baba Malay is absolutely congruent with that of Malay. A comparison of the three tables below will show this:

| Hokkien has a set of corresponding nasal and non-nasal vowels: |       |   |         |      |   |
|--|-------|---|---------|------|---|
|  | FRONT |   | CENTRAL | BACK |   |
| HIGH   | i     | ĩ |         | u    | ũ |
| MID  | e     | ẽ |         | o    | õ |
| LOW  | a     | ã |         | ɔ    | õ |

| Malay |       |         |      |
|-------|-------|---------|------|
|       | FRONT | CENTRAL | BACK |
| HIGH  | i     |         | u    |
| MID   | e     | ə       | o    |
| LOW   |       | a       |      |

| Baba Malay |       |         |      |
|------------|-------|---------|------|
|            | FRONT | CENTRAL | BACK |
| HIGH       | i     |         | u    |
| MID        | e     | (ɛ) ə   | o    |
| LOW        |       | a       |      |

The vowel systems of Malay and Baba Malay are congruent in all respects except that Baba Malay possesses an extra vowel /ɛ/. This vowel, however, is not present in all Baba Malay speakers but only in those who live in the urban areas (as opposed to those who reside in the rural areas). The difference in the speech of urban and rural speakers of Baba Malay is slight but quite discernible. The presence of the vowel /ɛ/ is, however, the clearest mark of an urban speaker. It occurs in those Malay words which have, as consecutive segments in syllable-final positions, the sequence /a/ + /r/ or /a/ + /l/. For example, the Malay word /tingal/ *to stay* is [tiŋgɛ] for the urban Baba Malay speaker, and the Malay word /ular/ *snake* has as the urban Baba Malay equivalent [ulɛ]. For the rural speaker of Baba Malay, these words are rendered [tiŋgal] and [ula] respectively. This shows up one difference in the distribution of phonemes between Malay and urban Baba Malay. In contrast to the pattern in Malay, the phonemes /h/ and /r/ do not occur in word-final positions.

The presence and the distribution of the vowel /ɛ/ among urban speakers of Baba Malay is a matter for speculation. It would seem that the early Straits-born Chinese could have had contacts with speakers of some particular Malay dialect that must have had the vowel /ɛ/ as a variant realisation of the segmental clusters /ar/ and /al/ (which dialect that was is not known but it is clearly not the present Malay dialect of Malacca). The fact that it is the urban speakers of Baba Malay who possess this vowel is significant, for they are the ones who have the closest links with the early Chinese settlers. Many of them still live in the area around the Malacca River, in the central and oldest part of the city. One would logically expect this sub-community of speakers to be the most conservative linguistically, quite in contrast with rural Baba Malay speakers who have been in greater contact with the local Malay population.

In any case, the most interesting fact to emerge from the comparison of sound systems is that unlike most creoles, which show the influence of their substrate languages in their phonology, Baba Malay reveals hardly any influence at all of its substrate language, Hokkien, in its phonology.

### 3.1.2 Syntactic-semantic convergence

Syntactically, the gap between Baba Malay and colloquial Malay is less great than that between Baba Malay and formal Malay (which is the 'educated' codified variety of the language). The spoken language of the Malay who has had limited contact with formal Malay for instance, can often approach the syntactic and



morphological terseness of Baba Malay, so that on occasion, what is 'grammatical' Baba Malay is also 'grammatical' colloquial Malay. However, what keeps Baba Malay distinct is the quite obvious admixture of linguistic elements that are derived from Hokkien. These elements are, however, *calques* from Hokkien, so that the essential *Malay nature* of Baba Malay lexicon and phonology is preserved. Where these elements are concerned, then, what is borrowed from Hokkien is their *meaning*, not their *form*. The most salient of these elements that are derived from Hokkien are the following.

### 3.1.2.1 Punya

The word *punya* has the literal meaning of *to possess* in Malay, and is semantically related to the Hokkien morpheme *ê*. However, the meaning of the Hokkien *ê* is a grammatical one whereas the meaning of the Malay *punya* is a lexical one. *ê* is often termed a 'possessive particle', somewhat akin to the possessive suffix in English which is rendered orthographically as "-'s". In Baba Malay, however, *punya* has acquired the grammatical function of its Hokkien semantic counterpart. *Punya* has no lexical meaning in Baba Malay, and has in fact become another member of the closed set of function words in the language. It is phonologically realised either as [pia] or [mia] (very rarely as [puna]) and receives no stress within the sentence contour. In short, it behaves just like any purely functional element phonologically.

The example of *punya* illustrates the particular nature of linguistic convergence or admixture in a creole such as Baba Malay. Convergence takes place in Baba Malay without damage to the essential lexical and phonological patterning of the language which has been, it might even be said, almost rigidly based on the formal example of the superstrate language, Malay. Just as no Hokkien phonological feature was allowed to intrude into the phonological system which Baba Malay had evolved for itself, so no *formally* Hokkien grammatical element could be taken into its syntactic system, although its function could be appropriated with no qualms. In this way, Baba Malay preserves its homogeneity of form.

*Punya* in Baba Malay has in fact three grammatical functions, all of which are conceptually related to the idea of 'possession', and all of which correspond *exactly* to the grammatical functions of the word *ê* in Hokkien. These functions are (a) as possessive marker, (b) as marker of temporal and locative modifiers, and (c) as relativiser.

#### 3.1.2.1.1 Punya as possessive marker

As possessive marker, *punya* occurs in such phrases as:

- (a) *gua punya ruma*  
*I punya house*  
*my house*

Hokkien: *gúa ê chhù*  
*I ê house*

Malay: *rumah saya*  
*house I*

- (b) *Sek Po punya kreta*  
*Sek Po punya car*  
*Sek Po's car*

Hokkien: Sek Po ê chhia  
*Sek Po ê car*  
 Malay: kereta Sek Po  
*car Sek Po*

### 3.1.2.1.2 Punya as marker of temporal and locative modifier

Some examples of punya as marker of temporal and locative modifiers are the following:

- (a) sini punya orang  
*here punya people*  
*the people of this place*  
 Hokkien: chit-tau ê lâng  
*here ê people*  
 Malay: orang yang disini  
*people who here*
- (b) Pasir Panjang punya Methodist Church  
*Pasir Panjang punya Methodist Church*  
*the Methodist Church of Pasir Panjang*  
 Hokkien: 'Pasir Panjang' ê 'Methodist Church'  
*Pasir Panjang ê Methodist Church*  
 Malay: 'Methodist Church' yang di Pasir Panjang itu  
*Methodist Church which in Pasir Panjang the*
- (c) tiga bulan punya holiday  
*three months punya holiday*  
*the holiday of three months*  
 Hokkien: sā-ko-gé ê pang-kè  
*three months ê holiday*  
 Malay: cuti tiga bulan  
*holiday three months*
- (d) dulu punya cakap  
*past punya language*  
*the language of the past*  
 Hokkien: téng-pai ê <sup>m̄</sup>ōē  
*past ê language*  
 Malay: bahasa yang lama  
*language which old*
- (e) belum kawin punya time  
*before marry punya time*  
*the time before (I) was married*  
 Hokkien: iá-bôē kiat-hun ê sí  
*before marry ê time*  
 Malay: semasa belum berkawin  
*time before marry*

All the above are, as can be seen, structurally identical to their Hokkien equivalents but are totally foreign to Malay. The concept of 'possession' is in this instance less tangible and more abstract, but nevertheless still perceptible, as the gloss in English shows. Interestingly enough, (c) above may be glossed as *three month's holiday*, which would tally very precisely with the Baba Malay original. It is therefore possible to regard all the examples with punya here as genitive-type constructions related to the examples in 3.1.2.1.

### 3.1.2.1.3 Punya as relativiser

As a relativiser, punya occurs in the structure exemplified by the following:

- (a) orang tarek punya cia  
*man pull punya vehicle*  
*the vehicle which a man pulls (i.e. rickshaw)*

Hokkien: lāng khiu ê chhia  
*man pull ê vehicle*

Malay: kereta yang ditarek oleh seorang  
*vehicle which is pulled by a man*

- (b) gua pukul punya itu orang  
*I hit punya the man*  
*the man whom I hit*

Hokkien: gúa pha ê hit khô lāng  
*I hit ê the CLASSIFIER man*

Malay orang yang saya pukul itu  
*man whom I hit the*

The embedded sentence is realised as a subordinate clause preceding the head nominal and marked off by punya.

Similarly, with relativised adjectives:

- (c) béx punya ruma  
*big punya house*  
*a house which is big*

Hokkien: tōa keng ê chhù  
*big ê house*

Malay: rumah yang besar  
*house which big*

- (d) kase punya orang  
*unrefined punya person*  
*a person who is unrefined*

Hokkien: chho ê lang  
*unrefined ê person*

Malay: orang yang kasar  
*person who unrefined*

It will be seen that in Baba Malay, as in Hokkien, modifiers generally precede the head nominal within the noun-phrase. The relationship, to borrow a term

from the physical sciences, is a *centripetal* one because the modifiers tend to order towards the centre of the noun-phrase, which is the head nominal.

Baba Malay: gua punya kawan punya RUMA  
*my friend's house*

Hokkien: gúa ê pèng-iu ê CHHÙ

In Malay, the relationship between modifier and head nominal is a *centrifugal* one, i.e. the modifiers tend to order away from the head nominal.

Malay: RUMAH kawan saya

It can be seen from the above examples that the function of punya as a relativiser again corresponds semantically and syntactically to the function of ê in Hokkien.

### 3.1.2.2 Kasi

Kasi (literally *to give* in Malay) is the counterpart of the Hokkien hō, and in Baba Malay has all the grammatical functions of the latter. These functions are as follows:

#### 3.1.2.2.1 Benefactive

An example of the Benefactive function of kasi is the following:

- (a) dia béli itu baju kasi gua  
*he buy that dress kasi me*  
*he bought that dress for me*

Hokkien: i bōe hit- nîa sã hō gúa  
*he buy that CLASSIFIER dress hō me*

Malay: dia membeli baju itu bagi saya  
*he buy dress that for me*

Kasi in this instance acts as a pure function word in Baba Malay, corresponding to the English preposition *for*.

#### 3.1.2.2.2 Causative-benefactive

- (b) dia-orang kasi gua tahu  
*they kasi me know*  
*they let me know*

Hokkien: in-lâng hō gúa chai  
*they hō me know*

Malay: mereka memberitahu kepada saya  
*they inform to me*

- (c) gua punya mak kasi gua pigi  
*my mother kasi me go*

Hokkien: gúa ê lāu-bú hō gúa khì  
*my mother hō me go*

Malay: ibu saya membiarkan saya pergi  
*mother my let me go*

Kasi in these instances has the sense of *to cause something to happen for someone's benefit or to someone's advantage*.

## 3.1.2.2.3 Causative

Kasi also functions as a straightforward causative:

- (d) dia pèkek-pèkek kasi gua tapranjat  
*she scream kasi me startled*  
*her screams startled me*

Hokkien: i dзиóng hō gúa chhua?  
*she scream hō me startled*

Malay: pekeknya memeranjatkan saya  
*her scream startled me*

## 3.1.2.2.4 Passive marker

Kasi functions as a Passive Marker in these instances:

- (e) dia curi duit kasi gua tengok  
*he steal money kasi I see*  
*his stealing of the money was seen by me*

Hokkien: i thau lui hō gúa khūa tio?  
*he steal money hō I see*

Malay: kecurian wang oleh dia telah dilihat oleh saya  
*theft money by him was seen by me*

- (f) dia kasi gua pukol  
*he kasi I hit*  
*he was hit by me*

Hokkien: i hō gúa pha?  
*he hō I hit*

Malay: dia dipukul oleh saya  
*he was hit by me*

(See 4.6 for a fuller discussion of passives.)

## 3.1.2.3 Kéna

Kéna in Malay has the general sense of *contact*, but it is usually contact of an abstract kind, e.g. *kena denda to incur a fine (to come into contact with a fine)*, *kena sakit to fall ill (to come into contact with illness)*. In its general sense of *contact*, it has an almost exact Hokkien equivalent in the Hokkien *tio?*. Their respective semantic fields are not perfectly congruent with each other, but they do overlap at one point, and this point is exemplified by the following Hokkien and Malay sentences.

Malay: dia kena pukul  
*he kena hit*  
*he got hit*

Hokkien: i tio? pha?  
*he tio? hit*  
*he got hit*

In this specific instance, both the abstract and concrete senses of the notion of *contact* are in operation. The subject in both sentences are said to have *incurred a blow*, or *come into contact with a blow*. This use of the word *kéna* is, not surprisingly, perfectly acceptable in Baba Malay.

There is, however, another sense of the word *kéna* in Baba Malay which is quite alien to a native speaker of Malay, and which has quite clearly been derived from one of the senses of the Hokkien *tio?*. This other function of *tio?* is to denote the concept of *obligation* and/or *non-volition*. Thus:

gúá tio? khì  
I tio? go  
I had to go (i.e. I had no choice)

The corresponding Baba Malay sentence would be:

gua kéna pigí  
I kéna go  
I had to go

The one difference between Baba Malay *kéna* and Hokkien *tio?* is that while the latter may signify both the notions of *obligation* and *non-volition*, *kéna* signifies only *non-volition*. The twin semantic components of *tio?* are split and distributed in Baba Malay between two lexemes, *kéna non-volition* and *misti obligation*. Examples:

- (a) kita kéna jalan sana  
we kéna walk there  
we had to walk there
- (b) kita misti jalan sana  
we misti walk there  
we must walk there

The example of *kéna* is an illustration of one interesting typological process of linguistic convergence in Baba Malay. That the *semantic* and *syntactic* functions of two lexemes from two distinct languages, Hokkien and Malay, should be so nearly similar is a surprise in itself, and this fact alone certainly ensured the survival of this specific semantic notion in Baba Malay. But the semantic features of the derivative Baba Malay *kéna* are, as we can see, a little different from their Hokkien and Malay prototypes. The semantic field of *kéna* is in fact a composite of the prototypes, for the near-congruence of the semantic fields of Malay *kena* and Hokkien *tio?* permitted the grafting of specific semantic features of *tio?* onto Baba Malay *kéna* with minimal obtrusion; it also permitted the weeding out of other semantic features which were originally components of the Hokkien and Malay prototypes but which have been 'deemed' unimportant in Baba Malay.

The semantic and syntactic coincidence of Malay *kena* and Hokkien *tio?* surely means that, where Baba Malay was concerned, there must have been a predisposition towards convergence in this area, for it is only reasonable to expect that shared features of this nature have priority of selection.

The example of *kéna* differs from the other examples of convergence discussed thus far, because while the others cloak Hokkien function in Malay form, *kéna* is a word that is semantically a selected composite of both Hokkien and Malay function in Malay form.

## 3.1.2.4 Mau

Mau, most often phonologically realised as [mo], is similar to the case of k<sup>é</sup>na as it has an almost exact semantic and syntactic parallel in a Hokkien word; the Hokkien equivalent in this instance being be<sup>?</sup>. As is the case with k<sup>é</sup>na, the close parallel between Malay mau and Hokkien be<sup>?</sup> clearly ensured the continued survival of this linguistic item in Baba Malay. The Malay mau is a modal auxiliary indicating 'intention', e.g.

Malay:            saya mau pergi  
                  I     mau go  
                  I want to go

The Hokkien be<sup>?</sup> is also a modal auxiliary indicating 'intention'.

Hokkien:        gúa be<sup>?</sup> khì  
                  I     be<sup>?</sup> go  
                  I want to go

Syntactically and semantically, then, mau and be<sup>?</sup> parallel each other.

Examples from Baba Malay:

- (a) orang tak mau pake kreta lagi  
    *people not mau drive car anymore*  
    *people don't want to drive cars anymore*

Hokkien: lâng    màì hūa    chhia liau  
                  *people not drive car anymore*

Malay:    orang tak mau memandu kereta lagi  
            *people not     drive car     anymore*

(Note: Hokkien màì is the negation of be<sup>?</sup>.)

- (b) mau pigi sana susa  
    *mau go    there difficult*  
    *it's difficult (for me) to go there*

Hokkien: be<sup>?</sup> khì hit-tau k<sup>ā</sup>ng k<sup>ó</sup>  
            *be<sup>?</sup> go    there    difficult*

Malay:    susah     mau pergi sana  
            *difficult mau go     there*

## 3.1.2.5 Pigi/datang

Pigi (literally) *to go* is a member of the class of full verbs in Baba Malay as well as the minor class of function-words. Pigi in its guise as a function-word has a parallel in the Hokkien khì *to go*. Both pigi and khì indicate 'direction away from speaker' when juxtaposed with a verb of motion.

- (a) gua pake parka pigi sekola  
    *I wear parka pigi school*  
    *I wear a parka to school*

Hokkien: gúa chhēng parka khì ó<sup>?</sup>-t<sup>ń</sup>g  
            *I wear parka khì school*

Malay:    saya berpakai parka kesekolah  
            *I wear     parka to school*

Pigi has as its complementary opposite the word *datang* (literally) *to come*, which is again paralleled by the Hokkien *lâi*. *Datang* and *lâi* have the semantic function of indicating 'direction towards the speaker' when preceded by a verb of motion. The same function is performed in Malay by the preposition *ke-* and *dari(pada)*.

### 3.1.2.6 Nanti

*Nanti* (literally) *to wait* occurs in Baba Malay as a time-adjunct (or time-adverbial) and indicates 'near-futurity'. Its function as a sentential modifier finds a semantic and syntactic parallel in the Hokkien *tan* (also literally) *to wait*.

- (a) *dia nanti mau datang*  
*he nanti want come*  
*in the near future he wants to come*
- Hokkien: *i tan be? lâi*  
*he tan want come*
- Malay: *nanti dia mau datang*  
*nanti he want come*

*Nanti* is also used in the same manner in Malay, and like *kêna* and *mau*, it is an example of a linguistic item that coincidentally has semantic and syntactic parallels in Hokkien, and has therefore been readily preserved in Baba Malay.

### 3.1.2.7 -la

*-la* is a particle that may occur in phrase-final or sentence-final positions. It is also to be found adjoined to single words, but these 'single words' function as full sentences in Baba Malay.

- (a) *mura- la*  
*cheap la*  
*it's cheap*
- (b) *susa- la*  
*difficult la*  
*it's difficult*

The *-la* particle in Baba Malay is clearly related to, and functions in much the same way as the *-la* particle in Hokkien, Bazaar Malay, Singapore English and Malaysian English. Richards and Tay (1977), in tracing the links between the *-la* particle in Singapore English, Hokkien and Malay, came to a tentative conclusion that the origin of the particle was in Hokkien. They are, I think, correct in their conclusion. My own investigation of Baba Malay supports the idea that Bazaar Malay, which is after all syntactically similar to Baba Malay, owes much of its structure to Hokkien, and that the influence of Hokkien on these linguistic varieties spoken in the Malay peninsula has been quite marked.

Richards and Tay suggest that the *-la* particle in Hokkien and Singapore English functions as a 'code label', which serves 'both to carry part of the message and to identify the style'. It is not a grammatical element but serves to identify the level of 'rapport, solidarity, familiarity and informality between the participants in the speech event'. However, although it is true that the *-la* particle is not a grammatical element in that its presence or absence does



not fundamentally alter the meaning of the message, it nevertheless needs to be stressed that the meaning of the message may be *modified* by the particle, and in ways that have little to do with the sociolinguistic factors of rapport, solidarity, familiarity or informality between the participants in the speech event. Curiously enough, the Hokkien examples that are given by Richards and Tay themselves bear testimony to this. They point out, for example, that the presence of the -la marks emphasis (which is one of its main functions) and that another function is to express a kind of cause-and-effect relationship between clauses in a sentence. These two functions at least, seem to be well within the domain of 'grammar', and would have little to do with the sociolinguistic concept of the speech event and the role-relationships of its participants.

The function of -la in expressing cause-and-effect relationships, or more accurately, in expressing the notion of 'consequentiality' is evident in Baba Malay. It expresses the idea that 'if you do X, then you must do Y'.

- (a) abi kalau dia cakap lu misti kawin, lu misti kawin-la  
*so if she say you must marry you must marry-la*  
*so if she says you must marry, you must marry*
- (b) dia bila mau balek jantan punya ruma, dia kena angkat tebu  
*he when want return the man's house he has to carry sugarcane*  
 sama ayam- la  
*with chicken-la*  
*when he wants to return to the man's house, then he must take some*  
*sugarcane and a chicken with him*
- (c) jadi, bila datang sini, orang tak ada bini carek bini-la  
*so when come here people not have wife find wife-la*  
*so when people came without wives, then they looked for wives*
- (d) kalau winter datang ini, mati- la  
*if winter come death-la*  
*if winter comes, then it's death!*

Besides this function of marking 'consequentiality', -la in Baba Malay also has the sociolinguistic function of indicating solidarity and informality, of indicating the speaker's mental attitude (whether it be warm and friendly or otherwise) towards the addressee. It is interesting to point out that such matters are often indicated in English by the speaker's tone of voice and intonation pattern, rather than by the presence of any overt linguistic item. A sentence such as 'It's expensive' may be said in a self-mocking and pleading way and mean something like 'It's expensive, you know, don't say I'm stingy!', but this, of course, cannot be brought across orthographically.

It still needs to be said, however, that -la is a very semantically elusive linguistic element. Quite often, it seems to express varying degrees of the speaker's impatience with his interlocutor, and may simply be translated into English by a sigh! The following are further examples from Baba Malay.

- (e) dia mau sayang-la, dia mau lu cium, ko-ko  
*he want love- la he want you kiss brother*  
*he wants love, he wants you to kiss (him), brother*
- (f) itu dulu punya cakap- la, tak sama sekarang  
*that past punya language-la not same now*  
*that is the language of the past, it's not the same now*

- (g) tengok-la  
*see- la*  
*we shall see*
- (h) bole tahan- la sekola  
*can tolerate-la school*  
*(I) can tolerate school*
- (i) nasib-la  
*fate- la*  
*that's fate*

### 3.1.2.8 Word order

The word order in Baba Malay has already been dealt with briefly (see 3.1.2.1.3). Word order in Baba Malay is patterned after Hokkien rather than Malay in that modifiers of all types may precede the head nominal. These modifiers may be locative phrases, adjectives, temporal phrases or full sentences. If they do precede the head nominal, they will have to occur with *punya*, which serves as a relativiser.

- (a) Adjective + Nominal  
*bé̄sɛ punya ruma*  
*big punya house*  
*a house which is big*
- (b) Locative phrase + Nominal  
*sini punya orang*  
*here punya people*  
*the people who are here*
- (c) Temporal phrase + Nominal  
*tiga bulan punya holiday*  
*three months punya holiday*  
*the holiday which is of three months*
- (d) Full sentence + Nominal  
*orang tarek punya cia*  
*man pull punya vehicle*  
*the vehicle which is pulled by a man*

None of the above patterns are permissible in Malay but they are fully permissible in Hokkien where the above examples may be regarded as noun-phrases containing an embedded sentence.

Another area of word order in which Baba Malay differs from Malay because it is patterned after Hokkien word order is in the positioning of determiners in relation to the nominal. Thus:

|                   |                       |                     |
|-------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| Malay: orang itu  | Baba Malay: itu orang | Hokkien: hit-ê lâng |
| <i>person the</i> | <i>the person</i>     | <i>the person</i>   |
| <i>the person</i> | <i>the person</i>     | <i>the person</i>   |

In brief, then, the admixture of Hokkien linguistic elements in Baba Malay is strictly semantic-syntactic in nature. What is borrowed into Baba Malay is not the Hokkien forms of these elements but their meanings and syntactic functions. On occasion, it will be seen that the 'meanings' of some of these elements have

a ready semantic and syntactic parallel in Malay, and so the Malay forms of these elements are easily maintained. The process of convergence in Baba Malay therefore takes place with little disruption to the lexicon and to the phonological form of Baba Malay, which in these respects adheres to the form of the superstrate or target language, Malay.

### 3.1.3 Lexical convergence

The lexicon of Baba Malay is Malay in nature, except for quite a number of Hokkien loan words which deal predominantly with kinship and ceremonies and the customary practices of the Hokkien-Chinese. These are in the main associated with the rites of religion, of marriage, birth and death. In addition, Baba Malay has also borrowed words that denote certain Chinese moral and ethnical concepts. This is not surprising as the Baba Chinese have retained their 'Chinese-ness' where these things are concerned. Hokkien lexical items which have been adopted by the Babas and which occur in my transcripts are listed in Appendix 2, but there is, besides this body of loan words, another area which evinces the impact of Hokkien on Baba Malay and which is clearly more of a 'core area' linguistically than the corpus of loan words. This is the pronominal system of Baba Malay.

#### 3.1.3.1 The pronominal system of Baba Malay

Curiously, the pronominal system of Baba Malay exemplifies quite different types of convergence. One type involves calquing, i.e. semantically Hokkien elements appear in Malay form (such as we have encountered in the preceding section on syntactic-semantic convergence), and this is obviously the case with the third-person plural form of the pronoun, *dia orang* (from Hokkien *in-lâng*). The other involves wholesale borrowing into the language of the Hokkien forms, albeit with phonological modification, and this is the case with the first and second-person singular forms of the pronoun, *gua* and *lu* (from Hokkien *gúa* and *lú*). Still another type of convergence involves a combination of these two processes and this is the case with the second-person plural form of the pronoun, *lu-orang*, the first element of which is Hokkien in form and the second element Malay, but clearly semantically calqued from the Hokkien *lâng* (literally, *person*) which is customarily attached to singular forms of pronouns to give their corresponding plural forms. The other pronouns, the third-person singular and the first-person plural, however, retain their Malay forms. The following table displays the pronominal forms across the three languages.

|                 | Baba Malay       | Malay  | Hokkien  |
|-----------------|------------------|--|--|
| <i>I</i>        | <i>gua</i>       | <i>saya/aku</i>                                    | <i>gua</i>                                       |
| <i>you</i>      | <i>lu</i>        | <i>kamu/awak/engkau</i>                            | <i>lú/lí</i>                                     |
| <i>he/she</i>   | <i>dia</i>       | <i>dia</i>   | <i>i</i>   |
| <i>we</i>       | <i>kita</i>      | <i>kita (inclusive)</i><br><i>kami (exclusive)</i> | <i>gún-lâng (incl)</i><br><i>lán-lâng (excl)</i> |
| <i>you (pl)</i> | <i>lu-orang</i>  | <i>kamu/awak/engkau</i>                            | <i>lín-lâng</i>                                  |
| <i>they</i>     | <i>dia-orang</i> | <i>mereka</i>                                      | <i>ín-lâng</i>                                   |

It is curious to note that the 'inclusive-exclusive' distinction in the first-person plural pronoun which is observed by both Malay and Hokkien has been neutralised in Baba Malay. It would be expected in the examples of such items as *kéna* and *mau*, that the semantic parallel here between Hokkien and Malay would facilitate the incorporation of this semantic distinction into the Baba Malay pronominal system, but this has not occurred.

### 3.1.3.2 Conclusion

A survey of the processes of convergence in Baba Malay points quite clearly to the heavy reliance on Hokkien as a source for many semantic and syntactic structures. Most of these borrowed structures from Hokkien are direct substitutes for already-existing Malay equivalents rather than being structures incorporated into the language to 'plug' any gaps that are felt by Baba Malay speakers to exist in the superstrate language. These structures, Malay in form but really Hokkien in function, seem to have sometimes arisen as a consequence of the morphological simplification that took place in Baba Malay. In place of the verb affixation found in Malay to express the idea of 'causation', for instance, Baba Malay makes use of a single, free morpheme *kasi* (see 3.1.2.2) to perform the same function.

Other structures that have their source in Hokkien are not merely substitutes but actually have no direct equivalents in the superstrate language, Malay. The functions of the modal auxiliary *kéna* and the *-la* particle in Baba Malay would come under this category.

The problem at this point is the difficulty in evaluating these semantic and syntactic structures, all of which are truly unique to Baba Malay and the Bazaar Malay continuum, in terms of Hymes' concept of 'expansion' and 'reduction'. How, after all, is the relative semantic and syntactic complexity between two languages to be determined? The relative complexity of the 'inner form' between any two languages, i.e. of their semantic-syntactic core, needs in reality to be quantified. However, even if a precise statistical quantification were possible, the results would mean little, as such a methodology would ignore the different areas of importance on which each language chooses to focus. Thus, a creole may remain a language with a tenseless system even though both its superstrate and substrate languages may well have sophisticated tense systems. Clearly it would be unfair to see our hypothetical creole as being 'lacking' in this respect. Such a recognition of linguistic relativity would certainly confound the notion of 'expansion' in a creole. Where semantics is concerned, one could not overlook the fact that each language might categorise the objective world differently. Thus, that Baba Malay has only the one word *potong* for the different ways of *cutting* that Malay recognises linguistically (as shown by the variety of words that have the same basic denotation, e.g. *potong to cut*, *slice*, *belah to cut lengthwise*, *raut to pare*, *sabit to cut with sickle*, *tebang to cut down trees*, *tetak to slash*) is not necessarily a significant fact within the Hymesian framework. Where Baba Malay is concerned, any 'losses' vis-a-vis its superstrate language, Malay, is made up for where necessary by calques from Hokkien.

However, Hymes' terms, 'reduction' and 'expansion', clearly should be seen to refer to diachronic changes that take place *within* each creole. For these terms to make sense in our context, a description of the early form of Baba Malay would be needed with which present-day Baba Malay could be compared. If Baba Malay did exist in some 'simpler' form initially, and we have assumed this to be so, then the term 'expansion' could certainly be used to describe the direction of Baba Malay's development up to the present time.

#### 4. TOWARDS A SYNTACTIC DESCRIPTION OF BABA MALAY

##### 4.1 Word classes

Word classes have always been a perplexing area in linguistics. Definitive and universal criteria for setting up word classes have not been forthcoming, and this problem has been readily acknowledged.

The criteria for the establishment of (word) classes are not yet known and their discussion is still a central theme in grammatical theory. (*Lingua* 17: Editorial Preface)

Yet, it is clear that the words in any language may be grouped according to their characteristics and functions, and that such groupings will be generally found to be intuitively 'correct' to native speakers. It would be hard to deny that terms such as 'nominals' and 'verbals' refer to quite universal and common characteristics and functions of words. All languages categorise words into those that denote 'things' and those that denote 'qualities' and 'actions'.

The following discussion, therefore, takes the notions 'nominals' ('things') and verbals ('qualities and actions') to be primitive notions, and other word classes will be defined with reference to them.

##### 4.1.1 Nominals

The class 'Nominals' comprises nouns and pronouns.

##### 4.1.2 Verbals

The class 'Verbals' includes both adjectives and verbs. Adjectives and verbs have often been considered to be subclasses of the same grammatical category because semantically, the typical function of both is that of predication. However, in languages where there are *syntactic* differences between the two (as in English, for instance) a distinction between verb and adjective has been made. In Baba Malay (as in Malay) there is no syntactic basis for distinguishing between verb and adjective. The adjective in Baba Malay, when it occurs in predicate position, occurs without a copula and hence is structurally similar to the verb.

(a) dia gémok  
he fat  
he is fat

(b) dia nyanyi  
he sing  
he sings

If both these words are placed in prenominal position, their syntactic resemblance will still be maintained:

(c) gémok punya orang  
people who are fat

(d) nyanyi punya orang  
people who sing

As the distinction between verbs and adjectives in Baba Malay is a semantic one rather than a syntactic one (adjectives denote 'attributes' while verbs denote 'acts'), it would be more convenient to regard them as belonging to the same syntactic word class called 'Verbals', the only difference being that one

belongs to the subclass of 'Attributive Verbals' and the other to the subclass of 'Active Verbals'.

The designation 'Active' requires some explanation. It refers to 'acts' described by words such as *tido to sleep*, *dudok to sit* etc., which, although not referring to any overt physical activity, seem to have more in common with one another *semantically* than with words such as *bése big*, *pande clever* etc. In addition, Attributive and Active Verbals in Baba Malay are distinguishable from each other *semantically* by the different 'adjuncts of intensification' (see 4.1.4) they may occur with:

- (e) *dia bése sèkali*  
*he big very*  
*he is very big*
- (f) *dia nyanyi banyak*  
*he sings a lot*  
*he sings a lot*

However, this difference can be neutralised if instead of the adjunct *skali*, the more indigenous Baba Malay adjunct *banyak* is used:

- (g) *dia banyak bése*  
*he is very big*

The word *banyak* (literally, *many*) has in Baba Malay taken on the function of an intensifier, much as the word *plenty* has done in many English-based pidgins and creoles (and this seems to be a common occurrence in many pidgins and creoles). It is interesting to note that the ability of *banyak* to function as an intensifier for both Attributive and Active Verbals in Baba Malay may be taken as further evidence that both these verbals are subclasses of a common category. It is not at all surprising that this fact should manifest itself in a 'younger' language such as Baba Malay where perhaps finer distinctions have yet to emerge. Semantic neutralisation may therefore be indicative of deeper linguistic behaviour.

#### 4.1.3 Auxiliaries

Auxiliaries are a closed set of words that occurs in an invariant position within a syntactic construction; they immediately precede the Verbal in the Verb-Phrase. There are two types of auxiliaries in Baba Malay, the Aspectual auxiliary and the Modal auxiliary.

##### 4.1.3.1 Aspectual auxiliary

The Aspectual auxiliary marks the aspect of the Verbal:

- (a) *dia suda pig:*  
*he suda go*  
*he has gone/he went*

There are four Aspectual auxiliaries in Baba Malay:

- bélum action not yet completed/commenced*  
*lagi action in progress*  
*suda action completed*  
*baru action recently completed*

These auxiliaries, which denote the perfective or imperfective nature of actions, naturally enough apply to Active Verbals.<sup>3</sup> However, it is interesting to note that some of them may also be applied to Attributive Verbals:

- (b) dia suda bése  
       he suda big  
       he is already grown up

This is further evidence of the syntactic similarities between Active and Attributive Verbals in Baba Malay. However, it appears that only the auxiliaries suda and belum may occur with Attributive Verbals, i.e. the state or quality denoted by the Attributive Verbal is deemed to have been either attained or yet-to-be-attained; no other aspectual statement is permissible.

#### 4.1.3.2 Modal auxiliary

Whereas the function of the Aspectual auxiliary is to qualify a statement with respect to the Verbal, the function of the Modal Auxiliary is to specify the 'modal attitude' of the statement as a whole. The following are the Modal auxiliaries in Baba Malay:

- kéna *idea of non-volition* i.e. compelled by circumstances  
       not to one's liking, therefore unfavourable
- misti *idea of obligation/necessity*; unlike kéna, not  
       unfavourable necessarily
- bole (a) *idea of capability*  
       (b) *idea of permissibility*
- mau *idea of volition or intention*

Some of these Modal auxiliaries may co-occur in the same sentence subject to certain constraints. The first of these constraints is that if two Modal auxiliaries co-occur, the first auxiliary must be misti and the other must either be bole or mau. No other combinations are permissible. Semantically, misti mau seems not to be different from misti, but misti bole has the sense *must be able to*. The second constraint is that should two Modal auxiliaries co-occur, no Aspectual auxiliary is permitted in the same sentence. The third constraint is that their ordering with respect to each other is to be invariant; the Aspectual auxiliary must precede the Modal auxiliary in all instances.

The auxiliary is distinct from adjuncts (see 4.1.4) in that it has a fixed position within a construction. Confusion is possible because an adjunct may also be slotted into a normal auxiliary position. The adjunct nanti is a case in point. Nanti denotes *near-futurity* as well as having a verbal meaning, *to wait*) and dia nanti pigi *he will go*. However, nanti has no fixed positioning and does not invariably precede the verbal on all occasions. Thus, the sentences nanti dia pigi and dia pigi nanti are also acceptable.

#### 4.1.4 Adjuncts

Adjuncts are words or phrases that are adjoined to a sentence in order to extend the meaning of the sentence. As the word 'extend' implies, such adjoined linguistic items are not essential to the 'grammaticalness' of the sentence: the sentence is grammatical even in the absence of these items. Thus, the locative phrase in the house is an adjunct in the sentence Mildred rebuked George in the house as even in its absence, Mildren rebuked George is a well-formed sentence.

The adjuncts in Baba Malay may be divided into two types, Verbal adjuncts and Sentence adjuncts.

#### 4.1.4.1 Verbal adjuncts

Verbal adjuncts by and large have inflexible position within the Verb-Phrase and, unlike Sentence adjuncts, may not be shifted around the sentence:

- (a) makan p<sup>é</sup>lan-p<sup>é</sup>lan (\*p<sup>é</sup>lan-p<sup>é</sup>lan makan)  
eat slowly  
to eat slowly
- (b) mahal sekali (\*sekali mahal)  
expensive very  
very expensive

It will be noted that adjuncts that occur with Attributive Verbals form a subclass called Adjuncts of Intensification (see (b) above). Adjuncts of Intensification may, however, also be adjoined to another adjunct:

- (c) makan P<sup>É</sup>LAN-P<sup>É</sup>LAN S<sup>É</sup>KALI  
to eat very slowly

Further examples of Verbal adjuncts:

- (d) bole balek S<sup>É</sup>NANG  
can return easily  
can go back easily
- (e) bole b<sup>é</sup>li barang BANYAK-BANYAK  
can buy things in large quantities  
can buy things in large quantities
- (f) tahu dia B<sup>É</sup>TOL-B<sup>É</sup>TOL  
know him properly  
to know him properly
- (g) tahu dia SIKIT-SIKIT SAJA  
know him slightly only  
to know him only slightly
- (h) baru datang TIGA BULAN  
just come three months  
(I've) only been here three months
- (i) baru balek SATU KALI  
just return once  
(I've) only returned once
- (j) tak practise LAMA-LAMA  
(I) haven't practised for a long time

#### 4.1.4.2 Sentence adjuncts

The items of this class have freer position within the sentence (though there are some constraints) because they have no immediate relationship with any particular constituent of the sentence. Instead, their relationship is to the sentence as a whole. Sentence adjuncts may be of a *locative type*, a *temporal type*, or a *modal type* that states, for example, the definiteness or otherwise of the idea expressed by the sentence.



- (a) b<sup>1</sup>elaja KAK AUSTRALIA  
*study in Australia*  
*to study in Australia*
- (b) SANA mahal  
*there expensive*  
*it's expensive there*
- (c) SINI tak k<sup>1</sup>ena baya school fees  
*here not have to pay school fees*  
*one doesn't have to pay school fees here*
- (d) TADI Fong dapat surat, bukan  
*just then Fong got letter didn't she*  
*Fong got the letter just then, didn't she?*
- (e) kal<sup>1</sup>au NANTI mau pigi Australia  
*if in future want go Australia*  
*if in future she wants to go to Australia*
- (f) T<sup>1</sup>ENTU tak bole drive  
*sure not able drive*  
*(I'm) sure (I) can't drive*
- (g) BARANGKALI dia mau balek  
*perhaps he want return*  
*perhaps he want to return*

Although the position of the adjunct within the sentence is fairly flexible, the constraints are that the adjunct is not permitted to occur between the auxiliary and the verbal, nor between the verbal and its object noun-phrase:

\*tak k<sup>1</sup>ena SINI baya  
*school fees*

\*tak k<sup>1</sup>ena baya SINI  
*school fees*

#### 4.1.5 Prepositions

The term 'preposition' denotes that closed set of invariable words or particles that have either a 'semantic-case'-type function or an 'orientational' function in a sentence. The words are 'prepositional' with respect to the nominal or the noun-phrase. Baba Malay has the following set of prepositions, which is a modified and much smaller set than the one found in Malay:

|                        |                    |       |             |
|------------------------|--------------------|-------|-------------|
| sama                   | <i>with</i>        | sampe | <i>till</i> |
| atas                   | <i>on, above</i>   | kak   | <i>at</i>   |
| bawa                   | <i>under</i>       | dalam | <i>in</i>   |
| b <sup>1</sup> elakang | <i>behind</i>      | dari  | <i>from</i> |
| d <sup>1</sup> epan    | <i>in front of</i> | kasi  | <i>for</i>  |

Of the set above, the two prepositions which are most specifically Baba Malay are kak and kasi. The former is invariably found where di is found in Malay, and is related morphologically and phonologically to the Malay dekat *near, close by* which is often used in place of di with locative phrases in colloquial Malay. This demonstrates again that the variety of Malay from which Baba Malay drew its resources is not the codified variety, but the colloquial variety. The historical contact between the two source languages of Baba Malay was clearly a contact of oral varieties.

The other preposition which is also nearly uniquely a property of Baba Malay is *kasi*. *Kasi* is also a verb in Baba Malay meaning *to give*. Its appearance as a preposition with a grammatical, semantic-case function is no doubt a reflection of Baba Malay's links with Hokkien in which the morpheme *hō* also performs this dual function (see 3.1.2.2). However, it is also worth noting that the use of a word meaning 'to give' in a purely functional, grammatical capacity to denote 'benefaction' is also widespread among many African contact-languages (see Hall 1966). This has given rise to the suggestion that this might be seen as one of a set of 'universal' pidgin or creole features, something by which a variety may be recognised instantly as pidgin or creole. However, the evidence here would suggest that it is a language-specific rather than necessarily a 'universal' or 'innate' feature of pidgins and creoles.

#### 4.1.6 Conjunctions

The set of conjunctions in Baba Malay is also a very much reduced set as compared to the set of conjunctions in Malay.

|                  |                       |                                       |
|------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------------|
| sama <i>and</i>  | sébélum <i>before</i> | pasa <i>because</i>                   |
| tapi <i>but</i>  | sélépas <i>after</i>  | kalau <i>if</i>                       |
| bila <i>when</i> | asa <i>as long as</i> | abi <i>consequently, subsequently</i> |

Sama functions only to conjoin nominal phrases, and never units longer than the nominal phrase. In fact, it does not seem to be possible to link with conjunction two sentences of the same 'rank' or 'depth' to form compound structures (as opposed to complex, embedded structures) in Baba Malay (see 4.4).

#### 4.1.7 Quantifiers

Quantifiers are of two types, numeral and non-numeral. Numeral quantifiers are morphologically the same as those in Malay. Non-numeral quantifiers consist of items such as *sémua all*, *banyak many* and *tiap-tiap every*.

#### 4.1.8 Particles

There is one important particle which occurs in phrase-final or sentence-final position in Baba Malay and that is the particle *-la* (see 3.1.2.7 for a fuller discussion).

#### 4.1.9 Determiners

Determiners combine readily with nominals and have the effect of making the referent of the nominal definite. The two determiners are *ini this* and *itu that, the*.

### 4.2 Sentence structure: the simple sentence

#### 4.2.1 The noun-phrase

The NP in Baba Malay has the following surface structure:

$$\text{NP} \rightarrow (\text{Q}) (\text{Det}) \left( \begin{array}{l} 1. \text{Verbal} \\ 2. \text{VP} \\ 3. \text{Sent. Adjunct} \\ 4. \text{Nominal} \end{array} \right) \text{punya Nominal (Verbal) (Sent. Adjunct)}$$

The Sentence Adjunct of course, has flexible positioning, and if all the options within the braces were taken, the following NPs would be possible:

- (1) *sémua itu bése punya ruma cantek kak Mélaka*  
 Q Det Verbal<sub>2</sub> punya Nominal Verbal<sub>2</sub> Adjct  
*all the nice houses that are big in Malacca*
- (2) *sémua itu belaja sana punya orang kaya*  
 Q Det VP punya Nominal Verbal<sub>2</sub>  
*all the rich people who study there*
- (3) *sémua itu sana punya orang kaya*  
 Q Det Sentence Adjct punya Nominal Verbal<sub>2</sub>  
*all the rich people there*
- (4) *sémua itu pokok punya daun kécik*  
 Q Det Nominal punya Nominal Verbal<sub>2</sub>  
*all the trees' small leaves*

#### 4.2.2 The verb-phrase

The VP in Baba Malay may be divided into three types:

##### 4.2.2.1 VP-Simple

The VP-Simple is a VP that contains only one verbal, either a verb (Verbal<sub>1</sub>) or an adjective (Verbal<sub>2</sub>), or it may contain an NP without any verbal at all. This last permissible VP structure occurs in sentences of the type 'X is Y', which in Baba Malay and Malay (but not Hokkien) simply consists of the two nominals X and Y located in apposition to each other. Hokkien, however, has a copula which is obligatorily present in such constructions. Both the Aspectual auxiliary (Aux<sub>A</sub>) and the Modal auxiliary (Aux<sub>M</sub>) are optional components of VP structure.

1.  $VP \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (Aux_A) (Aux_M) \\ (Aux_M Aux_M) \end{array} \right\} Verbal_1 (NP) (NP) (Adjunct)^4$ 
  - (a) *bélum bole béli dia buku*  
 Aux<sub>A</sub> Aux<sub>M</sub> Verbal<sub>1</sub> NP NP  
*not yet able to buy him a book*
  - (b) *misti mau béli dia buku*  
 Aux<sub>M</sub> Aux<sub>M</sub> Verbal<sub>1</sub> NP NP  
*must buy him a book*
2.  $VP \rightarrow (Aux_A) Verbal_2 (Adjunct)$   
*suda pande*  
*already clever*
3.  $VP \rightarrow NP (Adjunct)$   
*gua punya mak*  
*my mother*

##### 4.2.2.2 VP-Compound

The VP-Compound differs from the VP-Simple in that it has obligatorily at least two Verbal<sub>1</sub> components in its structure. A third Verbal<sub>1</sub> is permissible, but only if the middle Verbal<sub>1</sub> is either the verb *pigi* to go or *datang* to come. These two verbs may function like the directional prepositions to and from in English respectively. *Pigi* expresses the notion 'direction away from speaker'

(see 3.1.2.5). It is in this function that these two verbs may each co-occur with two other verbs in the structure of the VP-Compound.

$$VP \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (Aux_A) (Aux_M) \\ (Aux_M Aux_M) \end{array} \right\} Verbal_1 (NP) \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \{pigi\} \\ \{datang\} \end{array} \right\} Verbal_1 (NP) (Adjct)$$

Some examples:

- (a) belum bole ikut dia pigi carek ruma  
 Aux<sub>A</sub> Aux<sub>M</sub> Verbal<sub>1</sub> NP pigi Verbal<sub>1</sub> NP  
*not yet able to follow him to go to find a house*
- (b) mau ikut dia pigi Sydney  
 Aux<sub>M</sub> Verbal<sub>1</sub> NP Verbal<sub>1</sub> Adjct  
*want to follow him to Sydney*
- (c) mau pigi bérenang  
 Aux<sub>M</sub> Verbal<sub>1</sub> Verbal<sub>1</sub>  
*want to go to swim*
- (d) sélalu balek makan  
 Adjct Verbal<sub>1</sub> Verbal<sub>1</sub>

One constraint that will be obvious from the above is that should one of the Verbal<sub>1</sub> be either pigi or datang, then the pigi/datang option within the braces cannot be chosen. Thus, although co-occurring Verbal<sub>1</sub> is a characteristic of VP-Compound structure, there are no examples of such co-occurrences as pigi pigi.

#### 4.2.2.3 The VP-Complex

The VP-Complex differs from the VP-Compound in that it contains, in generative-transformational terms, an embedded sentence in its underlying structure. It is obvious that in the sentence gua pigi bréngang *I go to swim*, which contains a VP-Compound, the relationship of the two Verbal<sub>1</sub> constituents is basically one of the simple conjunction *I go and I swim*; <sup>5</sup> in the sentence gua suka bréngang *I like to swim*, which contains a VP-Complex, the relationship of the two Verbal<sub>1</sub> constituents is clearly not of the same level *\*I like and I swim*. In the VP-Complex, one of the Verbal<sub>1</sub> constituents would seem to be a higher level constituent than the other. The VP-Complex has the following structure:

$$VP \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (Aux_A) (Aux_M) \\ (Aux_M Aux_M) \end{array} \right\} Verbal_1 (NP) Verbal_1 \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (NP) (NP) \\ (NP) \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \{pigi\} \\ \{datang\} \end{array} \right\} Verbal (NP) \end{array} \right\} (Adjct)$$

The above in effect shows that the VP-Complex may have, as an embedded structure, either a VP-Simple (if the upper option within the braces is taken), or a VP-Compound (if the lower option within the braces is taken). The simplest VP-Complex would, of course, contain two Verbal<sub>1</sub> constituents (e.g. suka pigi). The following are some examples of the above structure.

- (a) belum bole panggil dia béli gua buku  
 Aux<sub>A</sub> Aux<sub>M</sub> Verbal<sub>1</sub> NP NP  
*not yet able to ask him to buy me a book*
- (b) misti bole panggil dia ikut gua pigi carek ruma  
 Aux<sub>M</sub> Aux<sub>M</sub> Verbal<sub>1</sub> NP Verbal<sub>1</sub> NP pigi Verbal<sub>1</sub> NP

### 4.3 Sentence structure: the compound sentence

#### 4.3.1 And-coordination

Sentences with 'and-coordination' in a language such as English actually cover a range of semantic relations that may be expressed by different specific co-ordinators in other languages. For example, in the sentence, she cooked the rice and she ate it, the two events expressed by the two sentences, despite the presence of the co-ordinator and, can obviously not be taking place simultaneously. The co-ordinator actually expresses a *sequential* relationship between the two sentences, and this kind of sequential relationship is denoted by either specific co-ordinators or grammatical cues in the three languages that we have been concerned with, Baba Malay, Malay and Hokkien.

|             |   |
|-------------|---|
| Baba Malay: | dia suda masak nasi, dia makan-la<br><i>she Aux cook rice she eat la</i>        |
| Malay:      | dia masak nasi lalu dimakannya<br><i>she cook rice then she eats it</i>         |
| Hokkien:    | i chū p̄ng liau chīu chīa?<br><i>she cook rice Perfective Morpheme then eat</i> |

Likewise, where a *simultaneous* relationship between two sentences is being expressed, as in the English, he was speaking and weeping, specific co-ordinators are employed to convey this semantic information.

|             |   |
|-------------|---|
| Baba Malay: | dia cakap cakap sama nangis<br><i>he speak and cry</i>    |
| Malay:      | dia bercakap sambil menangis<br><i>he speak while cry</i> |
| Hokkien:    | i na kóng na háu<br><i>he na speak na cry</i>             |

#### 4.3.2 But-coordination

The Baba Malay 'but-coordination' is *tapi* and is the same lexeme as the Malay co-ordinator. Both function much like the Hokkien *tān-sī* and conjoin only sentences and not noun phrases.

|             |  |
|-------------|--|
| Baba Malay: | dia mau kēja tapi tak bole kēja<br><i>he want work but not can work</i>        |
| Malay:      | dia mau bekerja tapi tak boleh bekerja<br><i>he want work but not can work</i> |
| Hokkien:    | i be? chò kang tān-sī bōe sai chò kang<br><i>he want work but cannot work</i>  |

#### 4.3.3 Or-coordination

Although the 'or-coordinator' *atau* is sometimes found in Baba Malay, it is not common. Instead, or-coordination is frequently effected by the juxtaposition of the elements being co-ordinated and with each element carrying its own question intonation. Alternatively, the question particle *-ka* may also be present.

- Baba Malay: lu suka cakap Melayu-ka suka cakap English?  
*you like speak Malay Question Particle like speak English*
- Malay: kamu suka bercakap bahasa Melayu atau suka bercakap  
*you like speak Malay or like speak*  
 bahasa Inggeris  
*English*
- Hokkien: li ài kóng huan-ōē á-sī ài kóng ang-mō-ōē  
*you like speak Malay or like speak English*

There are no restrictions on the level of elements being conjoined this way in Baba Malay; the elements conjoined may be words, phrases or clauses.

#### 4.4 Sentence structure: the complex sentence

The complex sentence involves not co-ordination but subordination. The conjoined sentences in a complex sentence are of 'unequal rank' in that one of them will carry the 'primary message' of the whole sentence while the other serves to qualify or modify this primary message. They are of unequal rank, then, in their semantic functions.

Grammatically, subordination is effected by the presence in the sentence of at least one subordinating conjunction or by the presence of a relative pronoun, e.g.

- (1) They were happy **ALTHOUGH** they were poor.  
 (sub. conj.)
- (2) The man **WHO** was arrested was his father.  
 (rel. pron)

In Baba Malay, subordination is similarly effected by a small set of subordinating conjunctions (see 4.1.6) as well as by the process of relativisation (see 3.1.2.1.3). The process of relativisation, however, is a more restricted and much less frequent one than in English. The restriction appears to be on the length of the subordinate sentence. Anything more than a subject noun with its attendant verb would seem to be uncommon. Thus, the subordinate sentence, whose function is to qualify or modify the main sentence, rarely permits of further qualification or modification of itself in Baba Malay. A sentence such as *tarek cia punya orang tak ada lagi the men who pulled the rickshaws are no longer around*, with a single simple subordinate sentence embedded in it, is fairly common in Baba Malay; however, one such as the English *the men who pulled the rickshaws slowly every day around the city, with its multiple qualifying adjuncts*, is rare in Baba Malay. Such a sentence is not, strictly speaking, ungrammatical, but in normal discourse, the preference is for less complex structures.

The corpus of Baba Malay as used in daily discourse which has been collected for this investigation would suggest that it is quite common for sentences to be conjoined by merely having them strung together without the use of either subordinating conjunctions or relative pronouns.

- (a) *dia-orang mati, dia punya orang tak bole campo orang*  
*they die their people cannot mix (with other) people*  
*when there is a death, they are not allowed to mix socially with*  
*other people*

- (b) *dulu, orang mati, coffin lama-lama*  
*in the past people die coffins for a long time*
- létak ruma*  
*are placed (in the) house*  
*in the past when people die, their coffins are left*  
*for a long time in the house*

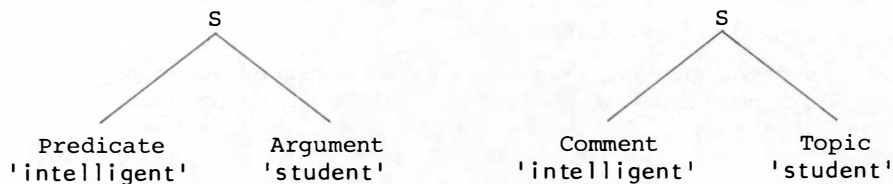
In sentences (a) and (b) above, the sense would seem to require a subordinating conjunction such as *bila when* or *kalo if* before each of the subordinate sentences, *dia-orang mati* and *orang mati*. The primary message is clearly carried by the second sentence in each of the examples above, and the first sentence in each merely provides 'background' qualifying information which specifies the conditions under which the information provided by the second sentence would hold true. Thus, even without the presence of subordinating conjunctions, it is clear that the relation between the two sentences in each example above is one of subordination rather than coordination.

#### 4.5 Sentence structure: topic-comment as the basic form of the Baba Malay sentence

It has been suggested that the notion of 'subject and predicate' by which every grammatical or well-formed sentence of any Indo-European language is defined may not accurately define the grammaticalness of some non-Indo-European languages (Li and Thompson 1976). Long acquaintance with Indo-European languages has led many linguists to assume the notion of subject and predicate to be a universal one, one that is necessarily applicable to all languages. By such a view, the majority of sentences produced by speakers of a language such as Baba Malay would appear to be ungrammatical, and therefore somehow 'inferior'. The belief that there is no order or 'grammar' in Baba Malay, that words are merely strung together unsystematically, is indeed a widespread one, and one that even many Baba Malay speakers hold.

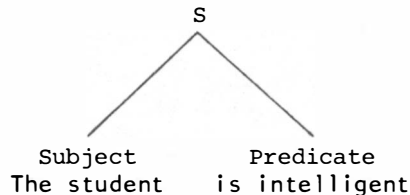
However, the grammaticalness of Baba Malay, it is suggested here, can be better defined by another notion. Li and Thompson (1976) have convincingly argued that many Asian languages are more accurately characterised by the Topic-Comment structure of their sentences, and on examining the corpus of Baba Malay sentences and after having noted the frequent impossibility of assigning them a subject-predicate structure, I have also come to the conclusion that Baba Malay sentences are basically Topic-Comment in structure.

Although the notion of Topic and Comment covers a wide range of sentence-types, at its most basic it is not dissimilar semantically to the Argument-Predicate postulate of symbolic logic. Thus, in a sentence such as the student is intelligent, the Argument (Topic) is 'the student', and what is being predicated (the Predicate/Comment), i.e. stated as being true of or pertaining to 'the student', is that he is intelligent.



According to one explication of Topic-Comment, the Topic is 'the given information' and the Comment is 'the new information'. In terms of this explication, we have the given information that 'here is the student', and the new information that 'this student is intelligent'. It therefore follows that the main part of the message is contained in the comment because it is the Comment that carries the information that would expand on the information held by the Topic.

Given what is known about Topic and Comment, it will be seen that the notion of Subject and Predicate can in fact be characterised in terms of the Topic-Comment distinction. This should come as little surprise as the terms 'Subject' and 'Predicate' themselves literally mean 'topic' and 'that which is stated of the topic'. Thus, as an utterance in its most neutral form, unmarked by intonational emphasis in speech, the Subject of a sentence may be taken to be the given information, while the Predicate of the sentence may be seen to be providing new information.



Subject-Predicate constructions, therefore, are also Topic-Comment constructions, though of course, not all Topic-Comment constructions are necessarily Subject-Predicate constructions. Put another way, it can be said that Subject-Predicate structures are a subclass of Topic-Comment structures (other subclasses of Topic-Comment structures will be discussed below). The following simple sentences may be analysed in terms of Topic-Comment.

- (a) mau turun city susa  
 -----TOPIC----- COMMENT  
*want to go city difficult*  
*going to the city is difficult*
- (b) gua pigi Kuala Lumpur belaja lagi baik  
 -----TOPIC----- COMMENT  
*I go Kuala Lumpur study better*  
*for me to go to Kuala Lumpur to study, it's better*
- (c) pake socks pun sejok  
 -----TOPIC----- COMMENT  
*wear socks even cold*  
*even wearing socks, it is cold*
- (d) tengok saja cukup  
 -----TOPIC----- COMMENT  
*to watch only enough*  
*just to watch, it is enough*

The pattern is clear enough. The Topic is a sentence (sometimes agentless) and the Comment is a predicate of some kind. It should be pointed out that under a Subject-Predicate analysis, these sentences would be considered non-normal as structures of this kind demand a nominalised form of the Subject rather than a full sentence. This is certainly the case for languages such as English and



Standard Malay (though not for Hokkien). The point to note is that although it is possible to regard the above examples as some kind of low-level or 'primitive' constructions which would have contained nominalised structures if only Baba Malay had the 'linguistic machinery' to turn them into nominalised structures, they do seem to belong in the same category as all the paratactic structures frequently produced by speakers of Baba Malay. Words, phrases and sentences are commonly juxtaposed rather than grammatically linked in the way that, for example, an English speaker is accustomed to. Even those complex sentences given in the previous section (section 4.4) can be analysed in terms of Topic and Comment.

- (e) dia-orang mati, dia punya orang tak bole campo orang  
 ---- TOPIC ---- -----COMMENT-----  
*they die, their people cannot mix socially with other people*
- (f) dulu, orang mati, coffin lama-lama létak ruma  
 ----- TOPIC ----- -----COMMENT-----  
*in the past people die, the coffins are placed for a long  
 time in the house*

The pattern consists in the juxtaposition of two full sentences. They are regarded as complex sentences because, as it has been pointed out in the previous section, the first sentence of each pair is semantically subordinate to the second sentence. It merely provides a statement on which the second sentence will expand and develop. In other words, the first sentence provides the topic on which the second sentence will comment. Thus, Topic-Comment operates even on a higher, sentential level.

Here again, one could analyse (e) and (f) as being complex sentences that 'lack' subordinating conjunctions. However, to say that these complex sentences 'lack' subordinating conjunctions is to imply that they would have been fully well-formed had ellipsis not taken place. Such a view would be quite mistaken. The point is that these sentences should not in any way be regarded as malformed. They are in fact quite typical of that paratactic characteristic that is such a common feature of Baba Malay syntax. This being so, any imputation of a more 'complete' structure would be to view Baba Malay with a perspective that is foreign to the nature of the language. The need to guard against bringing pre-conceived linguistic notions to bear unnecessarily on an unfamiliar language should certainly be an important tenet of linguistic studies. In any case, sentences (e) and (f) can be quite adequately analysed (in terms of Topic-Comment) without recourse to the notion of structural ellipsis.

The analysis in terms of Topic-Comment seems to me to accord better with the actual corpus of Baba Malay speech amassed for this investigation. For what is frequently heard in Baba Malay speech are not stretches of grammatically-connected sentences, but chunks of juxtaposed phrases or clauses that are semantically-connected. On the larger sentential level, the semantic links are of this Topic-Comment nature, whereby one sentence (or a word or a phrase) announces a theme which is developed by another sentence, all within the same intonation contour. This, of course, indicates that the clauses are not two separate sentences but in fact constitute the one sentence. Topic-Comment certainly operates in Baba Malay over many levels, as will be seen from the following paradigm constructed with the examples discussed in this and the next section (section 4.6).

## 1. Subject as Topic

- (a) ORANG mati  
*people die*  
*people die*
- (b) NIKA PUNYA BARANG, semua ada sama lagi, tak  
*wedding punya things all Emphatic same still Question*  
 morpheme marker  
*are all the wedding things still the same?*

## 2. Object as Topic

- (a) CHINESE CUSTOMS, dia pake  
*Chinese customs he observes*  
*the Chinese customs he observes*
- (b) LAIN-LAIN ADAT, semua ada ikut lagi, tak  
*other customs all Emphatic follow still Question*  
 morpheme marker  
*the other customs, are they all still being followed?*

## 3. Sentence as Topic

- (a) GUA PIGI KUALA LUMPUR BELAJA lagi baik  
*I go Kuala Lumpur study better*  
*for me to go to Kuala Lumpur to study, it is better*

## 4. Subordinate Clause as Topic

- (a) DIA ORANG MATI, die punya orang tak bole campo orang  
*they die their people Negative marker can mix people*  
*when they die, their people cannot mix (socially) with other people*
- (b) DULU ORANG MATI, coffin lama-lama letak ruma  
*in the past people die coffin a long time leave house*  
*in the past when people die, the coffins are left for a long time*  
*in the house*

It will be seen from the examples given above that the Topic-Comment structure is a linguistic device that performs many functions. One of these is to focus on certain grammatical elements such as the grammatical subject of a sentence (example 1b) or the grammatical object of a sentence (examples 2a and 2b). This function is known as 'Topicalisation' and will be discussed in the next section (section 4.6). Another function of Topic-Comment structure is to facilitate communication by simplifying the need for complicated structural 'machinery' in a sentence. For example, Baba Malay has no need for nominalisations with their attendant morphological and/or syntactic re-structuring of elements; a predicate may simply follow a full sentence (example 3), and a complex sentence may simply have a Topic-Comment structure.

Baba Malay may have acquired its basically Topic-Comment nature from Hokkien, because Hokkien too, contains structures of precisely the same kinds as those listed for Baba Malay. Li and Thompson have in fact claimed that Mandarin is predominantly Topic-Comment in nature rather than Subject-Predicate. The same claim is also made for languages such as Lahu and Lisu (Lolo-Burmese), and in their discussion of Topic-Comment, they provide examples of other subtypes of Topic-Comment structure. For example:

- (1) nèi- chang      hǔo xǐngkuì      xiāofang-dùì lài de      kuài  
*that Classifier fire fortunate fire-brigade came Adverb quick*  
particle  
*the fire, fortunately the fire-brigade came quickly* (Mandarin)
- (2) SAKANA-WA      tai      ga      oisii  
*fish Topic marker red snapper Subject marker delicious*  
*fish, red snapper is delicious* (Japanese)
- (3) NEÌKE SHU yèzi dà  
*that tree leaves big*  
*that tree, the leaves are big* (Mandarin)
- (4) hǒ̄      na-      qhō yì ve      yò  
*elephant Topic marker nose long Particle Declarative marker*  
*elephants, noses are long* (Lahu)

In example (1), Topic-Comment seems to operate on a very 'high' level. Unlike the Baba Malay examples in which the grammatical link between Topic and Comment is still implicit, the Topic here, *the fire*, stands in relation to the Comment as a kind of discourse-heading. The link between Topic and Comment is no longer implicitly grammatical; it is purely semantic. Example (2) like example (1), has a Topic which is a discourse-heading: where *fish* is concerned, red snappers are very delicious fish. In examples (3) and (4), the Topic-Comment structure seem to be a substitute for a genitive construction (*the leaves of the tree*, *the noses of the elephants are long*). The relationship between Topic and Comment is an implicitly grammatical one, much like it is in the Baba Malay examples.

All these examples, however, do indicate that an alternative to a Subject-Predicate analysis of the languages concerned needs to be looked at, for although the linguistic phenomenon exemplified above may also be found to some extent in undoubtedly Subject-Predicate languages such as English, the point has to be made that this particular phenomenon is much more widespread and more an *integral* part of linguistic behaviour in languages such as Mandarin, Hokkien, Korean and Baba Malay.

Li and Thompson have proposed that languages be regarded as being either Subject-Prominent or Topic-Prominent, i.e. either as being basically Subject-Predicate in nature or Topic-Comment in nature. Such a classification would be a matter of degree as almost all languages fall somewhere between the two categories, and it could only be said of them that they were more oriented or less oriented towards one category. Li and Thompson suggest that two major characteristics of Topic-Prominent languages are: first, passive constructions either do not exist at all, or they appear as a marginal construction rarely used in speech, or carry a special meaning (e.g. the 'adversity' passive in Japanese); second, dummy subjects do not occur at all, in contrast to Subject-Prominent languages where a subject is grammatically necessary whether or not it plays a semantic role. As defined by these two characteristics, Baba Malay would seem to qualify as a Topic-Prominent language, for not only are dummy-subjects non-existent but grammatical subjects are frequently missing, and so too is the passive construction (see the following section for a discussion of passivisation in Baba Malay).

## 4.6 Sentence structure: passivisation and topicalisation

Baba Malay, like Hokkien but unlike Malay, has no 'Passive voice'. By this it is meant that there is no morphological marking of the verb in a sentence that would signal its status as either an 'active' verb, i.e. with its semantic subject acting as the grammatical subject of the sentence, or a 'passive' verb, i.e. one with its semantic object acting as the grammatical subject of the sentence. This distinction between an 'active' verb and a 'passive' verb is quite obvious in a language such as English or Malay.

- English (1) Active: he ATE the fish  
 (2) Passive: the fish WAS EATEN by him
- Malay (3) Active: dia MAKAN ikan itu  
 (4) Passive: ikan itu DIMAKANNYA

It has been pointed out (in the previous section) that the notions of 'Subject' and 'Predicate' could be more generally described in terms of the Topic-Comment distinction. That is to say that as an utterance in its most neutral form, unmarked by intonational emphasis in speech, the Subject of a sentence may be taken as 'the given information', while the Predicate may be seen as providing 'new information'. 'The given' and 'the new' is precisely the way in which Topic and Comment have been characterised, and it can therefore be seen that in a general way, Subject-Predicate constructions are also Topic-Comment constructions (though of course, not all Topic-Comment structures are necessarily Subject-Predicate constructions).

In sentence (1) then, the Subject he is the Topic, whereas in sentence (2), because of the passivisation process, it is a different subject, the fish, that now serves as the Topic.

Passivisation, therefore, is one form of the very common process of topicalisation, but unlike the form of topicalisation that produces a sentence such as that man, I used to know him, passivisation is accompanied by morphological changes in the verb (as well as some structural changes such as, in English, the addition of the preposition by before the grammatical object).

In Baba Malay, such a topicalisation process is quite common. The semantic object is pre-posed to the front of the sentence, the semantic subject often does not appear, and the verb undergoes no change at all:

- (1) coffin lama-lama létak ruma  
*coffin for a long time leave house*  
*the coffin is left for a long time in the house*
- (2) lain-lain adat sémua ada ikut lagi, tak  
*other customs all Emphatic follow still Question*  
*morpheme marker*  
*the other customs are all still followed, aren't they?*

These sentences are semantically passive, and although they are examples of topicalisation, they differ in form from two other types of topicalisation exemplified by the sentences below, the types that produce the quite common 'Double-Subject' and 'Pre-posed Object' constructions.

- (3) ORANG CINA, DIA-ORANG kaya (Double Subject)  
*people Chinese they rich*  
*the Chinese, they are rich*

- (4) CINA PUNYA ADAT, dia pake (Pre-posed Object)  
*Chinese customs he observes*  
*the Chinese customs, he observes*

These three types of topicalisation are quite distinct although two of them might appear suspiciously similar. Sentences (1) and (4) appear similar except for the overt presence of the semantic subject *dia* in (4). However, I believe this difference to be crucial. Sentences (1) and (4) do exemplify two different types of topicalisation; it is not simply the case that (1) has an unspecified agent and that apart from this, (1) is not different from (4). In fact, the difference between them is exactly the difference reflected by their English glosses:

- (5) the Chinese customs are observed  
 (6) the Chinese customs, he observes (them)

Sentence (2) above would seem to differ from sentence (1) in that it would seem to have undergone two types of topicalisation, which I will call 'pseudo-passivisation' (in which the semantic object serves as grammatical subject without attendant morphological changes to the verb) and 'subject-doubling'. Pseudo-passivisation would have produced the following construction:

- (7) *s*emua lain-lain adat ada ikut lagi tak  
*all other customs Emphatic follow still Question*  
 morpheme marker  
*all the other customs are still followed, aren't they?*

Next, subject-doubling would have shifted part of the noun-phrase to the front of the sentence, leaving the quantifier *s*emua as a trace of the second, duplicate subject. Thus, *s*emua serves an anaphoric function, much as he in this man, he was walking down the road... serves to refer to its duplicate subject this man (double subjects of course must both have the same semantic referent):

- (8) lain-lain adat *s*emua ada ikut lagi tak  
*other customs all Emphatic follow still Question*  
 morpheme marker  
*the other customs, all are still followed, aren't they?*

Topicalisation, a process whereby information is arranged such that the part of the information that is given, or the part that is already familiar, is placed at the front of the sentence (and thereby highlighting it as well), is a common mode of language behaviour. In languages that do have a so-called 'passive voice', passivisation is a distinct linguistic process which is at least morphologically and/or grammatically identifiable in the verb (and this is the defining condition for the process), as well as grammatically identifiable elsewhere in the structure of the sentence (this latter is a frequent but not necessary condition for the definition of the process).

Passivisation, then, in a language such as English for example, is a specific formalised mode of topicalisation. Baba Malay has no 'passive voice' as so-defined (there is perhaps one restricted set of structures that could be exceptions, and this is discussed below), but the general process of topicalisation is quite common.

Besides the pseudo-passives of which sentences (1) and (2) above serve as examples, there is a restricted set of sentence structures in Baba Malay which

could satisfy the conditions that define the Passive Voice. These are the constructions which contain the free morpheme *kasi* in one of its grammatical functions (see 2.1.2.2.4):

- (9) *dia kasi gua pukol*  
*he kasi I hit*  
*he was hit by me*

There are a few things to note about sentence (9). First of all, as in all passive constructions, the semantic object *dia* is in grammatical subject position. Secondly, the sentence differs from (10) below which is an example of object-preposing topicalisation.

- (10) *dia gua pukol*  
*he I hit*  
*him, I hit*

Sentence (9) therefore represents a type of structure distinct from the examples of topicalisation we have encountered thus far. The free morpheme *kasi* serves to mark the verb as 'passive', and when a verb is marked 'passive', then it signals that the grammatical subject of the sentence is actually the semantic object, much as the form BE eaten signals that its grammatical subject is no longer to be interpreted as the agent. Viewed in this way, then, it can be seen that *kasi*, though not a morphological marking on the verb, is a grammatical marking, and as such, the sentence satisfies the definition for a genuine 'Passive'.

However, it has to be noted that *kasi* may serve this function in only a very restricted set of cases. As does its Hokkien equivalent *hō* from whose function it probably derives, *kasi* may only serve as a passive marker with verbs that denote some kind of sense-contact such as touching (in its myriad forms, aggressive or otherwise), seeing, smelling and hearing, and with certain verbs that denote emotions, such as love and hate.

It can be seen, therefore, that the semantic function of the passive voice is served in the main by topicalisation in Baba Malay. In fact, it may even be argued that topicalisation is the general method of 'focussing' and that passive constructions, which exist in many languages, are a specifically formalised mode of topicalisation.

#### 4.7 Variability in Baba Malay syntax

It should not be assumed from the foregoing discussion of the salient and defining syntactic characteristics of Baba Malay that Baba Malay is a syntactically invariant language, that every single identified Baba Malay feature is to be found in every single speaker of the language. Baba Malay, after all, is a natural language, and variability is very much a characteristic of natural languages.

Variability in Baba Malay syntax may be examined by taking a look at the occurrence of four very common and identifiable Baba Malay features.

These are:

- (1) The pre-nominal position of the determiner: *itu* + Noun.
- (2) The pre-nominal position of the adjective: Adjective + *punya* + Noun.
- (3) The marking of possession with *punya*: Noun + *punya* + Noun.
- (4) The 1st person singular pronoun: *gua*.

These four features were selected not by any particular conscious process; rather, their variability attracted my attention in the course of the investigation, thereby making them natural candidates for closer scrutiny.

The intention was to find out which of the four features was the most variable and which the least variable among Baba Malay speakers as a whole. In order to make proper comparisons, those informants who could be used in this part of the investigation had to be those in whom *all* four features could be found in their individual recorded samples of speech. Following this principle, nine informants were used.

| Profile of participating informants |     |     |                       |
|-------------------------------------|-----|-----|-----------------------|
| Informant                           | Age | Sex | Other languages known |
| A                                   | 56  | F   | -                     |
| B                                   | 23  | F   | English, Malay        |
| C                                   | 60  | M   | English               |
| D                                   | 71  | F   | -                     |
| E                                   | 53  | F   | English               |
| F                                   | 64  | M   | English, Malay        |
| G                                   | 26  | F   | English, Malay        |
| H                                   | 18  | F   | English, Malay        |
| I                                   | 24  | M   | English, Malay        |

| Percentage of times the following Baba Malay features occur in each informant in ½ hour stretch of speech |                         |                        |                        |                         |
|---|-------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
|   | itu+Noun                | Adj+punya+Noun         | Noun+punya+Noun        | gua                     |
| A   | $\frac{1}{1} = 100\%$   | $\frac{2}{2} = 100\%$  | $\frac{2}{3} = 66\%$   | $\frac{13}{13} = 100\%$ |
| B   | $\frac{2}{2} = 100\%$   | $\frac{1}{1} = 100\%$  | $\frac{2}{2} = 100\%$  | $\frac{0}{2} = 0\%$     |
| C   | $\frac{19}{19} = 100\%$ | $\frac{13}{19} = 68\%$ | $\frac{41}{45} = 91\%$ | $\frac{48}{61} = 78\%$  |
| D   | $\frac{3}{3} = 100\%$   | $\frac{1}{1} = 100\%$  | $\frac{9}{13} = 69\%$  | $\frac{1}{16} = 6\%$    |
| E   | $\frac{1}{1} = 100\%$   | $\frac{0}{1} = 0\%$    | $\frac{0}{1} = 0\%$    | $\frac{9}{13} = 69\%$   |
| F   | $\frac{10}{10} = 100\%$ | $\frac{0}{5} = 0\%$    | $\frac{11}{14} = 78\%$ | $\frac{13}{44} = 29\%$  |
| G   | $\frac{1}{1} = 100\%$   | $\frac{3}{4} = 75\%$   | $\frac{2}{5} = 40\%$   | $\frac{1}{1} = 100\%$   |
| H   | $\frac{3}{9} = 33\%$    | $\frac{4}{4} = 100\%$  | $\frac{17}{22} = 77\%$ | $\frac{26}{26} = 100\%$ |
| I   | $\frac{1}{8} = 12\%$    | $\frac{1}{2} = 50\%$   | $\frac{0}{2} = 0\%$    | $\frac{7}{16} = 43\%$   |
| Average:  | <u>82.7%</u>            | <u>65.8%</u>           | <u>57.8%</u>           | <u>58.3%</u>            |

In each of the four columns, the Baba Malay feature is contrasted with its corresponding non-Baba Malay form. Thus, for example, for informant H, there were nine occasions in a half-hour stretch of speech in which the determiner *itu* co-occurred with a noun, but only on three of these nine occasions did the occurrence of determiner and noun take its accepted Baba Malay pattern, viz., *itu* + noun (the determiner preceding the noun). The remaining six occurrences took the Malay pattern, which is noun + *itu*. Thus, for informant H, this particular Baba Malay feature occurred 33% of the time in a particular half-hour.

The 'average' figure at the bottom of each column should be interpreted thus: out of nine informants, the Baba Malay feature occurs \_% of the time on the average. On the basis of this figure, it would appear that the least variable (most stable) of the four selected features is the positioning of the determiner *itu* (occurring 82.7% of the time on the average among the nine informants) and the most variable (least stable) is the use of *punya* as a possessive marker and the form of the 1st person pronoun *gua* (occurring 57.8% and 58.3% of the time on average respectively).

The table is, of course, only a general indication of the relative variability of the four features as the number of informants used was small and the occurrences of the features in individual informants in a half-hour stretch of speech were not as numerous as one might have hoped for or even expected. The determiner *itu* for example, occurred only once in the speech sample of informants A, E and G.

What the table does clearly show, however, is that Baba Malay speakers do not behave linguistically as ideal speakers of their language; they do not use *exclusively* those linguistic forms which have been seen as being indigenously theirs. Quite often, Baba Malay speakers will use Malay linguistic forms to conform with their perceptions of 'correctness' or 'formality' (this being observable in the way Malay forms gradually and unconsciously give way to Baba Malay forms as the informants relax in the course of the conversation), but quite often too, there will be no predictable or explicable reason for linguistic variability.

It may seem strange that one needs to be reminded of the inherent variability in language at all; after all, much of the recent attention of linguists has been directed to just this issue. Inherent variability has become a linguistic axiom, and, paradoxically, needs no longer stand in the way of the kind of general, 'ideal-speaker' description of Baba Malay that has been attempted in this investigation. Thus, even while the salient syntactic features of Baba Malay are being described, cognisance is being taken of the fact that 'not all Baba Malay speakers talk that way *all* the time'.

## 5. BABA MALAY AND OTHER REDUCED MALAY-BASED VARIETIES IN MALACCA

An examination of Baba Malay on its own, as has been done thus far, provides only a partial picture of the significance of the language, because Baba Malay, like all creoles, emerged against a background of historical inter-cultural links. Consequently, its present standing has to be viewed in the context of other reduced Malay-based linguistic varieties that are such a noticeable feature of the language situation in Malacca. It is only by observing the inter-relationship between these varieties that Baba Malay can be seen in its proper perspective. The importance of doing precisely this has already been



dealt with in the brief discussion of the relationship between Baba Malay and its related pidgin Bazaar Malay (see 2.3). However, having familiarised ourselves with the main grammatical features of Baba Malay, we can now further clarify the actual linguistic significance of Baba Malay by taking a look at the linguistic continuum simply labelled 'Bazaar Malay' as well as at another creole called 'Chitty-Malay' and examine the relationship of both with Baba Malay.

### 5.1 Chitty-Malay

The fact that the Chinese exerted a great linguistic influence on the pre-pidgin continuum can be seen not only in certain linguistic features of Bazaar Malay, but also in the features of another Malay-based creole found in Malacca called 'Chitty-Malay'.<sup>6</sup>

Chitty-Malay is the native-tongue of the Chitty-Indian community of Malacca, a community of Dravidian (Tamil-speaking originally) Indians who are descended from the earliest Indian settlers in Malacca. The history of the Chitty-Indians in Malacca seems to parallel that of the Baba Chinese. It would seem that the community was an established (albeit small) one by the 17th Century,<sup>7</sup> so that the variety of Malay spoken by the Chitty-Indians would certainly not be any older than Baba Malay.

Chitty-Malay exhibits most of the syntactic features that have been identified as being indigenous to Baba Malay. Among these are:<sup>8</sup>

- (1) The use of *punya* as a possessive marker e.g.  
aku punya rumah *my house*
- (2) The use of *punya* as a marker of temporal and locative nominal modifiers e.g.  
sini punya orang *the people of this place*  
dulu punya orang *the people of the past*
- (3) The use of *kasi* in its benefactive function e.g.  
dia belikan satu kain meja kasi aku *he bought a shirt for me*
- (4) The use of *kasi* in its causative-benefactive function e.g.  
dia-orang kasi aku pergi sekolah *they let me go to school*
- (5) The use of *kasi* in its causative function e.g.  
dia sorak-sorak kasi aku takut *his screams made me frightened*
- (6) The use of *kena* in its modal function of expressing 'non-volition' e.g.  
kita kena jalan sana *we had to walk there*
- (7) The pre-nominal position of the determiner  
itu orang *the man*

Phonologically, Chitty-Malay is distinguishable from Baba Malay, but the basic syntax and lexicon are similar (the latter of course taken from Malay). The similarity in syntax can probably be attributed to the fact that the general simplification and reduction processes applying to Malay work in general and predictable ways, such that the structures that actually result from these two processes are structures that one would expect to result if Malay had to undergo simplification and reduction. However, the significant observation here is that those syntactic features of Baba Malay which are demonstrably a consequence of its Chinese origin are also found in Chitty-Malay to some degree.

Unlike lexical items, such semantic-syntactic features are not likely to be late incorporations into the language. The linguistic evidence, therefore, would suggest that Chitty-Malay must have derived from a heavily Chinese-influenced pre-pidgin continuum that existed in Malacca in the 17th Century.

## 5.2 Bazaar Malay

There is in reality no single autonomous variety called 'Bazaar Malay'. It exists only by virtue of having certain defining characteristics and these are that it is recognisably a linguistically reduced form of Malay with simplified syntax and no or little morphological inflection, and that it is not the native-tongue of any group in the speech community. It is this latter characteristic that chiefly distinguishes it from both Baba Malay and Chitty-Malay. The lack of a community of speakers using Bazaar Malay as a first language means that there is no guarantee that it will exhibit a fairly high degree of consistency or stability of form each time it is encountered. Any foreigner attempting to communicate by stringing together isolated Malay words to a minimally-acceptable sentential pattern may be said to have produced a Bazaar Malay sentence. The continuum of competence ranges from such a low-level 'Me Tarzan, you Jane' type to a type that is as formally consistent and as functionally operative over the widest necessary domain as Baba Malay and Chitty-Malay, the two varieties that do claim native speakers. Thus, at one end of the continuum, there is the form of Bazaar Malay that resembles Baba Malay and Chitty-Malay syntactically even if phonologically it may be coloured by the specific speaker's own first language, and even if lexically there may be words in both Baba Malay and Chitty-Malay that are unfamiliar to him.

However, it is again significant that this high-level type of Bazaar Malay exhibits many of those demonstrably indigenous Baba Malay structural features. It is possible to examine the Bazaar Malay as spoken by an informant who is a member of another culturally interesting ethnic group in Malacca, the Portuguese-Eurasians, to see evidence of this.

### 5.2.1 Bazaar Malay of a Portuguese-Eurasian speaker (male, in his fifties)<sup>9</sup>

- (A) Itu dulu kita sewa ... 1928, itu rumah sudah bikin. Itu Padre Francois, tahu, Padre Francois punya rumah ini-la. Tanah hutan semua. Dia sudah beli satu kebun sini. Belakang sudah bikin rumah.  
*That, we once rented... in 1928 that house was built. That Padre Francois, you know, this was Padre Francois's house. It was all jungle. He bought a plot here. Then he built the house.*
- (B) Dua ringgit setengah itu jam tiga rumah satu jamban. Abi belakang, kita complain, complain, complain, government bikin kasi naik dua-puluh sen lagi. Jadi sudah bikin satu rumah satu jamban, dua ringgit tujuh-puluh lima. Abi government tak boleh tahan lagi, pasal rumah bocor-bocor, pecah sana pecah sini ... kasi free sekali ini rumah. Kita bayar ini tanah, satu tahun satu ringgit; satu tahun satu ringgit itu tanah punya. Juga pintu, juga jamban, kita kena bayar, itu macam.  
*Two dollars fifty then for three houses to one toilet. So in the end we complained and complained, and the government raised it another twenty cents. So they made it one house to one toilet, two dollars and seventy-five cents. Then the government couldn't stand it any longer because the house was run-down, broken here and there ... this house was then given*

*free of charge. We paid for the land, a dollar a year, that was the cost of the land. Even the door, even the toilet, we had to pay for; that was the situation.*

This informant's Bazaar Malay may be taken as a general documentation of the kind of high-level Bazaar Malay as spoken by the Portuguese Eurasians in Malacca. Syntactically, there is little discernible difference between his Bazaar Malay and Baba Malay, but what is significant is the presence of the following Baba Malay features:

- (1) Gua/Lu: The presence of these pronoun forms in the Bazaar Malay spoken by a Portuguese-Eurasian (not in the transcripts of the selected extracts) is perhaps the strongest reflection of the influence exerted by Hokkien on the pidgin Bazaar Malay.
- (2) Punya: Punya appears as a possessive marker, one of the main grammatical functions of the word in Baba Malay. It also appears as a marker of a locative modifier: *kedai punya orang the people of the shop*. This, too, is a grammatical function that the word has in Baba Malay.
- (3) Kasi: Kasi appears in its causative function: *kasi naik cause to rise, to raise*.
- (4) Kena: Kena appears as a modal auxiliary expressing 'non-volition': *kena bayar (we) had to pay*.
- (5) Ini/itu: The determiner *ini* and *itu* precede the nominal as they do in Baba Malay.

These are the features that have been identified as being typical of Baba Malay and the above were all found in a half-hour stretch of speech sample. It is quite likely that other grammatical functions of such items as *punya* and *kasi* discussed in Section 4 would also be found in this particular idiolect of Bazaar Malay as well.

### 5.2.2 Bazaar Malay of a Hokkien-speaker (male, in his forties)

- (A) *Ini ikan, ah, macam bawang, ah, tak tetap itu harga, tahu? Kadang-kadang kalau ada, satu ringgit satu kati. Kadang-kadang tak ada, lima-belas ringgit. Dia kalau beli lima belas ringgit satu kati, se-ekor, dia mesti mau untung tiga ringgit...*  
*This fish, ah, like onions, ah, the price is not fixed, you know. Sometimes if it's available it's a dollar a kati. Sometimes if it's not available, it's fifteen dollars. If he buys at fifteen dollars a kati, for each fish he (i.e. the seller) must want to make a profit of three dollars.*
- (B) *Ah, rumah lu punya, anak lu punya, abi lu tak mau control dia, lu susah-la. Nanti lu mati...*  
*Ah, the house is yours, the child is yours and you don't want to control her, you are therefore in difficulties. When you're dead...*

The most noticeable thing about the Bazaar Malay of this Hokkien-speaking informant on listening to him is that it stands out as being phonologically different from Baba Malay or any of the Malay-based varieties so far discussed. While the others have basically Malay phonology, the Bazaar Malay as spoken by this informant shows some obvious Hokkien phonological interference. [n] and [r] in word-initial position become [l], and [d] becomes [l] in all positions.

Thus, *nanti* is [lantɪ], *ringgit* is [lɪŋɡɪt], *dia* is [lɪa], and *kadang-kadang* is [kalaŋ kalaŋ]. These differences immediately stamp the speaker as being a Chinese who has clearly not had much educational contact with English or Malay. The Malaysian Chinese who are English-educated encounter no difficulties with [n], [r] and [d] in the above-specified positions when Bazaar Malay is spoken.

The half-hour sample of speech reveals the predictable presence of *punya* in its function as possessive marker, the pronoun forms *gua* and *lu*, the pre-nominal position of the determiners *ini* and *itu*, and the particle *-la*.

Having viewed some of the other reduced Malay-based varieties that are encountered in Malacca, we are in a better position to see the ways in which Baba Malay is similar to these varieties as well as the ways in which it is different from them. The similarities suggest that historically, the Chinese played quite a big part in the linguistic development of these varieties, perhaps a bigger part than has hitherto been recognised. Specific grammatical parallels between these varieties and Hokkien, and the quite obvious examples of semantic calques are too numerous and consistent to be mere coincidences. Shellabear's contention that it was the Chinese who created Bazaar Malay (see Section 2.3), which on first acquaintance seemed so sweeping a belief, would seem to be the truth.

The similarities between Baba Malay and the other reduced Malay-based varieties may also reflect more general linguistic processes that deal with the ways in which a specific language such as Malay is 'simplified' by learners who have either no inclination or no opportunity to learn it perfectly. The fact is that it would appear that the grammatical structures of these reduced Malay-based varieties are remarkably similar to one another. Coincidence is clearly too facile an explanation. On a close examination of the way the basic sentence is structured, one may quite easily be convinced of the 'minimal' nature of its pattern; it would simply be quite difficult to reduce the pattern to any other simpler form. This is not a claim that the basic sentence structure of these varieties reflects a universal, 'psychological' minimal structure, which would clearly be too sweeping a claim. What is suggested here, however, is that for a particular language (in this case, Malay), the processes of reduction may be quite predictable.

## 6. SOME CONCLUDING REMARKS

The stated purpose of this investigation was first, to examine where a 'mixed language' or a 'reduced language' such as Baba Malay stands in relation to the linguistic processes of pidginisation and creolisation, and secondly, to provide a sketch of the linguistic make-up of Baba Malay.

With regard to the first aim, the question whether there ever was a full-fledged, linguistically stable pidgin in Malacca out of which Baba Malay developed cannot be answered with certainty. What is certain is that there must have at least been a pre-pidgin continuum in Malacca in the 17th and 18th Centuries, a continuum of 'reduced Malay'. A creole, then, would seem not to need a full-fledged pidgin as a prior stage in its development. Baba Malay could have emerged very quickly if we accept the reasonable assumption, from what we can gather of the particular lifestyle and attitudes of the Chinese in 17th and 18th Century Malacca, that children of mixed Chinese-Malay parents would have spoken this 'reduced Malay' as a first language. What is also certain is that

the variety of reduced Malay spoken by the Chinese community must have exerted a strong influence on the 'reduced Malay continuum' during its development, for today we can see the distinctly Chinese linguistic features in the pidgin Malay spoken by other ethnic groups in the country. There probably were no neat and clearly-defined stages in the development of both Baba Malay and Bazaar Malay. It is of course, possible that present-day Bazaar Malay could have been a result of a process of re-pidginisation after Baba Malay had achieved stability, but given what we know of 'language behaviour', such *clearly-defined* developmental stages and links have more to do with theoretical models than with reality. It seems more realistic to assume that there was a 'reduced Malay' continuum and out of this emerged the stabilised variety called 'Baba Malay'. The 'reduced Malay continuum' may be evident even today in the loosely-labelled 'Bazaar Malay'. The creole Baba Malay, then, developed side by side with the 'pidgin' Bazaar Malay. In this case, the creole stands in a 'fraternal' relationship with the pidgin rather than a 'filial' one. Baba Malay's genealogy, therefore, would seem to be dissimilar to that of many other creoles.

The second purpose of this investigation was to provide a sketch of the linguistic make-up of Baba Malay. The structural consistency of Baba Malay should be clear from the foregoing pages, and its precise linguistic relationship with its substrate language, Hokkien, has been explicated. Even if this investigation accomplishes nothing else, it will have provided, I believe for the first time, a record of Baba Malay for the linguist.

#### APPENDIX 1: SAMPLES OF BABA MALAY SPEECH

##### 1. Male, 61 years old, educated in English.

Kita sini semua cakap bahasa kebangsaan dalam ruma, tapi itu bahasa kebangsaan bukan macam pigi sékola punya, ini ruma punya. Jadi sini punya orang Melayu bilang itu bahasa pasa. Ini macam punya cakap bukan kata Mèlaka bole érti, Singapore bole érti jugak. Banyak senang...

Saya punya mak, bila mau kawin saya punya bapak, saya punya bapak sébela pigi mintak saya punya kong mau kawin. Saya punya kong semua mau tahu, "Lu semua pake kain, lu punya laki siapa?" Jadi gua punya gua-kong mau tanya gua punya lai-kong. Jadi ini orang pigi mintak, mau kasi tahu-la. "Lu-orang kalau takut, lu pigi Mèlaka tam-tia..."

*We all speak the national language at home here, but this national language is not the school variety, it is the home variety. So the Malays here say it is the language of the marketplace. This type of speech is not one that (only) Malacca understands, it is understood in Singapore too. It's very easy...*

*My mother, when she wanted to marry my father, my father's side (of the family) went to ask my grandfather in order for her to be married. My grandfather wanted to know everything, "Do you all 'wear cloth' (i.e. of Baba stock), who is your boy?" So my maternal grandfather wanted to ask my paternal grandfather. So as this person went to ask all this, you want to tell him. "If you are afraid, go to Malacca and investigate..."*

## Some observations

The sample here reveals many of the characteristic Baba Malay features discussed in this investigation. Note in particular the use of punya in genitive-type constructions:

pigi s<sup>1</sup>ékola punya (bahasa)  
*the language of the schools*

sini punya orang Melayu  
*the Malays of this place*

saya punya mak  
*my mother*

The pronouns saya and gua appear to be freely variable in this extract, although in the course of the interview the tendency was towards gua as the informant became more relaxed (at the beginning of the interview he adhered resolutely to saya). Variation in pronoun usage among all my informants is restricted to the 1st person singular form only; lu, for example, never alternates with the Malay awak or engkau.

Hokkien loan words are clearly evident, as is the use of banyak (a word semantically equivalent to the English many) as an adjectival intensifier.

## 2. Female, 36 years old, educated in English

Bélang ada orang kata orang mau kasi anak. Dia kata anak itu dua tahun, tapi pérempuan. Kasehan tak orang mau. Abi dia kata tak apa-la, kalau dia tahun macam bése tak orang mau, "gua pigi amek". Dia pigi tengok, bukan dua tahun, dua minggu saja. Abi mak gua dukong kasehan budak itu dua minggu. Ingat tak mau, dua minggu susa jaga. Bila mau tarok itu baby, baby nangis. Kenapa ini? Dia dukong, dia diam-diam. Suda-la, tak apa-la, dia kata, amek-amek-la. Mak dia kata, "Lu kasi-la gua énam tin susu, lu kasi gua ang-pau." Mak gua kasi ang-pau lima-pulo ringgit. Abi kaki babi sé-pasang, susu énam tin, itu dia mintak. Itu-la adek kécik sékali. Sékarang umo dia dua-pulo-lima, suda kawin, suda tahun kawin...

Mak saya sunggo dia amek anak, tapi dia sayang tiga anak macam anak dia séndiri, tak péna pukol, tak péna kotok.

*Finally someone said that there was someone who wanted to give away a baby. He said that the baby was two years old, but it was a girl. It was a pity that no one wanted it. So she (i.e. informant's mother) said that it didn't matter, if the baby was so old and no one wanted it, "I will go and take her". She went to see it, and it wasn't two years old, it was two weeks old. Then my mother picked up the poor two-week-old child. She thought she didn't want it, a two-week-old child being hard to look after. When she put the baby down, the baby cried. Why is this? When she was carrying it, it was quiet. "All right, never mind", she said, "I will take it". The baby's mother said, "You give me six tins of milk and you give me an ang-pow". My mother gave her a fifty-dollar ang-pow. Then, she gave a pair of pig's legs and six tins of milk, this being what she asked for. And that was my youngest sister. She is now twenty-five years old and she is now married, married for a year now...*

*Although my mother adopted children, she loved the three children as if they were her own, never hitting them and never ill-treating them.*

## Some observations

On the evidence of this extract, this informant seems to favour the more Malay form of the possessive construction:

|                  |                   |                |                  |
|------------------|-------------------|----------------|------------------|
| mak gua          | mak dia           | umo dia        | mak saya         |
| <i>my mother</i> | <i>her mother</i> | <i>her age</i> | <i>my mother</i> |

There is inherent saya/gua variation, but the tendency is towards gua as the interview progresses. As was the case with informant A, informant B began the interview with saya, which gave way to a mixture of saya and gua as she became less conscious of the tape-recorder.

Another noticeable feature is the preference for post-nominal positioning of *ini* and *itu*, which is less characteristic of Baba Malay in general. There is, however, an example in the extract of pre-nominal *itu* (*itu baby*). (The choice in this instance could have been governed by her choice of the English word *baby*; the pre-nominal determiner would conform with English patterning.)

|                 |                  |
|-----------------|------------------|
| anak itu        | budak itu        |
| <i>the baby</i> | <i>the child</i> |

## 3. Female, 18 years old, educated in English, studied Malay at school

Kémaren gua sama gua punya cousin pigi Singapore. Abi, kita mau pigi Johore-la, mau tinggal sama cousin punya ruma. Abi gua baru beli satu swimsuit, tahu, tapi gua takut kena tax. Gua pake swimsuit, gua pake jeans sama T-shirt. Abi bila sampe custom, takut-takut, hati berdebat-berdebu...

Gua ingatkan dia tanya, gua cakap baru balek swimming. Baik tak nampak. Abi sampe dekat Johore, hujan, hujan. Cousin pun tak datang. Pigi telephone dia. Telephone dia kena tunggu berjam-jam, pasa bila cousin gua telephone, ah, cakap dia lain tempat. Kita tunggu, dia carek lain tempat. Kita tunggu, tunggu, tunggu. Baik dia pusing satu round, berjumpa kita. Kalau tidak, kena balek Singapore. Macam orang gila, tunggu.

*Sometime ago, I and my cousin went to Singapore. We wanted to go to Johore, to stay in my cousin's house. I had just bought a swimsuit, you know, but I was afraid it would be taxed. I wore the swimsuit, I wore jeans and a T-shirt. So when I reached the Customs, I was afraid, my heart was beating fast...*

*I thought if he asked, I would say that I had just been swimming. It was good he didn't notice it. So we got to Johore and it was raining. My cousin hadn't arrived and I went to telephone him. After telephoning him, we had to wait hours because when I rang him they said he was elsewhere. While we waited, he was looking somewhere else for us. We waited, waited and waited. It was good he made a round and saw us. Otherwise, we would have had to go back to Singapore. Like crazy people, we waited.*

## Some observations

Informant 3, although educated in English, studied Malay at school and this is probably most clearly revealed by her use of words with Malay affixation, e.g. berdebat-berdebu, berjam-jam, berjumpa. English words are liberally used, but apart from all this, her speech is still recognisably Baba Malay.

## APPENDIX 2: LEXICON OF HOKKIEN LOAN WORDS IN BABA MALAY FOUND IN CORPUS

| Baba Malay | Hokkien     | English                         |
|------------|-------------|---------------------------------|
| cap-cai    | chap-chhài  | <i>mixed vegetables</i>         |
| popia      | pó-p'íá     | <i>spring-roll</i>              |
| tau-ge     | tāu-gê      | <i>bean-shoots</i>              |
| kiam-cai   | kiâm-chhài  | <i>salted vegetables</i>        |
| tau-yu     | tāu-iû      | <i>soya sauce</i>               |
| lo-teng    | lâu-téng    | <i>upstairs</i>                 |
| tia        | thĩa        | <i>living room</i>              |
| sin-kek    | sin-khe?    | <i>new immigrant from China</i> |
| ca-bō-gan  | cha-b'ō-gan | <i>maidservant</i>              |
| lang-kek   | lâng-khe?   | <i>guest</i>                    |
| to-cang    | thâu-chang  | <i>queue</i>                    |
| cia        | chhia       | <i>vehicle</i>                  |
| te-ko      | tê-kó       | <i>kettle</i>                   |
| teng       | teng        | <i>lamp</i>                     |
| tok        | to?         | <i>altar table</i>              |
| bio        | b̄o         | <i>temple</i>                   |
| ting-kong  | thĩ-kōng    | <i>Heavenly Father</i>          |
| cio-tau    | chio?-thâu  | <i>stone</i>                    |
| hau-lam    | hau-lam     | <i>mourner</i>                  |
| minang     | mui-lâng    | <i>matchmaker</i>               |
| kia-sai    | k'íá-sài    | <i>son-in-law</i>               |
| kuan-si    | k'üai-sì    | <i>accustomed</i>               |
| yau-kin    | iàu-kín     | <i>important</i>                |
| cai-ki     | chai-khì    | <i>luck</i>                     |
| kek-sim    | kek-sim     | <i>sad</i>                      |
| cin-cai    | chhin-chhai | <i>easy-going</i>               |
| ho-mia     | ho-m̄ia     | <i>a fortunate life</i>         |
| pai-mia    | pai-m̄ia    | <i>an unfortunate life</i>      |
| u-hau      | u-hàu       | <i>filial</i>                   |
| kau-ce     | kau-che     | <i>fussy</i>                    |
| cia        | chĩa        | <i>real</i>                     |
| tai        | tāi         | <i>generation</i>               |
| se         | s'ì         | <i>surname</i>                  |
| cut-si     | chhut-sì    | <i>birth</i>                    |



|          |            |                                      |
|----------|------------|--------------------------------------|
| kai-siau | kaì-siáu   | <i>recommend</i>                     |
| tam-tia  | tham-thí'a | <i>investigate</i>                   |
| tim      | tīm        | <i>to steam</i>                      |
| cat      | chhat      | <i>paint</i>                         |
| ngkong   | án-kong    | <i>grandfather</i>                   |
| nio      | níu        | <i>grandmother, mother-in-law</i>    |
| sun      | sun        | <i>grandchild</i>                    |
| taci     | tūa-chí    | <i>elder sister</i>                  |
| ngko     | á-ko       | <i>elder brother</i>                 |
| ngso     | á-só       | <i>elder brother's wife</i>          |
| ngtia    | á-tia      | <i>father</i>                        |
| kɔ       | kô         | <i>paternal aunt</i>                 |
| kɔ-tio   | kô-tíu     | <i>paternal aunt's husband</i>       |
| yi       | î          | <i>maternal aunt</i>                 |
| yi-tio   | î-tíu      | <i>maternal aunt's husband</i>       |
| m-pek    | á-pe?      | <i>elder paternal uncle</i>          |
| cek      | che?       | <i>younger paternal uncle</i>        |
| mak-m    | á-m        | <i>elder paternal uncle's wife</i>   |
| ngcim    | á-chím     | <i>younger paternal uncle's wife</i> |
| ngku     | á-kū       | <i>maternal uncle</i>                |
| ngkim    | á-kim      | <i>maternal uncle's wife</i>         |
| ta-kua   | ta-kūa     | <i>father-in-law</i>                 |
| ko-po    | kô-po      | <i>great paternal aunt</i>           |

The loan words in the above list are, of course, not exhaustive, nor is each word equally familiar to every Baba Malay speaker. Some of the words have Malay equivalents and they may be used in preference to the Baba Malay forms by some Baba Malay speakers, e.g. *béranak* may often replace the more archaic *cut-si*, and *cucu* frequently replaces *sun*. However, although not exhaustive, the list nevertheless gives an idea of the type of Hokkien loan word found in Baba Malay. Hokkien words have been borrowed by Baba Malay mainly to designate objects, concepts and relationships that are closely associated with the Chinese way of life.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>From Pires (1944) as quoted by K.T. Joseph, "Why was Malacca chosen as the site for a kingdom and how it became an emporium soon" in *Illustrated historical guide to Malacca* (1973:37-39).

- <sup>2</sup>The Chinese have also left their mark on Jakarta Malay, a variety of Malay spoken in Jakarta. This can be traced in, for example, the Jakarta Malay pronouns *gua* and *lu* and in the use of the word *punya* as a possessive marker, both of which items are a feature of Baba Malay.
- <sup>3</sup>The only Active Verbal which seems to behave differently is *tahu to know*. It will not occur with Aspectual auxiliary *lagi*, nor will it occur in such a structure as *tahu punya orang*, and in these respects it stands apart from all the other verbals. Linguists have long noted the peculiarities of a small set of semantically 'stative' verbs of which *know* is a member, but except for *tahu*, these so-called semantically stative verbs behave normally in Baba Malay (in contrast to English in which, for example, stative verbs do not inflect in the same way as other verbs).
- <sup>4</sup>Adjuncts vary in position depending on their type (see 4.1.4).
- <sup>5</sup>Of course, *I go to swim* has a sense of purpose about it as well. It has the added sense of *I go in order to swim*.
- <sup>6</sup>The origin of the term 'Chitty' is in some doubt, but my Chitty-Indian informant, Mr B.S. Naiker suggests that it means 'trader'.
- <sup>7</sup>See Naiker (n.d.)
- <sup>8</sup>The examples have been verified by Mr B.S. Naiker.
- <sup>9</sup>The transcription in this and the next section has been rendered in standard Malay orthography.

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# SUBJECT-PREDICATE, FOCUS-PRESUPPOSITION, AND TOPIC-COMMENT IN BAHASA INDONESIA AND JAVANESE

Marmo Soemarmo

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Syntactical analysis of most Malayo-Polynesian languages has been the most neglected aspect of Malayo-Polynesian studies. Malayo-Polynesian linguists have generally been interested in either describing the morphological processes, i.e. derivations through affixations, or comparing the languages in terms of these processes.

The present work is a beginning of a systematic syntactical study of Bahasa Indonesia and Javanese. Since Bahasa Indonesia is a newly developed national language which is the second language for most Indonesians (second language in a sense that most Indonesians speak their regional languages like Javanese first and do not learn Bahasa Indonesia until they go to school), it may be necessary at this stage of the development of Bahasa Indonesia to state that my first language is Javanese, and thus the Bahasa Indonesia which I am using to support my claims is probably a Javanese dialect of Bahasa Indonesia. However, it should also be noted that claims which are made here are universal claims, in a sense that attempts to find support from other related languages like Tagalog, as well as unrelated languages like English, are made.

It should go without saying that the exact formulations of these claims are highly tentative, and they should be considered as merely strong indications about certain behaviour of certain parts of the language. To prove their correctness and generality, one must look into more data other than the small portion presented here, from Bahasa Indonesia and Javanese, as well as from other languages.

### 1.1 Objectives

The present work deals primarily with the relationships among three major constructions in Bahasa Indonesia and Javanese (henceforth, BI/JAV) represented by the following sentences:

- (1) anak itu membeli sepatu kemarin  
*child ART buy shoe yesterday*  
*The child bought shoes yesterday.*
- (2) anak itu, DIA membeli sepatu kemarin  
*he/she*  
*The child, he/she bought shoes yesterday.*

*Papers in Western Austronesian linguistics* No.3, 63-136.  
*Pacific Linguistics*, A-78, 1988.

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- (3) anak itu YANG membeli sepatu kemarin  
*It was the child who bought shoes yesterday.*<sup>1</sup>

Sentence (1) is a neutral, declarative sentence with *anak itu* as its *subject* and the rest of the sentence its *predicate*. Sentence (2) consists of an NP, *anak itu*, followed by a sentence whose subject is a pronoun *dia* which refers to *anak itu*. The first NP, *anak itu*, is the *topic*, and the sentence following it, which describes or gives information about the focus, is generally referred to as the *comment*. Sentence (3) looks very much like (1) except that a word *yang* is added before the predicate. Sentence (3) presupposes that 'somebody bought shoes yesterday', while (1) and (2) do not have such presupposition.

Sentences like (4) and (5) show that the immediate constituents of (3) are [*anak itu*] [*yang membeli sepatu kemarin*] rather than \*[*anak itu yang*] [*membeli sepatu kemarin*]:

- (4) yang membeli sepatu kemarin anak itu  
 (5) SEPATU ITU yang DIBELI ANAK ITU kemarin  
*The shoes were bought by the child yesterday.*  
 (?*It is the shoes which were bought by the child.*)

Sentence (4) is the stylistic variant of (3), whose order of constituents is the reverse of (3), and (5) is the passive form of (3), whose NP's (*anak itu* and *sepatu itu*) are interchanged and whose verb marker *me[+nasal]* is replaced by *di*. Note that in the above cases, and any other cases, the first NP and *yang* never constitute a constituent to which certain rules may or may not apply. At this stage, let us call *yang* a marker which marks the phrase following it, and consider (3) as a sentence whose second constituent is marked by *yang*, and refer to this constituent as the *yang*-phrase.

The NP which precedes the *yang*-phrase in sentences like (3) is referred to as the *focus* of the sentence.

The following situations in which (1), (2), or (3) can be used should further clarify the different meanings of these three sentences. Sentence (1) can be uttered by a speaker to inform a listener in a situation when the speaker assumes that the listener has no prior knowledge about any information provided by (1).<sup>2</sup> Sentence (2) is also used when the speaker assumes that the listener has no prior knowledge about the information conveyed by the sentence he is going to utter, but when he wants to get the listener's attention to the topic on which the information is centred. So, he first states the topic and then gives further information about this topic. In addition to using sentences like (2), a speaker can get the listener's attention to the topic of the information by using phrases like: 'Let me tell you about that child', 'By the way, concerning that child', etc. Sentence (3) is used only when the speaker assumes that the listener has already had some part of the information which the speaker is going to convey. In other words, both the speaker and the listener share some presupposition. When such a situation exists and the speaker wants to supply new information about what he and the listener presuppose, the speaker uses a sentence like (3) whose focus expresses the new information and the rest of the sentence restates the shared presupposition. An elaboration regarding what the 'new' information is about is necessary. New information may be *supplementary information* to the presupposition shared by the speaker and the listener. For example, when the shared presupposition is 'somebody bought shoes yesterday', a possible supplement to this presupposition is a specification about 'somebody'. If the new information specifies that



this 'somebody' is a particular child, then the speaker can use sentence (3) to convey this supplementary information. New information can also be a *correction* or *contradiction to the shared presupposition*. For example, when the shared presupposition is that 'somebody other than a particular child' bought shoes yesterday, and new information states that that particular child, and not somebody else, bought shoes yesterday, then the speaker expresses this new information about the shared presupposition by using sentence (3), or, to make it more explicit, an enclitic *lah* in BI and *kok* in JAV may be added to the focus.

- (6) anak ituLAH yang membeli sepatu kemarin  
*It was THAT child who bought shoes yesterday.* cf. (4)

The enclitic *lah* or *kok* can be used only when the focus contains new information which contradicts the shared presupposition. In English this seems to be expressed by stressing the focus, but the stress is ambiguous. In (3) 'the child' is also stressed, but to convey the meaning carried by (6), the stress is usually referred to as the 'contrastive stress'. Finally, new information can also be a *confirmation* of a certain part of the shared presupposition. For example, when the speaker and the listener presuppose that a particular child bought shoes yesterday and the speaker wants to state that that presupposition is in fact correct, then he can use either (3), or (3) with an additional enclitic *memang* in BI or *ya* in JAV.

- (7) MEMANG anak itu yang membeli sepatu kemarin  
*It WAS that child who bought shoes yesterday.* cf. (5)

Note that English again utilises stress, this time in *was*, or probably both *was* and *that child*, to express (7) in BI/JAV. Sentence (3) is thus three-way ambiguous.

Throughout this work, I will call sentences with subject and predicate like (1) above *Subject-Predicate Constructions* (henceforth, SP-constructions), sentences with topic and comment like (2) above *Topic-Comment constructions* (henceforth, TC-constructions), and sentences with focus and presupposition like (3) above *Focus-Presupposition constructions* (henceforth, FP-constructions).<sup>3</sup>

## 1.2 Theoretical framework

The analysis presented in this work is done within the framework of transformational grammar. Familiarity with transformational theory and the current developments in this theory, particularly with regard to the basic assumptions underlying the *interpretive theory* (represented by the works of Chomsky (1970), Jackendoff (1968a, b) etc.), *generative semantics* (represented by the works of Lakoff (1968, 1971), Postal (1969) etc.), and *case grammar* (represented by the works of Fillmore (1968)), is assumed.

One of the crucial unsettled issues in transformational theory is whether transformational rules are meaning-preserving. Regarding this particular issue, Partee (1970) states that:

The position that transformational rules *don't* preserve meaning is of much less inherent interest than the contrary position, since it amounts simply to the position that a certain strong hypothesis is false. [p.10]

The present work utilises the hypothesis of meaning-preserving transformation as a working hypothesis, but the analysis is based solely on syntactical

evidence, meaning that the analysis aims to provide semantic information in the underlying forms of the sentences, but certain underlying forms are not posited simply to achieve such aim. Underlying forms are posited on the basis of syntactical evidence alone.

## 2. KATZ AND POSTAL'S QUESTION-PRESUPPOSITION

### 2.1 Interrogative and declarative sentences

Katz and Postal (1964) have shown convincingly that there are semantic as well as syntactic justifications to assume that there are close relationships between interrogative sentences and their corresponding declarative sentences containing the appropriate pro-forms like *somebody*, *something*, *some reason*, *someplace*, etc. The present work assumes that their semantic justifications are essentially correct. The following cases show that syntactical evidence similar to their evidence in English – to show that a question morpheme, abstractly represented as Q, occurs in the underlying form of the sentence – can also be found in BI/JAV:

(a) Certain adverbials which occur in declarative sentences can not occur in interrogative sentences. For example:

- (8) \*tentu saja/\*mungkin siapa yang membeli sepatu kemarin  
*certainly probably*  
 \*Certainly/\*Probably who bought shoes yesterday?
- (9) tentu saja/mungkin anak itu membeli sepatu  
*Certainly/Probably that child bought shoes yesterday.*

(b) Certain modifiers can occur only in the interrogative sentences. For example:

- (10) siapa SAJA yang membeli sepatu kemarin (saja = wae in JAV)  
 [Who in particular] bought shoes yesterday?<sup>4</sup>
- (11) \*anak itu SAJA membeli sepatu kemarin  
 ?That child in particular bought shoes yesterday.
- (12) siapa LAGI yang membeli sepatu kemarin (lagi = meneh in JAV)  
 Who else bought shoes yesterday?
- (13) \*anak itu LAGI membeli sepatu kemarin  
 \*That child else bought shoes yesterday.<sup>5</sup>

(c) There is a question morpheme kah in BI (but not in JAV) which can be optionally deleted if a pro-form apa (see below) is present. For example:

- (14) anak itu membeli sepatuKAH  
 Did that child buy shoes?
- (15) apa(KAH) anak itu membeli sepatu  
 Did the child buy shoes?
- (16) siapa(KAH) yang membeli sepatu kemarin  
 Who bought shoes yesterday?



one formative should be sufficient, because the difference between Yes/No-questions and WH-questions depends on where Q is attached. If Q is attached directly under the topmost S, Yes/No-questions are generated, but if Q is attached to the noun, WH-questions will result. Stockwell, Schachter, and Partee (1968) argue further that if Q and WH can be generated independently, strings containing WH without Q will not yield a surface structure, and so, although their analysis on WH-questions is different from Malone's, they agree with Malone that a single formative will do the job. The cases in BI/JAV clearly show that a single formative is sufficient to generate both Yes/No-questions as well as WH-questions. First, the following 'paradigm' shows that apa is a pro-form of the root:<sup>7</sup>

- (21) SIapa *who*  
 SI John *John* (si is a person marker)  
 apaMU *which of yours*  
 sepatuMU *your shoe* (sepatu is a root)  
 MENGapa *do what* as in *WHAT did you DO?*  
 MEMbeli *to buy* (me[+nasal] is a verb marker; beli is a root)

Pro-forms like apa will be entered in the lexicon as a pro-form root. In addition, the morpheme kah (which is a question morpheme) will generate different interrogatives, depending on where it is attached. Consider the following:

- (22) [anak itu membeli sepatu]+KAH  
*Did the child buy shoes?*  
 (23) [[siapa+KAH]<sub>NP</sub> [yang membeli sepatu]]<sub>S</sub>  
*Who bought the shoes?*  
 (24) [anak itu [mengapa]<sub>VP</sub>+kah]<sub>S</sub>  
*What did the child do?*  
 (25) [anak itu [membeli[[apa]<sub>NP</sub>+kah]]]<sub>S</sub>  
*What did the child buy?*

Sentence (22) has kah attached to S and it is a Yes/No-question. Sentences (23), (24), and (25) each contain a pro-form apa to which kah is attached. The result is WH-questions which ask about different parts of the sentence. Note that to generate WH-questions, kah is attached to a pro-form. In addition, kah can also be attached to non-proform roots. When this happens, interrogative sentences, which I will call *semi-Yes/No-questions*, are generated. Such interrogative sentences are parallel to interrogative sentences with stressed constituents in English, such as: 'Did JOHN buy shoes?' or 'I want to know whether John or Mary bought shoes', or 'Is it JOHN who bought shoes?' etc. Observe the following:

- (26) [[anak itu]+kah]<sub>NP</sub> [yang membeli sepatu]<sub>S</sub>  
*Is it the child who bought shoes?*  
 (27) [anak itu [membeli sepatu]+kah]<sub>VP</sub><sub>S</sub>  
*Did the child BUY SHOES?*

So, because of the availability of pro-forms in BI/JAV, and also because different types of interrogative sentences are generated depending on the placement of Q, it seems clear that for BI/JAV a single formative Q is sufficient.

Note that Q in BI/JAV has the function of converting a sentence containing apa into a interrogative sentence with a WH-question-word. Thus, it corresponds with AUX-attraction in English, and not with the derivation of WH-question-words.

### 2.3 The application of Katz-Postal's analysis to BI/JAV

Sentences like (28), (29), and (30) below seem to indicate that WH-questions in BI/JAV can be generated from strings which contain a node which dominates a pro-form apa and Q:

- (28) anak itu membeli APA  
*child buy what*  
*What did the child buy?*
- (29) anak itu mengAPA  
*What did the child do?*
- (30) anak itu mengAPAKAN ali  
*What did the child do to Ali?*

The rules to generate (28)-(30) above seem to be much simpler than their corresponding English rules to generate the English sentences (28)-(30), since fronting and AUX-movement are not needed for BI/JAV. Such rules are simple until we come to the peculiar behaviour of WH-questions in which the subject of the sentence is questioned. Compare sentences (31) and (32) below with (33) and (34) respectively:

- (31) anak itu membeli sepatu  
*The child bought shoes. cf. (1)*
- (32) anak itu YANG membeli sepatu  
*It is the child who bought shoes. cf. (3)*
- (33) \*siapa membeli sepatu  
*who*  
*Who bought shoes?*
- (34) siapa YANG membeli sepatu  
*Who is it who bought shoes?*

Notice that (31) is an SP-construction, and when the subject is questioned, the sentence (which is (33) above) is ungrammatical, but for sentence (32), which is an FP-construction, it is permissible to question its topic, since (34) is grammatical. Notice that an analysis which simply states that a subject of a sentence in BI/JAV should not be a question-word seems ad hoc. A less ad hoc analysis is the one which states the restriction (33) in terms of a restriction which is applicable for other cases, besides subject, as well. It will be shown that the restriction which disallows (33) is a very general constraint which disallows the generation of some other ungrammatical sentences. To be able to arrive at such an analysis, we need first of all to observe the behaviour of the subject, topic, and focus of a sentence, and more generally, the behaviour of nouns in these languages compared to a language like English.

3. ON THE NOTION [ $\pm$ specific]

## 3.1 Simple nouns

A simple noun in BI/JAV can have one of the following forms:<sup>8</sup>

- (a) Root by itself: such as rumah *house*, mobil *car*, anak *child*.
- (b) Root + nya: such as rumahnya, mobilnya, anaknya.
- (c) Root + nya + itu: such rumahnya itu, mobilnya itu, anaknya itu.
- (d) Root + itu: such as rumah itu, mobil itu, anak itu.

The meaning of each can be illustrated by their uses in sentences like (35)-(38) below:

- (35) Amat ingin membeli RUMAH  
           *want buy house*  
       *Amat wants to buy A HOUSE.*
- (36) rumahNYA apa sudah kamu kunci  
                           *already locked by you*  
       *Have you locked THE HOUSE.*
- (37) rumahNYA ITU sampai sekarang belum ada yang membeli  
                           *until now not yet buy*  
       *Up to now, nobody has bought THE HOUSE.*
- (38) rumah ITU akan dipakai untuk menampung anak piatu  
                           *will be used for receive orphans*  
       *THE HOUSE will be used to house orphans.*

In (35) rumah refers to any house; rumahnya in (36) refers to a specific house the speaker assumes the hearer knows; rumahnya itu in (37) also refers to a specific house the speaker assumes the hearer knows, but it also indicates that that specific house has been mentioned before. In other words, (37) can be used only when a sentence like (39) below has been said previous to (37) within a discourse:

- (39) ayah telah memutuskan bahwa rumahNYA harus dijual  
           *father has decided that must be sold*  
       *Father has decided that THE HOUSE has to be sold.*

Because (39) contains rumahnya, the second mention of this noun requires the addition of itu, so rumahnya itu is used in (37). Sentence (38), which contains rumah itu,<sup>9</sup> can be a continuation of (35), which contains rumah. In this case, rumah itu is used in (38) because the noun rumah is mentioned in (35). Note that rumah is used when the speaker has no particular referent in mind and he assumes that the hearer does not either. The second mention of rumah in (38) still does not provide the hearer or the speaker with a particular referent. In other words, rumah itu in (38) refers to whatever house Amat buys, assuming that he will eventually succeed in buying one.

The forms of the nouns in (35)-(39) indicate that nya is a marker of a specific noun, and itu is added as a result of a process of anaphora. We can characterise these nouns in terms of feature notations as follows:

|      |               |              |                        |
|------|---------------|--------------|------------------------|
| (40) | BI            | JAV          | Feature Specifications |
|      | N             | N            | [-anaphoric;-spec]     |
|      | N + nya       | N + e        | [-anaphoric;+spec]     |
|      | N + nya + itu | N + e + kuwi | [+anaphoric;+spec]     |
|      | N + itu       | N + kuwi     | [+anaphoric;-spec]     |

Since a root does not have to be a noun, I will use N to denote a noun root from now on. The difference between the features [anaphoric] and [specific] used to characterise nouns in BI/JAV and the features [definite] and [specific] used by some linguists to characterise nouns in English is discussed in section 3.2.

In sentences like (41), an N can also refer to a specific noun whose referent is assumed known to the hearer by the speaker:

- (41) anak kecil itu belum dapat membedakan antara BULAN dan  
*child small not yet can distinguish between moon and*  
 MATA-HARI  
*sun*  
*The little child can not distinguish between THE MOON and THE SUN.*

Roots like bulan and mata-hari can be conceived as N+nya with nya deleted, since there are sentences like (42) as well:

- (42) bulanNYA penuh malam ini  
*full tonight*  
*THE MOON is full tonight.*

The [+spec]-marker nya can also be deleted in cases where (44) below is used as a continuation of (43):

- (43) ayah telah memutuskan bahwa rumahNYA harus dijual  
*Father has decided that the house has to be sold. Cf. (39)*
- (44) rumah ITU terlalu kecil  
*too small*  
*The house is too small.*

Rumah itu in (44) and rumahnya in (43) refer to the same specific house the speaker assumes the hearer knows. Itu is added since the noun is mentioned for the second time.

### 3.1.1 Proper nouns

Proper nouns in BI/JAV have exactly the same forms as regular nouns. Observe the following:

|      |             |            |                        |             |
|------|-------------|------------|------------------------|-------------|
| (45) | BI          | JAV        | Feature specifications | English     |
|      | Amat        | Amat       | [-anaphoric;-spec]     | <i>Amat</i> |
|      | AmatNYA     | AmatE      | [-anaphoric;+spec]     | <i>Amat</i> |
|      | AmatNYA ITU | AmatE KUWI | [+anaphoric;+spec]     | <i>Amat</i> |
|      | Amat ITU    | Amat KUWI  | [+anaphoric;-spec]     | <i>Amat</i> |

As is the case with regular nouns, a root by itself refers to any noun having a particular name, and Amatnya refers to a specific person the speaker assumes the hearer knows, and nya can be deleted if Amat refers to a specific person. When the speaker assumes that the hearer knows who Amat is and it turns out

that the speaker's assumption is wrong, the hearer may ask *Amat yang mana which Amat?*, siapa Amat itu *who is Amat?* Note that *itu* has to be added in the second question since *Amat* has been mentioned before. The form *Amatnya itu* is used when a sentence containing *Amatnya* precedes it, and *nya* in *Amatnya itu* can also be deleted when the speaker assumes that the hearer knows who *Amat* is.

### 3.1.2 Relativised nouns

The following sentences show that a noun with a restrictive relative clause<sup>10</sup> which contains a [+spec]-morpheme always gets a [+spec] interpretation, and a noun with a restrictive relative clause containing no [+spec]-morpheme always gets a [-spec] interpretation.

- (46) Amat ingin menangkap ULAR [yang lewat KEMARIN],  
*want catch snake which passed by yesterday*  
 tetapi ularNYA ITU beracun  
*but poisonous*  
*Amat wants to catch the snake which passed by yesterday, but the snake is poisonous.*
- (47) [JAV] Amat kepingin nyekel ulanE [sing lewat WINGI],  
 nanging ulanE KUWI duwe racun  
 (the same meaning as (46))
- (48) \*Amat ingin menangkap ULAR [yang lewat], tetapi ularNYA ITU beracun  
 ?Amat wants to catch a snake which passed by but the snake is poisonous.

The relative clause in (46) contains *kemarin yesterday*, referring to a specific time, and the second mention of the noun is expressed by *N-nya-itu*, which is [+anaph;+spec], so *ular yang lewat KEMARIN* has to be [-anaph;+spec]. In BI, there seems to be an obligatory rule which deletes *nya* when the relative clause contains [+spec], but in Javanese the deletion is optional, since *e*, which corresponds to *nya* in BI, can occur with a relative clause containing [+spec], as in (47). In (48), the second-mentioned *ular* in *ular [yang lewat]* can not be expressed by *N-nya-itu*, which means that *ular [yang lewat]* is [-anaph;-spec]. Compare (48) with (49) and (50) below, where the second-mentioned *ular* is expressed by *N-itu*, which is [+anaph;-spec]:

- (49) Amat ingin menangkap ULAR, meskipun ular ITU beracun  
*Amat wants to catch a snake, although the snake is poisonous.*
- (50) Amat ingin menangkap ULAR [yang lewat], meskipun ular ITU beracun  
*Amat wants to catch a snake which passed by although the snake is poisonous.*

I will refer to a relative clause containing [+spec] as Specific-Relative Clause (abbreviated as SpecREL) and the one which contains no [+spec] as Non-specific Relative Clause (abbreviated as NonspecREL). In (46), instead of *ularnya itu*, *ular [yang lewat kemarin] itu* can be used; in (47), instead of *ulanE kuwi*, *ulanE [sing lewat wingi] kuwi* can be used; and in (50), instead of *ular itu*, *ular [yang lewat] itu* can be used. So, relativised nouns can have the following forms:



|      |                      |  |                |
|------|----------------------|--|----------------|
| (51) | BI                   | JAV  | Features       |
|      | N + NonspecREL       | N + NonspecREL                                   | [-anaph;-spec] |
|      | N + NonspecREL + itu | N + NonspecREL + kuwi                            | [+anaph;-spec] |
|      | N + SpecREL          | { N + SpecREL<br>N + e + SpecREL }               | [-anaph;+spec] |
|      | N + SpecREL + itu    | { N + SpecREL + kuwi<br>N + e + SpecREL + kuwi } | [+anaph;+spec] |

### 3.1.3 Pronouns and pronominalisations

The pronouns in BI/JAV can have one of the following forms:

|      |         |             |               |
|------|---------|-------------|---------------|
| (52) | BI      | JAV         | ENGLISH       |
|      | -       | dewe        | <i>self</i>   |
|      | dia     | dewekE      | <i>he/she</i> |
|      | dia ITU | dewekE KUWI | <i>he/she</i> |

Observe the cases in JAV which clearly show that deweke comes from dewe (the k is a glottal stop inserted between geminate vowels), and e, which corresponds to nya in BI, is a [+spec]-marker, which means that the pronouns deweke and dia are [-anaph;+spec]. Dia in BI is already [+spec], which explains why \*dianya does not occur, and that a pronoun has to be [+spec] is also evidenced from the ungrammaticalness of \*dewe kuwi in JAV, since \*dewe kuwi is [+anaph;-spec]. Cases in (52) indicate that there is a lexical rule which states that a pronoun has to be [+spec]. In other words, when we use [+PRON] to mark a pronoun, the rule can be stated as follows:

(53) [-spec;PRON] → [+spec;+PRON]

Let us consider how the above pronouns are used by observing the following sentences:

- (54) Amat memukul ORANG, padahal DIA tidak bersalah  
*hit person despite he not guilty*  
 Amat hit A PERSON despite the fact that HE is not guilty.
- (55) Amat memukul ORANG, padahal DIA ITU tidak bersalah  
 (the same meaning as (54))
- (56) (AMAT memukul orang, kemudian DIA lari )  
 (57) (AMAT memukul orang, kemudian DIA ITU lari )  
*then run*  
 AMAT hit a person, then HE ran away.
- (58) (Amat memukul ORANG ITU, padahal DIA tidak bersalah )  
 (59) (Amat memukul ORANG ITU, padahal DIA ITU tidak bersalah )  
 Amat hit THE PERSON, despite the fact that HE is not guilty.
- (60) (AMAT ITU memukul orang, kemudian DIA lari )  
 (61) (AMAT ITU memukul orang, kemudian DIA ITU lari )  
 (THAT) AMAT hit a person, then HE ran away.

- (62) (DIA memukul orang, kemudian DIA ITU lari )  
 (63) (DIA ITU memukul orang, kemudian DIA ITU lari )  
*HE hit a person and then HE ran away.*

The relationships between the pronouns and their antecedents in (54) through (63) in terms of feature notations are as follows:

|      | Antecedent           | Pronoun              |
|------|----------------------|----------------------|
| (54) | [-anaph;-spec;-PRON] | [-anaph;+spec;+PRON] |
| (55) | [-anaph;-spec;-PRON] | [+anaph;+spec;+PRON] |
| (56) | [-anaph;+spec;-PRON] | [-anaph;+spec;+PRON] |
| (57) | [-anaph;+spec;-PRON] | [+anaph;+spec;+PRON] |
| (58) | [+anaph;-spec;-PRON] | [-anaph;+spec;+PRON] |
| (59) | [+anaph;-spec;-PRON] | [+anaph;+spec;+PRON] |
| (60) | [+anaph;+spec;-PRON] | [-anaph;+spec;+PRON] |
| (61) | [+anaph;+spec;-PRON] | [+anaph;+spec;+PRON] |
| (62) | [-anaph;+spec;+PRON] | [+anaph;+spec;+PRON] |
| (63) | [+anaph;+spec;+PRON] | [+anaph;+spec;+PRON] |

Each of the sentences (54)-(63) above is ambiguous because each pronoun can have either the subject or the object of the sentence as its antecedent. For simplicity of exposition, only the relationships between the capitalised nouns and pronouns are discussed, and since the feature changes shown in (54)-(63) above are all the possible changes, the relationships between a pronoun and the non-capitalised noun in each sentence should involve either one of the possible changes shown in (54)-(63).

In addition to the lexical rule (53) above, (54)-(63) seem to involve 'pronominalisation proper' and 'anaphora'. For the features in (54)-(63) we can see that when pronominalisation proper is applied, [-PRON] is converted into [+PRON], and rule (53) gives the [+spec]. Usually, anaphora should be applied when a noun is 'afore-mentioned', but cases like (54), (56), etc., indicate that anaphora does not apply, and moreover, in (58) and (60), [+anaph] is converted into [-anaph]. How can we account for these cases? What is happening is that 'pronominalisation proper' and 'anaphora' are applied conjunctively, and lexical rule (53) is applied after pronominalisation proper. If we abbreviate 'pronominalisation proper' as PP and 'anaphora' ANAPH, and lexical rule (53) LEX, the pronominalisation rules to generate (54)-(63) can be stated as follows:

(64) Pronominalisation:

$$(a) \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{PP: } [-\text{PRON}] \rightarrow [+ \text{PRON}] \\ \text{ANAPH: } [-\text{anaph}] \rightarrow [+ \text{anaph}] \end{array} \right\} (**)$$

(b) LEX: [-spec;+PRON] → [+spec;+PRON]  
 Condition: the noun is 'afore-mentioned'

I put (\*\*) after (a) to indicate that in the second application of (64), (a) may or may not be applied. In other words, the following are the possible applications of (64):



(60) and (61) are generated in the same manner as (59) and (60) except that the base has to be [+spec]. To get (62), only ANAPH is applied, and the application of (64) to (63) does not change any features.

Notice that in the first row (between the first double solid lines and the first single line ANAPH can be applied instead of PP, and the result will be: N ↔ N+itu as in (65):

- (65) Amat memukul ORANG, padahal ORANG ITU tidak bersalah  
*Amat hit A MAN, despite the fact that THE MAN was not guilty.* cf. (54)

And in the second application of (64), PP can be applied, which gives us the same (55): N ↔ dia itu. A similar application of the rule can also be applied in the second row (between the second and the third double lines). When ANAPH is applied first instead of PP, the result will be N+(nya) ↔ N+(nya)+itu, as in (66):

- (66) AMAT memukul orang, kemudian AMAT ITU lari  
*?AMAT hit a man then (THAT) AMAT ran away.* cf. (56)

and to get (57), i.e. N+(nya) ↔ dia itu, PP can be applied in the second application of (64). In the third row, when ANAPH only is applied, we will get: N+itu ↔ N+itu as in (67):

- (67) Amat memukul ORANG ITU, padahal ORANG ITU tidak bersalah cf. (58)  
*Amat hit THE MAN, despite the fact that THE MAN was not guilty.*

and when PP is applied in the second application of (64), (59) is the result. So, a slight modification of (64) will give us both pronominalisation and simple anaphora as in (65) and (66). Rule (64) can be modified into (68):

- (68) PRONOMINALISATION AND ANAPHORA

- (a)  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{PP: } [-\text{PRON}] \rightarrow [+ \text{PRON}] \\ \text{ANAPH: } [-\text{anaph}] \rightarrow [+ \text{anaph}] \end{array} \right\}$
- (b) LEX:  $[-\text{spec}; +\text{PRON}] \rightarrow [+ \text{spec}; +\text{PRON}]$

- Conditions: (1) the noun is 'afore-mentioned'  
 (2) the second application of the rule is optional

### 3.2 Comparison between [anaph], [spec], and pronouns in BI/JAV and [def], [spec], and pronouns in English

Recent works in English grammar, such as Baker (1966a,b), Fillmore (1968), Karttunen (1968), Dean (1968), and Stockwell, Schachter and Partee (1968) have indicated that an indefinite noun like a piano in (69) and (70) below have different meanings:

- (69) John tried to find A PIANO  
 (70) John lifted A PIANO

In (69) a piano is [-spec], meaning that a piano may be roughly paraphrased with any piano, and a piano in (70) is [+spec] meaning that a piano may be roughly paraphrased with a certain piano. Karttunen (1968:7-8) gives the

following explanation of the meaning of [+spec] and [-spec] for English (the additional underlinings are mine):

Assume that a speaker of (20) spent some time in the morning talking to his friend Rudolf Carnap and later refers to this event by uttering (20):

- (20) I talked with a logician.  
 (21) I talked with Rudolf.  
 (22) I talked with the author of *Meaning and Necessity*.  
 (23) I talked with a famous philosopher.

In the specific sense, i.e. 'a certain logician' the utterance is replaceable by (21)-(23), which in this case would all constitute an equally honest answer to the question 'Who did you talk with this morning?'. The speaker has a certain referent in his mind; and, in his knowledge, there also are some properties associated with that particular individual. Any of these properties could presumably be used to describe the individual, in a sense, the speaker has a choice of how informative he wants to be. As far as the speaker is concerned, it is not clear how (20)-(23) could be claimed to be anything but paraphrases of each other.

In the non-specific sense, (20) could be an answer to the question 'What kind of person did you talk with this morning?'. This version of (20) could not be paraphrased by (21)-(23), since it is not the particular individual that matters, but rather the class to which he belongs.

Comparing such use of [spec] for English with the use of [spec] for BI/JAV illustrated in the previous sections of this chapter, we have the following:

[+spec] in English is used when the speaker has a certain referent in his mind.

[+spec] in BI/JAV is used when the speaker assumes that the hearer knows the referent the speaker has in mind.

[-spec] in English is used when the speaker does not have any particular referent in mind.

[-spec] in BI/JAV is used when the speaker assumes that the hearer does not know the referent which the speaker may or may not have in mind. Karttunen (1968:6) also pointed out that 'it is something about the meaning of the verb lift which suggests that a piano describes some specific object'. In BI/JAV, however, sentences corresponding to (69) and (70) above each can contain [-spec] or [+spec]:

- (69) (a) John berusaha mencari PIANO  
 (b) John berusaha mencari PIANONYA  
       *try*           *find*
- (70) (a) John mengangkat PIANO  
 (b) John mengangkat PIANONYA  
       *lift*

In (69a) *piano* is [-spec], because the speaker assumes that the hearer does not know which particular piano John tried to find, and the speaker may not either: *pianonja* in (69b) is [+spec], the speaker assumes that the hearer knows which piano the speaker has in his mind. The meaning of the verb *find* = *mentjari* changes, since (69b) assumes that a piano which both the speaker and the hearer know had been lost. In JAV, the verb to translate *mencari* in (69a) is *nggolek* and the verb to translate *mencari* in (69b) is *nggoleki*, so *nggolek* can only be used when the object is [-spec] and *nggoleki* can only be used when the object is [+spec]. Such selectional restriction is applicable to certain verbs only, since the translation of (70a) which has [-spec] object and the translation of (70b) which has [+spec] object into JAV use the same verb *ngangkat*. Again, *piano* in (70a) is [-spec] because the speaker assumes that the hearer does not know the referent, but the speaker may or may not know the referent. (The situation where the speaker does not know the referent is when, for instance, someone else told the speaker (70a) and the speaker is retelling (70a) to the hearer.) In (70b) *pianonya* is [+spec] because the speaker assumes that the hearer knows the referent which the speaker has in mind. In English, a definite article *the* is used when the speaker assumes that the hearer knows the referent the speaker has in mind:

(69) (c) John tried to find THE piano

(70) (c) John lifted THE piano

In (69c) and (70c) the piano is [+def;+spec]. Then (69a) is the proper translation for (69), but (70a) is not the exact translation of (70) because in (70a) the speaker may or may not know the referent, while in (70) the speaker knows the referent (at least according to Baker and Karttunen).

Another case which demonstrates the difference between [+spec] in BI/JAV and [+spec] in English clearly is the form of the 'non-linguistic anaphoric' nouns like the moon, the sun, etc., which is [+def;+spec] in English but in BI/JAV the form is N+*nya* (*bulanNYA*, *matahariNYA*, etc.) which is [-anaph;+spec]. In English, the nouns are [+def] because the speaker assumes that the hearer knows the referent, and [+spec] because the speaker has a specific referent in mind. In BI/JAV, the nouns are [+spec] because the speaker assumes that the hearer knows the referent, but there is no overt morpheme which indicates that the speaker has a specific referent in mind.

The difference between [+spec] in BI/JAV and [+spec] and [+def] in English can be summarised as follows:

| (71) | Speaker:                      | Speaker assumes<br>that the hearer: | Features:               |         |
|------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------|---------|
|      |                               |                                     | ENGLISH                 | BI/JAV  |
| (a)  | knows referent                | knows referent                      | [+def]                  | [+spec] |
| (b)  | does not know<br>the referent | does not know<br>the referent       | [-spec]                 | [-spec] |
| (c)  | knows the<br>referent         | does not know<br>the referent       | [+spec]                 | [-spec] |
| (d)  | does not know<br>referent     | knows the<br>referent               | { [+def]?<br>[-spec]? } | [+spec] |

Note that the value of the feature [spec] in English is consistent from the point of view of the *speaker's* knowledge about the referent, and the value of [spec] in BI/JAV is consistent from the point of view of the *speaker's*

assumptions about the hearer's knowledge about the referent. Situation (d) in English is [+def] in cases like: Did you find the house you were looking for?, but at the same time the house seems to be [-spec] as well.

The anaphoric use of [+def] in English corresponds to [+anaph] in BI/JAV, but [+def] in English is always assumed to be [+spec] (but see below), while [-anaph] in BI/JAV can be either [+spec] or [-spec]. In other words, a process of anaphora in English always converts [-spec] into [+spec], but a process of anaphora in BI/JAV does not. In BI/JAV, [-spec] is converted to [+spec] when pronominalisation is applied.

Kuroda (1965, 1966) and Postal (1966) claim that in English pronominalisation is always preceded by definitisation, which means that (74) is derived from (72) through an intermediate step (73):

- (72) John hit A MAN [-def;+spec;-PRON]  
 (73) John hit THE MAN [+def;+spec;-PRON]  
 (74) John hit HIM [+def;+spec;+PRON]

A pronoun in English, then, is always [+def;+spec]. The [+def] in (73) corresponds to [+anaph] in BI/JAV, but BI/JAV have [+anaph;+spec;+PRON] as well as [-anaph;+spec;+PRON]. In other words, corresponding to (72)-(74), BI/JAV have the following:

- (72) (a) John memukul ORANG(NYA) [-anaph;+spec;-PRON]  
 (73) (a) John memukul ORANG(NYA) ITU [+anaph;+spec;-PRON]  
 (74) (a) John memukul DIA [-anaph;+spec;+PRON]  
 (74) (b) John memukul DIA ITU [+anaph;+spec;+PRON]

The derivations of the pronominalisation in BI/JAV can be either (72a) → (74a), (72a) → (73a) → (74a) → (74b), or (72a) → (74a) → (74b).

Gleitman (1961), unlike Postal and Kuroda, allows the derivation of (72) → (74) as well as (73) → (74).

The difference between [anaph] and Pronouns in BI/JAV and [def] and Pronouns in English can be summarised as follows:

- |                                  |                             |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (75) BI/JAV                      | ENGLISH                     |
| [+anaph;+spec;-PRON] = N(nya)itu | [+def;+spec;-PRON] = the N  |
| [-anaph;+spec;-PRON] = N nya     | [-def;+spec;-PRON] = a(n) N |
| [+anaph;+spec;+PRON] = dia itu   | [+def;+spec;+PRON] = he/she |
| [-anaph;+spec;+PRON] = dia       | does not exist              |

### 3.3 Extended specifier nya or e

It has been shown that *nya* in BI, and *e* in JAV, are used when the noun is [+spec]. Notice that, in a sense, a [+spec]-noun refers to a particular member or a class or set, i.e. when one says I want to catch a fish and uses a fish [+spec]-ly, he is referring to a particular member of all the members of a set whose members are fish. This notion is extended in sentences like (76) and (77) below:

- (76) Amat akan membeli JAM dan RADIO  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{radioNYA} \\ * \text{radio ITU} \\ \text{radioNYA ITU} \end{array} \right\}$  bagus  
*will buy clock* *beautiful*  
*Amat will buy a clock and a radio. The radio is beautiful.*
- (77) Amat akan membeli JAM DAN RADIO ITU  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} * \text{radioNYA} \\ * \text{radio ITU} \\ \text{radioNYA ITU} \end{array} \right\}$  bagus  
*Amat will buy the clock and the radio. The radio is beautiful.*

In (76), jam and radio each can be either [-anaph;-spec] or [-anaph;+spec], so (76) is four-way ambiguous. In (77), jam and radio each can be either [+anaph;-spec] or [+anaph;+spec]. Note that in (76) radio ITU is not allowed, and yet according to what we have learned so far an anaphoric process should be allowed to get [+anaph;-spec] from [-anaph;-spec]. Similarly, radio ITU is not allowed either in (77) to repeat [+anaph;+spec] radio ITU. (Radionya is not allowed according to a general rule, radio in the first sentence is [+anaph;+spec], so it can not be made into [-anaph;+spec].) It is interesting to note that the English sentence in (76) does not allow pronominalisation either and neither does it in (77). This phenomenon is also observed by Stockwell, Schachter, and Partee (1968:227-228), but they 'have no explanation to offer to this curious fact'. They cite the following cases: sentence SSP(148) can be followed by any of SSP(149), but can not be followed by any of SSP(150):

- SSP(148) (a) A women walked into a restaurant carrying a little girl in one arm and a parcel in the other.
- SSP(149) (a) Suddenly she stumbled and dropped them.  
 (b) Suddenly she stumbled and dropped both of them.  
 (c) Suddenly she stumbled and dropped one of them.  
 (d) Suddenly she stumbled and dropped the little girl.  
 (e) Suddenly she stumbled and dropped the parcel.
- SSP(150) (a) \*Suddenly she stumbled and dropped her.  
 (b) \*Suddenly she stumbled and dropped it.  
 (c) \*Suddenly she stumbled and dropped both her and it.

What is happening in BI/JAV is that conjoined nouns constitute a set whose members are the different nouns being conjoined. A reference to any one of them is a reference to a particular member of a set having more than one member, which makes that particular member a [+spec] noun, and a set is always considered [-anaph;-spec]. So for BI/JAV, only *nya* can be used.

Such extended specification is applicable to proper nouns as well. Observe the following:

- (78) Stockwell, Schachter, dan Partee menulis buku  
*write book*  
*Stockwell, Schachter, and Partee wrote a book.*
- (79) Stockwell-NYA menulis bagian-1, Schachter-NYA ke-2, dan Partee-NYA ke-3  
*part-1 the 2nd*

or (80) [Stockwell dan Schachter]-NYA menulis bagian-1 dan Partee-NYA ke-2  
 and so on.



## 4. WH-SUBJECT QUESTIONS AND EXISTENTIAL SENTENCES

We have observed in section 2 that when the subject of a sentence is questioned, the sentence has to be in FP-construction, as shown in (81) and (82) below:

(81) \*siapa membeli sepatu  
       *who*  
       *Who bought shoes?* cf. (33)

(82) siapa YANG membeli sepatu  
       *Who was it who bought shoes?* cf. (34)

Sentence (81) is an SP-construction like (83), and (82) is an FP-construction like (84):

(83) Amat membeli sepatu  
       *Amat bought shoes.* cf. (1)

(84) Amat YANG membeli sepatu  
       *It was Amat who bought shoes* cf. (3)

It has also been pointed out that if the ungrammaticalness of (81) is accounted for by stating that there is a rule which changes an SP-construction into an FP-construction when the subject of the SP-construction is questioned, it has to be shown that the rejection of *siapa* in (81) follows a general constraint on subjects, semantic and/or syntactic, otherwise the rule is very ad hoc. To discover the constraints on subjects, we can start by observing the forms of the nouns in subject positions.

## 4.1 Constraints on subjects

It is well known that sentences like (85) are ungrammatical in BI/JAV:

(85) \*ANAK membeli sepatu kemarin  
       *\*Any child bought shoes yesterday.*

Sentence (85) is like (1) except that the subject of (1) is *anak ITU* and the subject of (85) is *anak*. This fact has been accounted for by Indonesian linguists by stating that the subject of a sentence must be definite. Further observations show that the definite requirement for a subject is not entirely true. Observe the following:

(86) \*Anak membeli sepatu kemarin  
       *\*Any child bought shoes yesterday.*

(87) ( anakNYA membeli sepatu kemarin  
 (88) ( anakNYA ITU membeli sepatu kemarin  
 (89) ( anak ITU membeli sepatu kemarin  
       *The child bought shoes yesterday.*

(90) \*anak [yang lewat] membeli sepatu kemarin  
       *pass by*  
       *\*Any child who passed by bought shoes yesterday.*

(91) anak [yang lewat TADI PAGI] membeli sepatu kemarin  
       *this morning*  
       *The child who passed by THIS MORNING bought shoes yesterday.*

(92) anak [yang lewat] ITU membeli sepatu kemarin  
       *The child who passed by bought shoes yesterday.*

- (93) anak [yang lewat TADI PAGI] ITU membeli sepatu kemarin  
*The child who passed by this morning bought shoes yesterday.*
- (94) dia membeli sepatu kemarin  
*He/she bought shoes yesterday.*
- (95) dia ITU membeli sepatu kemarin  
*(That) he bought shoes yesterday.*

Translating the forms of the nouns in the subject positions in (86)-(95) above into feature notations, we get the following:

#### Nouns

|                           |                      |
|---------------------------|----------------------|
| (86) *N                   | [-anaph;-spec;-PRON] |
| (87) N + nya              | [-anaph;+spec;-PRON] |
| (88) N + nya + itu        | [+anaph;+spec;-PRON] |
| (89) N + itu              | [+anaph;-spec;-PRON] |
| (90) *N + NonspecREL      | [-anaph;-spec;-PRON] |
| (91) N + SpecREL          | [+anaph;+spec;-PRON] |
| (92) N + NonspecREL + itu | [+anaph;-spec;-PRON] |
| (93) N + SpecREL + itu    | [+anaph;+spec;-PRON] |
| (94) dia                  | [-anaph;+spec;+PRON] |
| (95) dia + itu            | [+anaph;+spec;+PRON] |

Note that (86) and (90) are ungrammatical because the subjects are [-anaph;-spec]. Notice also that (89) and (92) have [-spec] subject and the sentences are grammatical, but the subject of (89) and (92) is [+anaph]. The restriction on the subject is thus a restriction in terms of a conjunction of [-anaph] and [-spec]. *Constraint on subjects: 'a subject must not be [-anaph;-spec]'*.

## 4.2 Existential sentences

It seems that *semantically* there is nothing wrong with a sentence with [-anaph;-spec] subject since it is fairly easy to give an interpretation to such a sentence. Usually, a language utilises another construction to express semantically well-formed sentences which are syntactically ill-formed. In BI/JAV, existential sentences are used to express a sentence with [-anaph;-spec] subject.

Before going any further, let us recall the difference between [-spec] in English and [-spec] in BI/JAV. According to Professor Partee (personal communication), anak in (86) can not be interpreted as [-spec] in English, because of cases like the following:

- (96) \*Any child bought shoes.
- (97) Any child can buy shoes in that store.

If any is [-def;-spec], the ungrammaticalness of (96) is relevant, since there is no grammatical sentence in English which would be equivalent to (96), which means that (96) is semantically ill-formed. We must look back at the diagram

(71), repeated here as (98), which shows the overlapping use of the feature [spec] in BI/JAV and in English to provide the English speakers with a better 'feel' of the [-spec]-ness of anak in (85), and the non-equivalence of (86) and (96).

| (98) | Speaker:                      | Speaker assumes<br>that the hearer: | Features:               |         |
|------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------|---------|
|      |                               |                                     | ENGLISH                 | BI/JAV  |
| (a)  | knows referent                | knows referent                      | [+def]                  | [+spec] |
| (b)  | does not know<br>the referent | does not know<br>the referent       | [-spec]                 | [-spec] |
| (c)  | knows the<br>referent         | does not know<br>the referent       | [+spec]                 | [-spec] |
| (d)  | does not know<br>the referent | knows the<br>referent               | { [+def]?<br>[-spec]? } | [+spec] |

Notice that in English [-spec] interpretation is given when the *speaker* has no specific referent in mind. Any in (96) and (97) seem both to get [-spec] interpretation, i.e. the situation is (98b) in the diagram. Anak in (85), however, gets [-spec] interpretation in a sense that the speaker assumes that the *hearer* does not know the referent the speaker *may or may not* have in mind. Note that when the speaker has a specific referent in mind the English interpretation is [+spec], i.e. situation (98c) above, where [-spec] in BI/JAV corresponds to [+spec] in English. In BI/JAV the corresponding morpheme for any is *setiap* (in JAV: *angger*) and *setiap* can be used only when the noun is [-spec] but in a sense of (98b), so the proper translation for (96) is not (85) but (99):

- (99) \**setiap anak membeli sepatu kemarin*  
\**Any child bought shoes yesterday.*

*Setiap* and *any* followed by a noun make the NP generic, i.e. (97) has a generic subject. The proper translation for (85) is not (96) but (100):

- (100) ?*A CHILD bought shoes yesterday.*  
[+spec]  
(Note: [+spec;-def] in English = [-spec] in BI/JAV.)

Note, by the way, that the reason why [-spec]-nouns in English and [-spec]-nouns in BI/JAV are very difficult to distinguish from generic nouns becomes clear. In English [-spec] in (98b) is generic, and [-spec] in (98d) is non-generic, but since in English (98b) and (98d) overlap, i.e. because [-spec] interpretation in (98d) is given when the speaker does not know the referent, and no assumption about the hearer's knowledge is made, meaning that the hearer may or may not know the referent, while [-spec] in (98b), which is generic, has to be used in a situation where *the speaker and the hearer* have no specific referent in mind. A similar situation occurs in BI/JAV. The [-spec] in (98b) is generic, but the [-spec] in (98c) is not. The [-spec] in (98c) is used when the speaker assumes that the hearer does not know the referent, but *the speaker may or may not* have a specific referent in his mind, while the generic [-spec] in (98b) has to be used in a situation where both *the speaker and the hearer* have no specific referent in mind. Let us modify (98) to clarify the point just made, and to include generic interpretation of [-spec] nouns in BI/JAV and in English:

(101) English:

|                                   |   |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| The speaker:                      | The speaker assumes<br>that the hearer:         |
| (a) knows the referent            | knows the referent = [+def]                     |
| (b) does not know<br>the referent | does not know = [-spec]-GENERIC<br>the referent |
| (c) knows the referent            | may or may not = [+spec]<br>know the referent   |
| (d) does not know<br>the referent | may or may not = [-spec]<br>know the referent   |

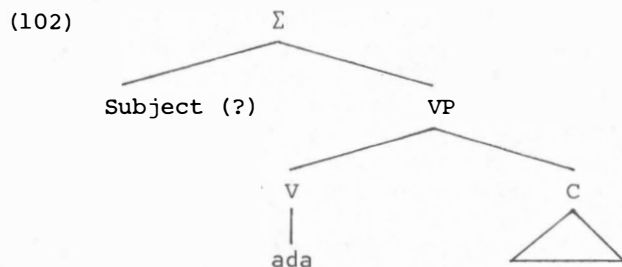
BI/JAV:

|   |   |
|---|---|
| The speaker:                            | The speaker assumes<br>that the hearer:         |
| (a) knows the referent                  | knows the referent = [+spec]                    |
| (b) does not know<br>the referent       | does not know = [-spec]-GENERIC<br>the referent |
| (c) may or may not<br>know the referent | does not know = [-spec]<br>the referent         |
| (d) may or may not<br>know the referent | knows the referent = [+spec]                    |

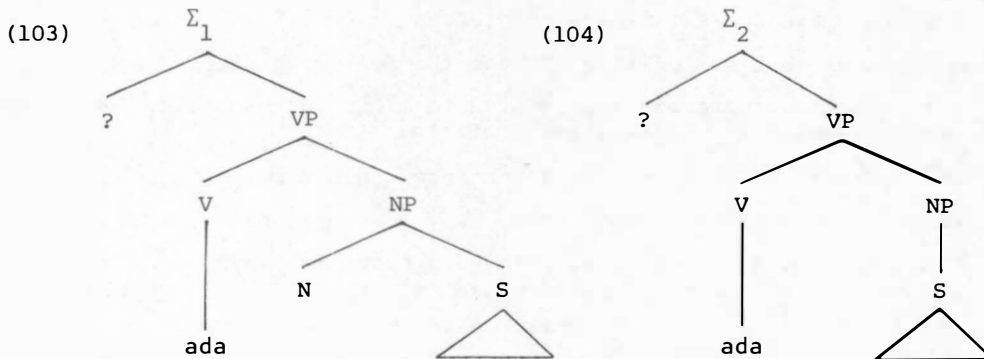
Note: Every time the semantic interpretation contains *may or may not* the noun is *syntactically unmarked*.

Going back to (85), (96), and (100), it is now clear that the difference between English and BI/JAV is that in English (100) a child bought shoes is the paraphrase of an existential there was a child who bought shoes (at least according to Baker (1966a, b), where a child in both sentences are [+spec]. In BI/JAV, (85) \*anak membeli sepatu is the paraphrase of the existential ada anak membeli sepatu and anak in both sentences is [-spec].

The surface structure of existential sentences in BI/JAV can be represented by a tree diagram (102) below, where  $\Sigma$  stands for existential sentence, C stands for a constituent to be specified later, and ada is the existential verb in BI (in JAV the verb is ana):



The questions as to whether  $\Sigma$  is subjectless or not is not crucial at the moment. First, let us observe the characteristics of  $\Sigma$ . Another interesting fact about BI/JAV is that they have two kinds of existential sentences. The distinction is not equivalent to stressed and unstressed there is English. The two kinds of  $\Sigma$  in BI/JAV can be represented by the following tree diagrams:



(103) consists of *ada* followed by a relativised NP and (104) consists of *ada* followed by a nominalised S. (105) below is  $\Sigma_1$  and (106) is  $\Sigma_2$ :

(105) *ada* [*anak* [*yang membeli sepatu*]]  
*There was a child who bought shoes.*

(106) *ada* [*anak membeli sepatu*]  
*There was a child buying shoes.*

I will use the English sentence with gerund to translate  $\Sigma_2$  simply because it has similar surface structure. The appropriate translation for (106) is probably *There was an event. The event was 'a child bought shoes'*. The surface difference between (105) and (106) is that (105) has *yang* and (106) does not.

The constraints on  $\Sigma$  can be illustrated by the following sentences:

- (107) *ada anak (yang) membeli sepatu*  
*There was a child buying/who bought shoes.*
- (108) \**ada anakNYA (yang) membeli sepatu*  
 \**There was THE child buying/who bought shoes.*
- (109) \**ada anakNYA ITU (yang) membeli sepatu*  
 \**There was THE child buying/who bought shoes/*
- (110) \**ada anak ITU (yang) membeli sepatu*  
 \**There was THE child buying/who bought shoes.*
- (111) *ada anak [yang lewat] (yang) membeli sepatu*  
 ?*There was a child who passed by buying/who bought shoes.*
- (112) \**ada anak [yang lewat] ITU (yang) membeli sepatu*  
 \**There was the child who passed by buying/who bought shoes.*
- (113) \**ada anak [yang lewat kemarin] ITU (yang) membeli sepatu*  
 \**There was the child who passed by yesterday buying/who bought shoes.*
- (114) \**ada DIA (yang) membeli sepatu*  
 \**There was him buying/who bought shoes.*
- (115) \**ada dia ITU (yang) membeli sepatu*  
 \**There was (that) him buying/who bought shoes.*

Note that only (107) and (111) are grammatical, and the restriction on  $\Sigma_1$  and  $\Sigma_2$  is the same: constraints on  $\Sigma$ : 'The head noun of  $\Sigma_1$  and the subject of S in  $\Sigma_2$  have to be [-anaph; -spec; -PRON].

4.3 Interrogative and existential sentences

In the previous sections of this chapter the following facts were observed:

- (a) Interrogative sentences are related to their corresponding declarative sentences with the appropriate proforms.
- (b) The subject and the focus of a sentence can not be [-anaph;-spec].
- (c) Existential sentences can contain only [-anaph;-spec].
- (d) There are two types of existential sentences in BI/JAV, one with a relativised NP and the other containing a nominalised sentence.

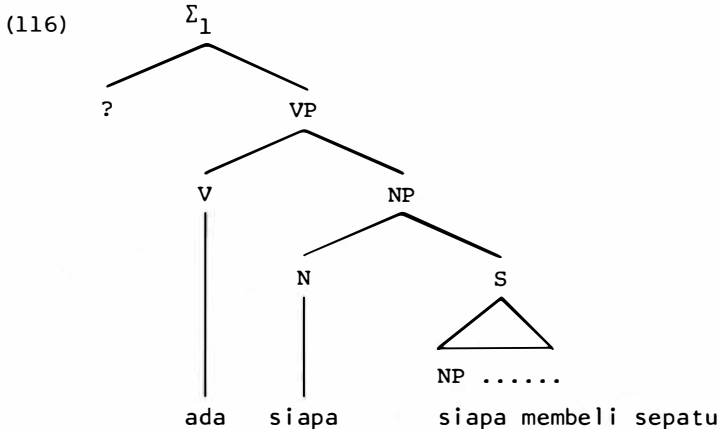
4.3.1 Pro-forms

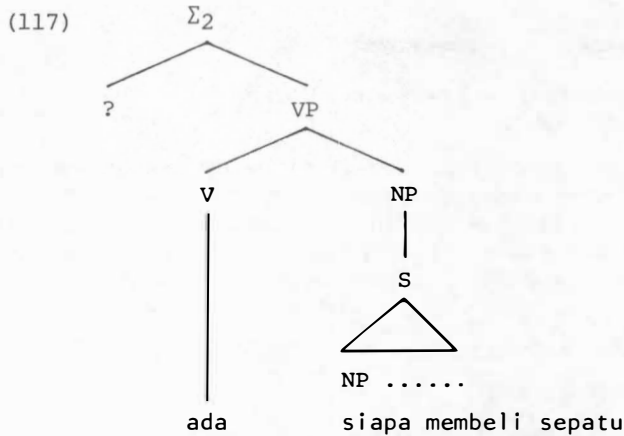
There are words in BI whose meanings are equivalent to *something, someone, etc.* For example: *sesuatu something, seseorang somebody, suatu tempat someplace, suatu waktu sometime, etc.* However, the absence of such words in JAV (and in Tagalog, if I am not mistaken) makes it a little suspicious for these words to be considered the pro-forms of WH-questions. In addition to that, there is another morpheme whose phonological shape is the same as the question-words which also occur in JAV. This morpheme is *apa*. *Apa* is a root which can be lexically derived into *siapa* where *si* is a person marker, *mengAPA* (*me*[+nasal] is a verb marker), etc.

4.3.2 The underlying structure of WH-subject interrogatives

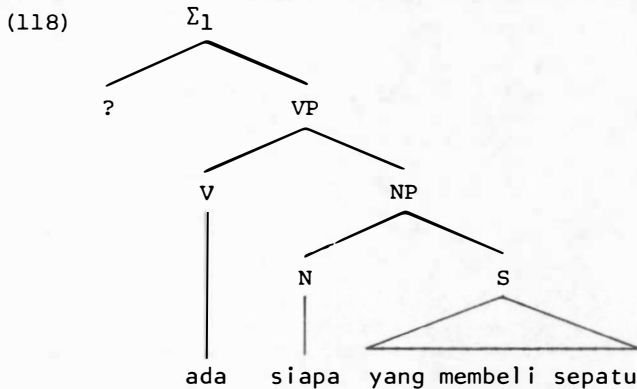
Recall that we have rejected the analysis which assumes a declarative SP-construction as the underlying form of an interrogative sentence which questions the subject, on the ground that the requirement for WH-subject interrogatives to be in FP-constructions can not be naturally explained, i.e. ad hoc.

Since *siapa* is a lexical item, the grammar will generate  $\Sigma$  with *siapa*, and we get the following:





Relativisation can be applied to (116) and we get:



(118) looks like the structure from which we want to derive WH-subject interrogatives. The question is why is it that Q can be attached to or occur with only  $\Sigma_1$  but not  $\Sigma_2$ . We immediately notice that the difference between (116) and (117) is that *siapa* as the head noun of the relativised NP is a constituent of  $\Sigma$  while *siapa* in (117) is a constituent of an embedded sentence S, and there is a need for a general constraint which disallows interrogative sentences in the imbedded sentences to block the generation of sentences like:

(119) \*anak itu menyatakan bahwa siapa yang datang  
   state            that who            come  
       *\*The child stated that who came?*

(120) \*saya mengharapkan kalau siapa yang datang  
   expect            that  
       *\*I expect that who came?*

(119) and (120) are grammatical if they are echo-questions. I assume at the moment that echo-questions are different from WH-questions. For initial treatments of echo-questions in English, see Malone (1968) and Stockwell, Schachter, and Partee (1968:650-651).

This constraint is applicable to the occurrence of Q in relative clauses as well, since the following sentences are ungrammatical:

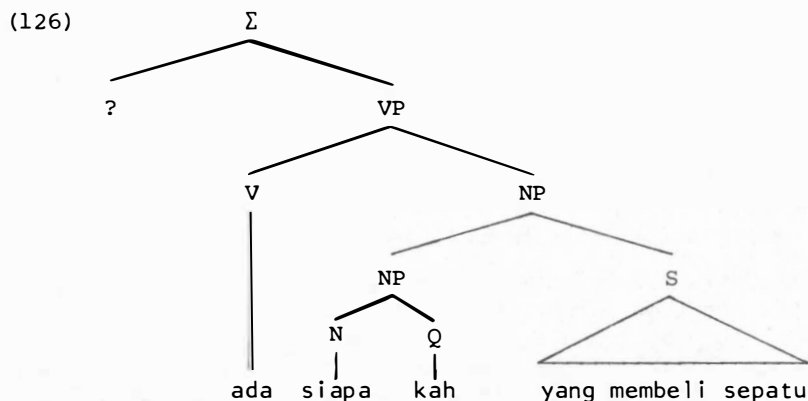
- (121) \*anak [yang APANYA patah] datang  
*\*The child whose WHAT BROKE came?*
- (122) \*siapa [SIAPA yang membeli sepatu] yang datang  
*\*Who WHO BOUGHT SHOES came?*

It seems that indirect questions like (123) and (124) below are exceptions, but recall that the constraint is not on the WH placement, i.e. for BI/JAV the constraint is not on the derivation of siapa in the embedded sentence, but on the occurrence of SUBJECT.AUX inversion. In BI/JAV, Q triggers the rising intonation. The constraint is equivalent to the blocking of sentences like (125):

- (123) John wanted to know who was going.  
 (124) He told me what time it was.  
 (125) \*John told me what time was it?

Q-constraint can roughly be stated as follows: Q-constraint: 'Q can not occur in the embedded sentence'.

Applying this constraint to (118) and (117) above, we now reduce the possible candidate for WH-subject questions to (118) only. When Q occurs in (118), we have (126):



Now that we have (126), what we need is a justification for fronting the head noun. The following sentences show that a question word siapakah is [-anaph;+spec]:

- (127) \*anak yang membeli sepatu  
*\*It was any child who bought shoes.*
- (128) siapakah yang membeli sepatu  
*Who was it who bought shoes?*
- (129) sepatuNYA yang mahal  
*The shoes are expensive.*
- (130) apaNYA yang mahal  
*Which is expensive?*
- (131) anak ITU yang membeli sepatu  
*It was the child who bought shoes.*



- (132) \*siapa itu yang membeli sepatu  
 \*(The) who bought shoes?

Sentence (127) is ungrammatical because the focus is [-anaph;-spec], but (128) is grammatical, so *siapakah* is not [-anaph;-spec]. Sentences (130) and (129) are grammatical because the focus is [-anaph;+spec] (recall that *nya* is a [+spec] marker), so the question word in (130) is [-anaph;+spec], and (131) is grammatical because the focus is [+anaph;-spec], but (132) is ungrammatical, so the focus must not be [+anaph;-spec]. A question word is [-anaph;+spec], not [-anaph;-spec], nor [+anaph;-spec].

Looking back at (126) above, *siapakah* in (126) is [-anaph;+spec], and it has been known that  $\Sigma$  must not contain [+spec], so *siapakah* has to be fronted. The fronting of [+spec] is not a unique rule, since when two existential sentences occur in a discourse and both contain the same noun in the head nouns, the second head noun is pronominalised, which makes the noun [+spec], and when the second existential contains [+spec] the second existential has to be expressed in a non-existential sentence. For example:

- (133) ada ANAK membeli sepatu. kemudian ada ANAK membeli jam  
           buy shoes then watch  
 There was a child who bought shoes. Then, there was a child  
 who bought a watch.

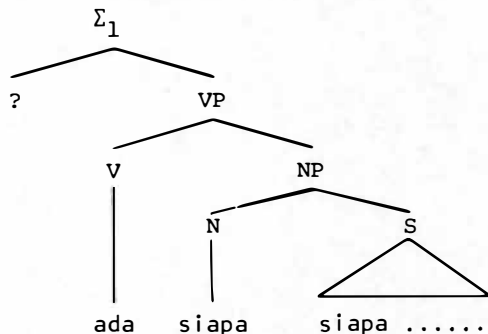
When *anak* in the first existential is identical with *anak* in the second existential, pronominalisation applies, and *anak* in the second existential becomes *dia* *he/she*. The paraphrase of (133) with identical *anak* is (134) below:

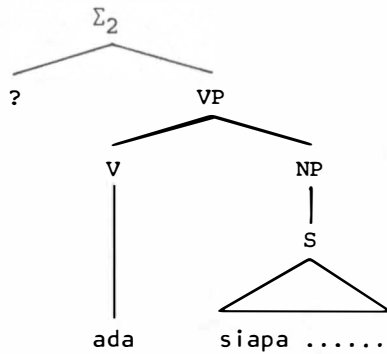
- (134) ada anak membeli sepatu. KEMUDIAN DIA MEMBELI JAM  
 There was a child who bought shoes. THEN HE BOUGHT A WATCH.

So, fronting of [+spec] in existentials seems to be a general rule. When *siapakah* in (126) has been fronted, to get the appropriate surface structure we simply delete *ada*. There are justifications for the existence of *ada* in the underlying forms and the derivation of the *yang*-phrase from the relative clause. These justifications will be given later in a more appropriate context. What needs to be stated now is that *ada* deletion is obligatory in interrogative sentences.

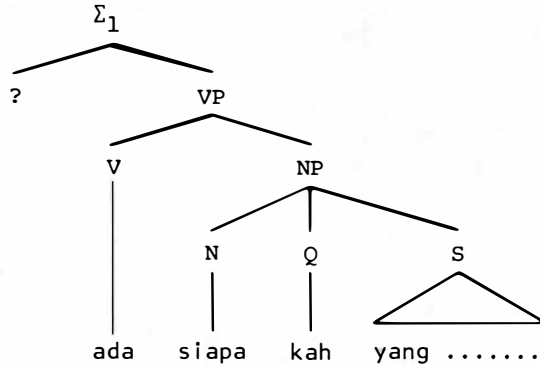
Let us recapitulate what we have discovered so far in this sub-section:

- (a) The grammar will generate two kinds of existential sentences  $\Sigma_1$  and  $\Sigma_2$  whose formatives may be proforms.  
 (b) Since *siapa* is a lexical item, the grammar will generate existentials with *siapa*, and we get the following:



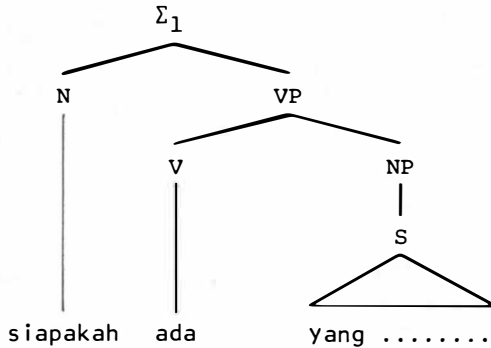


(c) There is a general constraint which disallows Q in the embedded sentence, which automatically disallows Q in  $\Sigma_2$ , so we get  $\Sigma_1$  which contains Q. The Q should be after the pro-form because this Q is realised as kah in BI, and we have siapaKAH. This kah, however, can later be optionally deleted provided that the rising intonation has been assigned. We now have the following:

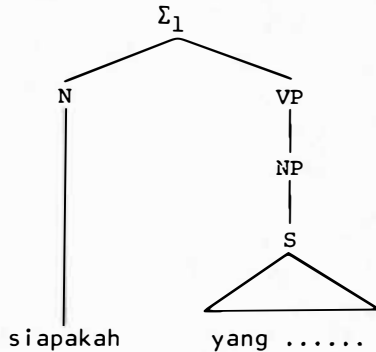


where yang is a relative pronoun as a result of relativisation rule.

(d) Since existential can not contain [+spec], and siapakah is [+spec], siapakah is fronted. This gives us:



(e) *ada* can then be deleted, and we get:



## 5. FOCUS AND PRESUPPOSITION CONSTRUCTIONS

### 5.1 General characteristics of FP-constructions

The general characteristics which distinguish SP from FP-constructions in terms of their different surface structures and usage, have been presented in Chapter 1. It might help to understand the difference between these two constructions if we compare the use of the terms *focus* and *presupposition* in this work with those of other linguists, like Chomsky, Lakoff, and Halliday.

#### 5.1.1 Chomsky's focus and presupposition

Chomsky (1968) cites the following sentences:

- CH(38) (a) Is it JOHN who writes poetry?  
 (b) It isn't JOHN who writes poetry.  
 CH(39) No, it is BILL who writes poetry.

He then states that:

under normal intonation the capitalised word receives main stress and serves as the point of maximal inflection of the pitch contour. A natural response to (38) might be, for example, (39). The sentence (39) is a possible answer to (38a) and corroboration of (38b). The semantic representation of (38) must indicate, in some manner, that *John* is the *focus* of the sentence and that the sentence expresses the *presupposition* that 'someone writes poetry'. In the natural response, (39), the presupposition of (38) is again expressed, and only the focus differs. On the other hand, a response such as (40) does not express the presupposition of (38). [p.30]

- CH(40) No, John writes only short STORIES.

Comparing Chomsky's notion of focus and presupposition with mine, presented in section 1, we can immediately see that the terms are used in a very similar, if not exactly the same, manner. To express CH(38a), (38b), and (39) in BI, we have to use FP-constructions (135), (136), and (137) respectively:

- (135) apa John YANG menulis pantun  
*Is it John who writes poetry?*
- (136) BUKAN John YANG menulis pantun  
*not*  
*It isn't John who writes poetry.*
- (137) bukan, Bill YANG menulis pantun  
*No, it is Bill who writes poetry.*

Sentences (135)-(137) have the structure:

$$\left[ \begin{array}{c} Q \\ \text{NEG} \end{array} \right] \left[ \text{NP}[\text{yang-VP}]_{\text{yang-phrase}} \right]_S ]_S$$

and the focus of (135) and (136) is John, while the focus of (137) is Bill, and all three sentences presuppose that 'someone writes poetry'.

### 5.1.2 Lakoff's focus and presupposition

Lakoff (1971) says the following about *focus*:

'Focus' is another traditional notion in grammar. Halliday (1967) describes the information focus as the constituent containing new rather than assumed information. The information focus often has heavy stress. Thus in *JOHN washed the car yesterday*, the speaker is assuming that the car was washed yesterday and telling the addressee that the person who did it was John. [p.4]

Lakoff seems to use the terms *assume* and *presuppose* interchangeably. And his use of the word *assuming* in the quoted passage above corresponds to Chomsky's *presupposition*. Furthermore Lakoff states that 'Halliday's account of focus has been adopted by Chomsky (1968)' (p.29). So, it seems clear that my use of the terms *focus* and *presupposition* corresponds to the ones used by Halliday and Chomsky, as well as Lakoff.

### 5.2 Constraints on Focus

It was shown in Section 4.4.1 that the subject of an SP-construction must not be [-anaph;-spec]. The following sentences show that the constraint on subject is also applicable to focus:

- (138) \*anak yang membeli sepatu  
*?It was any child who bought shoes.*
- (139) anakNYA yang membeli sepatu  
*It was the child who bought shoes.*
- (140) anakNYA ITU yang membeli sepatu  
*It was the child who bought shoes.*
- (141) anak ITU yang membeli sepatu  
*It was the child who bought shoes.*
- (142) \*anak [yang lewat] yang membeli sepatu  
*?It was any child who passed by who bought shoes.*

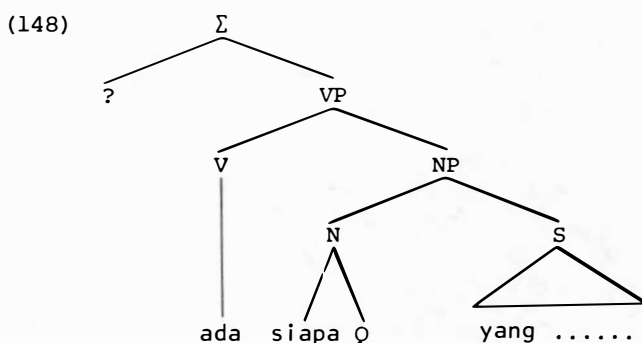
- (143) anak [yang lewat TADI PAGI] yang membeli sepatu  
*It was the child who passed by THIS MORNING who bought shoes.*
- (144) anak [yang lewat] ITU yang membeli sepatu  
*It was the child who passed by who bought shoes.*
- (145) anak [yang lewat tadi pagi] ITU yang membeli sepatu  
*It was the child who passed by this morning who bought shoes.*
- (146) DIA yang membeli sepatu  
*It was HE who bought shoes.*
- (147) dia ITU yang membeli sepatu  
*?It was (THAT) HE who bought shoes.*

Sentences (138) and (142) are ungrammatical because anak in (138) is [-anaph; -spec], and so is anak in (142), because the relative clause is a non-specific relative clause. *Focus constraint*: 'The focus of an FP-construction must not be [-anaph;-spec]'.

Note again that the constraint should be stated in terms of the conjunction of the feature [-anaph] and [-spec], because an [-anaph]-noun can be a focus, as in (139), (143), and (146), and so can a [-spec]-noun, as in (141) and (147).

### 5.3 The underlying forms of FP-constructions

Recall that WH-questions have been shown to be derived from existential sentences of the following type:



Since *siapakah* (kah = Q) is [-anaph;+spec], *siapakah* is fronted, and after *ada* is deleted, WH-subject questions – which are in FP-construction like (149) – are generated:

- (149) *siapakah yang membeli sepatu kemarin*  
*Who was it who bought shoes yesterday?*

The following arguments seem to give justifications for deriving FP-constructions from existential sentences like (148) above:

(a) In addition to generating (148) with pro-forms like *apa*, *siapa*, etc., the grammar will also generate (148) with regular non-proform nouns as the head noun and the subject of the relative clause. When the head noun and the subject of the relative clause are [-anaph;-spec], existential sentences like (150) are generated:

- (150) ada mahasiswa yang tertembak  
*There was a student who was shot.*

When the head noun and the subject of the relative clause are [-anaph;+spec], ungrammatical existential sentences like (151) are generated:

- (151) \*ada mahasiswa [yang kamu tegur KEMARIN]<sub>SpecREL</sub> yang tertembak  
*yesterday*  
 \**There was the student who was addressed by you yesterday who was shot.*

If (151) is allowed to be generated and the fronting rule for N+Q which is [-anaph;+spec] is obligatorily applied to (151), a grammatical FP-construction is generated:

- (152) mahasiswa [yang kamu tegur kemarin] yang tertembak  
*It was the student who was addressed by you who was shot.*

However, if (152) were to be generated from an underlying form other than (151), the grammar would have to have a device to block the generation of (151) and consider (151) and (149) two distinct constructions.

It seems that the grammar will be simpler if the fronting rule is applied to sentences like (151) as well, which increases the generality of the fronting rule.

(b) There is a semantic argument which supports the derivation of (152) from (151), namely that the ungrammatical sentence (151) can be easily given the interpretation whose meaning is the same as (152). The complementary distributions of [-spec] and [+spec] charted below support such a claim:

| Focus of FP | Head noun in $\Sigma$ |
|-------------|-----------------------|
| *[-spec]    | [-spec]               |
| [+spec]     | *[+spec]              |

(c) That the underlying structures of FP-constructions contain ada is evidenced from the presence of ada in the sentences like (153) and (154).

- (153) muridmu ada yang sakit  
*student-your sick*  
*Some/one of your students are/is sick.*
- (154) pekerjaan yang kamu tawarkan kemarin ADA yang menginginkan  
*job offered by you yesterday wanted*  
*The job you offered yesterday is wanted.*

In sentences like (153), ada can not be deleted if the focus contains an implied partitive, since (153) without ada will become (155) and the meaning of (155) does not indicate that the focus contains an implied partitive.

- (155) muridmu yang sakit  
*It is your student(s) who are/is sick*

In (154) ada can not be deleted, otherwise the sentence is ungrammatical. Sentence (154) is the paraphrase of the existential sentence (156):

- (156) ada orang yang menginginkan pekerjaan yang kamu tawarkan kemarin  
*person want job offered by you*  
*There was somebody who wanted the job you offered yesterday.*

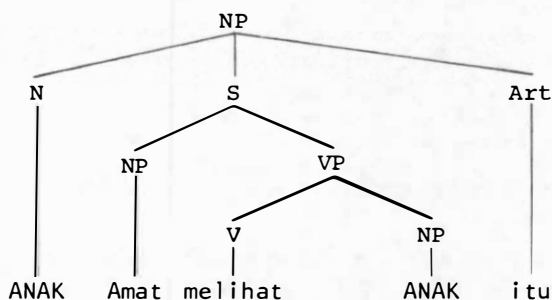
Again, since sentences like (153) and (154) are FP-constructions, the grammar will be simpler if the underlying forms of (153), (152), and (150) are in the same construction, i.e. the existential sentences having the structure (148) above.

(d) The derivation of FP-constructions from existential sentences containing a relativised noun implies that the yang-phrase is derived from a relative clause. There is a syntactical argument which suggests that that should be the case.

There is a constraint in BI/JAV (and Tagalog as well) which disallows relative clauses of the following type:

- (157) [\*anak [yang Amat melihat]<sub>Rel</sub> itu]<sub>NP</sub>  
*The child Amat saw*

Sentence (157) has the following structure:



The constraint is that the head noun has to be identical with the *subject* of the embedded sentence for relativisation to apply. (157) has a head noun anak which is identical with *object* of the embedded sentence, so relativisation is disallowed. This kind of constraint apparently does not exist in English, since the English NP in (157) is well-formed. In other words, both (157) and (158) below are well-formed in English, but only (158) is well-formed in BI/JAV and Tagalog.

- (158)
- 
- ```

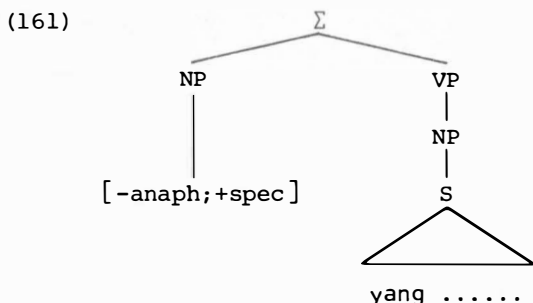
graph TD
    NP1[NP] --- N1[N]
    NP1 --- S1[S]
    NP1 --- Art1[Art]
    N1 --- ANAK1[ANAK]
    S1 --- NP2[NP]
    S1 --- VP1[VP]
    NP2 --- ANAK2[ANAK]
    VP1 --- V1[V]
    VP1 --- NP3[NP]
    V1 --- melihat[melihat]
    NP3 --- Amat[Amat]
    Art1 --- itu1[itu]
  
```
- [anak [yang melihat Amat] itu]

The same constraint has to be imposed on yang-phrases as well, as shown from the following contrast:

- (159) [anak itu]<sub>Focus</sub> [yang MELIHAT AMAT]<sub>yang-P</sub>  
*It is the child WHO SAW AMAT.*
- (160) \*[anak itu] [yang AMAT MELIHAT]  
*It is the child WHO AMAT SAW.*

Cases (157)-(160) constitute a strong indication for the appropriateness of deriving yang-phrase from the underlying relative clause.

As a result of deriving FP-constructions from existential sentences, the surface structure of FP-constructions is (161):



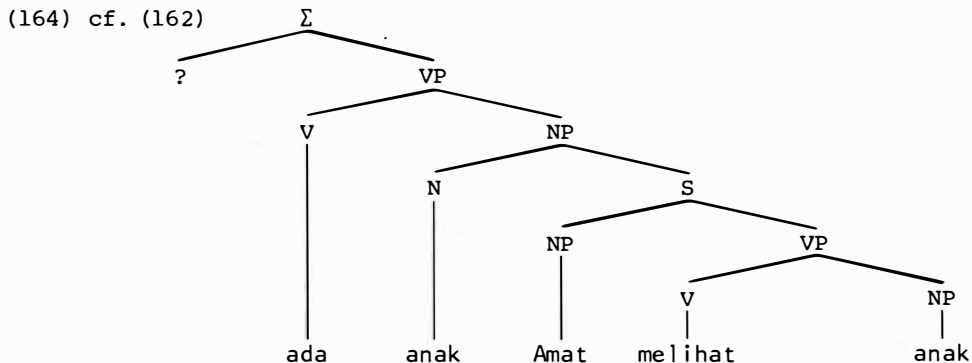
We shall see if this is the proper surface structure. There is an optional rule in BI/JAV which allows the order of certain constituents to be reversed. These are the subject-predicate and focus-presupposition. Since the rule is to derive stylistic variants, nothing is changed, including the intonation. We thus allow the following variants:

(162) [anak itu] [melihat Amat] = [melihat Amat] [anak itu]  
*The child saw Amat.*

(163) [anak itu] [yang melihat Amat] = [yang melihat Amat] [anak itu]  
*It is the child who saw Amat.*

Given the surface structure (161) and [NP+VP]<sub>SP</sub> the rule can simply be stated as: [NP, VP] → [VP, NP] (Optional) which is more general than having separate structural descriptions for SP and FP-constructions. In addition, it is appropriate to not consider the yang-phrase a relative clause any more in the surface, because a head noun and a relative clause can not undergo this stylistic variant rule. In other words, [N[Rel]] can not be reversed into \*[Rel]N].

(e) Recall that to block WH-subject questions in SP-constructions we use a constraint which allows only the constituents of Σ, and not the constituents of the embedded sentence S, to be fronted. Such a constraint is also needed to block the generation of other ill-formed sentences below. The grammar will generate strings like (164):





The constraint states that only the head noun of the relativised noun above can be fronted, otherwise the subject of S can be fronted and we get an ungrammatical sentence (165):

(165) \*Amat [anak melihat anak] cf. (163)

and similarly, the fronting of the object of S will also derive an ungrammatical sentence (166):

(166) \*anak [anak Amat melihat]

Recall also that there is a constraint on relativisation, i.e. that the head noun has to be identical with the subject of the embedded sentence. Sentence (162) does not satisfy this constraint. But, if a passive rule is applied first, the subject and object of S will be interchanged, in addition to changing the active verb-marker *me*[+nasal] with the passive verb-marker *di*. As a result *anak* becomes the subject of S, and it is identical with the head noun *anak*, thus relativisation applies. When the head noun *anak* is fronted, and *ada* is deleted, we get the appropriate sentence (167):

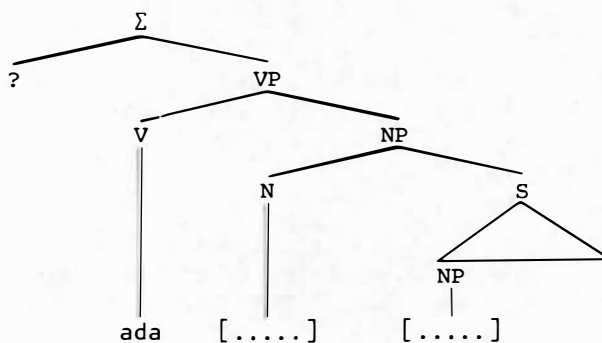
(167) anak itu [yang DIlihat Amat]  
*It is the child who was seen by Amat.*

It thus seems safe to conclude that the underlying forms of FP-constructions are existential sentences containing a relative noun like (148).

#### 5.4 The derivation of FP-constructions from the underlying existential sentences

The grammar will generate existential sentences like (168):

(168) cf. (148)



When the lexical items attached to the head noun and the subject of the relative clause in (168) are [-anaph;-spec;-PRON], existential sentences like (107) and (111) are generated. When the lexical items are [-anaph;+spec;-PRON] the head noun should be fronted, after relativisation which deletes the subject of S and adds *yang*, has been applied. Then *ada* can be deleted when certain presently unspecified conditions are met. The result is the generation of FP-constructions like (139) and (143).

Note that the anaphoric process may convert [-anaph;-spec;-PRON] and [-anaph;+spec;-PRON] into [+anaph;-spec;-PRON] and [+anaph;+spec;-PRON] respectively, and when (148) contains these items, ungrammatical existential sentences like

(109), (110), (112), and (113) will be generated. But if after relativisation the [+anaph] head noun is fronted, the result is the generation of FP-constructions like (140) and (145). So, the fronting rule should roughly be stated as follows: *Fronting*: 'when the head noun of existential sentence contains a noun which is not [-anaph;-spec;-PRON], the noun has to be fronted'.

Pronominalisation will convert [-anaph;-spec;-PRON] into [-anaph;+spec;+PRON], and when the latter is fronted, the result is FP-constructions like (146).

When pronominalisation and anaphora are applied, [-anaph;-spec;-PRON] is converted into [+anaph;+spec;+PRON], and the fronting of the latter will result in the generation of FP-constructions like (147).

### 5.5 The semantic interpretation of focus and presupposition

It has been stated before that FP-constructions have some presuppositions. For example, in sentences like:

- (169) anak itu yang membeli sepatu  
*It is the child who bought shoes.* cf. (3)

the sentence presupposes that a [-anaph;-spec]-child bought shoes, and the focus simply specifies the child which is presupposed to buy shoes. The analysis of FP-constructions presented in this section seems to come very close to giving such meaning to FP-constructions. The presupposition is the embedded sentence S, and the new information is supplied by the feature [spec] in the head noun.

In section 1 we learn that BI/JAV have some markers which indicate that focus may either supplement the information given by a presupposition, contradict the presupposition, or confirm the presupposition. Notice that this may be explainable in terms of the values of [spec] in the head noun and the subject of the relative clause. Since roots can be either [-spec] or [+spec], we can have the following situations:

|     | Head noun | Subject of Rel |
|-----|-----------|----------------|
| (a) | [+spec]   | [-spec]        |
| (b) | [+spec]   | [+spec]        |
| (c) | [-spec]   | [-spec]        |
| (d) | [-spec]   | [+spec]        |

(a) seems to be a situation in which the focus specifies the presupposition, (b) seems to be a situation in which the focus confirms the presupposition, (c) is the existential sentence, and (d) seems to be a situation where the focus contradicts the presupposition. In other words, situation (a) gives the meaning of (169) as: *a child who you presuppose bought shoes is that specific child*, and situation (b) gives the meaning of (169) as: *I confirm that the specific child who you presuppose bought shoes is this specific child*, situation (c) is probably the meaning of the existential sentence, and situation (d) generates sentences like: *I don't know who it is who bought shoes, but not that particular child*.

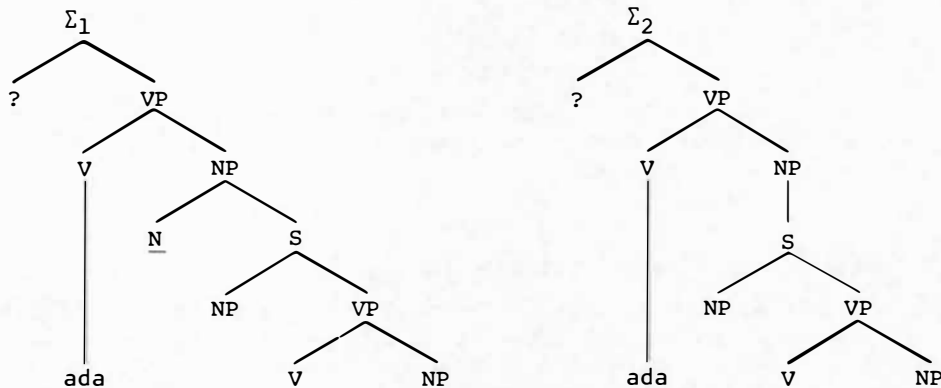
All these are still speculations which need further confirmation from observation of much more data.

What I want to say in this section is that the derivation of both SP as well as FP-constructions from their corresponding existential sentences seems to have semantic justifications as well. Of course this is only valid when the association of presupposition and the features [spec] can be accounted for in a more general way. Such an account is beyond the scope of the present work.

## 6. SUBJECT-PREDICATE CONSTRUCTIONS

### 6.1 SP-constructions and existential sentences

In section 2.3, we noticed that WH-subject questions have to be in FP-construction. After observing the characteristics of nouns in general in section 3, we concluded in section 4 that, on the basis of the constraints on the subject of a sentence, the requirement of FP-construction in WH-subject-questions can be syntactically explained by the use of a general constraint on the occurrence of Q. This constraint disallows the attachment of Q to the subject of S which is embedded in  $\Sigma$ . Let us look at the two types of  $\Sigma$ 's again, since it is crucial at this stage:



In order to generate WH-subject questions in FP-construction, and not in SP-construction, the Q-constraint only allows the attachment of Q to N in  $\Sigma_1$ , which I underlined. This is the crucial part: Q can not occur in the subject of S in  $\Sigma_1$  by the fact that S is embedded in  $\Sigma$ . This means that SP-constructions have to be derived from this  $\Sigma$ , since if S is the initial, topmost S, it is no longer embedded, and Q can occur, and WH-subject questions in SP-construction are generated. We thus have no choice, unless of course, we can suggest another underlying form for SP-constructions where S is an embedded sentence.

The following arguments, similar to the ones which support the derivation of FP-constructions from existential sentences of type  $\Sigma_1$ , seem to support the derivation of SP-constructions from existential sentences of type  $\Sigma_2$ :

(a) The SP-construction with [-spec] (170) below is the paraphrase of the existential sentence with [-spec] (171), and the SP-construction with [+spec] (172) is the paraphrase of the existential sentence with [+spec] (173):

- (170) \*anak membeli sepatu  
A child bought shoes.

- (171) ada anak membeli sepatu  
*There was a child buying shoes.*
- (172) anakNYA membeli sepatu  
*The child bought shoes.*
- (173) \*ada anakNYA membeli sepatu  
*\*There was the child buying shoes.*

Note that [+spec] and [-spec] are in complementary distribution:

| Subject of SP | Subject of S in $\Sigma_2$ |
|---------------|----------------------------|
| *[-spec]      | [-spec]                    |
| [+spec]       | *[+spec]                   |

(b) There is a dialect of BI which allows ada in SP-constructions. For example, compare the following:

- (174) (a) anak itu membuat pakaian  
(b) anak itu ADA membuat pakaian  
*The child made a dress.*
- (175) (a) muridmu membeli radio  
(b) muridmu ADA membeli radio  
*Your student bought a radio.*

Even if sentences like (174b) and (175b) are non-standard BI, such a variant would be impossible to explain unless we assume that ada is present in the underlying forms of (174a) and (175a).

### 6.1.1 The derivation of SP-constructions from $\Sigma_2$

It has been shown in section 5.5.2 that the subject of FP-constructions must not be [-anaph;-spec], and the subject of S in  $\Sigma_1$  must be [-anaph;-spec]. This means that when the subject of S is either [+anaph;-spec], [+anaph;+spec] or [-anaph;+spec], it has to be fronted, and after ada has been deleted, FP-constructions are generated.

It was also stated in section 5 that only certain constituents which meet certain conditions can be fronted to derive the appropriate FP-constructions. At that stage, we simply used the same requirement for the presence of Q for a constituent to be qualified for fronting, i.e. that the constituent must not be the constituent of an embedded sentence. Actually, as far as fronting is concerned, what we want is to allow only the underlined N in  $\Sigma_1$  to be fronted. Instead of using the Q-constraint which is stated in terms of embedded sentence, we can change the requirement by stating that *only the leftmost node which is not [-anaph;-spec]* can be fronted. Remember, this is only for fronting, not Q-constraint, so Q-constraint is stated in terms of embedding and fronting-constraint is in terms of leftmost node.

Given the above fronting-constraint, when the subject of S in  $\Sigma_2$  is not [-anaph;-spec] it is qualified for fronting, and after the deletion of ada, we get SP-constructions, whose derivations are the same as when we derive FP-constructions. The only difference is that the underlying forms of SP-constructions are  $\Sigma_2$  and the underlying forms of FP-constructions are  $\Sigma_1$ .

Notice that the fronting-constraint will block the fronting of the object of S, if it is not [-anaph;-spec] since unless passive rule is applied first, so that the object is moved to the subject position, the object will not be the leftmost constituent. Without the fronting-constraint above, ungrammatical sentences like (176) and (177) will be generated, but with this constraint only sentences like (178) and (179) will be derived:

- (176) \*muridmu orang lelaki memukul  
       *your student man hit*  
       \**Your student a man hit.*
- (177) \*orang lelaki itu muridmu dipukul  
       \**The man your student was hit.*
- (178) muridmu dipukul orang lelaki  
       *Your student was hit by a man.*
- (179) orang lelaki itu memukul muridmu  
       *The man hit your student.*

## 6.2 Summary

So far, we have the following situations:

- (a) The grammar generates two kinds of  $\Sigma$ 's, one with a relativised noun and the other with a complement structure.
- (b) A subject or a focus must not be [-anaph;-spec], but the head noun in  $\Sigma_1$  and the subject of S in  $\Sigma_2$  must be [-anaph;-spec].
- (c) There is a constraint on the occurrence of Q, which can be stated as follows:  
*Q-constraint:* Q should not occur in the embedded sentence.  
 This constraint allows only the occurrence of Q in the FP-constructions. N+Q is [-anaph;+spec].
- (d) There is a constraint on fronting, which can be stated as follows:  
*Fronting constraint:* A noun can be fronted if this noun is the leftmost constituent which is not [-anaph;-spec].
- (e) When a  $\Sigma$  contains a noun other than [-anaph;-spec] and this noun is the leftmost constituent, one of the following can be generated:
- (1) WH-subject questions in FP-constructions, which should now be called *WH-focus questions*. If passive rule is applied, the focus can also be the object of S, or more generally, the surface focus can be the deep subject or the deep object.
  - (2) FP-constructions whose focus can be either the deep subject or the deep object, depending on whether the passive rule is applied or not.
  - (3) SP-constructions whose surface subject can be either the deep subject or the deep object, depending on whether the passive rule is applied.
- (f) Sentences whose focus or subject is [+anaph] acquire [+anaph] from anaphoric processes.

- (g) Sentences generated so far only involved the deep subject and object. It will be shown later that sentences involving other constituents, like verbs, can be generated without any special rules.
- (h) SP and FP-constructions have different underlying forms, but the rules to generate these constructions are exactly the same.
- (i) There is no need to have a special node Focus, Subject, Presupposition, or Predicate.
- (j) The rules to generate these two constructions are meaning-preserving transformations.

## 7. TOPIC-COMMENT INSTRUCTIONS

### 7.1 Terminology

TC-constructions in BI/JAV are represented by sentence (180):

- (180) anak itu, dia membeli sepatu  
*child he/she buy shoes*  
*The child, he/she bought shoes. cf. (2)*

Sentence (180) consists of an NP followed by a sentence whose subject is *dia* which refers to the first NP. In (180) *anak itu* is called the *topic* and the sentence following the topic is called the *comment*. Let us first compare my use of these labels with those used by other linguists, for example Hockett (1958) and Lakoff (1971).

#### 7.1.1 Hockett's topic and comment

In talking about Predicative Constructions Hockett (1958:201) states that 'The most general characterization of predicative constructions is suggested by the terms "topic" and "comment" for their IC's: the speaker announces the topic and then says something about it'. He then gives the following sentences:

- (181) John ran away.

- (182) That new book by Thomas Guernsey, I haven't read it yet.

and says further that 'in English and the familiar languages of Europe, topics are usually also subjects, and comments are predicates, as in John ran away. But this identification fails sometimes in colloquial English, regularly in certain special situations in formal English and more generally in some non-European languages' (p.201). Hockett further states that the that new book by Thomas Guernsey in (182) above 'is spoken first because it specifies what the speaker is going to talk about: it is the topic of the sentence'.

Hockett distinguishes (181), which is SP-construction in this work, and (182), which is considered TC-construction in this work, but he also assumes that (181) and (182) share something in common. We can suspect that Hockett would treat FP-constructions the same way. In a sense he is right that all three constructions have a lot in common, which agrees with the analysis given in this

work. The difference is that this work formally spells out their syntactical and semantic differences, as well as their similarities. The striking similarities among these three constructions are the set of transformational rules which they all share.

### 7.1.2 Lakoff's topic

Lakoff (1971) has the following to say about topic: 'The notion of "topic" is an ancient one in the history of grammatical investigation. Grammarians have long recognised that sentences have special devices for indicating what is under discussion' (p.4). He then cites the following sentences:

(183) John, Mary hates him.

(184) Mary, she hates John.

He calls John in (183) and Mary in (184) the topics, but does not label the constituents following the topics. He also discusses sentences like the following, which he cites from Klima, without specific reference (pp.30-31):

- L(39) a. It is easy to play sonatas on this violin.  
 b. This violin is easy to play sonatas on.  
 c. Sonatas are easy to play on this violin.

He considers (a) is neutral with respect to topic, (b) has this violin as its topic, and (c) has sonatas as its topic. He further cites the following sentences (underlinings are mine):

- L(41) a. Concerning sonatas, it is easy to play them on this violin.  
 b. Concerning sonatas, they are easy to play on this violin.  
 c. Sonatas are easy to play on this violin.

- L(42) a. About this violin, it is easy to play sonatas on it.  
 b. About this violin, it is easy to play sonatas on.  
 c. This violin is easy to play sonatas on.

He states that 'predicates "be about" and "concern" are two-place relations, whose arguments are a description of a proposition or discourse and the item which is the topic of that proposition or discourse'. Conflicts in topics will result in the following ill-formed sentences:

- L(43) ?\*About sonatas, this violin is easy to play them on  
 L(44) ?\*About this violin, sonatas are easy to play on it.

He notices that (43) and (44) are grammatical for those speakers who admit more than one topic in such sentences.

My notion of topic is very close to, if not the same as, that of Lakoff. Sentence (180) can be elaborated to mean:

- (185) Concerning the child (I assume you know which one I am referring to), I have the following comment: he bought shoes.

## 7.2 Constraints on topics

Let us observe the following sentences to discover the types of nouns which can constitute a topic. As is the case with SP and FP-constructions, we shall limit our observation to topics which correspond to the subjects of the comments first. In the next section, more cases will be discussed.

- (186) \*anak, dia membeli sepatu  
\*A child, he bought shoes.
- (187) \*anakNYA, dia membeli sepatu  
\*The child, he bought shoes.
- (188) anakNYA ITU, dia membeli sepatu  
The child, he bought shoes.
- (189) anak ITU, dia membeli sepatu  
The child, he bought shoes.
- (190) \*anak [yang lewat], dia membeli sepatu  
?A child who passed by, he bought shoes.
- (191) \*anak [yang lewat tadi pagi], dia membeli sepatu  
?The child who passed by this morning, he bought shoes.
- (192) anak [yang lewat] ITU, dia membeli sepatu  
?The child who passed by, he bought shoes.
- (193) anak [yang lewat tadi pagi] ITU, dia membeli sepatu  
?The child who passed by this morning, he bought shoes.
- (194) \*dia, dia membeli sepatu  
He, he bought shoes.
- (195) ?dia itu, dia membeli sepatu  
\*(That) he, he bought shoes.
- (196) \*[siapa membeli sepatu]<sub>SP</sub>  
Who bought shoes?
- (197) [siapa yang membeli sepatu]<sub>FP</sub>  
Who was it who bought shoes?
- (198) \*[siapa, dia membeli sepatu]<sub>TC</sub>  
\*Who, he bought shoes?
- (199) \*[siapa, siapa membeli sepatu]<sub>TC</sub>  
\*Who, who bought shoes?

Sentences (186)-(199) show that only [+anaph]-nouns can be the topic of a sentence. Sentence (195) is definitely grammatical when a phrase like *saya kira I think* is in between the topic and its comment. For example:

- (200) dia itu, SAYA KIRA dia membeli sepatu  
?He, I think he bought shoes. cf. (195)

As a matter of fact TC-constructions are generally used with short phrases like 'I think' between the topic and its comment. In other words, the addition of phrases like *saya kira* increase the acceptability of TC-sentences, although the grammaticality of sentences like (188) seem unquestionable.



The following is a comparison between the constraint in topic of TC-constructions and the subject of SP-constructions and the focus of FP-constructions:

| Topic                    | Subject/Focus                                                                 |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. *[-anaph;-spec]       | *[-anaph;-spec]                                                               |
| 2. *[-anaph;+spec]       | [-anaph;+spec]                                                                |
| 3. *[-anaph;+spec;+PRON] | [-anaph;+spec;+PRON]                                                          |
| 4. [+anaph;+spec;+PRON]  | [+anaph;+spec;+PRON]                                                          |
| 5. [+anaph;-spec]        | [+anaph;-spec]                                                                |
| 6. [+anaph;+spec]        | [+anaph;+spec]                                                                |
| 7. *[-def;+spec]+Q       | *[[-anaph;+spec]+Q] <sub>Subject</sub><br>[[-anaph;+spec]+Q] <sub>Focus</sub> |

Note that a topic must be [+anaph]-noun and a subject or a topic must not be [-anaph;-spec]. The topic is different from subject and focus in that (2) and (3) are not allowed to be topics, but they are allowed to be subjects or foci, and that only a focus can be questioned.

### 7.3 The properties of comments

The comment of a TC-construction is a full sentence, and so far we have distinguished two types of sentences: SP and FP-constructions. The following sentences show that the comment of a TC-construction can be either SP-construction or FP-construction:

- (201) anak itu, {  
                   dia membeli sepatu  
                   *That child, he bought shoes.*  
                   dia yang membeli sepatu  
                   *That child, it was he who bought shoes.*
- (202) \*anak, {  
                   dia membeli sepatu  
                   \**A child, he bought shoes.*  
                   dia yang membeli sepatu  
                   \**A child, it is he who bought shoes.*

Notice also that the type of comment in a TC-construction does not affect its topic; the requirement for a topic remains the same: a topic has to be [+anaph].

The following sentences show that the subject or the focus of a comment must be [-anaph;+spec;+PRON]:

- (203) (a) \*anak itu, dia ITU membeli sepatu  
                   \**That child, (that) he bought shoes.*
- (b) \*anak itu, dia ITU yang membeli sepatu  
                   \**That child, it was (that) he/him who bought shoes.*
- (204) (a) \*anak itu, anak (yang) membeli sepatu  
                   \**That child, {a child bought shoes.*  
                                   *{it was a child who bought shoes.*
- (b) \*anak itu, anaknya (yang) membeli sepatu  
                   ?*That child, {the child bought shoes.*  
                                   *{it was the child who bought shoes.*

- (204) (c) \*anak itu anakNYA ITU (yang) membeli sepatu  
           ?That child,  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{the child bought shoes.} \\ \text{it was the child who bought shoes.} \end{array} \right.$

The subject of the comment in (203a) is *dia itu* which is [+anaph;+spec;+PRON], and so is the focus of the comment in (203b). The subject and the focus of the comment in (204a) is *anak*, which is [-anaph;-spec;-PRON], the subject and the focus of the comment in (204b) is *anaknya*, which is [-anaph;+spec;-PRON], and the subject and the focus of the comment in (204c) is *anaknya itu*, which is [+anaph;+spec;-PRON], and (203a,b) and (204a,b,c) are all ungrammatical. Notice that the grammatical sentences in (186)-(199) are the ones whose subject of the comment is [-anaph;+spec;+PRON].

#### 7.4 The derivation of TC-constructions

Let us first of all observe more carefully the possible nouns which can be a topic and the nouns which can be a subject or a focus of the comment:

A topic must be either:

- (a) [+anaph;-spec;-PRON] as in (189) and (192),  
 (b) [+anaph;+spec;-PRON] as in (188) and (193), or  
 (c) [+anaph;+spec;+PRON] as in (195).

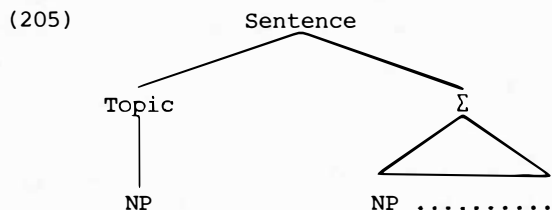
A subject or a focus of a comment must be:

- (d) [-anaph;+spec;+PRON].

It is obvious that the topic and the subject or the focus of the comment have to have the same referent, which means that (c) is the anaphoric form of (d), or that (d) is the antecedent of (c). Furthermore, (d) must be a result of a pronominalisation, which means that the underlying form of (d) must be either:

- (e) [-anaph;-spec;-PRON], or  
 (f) [-anaph;+spec;-PRON].

Note that (e) is the antecedent of (a) and (f) is the antecedent of (b). The relationship between (a), (b), (c) and (d), (e), and (f) clearly shows that the topic is the anaphoric form of the subject or focus in the comment, which means that the underlying form of a TC-construction is not something like (205):



Given (205) there is no way to get (a)-(e), (b)-(f), and (c)-(d) relationships, where (e), (f) and (d) are the antecedents of (a), (b), and (c) respectively. The only way that I know of, which intuitively seems correct, is to consider the first NP in (205) the copy of the second NP, which means that the underlying forms of TC-constructions are SP- and FP-constructions. Since it will be simpler to derive TC-constructions from the underlying existential sentences rather than from the surface SP- and FP-constructions, i.e. the latter will require an intermediate step while the former does not, I will assume that

TC-constructions are directly derived from the existential sentences which underlie SP- and FP-constructions. To acquire the appropriate forms and surface structures anaphoric rules, pronominalisation, copying, and fronting should be applied in a certain order, and two different domains have to be distinguished:  $\Sigma$ -domain and VP-domain. If a rule is to be applied within the VP-domain, then the rule must not be applied to constituents outside VP. If a rule is to be applied within  $\Sigma$ -domain, then anything under  $\Sigma$  is affected by the rule. Given the  $\Sigma_1$  which underlies SP-constructions and  $\Sigma_2$  which underlies FP-constructions, the rules to generate TC-constructions consist of the following, in the order given:

## TC-RULES:

- TC-1: Copying:  $[ \dots \text{NP} \dots ]_{\text{VP}} \rightarrow [ \dots \text{NP-NP} \dots ]_{\text{VP}}$
- TC-2: Anaph:  $[ \dots \text{NP-NP} \dots ]_{\text{VP}} \rightarrow [ \dots \text{NP-NP+itu} \dots ]_{\text{VP}}$
- TC-3:  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Fronting: } [ \dots \text{ada, NP-NP+itu} ] \rightarrow [ \dots \text{NP+itu, ada, NP} \dots ] \\ \text{VP-Pronom: } [ \dots \text{NP-NP+itu} \dots ]_{\text{VP}} \rightarrow [ \dots \text{NP-dia+itu} \dots ]_{\text{VP}} \end{array} \right\}$
- TC-4:  $\Sigma$ -Pronom:  $[ \dots \text{NP+itu, ada, NP} \dots ] \rightarrow [ \dots \text{NP+itu, ada, dia} \dots ]$
- TC-5: Fronting:  $[ \dots \text{ada, NP, } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP-itu} \\ \text{dia-itu} \end{array} \right\} \dots ] \rightarrow [ \dots \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP-itu} \\ \text{dia-itu} \end{array} \right\}, \text{ada, NP} \dots ]$

Note that TC-3 is a conjunctive rule, and TC-5 will not apply if *Fronting* is selected in TC-3, but TC-5 will apply if *VP-Pronom* is applied for TC-3.

## APPLICATION:

- (1) To get (a)-(d) combination, the rules to be applied are:

Base: .....  $[-\text{an}; -\text{spec}; -\text{P}]$   
 TC-1: Copying:  $[-\text{an}; -\text{spec}; -\text{P}]$   $[-\text{an}; -\text{spec}; -\text{P}]$   
 TC-2: Anaph:  $[-\text{an}; -\text{spec}; -\text{P}]$   $[\text{+an}; -\text{spec}; -\text{P}]$   
 TC-3: Fronting:  $[\text{+an}; -\text{spec}; -\text{P}]$   $[-\text{an}; -\text{spec}; -\text{P}]$   
 TC-4:  $\Sigma$ -Pronom:  $[\text{+an}; -\text{spec}; -\text{P}]$   $[-\text{an}; +\text{spec}; +\text{P}]$   
 TC-5: Fronting: does not apply  
 Result: (163) N - itu ... dia ...

- (2) To get (b)-(d) combination, the rules to be applied are:

Base: .....  $[-\text{an}; +\text{spec}; -\text{P}]$   
 TC-1: Copying:  $[-\text{an}; +\text{spec}; -\text{P}]$   $[-\text{an}; +\text{spec}; -\text{P}]$   
 TC-2: Anaph:  $[-\text{an}; +\text{spec}; -\text{P}]$   $[\text{+an}; +\text{spec}; -\text{P}]$   
 TC-3: Fronting:  $[\text{+an}; +\text{spec}; -\text{P}]$   $[-\text{an}; +\text{spec}; -\text{P}]$   
 TC-4:  $\Sigma$ -Pronom:  $[\text{+an}; +\text{spec}; -\text{P}]$   $[-\text{an}; +\text{spec}; +\text{P}]$   
 TC-5: Fronting: does not apply  
 Result: (188) N - nya - itu ... dia ...

- (3) To get (c)-(d) combination, the rules to be applied are:

Base: .....  $[-\text{an}; \pm\text{spec}; -\text{P}]$   
 TC-1: Copying:  $[-\text{an}; \pm\text{spec}; -\text{P}]$   $[-\text{an}; \pm\text{spec}; -\text{P}]$   
 TC-2: Anaph:  $[-\text{an}; \pm\text{spec}; -\text{P}]$   $[\text{+an}; \pm\text{spec}; -\text{P}]$   
 TC-3: VP-Pronom:  $[-\text{an}; \pm\text{spec}; -\text{P}]$   $[\text{+an}; +\text{spec}; +\text{P}]$   
 TC-4:  $\Sigma$ -Pronom: does not apply, since NP's are within VP, and no antecedent for the first NP.  
 TC-5: Fronting:  $[\text{+an}; +\text{spec}; +\text{P}]$   $[-\text{an}; \pm\text{spec}; -\text{P}]$

Second application of TC-rules:

TC-1, TC-2, TC-3 do not apply

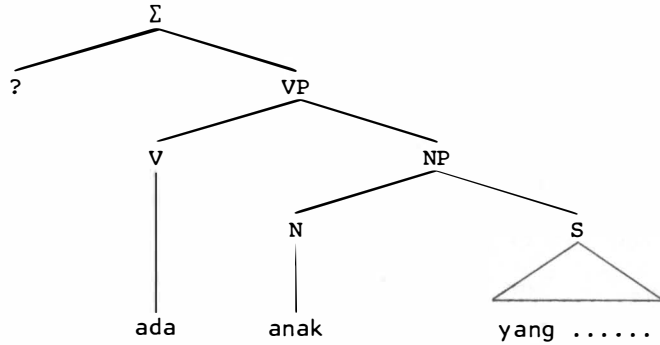
TC-4:  $\Sigma$ -Pronom [+an;+spec;+P] [-an;+spec;+P]

TC-5: Fronting: does not apply

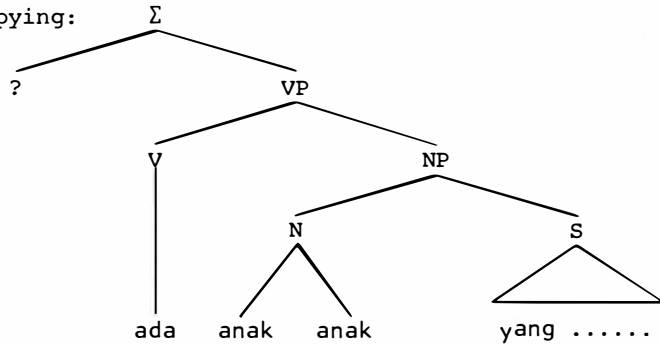
Result: (195) dia itu ... dia ...

### 7.4.1 Sample derivations

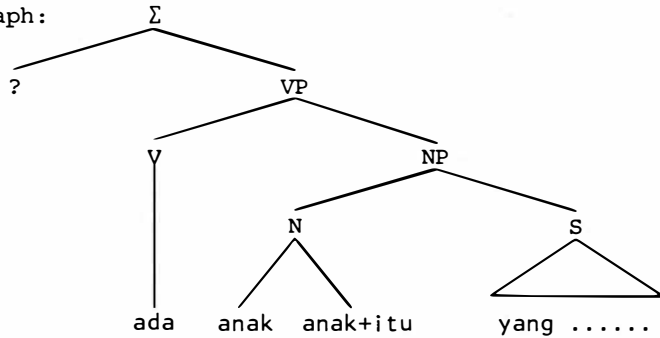
Base:



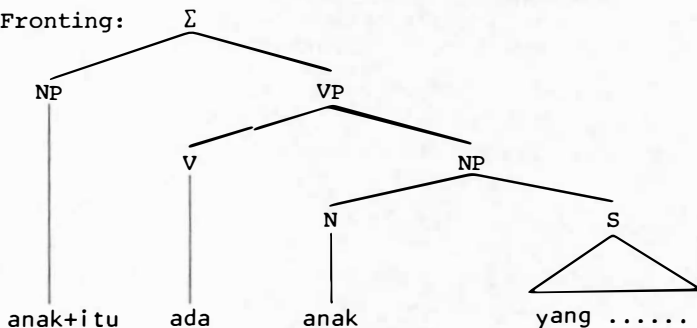
TC-1: Copying:



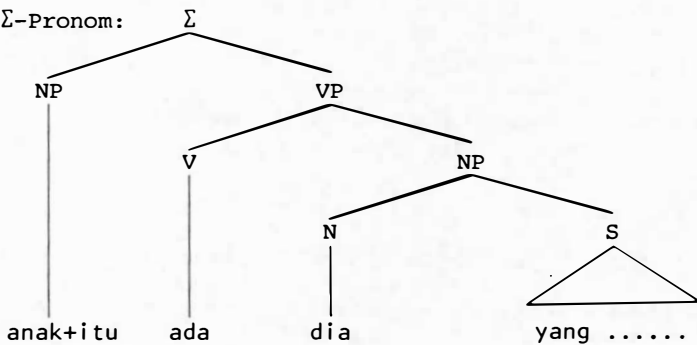
TC-2: Anaph:



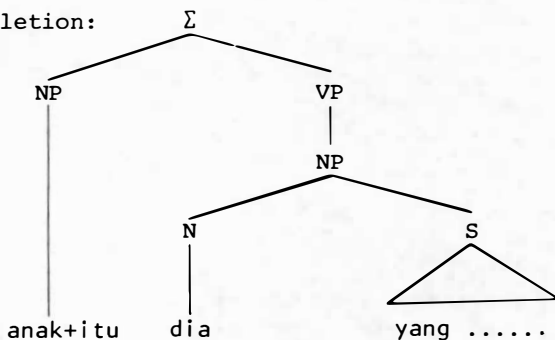
TC-3: Fronting:



TC-4: Σ-Pronom:



ada-deletion:



(206) anak itu, dia yang membeli sepatu  
*That child, it was he who bought shoes. cf. (201)*

## 7.5 The implication of copying transformation to the hypothesis of meaning-preserving transformations

From purely syntactical evidence, we are forced to assume that TC-constructions are derived from the underlying forms of SP- and FP-constructions by applying a copying transformation. The copying transformation is optional and non-meaning-preserving.

There is a way to maintain the hypothesis of meaning-preserving transformations by positing a formative like TOP in the underlying forms whose function is like Q, i.e. to trigger a transformation. For TOP, it triggers copying transformation. To do that, however, we have to look for semantic as well as syntactical justifications for the assumption that TOP is present in the underlying forms of TC-constructions. Lakoff (1968) seems to imply that the presence of sentences like: concerning that child, he bought shoes, or about that violin, it is easy to play a sonata on, etc., may indicate that the presence of TOP in the underlying forms is justified. At the moment, I have not been able to find any syntactical or semantic evidence to support such an assumption, and so I will assume that the generation of TC-constructions has to make use of a non-meaning-preserving transformation, i.e. copying transformation.

## 8. EXISTENTIAL ANALYSIS OF BAHASA INDONESIA AND JAVANESE

Our observation of the behaviour of WH-focus questions, subject, focus, and topic of a sentence has provided us with strong indications that the underlying forms for all three major constructions in BI/JAV, i.e. SP, FP, and TC-constructions, are existential sentences. Let me refer to this analysis as an *existential analysis*. The evidence for such an analysis presented in previous sections has been based solely on subject and later also object of the sentence embedded in the existential sentence. In this section we will observe the other parts of the sentence and find out if the analysis presented in the previous sections can handle other cases without extra ad hoc rules.

### 8.1 Interrogative sentences

#### 8.1.1 WH-subject, WH-focus, and WH-topic

It has been shown that among the subject, focus, and topic of a sentence, only the focus can be questioned. Let us briefly review how the existential analysis generates one and blocks the other two:

(a) The base rules generate two kinds of existential sentences; one is *ada* followed by a relativised noun and the other is *ada* followed by a sentence complement. The generation of WH-subject is blocked by a general constraint which disallows the presence of Q in the embedded sentence. The requirement for fronting is that an element should be the leftmost node which is not [-anaph;-spec], and since N+Q is [-anaph;+spec], they can be fronted if they are in the head noun of the relativised NP, since the head noun is the leftmost constituent. The result is the proper generation of WH-focus questions. Because a passive rule can be applied (the rule is optional), the element which is fronted can also be the object of the embedded sentence. So we can generate both WH-subject-focus questions as well as WH-object-focus questions.

(b) To generate TC-constructions, the requirement is that the leftmost node has to be a node which is not [-anaph;-spec]. Depending on which existential sentence is generated, a TC-construction may have an SP-comment or FP-comment. After copying, an anaphoric rule which makes the copy [+anaph] is obligatory. Recall that Q can occur only with [-anaph]-noun, and when the anaphoric rule makes the N of N+Q into [+anaph], this [+anaph]-noun is no longer compatible with the strict-subcategorisation feature of Q, and so the [+anaph]+Q are marked ill-formed by the general rule.

So, general constraints of Q, fronting, and copying allow the generation of WH-focus questions (both subject and object) and prevent the questioning of a subject and a topic.

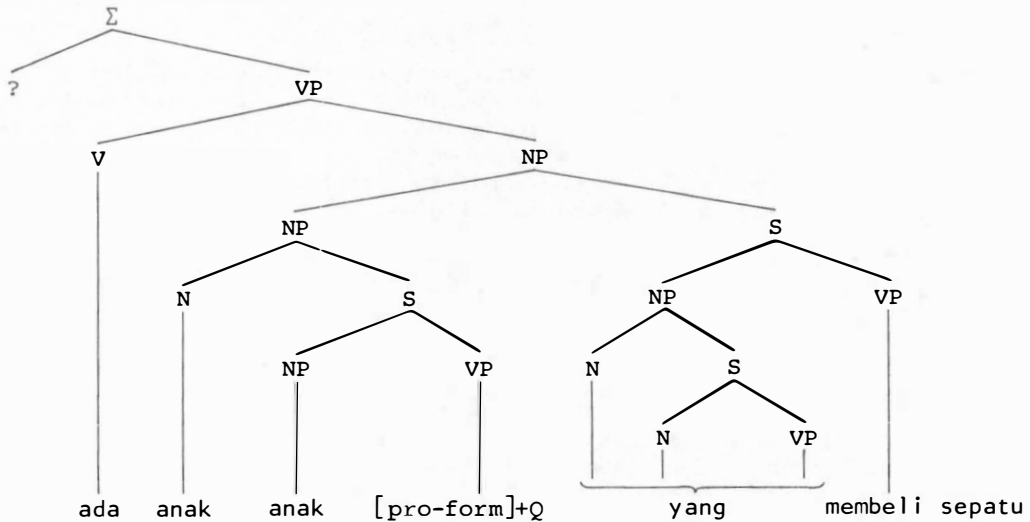
8.1.2 Yang mana (which) questions

The following sentences show that only yang mana-focus occurs in BI/JAV and not yang mana-subject or yang mana-topic:

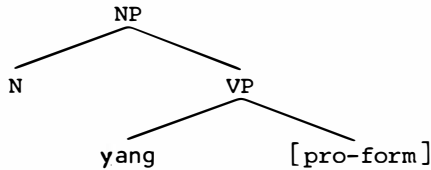
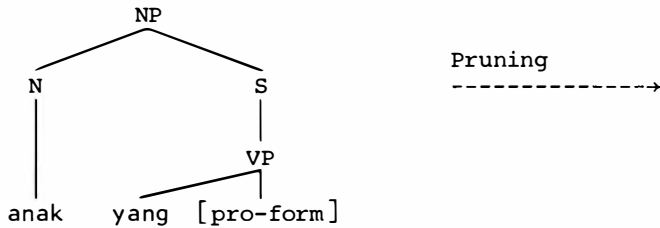
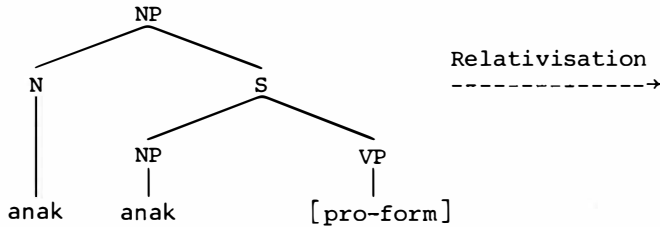
- (207) \*ANAK YANG MANA membeli sepatu  
*child which*  
*\*Which child bought shoes?*
- (208) ANAK YANG MANA YANG membeli sepatu  
*WHICH CHILD bought shoes?*
- (209) \*anak yang mana, dia membeli sepatu  
*\*Which child, he bought shoes?*

Yang mana is only allowed in (208), which is an FP-construction, i.e. the focus is anak yang mana. Let us see if we can generate the appropriate sentence and block the ill-formed ones.

(a) To get yang mana questions we have to have a relativised focus, so we should start with the following:



The Q-constraint disallows the realisation of pro-form+Q into a question-word, since the only pro-form is in the embedded sentence. (VP is actually a phrase consisting of one or more pro-forms.) But if we apply the relativisation rule which attaches yang to the main VP and apply the pruning of S, the pro-form will come out from an embedded sentence. Let us look at the relativised NP only:



Let me first show how this Q-constraint ought to be formally stated. Recall that question-words such as *siapakah*, *apakah*, etc., are [-anaph;+spec], but *apa*, which is a root, is always [-anaph;-spec]. This means that Q has the same effect on the noun as SpecREL: Q converts [-spec] into [+spec]. The constraint can be viewed as the condition which should be met for the conversion of [-spec] into [+spec] as follows:

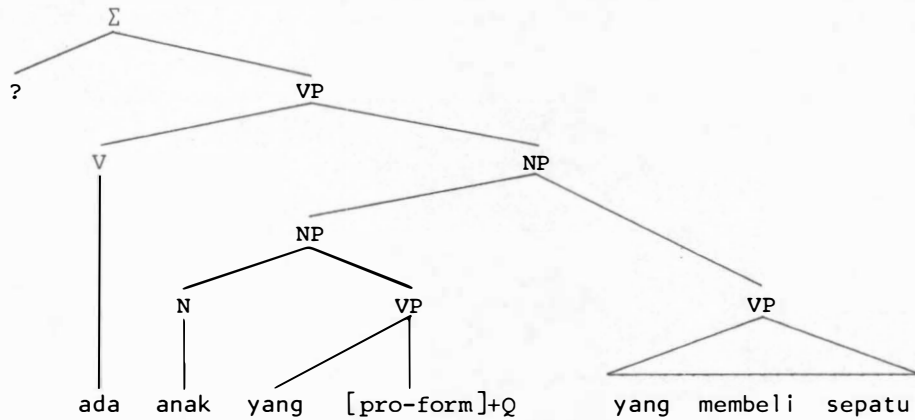
Q-constraint:

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} [+pro-form] \\ -anaph \\ -spec \end{array} \right]_{WH} +Q \rightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{l} [+pro-form] \\ -anaph \\ +spec \end{array} \right]_{WH} +Q$$

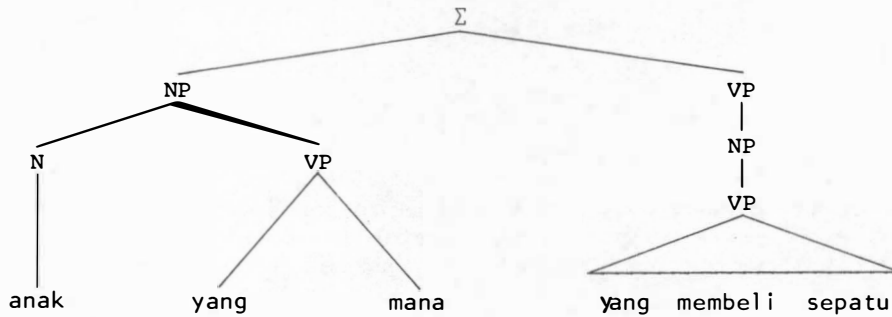
Condition: WH is not an element of an embedded sentence.

This means that Q is already attached to pro-form in the underlying form, since semantic interpretation is given to this underlying form, but the 'spreading' transformation which converts [-spec] into [+spec] can not be applied until pro-form+Q comes out from the embedded sentence. This can be accomplished by the application of relativisation and pruning. The result of the application of these two rules is as follows:

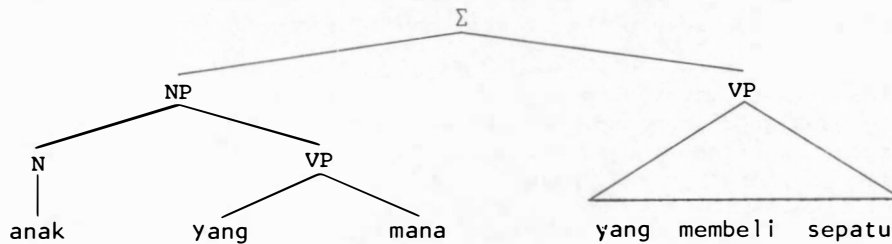




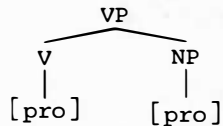
[anak yang [pro-form]+Q]<sub>NP</sub> is now the leftmost [+spec] constituent which qualifies the NP to be fronted, and we get the following, after ada deletion:



and the VP-NP-VP string of dominance in the yang-phrase cancels the NP, and the final surface structure is as follows:



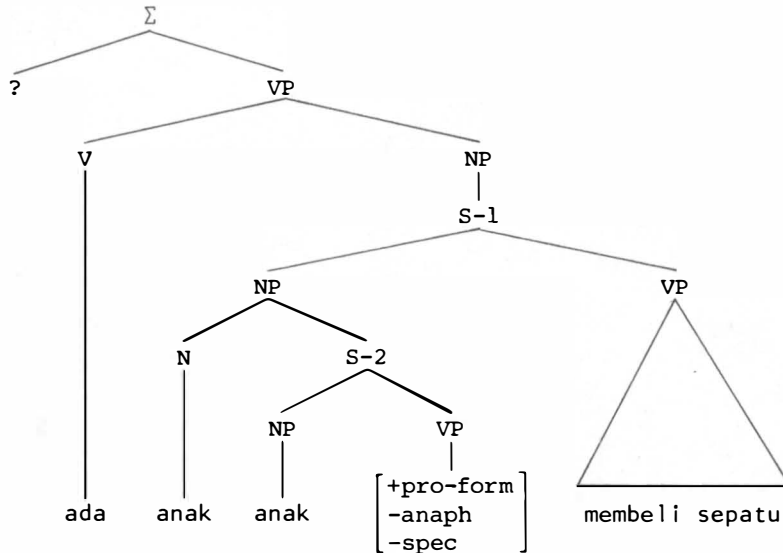
The pro-form mana is a phonetic realisation of a string of apa's, i.e. the details should be:



where [pro][pro] becomes mana. Mana is also used in di mana *where*, which comes from di + Locative + apa, where Locative can be dalam *inside*, luar *outside*, etc.

Compare: *di dalam apa inside what?*, *di mana where?*, but *\*di dalam mana*, which shows that *Loc + apa* → *mana*.

Let us now see how *yang mana*-questions in SP-constructions are blocked. We start with SP-existential below:



Note that there is no way to prune S-1, and [+pro-form] will still be in an embedded S-1, even after the relativisation rule is applied. So, the general Q-constraint disallows the derivation of the ungrammatical sentence (207) above.

Will *yang mana* in topic be blocked too? The answer is yes. When *yang mana* occurs in FP-existential, as in  $\Sigma$  on the previous page, although VP is no longer under an embedded sentence as a result of relativisation, after copying is applied [-anaph; -spec; -pro-form] is made [+anaph] by anaphoric rule which disallows Q to occur with it. When *yang mana* occurs in SP-existential above, it can never be copied because the VP will never become the leftmost constituent.

The derivation of the proper *yang mana*-questions as well as the blocking of the improper *yang mana*-questions are taken care of by the same constraints on Q, requirements for fronting, and requirements for copying. The only addition is the application of Ross's tree pruning stated in Ross (1963).

### 8.1.3 WH-verbs

The verb phrase in BI/JAV can also be questioned, and all three constructions can contain WH-verbs, as shown from the following sentences:

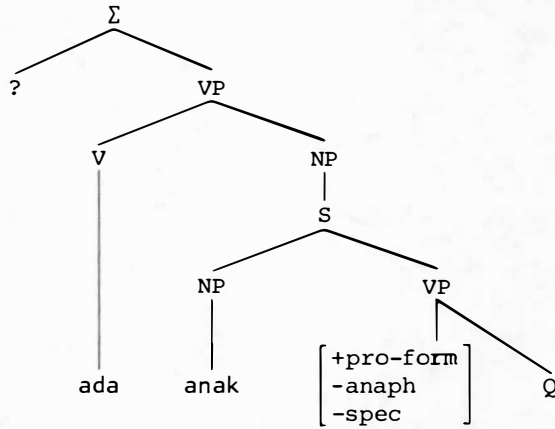
(210) anak itu MENGAPA  
*What did the child do?*

(211) anak itu YANG MENGAPA  
*What did THE CHILD do?*

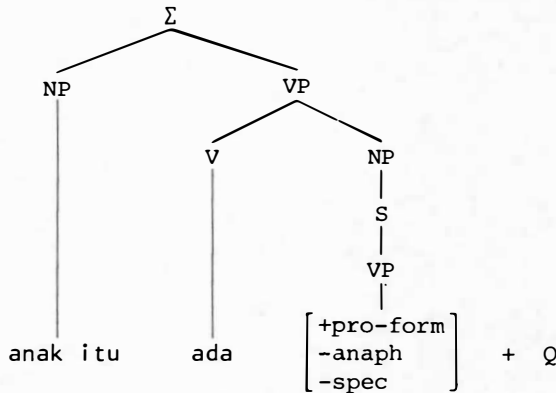
- (212) anak itu, dia MENGAPA  
*That child, what did he do?*
- (213) anak itu, dia YANG MENGAPA  
*That child, what did HE do?*

Note that (210) is an SP-construction, (211) is an FP-construction, (212) is a TC-construction with SP-comment, and (213) is a TC with FP-comment. We shall see why all four of them can be generated, or how the present analysis can generate all four.

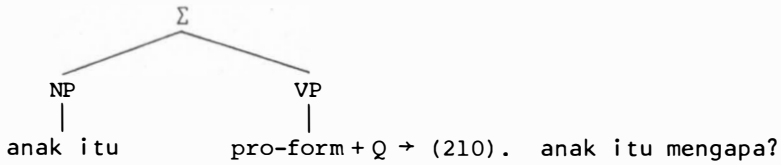
Let us start with an SP-existential sentence below:



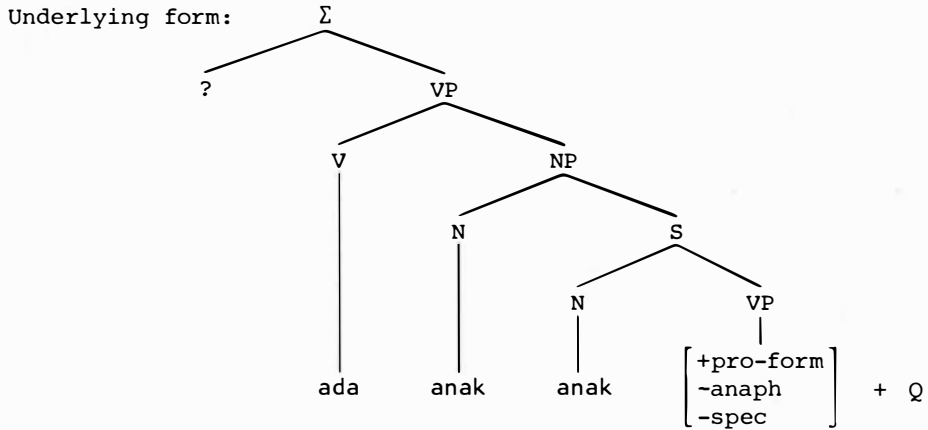
The Q-constraint prevents the realisation of pro-form + Q into a question-word because VP is in the embedded sentence. So, how are we going to get the VP out? Let us take another look at WH-verb questions above. Note that anak itu in (210)-(213) is either a subject, focus, or topic, and each of them can not be [-anaph;-spec], which means that in order to get (210)-(213), anak in the existential sentences must not be [-anaph;-spec]. Now, if anak is not [-anaph;-spec], it is qualified to be fronted, so we get:



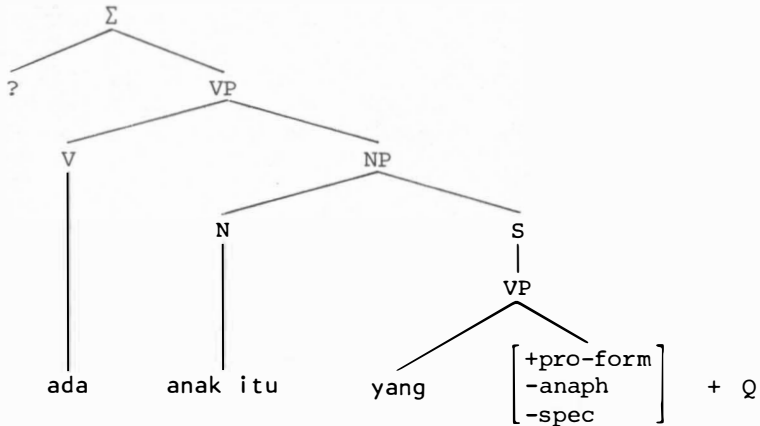
After the fronting, ada can be deleted. The nodes between the topmost VP and the lowest VP, and the lowest VP can be deleted, since VP dominates NP which dominates S which in turn dominates VP. The pro-form + Q can now be realised as a question-word, and we get:



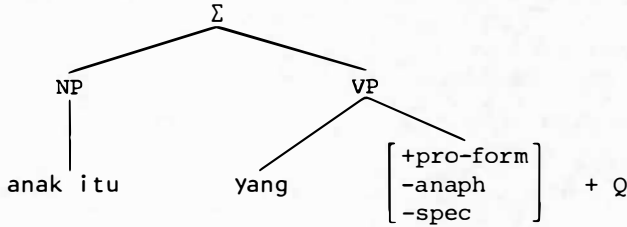
Let us now look at an FP-existential sentence, and see whether WH-verb in FP-construction can be generated:



Q-constraint disallows the realisation of pro-form + Q, because VP is in the embedded S. But anak can be [+anaph], and after relativisation is applied we get:



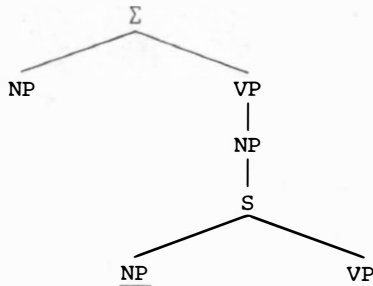
Anak itu can be fronted, ada is deleted, NP and S under VP are deleted, and we get:



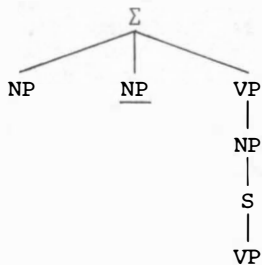
and pro-form + Q can now be realised, because VP is no longer under an embedded sentence and we get:

(214) anak itu yang mengapa cf. (211)

We come now to TC-constructions. Note that even after copying and fronting of anak itu, VP can never get out of S. This suggests that the surface structure for TC-constructions given before is not exactly correct; as is the case with relativised NP, the rule should also front the original NP rather than letting it remain under S. Observe the following after copying is applied, and ada is deleted.



Instead of the above structure, the structure should be:



Given the second surface structure, tree pruning can now be applied and the lowest VP will no longer be in the embedded S.

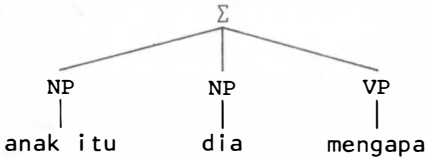
Let us pause and justify the modifications for the surface structures of NP-Rel and TC-constructions. Notice that there is nothing wrong to modify the surface this way. In fact it has to be done, since the surface structures given before are given without justification, i.e. before there was no reason given for NP

to remain under S. Actually, the modification on the surface structure of TC-constructions can be accomplished by allowing the fronting rule to be applied first before copying. This means that our simplicity argument in section 7 is wrong. An intermediate step is necessary to acquire the appropriate surface structure of TC-constructions.

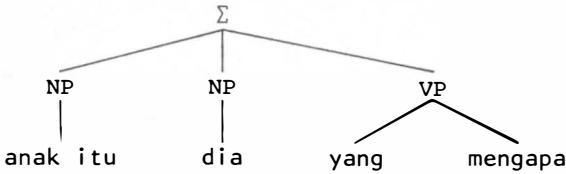
From the above SP-existential sentence we thus get sentences like:

- (215) anak itu, dia mengapa  
*That child, what did he do?* cf. (212)

and the surface structure of (215) is:



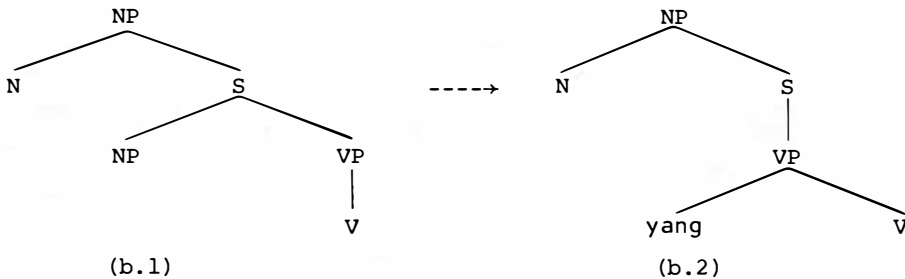
Exactly the same modification has to be done to generate TC with FP-comment. There seems to be no need to go through the derivations in detail. The surface structure for (213) is as follows:



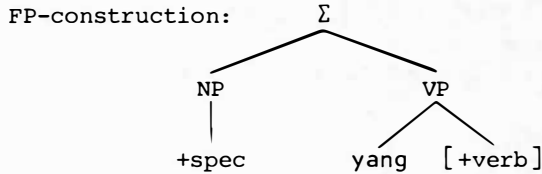
#### 8.1.4 Summary

Before looking at other cases, it is helpful to recapitulate what we have considered so far:

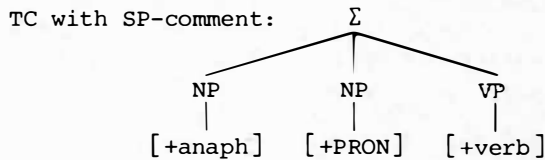
- (a) Two types of existential sentences can be generated: SP-existential sentence and FP-existential sentence.
- (b) When the leftmost constituent is not [-an;-spec], this constituent can be fronted. If this constituent is in SP-existential sentence, we generate SP-sentences. For FP-existential, however, relativisation has to be applied first. A relativisation rule transforms (b.1) into (b.2):



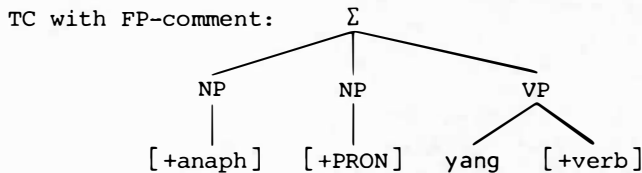
After relativisation, the head noun is fronted, and the 'unnecessary' nodes can be deleted, we get an FP-sentence with the following surface structure:



(c) When the leftmost constituent is not [-anaph;-spec] and it is in an SP-existential, this constituent is fronted first, then copying transformation is applied. After anaphoric rule, pronominalisation, and ada deletion have been applied, we get the following surface structure:



When the leftmost constituent is in an FP-existential, relativisation applies first, then fronting and copying apply, and we get the following surface structure:



(d) When a pro-form+Q occurs in the head noun of an FP-existential sentence, that head noun is [-anaph;+spec], and pro-form+Q can be realised into a question-word, because the head noun is not the embedded sentence, which satisfies the Q-constraint.

$$Q\text{-constraint: } [[-spec]Q]_{WH} \rightarrow [[+spec]kah]_{WH}$$

Condition: WH is not in the embedded sentence.

Since this head noun is [+spec] and the leftmost constituent, it is qualified for fronting. WH-focus is thus generated.

But when the pro-form+Q is in the subject of S of an SP-existential sentence, the condition on Q-constraint is not met, and WH-subject can not be generated.

Regardless of whether pro-form+Q is attached to the head noun of FP-existential or the subject of the SP-existential, WH-topic can never be generated, because Q can only occur with [-anaph] and anaphoric rule (TC-2) after copying makes [-anaph]-proform into [+anaph].

(e) In an SP-existential, when the subject of S is not [-anaph;-spec] and the verb is a pro-form+Q, the condition on Q-constraint can not be met until the fronting is done and VP is out from S. But once the VP is out of S, WH-verb in SP can be generated. Similarly, when the object is a pro-form+Q and the passive is not applied, then after fronting we generate sentences like (216):

- (216) anak itu membeli APA  
*What did the child buy?*

Note, however, than when the passive is applied, the object of S which becomes the subject can not be fronted, because the condition on Q-constraint can not be met, so we prevent the generation of ungrammatical sentences like (217):

- (217) \*apa dibeli anak itu  
*What was bought by the child?*

(f) In an FP-existential, when the head noun is not [-anaph;-spec] and the verb under S is pro-form+Q, the condition on Q-constraint can not be met until the head noun is fronted, i.e. after relativisation, so that the verb is out from S, i.e. S is deleted. When this verb is no longer in the embedded sentence, the condition on Q-constraint is met and we get sentences like (214) above. Similarly, when the object of S is a pro-form+Q, and the head noun is not [-anaph;-spec], Q-constraint can not be applied until relativisation and fronting have been applied. When fronting has applied, the object of S is out from S, since S is deleted, and now the condition on Q-constraint can be met, which gives us sentences like:

- (218) anak itu yang membeli APA  
*What did THAT CHILD buy?*

Note that when the head noun and the object of S are pro-form+Q, the Q-constraint applies to the head noun first, then once the object is out from S, Q-constraint applies to the object as well, so we get sentences like:

- (219) SIAPA yang membeli APA  
*Who is it who bought what?*

But in SP-existential, the subject can never be fronted if it is pro-form+Q, since the condition on Q-constraint is never met, which prevents the derivation of the ungrammatical sentences like:

- (220) \*siapa membeli apa  
*Who bought what?*

Now, if the head noun, the subject, the verb, and the object are all Pro-form+Q, after the fronting of the head noun, all pro-form+Q meet the condition on Q-constraint, which makes them question words, and we get sentences like:

- (221) SIAPA yang mengAPAKan APA  
*Who did what to what?*

and (222) is still properly prevented – which is what we want – since it is an SP-construction:

- (222) \*siapa mengapakan apa

(g) In an SP-existential, when the subject of S is not [-anaph;-spec] and the verb is a pro-form+Q, the condition on Q-constraint will be met after fronting transformation which deletes the S, and the verb will no longer be under an embedded sentence, and we get sentences like (215) above. By the same procedure, we can also get TC whose object of the comment is questioned, as in:

- (223) anak itu, dia membeli APA  
*That child, what did he buy?*

and if the verb is also pro-form+Q, we get:



- (224) anak itu, dia mengAPAKan APA  
*That child, HE did what to what?*

But note that the topic and the subject of the comment can never be questioned, because they are [+anaph], while the pro-form+Q is always [-anaph].

(h) In an FP-existential, when the head noun is not [-anaph;-spec], and the verb phrase is pro-form+Q, the condition on Q-constraint is met after fronting and sentences like (216) are generated. When the object of S is pro-form+Q, we get:

- (225) anak itu, dia yang membeli APA  
*That child, what did HE buy?*

and when both verb and object are pro-form+Q, we get:

- (226) anak itu, dia mengAPAKan APA  
*That child, HE did what to what?*

We have now discussed the generations of the majority of interrogative sentences by simply using the same key operations. This seems to support very strongly the correctness of the existential analysis given so far.

## 8.2 Focused constituents other than the deep subject

In this section I will show how other focused constituents can be generated using practically no new rule.

### 8.2.1 VP-focus

The following sentences show that *VP-focus* occurs only in the form of *SP-construction*, and not in *FP-construction*:

- (227) [membeli sepatu] [anak itu]  
*The child BOUGHT SHOES.*
- (228) [yang membeli sepatu] [anak itu]  
*The CHILD bought shoes.*
- (229) \*[membeli sepatu] [anak itu] [yang]
- (230) [anak itu]<sub>TOP</sub> [[membeli sepatu] [dia]]<sub>COMM</sub>  
*That child, ?buying shoes is what HE did*
- (231) [anak itu]<sub>TOP</sub> [[yang membeli sepatu] [dia]]<sub>COMM</sub>  
*That child, HE bought shoes.*
- (232) \*[anak itu]<sub>TOP</sub> [[membeli sepatu] [dia] [yang]]<sub>COMM</sub>

Compare the above sentences with the constructions we have observed before:

- (233) anak itu membeli sepatu  
*The child bought shoes. cf. (1)*
- (234) anak itu yang membeli sepatu  
*The CHILD bought shoes. = It is THE CHILD who bought shoes. cf. (2)*
- (235) anak itu, dia membeli sepatu  
*That child, he bought shoes. cf. (3)*

Note that at its surface (227) looks like (233) with different order of IC's. In fact, (227) is ambiguous, depending on the intonation. One of them has been mentioned before, namely the stylistic variant of (233), but the intonation should remain the same. The VP in (227) is the focus when it is spoken with the same intonation when the IC's are not reversed. In addition, there are those morphemes I mentioned in section 1 which can only be attached to a focus, which disambiguate the ambiguities of a focus. Thus, compare the following:

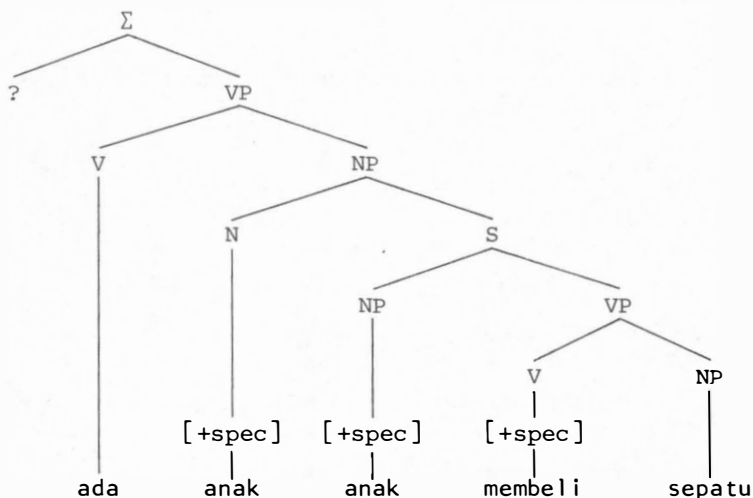
- (236) [membeli sepatu SAJA ] [anak itu]  
*(Contrary to your assumption,) the child BOUGHT SHOES. cf. (227)*
- (237) [MEMANG membeli sepatu] [anak itu]  
*(I confirm that) the child BOUGHT SHOES. = The child DID buy shoes.*
- (238) [membeli sepatu] [anak itu]  
*?It is buying shoes that the child did.*

Sentences (236), (237), (238) all have a VP-focus. Sentence (228), however, can not be interpreted as having yang-phrase-focus, only the variant of (234).<sup>11</sup>

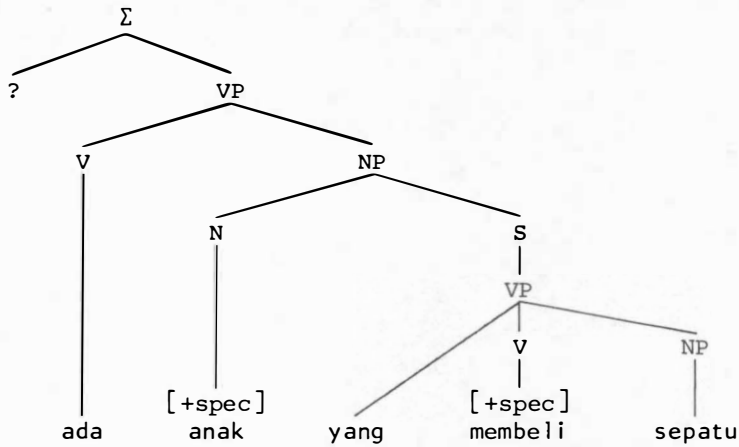
Sentence (229) is ungrammatical, because yang-phrase or part of it can never become focus; the comment of (230) has VP-focus; (231) is grammatical but the yang-phrase in the comment is not a focus; (232) is ungrammatical because jang-phrase or part of it can not be focus.

Now let us see how the existential analysis generates the proper forms and blocks the ill-formed sentences:

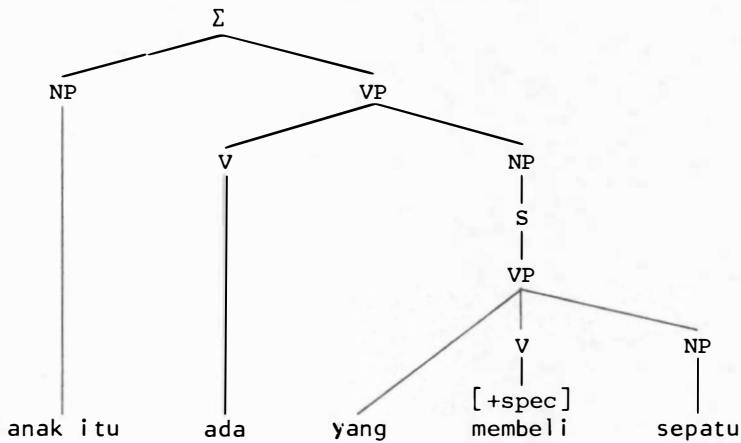
Let us start with FP-construction. First we generate an FP-existential as follows:



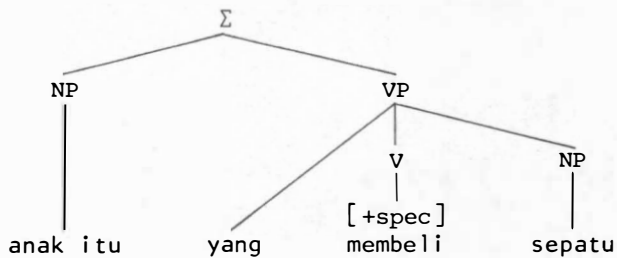
Relativisation is applied, we get:



The head noun is the leftmost [+spec], so it can be fronted. When the head noun has been fronted, we have the following:

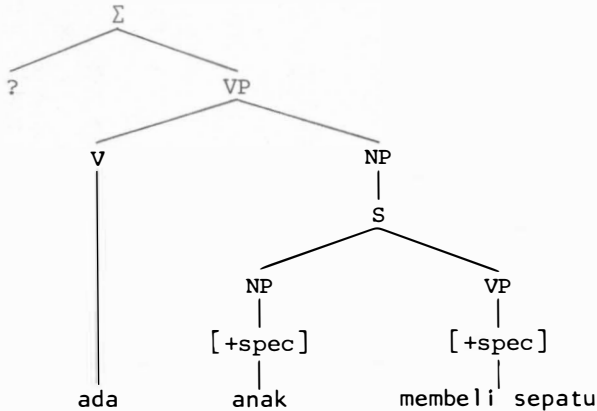


Then, NP, S, and ada can be deleted, and we get:

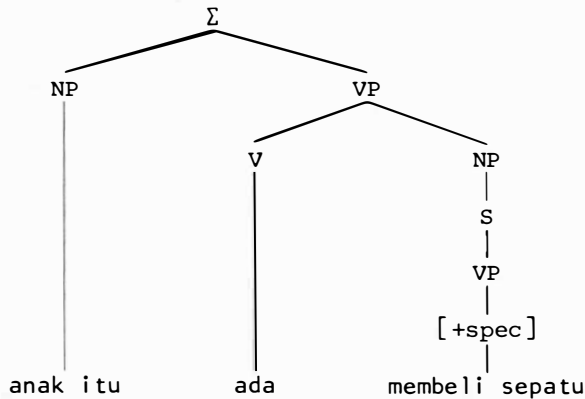


Note that membeli sepatu is not the leftmost constituent, since yang is more left than V- NP = membeli sepatu, and yang can never meet the condition for fronting, i.e. yang is not a root. So, the generation of sentences like (229) is blocked, properly.

Now, let us see what happens when we start with an SP-existential:



The subject of S is the leftmost [+spec] so it is fronted, and we get:



Now, VP is the leftmost [+spec], and it can be fronted, and after ada deletion, we get the appropriate (238).

### 8.2.2 Special triggered VP-focus

Some words like saja *even* and pun *even too* trigger VP-focus. The presence of these words with a verb requires the verb to be focused. Consider the following sentences:

- (239) anak itu tidak dapat menari  
                                           *not can dance*  
                                           *The child can not dance*
- (240) \*anak itu tidak dapat MENARI SAJA

- (241) anak itu MENARI SAJA tidak dapat  
*The child can't even dance.*
- (242) \*anak itu tidak dapat menariPUN
- (243) anak itu menariPUN tidak dapat  
*The child can't even dance either.*

Words like these seem to dominate the verbs only rather than the entire sentence, so these words should be attached to VP in S rather than the VP under  $\Sigma$ . These words then have to be marked [+spec], and when they occur with [-spec] verb under S the [-spec]-verb is changed to [+spec] and thus fronting is obligatory. Horn (1969) and Fillmore (1965) discuss the presupposition of a sentence with *even*. Further comparison between the behaviour of *even* in English and BI/JAV may be fruitful, but such a task is beyond the scope of the present work. What is being demonstrated in this section is simply that constraints like Q-constraint, Fronting-constraint, Copying-constraint, etc. seem to be needed to derive the different types of foci.

### 8.3 Other topicalised constituents

In section 7, the derivation of TC-constructions whose topic is the deep subject or object has been presented. We shall now discuss other types of topics.

#### 8.3.1 Topicalised VP

Topicalised VP is always in the form of nominalised VP, and this nominalised VP is used as a subject of SP-construction or the focus of FP-construction. The derivation of topicalised VP then is the same as the topicalisation of subject or topic. Instead of the head noun in the FP-existential, what we have to have is a head nominal, and similarly, instead of a noun as the subject of S, we have a nominal. Using the same rules to get TC with FP-comment and TC with SP-comment, we will get TC with nominalised VP as topic.

#### 8.3.2 Topicalised possessive nouns

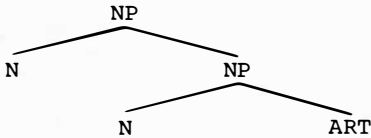
TC-constructions with possessive nouns as topic are the constructions which have the highest frequency of usage in BI/JAV. This kind of TC can occur in SP as well as in FP-constructions. For example:

- (244) anak itu, lEUNYA membeli sepatu  
*mother-poss*  
*That child, his mother bought shoes.*
- (245) anak itu, lBUNYA YANG membeli sepatu  
*That child, HIS MOTHER bought shoes.*

Before we look at the derivation of (244) and (245) let us look at the structure of NP with possessives. The possessive nouns in BI/JAV behave like modifiers and relative clauses. Consider the following possible constructions:

- (246) (a) [[ibu] [anak]]  
*mother child*  
*a mother of a child*
- (b) [[ibu] [anak itu]]  
*a mother of the child*
- (c) [[[ibu] [anak]] itu]  
 (I do not know how to translate this:)  
 ?*The child's mother*
- (d) \*[[ibu itu] [anak]]  
*the mother of a child*
- (e) \*[[ibu itu] [anak itu]]  
*the mother of the child*
- (f) \*[[[ibu itu] [anak itu]] itu]  
 ?*the mother of the child*

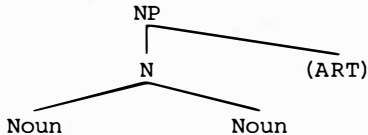
Note that the structure of NP-possessives is not [NP] [NP], because the first NP, the possessed, can not take an Art, as evidenced from (246) d, e, and f. The structure then has to be the one like N-Rel:



As shown from the above configuration, we can stack possessives indefinitely, since NP can be N - NP again. We can have something like:

[medja [ibu [anak [ajah [...]]]]]  
*a table of a mother of a child of a father ...*

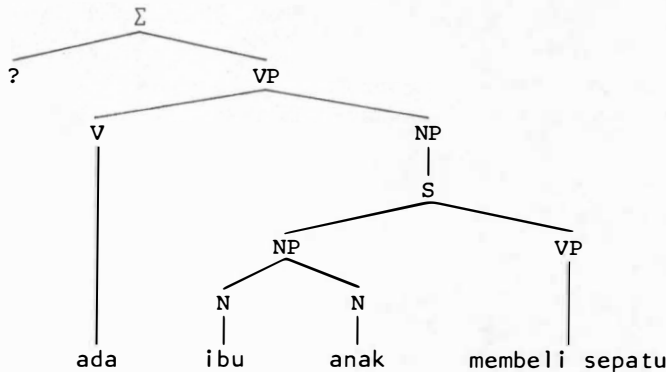
However, since (246f) is also ill-formed, in contrast with (c) we also have a structure:



There are two important phenomena which should be kept in mind about these two structures of NP-possessive:

- (a) When ART is present, it can only 'modify' either the second noun (i.e. the possessor) or the entire NP, never the first noun alone (i.e. the possessed noun).
- (b) When the second noun contains ART, i.e. when the structure of NP-possessive is the one shown in the middle of this page, the second noun is always [-anaph].

Let us look at the derivation of TC with SP-comment first:



Note that *ibu* is [-anaph;-spec] and it is the leftmost constituent. Can *ibu* be fronted? The answer is no, because *ibu* can not take ART, so it can not be made [+anaph], because recall that the possessed noun can never be [+anaph] unless both the possessed and the possessor are [+anaph]. However, the possessor *anak* is always [+anaph] when only this noun has ART, so *anak* [+anaph] (i.e. where *ibu* is [-anaph]) can be copied because it is the leftmost [+anaph]. When *anak itu* is copied and possessive pronominalisation is applied, we get:

- (247) *anak itu, ibunya membeli sepatu*  
*That child, his mother bought shoes.* cf. (244)

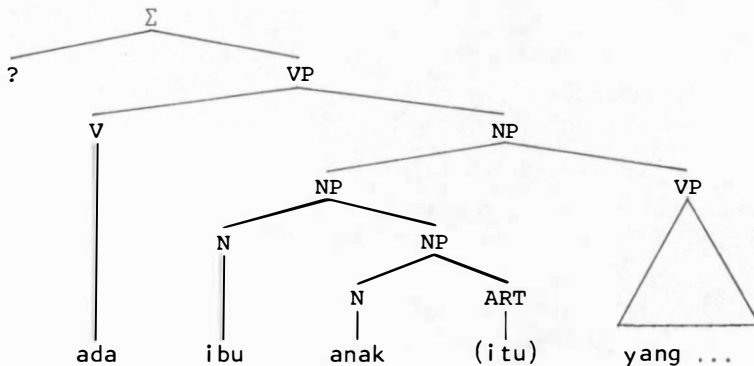
When the structure of the NP-Poss is [[Noun][Noun]]<sub>NART</sub><sub>NP</sub> and both are [+spec], then the entire NP is fronted, since it is the leftmost [+spec] which can take ART, and we get an SP-construction with NP-Poss subject:

- (248) *ibu anak itu membeli sepatu*  
*The child's mother bought shoes.*

When the structure of NP-Poss is as above, this NP is also qualified for copying, since it is the leftmost [+spec]. After copying, anaphora, deletion of *ada*, and possessive pronominalisation, we get (249):

- (249) *ibu anak itu, dia membeli sepatu*  
*That child's mother, she bought shoes.*

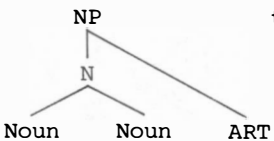
The derivation for different foci with possessive nouns is very similar:

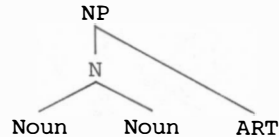


Assuming relativisation has been applied, we have the above form.

When anak is [+spec] it can be copied and after anaphora, deletion of ada, and possessive pronominalisation we get:

- (250) anak itu, ibunya yang membeli sepatu  
*That child, HIS MOTHER bought shoes.* cf. (245)

When the NP-Poss is  then the entire NP can be [+spec] and



it can be fronted, and we get:

- (251) ibu anak itu yang membeli sepatu  
*THE CHILD'S MOTHER bought shoes.*

When NP is [+spec], this NP can also be copied. And after deletion of ada and possessive pronominalisation, we get:

- (252) ibu anak itu, dia yang membeli sepatu  
*That child's mother, SHE bought shoes.*

To summarise, with NP-Poss we can get the following sentences:

(a) SP-construction:

- (253) ibu anak itu membeli sepatu  
*The child's mother bought shoes.* cf. (248)

(b) FP-construction:

- (254) ibu anak itu yang membeli sepatu  
*THE CHILD'S MOTHER bought shoes.* cf. (251)

(c) TC-construction:

- (255) ibu anak itu, dia membeli sepatu  
*That child's mother, she bought shoes.* cf. (249)
- (256) ibu anak itu, dia yang membeli sepatu  
*That child's mother, SHE bought shoes.* cf. (252)
- (257) anak itu, ibunya membeli sepatu  
*That child, his mother bought shoes.* cf. (244)
- (258) anak itu, ibunya yang membeli sepatu  
*That child, HIS MOTHER bought shoes.* cf. (245)

#### 8.4 Yes/No-questions

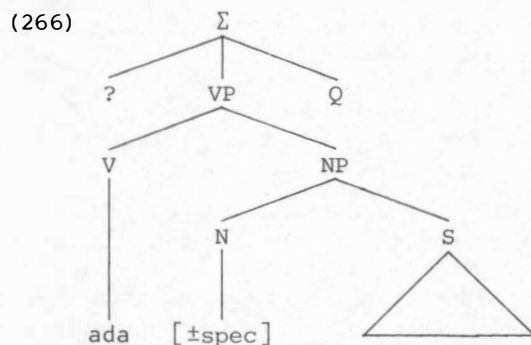
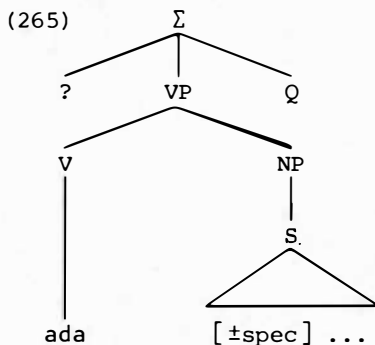
The following sentences show that the domain of Yes/No-questions is  $\Sigma$ . In other words, *Q*, which is realised as *kah*, should be attached to  $\Sigma$  rather than any lower constituents:

- (259) [[ada anak membeli sepatu]-kah?] $\Sigma_{SP}$   
*Is there a child buying shoes?*
- (260) [[ada anak yang membeli sepatu]-kah?] $\Sigma_{FP}$   
*Is there a child who bought shoes?*



- (261) [[anak itu membeli sepatu]<sub>S</sub>-kah?]<sub>Σ<sub>SP</sub></sub>  
*Did the child buy shoes?*
- (262) [[anak itu yang membeli sepatu]<sub>S</sub>-kah]<sub>Σ<sub>-FP</sub></sub>  
*Was it the child who bought shoes?*
- (263) \*[[anak itu, dia membeli sepatu]<sub>S</sub>-kah?]<sub>Σ<sub>TC</sub></sub>  
*\*Is it the child, did he buy shoes?*
- (264) \*[[anak itu, dia yang membeli sepatu]<sub>S</sub>-kah?]<sub>Σ<sub>TC</sub></sub>  
*\*Is it the child, was it he who bought shoes?*

Furthermore, note that the constraint for Q is still the same, i.e. the NP of  $\Sigma$  has to be [-anaph], which is why (263) and (264) above are ungrammatical, because the NP of  $\Sigma$  contains [+anaph]. The deep structure for (259) and (261) is (265) below, and the deep structure for (260) and (262) is (266):



When (265) contains [-spec], Yes/No-questions with  $\Sigma_{SP}$  are generated, and when it contains [+spec], Yes/No-questions in SP are generated. When (266) contains [-spec], Yes/No-questions in  $\Sigma_{FP}$  are generated, and when it contains [+spec], Yes/No-questions in FP-construction are generated.

In addition, instead of adding kah, (259)-(262) can also be expressed by adding apa-kah in front of the sentences. I will assume at the moment that to generate Yes/No-questions with apa-kah instead of kah at the end, the subject of  $\Sigma$  is a pro-form apa.

### 8.5 Semi-Yes/No-questions

As stated before, certain lower constituents can contain Yes/No-questions. Interrogative sentences of this type are referred to as *semi-Yes/No-questions*. Observe the following:

- (267) \*ada anak-KAH membeli sepatu
- (268) \*ada anak-KAH yang membeli sepatu
- (269) \*anak itu-KAH membeli sepatu  
*\*Is it the child bought shoes?*
- (270) anak itu-KAH yang membeli sepatu  
*Is it the child who bought shoes?*
- (271) \*anak itu-kah dia membeli sepatu  
*\*Is it the child, he bought shoes?*

- (272) \*anak itu, dia-kah membeli sepatu  
*\*The child, is it he bought shoes?*
- (273) anak itu, dia-kah yang membeli sepatu  
*The child, is it he/him who bought shoes?*

Notice that the realisation of Q into kah follows the same Q constraint. Sentences (267) and (268) are ungrammatical because anak in both sentences is [-spec]; (269) is ungrammatical because anak is a constituent of an embedded S; (270) is grammatical, because anak is [-anaph;-spec] and it is not a constituent of an embedded S; (271) is ungrammatical because anak is a constituent of an embedded S; (272) is ungrammatical because dia is a constituent of an embedded S. After copying, anaphora, and pronominalisation, dia in (273) is no longer a constituent of an embedded S, so the condition on Q-constraint is met.

This last section demonstrates the generality of the condition on Q-constraint, which further indicates that the blocking of WH-subject questions in terms of this condition is correct.

## 9. CONCLUSION

This work starts with an observation of the relationships among three major constructions in BI/JAV: (a) the Subject-Predicate Constructions, (b) the Focus-Presupposition Constructions, and (c) the Topic-Comment Constructions. Among these three, (b) is somewhat a new label that has not been used before to label a type of sentence construction. The notion of *focus*, however, has been used by many linguists before. (b) is essentially referring to sentences which have a focus.

As a working hypothesis, the analysis starts with the assumption that the base component of a grammar should supply all the necessary semantic information for a semantic interpretation of the sentences in the language, which means that the transformational rules which map base structures into their surface structures should not add any semantic information. Note that this is not necessarily saying that one should not try to give the analysis without using such an assumption.

One of the striking differences among these three constructions is their susceptibility to certain WH-questions. One phenomenon which, semantically speaking, seems illogical occurs in BI/JAV, namely the fact that *the subject of a sentence can not be questioned*, but the focus can. It seems natural that the topic of a sentence can not be questioned. This leads us to the observation of the behaviour of the subject of a sentence. Since the subject of a sentence is mostly a noun phrase, the observation of the properties of articles is inevitable.

In section 3, the different forms of the nouns and pronouns were described. It was suggested that the features [anaphoric] and [specific] could be used to characterise these different forms. It was also observed that there is a principal difference between the semantic interpretations of the overtly marked nouns and pronouns in BI/JAV and English (I am indebted to Prof. Partee for this observation).

In section 4, we discovered that a subject of a sentence must not be [-anaph;-spec]. We found that existential sentences express meaning of a sentence with [-anaph;-spec]-subject, and we also learned that there are two kinds of

existential sentences in BI/JAV; one consists of a verb-phrase with the existential verb *ada* followed by a relativised noun, and the other *ada* followed by a sentence complement. The former has a structure which looks very much like an FP-construction and the latter an SP-construction. Since pro-forms are also generated in existentials, and since we accept Katz-Postal's claim about the relationships between interrogatives with declaratives containing pro-forms like *someone*, we looked for the explanation why the pro-form in SP-existentials can not be made into a question word. We found that there is a general constraint in interrogatives, namely that elements in the embedded sentence can not be questioned. Applying this general constraint to the two existentials with pro-forms will block the generation of WH-subject questions and allow WH-focus questions. So, to properly generate the existing interrogatives, interrogatives can be generated from existential sentences.

In section 5, it was argued that the same rules to derive interrogative sentences can also be used to derive FP-constructions, and it was also shown that there are other cases which support the derivation of FP-constructions from existential sentences. Such analysis does not require the assumption that a formative like Focus is needed in the underlying forms of FP-constructions.

In section 6, SP-constructions were also claimed to be derived from existential sentences.

In section 7, it was shown that the subject or the focus of the comment in TC-constructions is the antecedent of its topic, and it was suggested that TC-constructions be derived from the same existential sentences which underlie SP- and FP-constructions by applying an optional, non-meaning-preserving transformation, i.e. copying transformation. Thus, as far as syntactical evidence gathered so far is concerned, it is very difficult to maintain the meaning-preserving hypothesis, which is the working hypothesis of the present work, to account for the phenomena observed in TC-constructions.

In section 8, it was shown that the same rules which are used to generate the sentences whose surface subject, focus, or topic, is the subject or object of the embedded sentence in the existential sentences, can also be used to generate other types as well.

The evidence which supports the analysis given in this work so far seems to be very convincing. However, the data observed are limited to a very small portion of the cases in the language. It still remains to be seen whether, given more complicated constructions, the analysis can still account for these other cases in a natural way.

Prof. A. Teeuw (1961:66) refers to the syntactical study of Bahasa Indonesia as 'this virgin field'. It still is.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Although efforts are made to give English translations which correspond as closely as possible to sentences in BI/JAV, the readers should not be misled by the translations. In most cases it has been difficult to reveal both the meaning as well as the structure of a sentence by simply giving its corresponding sentence in English. Throughout this work, structurally non-parallel sentences will be used to translate the meaning of the sentences in BI/JAV, and discussions concerning the structures of the sentences will follow.

The words in BI/JAV as well as in English which need special attention are capitalised. Thus, the capitalisation has no semantic or syntactic significance.

<sup>2</sup>It will be shown later that this is not entirely correct. Certain pre-suppositions have to be made about the subject, topic, and the focus of a sentence.

<sup>3</sup>This paragraph implies that in this work disputes concerning the proper labeling of these constructions are considered irrelevant, as long as the suggested analysis does not depend on these labels.

<sup>4</sup>Sadja used in this context is very difficult to translate into English. With sadja sentence (8) requests an exhaustive list of the persons who bought shoes yesterday. Probably the English translation should be *?Who exhaustively bought shoes yesterday?* or, in Southern dialect, *Who-all bought shoes yesterday?*

<sup>5</sup>Lagi meaning *else* as in (12) and (13) is homophonous with lagi which means *again*.

<sup>6</sup>Although BI/JAV do not utilise morphemes which contain WH sounds, it is convenient to refer to questions with question-words like *apa, siapa, dimana*, etc., as WH-questions, in contrast to Yes/No-questions.

<sup>7</sup>I am assuming that lexical entries for BI/JAV contain only roots whose categories are unspecified, and that the lexical rules will contain rules like:

$$\text{Affix-l} + \text{root-m} \rightarrow [+C-x]$$

where C-x is a category like Verb, Noun, etc., and affix-l and root-m are complex symbols. Such an assumption seems reasonable since roots like *ajar* for example can have the following derivations:

|             |                                 |
|-------------|---------------------------------|
| mengAJAR    | <i>to teach</i> (intransitive)  |
| mengAJARKAN | <i>to teach</i> (transitive)    |
| pengAJAR    | <i>a teacher</i>                |
| pengAJARAN  | <i>education</i>                |
| belAJAR     | <i>to study</i>                 |
| pelAJAR     | <i>a student</i>                |
| pelAJARAN   | <i>a lesson</i>                 |
| mempelAJARI | <i>to research on something</i> |
| mengAJARI   | <i>to train</i>                 |
| AJARan      | <i>a teaching, philosophy</i>   |
| terpelAJAR  | <i>educated</i>                 |
| terAJARKAN  | <i>teachable</i>                |

<sup>8</sup>Since the English translation of the nouns other than the roots will be misleading at this stage, the translation for only the roots is given. Similarly, the readers should not be misled by the forms of the nouns in English used to translate the different forms of nouns in BI/JAV in sentences (35)-(38) and other sentences containing nouns having the forms (a), (b), (c) or (d).

<sup>9</sup>Itu is homophonous with demonstrative *itu that*. In the sentences cited in this work *itu* is never used as a demonstrative.

<sup>10</sup>The relative clause in BI/JAV is inserted between a noun and an article when the relative clause is a restricted relative clause and is attached after a

noun and its article when it is a non-restrictive relative clause. In other words, we have the following surface structures:



<sup>11</sup>Sentence (228) unfortunately is ambiguous in another way. It can also mean an NP-NP construction meaning: *the one who bought shoes is that child*, and the reversal of it can also be the focusing of its predicate. The test of distinguish NP-NP and FP is that one is the answer to questions like: *Who is that child?* and FP is the answer to *Who bought shoes?*

## POSTSCRIPT

This work was written in 1970 for a Ph.D. dissertation at the University of California at Los Angeles. It is published with no major revision other than of the Indonesian spelling. Issues regarding transformation may no longer be relevant according to contemporary theories. However, there are three major aspects of Indonesian and Javanese grammar that still need to be resolved: (a) the nature of perspectives of specificity and definiteness of a noun and a noun phrase, (b) the relationship between the existential sentence and the three major structures (Subject-Predicate, Topic-Comment, and Focus-Presupposition), and (c) the major word order - the inverted forms of the three structures in (b).

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# THE SOCIOCULTURAL VARIANTS OF THE SECOND PERSON SINGULAR PRONOUN IN BAHASA INDONESIA

Karyono Purnama

## INTRODUCTION

In natural languages, a certain alternating variable or element, which can be a grammatical feature, a set of vocabulary items, or a series of special expressions, may be employed to carry a particular sociolinguistic value. They may indicate a degree of respect expressed by the first speaker toward the second speaker, reveal the distance in their relationship, or perhaps the difference in their rank or social status. In Bahasa Indonesia (the national language of the Republic of Indonesia) such sociolinguistic properties are principally expressed through the choice of the appropriate forms of pronouns. In the case of two people engaged in a conversation, this would involve the choice of the right form of the first person singular pronoun (hereafter FPSP), and of the second person singular pronoun (hereafter SPSP).<sup>1</sup> In this analysis, the Indonesian SPSPs will be discussed objectively in terms of their usage in the actual cultural setting, recognising any possible ethnic or foreign influence tending to increase the diversification of their forms. Three sociolinguistic properties of the Indonesian SPSPs will be described: their function as social group identifiers, indicating the social rank, status, and ethnic or racial background of the participants; their function as proxemic markers, indicating the personal distance between the participants; and their function as indicators of social register, reflecting the degree of respect mutually expressed by the participants during the conversation.

## THE PRONOMINAL FORMS OF THE INDONESIAN SPSPs AND THEIR SOCIOLINGUISTIC PROPERTIES

Among the languages of the world, Bahasa Indonesia is one of those that have the widest selection of SPSPs. There are at least six major groups of SPSP forms actively used. Some are standard, accepted as the official forms of the Indonesian SPSP to be used on formal occasions and in written forms of the language; the rest are non-standard. The latter are in common use in daily conversation, sometimes even more commonly than the standard SPSPs<sup>2</sup> yet for several reasons they are excluded from formal domains. In spite of the extensive use of Bahasa Indonesia all over the country, the use of the Indonesian SPSP is predominantly influenced by Javanese social norms.

*Papers in Western Austronesian linguistics* No.3, 137-149.

*Pacific Linguistics*, A-78, 1988.

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## A. The standard SPSP forms

1. The native terms: engkau/kau and kamu (FPSP: saya, aku). Long before Bahasa Indonesia was declared the official language of Indonesia in 1928, engkau and kamu were referred to as the standard forms of the Indonesian SPSP. Engkau (often abbreviated as kau) is considered the most polite form of the native Indonesian SPSP; however, it is rarely used in everyday conversation, except in some places like Palembang and Medan. Kamu on the other hand is more frequently used. However, care has to be taken in deciding to use it, since in some areas in Indonesia it is taken as acceptable, but in other geographical parts, for example, in East and Central Java, it is regarded as rude. Neither engkau nor kamu should be employed when talking respectfully to an older person or, in many circumstances, even to someone of about the same age group as the speaker, especially when the relationship between them is not intimate. Other polite standard forms of SPSP, such as bapak, ibu, and saudara are more acceptable. According to Anwar, kamu is usually employed only to children or people very low in social status and rank (Anwar 1980). In many Indonesian literary works, however, kau and kamu are often used as common terms of SPSP in conversations among the young characters. The reason is that in written narratives there are no real-life speech-act participants who could be negatively affected by the use of an inappropriate form of address.

2. The standard anda (FPSP: saya). This term is the most controversial among the modern standard forms of Indonesian SPSP. An Indonesian called Sabirin introduced the word anda (origin unknown) and suggested that it should be used as a second person pronoun with a meaning similar to that of the English word *you*, which, he noted, can be employed with practically anyone, and so differs from any existing Indonesian pronouns (Sabirin 1957; Anwar 1980). However, this suggestion was not fully accepted by some other Indonesian linguists. Harimurti Kridalaksana in his comment says:

Seperti kami kemukakan dalam karangan kami terdahulu penggunaan kata anda memang memperkaya kosa-kata bahasa Indonesia, tetapi telah gagal menyederhanakan sistim sapaan kita. Bukan hanya itu: kata anda tidak dapat dipergunakan untuk menyapa orang kedua akrab, kita dianggap menyelipkan situasi resmi dalam wacana kita. Kata ini juga tidak dapat dipakai untuk menyapa orang kedua akrab dan hormat. Jadi tidak dalam segala situasi resmi kata itu dapat dipakai. (Kridalaksana 1981)

*Translation:* As I wrote in my previous article, the word anda has really enriched the Indonesian vocabulary; however, it has failed to simplify our terms of address system. The word anda, practically, cannot be used to address an intimate second person in a normal situation lest it makes the conversation sound formal. This word cannot be employed to address an intimate respected second person either; thus, this word cannot be used in every formal situation.

Anton Moeliono, in favour of Kridalaksana's view, adds:

Anda hanya berfungsi lancar dalam iklan, siaran radio dan teve, pidato, atau kuliah tertulis. Artinya, jika kita tidak dapat melihat lawan bicara kita, atau jika kita tidak mengharapakan jawaban langsung daripadanya. (Moeliono 1984)

*Translation:* Anda serves best only when it is used in advertisements, radio and television programs, public speeches,

or articles. In other words, when the speaker is not face to face with his/her addressees, or when s/he does not expect a direct response from them.

However, Yus Badudu says:

Pemakaian kata anda untuk menyapa orang kedua alangkah baiknya jika bisa diterima oleh masyarakat, sehingga kita memiliki kata yang sifatnya netral dan demokratis, sebagai *you* dalam bahasa Inggris. Jika ini dapat diterima, maka kita akan keluar sedikit dari kesukaran pemilihan kata sapaan yang tepat. Masih adanya perasaan segan mempergunakan kata anda, rasanya disebabkan oleh kebiasaan alam masyarakat feodal, takut kurang dapat menghormati seseorang sebagaimana patutnya. Orang yang rendah kedudukannya rasanya tidak akan berani menyapa atasannya atau orang yang tinggi kedudukannya dengan kata anda. Pendemokrasian sapaan seperti ini mungkin memakan waktu sekurang-kurangnya satu atau dua generasi. (Yus Badudu 1982)

*Translation:* How wonderful it would be if the use of the word anda to address a second person could be accepted by the society, so that we may have a neutral and democratic word such as *you* in English. In this way, we will be able to solve the problem of choosing the appropriate term of address when speaking to a person. The difficulty of using the word anda, I think, is primarily due to the feudalistic social system still retained by the society, in which a person may easily feel uncomfortable for not demonstrating adequate respect when speaking to somebody. A subordinate, for example, would not have the courage to address his superior or somebody having a higher status with the word anda. The process of acquiring a more democratic term of address would probably take at least one or two generations.

In spite of all the above controversy, the term anda is, in fact, gradually gaining popularity in certain political and intellectual groups. Though still in very constrained situations and occasions, it is often used in conversations and discussions. During his stays in Indonesia, Wolff heard anda frequently used also among people who knew each other well and were friendly, but not of the same ethnic group.

Regarded as a literarily modern and versatile term, anda is often used in place of kamu and kau in many current modern novels and short stories. Surapati notes:

In interpersonal correspondence among close members of a family, the term anda is often used as a suffix and attached to the words ayah (*father*), ibu (*mother*), kakak (*older brother/sister*), adik (*younger brother/sister*), paman (*uncle*), bibi (*aunt*), and anak (*son/daughter*); and thus give us the affectionate but courteous terms ayahanda, ibunda, kakanda, adinda, pamanda, bibinda, and ananda, which are generally used in the salutation, such as in Ayahanda dan ibunda yang tercinta, (*Dear father and mother*), and are sometimes carried in the body of the letter as well. (Surapati 1987)

3. The use of the terms of address/titles in place of SPSP: Bapak / Pak, Ibu / Bu, Saudara, Saudari, Kakak / Kak, Adik / Dik, Tuan, Nyonya, Nona, etc. (FPSP: Saya). The use of the terms of address, such as Bapak / Pak (literally means *father* or *sir*), Ibu / Bu (*mother* or *madam*), Saudara (*brother*), Saudari (*sister*), Kakak / Kak (*older brother/sister*), and Adik / Dik (*younger brother/sister*)<sup>3</sup> is acceptable either in informal or formal situations. The terms Bapak and Ibu are usually used to address older persons or people of a similar age group; however, in a professional environment, they can be used to address colleagues (or other adults) of any age. For a young or younger person, male or female, the terms Saudara or Saudari are used, but many speakers prefer to use the terms Kakak and Adik which are friendlier because of their common usage in the family context or setting. Very often, when the relationship between the persons involved in the conversation is getting closer, their first names are added to the terms, for example: Pak Tom, Ibu/Bu Hartini, Saudara Situmorang, Kak Peter, and Adik/Dik Unyil. About this Anwar writes: "When I use Saudara without mentioning the name of the person I am addressing, I feel I am slightly formal, but less so when I do mention his name after the word Saudara." (Anwar 1980).

In such cases, terms such as Bapak, Ibu, Saudara, and Saudari are used much in the same way as titles. "The shortened terms: Kak, Dik, Bu, and Pak are, in fact, never used without a following name in contexts other than vocatives", Steinhauer (1987) remarks.

In some areas of the country where last names are popular to use, for example, in Batak and Ujung Pandang, in cases in which the addressee deserves some respect, his last name will be used in place of the first name, e.g.: Pak Sinaga (from Dicky Sinaga), Ibu Tambunan (from Lina Tambunan), and Saudara Sigarlaki (from Anton Sigarlaki). Consequently, however, when the addressee is younger or inferior in his/her social status and rank, the chances that his/her last name will be attached to the terms of address is smaller.

In some extremely rare formal occasions both the first name and the last name of the second participant are used, for example:

BAPAK THOMAS HABIBI tinggal di mana?

*Where do you (= Bapak Thomas Habibi) live?*

IBU RUDY SILALAHl sudah lama menunggu?

*Have you (= Ibu Rudy Silalahi) been waiting very long?*

SAUDARA BUDI RAHARDJO dipersilahkan masuk.

*You (= Saudara Budi Rahardjo) please, come in.*

These forms are polite, but awkward in a real conversation, and often indicate a rather insincere attitude of the speaker toward the addressee; thus, their use should be avoided.

Though, similarly awkward as the SPSP forms above, the terms Bapak and Ibu may sometimes be used together with professional titles, for example:

BAPAK JENDRAL SUKOCO sudah menerima laporan kita?

*Have you (= Bapak Jendral Sukoco) received our report?*

Wah, IBU PROFESSOR AMBARWATI pandai mengajar, lho.

*Well, you (= Ibu Professor Ambarwati) teach very well.*

SAUDARA INSINYUR MAHMUD nampak sibuk amat, nih.

*You (= Saudara Insinyur Mahmud) seem to be busy.*

In many cases, the names of the persons are omitted and only their titles are used, for example:

PAK LURAH sedang masuk angin?

*Do you (= Pak Lurah) have a cold? (Lurah = the head of a village)*

BU GURU bisa naik mobil saya.

*You (= Bu Guru) can go in my car. (Guru = teacher)*

PAK KETUA sudah menerima undangan kami?

*Have you (= Pak Ketua) got our invitation? (Ketua = Chairman)*

These forms are more commonplace and acceptable than the last two sets, since they are less formal, yet remain polite.

Whereas the terms Bapak and Ibu are friendly and intimate, the terms Tuan and Nyonya (*Mr* and *Mrs/Ms*) are formal and distant. The word Tuan (FPSP: *saya*) is used sometimes in business correspondence to indicate respect, while Nyonya (FPSP: *saya*) is usually addressed to a married woman, either younger or older, in conversation and writing.<sup>4</sup> Speaking about the term Tuan, Anwar said:

Foreigners everywhere in Indonesia are likely to be addressed as Tuan by many people. Sometimes, when one does not like the opinion of another on a particular topic in a discussion, he can address him as Tuan to show his disapproval. (Anwar 1980)

Anwar's remark is correct, but only in strictly limited situations. Some foreigners are addressed as Tuan only in highly formal occasions to indicate respect and cordiality to him, and the use of Tuan to show disapproval has rarely been found in current social conversations. About the words Tuan and Nyonya, Yus Badudu separately says: "Kata sapaan yang resmi Tuan dan Nyonya kurang populer, kurang disenangi penggunaannya, mungkin karena terasa agak feodalistis." (Yus Badudu 1982) *Translation*: "The formal terms of address Tuan and Nyonya are not very popular. People simply do not like to use them, probably because they sound rather feudalistic."

In addressing foreigners, the compounding of the titles Mr and Ms and the last name of the person addressed is frequently found, for example:

MR SIMPSON bisa menghadap Pak Ketua sekarang.

*You (= Mr Simpson) can see the president (= Pak Ketua) now.*

MS WHITE suka gado-gado?

*Do you (= Ms White) like gado-gado? (gado-gado = Indonesian vegetable salad)*

## B. The SPSP non-standard forms

1. Borrowings from local dialects/ethnic languages. Bung, lu, sampeyan, Mas, Mbak, etc. (FPSP: *saya*, except for *lu*). Since there are several hundred ethnic languages in Indonesia contributing to the development of Bahasa Indonesia, and to analyse all of the loan forms of SPSP from them in this paper is really an impossible task, the discussion will be limited to some prevalent borrowings of SPSP only, that is, to those which are taken from the local/ethnic languages spoken on the Island of Java. The variants discussed here should be taken as sample cases of borrowings from local language variants.

To start with, there is Bung, a borrowing from the old local dialect Betawi of Jakarta, which may be regarded as once the most popular term of this group. It was especially popular during the Indonesian national revolution against the Dutch and the Japanese occupations in 1940s when it was used to address intimately some Indonesian revolutionary leaders. Some that might be taken as

examples are: Bung Karno, Bung Hatta, and Bung Tomo. Later, in the 1950s and 1960s, as a friendly term of address for a male participant, Bung was particularly used to address a stranger who was younger or of the same age group, but equal or lower in social rank and status than the speaker in the Jakarta area and West Java. "Today, the term Bung is often offered and used as a democratic term to address the male participants of a social or political youth group" (Surapati 1987).

Lu (FPSP: gua/gue) is used informally to address a younger person, or somebody of an age group similar to the speaker, most often a close friend or a member of the speaker's family. In contrast to the other forms of SPSP discussed previously, lu is never attached to the addressee's name or professional title. For example:

LU sekolah di mana?  
*Where do you (= lu) go to school?*

LU sudah makan siang?  
*Have you (= lu) had your lunch?*

Lu is often treated as a nonstandard term particular to the Chinese Indonesians living in East Java and Madura Island. As the term of a minority group there, it is not likely to gain wider popularity. In Jakarta and West Java, however, it is popular as a common local term.

Sampeyan, a term borrowed from a register of Javanese (Madyo Javanese), is commonly used in Central and East Java to address a person, a Javanese in particular. In spite of the way it is used, it is considered a polite term, though sometimes not a very intimate one. Sampeyan is never attached to the addressee's names or titles. Some examples are as follows:

SAMPEYAN dari mana?  
*Where do you (= sampeyan) come from?*

SAMPEYAN mau beli apa?  
*What do you (= sampeyan) want to buy?*

The term sampeyan is generally used with persons of lower social rank and status, male or female, young and old. However, it is used particularly only among adult speakers, rarely among children.

Mas and Mbak are other borrowings from Javanese, used especially toward young addressees. Mas is used for males, Mbak for females. Both terms are friendly, and polite. Though they are used in particular with a person having a Javanese background, people frequently use them to address those coming from other social ethnic groups as well.<sup>5</sup> They may be used comfortably with an intimate friend or even a stranger.

2. Borrowings from foreign languages: you, jij, and ni. Although not extensively used, these borrowings from foreign languages are often found in colloquial Bahasa Indonesia. The first term, you (FPSP: saya) is beyond doubt used only within the educated group, those most likely to know some English. Concerning the term, Anwar remarks: "I notice that some people who have some knowledge of English or are good at the language, sometimes use the English word you while conversing in Indonesian in a natural way" (Anwar 1980).

This friendly, intimate, and appreciative term is generally addressed to a young person, or a friend; but never to a much older addressee or a complete stranger. The following are some examples:

Besok YOU pergi dengan saya, lho.  
*Tomorrow, YOU will go with me.*

YOU dengan saya 'kan sekelas.  
*YOU and I are in the same class, aren't we?*

The term *jij* (FPSP: *ik/ike*) is taken from the Dutch SPSP, and is often employed together with its polite form, *U*, which is used with some respect to address a person, either older or younger, in and among Dutch educated families. This intimate and friendly term of address is still retained in Indonesian daily conversation, but is gradually losing ground.

Among some Chinese living in Indonesia, the term *ni* (FPSP: *wo'*) is used when they speak to a person having the same ethnic and linguistic background. This Chinese borrowing is particularly used within the Chinese business community, especially when Chinese is spoken as a first language. This term is used very exclusively and serves more as an ethnic group identifier than as a social class marker. For some, it functions as an interlanguage term between their first language, Chinese, and their second language, Indonesian.

3. The use of the addressee's first name (FPSP: *saya*, one's own name). This replacing of the SPSP with the addressee's name is normally practised when an adult addresses a child; however, within some educated groups, it is frequently used to address an adult or a young person as well; for example:

JOHN masih ingat saya, 'kan?  
*JOHN (= you) still remember me, don't you?*

LISA sudah pernah bertemu dengan Pak Harun?  
*LISA (= you) ever met Pak Harun?*

Although this term of address is accepted as a friendly and pleasant way to address a person, it is not appropriate for use with a stranger or a much older person.

4. The pseudo pronoun *situ* (FPSP: *saya*). *Situ* literally means *your part* or *there*. This word, normally used by Javanese speakers, to some may not sound very appreciative, polite, or friendly; though, as Steinhauer observes, it is often used in situations where the degree of distance called forth by the use of *Pak* + Name is felt to be too high, while the relation between the participants is not intimate enough to use *Kamu*. Steinhauer also notices that *situ* is often used as a neutral form, when the relation between the participants is still undescribed, so that there are no determinants for the choice of a more marked expression. *Situ*, however, should in any case not be used with older persons or people of higher rank and status. Here are some examples of its common use:

SITU sudah pernah makan mangga atau belum?  
*Have you (= situ) ever had some mangoes, or not?*

Saya rasanya pernah bertemu dengan SITU di stasiun kereta api.  
*I think I have met you (= situ) once at the railway station.*

## CONCLUSION

The complexity of the Indonesian SPSP (and the other personal pronouns) is a constant problem for both a learner and a speaker of Bahasa Indonesia. This is due to the fact that in using the Indonesian SPSPs one has not only to be

familiar with the existing forms, but also to learn their appropriate use in a given speech community. In one of his articles, Anwar says:

In choosing the right pronoun to use, both the first person and the second person pronouns, one has to take into consideration several factors, such as the type of relationship that exists between oneself and his/her interlocutor, the topic of the conversation, the place in which the conversation takes place, ethnic background, etc. (Anwar 1980)

To Anwar's remark, Amran Halim cautiously adds:

However, there are occasions when this relation cannot be clearly defined, at least temporarily, as is the case with, say, a new acquaintance, so that on one form can comfortably be chosen and used by either speaker-hearer. (Halim 1974)

Halim's proposition brings out an important point. Even a native speaker of Bahasa Indonesia may occasionally feel indecisive and hesitant in choosing the right term when he is engaged in a conversation, particularly with a new person. Only after some period of time, after being reassured about the nature of the situation, and getting better knowledge about the person he is speaking to, does he make his choice.<sup>6</sup> In many cases one never makes any choices at all. One deliberately omits the subjects of the sentences one uses and speaks temporarily, or at some length, in ellipses; for example:

Sudah mendaftar?  
*Have (YOU) signed up?*

Saya kira sudah mengerti penjelasan saya?  
*I think (YOU) have already understood my explanation?*

In many instances, still to avoid referring to the interlocutor directly, in addition to the ellipsis, a suffix *-nya* (which is the genitive form of the third person singular pronoun *dia/ia*, but here which acts as a specifier *the* emphasizing the very action the addressee does) is added to the verb of the sentence, which consequently behaves more or less like a gerund; for example:

Berangkat NYA ke Yogyakarta jam berapa nanti?  
*What time will be "the" (= your) leaving for Yogyakarta.*

Makan NYA di warung nasi goreng dengan saya nanti.  
*"The" (= your) dining will be at the restaurant (that sells fried rice) with me. (literally translated)*

In order to eliminate the syntactic complications created by the need to (temporarily) avoid specific second person forms of address, an Indonesian speaker will generally choose one of the following, socially safe, strategies. In the first, when the addressee is likely to be superior in social status and age, one would wait and see what the term of address the addressee uses for her/himself when speaking. In this way, then, the speaker will be better able to determine his or her own position. In the second, on an unspecified occasion, when there is no clear predetermined difference of rank or status evident, or when talking to a stranger, one would constantly use safe terms, like *Bapak*, *Ibu*, and *Saudara* (on Java, *Mas* and *Adik/Dik*); and avoid the sensitive terms *kamu*, and *engkau*. Normally, after some time both the speaker and the interlocutor will come to an agreement on the terms that are more comfortable for both parties.



It is good to keep in mind that learners of Bahasa Indonesia must be as much sensitive to the sociolinguistic properties of the language as to its form, since within the Indonesian community, language is employed as one of the primary means to display social manners and etiquette, and as more than simply a verbal tool for communicating messages or ideas. Success in getting across a message is often credited to the appropriate use of the language's sociocultural elements compatibly selected, rather than to the clarity of the words themselves. In other words, the complexity of Bahasa Indonesia is not due merely to the structure of the language per se, but also to the complexity of the social norms that determine and govern its use.

Table A

| To Persons of:             | Age |   |   | Sex |   | Social Status/Rank |   |   | Ethnicity |
|----------------------------|-----|---|---|-----|---|--------------------|---|---|-----------|
|                            | Y   | S | O | M   | F | L                  | S | H |           |
| VARIANTS                   |     |   |   |     |   |                    |   |   |           |
| 1. Engkau/Kau              | .   | . |   | .   | . | .                  | . |   |           |
| 2. Kamu                    | .   | . |   | .   | . | .                  | . |   |           |
| 3. Anda                    | .   | . |   | .   | . | .                  | . |   |           |
| 4. BAPAK                   | .   | . | . | .   |   |                    |   | . |           |
| 4a. PAK + Title or Name    | .   | . | . | .   |   | .                  | . | . |           |
| 4b. Pak + Title and Name   | .   | . | . | .   |   | .                  | . | . |           |
| 5. IBU                     | .   | . | . |     | . | .                  | . | . |           |
| 5a. BU + Title or Name     | .   | . | . |     | . | .                  | . | . |           |
| 5b. Bu + Title and Name    | .   | . | . |     | . | .                  | . | . |           |
| 6. Saudara                 | .   | . |   | .   |   | .                  | . |   |           |
| 7. Saudari                 | .   | . |   |     | . | .                  | . |   |           |
| 8. Kakak/Kak               |     |   | . | .   | . | .                  | . | . |           |
| 9. ADIK/DIK                | .   | . |   | .   | . | .                  | . | . |           |
| 10. Oom/Um                 |     |   | . |     |   | .                  | . | . |           |
| 11. Tante                  |     |   | . |     | . | .                  | . | . |           |
| 12. Tuan                   | .   | . | . | .   |   |                    | . | . |           |
| 13. Nyonya                 | .   | . | . |     | . |                    | . | . |           |
| 14. Nona                   | .   | . |   |     | . |                    | . | . |           |
| 15. Bung                   | .   | . |   | .   |   | .                  | . |   |           |
| 16. Lu                     | .   | . |   | .   | . | .                  | . |   |           |
| 17. Sampeyan               | .   | . | . | .   | . | .                  | . |   | Javanese  |
| 18. Mas                    | .   | . | . | .   |   | .                  | . |   | Javanese  |
| 19. Mbak                   | .   | . | . |     | . | .                  | . |   | Javanese  |
| 20. You                    | .   | . |   | .   | . | .                  | . |   |           |
| 21. Jij                    | .   | . |   | .   | . | .                  | . |   |           |
| 22. U                      | .   | . | . | .   | . |                    | . | . |           |
| 23. Ni                     | .   | . | . | .   | . | .                  | . | . | Chinese   |
| 24. Paman                  |     |   | . | .   |   | .                  | . | . |           |
| 25. Bibi                   |     |   | . |     | . | .                  | . | . |           |
| 26. Abang/Bang             |     | . | . | .   |   | .                  | . | . |           |
| 27. Opa                    |     |   | . | .   |   | .                  | . | . |           |
| 28. Oma                    |     |   | . |     | . | .                  | . | . |           |
| 29. Zus                    | .   | . | . |     | . | .                  | . | . |           |
| 30. Addressee's First Name | .   | . |   | .   | . | .                  | . | . |           |
| 31. ELLIPSIS               | .   | . | . | .   | . | .                  | . | . |           |
| 32. Situ                   | .   | . |   | .   | . | .                  | . | . |           |

## Notes to Table A:

- (1) Abbreviations: Age: Y = younger, S = of the same age to the speaker, O = older; Sex: M = male, F = female; Social Status/Rank: L = lower, S = the same as the speaker's, H = higher.
- (2) Ethnicity indicates the ethnic group that exclusively uses a particular variant, particularly of the addressees.
- (3) The variants listed in these tables DO NOT constitute all of the linguistic forms of the SPSP possibly used in spoken Indonesian, but they do represent the most common ones. The following are the terms that are added into these tables but are not discussed in the text: Oom/Um = *uncle*, Tante = *Auntie*, Paman = *Uncle*, Bibi = *Auntie*, Abang/Bang = *Elder Brother*, Opa = *Grandpa*, Oma = *Grandma*, Zus = *Miss*. Their usage is self explained in the table. The terms *jij*, *U*, *Opa*, and *Oma* are often used among the Dutch educated speakers. The capitalised variants are recommendable for safe and extensive use.
- (4) *Anda* is also appropriate to use for addressees older (O) and higher in social status or rank (H) than the speaker when it is not used in face-to-face communication.
- (5) The chart above describes the use of *Bung* in the 1950s and 1960s. In recent time, *Bung* is apt to be used only exclusively among members of some social or political youth groups as a democratic term of address. In such circumstances it may be used to address an older person or one of a higher social status/rank.

Table B

| Sociolinguistic Properties | Proxemics |   | Lang.Status |    | Degree of Reverence |   | Frequency of Use |   | Geograph. Area of Use | FPSP Counter-part(s) |
|----------------------------|-----------|---|-------------|----|---------------------|---|------------------|---|-----------------------|----------------------|
|                            | I         | D | S           | NS | P                   | R | C                | R |                       |                      |
| VARIANTS                   |           |   |             |    |                     |   |                  |   |                       |                      |
| 1. Engkau/Kau              |           | • | •           |    | •                   |   |                  | • |                       | Saya, Aku            |
| 2. Kamu                    | •         | • | •           |    | •                   | • | •                |   |                       | Saya, Aku            |
| 3. Anda                    | •         | • | •           |    | •                   |   | •                |   |                       | Saya                 |
| 4. BAPAK                   | •         | • | •           |    | •                   |   | •                |   |                       | Saya                 |
| 4a. PAK + Title or Name    | •         | • | •           |    | •                   |   | •                |   |                       | Saya                 |
| 4b. Pak + Title and Name   |           | • | •           |    | •                   |   |                  | • |                       | Saya                 |
| 5. IBU                     | •         | • | •           |    | •                   |   | •                |   |                       | Saya                 |
| 5a. BU + Title or Name     | •         | • | •           |    | •                   |   | •                |   |                       | Saya                 |
| 5b. Bu + Title and Name    |           | • | •           |    | •                   |   |                  | • |                       | Saya                 |
| 6. Saudara                 |           | • | •           |    | •                   |   |                  | • |                       | Saya                 |
| 7. Saudari                 |           | • | •           |    | •                   |   |                  | • |                       | Saya                 |
| 8. Kakak/Kak               | •         | • | •           |    | •                   |   | •                |   |                       | Saya, Aku            |
| 9. ADIK/DIK                | •         | • | •           |    | •                   |   | •                |   |                       | Saya, Aku            |
| 10. Oom/Um                 | •         | • |             | •  | •                   |   | •                |   |                       | Saya                 |
| 11. Tante                  | •         | • |             | •  | •                   |   | •                |   |                       | Saya                 |
| 12. Tuan                   |           | • | •           |    | •                   |   |                  | • |                       | Saya                 |
| 13. Nyonya                 |           | • | •           |    | •                   |   | •                |   |                       | Saya                 |
| 14. Nona                   |           | • | •           |    | •                   |   | •                |   |                       | Saya                 |

Table B (cont'd)

| Sociolinguistic Properties | Proxemics |   | Lang.Status |    | Degree of Reverence |   | Frequency of Use |   | Geograph. Area of Use | FPSP Counterpart(s) |
|----------------------------|-----------|---|-------------|----|---------------------|---|------------------|---|-----------------------|---------------------|
|                            | I         | D | S           | NS | P                   | R | C                | R |                       |                     |
| VARIANTS                   |           |   |             |    |                     |   |                  |   |                       |                     |
| 15. Bung                   | .         | . |             | .  | .                   | . | .                |   | West Java             | Saya                |
| 16. Lu                     | .         |   |             | .  | .                   |   | .                |   | E&W Java              | Gua/Gue             |
| 17. Sampeyan               |           | . |             | .  | .                   |   | .                |   | Cent. Java            | Saya                |
| 18. Mas                    | .         |   |             | .  | .                   |   | .                |   | C&E Java              | Saya                |
| 19. Mbak                   | .         |   |             | .  | .                   |   | .                |   | C&E Java              | Saya                |
| 20. You                    | .         |   |             | .  | .                   |   | .                |   |                       | Saya                |
| 21. Jij                    | .         |   |             | .  | .                   |   | .                |   |                       | Ik/Ike              |
| 22. U                      | .         | . |             | .  | .                   |   | .                |   |                       | Ik/Ike              |
| 23. Ni                     | .         | . |             | .  | .                   |   | .                |   |                       | Wo'                 |
| 24. Paman                  | .         | . | .           |    | .                   |   |                  | . |                       | Saya                |
| 25. Bibi                   | .         | . | .           |    | .                   |   |                  | . |                       | Saya                |
| 26. Abang/Bang             | .         | . | .           | .  | .                   |   | .                |   | West Java             | Saya                |
| 27. Opa                    | .         |   |             | .  | .                   |   | .                |   |                       | Saya, Ik            |
| 28. Oma                    | .         |   |             | .  | .                   |   | .                |   |                       | Saya, Ik            |
| 29. Zus                    |           | . |             | .  | .                   |   | .                |   |                       | Saya                |
| 30. Addressee's First Name | .         |   |             | .  | .                   |   | .                |   |                       | Saya                |
| 31. ELLIPSIS               | .         | . | .           | .  | .                   |   | .                |   |                       | Saya                |
| 32. Situ                   | .         | . |             | .  | .                   |   |                  | . | C&E Java              | Saya                |

## Notes to Table B:

- (1) Abbreviations: Proxemics: I = Intimate; D = Distant; Lang.Status: S = Standard; NS = non-standard; Degree of Reverence: P = Polite; R = Rude; Frequency of Use: C = Common; R = Rare; FPSP Counterpart(s) = First Person Singular Pronoun Counterpart(s).
- (2) The Geographical Area of Use indicates the place where the terms are exclusively used.
- (3) The terms paman and bibi, when being used as kinship terms: proxemics - intimate, social ranks - higher. When they are being used beyond the family circle: proxemics - close or distant; social rank/status of the addressee - lower.
- (4) In the use of kamu, bung, lu (and the FPSP aku), the degree of reverence of the speaker depends upon the proxemics context. If the relationship between the speakers is intimate, the use of kamu, bung, lu (and aku) is accepted as polite, but if not, it may be considered rude.
- (5) "Situ is used in situations where the degree of distance called forth by the use of Pak + name is felt to be too high, while the relation between the participants is not intimate enough to use kamu. It is also often used as a neutral form, when the relation between the participants was still undescribed, so that there were no determinants for the choice of a more marked expression" (Steinhauer 1987).

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup>Though the Indonesian FPSP has as many interesting aspects as the Indonesian SPSP, in this paper the discussion will be concentrated on the forms and the sociolinguistic properties of the Indonesian SPSP only. This particular pronoun itself has the largest degree of variation, and choosing the right variant has a significant and direct implication and effect for the relationship between the persons involved. (Its counterparts, the corresponding forms of FPSP, will be given in brackets following the introduction of each form of the SPSP.)
- <sup>2</sup>Students of Bahasa Indonesia may expect to come across the non-standard variants of Indonesian SPSP in almost every daily conversation. For those who wish to use the language in its truest cultural context, knowledge and acquisition of these variants is indispensable.
- <sup>3</sup>Y.S. Badudu called this type of SPSPs "pseudo personal pronouns" (Kata ganti orang yang tak sebenarnya) (Badudu 1982:127).
- <sup>4</sup>An unmarried woman can be addressed as Nona (FPSP: saya), but this term is really getting obsolete, and is frequently replaced by the word Saudari or Ibu.
- <sup>5</sup>"Among the Javanese speakers, women call men (who are not their relations) Dik (not Mas), and men call women Mbak (not Dik). For a woman to call a man Mas, and for a man to call a woman Dik implies a closeness of relationship" (Wolff 1987).
- <sup>6</sup>"Many speakers, however, never use a single term of address chosen consistently. There is always a great deal of shifting back and forth among several terms" (Wolff 1987). Reasons for this are often situational or personal.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am deeply indebted to Professor Peter E. Hook, based on whose linguistic course assignment this article was written, and Mr Thomas (Tom) Hunter, the Program Coordinator of Bahasa Indonesia at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, for generously sparing their precious time reading and giving lots and lots of critical comments and constructive suggestions all the way through the drafts of this article. A special appreciation is due to Tom, who has taken so much pain to meticulously edit this work. I also wish to express my sincerest gratitude to Professor John U. Wolff, from the Department of Modern Languages and Linguistics, Cornell University, Professor Hein Steinhauer, from the Department of Languages and Cultures of Southeast Asia and Oceania, State University of Leiden, and Mr Surya Chandra Surapati, a good friend of mine, for writing their valuable comments on the final draft of this article and for their encouraging remarks.

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# SKETCHES OF THE MORPHOLOGY AND PHONOLOGY OF BORNEAN LANGUAGES

## 2: MUKAH (MELANAU)

Robert Blust

### 0. BACKGROUND

The following description of Mukah Melanau is the second of seven language sketches promised in Blust 1977. Given the time lapse between these publications a recapitulation of the circumstances under which the data were collected, and a brief restatement of the goals and theoretical position which have guided the analysis will perhaps be helpful.

Preliminary work in Honolulu with a speaker of the Bario dialect of Kelabit led to the discovery of a previously unnoticed problem in comparative Austronesian linguistics (Blust 1969). To pursue the matter further, fieldwork was undertaken in Sarawak, Malaysian Borneo, from April–November, 1971. Material was collected for 41 speech communities representing all of the major languages of northern Sarawak and some of the languages of adjacent areas. In very few cases did the total collection time for any language exceed 20 hours. Moreover, since the data collection procedure was guided by the need to test a phonologically-based subgrouping hypothesis in the field, it was heavily biased toward selected lexical material. Only a small part of this material could be used in my still unpublished doctoral dissertation (Blust 1974).

My original dissertation plan was to include sketches of seven representative languages in a central descriptive chapter, as follows:

1. Uma Juman (Kayan)
2. Mukah (Melanau)
3. Bintulu
4. Miri
5. Kiput
6. Long Anap (Kenyah)
7. Bario (Kelabit)

The first two sketches were written in 1972, and together totalled 211 typed pages. At this point the feasibility of my dissertation plans began to appear doubtful even to me, and the descriptive chapter was drastically scaled down.

In the summer of 1976 the sketch of Uma Juman was revised for publication, and an accompanying vocabulary prepared. It appeared the following year. The present sketch is modelled closely after the first, as the two were written only months apart.

*Papers in Western Austronesian linguistics* No.3, 151–216.  
*Pacific Linguistics*, A-78, 1988.

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The focus of both sketches is a phonological description, with some remarks on morphology and superficial features of syntax. The descriptive model derives from that of Chomsky and Halle (1968) in requiring a single underlying representation for all morphemes, but departs from their position in several important respects. No attempt has been made to incorporate more recent proposals in phonological theory, since 1) the sketches in this series are not primarily theoretical in orientation, and 2) it is clear that a number of the phonological rules that must be posited for these seven languages cannot be insightfully stated in terms of distinctive features, thus compelling me to depart from all published versions of generative phonology.

More, perhaps, than most languages Mukah raises the seemingly intractable issue of phonological abstractness, and hence by implication the issue of how synchrony is to be distinguished from diachrony in language description. In 1972 I favoured somewhat less abstract underlying representations than I now adopt. The major issues in Mukah phonology arise not so much because of phonological alternations as because of 1) historical consonant mergers which have left a trace of the original opposition in their differing effects on preceding vowels, 2) a second set of reflexes found in the numerous Malay loanwords in the language, and 3) a complex sequence of changes which gave rise to a typologically unusual system of verbal ablaut. These issues are discussed at greatest length in section 2.5.2.

## 1. GENERAL INFORMATION

Mukah, located on the coast at the mouth of the Mukah River, is the site of the district headquarters Mukah District, Third Division, Sarawak. The nearest major settlements are Oya' (officially spelled Oya), at the mouth of the Oya' River 15 miles to the south, and Balingian, 8-9 miles up the Balingian River, which empties into the South China Sea some 35 miles to the north. At the time of the 1960 census the population of the entire Mukah District (2,835 square miles) was 38,724, of which 15,892 were classed as 'Melanaus'.

The term 'Melanau' or 'Milano' (sometimes spelled 'Lemanau') was applied by the Brunei Malays as early as the 16th century to the indigenous coastal peoples of western Borneo from the Rejang estuary in the south to at least the Kemena River in the north. This label, which corresponds only partly to a demonstrable linguistic subgroup, persists to the present as an exonym (Appell 1968), the people so classified calling themselves a *likəw*, plus a qualifying place-name.

The proper linguistic referent of the term 'Melanau' is a dialect chain which extends along the coast of Sarawak from Balingian in the north to the region of Rejang, Jerijeh and Sarikei villages in the south, and up the Rejang River as far as Kanowit. Contrary to an often-repeated statement, it does not include Bintulu. As noted by Clayre (1970:333), "It would seem likely that Mukah's prestige as the centre of local government, its magnetic attraction for youth to the Three Rivers School, and the radio broadcasts in its dialect, will cause it to emerge as the eventual cultural form for spoken Melanau." Because they are distinguished by only minor linguistic differences, the people of the Mukah and Oya' basins are sometimes referred to collectively as 'Mukah-Oya' Melanaus' (Leach 1950; Cense and Uhlenbeck 1958).

Throughout the Melanau coastal zone and in the Bintulu District to the north, rice - the staple of all other sedentary Bornean peoples - is replaced by sago as the principal food plant (Morris 1953). It is undoubtedly this common and distinctive ecological adaptation to a swampy coastal environment that has



caused Melanau and Bintulu speakers to be grouped under a common term, leading to confusion in the classification of the languages.

Hang Tuah Merawin of Kampung Teh, an upper 6 arts student at the Kolej Tun Datu Tuanku Haji Bujang, Miri, age about 18, served as informant. Apart from his native language the informant was fluent in English and, together with a large segment of the population at Mukah, spoke Sarawak Malay. Material was collected between 17 April and 23 June 1971, and included 38 8½" x 11" notebook pages of data in phonetic transcription, plus a four and one half page account of principal episodes in the life of the Melanau culture hero, Tugau ('Serita Tugau, raja Melanau'), handwritten by Hang Tuah, with English translation.

After several centuries of heavy Malay influence there has been in recent years an awakening interest among the people of Mukah in their own linguistic and cultural heritage. As an indication of its growing practical importance, Radio Sarawak now broadcasts a daily program in the language. The most important published materials are:

ANON

- 1930 A vocabulary of Mukah Milano. *SMJ* 4.1.12:87-130. (Approximately 1,600 words compiled anonymously from material collected by Frs Bernard Mulder at Dalat and Anthony Mulder at Mukah, and by government officer A.E. Lawrence.)

CLAYRE, I.F.C.S.

- 1970 The spelling of Melanau (née Milano). *SMJ* 18(NS):330-352. (Principally concerned with the rather different dialect of Dalat, with passing references to other forms of Melanau.)

LEACH, Edmund R.

- 1950 Social science research in Sarawak. A report on the possibilities of a social economic survey of Sarawak presented to the Colonial Social Science Research Council. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office for the Colonial Office (contains kinship terms in Mukah and Oya').

MORRIS, H.S.

- 1953 Report on a Melanau sago producing community in Sarawak. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office. (Contains kinship terminology and some cultural vocabulary from the Medong subdialect of the Oya' River.)

RAY, Sidney H.

- 1913 The languages of Borneo. *SMJ* 1.4:1-196. (Lists some 252 items of everyday vocabulary.)

## 2. LINGUISTIC INFORMATION

The description is organised under the following headings: 1. subsystems, 2. morphology, 3. lexical representation, 4. morpheme structure, 5. phonology, and 6. vocabulary.

## 2.1 Subsystems

Four subsystems are described: 1. personal and possessive pronouns, 2. demonstrative pronouns, 3. numeration/classifiers, and 4. kinship terms.

## 2.1.1 Personal and possessive pronouns

There are two partially distinct sets of personal/possessive pronouns, called respectively sets A and B, as follows:

|              | Set A       | Set B                                                                 |
|--------------|-------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1sg.         | akəw        | kəw                                                                   |
| 2sg.         | kaʔaw       | nəw                                                                   |
| 3sg.         | siən        |                                                                       |
| 1du. (incl.) | tua         | Third person singular and non-singular forms are identical with set A |
| 1du. (excl.) | mua         |                                                                       |
| 2du.         | kədua       |                                                                       |
| 3du.         | dua iən     |                                                                       |
| 1pl. (incl.) | tələw       |                                                                       |
| 1pl. (excl.) | mələw       |                                                                       |
| 2pl.         | kələw       |                                                                       |
| 3pl.         | (də)ləw iən |                                                                       |

Members of Set A occur as

1. Goal
2. Actor (Active verb)

Members of Set B occur as

1. Actor (Passive verb)
2. Possessives

## Examples:

- (1a) akəw b-əm-in siən mabəy  
*I carried him on my back yesterday.* (A2, A1)
- (1b) siən b-ən-in kəw mabəy  
*I carried him on my back yesterday.* (A1, B1)
- (2) bin akəw  
*carry me on your back* (A1)
- (3a) siən ŋ-pə-u-pək akəw  
*he whipped me* (A2, A1)
- (3b) akəw pə-i-pək siən  
*he whipped me* (A1, B1)
- (4) minəw tan siən b-əm-ukut kaʔaw?  
*Why did he punch you?* (A2, A1)
- (5a) kaʔaw pə+igi? sulud iən  
*you took the comb* (A2)
- (5b) sulud iən ən+igi? nəw  
*you took the comb* (B1)
- (6a) siən g-əm-utiŋ buk kəw  
*he is cutting my hair* (A2, B2)

- (6b) buk kəw g-ən-utiŋ siən  
*he cut my hair* (B2, B1)
- (7) gaday mas nəw  
*pawn your gold* (B2)

In addition, non-singular members of both sets occur as the actor and goal of reciprocal verbs:

- (8) dua iən pə+bukut  
*the two of them are fist-fighting*

Following ga? at, to (relational), the goal is represented by a set B pronoun:

- (9a) (də)ləw iən tətawa ga? kəw  
*they are laughing at me*
- (9b) (də)ləw iən tətawa ga? nəw  
*they are laughing at you*

A surface pronoun was not observed in any injunction. It should be noted, however, that the form of the verb suggests that the underlying pronoun in positive injunctions is selected from set B and the underlying pronoun in negative injunctions from set A, as seen in the following sentences:

positive injunction (imperative)

- (10a) də-i-dut kayəw itəw  
*uproot this tree*
- (11a) su?un kayəw itəw  
*carry this wood*
- (12a) bə-i-nu? babuy iən  
*kill that pig*

negative injunction

- (10b) ka? də-u-dut kayəw itəw  
*don't uproot this tree*
- (11b) ka? məŋ+su?un kayəw itəw  
*don't carry this wood*
- (12b) ka? ŋ+bə-u-nu? babuy iən  
*don't kill that pig*

passive declarative

- (10c) kayəw itəw də-i-dut nəw  
*you uprooted this tree*
- (11c) kayəw itəw su?un nəw  
*you carried this wood*
- (12c) babuy iən bə-i-nu? nəw  
*you killed that pig*

active declarative

- (10d) kaʔaw də-u-dut kayəw itəw  
*you uprooted this tree*
- (11d) kaʔaw məŋ+suʔun kayəw itəw  
*you carried this wood*
- (12d) kaʔaw ŋ+bə-u-nuʔ babuy iən  
*you killed that pig*

Reflexive constructions are formed with *diriʔ self*:

- (13) siən pə+bənuʔ diriʔ  
*he committed suicide*

### 2.1.2 Demonstrative pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns involve three locative dimensions: 1. near speaker, 2. definite, place already known to the addressee regardless of location relative to him or the speaker, 3. indefinite, place not known to the addressee regardless of location relative to him or the speaker. The forms and their glosses, with proximity to participants in the conversation and definiteness marked by + and non-proximity and indefiniteness marked by - are:

|                                          | near    |        |          |
|------------------------------------------|---------|--------|----------|
|                                          | speaker | hearer | definite |
| itəw <i>this</i> :gaʔ gitəw <i>here</i>  | +       |        | +        |
| iən <i>that</i> :gaʔ giən <i>there</i>   | -       |        | +        |
| inan <i>that</i> :gaʔ ginan <i>there</i> | -       |        | -        |

Location near the speaker apparently is regarded as necessarily definite.

### 2.1.3 Numeration/classifiers

The cardinal numerals 1-12, 20, 100 and 1000 are:

satu ~ ja<sup>1</sup> *one*  
 dua *two*  
 tələw *three*  
 pat *four*  
 lima *five*  
 nəm *six*  
 tujuʔ *seven*  
 lapən *eight*  
 səmilən *nine*  
 səpuluh ~ puluʔ+ən *ten*  
 sə+bəlas *eleven*  
 dua bəlas *twelve*  
 dua puluʔ *twenty*  
 sə+ratus *one hundred*  
 sə+ribu *one thousand*

Multiplicative values are indicated by placing the smaller number to the left, additive values by placing the smaller number to the right of any of the simple decimal values: dua ratus 200, lima ribu tələw ratus dua 5,302. /puluʔ/ (not

/puluh/) forms the base of non-singular multiples of ten: dua pulu? tuju? 27. As seen above, singular multiples of ten, hundred and thousand are formed with the clitic prefix sə- rather than with satu or ja. /ja/ does not occur in any higher number: dua pulu? satu 21 (never \*\*dua pulu? ja), sə+ratus satu 101 (never \*\*sə+ratus ja). The numerals eleven through nineteen are formed by placing the smaller number to the left of bəlas *teen*.

Five numeral classifiers were identified, as follows:

ala? (lit. *seed*)

dua ala? buŋa *two flowers*  
 lima ala? bua? bəŋuh *five coconuts*  
 tələw ala? batəw *three stones*  
 nəm ala? kərtih *six sheets of paper*  
 tuju? ala? buŋa *seven flower seeds*

apah (lit. *body*)

tuju? apah jəkan *seven fish*  
 pat apah da?un *four leaves*

awa? (lit. meaning unknown)

lima awa? kayəw *five sticks*

lawas (lit. meaning unknown)

lapan lawas apah *eight persons (= eight bodies)*  
 dua lawas anak umit *two children*

usah (lit. meaning unknown)

lima usah kayəw *five trees* (cp. lima awa? kayəw *five sticks*)  
 usah badan *the body*<sup>2</sup>

Although the preferred order of elements in numeral classifier constructions is number-classifier-noun, the noun can be placed first, as in:

kayəw dua awa? *two sticks*  
 jəkan tələw apah *three fish*

These differences appear to be entirely stylistic.

#### 2.1.4 Kinship system

The kinship terminology recorded for Mukah is as follows. Compositional definitions do not necessarily represent the full range of relationships designated by the classificatory label:

relative : warih  
 FF, MF, FM, MM : tipəw  
     F : tama  
     M : tina  
 So : anak lay  
 Da : anak mahəw

|                 |   |                |
|-----------------|---|----------------|
| CC              | : | səw            |
| FB,MB,FZH,MZH   | : | tuaʔ           |
| FZ,MZ,FBW,MBW   | : | təbusəw        |
| eSb             | : | janak tika     |
| ySb             | : | janak tadəy    |
| FBC,MBC,FZC,MZC | : | jipəw          |
| BC,ZC           | : | nakən anak     |
| SpF,SpM         | : | mətua          |
| Sp              | : | sawa           |
| SpB,SpZ         | : | maʔit          |
| CSp             | : | bənatəw, bisan |

other terms

|                 |   |                 |
|-----------------|---|-----------------|
| in-law          | : | saudara mara    |
| second cousin   | : | jipəw dua lakaw |
| nephew's nephew | : | nakən           |

## 2.2 Morphology

The morphology of Mukah can be described under the following headings:

### THE SIMPLE ROOT

Apart from particles, pronouns and numerals, the simple root is usually a noun (*təba well*, *pəsəy fishhook*) or an adjective (*rata smooth*, *of surface*, *biləm black*). When verbal it generally appears as the imperative of non-ablauting roots, in accidental passives or non-agentive completives with *buyaʔ* or *tərah struck, affected by*,<sup>3</sup> after *uaʔ thing* and in future (or desiderative) constructions with *baʔ*<sup>4</sup> ((2), (7), (11a) and sentences (15), (16), (18), (19), (21), (23), (25), (27), (28), (32), (34), (36), and (39) below):

- (14a) siən t-əm-ud kayəw  
*he is bending a stick*
- (14b) kayəw t-ən-ud siən  
*he bent a stick*
- (15) tud isi iən  
*bend that ruler*
- (16) kayəw itəw baʔ tud siən  
*he will bend this stick*
- (17a) siən pətiduʔ akəw/(1) tələw alaʔ/(2) buaʔ balak (or 2, 1)  
*he gave me three bananas*
- (17b) akəw ən+iduʔ siən/(1) tələw alaʔ/(2) buaʔ balak (or 2, 1)  
*he gave me three bananas*
- (18) iduʔ siən/(1) lima alaʔ/(2) buaʔ bəʃuh (or 2, 1)  
*give him two coconuts*
- (19) itəw uaʔ iduʔ siən  
*this is his gift (the thing that he gave)*
- (20a) siən ʃə-u-ʃaʔ saguʔ iən  
*he chewed the sago balls*

- (20b) sagu? iən fə-i-fə? siən  
*he chewed the sago balls*
- (21) itəw ua? fəfə? siən  
*this is the thing that he chewed*
- (22a) siən əm-upuk kain iən  
*she washed the clothes*
- (22b) kain iən ən+upuk siən  
*she washed the clothes*
- (23) upuk kain itəw  
*wash these clothes*
- (24a) siən lə-u-pəw buŋa  
*he picked a flower (intentionally)*
- (24b) buŋa lə-i-pəw siən  
*he picked a flower (intentionally)*
- (25) buŋa itəw {buya?} ləpəw kəw  
                   {tərah}  
*I picked this flower (accidentally, as when intending to pick s.t. else)*
- (26a) siən tə-u-bək akəw  
*he stabbed me (intentionally)*
- (26b) akəw tə-i-bək siən  
*he stabbed me (intentionally)*
- (27) akəw {buya?} təbək siən  
                   {tərah}  
*he stabbed me (accidentally)*
- (28) bas təbək aŋəy dən aŋay  
*the mark made by stabbing (wound or scar) can still be seen clearly*
- (29) tənawan itəw bə-i-nu? a  
*this person was killed by s.o. (intentionally)*
- (30) tənawan itəw {buya?} bənu? (a)  
                   {tərah}  
*this person was killed (accidentally)*
- (31) jəkan iən k-in-an siən  
*he ate the fish (intentionally)*
- (32) jəkan iən {buya?} kan  
                   {tərah}  
*the fish was eaten (accidentally, as when s.o. intended to save it for another occasion)*
- (33a) siən tə-u-tək kayəw iən  
*he cut the wood (intentionally)*
- (33b) kayəw iən tə-i-tək siən  
*he cut the wood (intentionally)*
- (34) kayəw iən {buya?} tətək siən  
                   {tərah}  
*he cut the wood (accidentally)*

- (35a) bəlabaw ɲə-u-ɲət kain itəw  
a rat has nibbled this cloth
- (35b) kain itəw ɲə-i-ɲət bəlabaw  
a rat has nibbled this cloth
- (36) bah busəw kain itəw {buya?} ɲəɲət  
tərah  
the corner of this cloth has been nibbled away (as by a rat)
- (37) sək siən sala? ji  
her way of putting/arranging things is improper
- (38) tələɲ siən təʔah aɲay  
his diving is very noisy
- (39) kayəw iən ba? suʔun siən  
he will carry the wood

A few simple verbal roots occur in other constructions:

gigit to chatter, of the teeth

- (40) ɲipən siən gigit  
his teeth are chattering

bəy have

- (41) sagu? itəw nda bəy ɲam  
these sago balls are tasteless

#### REDUPLICATION

Reduplication is put to morphological use with only two lexical items in the collected corpus. In both cases it indicates an intensification of the meaning of the root: kumuh *itch* : kumuh kumuh *itchy, itching all over*, laju *quick, fast* : laju laju *very fast*. The relationship between the monosyllabic root and its reduplication in forms such as tək *piece made by cutting* ; tətək *cut, cutting*, and kan *eat* : kakan *feed* does not appear to be systematic.

Some roots that were formed historically by reduplication have variant shapes, one simple the other reduplicated, which are completely interchangeable in certain environments:

{ bəbəd } taləy *tie the rope*  
bəd

In some of these roots the synchronic relationship of the variant shapes is no longer one of simple reduplication:

itəw sunəy { kəkut } *this is a man-made river (= canal)*  
kut

Partial reduplication of nominal roots is not at all uncommon, and must have been historically productive, but in contemporary Mukah is completely lexicalised:

kəkəlɪt *small cave bat*  
lələɲaw *housefly*  
ɲəɲala *light burning ashes carried off by the wind*  
ɲəɲiəw *kind of large flying fox*  
tətadəw *caterpillar*



məŋ-

The prefix məŋ- is added to words of two or more syllables that do not begin with a voiced obstruent. It forms active verbs which may be transitive, as with

paləy *taboo, prohibition* : məŋ+paləy *forbid, prohibit*

- (42) a dukun məŋ+paləy siən pə+isa? diba? ləbu?  
*the shaman forbade him to play under the house*

tabun *lid, cover* : məŋ+tabun *to cover*

- (43) akəw məŋ+tabun ua? kan  
*I'm covering the food*

kuniŋ *yellow* : məŋ+kuniŋ *make s.t. yellow*

- (44) (də)ləw iən məŋ+kuniŋ kərtih iən  
*they are making the paper yellow*

səruŋ? *a joke* : məŋ+səruŋ? *tease, play a joke on s.o.*

- (45) dua iən məŋ+səruŋ? akəw  
*the two of them played a joke on me*

aŋit *sharp* : məŋ+aŋit *sharpen*

- (46) tika kəw məŋ+aŋit utuŋ kayəw  
*my older brother is sharpening the end of a stick*

lasu? *hot* : məŋ+lasu? *to heat*

- (47) siən məŋ+lasu? na?əm iən  
*she is heating the water*

pali? *a wound* : məŋ+pali? *to cut, wound*

- (48) paraŋ iən məŋ+pali? buduk siən  
*the parang cut his leg*

or intransitive, as with

- (49) paɗay ŋa? məŋ+kuniŋ  
*the paddy is already turning yellow (ripening)*

In one recorded example the root prefixed with məŋ- is interchangeable with the simple root:

- (50) siən {məŋ+puput} akəw  
          puput  
*he spit on me*

nəŋ-

The prefix nəŋ- forms the passive of məŋ- verbs. It was recorded only in:

- (51) ŋa?əm nəŋ+lasu? siən  
*she heated the water*

pə-

There is apparently more than one prefix with this phonemic shape. In some examples pə- indicates habitual activity or the role defined by such activity:

upuk *wash, washing of clothes* : pə+upuk *wash clothes (habitually); s.o. who washes*

(52) kərja pə+upuk kain susah aḡay  
*washing clothes is hard work*

(53) siən pə+upuk kain  
*she is a washerwoman*

suʔun *carry, carrying* : pə+suʔun *carry (habitually); s.o. who carries*

(54) siən məŋ+suʔun kayəw iən  
*he is carrying the wood*

(55) kərja pə+suʔun kayəw susah aḡay  
*carrying wood is hard work*

(56) tama kəw kərja pə+suʔun kayəw  
*my father works as a wood-carrier*

uug *rub, rubbing* : pə+uug *rub (habitually); s.o. who rubs*

(57) uug asuʔ iən pəbaʔ ŋuʔ  
*rub the floor with (using) oil*

(58) akəw kərja pə+uug təpuḡ  
*I work as a (sago) flour sifter (rubbing lumpy sago flour to break it into finer pieces)*

In other cases a prefix with the same shape indicates intransitive action, while the transitive equivalent is signalled by məŋ- or -əm-:

(59) akəw pə+pikir  
*I'm thinking (\*\*akəw məŋ+pikir)*

(60) akəw məŋ+pikir hal itəw  
*I'm thinking of that matter*

(61) akəw pə+patəḡ baw tiləm  
*I'm lying on the mattress*

(62) siən məŋ+patəḡ anak iən baw tiləm  
*she laid the child on the mattress*

(63) akəw baʔ pə+lukuh  
*I want to go on a hunger strike*

(64) kaʔ l-əm-ukuh anak a  
*don't make other people's children go hungry (as by not offering them food)*

In a few sentences pə- marks reciprocal action (sentence (8) and the following):

(65) dua iən pə+daləw  
*the two of them are quarrelling (with each other)*

Certain other examples appear to represent spontaneous action, or action that is not the result of reflection or intent:

- (66) siən pə+tabik gaʔ daʔan  
*he is hanging from a branch (as after falling some distance and catching hold)*

next to:

- (67) siən məŋ+tabik buaʔ dian iən  
*he reached for the durian*

pə+təmək *knock against the bank (as a raft forced out of control by a strong current)*

next to:

- (68) təmək akit iən gaʔ təbiŋ  
*push the raft to the riverbank*

- (69) siən pə+tuab  
*he is yawning*

- (70) paliʔ kəw pə+nanaʔ  
*my wound is suppurating*

In one sentence pə- evidently signals the result of non-directed action:

- (71) kayəw iən pə+tud  
*that tree is (naturally) bent*

Some verbs with pə-, however, clearly describe intentional or directed action:

- (72) kaʔaw pə+igiʔ buaʔ iən  
*you took the fruit*

- (73) akəw pə+bin baw buta siən  
*he is carrying me on his back*

- (74) akəw baʔ pə+taʔah ucapan siən  
*I will listen to his speech*

isaʔ game : pə+isaʔ to play

Finally, a prefix pə- occurs with some roots in which the morphological relationship is apparently idiosyncratic:

- (75) siən kərja pə+matay lalu  
*he works himself to exhaustion*

- (76) siən matay {buyaʔ} bənuʔ (a)  
                           tərah  
*he was killed by someone (accidentally)*

tuduy sleep : pə+tuduy nuptial night

-əm-

The infix -əm- is inserted after a root-initial consonant if there is one, but is not found in polysyllabic roots that begin with a voiceless obstruent. It forms active verbs which may be transitive, as with:

- (77) auy pu? aʔi iən  
*smoke out that beehive*
- (78) siən m+auy pu? aʔi  
*he is smoking out a beehive*

ibay *buying* (n.)

- (79) siən əm+ibay ua? jaja kəw  
*he is buying my merchandise*
- (80) siən əm+uug asu? pəba? kain  
*she is scrubbing the floor with a cloth*
- (81) minəw tən ka?aw t-əm-ud kayəw iən?  
*why are you bending that stick?*
- (82) kaŋ bənawaŋ  
*open the door*
- (83) siən k-əm-aŋ bənawaŋ  
*he is opening the door*
- (84) bua? iən b-əm-aat ŋa?an un  
*the fruit just adds to the weight of the tote bag (said when advising s.o. who is about to embark on a journey not to take some fruit)*
- (85) siən d-əm-əkət kərtih ga? didiŋ  
*he attached the paper to the wall*
- (86) tina kəw j-əm-a?it kain  
*my mother is sewing clothes*
- (87) siən g-əm-atuŋ bakul iən  
*he hung the basket up*
- (88) tadəy kəw l-əm-u?uy pil  
*my younger brother swallowed a pill*

or intransitive, as with

l-əm-əpəw *fall, of a fruit*

g-əm-aduŋ *turn green, become green*

məŋ-, pə- and -əm- are neutral with regard to tense:

- (89) akəw məŋ+lasu? nasi?  
*I'm warming up the (cooked) rice*
- (90) akəw ŋa? məŋ+lasu? nasi?  
*I've already warmed up the (cooked) rice*
- (91) akəw məŋ+lasu? nasi? məbəy  
*I warmed up the (cooked) rice yesterday*
- (92) akəw (ba?) məŋ+lasu? nasi? səmunih  
*I'll warm up the (cooked) rice tomorrow*
- (93) siən pə+bin baw buta kəw  
*I'm carrying him on my back*
- (94) siən pə+bin baw buta kəw məbəy  
*I carried him on my back yesterday*

- (95) siən (baʔ) pə+bin baw buta kəw səmunih  
*I'll carry him on my back tomorrow*
- (96) akəw l-əm-uʔuy pil  
*I'm swallowing a pill*
- (97) akəw l-əm-uʔuy pil məbəy  
*I swallowed a pill yesterday*
- (98) akəw (baʔ) l-əm-uʔuy pil səmunih  
*I'll swallow a pill tomorrow*

As can be seen, the affixes məŋ- and -əm- are in partial complementation, the former not occurring on monosyllables or any root that begins with a voiced obstruent, and the latter not occurring on polysyllables that begin with a voiceless obstruent.<sup>5</sup> These facts might be taken as evidence that the forms in question are divergent surface realisations of a single underlying affix. An inspection of polysyllabic roots that begin with a vowel or a consonant other than a non-nasal obstruent, however, reveals clearly that these elements contrast in other environments, as in:

- (99) siən məŋ+lasuʔ ʔaʔəm  
*she is heating water*
- (100) sə Nawi l-əm-uʔuy pil iən  
*Nawi swallowed the pill*
- (101) mələw məŋ+adək ʔuʔ wəŋi itəw  
*we (pl.excl.) smelled the odour of this fragrant perfume*
- (102) mua əm+ituŋ buaʔ iən  
*we (du.excl.) counted the fruit*
- (103) siən əm+upuk kain  
*she is washing clothes*

Given sentences (99)-(102) it is difficult to maintain that məŋ- and -əm- are not distinct. This issue is treated at greater length in section 2.5.2.

-ən-

The infix -ən- forms the passive of -əm- and of some other verbs (sentences (1b), (5b), (6b), (14b), (17b), (22b) and the following):

- (104) dəbəw iən g-ən-aup anak  
*a child blew the ashes away*
- (105) akəw p-ən-ayun siən  
*he held the umbrella for me (over my head)*
- (106) bukaŋ a tama t-ən-aŋih siən  
*he wept over his father's corpse*
- (107) ʔaʔəm iən s-ən-iŋuəh (də)ləw iən  
*they (pl.) let the water cool*
- (108) kain j-ən-aʔit tina kəw  
*my mother sewed some clothes*
- (109) buaʔ iən ən+ituŋ siən  
*he counted the fruit*

- (110) buŋa iən ən+adək kəw  
*I smelled the flower*

-ən- differs further from -əm- in referring specifically to completed action. Thus:

\*\*akəw b-ən-in siən səmunih

is rejected on the grounds that a verb infixed with -ən- and a word referring to future time (səmunih *tomorrow*) are incompatible.

#### ABLAUT

A number of disyllabic roots show systematic variation of the penultimate vowel.<sup>6</sup> As this variation is correlated with grammatical function (much like the variation in English *sing : sang : sung*), and has not to my knowledge previously been described in its simple form for any Austronesian language, the familiar term 'ablaut' has been borrowed from Indo-European linguistics as a provisional designation.<sup>7</sup> Roots that undergo ablaut exhibit three grades of the variant vowel: /ə/, /u/ and /i/. Shwa-grade realisations will be referred to as the neutral grade. Because they have the widest distribution, and correspond for the most part with the historically primary vowel, neutral grade realisations are adopted as the underlying representation of ablauting roots. /u/- and /i/-grade realisations are represented phonemically by an infixed vowel.

#### /ə/ grade

/ə/-grade realisations, which were discussed in part under THE SIMPLE ROOT, appear in concrete or abstract nouns (often after ua? *thing*), in accidental passives or non-agentive completives with buya? or tərāh *struck, affected by*, with reciprocals, and in some future (or desiderative) constructions (sentences (13), (21), (25), (27), (28), (30), (34), (36) and the following):

- (ua?) pəpāh a *whip*  
 (111) ua? kəkut siən nda bəy dia?  
*his digging is not good*  
 (112) ga? ləŋən siən bəy gəlāma səbut asəw  
*there is a scar on his arm from a dog's bite*  
 (113) səsəp siən ta?ah aŋay  
*his sipping is very loud*  
 (114) babuy itəw ba? bənu?  
*this pig will be killed*

In one known form the neutral grade realisation of an ablauting root appears in a positive injunction:<sup>8</sup>

- (115) {bəbəd} taləy *tie the rope*  
 bəd

#### /u/ grade

/u/-grade realisations indicate that the first nominal expression in the sentence is the actor. They are neutral with regard to tense (sentences (10d), (20a), (24a), (26a), (33a), (35a) and the following):

(116) siən kə-u-kut təba  
*he is digging a well*

(117) asəw sə-u-but ləŋən kəw (mabəy)  
*a dog is biting my arm (a dog bit my arm yesterday)*

As noted earlier, the /u/ grade of the root also occurs in negative injunctions ((10b) and the following):

(118) kaʔ kə-u-kut ləgah  
*don't dig fast*

(119) kaʔ sə-u-but ləŋən siən  
*don't bite his arm*

In several stems which begin with a labial stop a prefix ŋ- (simple nasal substitution), which only rarely occurs alone, co-occurs with /u/-grade ablaut ((3a), (12b), (12d) and the following):

(120) (də)ləw iən ŋ+pə-u-pah asəw itəw  
*they (pl.) whipped this dog*

(121) akəw ŋ+bə-u-bəd taləy  
*I'm tying the rope*

/i/ grade

/i/-grade realisations indicate that the first nominal expression in the sentence is the goal ((3b), (10c), (12c), (20b), (24b), (26b), (29), (33b), (35b) and the following):

(122) asəw itəw pə-i-pah (də)ləw iən  
*they (pl.) whipped this dog*

(123) taləy bə-i-bəd kəw  
*I tied the rope*

As already noted, the /i/ grade of the root also occurs in positive injunctions ((10a), (12a) and the following):

(124) pə-i-pah asəw iən  
*whip that dog*

(125) sə-i-bət biləm kain iən  
*blacken that cloth*

(126) sə-i-but ləŋən siən  
*bite his arm*

In declarative sentences the /i/-grade realisation of an ablauting verb refers specifically to completed action. Thus

\*\*təbaa(baʔ) kə-i-kut siən səmunih

reportedly is regarded as unacceptable because of contradictory time reference.

There are two recorded examples of a root which takes either /u/-grade ablaut or məŋ-. In one of these məŋ- occurs with the neutral grade of the root, in the other with the /u/-grade. The resultant morphologically complex verbs appear to be completely interchangeable:

- (127) akəw {məŋ+tətəŋ} kupi  
           tə-u-təŋ  
*I drank some coffee*
- (128) siən {məŋ+sə-u-səp} juu? bəfiuh  
           sə-u-səp  
*he is sipping coconut water*

In several other examples a root takes either /i/-grade ablaut or -ən-. While some of the resultant morphologically complex verbs appear to be interchangeable without affecting the meaning of the sentence, as in

- (129) kupi {t-ən-ətəŋ} kəw  
           tə-i-təŋ  
*I drank the coffee*

others clearly involve a semantic distinction:

- (130) asəw iən pə-i-pək siən  
*he hit the dog*
- (131) kayəw iən p-ən-əpək siən  
*he used the stick to hit with*
- (132) uji? tə-i-bək siən ga? tana?  
*he plunged the knife into the earth (with prior intent to do so)*
- (133) uji? t-ən-əbək siən ga? tana?  
*he plunged the knife into the earth (through a last-second change of mind after prior intent to stab s.o. or s.t. else)*

Two roots were recorded which undergo ablaut changes, but appear to lack a neutral grade variant:

- ['dudut] *pluck, pull out* : ['didut] *be plucked, pulled out*
- ['puput] *what is spat out* : [pə'nɔput] *be spat upon*  
                                           ['piput]  
                                           [mə'mɔput] *spit on*  
                                           ['puput]

To account for the observed /u/-/i/ variation in these items we might assume an abstract underlying root with penultimate shwa. Such a solution would encounter semantic difficulties, however, in items such as ['puput] *what is spat out*, which cannot plausibly be explained as a /u/-grade realisation of hypothetical \*\*pəput. The problem becomes still more serious in the morphological variant [pə'nuput] *be spat upon*, where we would be forced to acknowledge semantically contradictory affixes in the same root (/p-ən-ə-u-əput/). As a temporary expedient the above items are written /dudut/, /didut/, /puput/, /piput/, and the morphological relationship between them left formally unstated.<sup>9</sup>

sə (person-marking particle)

The clitic particle sə occurs before any personal name which functions as the actor of an active verb:

- (134) sə Ahmad ŋ+bə-u-nu? dipa  
*Ahmad killed a snake*

Before a personal name which functions as the actor of a passive verb this particle does not occur:



- (135) *dipa bə-i-nuʔ Ahmad*  
*Ahmad killed a snake*

### 2.2.1 Residual difficulties

In addition to the above well-attested affixes, a number of items are segmentable into a root and an unexplained residual element. Some of these elements may result from borrowing, while others probably involve real but minimally productive affixes whose functions are not yet well understood. The difficulties recognised are as follows:

bə-

A prefix bə- appears in:

- judi die, dice : bə+judi gamble*  
*lagu song : bə+lagu sing*

and the phonological variant bəl- in

- ajər learning, teaching : bəl-ajər learn*

where it was acquired through borrowing both the simple root and the morphologically complex word from Malay. A prefix with the same shape, however, can be identified in

- uaʔ kahaŋ fishing gear : bə+kahaŋ go fishing (general term)*

and

- labuʔ a fall : bə-labuʔ to fall*

which presumably are directly inherited.

j-

An apparent prefix j- is found in

- umiʔ ~ umit small : j-umiʔ ~ j-umit a little bit, a few*

k-

It is possible to relate the verb in

- (136) [*'katay 'i:jin*] *stop (i.e. kill) the engine*

and

- [*'mʌtəy*] *die, dead*

on the assumption that the latter form contains a root /atay/ together with the infix -ə- or possibly a prefix mə- (see below). If this analysis is adopted, a prefix k- or kə- must be recognised in the former item. Similarly, the verb in

- (137) [*'ʔakəw mʌ'ŋʌʌŋ 'amʌw*]  
*I'm afraid of ghosts*

can be related to the verb in

- (138) [*'ʔəy, kə'ŋʌʌŋ 'siən gaʔ kəw*]  
*oh, he is very afraid of me*

through the assumption of a root /ŋaŋ/ which is infixed with -əm- in the former and prefixed with kə- in the latter word. This analysis receives direct support from

- (139) ['ŋəʃŋ 'siən]  
*frighten him*

where the root occurs unaffixed. In

- (140) ['ʔakəw kənʔ'ŋəʃŋ 'siən]  
*he is afraid of me*

however, it is necessary to recognise infixation of the prefix (/k-ən-ə+ŋaŋ/), a morphological feature otherwise not attested in the material collected. For the present, then, the morphology of this verb remains somewhat unclear. Likewise, it remains uncertain whether [kan] *eat* : ['kakan] *feed* are related through reduplication or prefixation with kə-.

mə- (Attributive)

An attributive or stative verbal prefix mə- appears to be isolable in:

- ['anit] *sharpen* : ['manit] *sharp*  
[səy] *flesh* : [mə'səy] *fat, obese*  
['ikah] *itch* : ['mɪkah] *itchy*  
['ʔudip] *life* : ['mɪdip] *living, alive*  
['lasoʔ] *hot* : [mə'lasoʔ] *burning hot*  
['ʔaŋət] *face s.t. bravely* : ['məŋət] *bold, fearless*  
[lau] *wither* : [mə'lau] *withered*  
[ŋeəʔ] *fat, grease* : [mə'ŋeəʔ] *fatty, oily*  
[pa'ʔit] *bitterness* : [məpa'ʔit] *bitter*

though it is conceivable that the affix in all cases is -əm-.

mi-, ni-

Apparent affixes with these shapes occur in:

- (141) [hig bup iən]  
*move that book a bit*
- (142) ['siən 'mihig bup iən]  
*he moved the book a bit*
- (143) [bup iən 'nihig 'siən]  
*he moved the book a bit*

where they perhaps result from an idiosyncratic change of the affixal vowel of /h-əm-ig/, /h-ən-ig/.

ŋ-

A formative ŋ- can be isolated in one recorded word:

- ['ʔagəm] *grasp* : ['ŋəgəm] *hand*

ŋ-

In a single known example ŋ- occurs without ablaut:

- [bə'ləy] *buy* : [mə'ləy] *to buy* (= /bələy/ : /ŋ+bələy/)

pəŋ-

Two known items, at least one of which (pəŋ+tawar) appears to be a Malay loan, take pəŋ-:

panas *feeling of anger* : pəŋ+panas *hot-tempered*  
 tawar *treat with medicine* : pəŋ+tawar *antidote*

sə-

As noted earlier (2.1.3) a clitic prefix sə- *one* occurs in the numerals

sə+puluh *ten*  
 sə+bəlas *eleven*  
 sə+ratus *100*  
 sə+ribu *1000*

where it was borrowed from Malay.

t-

A single root in the available material exhibits a morphologically complex shape with t-:

['ʔudip] *life* : ['tudip] *living, alive*

tələ-

An apparent affix with this shape can be identified in:

(144) suy kayəw iən  
*let the wood slip down*  
 tələ+suy *slip, slide forward*

-in-

This infix is attested only in the root kan *eat; food*, and might be compared with the prefix in sentence (143):

(145) nasiʔ k-in-an Nawi  
*Nawi ate the rice*

-ən

-ən is attested in two words:

puluʔ+ən *ten*  
 uaʔ kan *ordinary food*  
 uaʔ kan+ən *any special food, as one's favourite food*

### 2.2.2 Sample paradigms

The following paradigms illustrate the range of affixes that can be attached to a few particular roots:

lasuʔ *hot*

məŋ+lasuʔ *to heat*  
 nəŋ+lasuʔ *be heated*  
 mə+lasuʔ *burning hot*

bəd, bəbəd *tying, tie* (imper.)

ŋ+bə-u-bəd *to tie*  
 bə-i-bəd *be tied*  
 pə+bəd *tie (habitually, as in an occupation)*

uug *rubbing; rub* (imper.)

əm+uug *rub*  
 ən+uug *be rubbed*  
 pə+uug *rub (habitually, as in an occupation)*

kan *eat* (imper.); *ordinary food*

kə+kan *feed* (imper.)  
 məŋ+kə+kan *to feed*  
 k-ən-a+kan *be fed*  
 k-əm-an *eat*  
 k-in-an *be eaten*  
 kan+ən *special food*

## 2.3 Lexical representation

Lexical items in Mukah can be represented in terms of the following minimal inventory of symbols. Justification of the symbols used will be given in later sections:

| CONSONANTS |   |                 |   |   | VOWELS |   | DIPHTHONGS |    |
|------------|---|-----------------|---|---|--------|---|------------|----|
| p          | t | c <sup>10</sup> | k | ʔ | i      | u | uy         | iw |
| b          | d | j               | g |   | ə      |   | əy         | əw |
| m          | n | ŋ               | ŋ |   | a      |   | ay         | aw |
|            | s |                 |   | h |        |   |            |    |
|            | l |                 |   |   |        |   |            |    |
|            | r |                 |   |   |        |   |            |    |
| w          | y |                 |   |   |        |   |            |    |

Consonant phonemes have their expected phonetic values except that final /k/ is realised as /ʔ/ after vowels other than /ə/, final /s/ is realised as [ih], and /r/ appears as [y] in loanwords, but as -[h] in native forms.

## 2.4 Morpheme structure (phonotactics)

Constraints on permissible phoneme sequences in morphemes can be divided into two types: categorial constraints and segmental constraints.

### 2.4.1 Categorial constraints

Categorial constraints are limitations on the distribution of the categories 'consonant' and 'vowel'. These are discussed first in terms of the syllable, then in terms of root morphemes.

## 2.4.1.1 Canonical shapes of syllables

Possible phonemic syllable shapes (underlined> are as follows:<sup>11</sup>

|     |                                                    |
|-----|----------------------------------------------------|
| V   | <u>i</u> .juh <i>extend the legs while sitting</i> |
| VC  | li. <u>aŋ</u> <i>light (in weight)</i>             |
| CV  | bu. <u>kəw</u> <i>yam</i>                          |
| CVC | <u>ja</u> .tih <i>gibbon</i>                       |
|     | ga. <u>gaw</u> <i>busy</i>                         |

## 2.4.1.2 Canonical shapes of stems

All theoretically possible combinations of the categories 'consonant' and 'vowel' within root morphemes of up to three phonemic segments are listed below. Where a canonical shape is exemplified by at least one known form, a representative example is cited to the right:

|     |                            |     |                             |
|-----|----------------------------|-----|-----------------------------|
| V   | a <i>somebody, someone</i> | VVC | uaŋ <i>dry</i>              |
| C   |                            | VCV | uma <i>cultivated field</i> |
| VV  | ua <i>just, only</i>       | VCC |                             |
| VC  | ud <i>headwaters</i>       | CVV | sia <i>salt</i>             |
| CV  | ja <i>one</i>              | CVC | tip <i>thirsty</i>          |
| CC  |                            | CCV | nda <i>no, not</i>          |
| VVV |                            | CCC |                             |

The following is a list of all attested canonical shapes that involve longer sequences:

|           |                                                       |
|-----------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| VCVC      | udut <i>dandruff</i>                                  |
|           | atay <i>liver</i>                                     |
| CVVC      | luup <i>exhausted</i>                                 |
|           | siaw <i>chicken</i>                                   |
| CVCV      | dipa <i>snake</i>                                     |
| CVCVV     | bəŋai <i>large river</i>                              |
| CVCVC     | puyan <i>hearth</i>                                   |
|           | dabəw <i>ashes</i>                                    |
|           | tutuk <i>knock, rap</i>                               |
| CVCCV     | kərja <i>work (L)</i>                                 |
| CVVCVC    | lautan <i>open sea (L)</i>                            |
| CVCVCV    | bətuka <i>large intestine; bowels</i>                 |
| CVCVVC    | səluəh <i>trousers (L)</i>                            |
| CVCVCVV   | gələgua <i>intestinal worm</i>                        |
| CVCVCVC   | təgaliŋ <i>tail feathers of a rooster</i>             |
|           | bəbulan <i>ocular cataract</i> <sup>12</sup>          |
|           | kəlibuy <i>monitor lizard</i>                         |
| CVCVCVCVC | sələmawa? <i>large fructivorous bat or flying fox</i> |

On the basis of this information it is possible to formulate a set of constraints on permissible combinations of vowels and consonants within Mukah root morphemes as follows:

1. Every root morpheme must contain at least one vowel.
2. No more than two Vs may occur in sequence.
3. Except in *nda no, not* and a few Malay loans (as *kərja work*), consonant clusters do not occur.
4. No root morpheme of more than two syllables begins with a vowel.

Blanks in the above list of theoretically possible trilateral and shorter sequences can now be distinguished as structural impossibilities or accidental gaps. Non-occurring canonical shapes appear below, with constraints violated cited in parentheses. Remaining blanks indicate accidental gaps:

|           |               |
|-----------|---------------|
| C (1)     | VVV (2, 4)    |
|           | VCC           |
| CC (1, 3) | CCC (1, 2, 3) |

#### 2.4.1.3 Relative frequency of canonical shapes

Based on a sample of 100 roots selected at random the attested canonical shapes (2.4.1.2) show the following frequency percentages:

| CANONICAL SHAPE | FREQUENCY % |
|-----------------|-------------|
| V               |             |
| VC              |             |
| CV              |             |
| VVC             |             |
| VCV             |             |
| CVV             | 2           |
| CVC             | 8           |
| CCV             |             |
| VCVC            | 15          |
| CVVC            | 6           |
| CVCV            | 7           |
| CVCVV           | 2           |
| CVCVC           | 49          |
| CVCCV           |             |
| CVVCV           |             |
| CVCVCV          | 1           |
| CVCVCVV         | 1           |
| CVCVCVC         | 9           |
| CVCVCVCVC       |             |
|                 | <u>100</u>  |

#### 2.4.2 Segmental constraints

Segmental constraints are limitations on the distribution of particular segments. For expository convenience consonant distribution and vowel distribution will be discussed separately.

##### 2.4.2.1 Constraints on the distribution of particular consonants

The recorded distribution of consonant phonemes in initial, intervocalic and final positions appears below, keyed by number to the illustrative lexical items that follow. To simplify the statement of environments attested clusters are cited separately at the end. Segments which are rare in any given position, or that are known to occur only in loanwords are marked as such:

|   | INITIAL   | INTERVOCALIC  | FINAL |
|---|-----------|---------------|-------|
| p | 1,20      | 2,26          | 8,18  |
| t | 7,9,19,21 | 11,16         | 10    |
| c | -         | 26 (in loans) | -     |
| k | 18        | 9,10,17       | 19,21 |
| ʔ | -         | 13            | 5     |
| b | 11,27     | 19            | 7     |
| d | 10,23,24  | 21            | 9,17  |
| j | 5         | 1,12          | -     |
| g | 12        | 20            | 1     |
| m | 16        | 22            | 4,13  |
| n | 8         | 23            | 22,26 |
| ŋ | 13        | 4             | -     |
| ŋ | 14        | 14            | 6     |
| s | 2         | 3             | 27    |
| h | -         | 18            | 15,25 |
| l | 15        | 5             | 12    |
| r | 17        | 25            | 20    |
| w | 6,25      | 24            | 2,3   |
| y | -         | 15            | 24    |

- |                                 |                                        |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| 1. pajuŋ <i>foot</i>            | 14. ŋaŋa <i>mouth of fish trap</i>     |
| 2. sapaw <i>thatch</i>          | 15. layah <i>sail</i>                  |
| 3. asəw <i>dog</i>              | 16. mata <i>eye</i>                    |
| 4. aŋam <i>weave</i>            | 17. rukəd <i>space between joints</i>  |
| 5. jəlaʔ <i>tongue</i>          | 18. kuhəp <i>crush with molars</i>     |
| 6. wuŋ <i>rapids</i>            | 19. təbək <i>stabbing; stab</i>        |
| 7. tuab <i>yawn</i>             | 20. pagər <i>fence (L)</i>             |
| 8. nap <i>fish scale</i>        | 21. tuduk <i>single-barbed harpoon</i> |
| 9. tukəd <i>climbing; climb</i> | 22. amun <i>if</i>                     |
| 10. dəkət <i>stick, adhere</i>  | 23. dana <i>old, of things</i>         |
| 11. buta <i>back (anat.)</i>    | 24. daway <i>wire</i>                  |
| 12. gajil <i>lazy</i>           | 25. warih <i>relative</i>              |
| 13. ŋaʔəm <i>water</i>          | 26. ucapan <i>speech (L)</i>           |
|                                 | 27. kias <i>mosquito</i>               |

#### ATTESTED CONSONANT CLUSTERS

- nd- nda *no, not*  
 -rb- kərbaw *water buffalo (L)*  
 -rj- kərja *work (L)*  
 -rt- kərtih *paper (L)*

In addition to the above clusters, city people (people in Mukah proper) sometimes introduce a homorganic nasal before a medial stop in self-conscious imitation of Malay: ['kapuəŋ] ~ ['kəmpuəŋ] *settlement*. This usage is apparently quite recent and is sometimes overgeneralised, as it occasionally affects words which lack a nasal in the Malay cognate: [sə'nəpəəŋ] ~ [sə'nəmpəəŋ] *gun, weapon* (Sarawak Malay senapaŋ *gun, rifle*).

In summary, the following constraints on the distribution of consonant phonemes can be stated:

1. /c/ is rare, and occurs only in Malay loanwords or with restricted segments of the population in certain conversational styles.
2. /ʔ/, /h/ and /y/ do not occur initially.<sup>13</sup>

3. /n/ does not occur before /i/.
4. medial nasal clusters occur with restricted segments of the population in certain styles as a mark of social prestige, but do not occur in normal speech between social peers.
5. palatals do not occur finally.

#### 2.4.2.2 Constraints on the distribution of particular vowels

The following constraints on the distribution of vowel phonemes can be stated:

1. apart from the Malay loanword *lautan open sea*, all vocalic oppositions are neutralised as shwa in prepenultimate syllables within a root.
2. shwa does not occur initially, prevocally, before /ʔ/ or /h/, or in open final syllables.

#### ATTESTED VOWEL SEQUENCES

- aa    *baat heavy*  
       *bānaa glowing ashes*
- ai    *kain cloth, clothing*  
       *pai stingray*
- au    *jaut recede, of the tide*  
       *ḥau eagle; kite*
- ia    *diaʔ good*  
       *sia salt*
- iə    *iən that (def.)*
- ii    *dii housepost*
- ua    *buaʔ fruit*  
       *dua two*
- uu    *tuun swim*  
       *nuu secondary forest*

#### 2.4.2.3 Relative frequency of phonemes

The relative list frequency of consonant phonemes in each position appears below. Given the zero convention marking the non-occurrence of an initial, intervocalic or final consonant, initial and final consonants necessarily total 100. Absolute numerical values and percentages are thus identical. Due to a substantial number of monosyllables only partly compensated by multiple intervocalic consonants in words of three or more syllables, the absolute number of intervocalic consonants is less than 100:



|    |            |     |           |    |            |
|----|------------|-----|-----------|----|------------|
| p- | : 8        | -p- | : 8       | -p | : 2        |
| t- | : 15       | -t- | : 10      | -t | : 10       |
| c- | : ∅        | -c- | : ∅       | -  | : -        |
| k- | : 5        | -k- | : 4       | -k | : 7        |
| -  | : -        | -ʔ- | : 5       | -ʔ | : 16       |
| b- | : 17       | -b- | : 5       | -b | : 1        |
| d- | : 5        | -d- | : 7       | -d | : 1        |
| j- | : 7        | -j- | : 2       | -  | : -        |
| g- | : 2        | -g- | : 2       | -g | : ∅        |
| m- | : 1        | -m- | : 6       | -m | : 1        |
| n- | : 1        | -n- | : 5       | -n | : 14       |
| ŋ- | : 5        | -ŋ- | : ∅       | -  | : -        |
| ŋ  | : ∅        | -ŋ  | : 3       | -ŋ | : 10       |
| s- | : 9        | -s- | : 5       | -s | : 4        |
| -  | : -        | -h- | : 1       | -h | : 8        |
| l- | : 6        | -l- | : 11      | -l | : 3        |
| r- | : 2        | -r- | : 1       | -r | : ∅        |
| -  | : -        | -w- | : 5       | -w | : 5        |
| -  | : -        | -y- | : 4       | -y | : 7        |
| ∅  | : 17       | -∅- | : 8       | -∅ | : 11       |
|    | <u>100</u> |     | <u>92</u> |    | <u>100</u> |

Based on the above observations, the following general claims about the relative frequency of consonants in Mukah seem tentatively to be justified:

1. /b/, initial vowel and /t/ are strongly favoured in C-position within root morphemes.
2. In intervocalic position /l/ and /t/ are preferred, followed closely by /p/ and ∅.
3. In final position /ʔ/ is the preferred segment, followed by /n/, ∅, /t/ and /ŋ/.

The relative frequency of vowel phonemes in each syllable (penultimate and ultimate) is as follows:

|   | penultimate | ultimate |
|---|-------------|----------|
| a | 45          | 49       |
| ə | 15          | 20       |
| i | 10          | 9        |
| u | 18          | 22       |
| e | -           | ∅        |

Based on the above observations the following general claims about the relative frequency of vowels in Mukah appear tentatively to be justified:

1. /a/ is the most frequent vowel in both positions.
2. /u/ is the second most frequent vowel in both positions, followed closely by /ə/, and more distantly by /i/.

The preferred canonical shape (disyllabic) and segment distribution of Mukah can be symbolised by the formula: balaʔ, though formulae bataʔ and talaʔ receive nearly as much support.

No associative tendencies between segments were noted. The only dissociative tendency recognised to date is the inherited Austronesian aversion to unlike labials (b--p, p--m, etc.) in successive syllables within the same morpheme.

## 2.5 Phonology

The phonology of Mukah can be described in terms of a set of partially ordered rules relating lexical representations to their phonetic realisations.

### 2.5.1 Phonological rules

The phonological rules of Mukah are as follows:

#### 1 (stress placement)

As stress placement in Mukah citation forms is apparently governed by a rather complex set of conditions, it will perhaps be clearest if the general case (a) is stated first, followed by each subcase (b-d) in descending order of importance:

- (a) the penultimate vowel of a word receives stress.

#### EXAMPLES

|           |   |                         |                            |
|-----------|---|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| /uləd/    | → | [ <sup>?</sup> uləd]    | <i>maggot, caterpillar</i> |
| /tuləy/   | → | [ <sup>?</sup> tuləy]   | <i>dammar</i>              |
| /liŋə/    | → | [ <sup>?</sup> liŋə]    | <i>ear</i>                 |
| /daaʔ/    | → | [ <sup>?</sup> daaʔ]    | <i>blood</i>               |
| /pəmələy/ | → | [pə <sup>?</sup> mələy] | <i>python</i>              |

- (b) if the penultimate vowel of a word is schwa, stress shifts to the final syllable.

#### EXAMPLES

|           |   |                         |               |
|-----------|---|-------------------------|---------------|
| /tələw/   | → | [tə <sup>?</sup> ləw]   | <i>three</i>  |
| /bəbut/   | → | [bə <sup>?</sup> but]   | <i>hole</i>   |
| /təba/    | → | [tə <sup>?</sup> bə]    | <i>well</i>   |
| /sələlan/ | → | [sələ <sup>?</sup> lan] | <i>mirror</i> |

- (c) following /a/ and preceding word boundary high vowels receive stress (and perhaps added length - not mentioned further).

This subpart of the stress rule is posited to account for the fact that minimal pairs such as

|       |   |                      |                  |       |   |                      |               |
|-------|---|----------------------|------------------|-------|---|----------------------|---------------|
| /pay/ | → | [pay]                | <i>go across</i> | /law/ | → | [law]                | <i>day</i>    |
| /pai/ | → | [pa <sup>?</sup> i:] | <i>stingray</i>  | /lau/ | → | [la <sup>?</sup> u:] | <i>wither</i> |

and the similar parts of

|         |   |                         |                                            |
|---------|---|-------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| /matay/ | → | [ <sup>?</sup> mətay]   | <i>die, dead</i>                           |
| /tai/   | → | [tə <sup>?</sup> i:]    | <i>long, of time (up to several hours)</i> |
| /suŋay/ | → | [ <sup>?</sup> suŋəy]   | <i>stream, tributary, small river</i>      |
| /bəŋai/ | → | [bəŋə <sup>?</sup> ʔi:] | <i>main branch of a river, large river</i> |

differ not only in number of syllables, but also in placement of stress. The shift of stress in such cases may be motivated by a desire to avoid homophony,

or may have been a product of unnatural emphasis for my sake. No examples of -iu or -ui were recorded.

In a sequence of like vowels the first vowel is normally stressed, though stress sometimes shifts in emphatic pronunciations, as to distinguish minimal pairs:

/baat/ → ['baat] or [ba'at] *heavy* (by contrast with /bat/ → [bat] *net, web*)

(d) if the penultimate vowel is followed by glottal stop, stress optionally shifts to the final syllable.

#### EXAMPLES

/daʔun/ → ['daʔun] ~ [da'ʔun] *leaf*  
 /paʔa/ → ['paʔa] ~ [pa'ʔa] *thigh*  
 /ʔaʔəm/ → ['ʔaʔəm] ~ [ʔa'ʔəm] *water*  
 /mɛŋ+sʊʔun/ → [mɛŋ'ʔun] ~ [mɛŋʔun] *carry on the shoulder*

#### 2 (glide insertion)

$$\emptyset \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ +\text{high} \\ \alpha\text{back} \end{bmatrix} / \begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ +\text{high} \\ \alpha\text{back} \end{bmatrix} \text{ — } \begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \end{bmatrix}$$

(between a high vowel and any following unlike vowel a glide is inserted homorganic with the first phonemic segment)

#### EXAMPLES

/biah/ → ['biyah] *run*  
 /siən/ → ['siyən] 3sg.  
 /buaʔ/ → ['buwaʔ] *fruit*

#### 3 (prepenultimate neutralisation)

v → ə / C \_\_\_ CV(C)+VC

(any vowel that comes to be prepenultimate as a result of affixation is neutralised with shwa)

This is a minor rule, needed to account for the alternation in the first syllable vowel of

/puluʔ/ → ['puloʔ] *group of ten (in counting even multiples of ten beginning with twenty)*  
 /puluʔ+ən/ → [pə'luʔən] ~ [pəluʔən] *ten*

Although this interpretation is not adopted here, Rule 3 might also be invoked to account for the vowel change in the reduplicated variant of ['diyan] ~ [də'diyan] *candle*.

#### 4 (shwa deletion)

ə → ∅ / \_\_\_ +V (a shwa that comes to be prevocalic as a result of affixation is deleted)

#### EXAMPLES

/pə+upuk/ → ['pupuəʔ] *wash clothes (habitually)*

/pə+igiʔ/ → ['piɡeʔ] *take*  
 /pə+isaʔ/ → ['pisaʔ] *play*

In other environments shwa remains:

/pə+suʔun/ → [pə'suʔun] ~ [pəsu'ʔun] *carry on the shoulder (habitually)*  
 /pə+tuab/ → [pə'tuab] *to yawn*

### 5 (deletion of prepenultimate initial vowels)

v → ∅ / # \_\_\_ C+V(C)V(C) (a vowel which comes to be prepenultimate and initial as a result of affixation is deleted)

#### EXAMPLES

/əm+uug/ → ['mʊʊg] *rub*  
 /ən+uug/ → ['nʊʊg] *be rubbed*  
 /əm+ituŋ/ → ['mitʊŋ] *count*  
 /ən+ituŋ/ → ['nitʊŋ] *be counted*

### 6 (glottal onset)

∅ → ʔ # \_\_\_ V (glottal stop is added before a vowel that follows word boundary. This rule applies in citation forms, and phrase-initially, but apparently not phrase-medially)

#### EXAMPLES

/arəŋ/ → ['ʔarəŋ] *charcoal*  
 /idaʔ/ → ['ʔidaʔ] *much, many*  
 /uma/ → ['ʔuma] *cultivated field*

### 7 (breaking)

The rule of breaking is divided into three subparts, the second of which may involve more than one phonological process:

(a)  $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ +\text{high} \end{bmatrix}$  → [+central offglide] / \_\_\_  $\begin{bmatrix} k \\ \eta \end{bmatrix}$  #

(high vowels are pronounced with a centralising offglide before word-final /k/ and /ŋ/)

#### EXAMPLES

/tabik/ → ['tabiəʔ] *reach*  
 /gutiŋ/ → ['gutiəŋ] *scissors*  
 /tutuk/ → ['tutuəʔ] *knock, rap*  
 /jaluŋ/ → ['jaluəŋ] *flame*

The breaking of high vowels does not occur before word-final /g/:

/hig/ → [hig] *budge, move slightly*  
 /duhig/ → ['duhig] *mythological forest monster*  
 /tug/ → [tug] *ball of the heel*  
 /pajug/ → ['pajug] *foot*

(b) /a/ → [eə] / \_\_\_  $\begin{bmatrix} k \\ \eta \\ r \end{bmatrix}$  # (/a/ is fronted, raised, and offglided before word-final /k/, /ŋ/ and /r/)

## EXAMPLES

- /sak/ → [seəʔ] *red*  
 /anak/ → [ʔanəʔʔ] *child*  
 /kaŋ/ → [keəŋ] *open*  
 /bitaŋ/ → [ʔbiteəŋ] *star*  
 /nar/ → [nəʔh] *heat*  
 /sadar/ → [ʔsadeəh] *lean against*  
 /gagar/ → [ʔgageəh] *k.o. raised platform*

The fronting, raising and offgliding of /a/ does not occur before word-final /g/:

- /tatag/ → [ʔtatag] *patch, repair*  
 /tipag/ → [ʔtipag] *stamping of feet*<sup>14</sup>

Strict adherence to the use of features within the standard theory of generative phonology would force us to regard the breaking of high vowels before word-final /k/ and /ŋ/ as unrelated phenomena, since the environment in question is not a natural class. If this implicit claim is correct, however, it should be possible to find a language in which breaking occurs just before e.g. word-final /p/ and /ŋ/ or /k/ and /m/, or any two randomly selected consonants. Breaking before various word-final consonants is extremely widespread in languages of western Borneo, and in all languages for which information is available, if high vowels are affected before only two word-final consonants these segments are /k/ and /ŋ/. There thus appears to be some reason to believe that breaking is rule-governed even though the environment of the proposed rule violates the formal requirements of the simplicity metric.

The fronting, raising and breaking of /a/ is clearly more problematic. Phonetically there seems to be no reason to believe that fronting and raising are related to offgliding. To treat these two phonetically dissimilar processes as phonologically unconnected, however, fails to account for the fact that /a/ is fronted and raised in just those environments where it is also offglided, and that /g/ is excluded both from the set of environments in which fronting and raising takes place and from the set of environments in which offgliding occurs.

The phonemic interpretation of a few items is indeterminate for the presence of underlying /ə/, as with [ʔayəŋ] *big*, [ʔiəŋ] *precede, go before*, [kəʔlayəŋ] *double-headed spear or harpoon* and [ʔlayəŋ] *float on the wind*, all of which are potentially assignable to underlying forms with -/yəŋ/ or -/iŋ/. In such cases I have adopted the representation that most closely conforms to the dominant canonical shape of phonemically unambiguous morphemes. A single known example shows reinterpretation of an earlier phonemic shwa as a predictable offglide: /bauŋ/, borrowed from Malay bawaŋ as [bawəŋ], with subsequent reanalysis.

## 8 (height assimilation) - OPT

- i → [e] / \_\_\_ (ʔ)e (/i/ is optionally lowered to [e] if it is followed by [e] (</a/). Glottal stop may intervene)<sup>15</sup>

## EXAMPLES

- /liəŋ/ → [ʔliyeəŋ] ~ [ʔleyeəŋ] *light in weight*  
 /tiʔəŋ/ → [ʔtiʔeəŋ] ~ [tiʔeəŋ] ~ [ʔteʔeəŋ] ~ [teʔeəŋ] *cemetery*

Assimilation does not occur if other consonants intervene:

- /bitaŋ/ → [ʔbiteəŋ] *star*  
 /isak/ → [ʔiseəʔ] *cooking (n.)*

## 9 (gemination)

$$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{voc} \\ +\text{cons} \\ +\text{high} \\ -\text{nas} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [+long] / \text{ə} \text{ \_\_\_\_ } \text{ (non-nasal velar stops are geminated after shwa, but only if [ə] is penultimate)}$$

## EXAMPLES

/jəkan/ → [jək'kan] *fish*  
 /bəkaʔ/ → [bək'kaʔ] *leave behind; remainder*  
 /jəgəm/ → [jəg'gəm] *and*

Other consonants do not geminate after shwa:

/ləŋən/ → [lə'ŋən] *lower arm*  
 /pədih/ → [pə'deh] *sick*  
 /tələw/ → [təl'ləw] *three*

nor do velar stops geminate after other vowels:

/akah/ → [ʔakah] *vine, aerial root*  
 /tigah/ → [ʔtigah] *straight*  
 /lukuh/ → [ʔlukoh] *hungry*

## 10 (lowering)

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [-\text{high}] / \text{\_\_\_\_} \begin{bmatrix} -\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ -\text{high} \end{bmatrix} \text{ (high vowels become non-high before word-final /h/ and /ʔ/)}$$

## EXAMPLES

/bəsuʔ/ → [bə'soh] *satiated, full after eating*  
 /taŋih/ → [ʔtaŋəh] *weep*  
 /bibih/ → [ʔbibeh] *lip*  
 /tuliʔ/ → [ʔtuleʔ] *deaf*  
 /ləbuʔ/ → [lə'boʔ] *house*  
 /təŋuʔ/ → [tə'ŋəʔ] *neck*

It is possible that rule 10 is a rule of laxing rather than a rule of lowering. My phonetic transcriptions vary between [i], [e] and [ɛ] for /i/, and [u], [ʊ] and [o] for /u/.

The following apparent exceptions to lowering (or laxing) have been noted:

|                                     |                                  |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| ['biyuʔ] <i>blue</i>                | ['kukuh] <i>stable, enduring</i> |
| ['tujuʔ] <i>seven</i>               | ['kumʊh 'kumʊh] <i>itch</i>      |
| ['juuʔ] <i>juice</i>                | ['wayih] <i>relative</i>         |
| ['jauʔ] <i>far</i>                  | ['puluh] <i>ten</i>              |
| ['lipih] <i>thin, of things</i>     | ['sauh] <i>anchor</i>            |
| ['jiŋih] <i>beautiful, of women</i> | ['mʊsuh] <i>enemy</i>            |

Because the above items do not undergo lowering a few minimal and near-minimal pairs can be found which differ in [i] : [e] or [u] : [ʊ]:

/kukuh/ → ['kukuh] *stable, enduring*  
 (manuk) /kukuh/ → ['kukoh] *small dark blue bird*  
 /tujuʔ/ → ['tujuʔ] *seven*  
 /tujuʔ/ → ['tujoʔ] *hand*  
 /lipih/ → ['lipih] *thin, of things*  
 /bəlipih/ → [bə'lipeh] *cockroach*

Given these straightforward phonetic contrasts it is possible to contend that Mukah has phonemic mid vowels /e/ and /o/. To adopt this interpretation, however, would obscure the fact that the occurrence of [e] and [o] is almost fully predictable, contrast resulting only from the failure of a few lexical items to undergo lowering. Several of these exceptions (the words for *blue*, *stable*, *relative*, *ten*, *anchor* and *enemy*) are almost certain Malay loans, and it seems clear that the relationships between the segments involved can be captured in most general terms by the recognition of lexical strata which exhibit differential behaviour with respect to certain synchronic rules.<sup>16</sup>

### 11 (weakening of /r/)

Between /a/ and a following word boundary /r/ is weakened to [h] in directly inherited words:

#### EXAMPLES

- /gagar/ → ['gagəəh] *kind of raised platform*  
 /nar/ → ['nəəh] *heat*  
 /sadar/ → ['sadeəh] *lean against*

In indirectly inherited words weakening does not occur.

### 12 (weakening of /s/)

Word-finally /s/ is weakened to [ih].

#### EXAMPLES

- /abus/ → ['ʔabuɪh] *fog, mist*  
 /bias/ → ['biɑɪh] *body*  
 /panas/ → ['panɑɪh] *feeling of anger*  
 /ratus/ → ['ɾatuɪh] *group of one hundred*

### 13 (weakening of /k/)

Between an offglided vowel and a following word-boundary /k/ shifts to /ʔ/.

#### EXAMPLES

- /titik/ → ['titiəʔ] *speck, dot*  
 /adik/ → ['ʔadiəʔ] *short*  
 /buduk/ → ['buduəʔ] *leg*  
 /manuk/ → ['mənʊəʔ] *bird*  
 /lalak/ → ['laleəʔ] *bald*  
 (buaʔ) /pak/ → ['peəʔ] *knee cap*

Before a non-offglided vowel (/ə/) /k/ remains unchanged:

- /təbək/ → [tə'bək] *stab; mark made by stabbing*  
 /pəpək/ → [pə'pək] *what is used to hit*  
 /sək/ → [sək] *grass*

Following last-syllable vowels other than /ə/ my transcriptions generally show /k/ as /ʔ/, but occasionally show [k] instead. It is unclear whether this means that rule 13 applies optionally, or whether the transcriptions are inaccurate in such cases.

## 14 (metathesis of -əm-, -ən-)

#C {  
 -əm-  
 -ən-}

(the consonant of the infixes -əm- and -ən- metathesises with the first consonant of an infixed root. Metathesis is optional with polysyllables, but obligatory with monosyllables)<sup>17</sup>

1 2 1,2 ⇒ 2,1

## EXAMPLES

/j-əm-aʔit/ → [jə'mʌʔɪt] ~ [mʌ'jaʔit] *sew*  
 /j-ən-aʔit/ → [jə'nʌʔɪt] ~ [nʌ'jaʔit] *be sewn*  
 /g-əm-utiŋ/ → [gə'mʊtiŋ] ~ [mʌ'gutiŋ] *cut with scissors*  
 /g-ən-utiŋ/ → [gə'nʊtiŋ] ~ [nʌ'gutiŋ] *be cut with scissors*  
 /t-əm-ud/ → [mʌ'tud] *to bend*  
 /t-ən-ud/ → [nʌ'tud] *be bent*  
 /k-əm-aŋ/ → [mʌ'keəŋ] *to open*  
 /k-ən-aŋ/ → [nʌ'keəŋ] *be opened*  
 /b-əm-in/ → [mʌ'bin] *carry on the back*

There appear to be generational differences in the use of this rule. According to the informant, speakers of his grandparents' generation use only non-metathesised forms: [jə'mʌʔɪt], etc. Speakers of his parents' generation use metathesised forms most often, but occasionally use non-metathesised forms when conversing with their elders. As indicated above, younger people use either form. An opinion was expressed that the metathesised form of roots infixed with -əm- seems more 'modern' and the non-metathesised form more 'old fashioned'. By contrast, no such social connotation was felt to attach to the alternative pronunciations of roots infixed with -ən-.

## 15 (nasal substitution)

This rule must be stated as a complex (multi-step) phonological process. Two steps are recognised here:

## (a) (assimilation)

$$[+nas] \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \alpha_{ant} \\ \alpha_{cor} \end{bmatrix} / \text{---} + \begin{bmatrix} -son \\ \alpha_{ant} \\ \alpha_{cor} \end{bmatrix}$$

The nasal ending of the prefixes /məŋ/- and /nəŋ/- and the nasal prefix /ŋ/- which co-occurs with /u/-grade ablaut in most stems that begin with a labial stop, assimilates to the point of articulation of a following obstruent.<sup>18</sup>

## (b) (replacement)

Root initial obstruents are replaced by the assimilated nasal.

## EXAMPLES

/paləy/ → ['paləy] *taboo, prohibition*  
 /məŋ+paləy/ → [mʌ'mʌləy] *forbid, prohibit*  
 /tabun/ → ['tabun] *lid, cover*  
 /məŋ+tabun/ → [mʌ'nʌbun] *to cover*  
 /kuniŋ/ → ['kuniŋ] *yellow*  
 /məŋ+kuniŋ/ → [mʌ'ŋʊnʌŋ] *become yellow; make s.t. yellow*  
 /səruʔ/ → [sə'ʎuʎoʔ] *a joke*  
 /məŋ+səruʔ/ → [mʌ'ŋʌ'ʎuʎoʔ] *tease, play a joke on s.o.*



## 16 (shwa epenthesis)

When the nasal ending of the prefixes /məŋ/- and /nəŋ/- comes to stand before a root-initial /l/ shwa is inserted between the members of the derived cluster.<sup>19</sup>

## EXAMPLES

- /lasuʔ/ → [ˈlasoʔ] *heat*  
 /məŋ+lasuʔ/ → [məŋʃʂˈlasoʔ] *to heat*  
 /nəŋ+lasuʔ/ → [nəŋʃʂˈlasoʔ] *be heated*

Before vowel-initial roots the nasal ending remains unchanged:

- /adək/ → [ˈʔadək] *sniff, smell; sniffing, smelling*  
 /məŋ+adək/ → [məŋˈŋədək] *to sniff, smell*  
 /aŋit/ → [ˈʔaŋit] *sharp*  
 /məŋ+aŋit/ → [məŋˈŋaŋit] *sharpen*

## 17 (nasalisation)

Vowels are nasalised after a nasal consonant, and this nasalisation carries over to succeeding vowels unless interrupted by an oral consonant other than /y/, /w/, /ʔ/ or /h/).

## EXAMPLES

- /maap/ → [ˈmāp] *lose one's way*  
 /bəŋai/ → [bəŋāˈi:] *main branch of a river, large river*  
 /məŋ+payuŋ/ → [məŋˈmāyūŋ] *hold an umbrella for s.o.*  
 /sələmawaʔ/ → [sələˈmāwāʔ] *large fructivorous bat or flying fox*  
 /maʔit/ → [ˈmāʔit] ~ [māˈʔit] *sibling-in-law*  
 /məŋ+paʔih/ → [məŋˈmāʔēh] ~ [məŋmāˈʔēh] *roast fish or meat wrapped in leaves*  
 /məŋ+suʔun/ → [məŋˈsūʔun] ~ [məŋsūˈʔun] *carry on the shoulder*  
 /mahəw/ → [ˈmāhəw] *female; woman*

If not nasalised by the process described above, the nasalisation of vowels before a nasal consonant is negligible:

- /puyan/ → [ˈpuyan] *hearth*  
 /kədəŋ/ → [kəˈdəŋ] *stand; place upright*  
 /bin/ → [bin] *carry on the back*  
 /guun/ → [ˈguun] *jungle, forest*

Several other phonological phenomena involving changes in non-segmental characteristics such as stress and juncture can be mentioned here.

## Liaison

Within a phrase /h/ at the end of a word is resyllabified as the initial consonant of a following word that begins with an underlying vowel.

## EXAMPLES

- /susah aŋay/ → [ˈsusa ˈhaŋāy] *very difficult*  
 /bah ajuʔ/ → [ˈba ˈhajoʔ] *upriver (loc.)*  
 /kipas aŋin/ → [ˈkipaj ˈhaŋin] *electric fan*

It is not known whether glottal stop exhibits similar linking behaviour.

## Clitics

The unstressed person-marking particle /sə/ invariably belongs to the same phonological word as a following morpheme:

/sə Tugaw/ → [sə'tugaw] *Tugaw* (name of a culture hero)

In rapid speech /tərah/, one of the two recorded markers of non-agentive or non-deliberate action loses its stress and contracts to [tə]:

/tərah dudu?/ → [tə'dudo?] *fall into a sitting position (through buckling of the legs, etc.)*

/tərah səbut/ → [təsə'but] *mention inadvertently*

Before a vowel-initial deictic expression the unstressed locative marker ga? contracts to g-:

itəw *this*

/ga? itəw/ → ['gitəw] *here*

iən *that* (def.)

/ga? iən/ → ['giyən] *there* (def.)

inan *that* (indef.)

/ga? inan/ → ['ginən] *there* (indef.)

Before consonant-initial expressions of location ga? remains uncontracted:

jaway *face, front*

/ga? jaway → [ga? 'jaway] *in front*

buta *back, behind*

/ga? buta/ → [ga? 'buta] *behind, in back*

dawək *side, flank*

/ga? dawək/ → [ga? 'dawək] *beside, at the side*

By contrast with the above, /a/ *person* appears never to be cliticised.

## 2.5.2 Major issues in phonology

Several of the more important issues in Mukah phonology merit a more extended discussion than they have received thus far. I will take these up separately, but attempt to interrelate them in a coherent pattern of interpretation. Unresolved issues or debatable points that cannot easily be incorporated into our discussion of the major problems will be treated separately at the end.

The vowel allophones of Mukah include not only [i], [u], [ə] and [a] (the phonetic symbols for the recognised phonemes), but also [e], [o], and the diphthongs [iə], [uə], [eə], [ai] and [ui]. With the marginal exceptions already mentioned under phonological rule 8, all lowered and off-glided allophones occur in final closed syllables. The distribution of vowel allophones in relation to final consonant allophones appears in Table 1:

Table 1: Distribution of vowel allophones in final syllables

| No. | i<br>u | e<br>o | iə<br>uə | a   | eə | ə   | ai | ui | -[C] |
|-----|--------|--------|----------|-----|----|-----|----|----|------|
| 1.  | X      |        |          | X   |    | X   |    |    | p    |
| 2.  | X      |        |          | X   |    | X   |    |    | t    |
| 3.  |        |        |          |     |    | X   |    |    | k    |
| 4.  | (X)    | X      | X        | X   | X  |     |    |    | ʔ    |
| 5.  | X      |        |          | X   |    | X   |    |    | b    |
| 6.  | X      |        |          | X   |    | X   |    |    | d    |
| 7.  | X      |        |          | X   |    | X   |    |    | g    |
| 8.  | X      |        |          | X   |    | X   |    |    | m    |
| 9.  | X      |        |          | X   |    | X   |    |    | n    |
| 10. |        |        | X        |     | X  | X   |    |    | ŋ    |
| 11. | (X)    | X      | l        | X   | X  |     | X  | X  | h    |
| 12. | X      |        |          | X   |    | X   |    |    | l    |
| 13. | (X)    |        |          | (X) |    | (X) |    |    | r    |
| 14. | i      |        |          | X   |    | X   |    |    | w    |
| 15. | u      |        |          | X   |    | X   |    |    | y    |
| 16. |        |        |          | X   |    |     | X  |    | ∅    |

### 2.5.2.1 The phonemic status of [e], [o]

As can be seen in Table 1, [i] and [e], [u] and [o] (as opposed to the corresponding offglided variants) appear to contrast only before final /ʔ/ and /h/. In both environments underlying high vowels are normally lowered (or, perhaps, laxed) before a final laryngeal in the directly inherited vocabulary. Twelve apparent exceptions were recorded, of which six ([biʔuʔ] *blue*, [kukuh] *stable*, *enduring*, [wayih] *relative*, [puluh] *ten*, [sauh] *anchor* and [musuh] *enemy*) almost certainly are Malay loans. Of those exceptions to lowering which do not appear to be Malay loans one ([tujuʔ] *seven*) has an etymological doublet which shows lowering ([tujuʔ] *finger*),<sup>20</sup> indicating probable borrowing from some other language.

In most variants of American Structuralism [e] and [o] would be considered phonemes in Mukah, based on this marginal evidence of contrast. However, in any approach which aims at distinguishing the blurring effects of recent loans from fundamental phonological processes, the phonemic status of Mukah [e] and [o] must be questioned. There is little doubt that the great majority of morphemes which contain a high vowel before a final laryngeal show a lowered or laxed allophone in this position. The issue is whether the exceptions should be treated as such or taken as evidence for contrast. In accordance with the general orientation of these sketches I have adopted the former, more abstract, interpretation, marking the exceptions as loans.

### 2.5.2.2 The phonemic status of [iə], [uə] and [eə]

One of the most striking features of Mukah historical phonology is the addition of a rule of breaking which in final closed syllables had the phonetic effects shown in Figure 1:

Figure 1: Sources of last-syllable vowels and diphthongs in Mukah Melanau

| PRE-MUKAH | MUKAH | PRE-MUKAH | MUKAH     |
|-----------|-------|-----------|-----------|
| *-ak      | [eəʔ] | *-aʔ      | [aʔ]      |
| *-ək      | [ək]  | *-əʔ      | [aʔ]      |
| *-ik      | [iəʔ] | *-iʔ      | [eʔ]      |
| *-uk      | [uəʔ] | *-uʔ      | [oʔ]      |
| *-ag      | [ag]  | *-ar      | [ah, eəh] |
| *-əg      | [əg]  | *-ər      | [ah, eəh] |
| *-ig      | [ig]  | *-ir      | [eh]      |
| *-ug      | [ug]  | *-ur      | [oh]      |
| *-aŋ      | [eəŋ] | *-as      | [aih]     |
| *-əŋ      | [əŋ]  | *-əs      | [aih]     |
| *-iŋ      | [iəŋ] | *-is      | [eh]      |
| *-uŋ      | [uəŋ] | *-us      | [uih]     |

In directly inherited vocabulary, then, \*i and \*u developed a mid-central off-glide before final \*k or \*ŋ (but not \*g). Following the introduction of breaking \*k shifted to [ʔ] in final position after all vowels other than shwa. Although I consistently recorded a voiceless velar stop after shwa, and generally transcribed glottal stop after other vowels and diphthongs, I occasionally recorded [k] after breaking vowels. The change of final \*k to glottal stop thus appears to be in progress, though spontaneous speech samples suggest that it is all but completed.

A glance at Table 1 shows that, apart from [siŋuəh], which may be due to an idiolectal peculiarity (the Mulders give singoh *cold*), [iə] and [uə] contrast with the [e], [o] allophones of /i/, /u/ only before a final glottal stop. Moreover, although they clearly contrast intervocalically, final [k] and [ʔ] are in complementary distribution. Since high vowels invariably are offglided before final [ŋ], and since glottal stop sometimes appears as [k] after breaking vowels in careful speech, the simplest interpretation of this distribution would be one in which [ʔ] is treated as /k/ after breaking vowels (but not elsewhere). Under such an interpretation the breaking of high vowels becomes fully predictable: /i/ and /u/ are offglided before final /k/ and /ŋ/.<sup>21</sup> This analysis is further supported by considerations of morpheme structure. No prepenultimate vowels other than shwa occur in unambiguous (non-breaking) stems, and apart from /nda/ *no*, *not*, no consonant clusters occur in any position in non-borrowed words. Transcriptions such as /tabiəʔ/ *reach* would violate the first of these constraints if [ə] is interpreted as a vowel, and the second if [ə] is interpreted as a consonant.

Given /tabik/ and the like it is noteworthy that breaking is synchronically transparent before /ŋ/ but opaque before /k/, since it applies in an underlying - not in a surface environment (Kiparsky 1971). The case of Mukah breaking illustrates nicely how terms such as "opaque" and "transparent" cannot be categorically opposed, since one and the same phonological rule can be opaque in some environments and transparent in others, a situation that might be described as one of "split opacity".

The phonemic status of [eə] involves somewhat greater complications than are found with [iə] and [uə]. As seen in Figure 1, [eə] results historically from 1) the raising, fronting and offgliding of \*a before final \*k and \*ŋ, and 2) an apparently unconditioned split of \*-aR/eR which generally yielded -[ah], but in three recorded morphemes produced -[eəh] instead.

The distributional relationship of [eə] and [a] parallels that for [iə] and [i], [uə] and [u] before final /k/ and /ŋ/. In these environments [eə] can be regarded as an allophone of /a/. Before final /h/, however, [eə] and [a] contrast, as with [layəh] *sail*, [sadeəh] *lean against*. Since all other instances of [e] can be assigned to /i/ or /a/ in accordance with general phonological processes, it would be desirable to avoid the recognition of a new phoneme /e/ in three morphemes, particularly since this phoneme would be the only vowel to undergo breaking before final /h/.

To accomplish this we could write -/ar/ for -[eəh]. A number of recorded forms end with -[əy], but all of these appear to be loans. We would thus write /sadar/<sub>1</sub> (= [sadeəh]), /sadar/<sub>2</sub> (= [saday]) *lean against*. Non-homophonous forms which are etymologically equivalent, then, would be written as phonemic equivalents, the phonetic differences resulting from phonological rules which apply differently to directly inherited and to borrowed vocabulary.

The foregoing analysis implies that earlier \*r (Proto-Austronesian \*R) remained a liquid phonemically if it followed \*a or \*e (shwa), but otherwise became /h/: \*sanDeR > /sadar/ ([sadeəh]) *lean against*, \*bibiR > /bibih/ ([bibeəh]) *lip*.

Since such a phonemic split did not occur phonetically we might have reservations about adopting a phonemicisation which could complicate the historical description of the language. Moreover, as seen in Figure 1, although pre-Mukah \*r and \*s remained distinct following other vowels, the sequences \*-ir and \*-is fell together. In contemporary Mukah, then, final [h] following [e] is in complementary distribution both with [y] and with [s]. To avoid an arbitrary assignment of allophone to phoneme which inevitably would create some distortions in the statement of historical phonology I write final [h] after [e] as /h/. The [h] of phonetic transcriptions is consequently assigned to any of three different phonemes: /r/ in the three words in which the preceding vowel is [eə] ([sadeəh] = /sadar/), /s/ if the preceding sequence is a vowel followed by unstressed [i] ([majh], [alujh] = /mas/, /alus/), and /h/ if the preceding sequence is a consonant followed by [e] ([bətəh] = /bətih/).<sup>22</sup>

Historically, the breaking of word-final high vowels through the addition of a centering onglide (\*tali > taləy *rope*, \*batu > batəw *stone*) undoubtedly is related to breaking before word-final /k/ and /ŋ/. Synchronically, however, the sequences -əy and -əw must be treated as underlying diphthongs.

A basic consideration in the foregoing, rather abstract interpretation, is whether the underlying forms are psychologically real, or are products of linguistic analysis. I have little doubt that the breaking of high vowels before final /ŋ/ would be recognised as a rule by most speakers of Mukah. This part of the rule of breaking is transparent, and given its high productivity there is no reason to believe that speakers would prefer underlying representations with a centering offglide. Before final /k/ the psychological reality of the rule becomes somewhat less clear, as its phonetic transparency decreases. Much the same can be said of the fronting, raising and breaking of /a/ before final /k/, /ŋ/ and /r/ (three forms). In summary, then, the matter remains in limbo. It seems clear that we want to describe breaking as part of the synchronic grammar of Mukah, but to do so completely we must depart from the phonetic facts to a greater degree than may suit the tastes of some linguists.

### 2.5.2.3 Ablaut

Mukah is one of a number of languages in north-west Borneo which have developed a system of verbal ablaut from earlier infixes \*-um-, \*-in-. Historically this development involved two steps: 1) syncope of \*e (shwa) / VC\_\_CV, 2) reduction

of consonant clusters. There is no known support for a synchronic analysis which recapitulates the historical development, but a process which is independently required - deletion of prevocalic shwa - permits us to derive the surface forms from underlying representations with  $-/u/-$  and  $-/i/-$ . Thus, *\*tetek cutting, hacking, \*t-um-etek to cut, hack, \*t-in-etek be cut, hacked by* became Mukah [tətək], [tutək], [titək], and in the analysis adopted here the corresponding underlying forms are  $/tətək/$ ,  $/tə-u-tək/$ ,  $/tə-i-tək/$ . Although this analysis "works" I regard it as little more than a descriptive gimmick, given the fairly clear indications of the historical development. At the same time I see no way to justify underlying representations that correspond to the reconstructed forms as psychologically real. Although much appealed to in contemporary linguistics, the entire issue of psychological reality seems to me to be one in need of much more careful testing than is typically done. Individual speakers may differ in their views on the psychological reality of competing underlying representations, and it is possible that some speakers store paradigm-mates as sets rather than as a single underlying form with affixational differences.

#### 2.5.2.4 Relation of $/məŋ/-$ and $-/əm/-$

Although  $/məŋ/-$  and  $-/əm/-$  contrast in stems that begin with a vowel or  $/l/$ , the contrast is neutralised before consonant-initial stems, the former occurring with voiceless-initials and the latter (in its optionally metathesised form) with voiced initials. It is not altogether clear how this situation developed. Historically  $-/əm/-$  derives from three sources: *\*mə-* 'stative/attributive', *\*-um-* 'marker of active voice', *\*məŋ-* 'marker of active voice'.<sup>23</sup> Other things being equal, voiceless-initial stems should reflect *\*-um-* as  $-/əm/-$  and *\*məŋ-* as  $/məŋ/-$ , while voiced-initial stems should reflect both as  $-/əm/-$  ( $\simeq /mə/-$ ). In fact, voiceless-initial stems of two or more syllables reflect *\*-um-* and *\*məŋ-* indifferently as  $/məŋ/-$ . In monosyllables only  $-əm-$  occurs, whether the initial is voiced or voiceless.

There appear to be two historical scenarios for this situation: 1) *\*-um-* was lost in voiceless-initial stems, leaving only reflexes of *\*məŋ-*, 2) after prepenultimate neutralisation, consonant cluster reduction and optional metathesis had occurred, the reflexes of *\*məŋ-* and *\*-um-* both appeared as  $mə-$  in voiced initial roots, but still contrasted in voiceless-initial roots. The neutralisation of contrast before voiced initials precipitated a neutralisation before voiceless-initials, but by generalising the distribution of  $məŋ-$  rather than of  $-əm-$ .

It seems fairly certain that the affixational difference between semantically parallel paradigmatic sets such as  $/kuniŋ/$  *yellow* :  $/məŋ-kuniŋ/$  *become yellow* and  $/gaduŋ/$  *green* :  $/g-əm-aduŋ/$  *become green* arose through neutralisation of the  $/məŋ/-$  :  $-/əm/-$  contrast. The occurrence of a cognate inchoative or inceptive prefix in Malay (*kuniŋ yellow* : *məŋ-kuniŋ become yellow*; *hitam black* : *məŋ-hitam become black*) and Tagalog (*puti? white* : *məŋ-puti? become white*, *itim black* : *məŋ-itim become black*) suggests that Mukah  $/g-əm-aduŋ/$  derives from *\*məŋ-gaduŋ*. Following prepenultimate neutralisation of *\*a* and *\*e* in stems that began with a voiced obstruent, consonant cluster reduction and optional metathesis evidently led to confusion of the two previously distinct affixes. In stems that began with a voiceless obstruent the metathesis of  $-əm-$  could not in itself have levelled the earlier morphological distinction, since nasal substitution in this environment must have been part of the language from an earlier period. At this point, for unknown reasons, voiceless-initial stems with an optionally metathesising  $-əm-$  began to undergo nasal substitution. In effect, then, *\*məŋ-* and

\*-um- fell together as -/əm/- before voiced-initial stems and as /məŋ/- before voiceless-initial stems, but continued to contrast in other environments.

### 2.5.2.5 Miscellaneous

In one known paradigm the shapes of the simple and affixed stems differ in the presence of a glottal stop in intervocalic position:

[?'aid] *wipe* (imperative) : ['ma?id] *to wipe*  
(kain) ['pa?id] *cloth for wiping*

Although no other examples of this alternation were recorded, comparative evidence suggests that these forms are to be related by a rule of metathesis which operates on sequences of initial vowel plus /ʔ/ (cf. Blust 1977:3.3.5.2). The stem meaning *wipe* is tentatively written /a?id/, then, and a provisional rule of metathesis posited to account for the disappearance of /ʔ/ in the non-affixed form.

In a few words the simple and morphologically complex shapes of the stem are further distinguished by an unexplained change of the initial consonant:

- (146) ga? gaan ləbu? səkul?  
*where is the school (house)?*
- (147) k-ən-aan ka?aw?  
*where are you going?*
- (148) kudu? diba?  
*sit down*
- (149) siən tərəh dudu?  
*he fell into a sitting position (after stumbling, buckling of the knees, etc.)*

### 2.5.3 Sample derivations

To illustrate the interaction of the phonological rules and the crucial ordering arguments relevant to determining their position in the sequence, some sample derivations are given below:

- |                              |                                       |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. /əm+ituŋ/ <i>to count</i> | 2. /tuak/ <i>rice wine</i>            |
| 'əm+ituŋ (1)                 | 'tuak (1)                             |
| 'm+ituŋ (5)                  | 'tuwək (2)                            |
| ə'm+ituəŋ (7)                | 'tuweək (7)                           |
| ə'm+ɪtuəŋ (17)               | 'tuweə? (13)                          |
| ['mɪtuəŋ]                    | ['tuweə?]                             |
| 3. /pulu?+ən/ <i>ten</i>     | 4. /pə+upuk/ <i>wash (habitually)</i> |
| pu'lu?+ən ~ pulu'?+ən (1)    | pə+'upuk (1)                          |
| pə'lu?+ən ~ pəlu'?+ən (3)    | p+'upuk (4)                           |
| [pə'lu?+ən] ~ [pəlu'?+ən]    | p+'upuək (7)                          |
|                              | p+'upuə? (13)                         |
|                              | ['pupuə?]                             |

- |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>5. /iluh/ <i>channel</i><br/>           'iluh (1)<br/>           'ʔiluh (6)<br/>           'ʔiloh (10)<br/>           ['ʔiloh]</p>                                                                                                          | <p>6. /liəŋ/ <i>light in weight</i><br/>           'liəŋ (1)<br/>           'liyəŋ (2)<br/>           'liyəəŋ (7)<br/>           'liyəəŋ ~ 'leyeəŋ (8)<br/>           ['liyəəŋ] ~ ['leyeəŋ]</p>                                                                  |
| <p>7. /g-əm-utiŋ/ <i>cut with scissors</i><br/>           g-ə'm-utiŋ (1)<br/>           g-ə'm-utiəŋ (7)<br/>           g-ə'm-utiəŋ ~ mə-'gutiəŋ (14)<br/>           g-ə'm-Ůtiəŋ ~ mʂ-'gutiəŋ (17)<br/>           [gə'mŮtiəŋ] ~ [mʂ'gutiəŋ]</p> | <p>8. /məŋ+sadar/ <i>lean against</i><br/>           məŋ+'sadar (1)<br/>           məŋ+'sadeə (7)<br/>           məŋ+'sadeəh (11)<br/>           məŋ+'sadeəh (15a)<br/>           mə+'ŋadeəh (15b)<br/>           mʂ+'ŋadeəh (17)<br/>           [mʂ'ŋadeəh]</p> |
| <p>9. /jəkən/ <i>fish</i><br/>           jək'an (1)<br/>           jək'kan (9)<br/>           [jək'kan]</p>                                                                                                                                    | <p>10. /məŋ+lasuʔ/ <i>to heat</i><br/>           məŋ+'lasuʔ (1)<br/>           məŋ+'lasoʔ (10)<br/>           məŋə+'lasoʔ (16)<br/>           mʂŋə+'lasoʔ (17)<br/>           [mʂŋə+'lasoʔ]</p>                                                                  |
| <p>11. /tuliʔ/ <i>deaf</i><br/>           'tuliʔ (1)<br/>           'tuleʔ (10)<br/>           ['tuleʔ]</p>                                                                                                                                    | <p>12. /tulək/ <i>push away</i><br/>           'tulək (1)<br/>           'tuleək (7)<br/>           'tuleəʔ (13)<br/>           ['tuleəʔ]</p>                                                                                                                    |

The following crucial ordering requirements are necessary. Numbers refer to phonological rules. The rule referred to by the number on the left must precede the rule referred to by the number on the right in order to prevent the derivation of forms such as those given in parentheses. Underlying representations are written between slant lines:

|     |     |                                                           |
|-----|-----|-----------------------------------------------------------|
| 1   | 7   | (guti'əŋ) /gutiŋ/ <i>scissors</i>                         |
| 3   | 7   | (tə'leəŋ) /tuləŋ/ <i>bone</i>                             |
| 5   | 6   | (ʔə'mituəŋ) /əm+ituŋ/ <i>count</i>                        |
| 7   | 8   | (ti'ʔeəŋ) <sup>24</sup> /ti'ʔəŋ/ <i>cemetery</i>          |
|     | 11  | ('gəgəh) /gəgə/ <i>k.o. raised platform</i>               |
|     | 13  | ('tutuʔ) /tutuk/ <i>knock, rap</i>                        |
| 9   | 14  | (mək'keəŋ) /k-əm-əŋ/ <i>to open</i>                       |
| 14  | 17  | (jə'məʔʔt ~ mə'jəʔʔt) /j-əm-əʔit/ <i>sew</i>              |
| 15a | 15b | (mʂ'ŋəʂləy) /məŋ+pələy/ <i>forbid, prohibit</i>           |
| 15  | 17  | (mʂ'məyueŋ) /məŋ+pəyueŋ/ <i>hold an umbrella for s.o.</i> |
| 16  | 17  | (mʂŋə'lasoʔ) /məŋ+lasuʔ/ <i>to heat</i>                   |

#### 2.5.4 Evidence of contrast

A few minimal and subminimal pairs are given below to demonstrate contrast in areas where transcriptional errors might be expected:

['giyan] *addicted* : ['giyəŋ] *there* (definite)  
 [pəy] *cross, go across* : [pə'i:] *stingray*  
 ['nəwʔ] *male personal name* : ['nəy] *be smoked out, of a beehive*



['baat] *heavy* : [bat] *net, web*  
 ['dipa] *snake* : ['dipah] *opposite bank*  
 ['suŋəy] *tributary, small stream* : ['buŋəyh] *storm*  
 ['paʔit] *upper abdomen (above the navel)* : ['paʔid] *wiping*  
 ['taʔeəŋ] *handspan* : ['teʔeəŋ] *cemetery*  
 [mʂ'səy] *fat (adj.)* : [mʂ'say] *to bloom*  
 ['bauəŋ] *onion* : ['ʔawəŋ] *atmosphere*  
 [bun] *odour* : ['buən] *bad weather*

## 2.6 Variation

Variant pronunciations not attributable to the application or non-application of an optional phonological rule were noted in:

layu ~ layəw *invitation*  
 aluy ~ saluy *boat*  
 umiʔ ~ umit *small*  
 adiʔ ~ adik *short*  
 tuh ~ atur *arrange, put in order*  
 tabih ~ tawar [-breaking] *treat with medicine*<sup>25</sup>

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> /ja/ is regarded as 'old' language.

<sup>2</sup> It is not known whether /usah apah/ is permitted.

<sup>3</sup> As in buŋa itəw {buyaʔ} ləpəw kəw *I picked this flower (accidentally)*. It is possible that such constructions actually consist of {buyaʔ} + noun + possessive pronoun (= *this flower was affected by my picking*). If so, the distribution of morphologically simple roots that are intrinsically verbal is even more restricted.

<sup>4</sup> Some morphologically complex verbs, however, occur in future constructions:

ləw iən tuad baʔ pə+suʔun kayəw  
*they are going (somewhere) to carry wood*  
 akəw (baʔ) pə+bin baw buta siən səmunih  
*he will carry me on his back tomorrow*

<sup>5</sup> Because of gaps in the available data the affixation potential of nasal-initial and r-initial roots is unclear. For purposes of formulating the phonological rules it will be assumed that such roots never take a prefix which ends in a nasal (i.e. take -əm-, -ən-, but never məŋ-, nəŋ-).

<sup>6</sup> This is apparently true of all disyllabic verbal roots that historically contained shwa as the penultimate vowel, though some roots that do not meet this condition have also come to belong to the ablauting class. Since no root begins with shwa in Mukah ablaut occurs only in consonant-initial roots.

<sup>7</sup> Egerod (1965:258) has described an ablaut pattern as one type of morphophonemic alternation in the verb system of Atayal (northern Taiwan), but all

examples cited by him appear to involve coexistent affixation of other types, as in m-blaq :liq-an *good, do it well*, h-m-op:hab-an *stab*, m-ziup:iop-un *enter* or m-qes:qas-un *happy*.

- <sup>8</sup> /təmək/ (sentence (68)) is possibly another example, though /u/- and /i/-grade realisations were not recorded.
- <sup>9</sup> Since both exceptions reflect reduplicated monosyllables, it is conceivable that ablaut developed historically both in disyllabic verbal roots in which the penultimate vowel was shwa, and in reduplicated monosyllables irrespective of vocalism.
- <sup>10</sup> Found only in recent Malay loanwords (as ucapan *speech*) and in some conversational styles where the usual /s/ < \*c of older loans is replaced by /c/ in imitation of Malay.
- <sup>11</sup> To these we might add C in n.da *no, not*, though this item is phonotactically unique, and the syllabification remains unclear.
- <sup>12</sup> The following synchronic roots were recorded which developed historically from partial reduplications: bəbulan *ocular cataract*, dian ~ dədian *candle*, kəkəlit *k.o. small insectivorous bat*, lələŋaw *housefly*, kəkəla *flying ashes*, kəkəiaw *k.o. flying fox (larger than sələmawa?)*, tətawa *laugh*.
- <sup>13</sup> Clayre (1970:337) implies that /ʔ/ occurs initially in Dalat Melanau. However, I did not record a contrast of initial smooth and glottal onset in Mukah, Dalat, or any other Melanau dialect.
- <sup>14</sup> No forms ending in [aŋ] were actually recorded. These items are taken from the Mulders' vocabulary.
- <sup>15</sup> It is likely that height assimilation also occurs across /h/, but the available material does not permit a definite statement.
- <sup>16</sup> Nonetheless, for reasons that are not yet well understood, a few words which are clearly Malay loans do undergo lowering: [lə'beh] *excess*, [kəŋ'teh] *paper*.
- <sup>17</sup> /k-əm-an/ *eat*, however, is never pronounced [mə'kan]. This root must either be marked as an exception to Rule 14, or the affix regarded as distinct.
- <sup>18</sup> It should be noted that /ŋ/- plus b in ablauting stems undergoes nasal substitution, but in the present analysis /məŋ/-, /nəŋ/- never occur before a root which begins with a voiced obstruent. If morphologically complex words of the latter type were admitted, complications would be introduced into Rule 15, since nasal substitution occurs in e.g. /ŋ+bə-u-bəd/ ([mŋbəd]) *to tie*, but would not occur in, e.g. /məŋ+biləm/ ([mə'biləm] ~ [bə'mŋləm]) *blacken; become black*. As I have argued elsewhere (Blust n.d.), the initial segment in [mŋbəd] and similar forms is historically a product of canonically motivated assimilation, and has no connection with nasal substitution.
- <sup>19</sup> Gaps in the available data prevent our knowing whether /ŋ/- can be added to ablauting roots that begin with /l/, and if so, whether these also form input to Rule 16.
- <sup>20</sup> From \*tuZuq *index finger*, the seventh in finger-counting.
- <sup>21</sup> Superficially the distribution of final [k] and [ʔ] resembles that in Javanese, where -[k] (after shwa) and -[ʔ] (after other vowels) have been united as /k/ (Uhlenbeck 1949:41ff). To unite Mukah -[k] and -[ʔ] under /k/, however, would obscure important differences between the two languages. First, unlike Javanese, Mukah has a contrastive glottal stop in intervocalic position. Any loss of contrast between \*-k and \*-ʔ in final position could thus at best be

- regarded synchronically as the neutralisation of a phonemic opposition which is well-attested in intervocalic position. Second, because the historical rule of breaking in Mukah affected vowels before a final /k/ but not vowels before a final glottal stop, the phonetic change \*-k > [ʔ] did not lead to partial merger (hence to neutralisation in the synchronic relationships of the phones) if we regard breaking as still present in the synchronic grammar of Mukah.
- <sup>22</sup> Clayre (1970) proposed an ad hoc segment -H as the phonemic source for surface -[ih] following a vowel. The interpretation of this sequence as /s/ accounts for the complementation of -[s] and -[ih] and solves the problems for which he proposed -H, without introducing the undesirable consequences of his analysis.
- <sup>23</sup> Originally \*-um- and \*maq- appear to have distinguished verb classes. In Mukah there is no clear semantic basis for such a distinction.
- <sup>24</sup> Without a variant ['teʔeəŋ].
- <sup>25</sup> The forms actually recorded were ['tabeh] *chewed betel nut and sirih leaf spat on the abdomen of a sick child (generally not used for adults)* and ['tawəy] *treat with medicine* < \*ta(ŋ)baR *antidote, medicine*. The latter is identifiable as a Malay loan from the distinctive treatment of \*b (> w/\*a \_\_\_ \*a). Given the formal and semantic similarity of these items it seems likely that ['tabeh] is a transcriptional error for ['tabeəh]. If so, this set of variants parallels sadar ~ sadar [-lowering] *lean against*, tuh ~ atur *arrange, put in order* and other pairs of words with differing meanings (as bəsəy *spear*, bəsi *iron*) in containing a cognate Malay loan next to the directly inherited item.

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## VOCABULARY

## A

- a somebody, someone; other people  
 anak a other people's children  
 a bayuh shaman, native healer  
 a bə+kahaŋ fisherman  
 a iən someone  
 a ki? someone else, a different person  
 a lakəy old man  
 a məŋ+taɸa? stranger
- aam pangolin, scaly anteater  
 aan (see gaan, tan) how?  
 aat press two surfaces together to squeeze liquid from something, as in squeezing copra; press in a vice  
 əm+aat to press, squeeze
- aba? (see bah) downriver  
 abəy late afternoon, evening  
 abəy məbəy yesterday evening
- abuk tiny ash-like particles in the air (as from sago flour that is too dry)
- abus fog, mist
- adək sniff, smell  
 məŋ+adək to sniff, smell (something)  
 ən+adək to have been smelled by
- adət (L) custom, traditional law
- adik (= adi?) short
- adi? (= adik) short
- agap dragonfly
- aga? coffin (regarded as a new word; cf. luŋun)
- agəm grip, grasp (cf. ŋagəm)  
 əm+agəm to grip, to grasp
- agəy (L?) again; more
- ajər (L)  
 bəl+ajər to learn  
 məŋ+ajər to teach
- aju? (see bah) upriver
- akah creeper, vine; (aerial?) root (cf. amut, dalid)
- akəl (L) wits, cunning, intelligence  
 məŋ+akəl to cheat
- akəw I; me
- akit raft
- alan (see guun) virgin forest (cf. nuu)
- ala? seed; numeral classifier used with fruits, flowers, sheets of paper, stones
- aləw long; distance
- alih (L) change position (as a person shifting in a chair); move an object
- alun alun (L) major road (cf. jalan)
- alus fine (as powder)
- aman float (something), send adrift

- pə+aman adrift, drifting on the water
- aməw ghost
- amid cockscomb
- (a)mun conditional, if
- amut root (cf. akah, dalid)  
 amut pəŋuduŋ taproot  
 amut tuba the root of *Derris elliptica* (used to stun fish)
- an (see gay)
- anak child; offspring  
 anak lay son  
 anak mahəw daughter  
 anak umi?/anak umit small child
- aŋam plait, plaiting  
 əm+aŋam to plait  
 ən+aŋam to have been plaited by
- aŋi honeybee
- aŋit sharp, sharpen  
 mə+aŋit sharp  
 məŋ+aŋit sharpen  
 ən+aŋit to have been sharpened by
- aŋat face bravely  
 əm+aŋat bold or fearless in facing someone who is angry with you
- aŋay intensifier, very; intently  
 tuab siən ta?ah aŋay *his yawn is very loud*  
 tələbaw a tama t-ən-a?ah siən aŋay *he listened intently to his father's advice*
- aŋit anger  
 əm+aŋit to provoke, make angry  
 ən+aŋit to have been provoked, made angry by
- apah<sub>1</sub> numeral classifier for fish, leaves
- apah<sub>2</sub> person, body (cf. badan, usah)  
 apah lay man  
 apah mahəw woman
- apu? white  
 məŋ+apu? to whiten, make white  
 ən+apu? to have been whitened by
- apuy fire
- a?id (see pa?id) wipe
- ara? (see kayəw) fig tree
- arəŋ (L) charcoal
- arus (L) flow of water (cf. aus)
- asa gills
- asa? (see batəw) whet, sharpen  
 əm+asa? to whet, sharpen  
 ən+asa? to have been sharpened by
- asək (see ua?) dress, put on clothes  
 pə+asək to put on clothes  
 ən+asək to have been put on, of clothes
- asəw dog  
 məŋ+asəw to hunt using dogs
- asi? pity, mercy  
 əm+asi? to pity, have mercy on
- asu? floor; plank
- atay liver
- atəb shut, close
- atur (L) arrange, put in order (cf. tuh)
- aus current of air, as from someone blowing through a tube (cf. arus)  
 əm+aus to have no result when blowing into something, as to blow into a trumpet but get no sound, or blow into an air mattress which does not inflate
- auy smoke a beehive to collect the honey  
 əm+auy to smoke a beehive  
 ən+auy to have been smoked by someone (of a beehive)
- awan cloud
- awa? numeral classifier used with sticks
- awəŋ (L) empty space; space between earth and sky
- ay exclamation, oh!
- ayəŋ big (too big to measure) (cf. flat)
- B
- baa abscess, boil
- baat heavy  
 b-əm-aat to increase the weight of  
 b-ən-aat to have had its weight increased by

- babuy pig  
     babuy guun wild boar  
 badan (L) body (cf. apah, usah)  
 badək (L) rhinoceros  
 baduŋ<sub>1</sub> adze  
 baduŋ<sub>2</sub> cassava (cf. ubəy)  
 baduŋ<sub>3</sub> fishing boat with triangular  
     sails  
 bagəy (see tulaŋ) collarbone  
 bah at, on  
     bah aba? downriver  
     bah aju? upriver  
     bah baw over, above  
     bah diba? below  
     bah dipah across (a river)  
 bajəw (L) shirt  
 bakaw a tree, the mangrove  
 bakul (L) basket  
 bakuŋ long-leaved aquatic plant  
     with latex-like sap that causes  
     itching  
 balak (see bua?) banana  
 balas revenge  
     b-əm-alas take revenge  
 balaw sago palm  
 baləw widow  
 balik return home; turn something  
     over  
 baliw (see buən) transformation  
 baŋaw (see manuk)  
 ba<sup>?</sup><sub>1</sub> preverbal particle; future  
     ba? məŋ+lasu? to heat (s.t.)  
     ba? ta?əw to know  
     ba? jadi to become  
     ba? pəŋiŋih ?  
 ba<sup>?</sup><sub>2</sub> use  
     pə+ba? to use  
     b-ən-a? to have been used by  
 ba<sup>?</sup>ay ebb, recede  
     ba<sup>?</sup>ay salih ebb tide  
 ba<sup>?</sup>əw new (but a few days old -  
     not as recent as ta?)  
 barəŋ (L) thing  
 bas mark, trace  
 basa? wet  
 bat net; web  
     bat bəlawə? spiderweb  
 bataŋ trunk, log  
 batəw stone (cf. batu)  
     batəw asa? whetstone  
 batik (L) batik cloth  
 batu (L) mile (cf. batəw)  
 bauŋ (L) onion  
     bauŋ sak red onion  
     bauŋ apu? garlic  
 baw on, upon; over, above  
 baway rising  
     baway dug rising tide  
 bay loincloth  
 baya crocodile  
 bayar (L) pay (cf. səsaŋ)  
 bayəw old (as a dry coconut or an  
     unmarried girl past her prime)  
 bayuh ceremony for the curing of  
     illness  
     pə+bayuh to perform the rites of  
     the a bayuh (playing the gənaŋ and  
     chanting incantations to drive off  
     evil spirits)  
 bəbah split (stative); broken (as  
     vases)  
     ŋ+bə-u-bah to split  
     bə-i-bah to have been split by  
 beba? mouth (coarse expression; cf.  
     mujun)  
 bəbəd tie (cf. bəd)  
     ŋ+bə-u-bəd to tie  
     bə-i-bəd to have been tied  
 bəbulan cataract of the eye  
 bəbut hole in the ground  
 bəd tie (cf. bəbəd)  
     pə+bəd to tie, bind (habitual  
     action)  
 bəduk large yellowish-brown short-  
     tailed monkey  
 bəjagaŋ (see kayəw) teak

- bəlabaw rat, mouse  
 bəlakin Achille's tendon  
 bəlanək k.o. fish: mullet?  
 bəlaŋaw housefly  
 bəlas (L) formative for numerals  
 from 11-19  
 bəlawə? spider  
 bələbaŋ butterfly  
 bələbawən dizzy  
 bələy buy (cf. ibay)  
 ŋ+bələy to buy  
 b-ən-ələy to have been bought by  
 bəlusu? (see jəkan) dolphin, por-  
 poise  
 bənaa hot ashes  
 bənaŋ (L?) thread  
 bənatəŋ (L) animal  
 bənatəw son- or daughter-in-law (cf.  
 bisan)  
 bənawaŋ door  
 bənu? kill  
 ŋ+bə-u-nu? to kill  
 bə-i-nu? to have been killed by;  
 kill (polite imperative)  
 pə+bənu? diri? suicide  
 bənusia (L) person, human being  
 (cf. tənakaw, tənawan)  
 bəŋaŋi (L) sing (cf. bəlaŋu)  
 bəŋuh (see bua?) coconut tree  
 bəŋai large stream, river (cf.  
 suŋay)  
 bəras (L) husked rice  
 bərian (L) gold, jewelry, valuables  
 (see pakan)  
 bəsəy spear (cf. bəsi)  
 bəsi (L) iron (cf. bəsəy)  
 bəsuh satiated, full after eating  
 bətih thigh  
 bətuka intestines  
 bətul (L?) correct  
 bəy be, have; possess  
 biah run  
 pə-biah to run  
 bias body  
 bibih lip  
 bibi? broken bits of Chinese plates  
 and cups  
 biləm black  
 b-əm-iləm to blacken  
 b-ən-iləm to have been blackened  
 by  
 bilit (L) room  
 bilun (L) aeroplane  
 bin load carried on the back; carry  
 (imper.)  
 b-əm-in to carry on the back  
 b-ən-in to have been carried on  
 the back  
 pə+bin be carried on someone's  
 back  
 biru? (L) blue  
 bisan son- or daughter-in-law (cf.  
 bənatəw) NOTE: The meaning of the  
 cognate term in Malay (*bésan the  
 relationship of persons whose child-  
 ren have intermarried*) and the re-  
 ported synonymy of bənatəw and bisan  
 suggest that the latter actually  
 refers to the relationship between  
 the parents of a married couple.  
 bisul abscess  
 bitaŋ star  
 bua? fruit; round object  
 bua? balak banana  
 bua? bəŋuh coconut  
 bua? bulas k.o. fruit with fleshy  
 seeds  
 bua? dian durian  
 bua? gənuk gourd  
 bua? guli marble  
 bua? limaw citrus fruit  
 bua? naka jackfruit  
 bua? pak kneecap  
 bua? piŋəŋ pineapple  
 bua? səmaka? watermelon  
 bua? sukun breadfruit  
 bua? timun cucumber  
 buaw run away

- bubəw conical bamboo wickerwork  
fish trap (cf. ŋaŋa)
- bubuk (L?) small shrimps
- bubuŋ ridge of the roof
- buda? foam, bubbles
- budəy false
- buduk leg (cf. pajug)
- buən storm, bad weather (cf. buŋas)  
buən baliw a storm said to be  
caused by doing something unnatu-  
ral. NOTE: cf. Blust 1981 for a  
description of the "thunder com-  
plex" in Malaya, Borneo and the  
Philippines.
- buh fishing rod
- buk head hair (cf. buləw)
- bukaŋ corpse
- bukəw<sub>1</sub> knee (cf. buku?)
- bukəw<sub>2</sub> yam
- bukit (L) hill
- buku? (L) knuckle, joint (cf. bukəw)
- bukut punch  
b-əm-ukut to punch  
b-ən-ukut to have been punched by  
pə+bukut punch one another
- bulan moon, month
- bulas (see bua?)
- bulət (L) round
- buləw body hair, feathers (cf. buk)  
buləw manuk feathers
- buliŋ wooden dish
- buluŋ (see jəkan) k.o. fish
- bulu? bamboo  
bulu? tədiŋ kind of bamboo
- bun odour  
pə+bun to smell, have an odour
- buŋa flower
- buŋas storm (cf. buən)
- bup (L) book
- buruk old and crumbling (furniture,  
houses), decaying (vegetables) (cf.  
madam)
- busew corner (of table, cloth, room)
- buta back (anat.); behind
- buut breathe (cf. ŋus, siŋud)  
pə+buut
- buya? be struck, affected by (= Malay  
kena; cf. tərəh)
- buyən terrified, paralysed by fear
- buyəw marine crab 1"-4" in diameter,  
with large pincers (cf. gəramah)
- D
- daa? blood
- daat littoral sea, sea near the  
shore (cf. lautan)
- dabəw ash
- dada incisor (cf. ŋipən)
- dadəŋ sit by the hearth to recuper-  
ate (of women for some time after  
childbirth)
- dagiŋ (L) meat
- daləm depth (as of water)
- daləw a quarrel, altercation  
pə+daləw to quarrel  
d-ən-aləw be on bad terms (?)
- dalid buttress root (cf. akah, amut)
- damay (L?) peace
- dana old, of things (cf. lakəy)
- danaw lake
- dapur (L) kitchen
- da?un leaf
- daway (L) wire
- dawək side, flank; edge
- daya inland, toward the interior  
(cf. aju?)
- dəbəy on purpose  
siən məŋ+pədiŋ siən dəbəy *He hurt  
himself on purpose.* NOTE: possibly  
nda + bəy.
- dədian candle (cf. lilin)
- dəkət stick  
d-əm-əkət to stick, cause to ad-  
here (tr.)



- d-ən-əkət to have been stuck on  
pə+dəkət to adhere, stick (intr.)
- dələw  
dələw iən they (pl.)
- dən visible
- dəŋah news
- dəpa fathom, measure of outstretched  
arms
- dian (see bua?) durian
- dia? good
- diba? beneath, under  
bah diba? beneath
- didiŋ wall (of a house)
- dii housepost
- dipa snake
- dipah opposite bank of a river
- dipən slave
- dipih hide  
d-əm-ipih to hide, stash away
- diri? self, oneself
- dua<sub>1</sub> two
- dua<sub>2</sub>  
dua iən they (du.)
- duduh thunder
- dudut pluck (feathers, hair), pull  
out (as a post), unsheath  
didut to have been plucked, pulled  
out by
- duəy thorn
- dug (see baway)
- duga (L?) measure, estimate  
d-əm-uga to fathom, measure the  
depth of water; (fig.) probe some-  
one's mind  
d-ən-uga to have been fathomed by  
d-əm-uga akəl to measure one's  
intelligence
- duhig mythical monster of the for-  
est
- dukun Moslem healer (cf. a bayuh)
- G
- gaan (see ga?) where?
- gabər (L) picture
- gaday (L) pawn  
g-əm-aday to pawn  
g-ən-aday to have been pawned by
- gadiŋ (L) ivory (cf. tariŋ)
- gadun green  
g-əm-adun to become green; to make  
something green  
g-ən-adun to have been made green  
by
- gagar kind of raised platform
- gagaw busy
- gahut scratch  
g-əm-ahut to scratch
- gajah (L) elephant
- gajil lazy
- galaŋ throw  
g-əm-alaŋ to throw
- ga? at (locative and relational),  
on; to, toward; for (benefactive)
- ga? buta behind, in back
- ga? dawək beside, at the side
- ga? g+aan where?
- ga? g+iən there (place known to  
the hearer, whether near or far,  
in view or not)
- ga? g+inan there (place unknown  
to the hearer, whether near or far,  
in view or not)
- ga? g+itəw here
- ga? jaway in front
- ga'am jaw
- gatuŋ  
g-əm-atuŋ hang, suspend  
g-ən-atuŋ be hung, suspended by
- gaul (L?) mix (cf. \*\*sapur)  
g-əm-auŋ to mix
- gaup blow, blow away (with the  
breath)  
g-əm-aup to blow, blow away (with  
the breath)  
g-ən-aup to have been blown, blown  
away (by the breath)
- gay how much/how many?  
gay an gay how much/how many?
- gaya (L?) way, manner

gayuŋ dipper, water scoop used in  
 bathing  
 gəga chase away (as a fowl)  
 gə-u-ga to chase away  
 gə-i-ga to have been chased away  
 by  
 gəgət gnaw; silverfish, moth  
 gə-u-gət to gnaw  
 gə-i-gət to have been gnawed by  
 gələma scar  
 gələgua intestinal worm  
 gələŋ bracelet  
 gənaŋ (L) open-ended drum about 18"  
 long, used by the shaman (cf.  
 rəbana)  
 gənuk (see bua?) gourd  
 gəramah small freshwater crab (cf.  
 buyəw)  
 gətan failure  
 gian (L?) addicted to  
 siən gian bə-judi *he is addicted  
 to gambling*  
 giən (see ga?) there (cf. iən)  
 gigit chatter (of the teeth)  
 ginan (see ga?) there (cf. inan)  
 gitəw (see ga?) here (cf. itəw)  
 gua (L?) cave  
 guəm abdomen below the navel (cf.  
 pa?it)  
 gula (L) sugar  
 guli (L; see bua?) marble  
 gunuŋ (L) mountain  
 gupul (L?) gather  
 bə+gupul  
 gutiŋ (L?) scissors  
 g-əm-utiŋ to cut with scissors  
 g-ən-utiŋ to have been cut with  
 scissors by  
 guun jungle, forest  
 guun alan virgin forest  
 guy look, see  
 pə+guy to look, watch  
 g-ən-uy to have been watched by

## H

hal (L) reason  
 hig budge, move something a bit  
 h-əm-ig to move (something) a bit  
 h-ən-ig to have been moved a bit  
 by

## I

iap count (cf. ituŋ)  
 əm-iap to count  
 iaw sound  
 ibay buying, buy (cf. bələy)  
 əm+ibay to buy  
 ida? much, many  
 idu? (see ua?) give  
 pə+idu? to give  
 ən+idu? to have been given by  
 iən the, that (thing known to hearer,  
 whether near or far, in view or not)  
 iəŋ preceding, in front  
 igi? take  
 pə+igi? to take  
 ən+igi? to have been taken by  
 ihat stretch oneself  
 pə+ihat to stretch oneself  
 ii? yes  
 ija? (L) spell  
 əm+ija? to spell  
 ən+ija? to have been spelled by  
 ijin (L) engine  
 ijuh stretch out the legs (as after  
 sitting cross-legged for awhile)  
 ikah itch (cf. kumuh kumuh)  
 mə+ikah itchy  
 ikiw tail (cf. tikiw)  
 iluh channel between the roots of  
 mangrove trees in a mangrove swamp  
 imən raise, rear (an animal)  
 pə+imən to raise, rear (an animal)  
 inan the, that (thing unknown to  
 hearer, whether near or far, in  
 view or not)  
 inəw (see ua?) what?  
 ipa? hunt (animals)

- pə+ipaʔ to hunt (animals)  
 ən+ipaʔ to have been hunted by  
 (of animals)
- iput coconut husk
- isak cook  
 əm+isak to cook  
 ən+isak to have been cooked by  
 pə+isak to cook (as an occupation)
- isaʔ game  
 pə+isaʔ to play  
 pə+isaʔ ragaʔ game played with a  
 rattan ball which is knocked over  
 a net using only the head or feet
- isi (L; Eng. *inch*) ruler; (linear)  
 measurement (cf. sukat)  
 əm+isi to measure
- isi finger ring
- itəw this
- itik duck (bird)
- ituŋ count (cf. iap)  
 əm+ituŋ to count  
 ən+ituŋ to have been counted by
- J
- ja one (cf. satu) NOTE: regarded  
 as "old" language.
- jadi (L?) become
- jaja sell, selling  
 j-əm-aja to sell  
 j-ən-aja to have been sold by
- jalan path (cf. alun alun)
- jalaʔ independent
- jaluŋ flame  
 pə+jaluŋ flaming, of a fire
- janak sibling  
 janak lay brother  
 janak mahəw sister  
 janak tadəy younger sibling  
 janak tika older sibling
- japan just now, a moment ago  
 japan kəna susəw new-born baby  
 japan tapaʔ just come/arrived
- jaʔit sew  
 j-əm-aʔit to sew  
 j-ən-aʔit to have been sewed by
- jatih gibbon
- jatuŋ (L?) heart (cf. nasəŋ)
- jauʔ (L) far
- jaut to flow downward, of a receding  
 tide (cf. jujuk)
- jaway face; front
- jəgahaʔ with  
 jəgahaʔ say with whom?
- jəgəm and
- jəkan fish  
 jəkan bəluʔ dolphin, porpoise  
 jəkan buluŋ small orange scaly fish  
 with barbels - prized as food  
 jəkan kəluəŋ shark  
 jəkan maləŋ fish resembling tabəy,  
 but smaller and lighter in colour  
 jəkan məʔən small scaly fish with  
 lateral stripe - resembles a carp  
 jəkan paus whale  
 jəkan tabəy highly prized edible,  
 long black scaleless fish that  
 resembles an eel
- jəlaʔ tongue
- jəŋələh slip on a slick surface
- ji appearance  
 diaʔ ji pleasing to the eye (of  
 objects, scenery or people)
- jinih beautiful (of a woman)
- jipəw cousin (FBC, MBC, FZC, MZC)  
 jipəw dua lakaw second cousin
- juah give  
 pə+juah to give  
 j-ən-uah to have been given by
- judi die, dice  
 bə+judi to gamble
- jujab hack, chop vegetation (cf.  
 supəd) NOTE: possibly jə-u-jab.
- jujuk to flow upward, of a rising  
 tide (cf. jaut)
- jujur (L) honest
- juuʔ juice (of fruit), sap (of  
 trees); gravy  
 juuʔ bəŋuh coconut cream
- K
- kabiŋ (L) goat

- kabut buttocks, posterior, bottom,  
 base  
 kahaŋ fishing  
 bæ+kahaŋ to go fishing (general  
 term)  
 kain (L?) cloth, clothes  
 kajaŋ roof made of nipa palm fronds  
 kalay amount, quantity  
 kalay lakaw how many times?  
 kan (see ua?) eat  
 k-əm-an to eat  
 k-in-an to have been eaten by  
 kan+ən (see ua?)  
 ka+kan feed  
 məŋ+ka-kan to feed  
 k-ən-a+kan to have been fed by  
 kaŋ open  
 k-əm-aŋ to open (a door, etc.)  
 k-ən-aŋ to have been opened by  
 (of a door, etc.)  
 kaŋan thick, of materials  
 kapas cotton  
 kaŋək (L) axe  
 kaŋəl (L) ship  
 ka(m)puŋ (L) village, settlement  
 kapur (L) camphor  
 ka? dehortative, don't  
 ka?aw you (sg.)  
 karam (L?) capsize, sink  
 karaŋ (L?) coral reef  
 kasaw rafter  
 kasut (L?) shoe  
 katay stop, as an engine (cf. matay)  
 məŋ+katay to stop (e.g. an en-  
 gine)  
 k-ən-atay to have been stopped  
 by (of an engine)  
 kaul annual ceremony to ensure a  
 good catch of fish the following  
 year  
 kawit pole with a hook for picking  
 fruit  
 kayəw wood; tree  
 kayəw ara? fig tree  
 kayəw bæjagaŋ teak wood  
 kayəw tənəjaw rubber tree  
 kədəŋ raise, pull up into a standing  
 position  
 kədəŋ kayəw iən *raise that tree!*  
 (pull it up into a standing posi-  
 tion)  
 pə+kədəŋ to stand (stative and  
 active)  
 kədua you (du.)  
 kəjiwat earthworm  
 kəkay rake  
 kə-u-kay to rake  
 kə-i-kay to have been raked by  
 kəkəlat lightning  
 kəkəlīt small insectivorous cave bat  
 kəkut dug, excavated (cf. kut)  
 kə-u-kut to dig  
 kə-i-kut to have been dug by; dig  
 (polite imperative)  
 kəlayəŋ double-headed spear or har-  
 poon (cf. tuduk)  
 kələmumur dandruff, scaly skin  
 kələt rope (cf. taləy)  
 kələw you (pl.)  
 kəlibuy monitor lizard  
 kəluaŋ (see jəkan) shark  
 kəman way, direction  
 səliŋih kəman itəw jaway nəw *turn  
 your face this way*  
 kəna (L) be struck, affected by (cf.  
 buya?)  
 kənaan where?  
 NOTE: kən+aan? (cf. gaan)  
 kəŋaŋ fear, afraid (cf. ŋaŋ)  
 k-ən-əŋaŋ to have been feared by  
 kərbaw (L) carabao, water buffalo  
 kərəsəŋ wrinkled  
 kərja (L) work  
 məŋ+kərja to work on s.t.  
 k-ən-ərja to have been worked on  
 (repaired, etc.) by  
 kərna (L) because (cf. səbap)  
 kərtih (L) paper

- kətəm (L?) wood plane  
 kəw my  
 kiap hand fan (cf. kipas aqin)  
 məŋ+kiap to wave, beckon to  
 k-ən-iaŋ to have been waved/  
 beckoned to  
 kias mosquito  
 kijəŋ the barking deer: *Cervulus*  
*muntjac* (cf. payaw, pəlanuk)  
 kikir (L) file, rasp  
 kila? flat rectangular winnowing  
 basket (cf. niru)  
 kipas aqin electric fan (cf. kiap)  
 ki? (see a, ua?) other, different  
 kiray cigarette made of tobacco  
 rolled in the leaves of the nipa  
 palm  
 kuba  
 kuba kalay how much?  
 kuba tan how?  
 kuduŋ missing, of the fingers  
 kudu? sit (cf. tədudu?)  
 kudu? diba? sit down (imper.)  
 kuhəp crush something hard with  
 the molars. NOTE: Anon (1930)  
 cites *chew* kuhəp, kihəp, thus  
 implying a base \*\*kəhəp. /ə/,  
 however, is otherwise unattested  
 before /h/, and in this environ-  
 ment presumably would become /a/.  
 kukuh<sub>1</sub> (see manuk) k.o. bird  
 kukuh<sub>2</sub> (L) stable, enduring (as a  
 stable marriage); industrious,  
 hard working  
 kulat fungus, mushroom  
 kulit skin; bark; shell  
 kulit kayəw bark of a tree  
 kulit pəŋu? shell of a turtle  
 kuman from  
 kumuh kumuh (L) itchy (cf. mikah)  
 kuniŋ (L) yellow  
 məŋ+kuniŋ to become yellow, ripen  
 (as rice); to make something yel-  
 low  
 k-ən-uniŋ to have been made yellow  
 kuŋit (L) turmeric  
 kupi (L) coffee  
 kurəŋ (L?) lacking  
 kurus (L?) thin, of animate beings  
 (cf. lipih)  
 kusuŋ (L?) empty  
 kut dug, excavated (cf. kəkut)  
 suŋay kut/kəkut a man-made canal  
 kutəw louse  
 kuyad small brown long-tailed monkey  
 L  
 labu? a fall (cf. paha?)  
 bə+labu? to fall, of people  
 lada chili pepper  
 lada sagu? white or black pepper  
 lagu (L) song (cf. ŋaŋi)  
 bə+lagu to sing  
 laju laju (L?) fast (as in running)  
 lakaw (see kalay) business, doings;  
 walk (cf. makaw)  
 inəw lakaw *Why did you come?* (lit.  
*What business?*; very polite form)  
 l-ən-akaw to have been walked on  
 lakəy old, of people (cf. dana)  
 lalak bald  
 lalu (L) excessively, too much  
 laluŋ (see siaw) cock  
 laman cleared area around a house  
 or in the centre of a village  
 laŋih fat, lard, grease  
 laŋit sky  
 lapan (L?) eight  
 la?əy according to  
 lasəy sweat, perspiration  
 lasu? hot  
 məŋ+lasu? to heat (as over a fire)  
 nəŋ+lasu? was heated by  
 mə+lasu? burning (as the mouth  
 from chili peppers)  
 latək to hammer (a nail, etc.)

- lati? mud
- lau  
 mə+lau withered  
 NOTE: Anon gives mə-laun *withered*
- lautan (L) open sea far from shore  
 (cf. daat)
- law day
- lawa showy  
 l-əm-awa to show off
- lawas numeral classifier used with  
 people
- lawən (L) go against, fight, oppose  
 l-əm-awən to go against, fight,  
 oppose
- lay male
- layəw (v layu) invitation; invite  
 (imper.)  
 l-əm-ayəw to invite people to  
 one's house
- layah sail
- layan side  
 layan ta?əw right side  
 layan ulay left side
- layəŋ (L)  
 l-əm-ayəŋ float on the wind, as  
 an eagle, or a piece of paper  
 dropped from a high place
- ləbih (L) surplus, excess
- ləbu? house  
 ləbu? səkul school
- ləgah fast, quickly
- ləkəb lid  
 ləkəb mata eyelid
- ləlaŋaw housefly
- ləlu? chase  
 l-əm-əlu? to chase, pursue (with  
 intent to catch)
- ləmari (L) chest of drawers
- ləmək soft
- ləffəp disappear
- ləŋən arm
- ləpaw hut, shed
- ləpək fold; a fold
- lə-u-pək to fold  
 lə-i-pək to have been folded by
- ləpəw pick  
 lə-u-pəw to pick  
 lə-i-pəw to have been picked by  
 l-əm-əpəw to fall without being  
 picked (of fruit)
- ləsut to float
- lian time, era, period; during
- liaŋ light (not heavy)
- lia? ginger
- likəw country  
 likəw putih England (= *white  
 people's country*)
- lilin (L) wax, candle (cf. dadian)
- lima five
- limaw (see bua?) citrus fruit
- liŋ saliva, spit
- liŋa ear
- lipih (L) thin, of materials (cf.  
 kurus)
- lisiŋ edge
- litaŋ lay across  
 l-əm-itaŋ to lie across
- lubəŋ in, inside
- lukuh hungry  
 l-əm-ukuh make someone go hungry  
 (as when someone else's children  
 are in your house and you give food  
 to your children, but not to the  
 others)  
 pə+lukuh go on a hunger strike  
 (one cannot pə+lukuh someone else  
 - one can only l-əm-ukuh others)
- lumut moss, lichen
- luŋun coffin (regarded as an old  
 word; cf. aga?)
- lu? want, wish
- lu?uy swallow  
 l-əm-u?uy to swallow (tr.)  
 l-ən-u?uy to have been swallowed  
 by  
 pə+lu?uy bua? kind of party or  
 game in which the seeds of rambu-  
 tans are swallowed

luup exhausted

## M

maap lose one's way, be lost (as in a forest) NOTE: possibly əm-aap.

mabəy yesterday (cf. abəy)

mabuk drunk

madam decaying, rotten, of flesh (cf. buruk)

mahəw female

makaw walk, go (cf. lakaw)

maləŋ (see jəkan) k.o. fish

malas (L?) lazy

maləd numb, paralysed (of part of the body) NOTE: mə+aləd?

maləm night

maləm itəw tonight

maləm pə+tuduy nuptial night

mama? bad; dirty

mama? bun bad smell

NOTE: possibly mə+ama?. Anon (1930) give mana?

manik (L) bead

manuk bird

manuk baŋaw heron

manuk kukuh small dark blue bird

manuk mayaw kind of hornbill

manuk puyū? quail

maŋa? crack, fissure

mapək blind

NOTE: mə+apək?

məʔən (see jəkan) k.o. fish

məʔih to gasp for breath

NOTE: əm+aʔih?

məʔit sibling-in-law

mara (see saudara)

maraw straight walking stick (cf. tukat)

mas (L) gold

masin salty

NOTE: mə+asin?

mata eye

mata law sun

matay die; dead (cf. katay)

pə+matay to die

siən kərja pə+matay lalu *He works himself to exhaustion ('death')*

mayaw (see manuk) kind of hornbill

məgəw burning (as a house on fire)

NOTE: mə+gəw?

mələw we (pl.excl.)

məlirəŋ (L) sulphur

məmih a bruise, bruised

NOTE: possibly mə+mih

məŋəm tasteless, insipid

NOTE: mə+ŋəm?

məŋəta? pale (from fear or illness)

məsəm sour

NOTE: possibly mə+səm

mətua parent-in-law

mia? shy, ashamed

miaw to lose something (objects)

NOTE: əm+iaw?

mija (L) table

min all

minəw why? (cf. inəw)

minəw tan why?

mua we (du.excl.)

muda? young

mudəy last, behind

mujun lips, mouth (refined expression; cf. bəba?)

mun dew; fog

musuh (L) enemy

## N

naka (see bua?) jackfruit

nakən nephew's nephew

nakən anak nephew

nama (L) name (cf. ŋadan)

nana? pus

pə+nana? to suppurate, as a wound

nap fish scale

nar heat

nar apuy heat of the fire

nasəŋ heart; emotions (cf. jatəŋ)

nasɪʔ (L) cooked rice

nay sand

nda no, not

nda bəy ŋam

nda sukup

nəm six

nəw you (sg., agent)

nupəy dream

nuu secondary forest (cf. guun)

## N

ŋabuŋ prow (of a boat)

ŋagəm fist, hand (cf. paʔa, agəm)

ŋak fat, grease

mə+ŋak fatty, oily (of taste of food cooked in fat)

ŋam taste

ŋaŋi (L) song (cf. lagu)

bə+ŋaŋi to sing

ŋaʔəm water

ŋat big (but capable of being measured) (cf. ayəŋ)

ŋatan border, boundary

ŋau eagle; kite

ŋawa life

ŋəl blunt, dull

ŋ-əm-əl to make (something) blunt

ŋəŋala light burning ashes carried in the wind from a fire

ŋəŋaʔ chew

ŋə-u-ŋaʔ to chew (something)

ŋə-i-ŋaʔ to have been chewed by; chew (polite imperative)

ŋəŋiəw animal similar to but larger than the flying fox (cf. sələmawaʔ)

ŋipaʔ the nipa palm: *Nipa fruticans*

ŋipən tooth

ŋipən dada incisor

ŋipən puʔun molar

ŋiruʔ (L) round winnowing basket (cf. kilaʔ)

ŋuŋuh melted wax

ŋ-əm-uŋuh melt, become semi-liquid, as wax that has been heated

ŋuʔ oil, varnish

## N

ŋadan name (cf. nama)

pə+ŋadan famous, renowned

ŋəŋ fear, afraid (cf. kəŋəŋ)

ŋ-əm-aŋ be afraid of

ŋəŋa funnel-shaped mouth of converging bamboo splints in bubəw fish trap that allows fish to enter but not exit (cf. bubəw)

ŋaʔ already; yet

paday ŋaʔ məŋ+kuniŋ the rice is already ripening (turning yellow)

ŋaʔan knapsack, carrying bag

ŋəŋət chewed up

ŋə-u-ŋət to gnaw, chew on

ŋə-i-ŋət to have been gnawed, chewed on by

ŋus exhale (cf. buut, siŋud)

## P

pəəŋ wing

padaŋ non-cultivated field (cf. uma)

padaʔ ask for, request

məŋ+padaʔ to ask for, request

p-ən-adaʔ to have been asked/requested by

paday riceplant, rice in the field

padəm dark (as at night); obscured from view

padət crowded

pagah storage shelf for firewood above the hearth

pagəŋ (L) fence

pahaʔ to fall, of things (cf. labuʔ)

pai stingray

pajəm closed, as the eyes; extinguished, of a fire

mata siən pajəm his/her eyes are closed

məŋ+pajəm mata to close the eyes



- pajəm apuy extinguish a fire  
 pajug foot (cf. buduk)  
 pak (see bua?) kneecap  
 pakan money  
   pakan bərian dowry  
 pakəw nail (of iron)  
 paləy a taboo  
   məŋ+paləy forbid  
   p-ən-aləy to have been forbidden  
   by  
 pali? wound, cut  
   məŋ+pali? to wound  
   p-ən-ali? to have been wounded by  
 pan mat  
 panah ray (of light)  
 panas feeling of anger  
   məŋ+panas to make someone angry  
   pəŋ+panas  
   siən pəŋ+panas nasəŋ *He/she has  
   a hot temper*  
 paŋu? (L) turtle  
 paŋay wind  
 papid twins  
 paʔa hand (cf. ŋagəm)  
 paʔid wipe  
   kain paʔid a cloth for wiping  
   məŋ+paʔid to wipe  
   p-ən-aʔid to have been wiped by  
 paʔih fish or meat wrapped in  
   leaves and roasted over the fire  
   məŋ+paʔih wrap fish or meat in  
   leaves and roast over the fire  
 paʔit<sub>1</sub> abdomen above the navel (cf.  
   guəm)  
 paʔit<sub>2</sub> bitterness, bitter  
   mə+paʔit bitter  
 paraŋ (L?) bush knife, machete  
 pat four  
 pataŋ lie  
   məŋ+pataŋ to lay someone (e.g. a  
   child) down  
   p-ən-ataŋ to have been laid down  
   (as a child)  
   pə+pataŋ lie down  
 paus (see jəkan) whale  
 paut long time (as a year or more;  
   cf. tai)  
 pay go across  
 paya when?  
 payaw kind of large deer: *Cervus  
   equinus* (cf. kijaŋ, pəlanuk)  
 payən fever  
 payuŋ (L?) parasol, umbrella  
   məŋ+payuŋ to shelter with a para-  
   sol or umbrella  
 pədəŋ (L?) sword  
 pədəw gall, gall bladder  
 pədih (L?) painful, sick (cf.  
   pəŋakit)  
   məŋ+pədih to hurt (something)  
 pəlanuk mousedeer (cf. kijaŋ, payaw)  
 pələpət firefly  
 pəmaləy python  
 pənali? purulent skin ulcers  
   NOTE: possibly = p-ən-ali?  
 pənu? full  
 pəŋakit (L) disease (cf. pədih)  
 pəŋiŋi glowing ember  
 pəŋiŋih (see baʔ)  
 pəŋuduŋ (cf. amut) taproot  
 pəpah (cf. uaʔ) hit, whip  
   ŋ+pə-u-pah to hit, whip  
   pə-i-pah to have been hit or  
   whipped by  
 pəpək anything used for hitting; whip  
   ŋ+pə-u-pək/pə-u-pək to hit, whip  
   pə-i-pək to have been hit or whip-  
   ped by; hit, whip (polite command)  
 pəsəy fishhook  
   məŋ+pəsəy to fish with line and  
   hook  
   p-ən-əsəy to have been caught with  
   line and hook, of fish  
 piaw sound  
 pidin (L?) fin of a fish  
 pikir (L) thought; think

məŋ+pikir to think about (something)  
 pə+pikir think (intr.)

pili? chosen, selected  
 buya? pili? *He is chosen, selected*  
 məŋ+pili? to choose, select

pipəy cheek

pirək (L) silver

pisəŋ (see bua?) pineapple

pisit squeeze, wring out  
 məŋ+pisit squeeze out, knead  
 p-ən-isit to have been squeezed, wrung out

pulaw island

puli? return

puluh (L) group of ten (cf. pulu?)  
 sə+puluh ten

pulu? group of ten (cf. puluh)  
 pulu?+ən ten  
 dua pulu? twenty  
 tələw pulu? thirty

pulut latex, sticky sap

pupuŋ bunch, cluster (of fruit)

puput spray water from the mouth, blow suddenly, puff; anything spat out (food, etc. mixed with saliva)  
 məŋ+puput to spit on (someone or something)  
 p-ən-uput/piput to have been spat upon by

pu? nest  
 pu? aŋi? beehive

pu?un base; source, origin, beginning; molar (see ŋipən)  
 pu?un kayəw base of a tree

pusəd navel  
 pusəd ŋa?əm whirlpool

pusək promontory, peak (as of a mountain)  
 pusək gunuŋ peak of a mountain

pusiŋ turn the body (cf. səliŋih)

putih (L) (see likəw) white

puyan hearth

puyu? (see manuk) quail

## R

rabun basket containing food, scraps of cloth and small flags which is placed on a pole on the beach during the kaul ceremony; the food is meant to attract good spirits, and the cloth to frighten away evil spirits

raga? (L) (see isa?) kind of woven rattan ball

ragi (L) yeast

rajin (L) industrious

rakit approach  
 r-əm-akit to approach, draw near one another (of large things, as armies, rafts, etc.)

ra?ut pull  
 r-əm-a?ut to pull

rasun (L) poison

rata (L?) smooth, level

ratay (L) chain

ratus (L) group of one hundred

rəbana (L) short open-ended drum (cf. gənaŋ)

rəga (L) price

ribu (L) group of one thousand

rugi (L) loss in business

rukəd distance between joints of the finger (used in measuring)

ruku? (L)  
 pə+ruku? to smoke (tobacco)

rusek (L) destroy, destroyed  
 r-əm-usək to destroy

## S

sabi? ask for

sabit sickle

sabun (L) soap

sabuŋ fight (cocks)  
 pə+sabuŋ to fight one another (of cocks)  
 məŋ+sabuŋ to pit cocks against one another  
 s-ən-abuŋ to have been pitted against one another (of cocks)

- sadar<sub>1</sub> lean against
- sadar<sub>2</sub> (L) lean against  
 məŋ+sadar to lean against  
 s-ən-sadar to have been leaned against
- sagu<sup>?</sup><sub>1</sub> (L) sago balls, balls of cooked sago flour
- sagu<sup>?</sup><sub>2</sub> (see lada)
- sak<sub>1</sub> put, place  
 s-əm-ak to put or place
- sak<sub>2</sub> red
- sakay friend, companion
- sakul (L) hoe
- sala<sup>?</sup> wrong, in error
- salih (see ba<sup>?</sup>ay) ebb tide
- saluy (ʌ aluy) boat
- sama one another (reciprocal)  
 pə+bənu<sup>?</sup> sama ləw iən *They killed one another*
- samay scatter, strew (as seeds in sowing)
- sapaw roof, thatch  
 sapaw da<sup>?</sup>un palm thatch roofing
- sapəw broom  
 məŋ+sapəw to sweep  
 s-ən-apəw to have been swept by
- sapur (L) mix (cf. gaul)  
 məŋ+sapur to mix
- satu (L) one (cf. ja)
- sauh (L) anchor
- sawa spouse  
 sawa lay husband  
 sawa mahəw wife  
 s-ən-awa to have been married to  
 pə+sawa marriage
- say<sub>1</sub> blossom; numeral classifier for flowers  
 s-əm-ay to bloom, open up (of a bud)
- say<sub>2</sub> sago flour
- say<sub>3</sub> who?
- sə<sub>1</sub> marker of personal names  
 sə Nawi k-əm-an nasi<sup>?</sup> *Nawi is eating rice*
- sə-<sub>2</sub> (L) one (clitic used only with puluh, bəlas, ratus, ribu)
- səbap (L) because (cf. kərna)
- səbəlum (L) before
- səbət way or manner of making  
 sə-u-bət to make  
 sə-i-əbət to have been made by; make (imper.)
- səbut<sub>1</sub> bite  
 sə-u-but to bite  
 sə-i-but to have been bitten by
- səbut<sub>2</sub> (L) mention  
 məŋ+səbut to mention
- səga<sup>?</sup> near
- sək grass
- səkəl strangle  
 sə-u-kəl to strangle  
 sə-i-kəl to have been strangled by
- səkət limit
- səkul (L) (see ləbu<sup>?</sup>) school
- sələg burn  
 sə-u-ləg to burn  
 sə-i-ləg to have been burned by
- sələlən mirror
- sələmatək large jungle leech
- sələmawa<sup>?</sup> fruit bat, flying fox (cf. fəfiəw)
- sələŋan diving out of necessity (cf. tələŋ)  
 pə+sələŋan dive out of necessity, as a cornered animal that leaps for life
- sələŋatip scorpion
- səlīŋih turn the head (cf. pusīŋ)  
 pə+səlīŋih
- səludan gutter
- səlūəh (L) trousers
- səmaka<sup>?</sup> (see bua<sup>?</sup>) watermelon
- səmilan (L?) nine
- səmua (L) all
- səmunih tomorrow
- sənapaŋ (L) gun

- sənəŋ stare  
 məŋ+sənəŋ to stare at  
 s-ən-ənəŋ to have been stared at by
- səpa? betel quid
- səpəd hack, chop (anything) (cf. jujab)  
 sə-u-pəd to hack, chop  
 sə-i-pəd to have been hacked, chopped
- səput blowpipe  
 sə-u-put to shoot with a blowpipe  
 sə-i-put to have been shot with a blowpipe
- səruru? a joke  
 məŋ+səruru? to mock, tease
- səsəŋ pay (cf. bayar)  
 sə-u-səŋ to pay  
 sə-i-səŋ to have been paid by
- səsəd immerse, submerge something in the water (as a bottle to be filled)
- səsəl regret
- səsəŋ a dam
- səsəp sipping, sucking  
 məŋ+sə-u-səp/sə-u-səp to sip, suck  
 sə-i-səp to have been sipped or sucked by  
 NOTE: \*\*s-ən-əsəp
- səw grandchild  
 səw sikəw great grandchild
- səy<sub>1</sub> flesh (cf. məsəy)  
 mə+səy fat, obese
- səy<sub>2</sub> sago flour when still wet
- sia salt
- siaw chicken; cock  
 siaw laləŋ cock  
 siaw sabuŋ fighting cock  
 pə+sabuŋ cockfight
- sidi? a slice
- siduk spoon
- siən he/she/it; his/her/its
- sikəw<sub>1</sub> elbow
- sikəw<sub>2</sub> (see səw) great grandchild
- sila? cross (the legs, in sitting cross-legged)  
 pə+sila? sit cross-legged
- siləw claw; fingernail, toenail
- siliŋ fly, sail (as a paper aeroplane)  
 pə+siliŋ to fly  
 siliŋ bilun kərtih *Sail the paper aeroplane*  
 siliŋ ŋəu iən *Let the eagle fly (away)*
- sini? urine  
 pə+sini? to urinate
- siŋ cat
- siŋud inhale (cf. buut, ŋus)
- siŋuəh  
 məŋ+siŋuəh  
 məŋ+siŋuəh nəsəŋ to cool the emotions  
 s-ən-iŋuəh to have been cooled or chilled
- sipa? branch, fork  
 sipa? suŋay branch of a river
- si?ət sago grub
- sisiŋ drip, let drip  
 pə+sisiŋ to drip
- subit tear to pieces (cloth, paper, tree bark)
- subuŋ (L?) proud, arrogant
- sug continue  
 s-əm-ug to continue
- suka (L?) to like, enjoy
- sukat (L?) measurement (cf. isi)  
 məŋ+sukat to measure
- sukun (see bua?) breadfruit
- sukup (L) enough
- sulin (L) flute
- sulud comb
- sumit moustache
- suŋay (L?) canal, small stream (cf. bəŋai)
- su?un carrying on the shoulder  
 məŋ+su?un carry on the shoulder

- s-ən-uʔun to have been carried on the shoulder  
 pə+suʔun to carry wood (habitually, as an occupation)
- surat (L) letter
- sus steam
- susah (L) hard, difficult
- susaʔ process of making iron tools, blacksmithing  
 NOTE: possibly s -u-saʔ
- susəw breast, milk
- susud follow someone (who may or may not know he is being followed)
- susuh ask someone to leave a place
- susup lungs
- susur (L) cake made of bananas and flour
- suud line on a fruit (e.g. durian), marking the internal sections; also mark made by anything moving or being dragged on the ground (snake, log, etc.)
- suy let slip or slide down (cf. tələsuy)
- ‡
- taas hardwood tree, the belian
- taban seize, grasp, hold (cf. tabik)  
 pə+taban hold on to something
- tabəy (see jəkan) k.o. fish
- tabih chewed betel and sirih used as medicine (spat on the abdomen of sick children, but generally not used for adults)
- tabik reach for (cf. taban)  
 məŋ+tabik to reach for  
 t-ən-abik to have been reached for  
 pə+tabik be hanging by the arms
- tabir (L) curtain
- tabuk trigger of a trap
- tabun a cover, lid  
 məŋ+tabun to cover  
 t-ən-abun to have been covered by
- tadaʔ dance  
 pə+tadaʔ to dance
- tadəy younger sibling (cf. janak, tika)
- tai long time (as several hours; cf. paut)
- tain (L) unit of measurement for grains, etc.
- taji (L) cockspur
- tajuh needle
- takup lid, cover  
 məŋ+takup to cover  
 t-ən-akup to have been covered by
- taləy string, rope (general term; cf. kələt)
- tama father
- tan (see kuba, minəw) how?, why?  
 tan aan how?
- tanaʔ earth, soil
- taŋih a cry; cry  
 məŋ+taŋih to weep, cry  
 t-ən-aŋih to have been wept over by
- tap sole of the foot, palm of the hand
- tapaʔ arrive at, visit  
 məŋ+tapaʔ to visit  
 t-ən-apaʔ to have been visited by
- taʔ brand new, just produced (of things) (cf. baʔəw); raw, unripe
- taʔah loud, resounding  
 məŋ+taʔah to hear  
 t-ən-aʔah to have been heard, listened to by  
 pə+taʔah to listen to (in future constructions)
- taʔaŋ handspan (tip of outstretched index finger to tip of outstretched thumb)
- taʔəw<sub>1</sub> know
- taʔəw<sub>2</sub> (see layan) right (side)
- taʔəy faeces, excrement
- taʔun year
- tariŋ (L) tusk (cf. gadiŋ)  
 tariŋ gajah elephant tusk
- tatag repair  
 məŋ+tatag to repair  
 t-ən-atag to have been repaired by

- tatah<sub>1</sub> present part of one's body that is to be affected by something (as the arm for an injection), leave oneself open in a fight
- tatah<sub>2</sub> to hit, punch, strike
- tawar<sub>1</sub> (L) bargain, haggle  
mən+tawar to bargain, haggle
- tawar<sub>2</sub> (L) give medicine to  
mən+tawar give medicine to cure something; done by the dukun (Moslem healer) or a bayuh (Pagan healer)  
pən+tawar antidote
- təbaa a well
- təbək stab, stabbing  
tə-u-bək to stab  
t-ən-əbək/tə-i-bək to have been stabbed by
- təbən fell (a tree)  
tə-u-bən to fell (a tree)  
tə-i-bən to have been felled (of a tree)
- təbəw sugarcane
- təbiŋ bank of a river
- təbusəw aunt (FZ, MZ, FBW, MBW)
- tədiŋ (see bulu?) kind of bamboo
- tədudu? fall down into a sitting position, as when one's knees buckle and one falls to the floor (cf. kudu?) NOTE: possibly /tərah dudu?/, with sporadic compression of the first morpheme. If dudu? and kudu? contain the same morpheme the difference of initial consonants is unexplained.
- təgaliŋ long tail feathers of a rooster
- tək piece made by cutting (cf. tətək)
- təlabaw speech, language; advice
- tələkin prop; stick, etc. used as a prop
- tələŋ diving for fun (cf. sələŋan)  
pətələŋ dive in the water for fun, as when bathing
- tələsuy slip, slide (cf. suy)
- tələw<sub>1</sub> three
- tələw<sub>2</sub> we (pl.incl.)
- tələuh egg  
pətələuh to lay an egg
- təmək push something heavy  
pətəmək knock against the river-bank, as a raft forced out of control by a strong current
- tənakaw person (cf. bənesia, tənawan)
- tənawan person, human being (cf. bənesia, tənakaw)
- tənəjaw (see kayəw) rubber tree
- təŋəd hard palate
- təŋu? neck
- təŋu?uh groan, groaning
- təpuŋ flour, meal
- tərah do unintentionally, by accident (cf. buya?)  
tərah kan eat by accident  
tərah səbut mention inadvertently
- tərupa? sandals
- tətədəw caterpillar
- tətəwa to laugh  
t-ən-ətəwa to have been laughed at by
- tətək cut (cf. tək)  
tə-u-tək to cut  
tə-i-tək to have been cut by
- tətəŋ drinking  
mən+tətəŋ/tə-u-təŋ to drink  
t-ən-ətəŋ/tə-i-təŋ to have been drunk by
- tətəuŋ porcupine
- tidan payment, prize
- tigah straight
- tijun point out, indicate  
mən+tijun to point out, indicate  
t-ən-ijun to have been pointed out, indicated by
- tika elder sibling (cf. janak, tadəy)
- tikaw theft  
mən+tikaw to steal

- t-ən-ikaw to have been stolen by  
 tikiw tail (cf. ikiw)  
 tiləm (L) mattress  
 timah (L) lead (metal)  
 timan praise  
 məŋ+timan to praise  
 t-ən-iman to have been praised by  
 timək shoot  
 məŋ+timək to shoot  
 t-ən-imək to have been shot by  
 timun (see bua?) cucumber  
 tina mother; female (of animals)  
 tina tama parents  
 tip thirsty  
 tipəw grandparent, ancestor  
 tipəw əyəŋ great grandparent  
 tiʔəŋ graveyard  
 titik speck, dot  
 tua we (du.incl.)  
 tuab a yawn  
 pə+tuab to yawn  
 tuad go somewhere  
 tuad kənan kaʔaw Where are you  
 going?  
 tuah (L) luck, fortune  
 tuak (L) rice wine (bought from  
 the Ibans)  
 tua? uncle (FB, MB, FZH, MZH);  
 headman, leader  
 tua? ka(m)puŋ village leader  
 tuba a plant: *Derris elliptica*  
 tubih waste time joking and gossip-  
 ing  
 pə+tubih to waste time joking  
 and jossipping  
 tubu? grow, sprout  
 tud bend, bent  
 tud isi iən bend that ruler!  
 t-əm-ud to bend (a stick, etc.)  
 t-ən-ud to have been bent by  
 pə+tud be naturally bent (agent  
 unspecified)  
 tuduk single-pronged spear or har-  
 poon (cf. kəlayəŋ)
- tuduy sleep  
 məŋ+tuduy to put someone (as a  
 child) to sleep  
 t-ən-uduy to have been put to  
 sleep by  
 pə+tuduy (see maləm)  
 tug ball of the heel  
 tugun smoke  
 tuh arrange, put in order (cf. atur)  
 t-əm-uh to arrange, put in order  
 tuju?<sub>1</sub> finger  
 tuju?<sub>2</sub> (L) seven  
 tukat (L) walking stick with a crook  
 at the end (cf. maraw)  
 tukəd climbing  
 tukul hammer  
 tulak push  
 məŋ+tulak to push  
 t-ən-ulak to have been pushed by  
 tuləŋ bone  
 tuləŋ bagəy collarbone  
 tuləy tree resin, dammar  
 tuli? deaf  
 tuluy help  
 məŋ+tuluy to help  
 t-ən-uluy to have been helped by  
 tupuk heap, pile  
 tuʔu true, correct  
 tutuk knock, as with the knuckles  
 tuun swim
- U  
 uaŋ dry  
 ua? object, thing  
 ua? asək clothes  
 ua? idu? gift  
 ua? iən that thing  
 ua? inəw what?  
 ua? jaja merchandise  
 ua? kahaŋ fishing gear  
 ua? kan food (ordinary food; cp.  
 ua? kan+ən)  
 ua? kan+ən special food (one's  
 favourite food; cp. ua? kan  
 ua? kəkut (someone's) digging

uaʔ kiʔ other  
 uaʔ pəpəh a whip, anything used  
 for hitting

uat vein, tendon

uay rattan

uban grey, of hair; grey hair

ubəy k.o. tuber  
 ubəy baduŋ cassava

ucapan (L) speech

ud headwaters of a river

udaŋ lobster

udip life  
 əm+udip to live  
 tə+udip living, alive

uduŋ nose

udut dandruff, scurf

ujan rain

ujiʔ knife

ukum (L) law

ukur<sub>1</sub> (L) measure the length  
 məŋ+ukur to measure the length  
 of something

ukur<sub>2</sub> (L) shave  
 məŋ+ukur to shave

ulay (see layan) left (side)

uləd maggot, caterpillar

uləw head

ulin rudder  
 əm+ulin to steer  
 ən+ulin to have been steered by

ulun slave, servant

ulur (L) pay out rope

uma cultivated field (cf. padaŋ)  
 uma paday rice field  
 pə+uma to farm, cultivate

umiʔ small (cf. umit)  
 bəy j+umiʔ (= ja umiʔ?) a few, a  
 little

umit small (cf. umiʔ)  
 bəy j+umit (= ja umit?) a few, a  
 little

un only, just

buəʔ iən b-əm-aat ŋəʔan un the  
 fruit just makes the knapsack heavy  
 (could be said as advice to a  
 traveller not to take unnecessary  
 fruit)

upan bait

upat to swell, swollen

upuk wash  
 əm-upuk to wash  
 ən-upuk to have been washed by  
 pə+upuk to wash (as an occupation)

uʔəm soak  
 əm+uʔəm to soak  
 ən-uʔəm to have been soaked by

uras dust?

usah numeral classifier used with  
 trees  
 usah badan body

usuk chest (anat.)

utap shield

utaʔ vomit (n.)  
 pə+utaʔ to vomit (involuntary)  
 ən+utaʔ to have been vomited up  
 by

utək brain  
 utək tulaŋ marrow

utuŋ end, tip

uug rub, scrub  
 əm+uug to rub, scrub  
 ən+uug to have been rubbed, scrub-  
 bed by  
 pə+uug to rub, scrape (uninten-  
 tional or habitual action)  
 səluəh siən pə+uug baw asuʔ *His  
 trousers scraped (dragged) on the  
 floor (because they were too long)*  
 akəw kərja pə+uug təpuŋ *I work as  
 a (sago) flour sifter*

W

wəŋi (L) fragrant

warih (L) relative

wərna (L) colour

wud shin

wuŋ rapids in a river



## VERBAL FOCUS IN KIMARAGANG

Paul R. Kroeger

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Kimaragang is a Dusunic language spoken by approximately 10,000 people living in the Kota Marudu and Pitas districts of Sabah, East Malaysia. The Dusunic languages, like most of the languages spoken in the interior of the state, can be characterised as Philippine-type languages, both lexically and grammatically.

Verbal Focus is an aspect of clause level morphosyntax characteristic of Philippine-type languages. It is roughly equivalent to the system of voice in English; the verb morphology signals the semantic relationship of a particular NP argument to the predicate. The purpose of this paper is to describe the verbal focus affixes in Kimaragang and their range of semantic functions.

Three of the seven possible focus types are illustrated below. In the free translation of each sentence, the subject of the English sentence corresponds to the focused NP of the Kimaragang. This is not necessarily the best possible translation equivalent; the pragmatic functions of voice in English and focus in Kimaragang are very different. But the superficial correspondence between English subject and Kimaragang focused nominal is used here to provide a preliminary, intuitive grasp of what is happening.

- (1) Minanaak (m-in-poN-taak) ih kamaman kuh do pe'es sid dogon.  
NomF-past-trans-GIVE P/def *uncle my nonP/indef knife to me(nonP)*  
*My uncle gave me a knife.*
- (2) T-in-aak-an okuh dih kamaman kuh do pe'es.  
\*-past-GIVE-DatF I(P) nonP/def *uncle my nonP/indef knife*  
*I was given a knife by my uncle.*
- (3) Itih pe'es n-i-taak dih kamaman kuh sid dogon.  
*this(P) knife past-TF-GIVE nonP/def uncle my to me(nonP)*  
*This knife was given to me by my uncle.*

#### 1.1 Focus and Pivot

In each main clause in Kimaragang, and in most dependent clauses, one NP must be marked as the clause-level topic or theme. The choice of an appropriate label for this thematic NP has been, and continues to be, a matter of considerable debate. Both of the traditional choices, "Subject" and "Topic", are somewhat misleading when applied to Philippine-type languages. Rather than using either of these terms, I will adopt the term used by Foley and Van Valin (1984), *Pivot*.

*Papers in Western Austronesian linguistics* No.3, 217-240.  
*Pacific Linguistics*, A-78, 1988.

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The Pivot NP in a clause is identified by the determiner *ih* (for definite) or *oh* (for indefinite), or by Pivot forms of deictics (*this, that*, etc.).<sup>1</sup> There are also distinct pronoun sets distinguishing Pivot from non-Pivot forms. For instance, in example (1) above, *my uncle* is marked as Pivot by the use of the determiner *ih*. In example (2), the pronoun used (*okuh*) is the Pivot form of the first person singular (cf. dogon in ex. (1) and (3)). The knife is marked as Pivot in example (3) by the use of the Pivot form of the deictic *itih this*.

Core NPs which are not Pivot are marked by *dih* (definite) or *do* (indefinite), or by non-Pivot deictics.

Every active verb in Kimaragang carries morphological markings which signal the semantic relationship of the participant or argument named by the Pivot NP to the event described by the verb. This system has generally been referred to in Philippine linguistics as *Focus*.

As mentioned above, the focus system in Kimaragang is analogous to diathesis or voice in Indo-European languages. But rather than the two or three possibilities typical of Indo-European languages, e.g. active, passive and middle, there are seven focus possibilities in Kimaragang. The five most frequently used are Nominative Focus (NomF), Accusative Focus (AccF), Dative Focus (DatF), Translative Focus (TF) and Locative Focus (LocF). Two additional focus possibilities, Instrument Focus (IF) and Setting Focus (SF), are more restricted in their usage.

The correlation between the morphological focus marking on the verb and the semantic role of the Pivot is not absolutely regular - such is the nature of human language. In the discussion that follows, this correlation is treated in terms of prototypes rather than in terms of rigid definitions. In other words, rather than stating a set of necessary and sufficient conditions under which a given semantic role will be encoded by a given focus choice, the core meaning(s) of each focus type will be presented, and the range of permitted variation discussed.

Briefly, Nominative Focus (NomF) marking on the verb indicates that the Pivot fills the semantic role of Agent (as in example (1) above), Force or Experiencer. NomF is also used for the argument of certain states (e.g. 'alive' and 'dwell') and changes of state (e.g. 'die').

Accusative Focus (AccF) encodes true Patients (i.e. affected Patients) of transitive predicates. Translative Focus (TF) indicates that the Pivot is a Theme, i.e. something whose physical location is changed by the event (e.g. the knife in example (3)). Locative Focus (LocF) marks the Pivot as Location or Goal (Destination), almost always with intransitive verbs.

Dative Focus (DatF) is the focus type with the widest range of semantic possibilities. DatF marks the Pivot as being the Recipient (as in example (2)), Benefactive or Goal of an action; the Goal (or Range) of predicates of perception, emotion and cognition; and Patient (with reduced transitivity) of some transitive verbs.

In addition to the five basic focus types discussed above, there are two more distinct focus possibilities in Kimaragang. Instrument Focus (IF) is used to mark the Pivot NP as Instrument, and Setting Focus (SF) is used to mark the Time or Location of a (generally transitive) action. These focus types are infrequent, SF occurring mainly in questions and IF in questions or subordinate purpose clauses. It may be that SF and IF should be considered nominalised forms, but the difference between Noun and Verb in Kimaragang is somewhat hazy. Virtually any verb form can be used as a noun simply by inserting a determiner before it, e.g. *ih mongomot the harvester(s)*. (Contrast this with relativisation

as described in section 4 below; in the present example, there is no relativised head noun.)

The semantic functions of six focus types (all but Locative) are illustrated in the following examples, using the verb boli *buy*. In each example, the Pivot NP is underlined.

- (4) Nom: Momoli (m-poN-boli) okuh do tasin.  
 NomF-trans-BUY I(P) nonP/indef salt  
*I am going to buy salt.*
- (5) Acc: Amu kuh boli-on itih tasin ditih.  
 not I(nonP) BUY-AccF *this*(P) salt *this*  
*I won't buy this salt.*
- (6) Dat: Boli-ai okuh poh do tasin!  
 BUY-DatF/imper *me*(P) yet nonP/indef salt  
*Buy me some salt!*
- (7) Thm: N-i-boli kuh it siin kuh dot tasin.  
 past-TF-BUY I(nonP) P/def *money* *my* nonP/indef salt  
*I spent my money on salt.*
- (8) Inst: Songkuroh ot pinomoli (-in-poN-boli) nuh dinoh  
how.much P/indef \*-past-IF-BUY you(nonP) *that*(nonP)  
 pondulung nuh?  
*ring your*  
*How much did you pay for your ring?*
- (9) Set: Siongoh pinomolian (-in-poN-boli-an) nuh dilo gampa nuh?  
*where* \*-past-SF-BUY-SF you(nonP) *that*(nonP) *machete* your  
*Where did you buy your machete?*

A relatively large inventory of semantic roles is mentioned in this paper. Most of these roles are familiar from the work of Fillmore, Cook and others: Agent, Patient, Experiencer, Benefactive, Instrument, etc. Other roles involve finer semantic distinctions: Force (inanimate agent) is distinguished from Agent; Item (used here for the argument of a stative or change of state) and Theme (the entity whose physical location is changed by an action) are distinguished from Patient (used here only for the entity affected by an action).

It is too early to think of identifying a minimal set of semantic roles sufficient to describe the grammar of Kimaragang. In using various role labels, I am (at this point) making no claims about their systematic or theoretical status, either in Kimaragang grammar or in any particular theory of Case Grammar. My aim in this preliminary study has been to use familiar terms wherever possible to capture particular semantic distinctions which need to be made.

## 1.2 Grammatical case

In this paper, traditional case names have been used for the three most common focus types (Nominative, Accusative and Dative). The primary reason for this is to capture the range of semantic functions associated with these focus types, but there is in fact a close relationship between verbal focus and grammatical case.

In the previous section it was pointed out that focus and voice are in some ways analogous. However, in many respects focus is more similar to case than to voice. Many writers have described verbal focus as a case marking system for various Philippine-type languages. For example, Schachter (1976) describes the focus-marking affixes of Tagalog as case-marking morphemes affixed to the verb.

The notion of case is usually associated with NP markers, rather than verb morphology, and there are several devices in Kimaragang for marking the case of non-Pivot NPs. However, unlike Tagalog, the set of cases defined by these NP markers is not isomorphic to the set of focus types. Thus, while verbal focus is treated here primarily as a case-marking system, there is a distinct (but related) system of grammatical case defined by the marking of non-Pivot NPs by means of word order, choice of pronoun set, prepositional elements, etc. This system is best described in terms of the concepts Actor and Undergoer, as developed by Foley and Van Valin (1984).

Kimaragang is a verb-initial language (and predicate initial in non-verbal clauses), and the word order is more flexible than that of English. But the preferred order for nominal elements of a verbal clause is Actor-Undergoer-Oblique. This preferred order is often obscured by the fact that pronouns must precede full NPs, but if more than one pronoun occurs in a clause, the same ordering principle tends to apply (i.e. Actor before Undergoer).

As stated in section 1.1. above, the Pivot NP will always be preceded by the determiner *ih* (for definite), *oh* (for indefinite); or by the Pivot form of a deictic (*this*, *that*, etc.). Non-Pivot Actor and Undergoer are marked identically, either with *dih/do* or a non-Pivot deictic form.

Two other non-Pivot cases are distinguished: Referent and Oblique. Referent, including both Location and Goal, is marked with the determiner *sid*.

Oblique elements (e.g. destination, origin, instrument, etc.) must be preceded by verbal prepositions (*mantad from*, *kuma'a arrive at*, etc.), full verbs (e.g. *mamakai use*) or prepositional phrases like *gisom sid until*, *silo id over there*, etc.

For some pronouns, Actor and Undergoer have distinct non-Pivot forms. These are 1st and 2nd person singular, 1st person plural exclusive, 1st person plural inclusive, 2nd person plural, and sometimes (but not consistently) 3rd person singular:

| PERSON    | TOPIC  | PIVOT    | NON-PIVOT ACTOR | OTHER NON-PIVOT |
|-----------|--------|----------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1sg.      | yokuh  | okuh     | kuh             | dogon           |
| 2sg.      | ikau   | ikau/koh | nuh             | dikau           |
| 3sg.      | yalo   | yalo     | yoh (~ dialo)   | dialo           |
| 1du.incl. | ikitoh | kitoh    | toh             | -               |
| 1pl.incl. | itokou | tokou    | -               | daton           |
| 1pl.excl. | yokoi  | okoi     | yah             | dagai           |
| 2pl.      | ikoo   | ikoo/kou | duyuh           | dikoo           |
| 3pl.      | yaalo  | yaalo    | -               | daalo           |

Since Actor precedes Undergoer and pronouns precede nouns, the Actor forms shown above (kuh, nuh, etc.) normally occur immediately following the verb. In some Dusunic languages, these are written as clitics, but in Kimaragang they are not phonologically bound to the verb.<sup>2</sup>

The case marking system described above distinguishes four grammatical cases: Actor, Undergoer, Referent and Oblique. The focus marking on the verb adds a finer set of case distinctions for one NP in the clause, the Pivot.

Nominative Focus (NomF) marks the Actor as Pivot. As the label suggests, NomF is used both for the subject of an intransitive verb and the Agent of a transitive.

Accusative Focus (AccF) prototypically marks the Patient of a transitive verb; Dative Focus (DatF) is prototypically Recipient or Benefactive. But, as in many other languages, some transitive verbs require their Patients to be marked as Dative (i.e. when the Patient of these verbs is in focus, the verb will be marked as DatF).

Some verbs may allow either AccF or DatF when the Patient is in focus. For example:

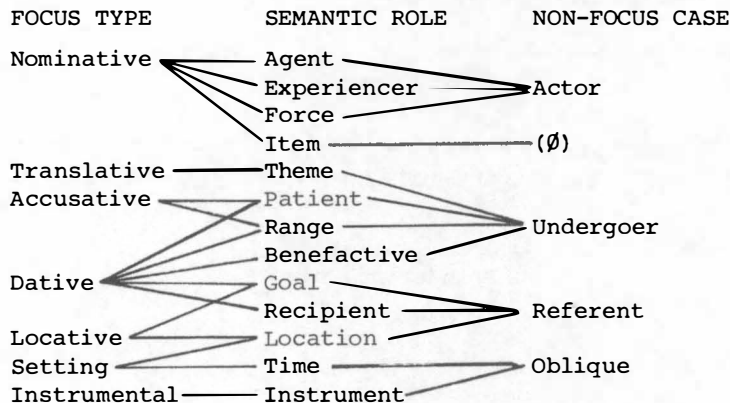
- (10) Acc: Tobuk-on kuh it sada.  
 STAB-AccF I(nonP) P/def *fish*  
*I will stab the fish.* (implies stomach swollen with gas or fluid)
- (11) Dat: Tobuk-an kuh it sada.  
 STAB-DatF I(nonP) P/def *fish*  
*I will clean the fish.*

The semantic distinction here is partially idiosyncratic, but also appears to be related to an aspectual distinction. The Accusative Focus tends to mark punctiliar actions, whereas Dative Focus is often used for durative actions. Thus AccF may be said to be higher in transitivity than DatF, with respect to the parameter of Punctuality.

Foley and Van Valin (1984) define Actor and Undergoer as semantic macro-roles. In Kimaragang, these categories could be said to function as grammatical macro-cases, which are further subdivided by the focus system. The Undergoer, when it is in focus, may be marked as Accusative, Dative or Translative. When the Referent is Pivot, it may take Dative or Locative Focus.

It is standard practice in both descriptive and theoretical works to distinguish between thematic (semantic) role and grammatical case. For Kimaragang, as has been shown, it is necessary to distinguish between two distinct systems of grammatical case, in addition to the system of semantic roles. The system of case marking for non-Pivot elements I will refer to as *syntactic case*. The system of case marking for the Pivot, i.e. the focus system, I will refer to as *morphological case*. Thus Kimaragang distinguishes four syntactic cases, seven morphological cases, and something over a dozen thematic roles.

The correlations between the two systems of grammatical case and the set of thematic roles is illustrated in the following diagram:



In the preceding discussion, nothing has been said about grammatical relations. As many writers have pointed out (notably Schachter 1976), the notions of Subject and Object are not entirely appropriate for Philippine-type languages. There appears to be only one "grammatical relation" in Kimaragang, i.e. one NP "position" in the clause which is relevant to syntactic processes like those discussed in section 4 below. That relation is what we have labelled *Pivot*.

## 2. FOCUS MARKING AND INTERPRETATION

### 2.1 Nominative Focus (NomF)

Nominative Focus is marked by the prefix *m-*. When the *m-* occurs before a consonant other than /p/, it is realised as the infix *-um-*. When the *m-* precedes /p/, the /p/ is deleted. For example:

- (12) M-ongoi okuh sid kadai.  
 NomF-GO I(P) to town  
*I'm going to town.*
- (13) Modsu (m-podsū) okuh poh.  
 NomF-BATHE I(P) yet  
*I'm going to take a bath.*
- (14) Induwo t-um-akad sid sokid.  
*twice \*-NomF-CLIMB at hill*  
*You have to climb two hills.*

Nominative Focus forms may be marked as "transitive" or "intransitive", the transitive verbs bearing the transitivity prefix *poN-*. The NomF morpheme *m-* immediately precedes the *poN-*, creating the merged prefix *moN-*. The final nasal *N-* assimilates to the point of articulation of the following consonant, if any. Before a vowel, *N-* is realised as a velar nasal /ŋ/.  
*N-* merges with certain consonants in the following ways:

N + /b,p,w/ → /m/  
 N + /t,s/ → /n/  
 N + /k/ → /ŋ/

Before the consonants /d,g,r,l,j/, an epenthetic vowel /o/ is inserted following the *N-*; thus *poN-* is realised as /pongo-/ before these segments. A rule of vowel harmony changes any /o/ in the prefix to /a/ when /a/ occurs in the following syllable. Note the following examples:

- (15) Mangakan (m-poN-akan) koh-i do wogok oi?  
 NomF-trans-EAT you(P/sg)-emph nonP/indef pig Q  
*Do you eat pork?*
- (16) Aku oubas yokuh monigup (m-poN-sigup).  
*not.I accustomed I(P) NomF-trans-TOBACCO*  
*I don't smoke.*
- (17) Mama'al (m-poN-wa'al) okuh do tinsod.  
 NomF-trans-MAKE I(P) nonP/indef pig.pen  
*I'm building a pig-pen.*

- (18) Mongoguring (m-poN-guring) okuh do ranau.  
 NomF-trans-HARROW I(P) nonP/indef *paddy.field*  
*I am harrowing my paddy field.*
- (19) Obbulih koh mongoruang (m-poN-koruang) dogo<sup>3</sup> oi?  
*can you (P/sg) NomF-trans-COMPANION me (nonP) Q*  
*Can you accompany me?*

The morpheme poN- marks "high transitivity" in the specialised sense of Hopper and Thompson (1980), rather than "transitive" in the traditional sense of "taking a direct object". Several of the parameters of transitivity discussed by Hopper and Thompson are relevant here. But again, the correspondence between form and meaning is not perfectly regular and is best discussed in terms of tendencies or prototypes.

AGENCY. The Actor of a NomF-transitive verb is always animate and almost always carries the semantic role of Agent. The Actor of a NomF-intransitive verb need not be animate. Verbs dealing with the weather and other natural phenomena are often marked as NomF-intransitive, as in the following examples:

- (20) T-um-akad ih sarup.  
 \*-NomF-CLIMB P/def *wind*  
*The wind blows from the west.*
- (21) S-um-ilau ih taddau.  
 \*-NomF-RISE P/def *sun*  
*The sun is rising.*
- (22) T-um-onob noh ilo taddau.  
 \*-NomF-SET *already that (P) sun*  
*The sun is setting.*

The Actor of a NomF-intransitive verb may carry the semantic roles of Agent, Force (as in the examples above), Experiencer or Item (argument of a stative or change of state). Note the following examples of the Experiencer and Item usages:

- (23) Nokuroh tu r-um-asang yalo?  
*why for \*-NomF-ANGRY he (P)*  
*Why is he angry?*
- (24) R-um-osi okuh dot apalid.  
 \*-NomF-FEAR I(P) COMP *lost*  
*I'm afraid of getting lost.*
- (25) Engin koh-i m-iyon sitih oi?  
*like you (sg/nonP)-emph NomF-DWELL here Q*  
*Do you like living here?*
- (26) M-iyau poh ih tidi nuh oi?  
 NomF-LIVE *yet P/def mother your Q*  
*Is your mother still living?*
- (27) Ih tanganak nopoh dih s-um-olusuk dirih ...  
 P/def *child only REL \*-NomF-GROW.UP this*  
*The children growing up these days ...*

**KINESIS.** NomF-transitive verbs always encode an action, whereas NomF-intransitives may encode actions or such non-actions as states (*miyau alive*), emotions (*rumosi afraid*), etc.

**PARTICIPANTS.** The traditional distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs (i.e. the presence or absence of a direct object) is relevant to Kimaragang only as a general tendency. Not all NomF-transitive verbs require an overt "object" (i.e. Undergoer). In fact, many such verbs rarely occur with an overt Undergoer, because they are lexically specific to a particular Patient which need not be stated. Some examples are:

- (28) Managad (m-poN-tagad) okuh.  
NomF-trans-FELL.TREE I(P)  
*I am felling trees.*
- (29) Mongurak (m-poN-urak) okuh.  
NomF-trans-GATHER.LOGS I(P)  
*I am gathering the unburnt logs.*
- (30) Monibor (m-poN-sibor) okuh.  
NomF-trans-DIKE I(P)  
*I am building dikes in my rice field.*
- (31) Managou (m-poN-sagou) okuh.  
NomF-trans-FETCH.WATER I(P)  
*I am fetching water.*
- (32) Mongolumbid (m-poN-lumbid) okuh poh.  
NomF-trans-ROLL.SMOKE I(P) yet  
*I want to roll a cigarette.*
- (33) Pong-indad poh, monorimo (m-poN-torimo) okuh poh.  
trans-WAIT yet NomF-trans-COOK.RICE I(P) yet  
*Wait a minute; I'll cook some rice.*

In certain contexts, the Undergoer of these verbs may be made explicit. However, there are a very few verbs with NomF-transitive marking which can never take an Undergoer, e.g. *mamanau to walk/go*, and *mongiruk to act shy*. The root *panau walk*, occurs in several other constructions, including Locative Focus (*pana'on the distance walked*). But *mongiruk* seems to be the only occurring form of what is presumably its root, *\*iruk*, and is probably a fossilised form.

Just as the NomF-transitive verbs do not always require an overt Undergoer, some verbs marked as NomF-intransitive may occur with an Undergoer. However, the Undergoer of an intransitive verb is never affected by the action, never a true Patient (unlike the Undergoer of a transitive verb, which normally is affected). Note the following examples:

- (34) S-um-ambat okuh dialo.  
\*-NomF-MEET I(P) him(nonP)  
*I will go to meet him.*
- (35) Maya (m-waya) okuh dikau.  
NomF-FOLLOW I(P) you(nonP)  
*I will go with you.*
- (36) Lo-logot-i, s-um-u-su'ut okuh-i dikau.  
dup-slow-emph \*-NomF-dup-FOLLOW I(P)-emph you(nonP/sg)  
*You go on ahead; I'll come along behind/after you.*



Most verb roots can be classed as either transitive or intransitive, but a few roots may take either transitive or intransitive morphology. These roots occur as transitive-intransitive pairs like the following:

- (37) Mangagamas (m-poN-gamas) okuh dih tumo kuh.  
 NomF-trans-GRASS.CUTTER I(P) nonP/def *field my*  
*I am weeding my rice field (cutting the grass between rice stalks).*
- (38) G-um-amas okuh sid tumo kuh.  
 \*-NomF-GRASS.CUTTER I(P) *in field my*  
*I am cutting grass in my rice field.*
- (39) Abagos yalo k-um-araja.  
*industrious he(P) \*-NomF-WORK*  
*He works hard.*
- (40) Mangaraja (m-poN-karaja) okuh do tana kondiri.  
 NomF-trans-WORK I(P) nonP/indef *land own*  
*I work my own land. (i.e. I'm a farmer)*
- (41) T-um-utud okoi.  
 \*-NomF-BURN *we (excl/P)*  
*We are burning/going to burn (our fields).*
- (42) Monutud (m-poN-tutud) okuh dit tagad kuh.  
 NomF-trans-BURN I(P) nonP/def *field my*  
*I am going to burn off my field.*

## 2.2 Accusative focus (AccF)

The Accusative Focus is marked by the suffix -on in non-past tense, and by -Ø in the past tense. The primary use of AccF is to signal that the focused NP, i.e. the Pivot, is the affected object (Patient) of a transitive verb (as in examples (43)-(47) below), or the object of a causative construction (as in example (48)).

- (43) Tombir-on kuh ih pilat nuh.  
 SEW-AccF I(nonP) P/def *wound your*  
*I will put stitches in your wound.*
- (44) Kadung aa kou pendakod (po-indakod), tibas-on tekoo (kuh-ikoo)!  
*if not you(pl/P) caus-CLIMB SLASH-AccF I(nonP)-you(pl/P)*  
*If you don't let me come up, I'll slash you!*
- (45) Ong o-puriman-an nuh dot oruol, akan-on nuh nogi  
*if stat-FEEL-DatF you(nonP) COMP sick EAT-AccF you(sg/nonP) then*  
 itih tubat.  
*this(P) medicine*  
*Only take this medicine when you feel sick.*
- (46) Lapak-on kuh dati inoh tulu nuh!  
 SPLIT-AccF I(nonP) *likely that(P) head your*  
*I'll split your head open if you don't watch out!*
- (47) P-in-atai-Ø dirih it wogok ...  
 \*-past-DIE-AccF *this P/def pig*  
*When the pig had been killed ...*

- (48) Penumon (po-inum-on) ih tanak nuh ditih tubat.  
 caus-DRINK-AccF P/def *child your this* (nonP) *medicine*  
*Have your child drink this medicine.*

Another use of AccF is to encode the Range of verbal actions, i.e. that which is said (b-in-oros- $\emptyset$ ), told (t-in-angon- $\emptyset$ ), written (s-in-urat- $\emptyset$ ), etc. Note, however, that the AccF form of the verb boros *say*, is ambiguous; it may point to either the utterance or the addressee. These different meanings of AccF may correspond to two distinct senses of the root, *speak* vs. *tell*, or may even point to distinct homophonous roots.

- (49a) Isai ot boros-on nuh?  
 who P/indef SAY-AccF *you*/nonP  
*Who are you talking to?*
- (49b) Tongoh ot boros-on nuh?  
 what P/indef SAY-AccF *you*/nonP  
*What do you want to say?*
- (50) Isai b-in-oros- $\emptyset$  nuh?  
 who \*-past-SAY-AccF *you* (sg/nonP)  
*Whom did you tell?*
- (51) Tongoh ot b-in-oros- $\emptyset$  dialo dikau?  
 what P/indef \*-past-SAY-AccF *he* (nonP) *you* (sg/nonP)  
*What did he tell you?*

### 2.3 Dative Focus (DatF)

Dative Focus is signalled by the suffix -an. As noted above, DatF is semantically the most diverse focus type, but its primary (or prototypical) usage is to mark the Pivot as being either Recipient or Benefactive. These two uses were illustrated in examples (2) and (6) above; other examples are listed below.

- (52) Nurud-an poh dit sawo yoh it tanak dot samangkuk  
 EXPRESS-DatF *yet* nonP/def *spouse his* P/def *child* nonP/indef *one.bowl*  
 ot gatas ...  
 P/indef *milk*  
*His wife squeezed out a bowlful of milk for the child ...*
- (53) Isai b-in-oli-an nuh ditih tubat ditih?  
 who \*-past-BUY-DatF *you* (nonP) *this* (nonP) *medicine this*  
*Who did you buy this medicine for?*
- (54) Owit-ai okuh poh dot mangga!  
 TAKE-DatF/imper *me* (P) *yet* nonP/indef *mango*  
*Bring me some mangoes!*
- (55) N-a-lapak-an nuh noh do niyuw it wogok oi?  
 past-stat-SPLIT-DatF *you* (nonP) *already* nonP/indef *coconut* P/def *pig* Q  
*Have you split some coconuts for the pigs (to eat) yet?*

Another sense of the Dative related to the Benefactive sense is what may be called the Negative Benefactive: the participant who suffers a loss, an affliction, etc. For example:

- (56) Napatayan (n-o-patai-an) yalo do tanak songinan.  
 past-stat-DIE-DatF he(P) nonP/indef child one.body  
*One of his children died. (He suffered the loss of a child.)*
- (57) Tudu poh, o-puun-an koh dati.  
 touch yet stat-TABOO-DatF you(P/sg) probably  
*Touch it (the glass) so no curse will fall on you.*
- (58) lh ta'ap kuh n-ongo-tilib, n-ajang-an do sarup.  
 P/def roof my past-pl-BLOW.AWAY past-STOP.BY-DatF nonP/indef wind  
*My roof was blown off by the wind.*
- (59) Sera poh norikatan (n-o-rikot-an) koh?  
 when yet past-stat-ARRIVE-DatF you(sg/P)  
*When did you have your last period?*
- (60) Ong o-tobpus-an koh noh do tumos, kada noh  
 if stat-SQUIRT-DatF you(P/sg) already nonP/indef sweat don't already  
 monongkumut.  
 wear.blanket  
*If you break into a sweat, take off the blanket.*

The common greetings and leave-takings listed below are probably best understood as Benefactive or Negative Benefactive senses: *Will you suffer yourself to be visited/left/passed by?*

- (61) Tolib-an koh, ki?  
 PASS-DatF you(P/sg) okay  
*I am going past you(sg.).*
- (62) Endakadan (o-indakod-an) kou-i oi?  
 stat-CLIMB-DatF you(P/pl)-emph Q  
*May I come in?*
- (63) Eduan (o-idu-an) kou!  
 stat-LEAVE-DatF you(P/pl)  
*Goodbye, everyone!*

Another important usage of DatF is to encode the Range (or Goal) of predicates of cognition, perception and emotion. Foley and Van Valin (1984) analyse verbs of sensation as being essentially locative, treating the Experiencer as the locus of the event. This would be quite consistent with marking the Experiencer as a Recipient (with dative case marking). However, Kimaragang morphosyntax uses DatF to point to the perceived object, rather than the Experiencer, apparently treating the Range (or "object") of the experience as the locus of the event. Note the following examples:

- (64) Aso poh ot o-tutun-an kuh sitih.  
 not.exist yet P/indef stat-KNOW-DatF I(nonP) here  
*I don't know anyone here yet.*
- (65) Aku o-tolunung-an ih ralan.  
 not.I stat-KNOW.WAY-DatF P/def trail  
*I don't know the trail.*
- (66) Siongoh ot ela'an (o-ilo-an) duyuh ot waro oh  
 where P/indef stat-KNOW-DatF you(nonP/pl) P/indef exist P/indef

talipon sitih?

*telephone here*

*Where around here do you know of a telephone?*

- (67) Amu a-sagka-an kuh ot ko-sogit.  
 not stat-ENDURE-DatF I(nonP) P/indef able-COLD  
*I can't stand being cold.*
- (68) Okitanan (o-kito-nan)-i mari it balai.raya.  
 stat-SEEN-DatF-[emph] surely P/def balai.raya  
*You can see the balai raya (community hall).*
- (69) Nunuh ot o-puriman-an nuh dinoh?  
 what P/indef stat-FEEL-DatF you(nonP) that  
*What hurts? Where does it hurt?*

With stative roots, Dative Focus conveys the sense of being affected by the quality named in the root. The Experiencer is in focus, as in the following examples:

- (70) Adis agagayaan (o-ga-gayo-an) yalo dit ro'o dit kanas.  
 my! stat-dup-BIG-DatF he nonP/def jaw of wild-pig  
*My word! he was amazed at the size of the pig's jawbone.*
- (71) Apaganan (o-pagon-an) okuh ditih.  
 stat-DIFFICULT-DatF I(P) this(nonP)  
*I find this (task) difficult.*

The terms for *thirsty* and *hot* are further instances of this usage of DatF (example (72)). However, the corresponding forms of *hungry* and *cold* mark the Experiencer in the accusative<sup>4</sup> (example (73)).

- (72a) O-tuuw-an okuh.  
 stat-DRY-DatF I(P)  
*I am thirsty.*
- (72b) Losuan (lasu-an) okuh.  
 HOT-DatF I(P)  
*I feel hot.*
- (73a) Witol-on okuh.  
 HUNGER-AccF I(P)  
*I am hungry.*
- (73b) Sogit-on okuh.  
 COLD-AccF I(P)  
*I feel cold.*

Dative Focus is typically used for Undergoers of actions involving fire and water. The transitive verbs *tutud burn*, and *pupu wash (clothing)*, require their Patients to be marked as dative.

- (74) It botung kuh n-o-liyud-an, om n-olot-an  
 P/def paddy.field my past-stat-FLOOD-DatF and past-COVERED-DatF  
 do togis ih parai kuh.  
 nonP/indef sand P/def rice my  
*My rice field was flooded, and my rice covered with sand.*

- (75) N-o-weeg-an            ih    talun-alun silo id Rakit.  
 past-stat-WATER-DatF P/def road        there at Rakit  
*The road is flooded at Rakit.*
- (76) Tutud-ai            poh ilo        karatas.  
 BURN-DatF/imper yet that(P) paper  
*Burn up that paper!*
- (77) N-o-pupu-an        noh        dialo        dati.  
 past-stat-WASH-DatF already he(nonP) likely  
*He has probably washed it.*

There are other verbs which take dative Patients but which are more difficult to characterise or group into natural semantic classes. The verb *tunuw roast*, is marked for DatF when the Patient is in focus; this seems consistent with the observation above about actions of fire. However, the verbs for *boil*, *steam* and *fry*, like the generic term *ansak to cook*, mark the Patient as accusative. Note the following examples (and cf. example (129) below):

- (78) Kukuoyon mangansak (m-poN-ansak) itih    sada ditih? Rapa-on ko,  
 how        NomF-trans-COOK            this(P) fish this        BOIL-AccF or  
 guring-on ko, tunuw-an?  
 FRY-AccF or ROAST-DatF  
*How should I cook this fish? Boil it, fry it or roast it?*
- (79) Topuru-on nopoh boh.  
 STEAM-AccF only [part]  
*Just steam it.*

The verb *posut whip*, takes DatF (*posutan*) when the patient is in focus. But the verbs *lapos whip severely* and *bobog beat (with a stick)*, take AccF when the Patient is marked as Pivot (*loposon*, *bobogon*).

For some roots, there is a semantic contrast between AccF and DatF forms. The expected distinction would be between Undergoer as Patient vs. Undergoer as Benefactive, as in examples (5) and (6) above and examples (46) (*lapakon*) vs. (55) (*lapakan*). Also notice the contrast between the dative (*owitai*) used in example (54) and the accusative in the following example:

- (80) Owit-on kuh-i.  
 TAKE-AccF I(nonP)-[emph]  
*I'll take it.*

In examples (10) and (11) above, both AccF and DatF forms of *tobuk stab*, focus on the Patient. The contrast involves an aspectual distinction related to the degree of transitivity.

The verb *irak laugh*, normally takes DatF when the object of the laughter is in focus. However, AccF is also possible, with a different connotation:

- (81) Irak-on koh        dih        Lucy.  
 LAUGH-AccF you(sg/P) nonP/def Lucy  
*Lucy is laughing at you (for no reason).*
- (82) I-ra-rak-an        koh        dot        tulun.  
 \*-dup-LAUGH-DatF you(sg/P) nonP/indef person  
*People are laughing at you.*

The difference here is that the DatF form (example (82)) implies that you are doing or wearing something funny which provokes laughter: *You are making everyone laugh*. The AccF form implies that there is nothing funny about you; indeed, there may be something funny about Lucy: *She is laughing at you for no reason* (like a crazy person).

The distinction here seems to hinge on volitionality: the dative form is used for non-volitional laughter, the accusative for volitional (unprovoked) laughter. Thus, as in examples (10) and (11) above, the AccF form seems higher in transitivity than the DatF form.

A similar contrast is found with the root *ondom* *remember*. The usual form of this verb is in Dative Focus (andaman), with the Range (i.e. the thing remembered) in focus. This implies that the memory is there in the Actor's consciousness; he doesn't need to work at remembering. If the Accusative Focus form *ondomon* is used, the Range of the memory is still in focus. However, this form implies that the Actor must think hard to recall something which has been forgotten.

Once again the contrast seems to involve volitionality. The DatF form *andaman remember*, is non-volitional; the Actor remembers whether he wants to or not. The AccF form, *ondomon try to remember*, is volitional, and hence more transitive than the DatF. Interestingly, the NomF-transitive form of the verb, *mongondom*, used when the Experiencer is in focus, corresponds to the volitional sense conveyed by the AccF form. No form of this verb has yet been found with the Experiencer in focus which carries the non-volitional sense (corresponding to that of the DatF form).

The verb *ogom sit*, is used primarily as an intransitive. However, the transitive form *mongogom* is also used, meaning *to sit on*. In the intransitive sense, when the location of the sitting is in focus, a Locative Focus form (*ogomon*) is used which would be homophonous with AccF (see section 2.5 below). Therefore, DatF is used when the Patient of the transitive sense (the thing that gets sat on) is in focus:

(83) Siomoboh ot ogom-on kuh?  
*where P/indef SIT-LocF I(nonP)*  
*Where shall I sit?*

(84) Nagaman (n-ogom-an) kuh it tupi nuh.  
*past-SIT-DatF I(nonP) P/def hat your*  
*I sat on your hat.*

Similarly, the intransitive verb *odop sleep*, normally uses the LocF form *odopon* to mark the Pivot as Location. But if the choice of sleeping place is high in volitionality, the DatF form is used:

(85) Adapan (odop-an) dogo itih walai kuh tu, kapayig okoi.  
*SLEEP-DatF me(nonP) this(P) house my because go.out we(excl/P)*  
*Come sleep in my house for me because we are going away.*

(86) Sid disai ot odop-on nuh?  
*at who(nonP) P/indef SLEEP-LocF you(sg/nonP)*  
*Whose house will you sleep at?*

The DatF form would also be used, for example, in daring something to sleep in a graveyard, a haunted place, etc.

As pointed out above, we have used traditional grammatical case labels for the three most common focus types of Kimaragang. Other analysts of Philippine languages have tended to use either semantic role labels (Actor, Goal, Beneficiary) or vague and somewhat arbitrary labels (Referent, Accessary, Concomitant).

The great advantage of the traditional grammatical labels is that they allow for the kind of semantic variation or irregularity discussed above. Very similar phenomena are common in the case systems of European and other languages where certain verbs or prepositions may require the dative (or other case) rather than the expected accusative. At the same time, the core areas of meaning of NomF, AccF and DatF in Kimaragang are clearly identifiable with the traditional meanings of nominative, accusative and dative.

#### 2.4 Translative Focus (TF)

Translative Focus is marked by the prefix *i-*. It is used primarily to indicate that the Pivot carries the semantic case Theme, i.e. the thing whose physical location is changed by the action.

- (87) N-*i*-atod        dih        Jaiwan itih        sada ditih.  
 past-TF-BRING nonP/def *Jaiwan this (P) fish this*  
*These fish Jaiwan brought over.*

See also examples (3) and (7) above.

Sometimes the use of Translative Focus introduces an element of motion into verbs that do not normally involve motion. Note the following examples:

- (88) Mamanau (m-poN-panau) itih        pen ong i-tutud.  
 NomF-trans-WALK        this(P) pen if TF-BURN  
*This pen will work if you stick the point into a flame.*
- (89) Intang-an tinoo it        kumut dit n-i-sidang.  
 WATCH-DatF soon P/def cloth REL past-TF-DRY  
*Check on the clothes (I) put out to dry.*

Normally the Patient of the verb *to dry* (monidang) would take Accusative Focus (sidangon). The use of TF here conveys the idea of being 'put out to dry'. Similarly, compare the sense of TF in example (88) with the DatF used in example (76) above.

There is something inherently causative about the sense of Translative Focus. TF verbs encode actions that cause the physical location of the Theme (marked as Pivot) to change. The causative force of TF is seen even more clearly in certain verbs, especially intransitives, where the occurrence of Translative Focus is unexpected. For example:

- (90) Ong taak-an okuh dikau        do        siin, {i-talib /  
 if GIVE-DatF me(P) you(sg/nonP) nonP/indef money TF-PASS /  
 potolibon (po-talib-on)} kuh        ikau.  
 caus-PASS-AccF        I(nonP) you(sg/P)  
*If you give me money I will let you go past.*

- (91) N-i-odop        kuh        yalo    sid dagai.  
 past-TF-SLEEP I(nonP) *him*(P) *at us*(nonP)  
*I invited him to sleep at our house.*
- (92) N-i-odop-odop    kuh        poh inoh    tanak om n-i-sulung    kuh  
 past-TF-dup-SLEEP I(nonP) *yet that*(P) *child and* past-TF-PUT.ON I(nonP)  
 nogi inoh    soruwai.  
*then that*(P) *pants.*  
*I laid the child down first, then put its pants on.*

Note that *italib* in example (90) could equivalently be replaced by an overtly causative form *potolibon* (caus-PASS-AccF).

The duplication of the root *odop* *sleep*, forms *odop-odop* *lie down*. Thus the TF form *niodop-odop* in example (92) means *caused to lie down*.

Another example is the verb *dagang* *buy*. This verb is largely synonymous with the root *boli* *buy* (see examples (4)-(9) above). However, in the causative forms (formed by adding the causative prefix *po-*), there is a definite semantic distinction. *Poboli* means *cause to buy*, e.g. persuade or coerce someone to buy something. It implies that the person doing the persuading, the Causer, is not the person selling the item being purchased. *Padagang*, on the other hand, means simply *to sell*.

A related difference emerges in the Translative Focus forms of these two verbs. As seen in example (7) above, the TF form of *boli* marks the money which is spent as Theme. *Idagang*, on the other hand, marks the Pivot as that which is sold, as in the following example:

- (93) l-dagang dialo    ih        kuda    yoh sid dogo.  
 TF-BUY *he*(nonP) P/def *horse his* *to me*(nonP)  
*His horse he sold to me.*

Note that for both verbs, Accusative Focus is used when the item purchased is in focus:

- (94a) Nunuh oh        boli-on / dagang-on nuh?  
*what* P/indef BUY-AccF / BUY-AccF *you*(nonP)  
*What are you going to buy?*
- (94b) Nunuh oh        b-in-oli-Ø        / d-in-agang-Ø        nuh?  
*what* P/indef \*-past-BUY-AccF / \*-past-BUY-AccF *you*(nonP)  
*What did you buy?*

Note that change of ownership is signalled differently from change of position. Verbs which involve transfer of ownership typically focus on the possessed item in the accusative, as in the above examples (94a,b); note also the following example with the verb *olos* *borrow*:

- (95) Olos-on        kuh        poh it    gampa    dih Maradan.  
 BORROW-AccF I(nonP) *yet* P/def *machete of Maradan*  
*I will go borrow Maradan's machete.*

The verb *taak* *give*, typically involves both a change of ownership and a change of location. But, as far as focus marking is concerned, the change of location appears to take precedence; note the use of TF, rather than AccF, in example (7) above. The Accusative forms (\**taakon*, \**tinaak*) are not permitted in



Kimaragang, though such forms reportedly occur in closely related languages, e.g. Rungus.

## 2.5 Locative Focus (LocF)

Locative Focus is marked by a suffix identical to (or homophonous with) the Accusative Focus suffix *-on*. Note the following examples:

- (96) Waro gam ot walai iyon-on do tulun ko-ri-rikot sitih?  
*exist is.it P/indef house DWELL-LocF nonP/indef person imm-dup-COME here*  
*Is there a house where visitors can stay here?*

Note also examples (83) and (86) above.

Locative Focus occurs primarily with intransitive stems, as in the examples cited above. A few transitive verbs, such as *asok* *plant dry rice*, are lexically so specific that their Patient is rarely stated. They virtually never occur in AccF, so the *-on* form can be used for LocF without ambiguity:

- (97) M-in-ongoi noh yalo sid tosokon (t-asok-on) yoh.  
 NomF-past-GO *already he(P) to nom-PLANT.RICE-LocF his*  
*He already went to the field where he is planting rice.*

Since *-on* marks AccF on transitive verbs and LocF on intransitives, it is tempting to collapse these two sets under a single category, i.e. to let Accusative Focus encode Location of intransitive verbs as one of its functions. However, this analysis is rejected here for two reasons. First, identifying forms like (83), (86) and (96) above as Accusative Focus would weaken the semantic unity of that focus type. Secondly, as was shown in section 2.2 above, the AccF marker *-on* is deleted (i.e. realised as  $-\emptyset$ ) in the past tense. This is not the case with the *-on* which encodes LocF.

The verb *lapak* *split*, occurs in both transitive and intransitive forms. The NomF-transitive form *mangalapak* is used for someone splitting coconuts, areca nuts, etc. The NomF-intransitive form *lumapak* is used of things like tyres, tops, wooden handles, etc. which are prone to split by themselves.

There are two possible forms with the Location of the event in focus, Locative vs. Setting Focus, corresponding to the intransitive and transitive senses:

- (98) Siongoh l-in-apak-on dit tayar nuh?  
*where \*-past-SPLIT-LocF nonP/def tyre your*  
*Where did your tyre burst?*
- (99) Sera / Siomboh pangalapakan (poN-lapak-an) kitoh ditih niyuw?  
*when / where SF-SPLIT-SF we(incl/du) this(nonP) coconut*  
*When/Where shall we split these coconuts?*

Note that in the intransitive example, the LocF suffix *-on* co-occurs with the past tense infix *-in-*. This would be impossible if the *-on* here encoded Accusative Focus. Compare the AccF form used in example (46) above (*lapakon*) and in the following example:

- (100) Orubat itih mija kuh, l-in-apak- $\emptyset$  do tulun.  
*wasted this(P) table my \*-past-SPLIT-AccF nonP/indef person*  
*My table is ruined; someone chopped it in half.*

## 2.6 Instrumental Focus (IF) and Setting Focus (SF)

Instrumental and Setting Focus are considered oblique focus types in Kimaragang because they focus on elements which are marked as Oblique (as opposed to the nuclear cases, Actor, Undergoer and Referent) when not in focus. IF and SF forms make use of the transitive prefix poN-.

IF forms consist simply of poN- plus the verb root and are thus homophonous with the NomF-transitive imperative form of the same root (see section 3 below). IF indicates that the Pivot NP functions as Instrument. Only transitive verbs can occur in Instrumental Focus.

- (101) Ong tagad dot tagayo, poring ot awasi do ponutud (poN-tutud).  
*if field REL large bamboo P/indef good COMP IF-BURN*  
*For a large field, bamboo is the best thing to start the fires.*
- (102) Tongoh ot pamatai (poN-patai) nuh dit tasu?  
*what P/indef IF-KILL you (sg/nonP) nonP/def dog*  
*What will you kill the dog with?*
- (103) Tongoh ot pomoli (poN-boli), aso sin kuh ditih.  
*what P/indef IF-BUY not.have money my this*  
*What can we buy it with, I don't have any money.*
- (104) Mongowit (m-poN-owit) okuh poh do dangol tu pomubu (poN-bubu)  
*NomF-trans-TAKE I(P) yet nonP/indef machete because IF-CUT.OPEN*  
 do niyuw.  
*nonP/indef coconut*  
*I'll take a machete along to cut holes in coconuts (to drink).*

In example (103), the Pivot *money* is marked as the Instrument of the action (buying). Note the contrast with example (7) above, where the same Pivot is marked as Undergoer, and specifically Theme, in the sentence *I spent my money on salt*.

Setting Focus is used for the time or place of the action. It is morphologically the most diverse focus type. For most transitive verbs, SF is marked by a combination of the transitive prefix poN- with the DatF suffix -an as in the following examples:

- (105) Osodu ot ponutudan (poN-tutud-an) nuh oi?  
*far P/indef SF-BURN-SF you (nonP) Q*  
*Is the field you want to burn far away?*
- (106) Sera pomoliyan (poN-boli-an) nuh dot korita?  
*when SF-BUY-SF you (nonP) nonP/indef car*  
*When are you going to get a car?*
- (107) Isai pinangalasan (p-in-oN-olos-an) nuh ditih gampa ditih?  
*who (P) \*-SF-past-BORROW-SF you (nonP) this (nonP) machete this*  
*Who did you borrow this bush knife from?*
- (108) Irih nopoh t-um-olud nga pomupusan (poN-pupus-an) dot  
*this (P) only \*-NomF-TRANCE but SF-END-SF nonP/indef*  
 mogondi.  
*sacrifice*  
*The trance is the last step in the ritual sacrifice.*

- (109) Itih oh we'eg pomoogan (poN-woog-an) do longon, ki!  
*this (P) P/indef water SF-WASH-SF nonP/indef arm okay?*  
*Here is water to wash your hands.*
- (110) Waro gam kadai pang-akan-an sitih?  
*exist is.it shop SF-EAT-SF here*  
*Is there a restaurant (food stall) here?*

A few other forms also occur that could be identified as Setting Focus. For example, the root *intong* *look at, watch*, requires an Undergoer but cannot take the transitive prefix *poN-*. The Nominative Focus form of this verb is *mogintong* (*m-poG-intong*). The prefix *poG-* is not well understood, but seems to indicate massive, diffuse or extended Undergoer. The combination *poG- -an* seems to encode SF for this verb, as in the following example:

- (111) Siomboh ot pogintangan (poG-intong-an) nuh dot T.V.?  
*where P/indef SF-WATCH-SF you(nonP) nonP/indef T.V.*  
*Where are you going to watch T.V.?*

As mentioned in section 1.1 above, this is an area where the distinction between verbal and nominal forms, and between inflectional and derivational morphology, is very hazy. Other prefix-suffix combinations which seem to be derivational (i.e. nominalisers) sometimes encode meanings similar to SF. The SF forms discussed here could possibly be analysed as nominalisations, but it is interesting to note the following example, where a Setting Focus form occurs as an imperative:

- (112) Pangalasai (poN-olos-ai) poh ih Pangadap do gampa.  
*SF-BORROW-SF/imper yet P/def Pangadap nonP/indef machete*  
*Go see whether Pangadap will loan us a machete.*

Hopefully some future study of Kimaragang derivational morphology will shed more light on this topic.

### 3. NON-FINITE FORMS

Of the seven focus possibilities, three have corresponding non-finite forms: NomF, AccF and DatF.<sup>5</sup> The primary uses of the non-finite forms are: (1) as imperatives; and (2) as the "narrative tense", i.e. the tense that marks main-line events in narrative discourse. For simplicity, the examples of non-finite forms below are limited to imperatives.

For NomF verbs, the prefix *m-* is deleted (or replaced by  $\emptyset$ -) in non-finite forms. Thus NomF-transitive imperatives begin with *poN-*, while NomF-intransitive imperatives consist of a bare verb stem.

- (113) Pomo'og (poN-wo'og) poh, milang tokou mang-akan.  
*trans-WASH yet together we (P/pl/incl) NomF.trans-EAT*  
*Wash your hands; let's eat!*
- (114) Pongingat (poN-inggat) kou sitih, itih ot salapa.  
*trans-BETEL you (P/pl) here, this (P) P/indef betel.case*  
*Have some betel; here is the box.*

- (115) Indakod!  
CLIMB  
*Come in!*
- (116) Uli noh!  
RETURN *already*  
*Go home now!*
- (117) Waya dialo m-uli!  
FOLLOW *him*(nonP) NomF-RETURN  
*Go home with him!*

In AccF verbs, the non-finite mood causes -on to be replaced by -o, as in:

- (118) Podsuo poh ih tanak.  
BATHE-AccF/imper *yet* P/def *child*  
*Give the child a bath!*
- (119) Lapak-o poh itih tinggaton!  
SPLIT-AccF/imper *yet this*(P) *areca.nut*  
*Split this areca nut!*

In non-finite mood, the DatF suffix -an is replaced by -ai.

- (120) Bolingkogot-on okuh, onuw-ai okuh poh dot we'eg  
CAUGHT.IN.THROAT-AccF I(P) FETCH-DatF/imper I(P) *yet nonP/indef water*  
t-inum-on.  
nom-DRINK-AccF  
*The rice is caught in my throat; get me a drink of water.*
- (121) Imuaw-ai poh itih walai, tu osupot.  
SWEEP-DatF/imper *yet this*(P) *house because messy*  
*Sweep out the house; it is messy.*
- (122) Tuduk-ai okuh poh dot m-in-la-lanu  
SHOW-DatF/imper I(P) *yet COMP NomF-incep-dup-SING*  
*Teach me how to sing.*

In addition to encoding imperatives and narrative tense, the non-finite AccF and DatF forms also occur following the pro-verb man/nan *do/did*, as in the following examples:

- (123) Man tekau (kuh-ikau) jarum-ai.  
*do I*(nonP)-*you*(P) NEEDLE-DatF/non-fin  
*I will give you a shot.*
- (124) Nan okuh rosun-o dot tulun.  
*did I*(P) POISON-AccF/non-fin nonP/indef *person*  
*Someone poisoned me.*
- (125) Nan okuh tinduk-o do wulanut.  
*did I*(P) BITE-AccF/non-fin nonP/indef *snake*  
*I was bitten by a snake.*
- (126) Nan okuh iit-ai do tompolulu'u.  
*did I*(P) BITE-DatF/non-fin nonP/indef *scorpion*  
*I was stung by a scorpion.*

- (127) Nunuh dot tubat nan nuh akan-o?  
*what nonP/indef medicine did you(nonP) EAT-AccF/non-fin*  
*What kind of medicine did you take?*

#### 4. USES OF FOCUS

The verbal focus system clearly functions as an important component of the discourse grammar of Kimaragang. However, no systematic study of Kimaragang discourse structure has yet been attempted, so nothing definitive can be said about pragmatic function at this point.

Focus is also important on the sentence level. Again, no detailed study of Kimaragang sentence patterns has yet been undertaken, but some preliminary observations can be made here.

Any NP which is *topicalised*, i.e. fronted to sentence-initial position, must be in focus. Nouns and full noun phrases are marked as Pivot, and the Pivot form of fronted pronouns will be preceded by a topicalisation marker *i- ~ y-*. Note the topicalised NPs in examples (3), (58) and (74) above.

A special case of this type of topicalisation occurs in content questions (or queries). The question word (corresponding to the Wh- words in English) is usually fronted in content questions, and the focus marking of the verb relates to the semantic function of the participant/actant in question. Note the fronted question words in examples (8), (9), (49), (50), (51), (53), etc. above.

In some questions, the question word is not fronted but remains in its normal position in the clause. Then some other NP is marked as pivot, as in the following example:

- (128) M-ongoi koh siongoh?  
 NomF-GO you(sg/P) where  
*Where are you going?*

In *relative clauses*, the relativised NP must be marked as Pivot of the dependent (relative) clause, as in the following examples:

- (129) Lingkosu-on duyh-i oi it we'eg dot inum-on duyh?  
 BOIL-AccF you(nonP/pl)-[emph] Q P/def water REL DRINK-AccF you(nonP/pl)  
*Do you boil your drinking water?*
- (130) Nunuh ot i-pa-akan nuh dot tanak do s-um-usu poh?  
 what P/indef TF-caus-EAT you(nonP) nonP/indef child REL \*-NomF-MILK yet  
*What will you feed a child who is still nursing?*
- (131) A-tarom ih pe'es n-i-ta'ak dih kamaman sid dogon.  
 stat-sharp P/def knife past-TF-GIVE nonP/def uncle to me(nonP)  
*The knife my uncle gave me is sharp.*
- (132) Penumo (po-inum-o) dirih dih Majabou dit gatas, it nan  
 caus-DRINK-AccF/non.fin this nonP/def Majabou nonP/def milk REL did  
 urud-o dit sawo yoh sid mangkuk.  
 EXPRESS-AccF/non.fin nonP/def spouse his in bowl  
*Majabou let the child drink the milk which his wife had squeezed into the bowl.*
- (133) Waro noh tulun sirih dot s-in-um-ambat dih Majabou dot amu  
 exist already person there REL \*-past-NomF-MEET nonP/def Majabou REL not

mongoo (m-poN-oo) m-indakod ih Majabou sirih.  
 NomF-trans-YES NomF-CLIMB P/def *Majabou there*  
*There were people there who met Majabou and wouldn't let him climb up there.*

Notice that in examples (129) and (131), the relativised NPs (we'eg *water*, and pe'es *knife*) are Pivot of both the relative clause and the matrix (main) clause. In examples (130) and (132), however, the relativised NPs (tanak *child*, and gatas *milk*) are not in focus in the matrix clause, but only in the relative clause.

Comrie (1981:153) has noted a cross-linguistic correlation between limitations on relativisation and richness of voice systems. Kimaragang is a good example of a language with tight restrictions on relativisation - only the Pivot NP can be relativised. However, the voice system of Kimaragang is very rich; of the seven focus possibilities, at least five (NomF, AccF, DatF, TF, LocF) can be used in relative clauses.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Note that the final -h in Kimaragang is an orthographic convention denoting the absence of final glottal stop. Thus words like do, which are written with final open vowels, are actually pronounced with a final glottal stop, [do'].

The determiners ih, oh, dih and do have alternate forms ending in -t: it, ot, dit and dot. The conditioning environment for the final -t is not yet known, and there is considerable variation among individual speakers. However, -t can never occur before proper names. Thus the possibilities of occurrence are as follows:

|           | PROPER NAME | COMMON NAME |            |
|-----------|-------------|-------------|------------|
|           |             | definite    | indefinite |
| Pivot     | ih          | ih ~ it     | oh ~ ot    |
| Non-Pivot | dih         | dih ~ dit   | do ~ dot   |

Any of these forms can apparently function as a relative pronoun; many examples occur here, glossed as REL. Note that dih and do also serve as possessive markers in genitive constructions, e.g. walai dih *Jaiwan Jaiwan's house*.

The Pivot, non-Pivot and locative forms of the common deictics are shown below:

| Pivot | non-Pivot | Locative |                                  |
|-------|-----------|----------|----------------------------------|
| itih  | ditih     | sitih    | <i>this, here</i>                |
| inoh  | dinoh     | sinoh    | <i>that, there (near hearer)</i> |
| ilo   | dilo      | silo     | <i>that, there (distant)</i>     |
| irih  | dirih     | sirih    | <i>the aforementioned</i>        |
| at    | dat       | -        | <i>the (unique)</i>              |

<sup>2</sup>The non-focus actor pronouns listed here do not have the phonological properties of clitics. They do not affect the stress pattern of the word which they follow. However, these pronouns seem to have clitic-like positional properties, occurring in clause-second position. This normally means that they will follow the verb but if a negative or (non-topic) question word precedes the verb, these pronouns also precede the verb, as in example (5) above.

Topicalisation (or fronting) of an NP or question word does not affect the position of the non-Pivot Actor pronouns; they remain in postverbal position.

Note that the variation between kuh and dogon, etc. cannot be explained merely in terms of position, as shown by sentences like example (84) above. The variation in the second person Pivot forms, however, is determined by position rather than case. The forms koh and kou are used whenever there is no other nominal preceding them in the clause, whether or not they represent the Actor. They always occur in clause-second position. Note examples (15), (19), (44), (55), (59), (61), etc. above, and the following example:

Sera koh koo-uli?  
*when you (sg/P) imm-RETURN*  
*When did you get back?*

<sup>3</sup>The forms dogon and dogo appear to fluctuate somewhat freely, though native speakers have strong preferences for one or the other in certain environments.

<sup>4</sup>The root witol is a verb root rather than a stative, and so would not be expected to use the DatF in the manner illustrated in examples (70)-(72). The root sogit is arguably either a stative or a verb. The transitive NomF form monogit *to cool down ritually* (i.e. to perform a sacrifice), and the related noun sogit *ritual sacrifice*, are at least as commonly used as the adjective osogit *cold*.

<sup>5</sup>The Setting Focus imperative shown in example (112) is so unusual that it can hardly be said to represent a regular pattern in the same way that the non-finite forms of NomF, AccF and DatF do.

#### LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

|       |                      |         |                                               |
|-------|----------------------|---------|-----------------------------------------------|
| able  | = habilitative       | NomF    | = Nominative Focus                            |
| AccF  | = Accusative Focus   | non.fin | = non-finite mood                             |
| CAPS  | = verb root          | nonP    | = non-Pivot                                   |
| caus  | = causative          | P       | = Pivot                                       |
| COMP  | = complementiser     | part    | = particle                                    |
| DatF  | = Dative Focus       | past    | = past tense                                  |
| def   | = definite           | pl      | = plural                                      |
| dup   | = reduplication      | Q       | = question marker                             |
| emph  | = emphasis marker    | REL     | = relative clause linker                      |
| excl  | = exclusive          | SF      | = Setting Focus                               |
| IF    | = Instrumental Focus | sg      | = singular                                    |
| imm   | = immediate past     | stat    | = stative                                     |
| imper | = imperative         | TF      | = Translative Focus                           |
| incep | = inceptive          | Top     | = topicalised                                 |
| incl  | = inclusive          | trans   | = transitivity marker                         |
| indef | = indefinite         | *-      | = initial consonant of stem split<br>by infix |
| LocF  | = Locative Focus     | ∅       | = zero allomorph                              |
| nom   | = nominaliser        |         |                                               |

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## CASE MARKING IN KIMARAGANG CAUSATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

Paul R. Kroeger

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Kimaragang is a Dusunic language spoken by approximately 10,000 people living in the Kota Marudu and Pitas districts of Sabah, East Malaysia. This paper discusses the morphology of causative constructions in Kimaragang in relation to Comrie's proposed hierarchy of case marking.

Comrie (1981:169) proposes the following hierarchy of accessibility for the case marking of the Causee in clauses involving morphological causatives:

(A) Subject > Direct Object > Indirect Object > Oblique Object

The accompanying rule, which Comrie states as a strong cross-linguistic tendency, is that "the causee occupies the highest (leftmost) position on this hierarchy that is not already filled" (i.e. not filled in the corresponding non-causative clause).

In Kimaragang, the case marking of the nominals associated with a morphological causative, as reflected by the focus marking of the causative verb, operates along a very similar hierarchy:

(B) Nominative > Accusative > Translative/Locative<sup>1</sup> > Dative

However, the rule governing the operation of the hierarchy in Kimaragang is very different from that described by Comrie. Hierarchy (A) relates only to the case marking of the Causee, while hierarchy (B) operates like a push-down stack involving all the arguments of the causative verb. The basic pattern in Kimaragang is that the Causer takes Nominative Focus (NomF). This forces the demotion of the Agent from Nominative to Accusative Focus (AccF), as Causee. The Patient in turn is demoted from Accusative to Translative Focus (TF); and further demoted from Translative to Dative Focus (DatF) in secondary (indirect) causation.

These shifts are illustrated here with the transitive root *akan eat*. Notice that the clause constituents are labelled in capitals above each example. The Pivot (to be defined in section 1.1 below) is indicated by the tag PIV- before the constituent label, as well as by the P in the morpheme-by-morpheme gloss underneath. Non-Pivot constituents are followed by a case tag in parentheses which indicates the focus type which that constituent would take if it were in focus. The case marking of the Pivot, as explained below, is shown in the focus affix on the verb to which it relates.

*Papers in Western Austronesian linguistics* No.3, 241-276.

*Pacific Linguistics*, A-78, 1988.

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## AGENT: NOMINATIVE TO ACCUSATIVE

- (1) Mangakan (m-poN-akan) poh | PIV-AGENT  
 NomF-trans-EAT yet | ih Jaiwan.  
 P.def Jaiwan  
*Jaiwan is still eating.*
- (2) Pa-akan-on | CAUSER (Nom) | poh | PIV-CAUSEE | tu wilton.  
 caus-EAT-AccF kuh | I(nonP) | yet | ih Jaiwan | because hungry.  
 P.def Jaiwan  
*I'll give Jaiwan something to eat, he's hungry.*

## PATIENT: ACCUSATIVE TO TRANSLATIVE TO DATIVE

- (3) PIV-PATIENT | ot akan-on | AGENT(Nom)  
 Nunuh | dit tanak nuh?  
 what | P.indef EAT-AccF | nonP.def child your  
*What will your child eat?*
- (4) PIV-PATIENT | ot i-pa-akan | CAUSER (Nom) | CAUSEE (Acc)  
 Nunuh | nuh | do tanak dot  
 what | P.indef TF-caus-EAT | you (nonP) | nonP.indef child REL  
 s-um-usu poh?  
 NomF-MILK yet  
*What will you feed a child that is still nursing?*
- (5) PIV-PATIENT | ot oolu nuh mangakan, | pa-akan-an |  
 Ong waro | P.indef remainder your NomF.trans.EAT | caus-EAT-DatF |  
 if exist |  
 CAUSEE (Acc)  
 dialo.  
 him(nonP)  
*If there is any left when you are done eating, let him eat it.*

Intransitive and ditransitive stems also follow this pattern for Causer (Nominative) and Causee (Accusative). The case marking of other participants is discussed below.

## 1.1 Focus and case

The Dusunic language family is classified by Dyen (1965) as belonging to the Philippine Hesion of North-west Austronesian. Like most Philippine-type languages, verbs in Kimaragang carry affixes which signal what is generally referred to as the focus of the clause. Focus corresponds roughly to voice, but with a richer set of possibilities than is typical of voice systems: seven focus types in Kimaragang, vs. two voices in English (active and passive).

The focus affixes of Kimaragang are described in detail in my other paper in this volume. As pointed out there, while focus in Kimaragang is in one sense parallel to voice in English, the grammatical and pragmatic functions of the two systems are quite different. Focus can best be viewed as a displaced case marking system. Schachter (1976) describes the focus affixes of Tagalog as

"case marking affix(es) on the verb, which (indicate) the case role of the topic noun phrase."

Without rehashing the terminological arguments, I will adopt the term *Pivot* for the NP which Schachter (and many others) call *Topic*: the one noun phrase in a clause whose grammatical case is indicated by the focus marking of the verb. The *Pivot* of a clause is marked by a special determiner (ih/it for definite NPs, oh/ot for indefinite), or by *Pivot* forms of pronouns and deictics.

There are seven focus possibilities in Kimaragang: Nominative (marked by the verbal prefix *m-*); Accusative (marked by *-on* in the non-past,  $-\emptyset$  in past tense); Dative (*-an*); Translative (*i-*); Locative (*-on*); Instrumental (*poN-*); and Setting (*poN- -an*). Note that Locative Focus is homophonous with Accusative, but is not deleted in the past tense; moreover, Locative Focus occurs only with intransitives.

Focus affixes on the verb indicate the grammatical case of only one NP, the *Pivot*. Non-*Pivot* NPs are marked for case,<sup>2</sup> but with a reduced set of possible cases: Actor, Undergoer, Referent and Oblique. Actor includes Agents, Experiencers, etc. which would take Nominative Focus as *Pivot*. Undergoer includes the following semantic roles: the Patient of a transitive verb, which generally takes Accusative Focus, but for some verb stems takes Dative Focus; the Theme of a ditransitive verb, which takes Translative Focus when marked as *Pivot*; and Benefactive, which takes Dative Focus. Referent includes the Location of an intransitive verb, which takes Locative Focus, and the Goal or Recipient of a ditransitive, which takes Dative Focus.

While only one NP in a given clause could be indicated by any one focus type, Kimaragang does allow more than one Undergoer in some clauses (cf. section 3.4).

It is the focus marking on causative verbs that will primarily concern us here. When we refer to a Causee taking the accusative case, it is a shorthand way of saying that, when the Causee is marked as *Pivot*, the verb takes the Accusative Focus affix.

## 1.2 Causative verbs

As Comrie (1981) points out, a causative situation involves two events; the cause and its effect (or result). The result, viewed as a separate event, involves a particular number of participants: one for intransitive verbs, two for transitives, etc. In causative constructions, an additional participant is introduced, namely the Causer. The Actor of the result-event becomes the Causee of the cause-event.

The valence<sup>3</sup> of a causative verb is one higher than the valence of the corresponding non-causative, due to the addition of the Causer. The Causer is generally encoded as the subject of the causative verb. The Causee, which would normally be subject of the corresponding non-causative verb, must be demoted to some other position. How this is handled has proved to be a fruitful area for cross-linguistic comparison.

Kimaragang causative verbs are formed by adding the prefix *po-* to the verb stem. When the Causer is marked as *Pivot*, the verb carries no overt focus marker. However, when the Causer is not *Pivot*, it is marked as Actor. This fact, together with semantic considerations, indicates that the bare causative form which occurs when the Causer is *Pivot* should be identified with Nominative Focus. In other words, these forms are considered to carry a zero allomorph of the

Nominative Focus marker. Notice that the Nominative prefix *m-* also reduces to  $\emptyset$ - in non-finite forms such as imperatives.

The Causee is demoted from Nominative (as original Actor) to Accusative. There are two possible forms of the verb when the Causee is in focus, depending on the affectedness of the Causee (see section 2.2 below); but both of these forms include the Accusative Focus suffix.

## 2. CASE ASSIGNMENT PATTERNS

### 2.1 Causer, Causee and Patient

As stated in section 1.2, the causative verb takes the zero allomorph of the Nominative Focus marker when the Causer is in focus. Note the following examples:

- (6)
- |                                           |                            |                                 |               |                                        |
|-------------------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------|----------------------------------------|
| $\emptyset$ -Po-suwang<br>NomF-caus-ENTER | PIV-CAUSER<br>okuh<br>I(P) | CAUSEE(Acc)<br>do<br>nonP.indef | parai<br>rice | LOCATION(Dat)<br>sid kadut.<br>in sack |
|-------------------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------|----------------------------------------|
- I am putting rice in sacks.*
- (7)
- |                                                                          |                            |            |                                                 |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------|------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| Ogom poh sinoh, $\emptyset$ -po-odop<br>sit yet there<br>NomF-caus-SLEEP | PIV-CAUSER<br>okuh<br>I(P) | poh<br>yet | CAUSEE(Acc)<br>ditih tanak.<br>this(nonP) child |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------|------------|-------------------------------------------------|
- Have a seat while I put the baby to sleep.*
- (8)
- |                     |                                |                                                         |                        |
|---------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|
| Kadung aa<br>if not | PIV-CAUSER<br>kou<br>you(P.pl) | pendakod ( $\emptyset$ -po-indakod),<br>NomF-caus-CLIMB | tibas-on<br>SLASH-AccF |
|---------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|
- tekoo (kuh-ikoo)  
 I(nonP)-you(P.pl)  
*If you don't let me up there, I'll slash you all to pieces!*

When the Actor of the result event (Causee of the causative event) is in focus, Nominative Focus is no longer available. The Causee is "demoted" from Nominative to Accusative Focus, as in the following examples:

- (9)
- |                               |            |                                           |                                                    |               |
|-------------------------------|------------|-------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|---------------|
| Po-odop-on<br>caus-SLEEP-AccF | poh<br>yet | PIV-CAUSEE<br>inoh tanak<br>that(P) child | om mituturan (m-pi-tuturan)<br>and NomF-recv-STORY | nogi.<br>then |
|-------------------------------|------------|-------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|---------------|
- Put the baby to sleep first, then we'll talk.*
- (10)
- |            |                            |                             |                                                       |                   |
|------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Amu<br>not | PIV-CAUSEE<br>okuh<br>I(P) | po-ongoy-on<br>caus-GO-AccF | CAUSER(Nom)<br>dih moleeng kuh<br>nonP.def parents my | ong amu<br>if not |
|------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
- ka-talib poh it mogondi.  
 able-PASS yet P.def sacrifice  
*My parents won't let me go until the ritual period is over.*
- (11)
- |                                                   |                                         |                                     |                 |
|---------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------|
| PIV-CAUSEE<br>ilo sawo nuh<br>that(P) spouse your | poolion (po-uli-on)<br>caus-RETURN-AccF | CAUSER(Nom)<br>yah<br>we(nonP.excl) | noh.<br>already |
|---------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------|
- We have already let your wife go home.*

- (12)
- |                                                   |                                |                                      |
|---------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Potolibo (po-talib-o) poh<br>caus-PASS-AccF.imper | PIV-CAUSEE<br>yalo,<br>him (P) | po-suwang-o<br>caus-ENTER-AccF.imper |
|---------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
- CAUSER (Nom)  
dikoo.  
you (nonP.pl)
- Let him past, let him go in!*

All of the above examples involve intransitive verb stems. When causatives are formed from transitive stems, the same case marking (Accusative) is used to indicate that the Causee is in focus. However, the normal causative prefix po- is replaced by the transitive marker, poN-, producing forms like the following:

- (13)
- |                                                   |                                   |                              |                                |
|---------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Nokuroh.tu pong-omot-on<br>why trans-HARVEST-AccF | CAUSER (Nom)<br>nuh<br>you (nonP) | PIV-CAUSEE<br>yalo<br>he (P) | dot kakal poh<br>REL still yet |
|---------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
- s-um-akit?  
\*-NomF-SICK  
*Why do you make him harvest rice when he is still sick?*
- (14)
- |                                                     |                              |                                                     |
|-----------------------------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| Pangalapako (poN-lapak-o)<br>trans-SPLIT-AccF.imper | PIV-CAUSEE<br>yalo<br>he (P) | PATIENT (TF)<br>dinoh niyuw.<br>that (nonP) coconut |
|-----------------------------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
- Get him to split those coconuts.*
- (15)
- |                           |                                             |                                   |                                              |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| PIV-CAUSEE<br>Isai<br>who | ot pong-owit-on<br>P.indef trans-BRING-AccF | CAUSER (Nom)<br>nuh<br>you (nonP) | PATIENT (TF)<br>dit surat<br>nonP.def letter |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
- pa-ka'a sid dih James?  
caus-ARRIVE to nonP.def James  
*Who will you get to take the letter to James?*

The Patient of (most) transitive verbs takes Accusative marking in simple (non-causative) constructions. When a causative verb is formed, Accusative is assigned to the Causee, displacing the Patient to the next lower level on hierarchy B, Translative Focus (TF). Note the following examples:

- (16)
- |                              |                                                    |                                                                |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|
| l-po-omot<br>TF-caus-HARVEST | CAUSER (Nom)<br>dit tidi kuh<br>nonP.def mother my | CAUSEE (Acc)<br>do tulun do sokid<br>nonP.indef person of hill |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|
- PIV-PATIENT  
it parai yah.  
P.def rice our  
*My mother will get some people from the hills to harvest our rice.*
- (17)
- |                                    |                                 |                                            |                                          |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| N-i-pa-lapak<br>past-TF-caus-SPLIT | CAUSER (Nom)<br>kuh<br>I (nonP) | CAUSEE (Acc)<br>dih ama<br>nonP.def father | PIV-PATIENT<br>it niyuw<br>P.def coconut |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
- tu, amu l-in-apak-Ø dih iyai.  
because not \*-past-SPLIT-AccF nonP.def mother  
*I got Dad to split the coconut, because Mum wouldn't split it.*

- (18)
- |                                                                              |                                 |                                                      |                                                      |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| N-i-po-owit<br>past-TF-caus-BRING<br><i>I had Janama deliver the letter.</i> | CAUSER (Nom)<br>kuh<br>I (nonP) | CAUSEE (Acc)<br>dih Janama<br>nonP.def <i>Janama</i> | PIV-PATIENT<br>inoh surat.<br><i>that (P) letter</i> |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|
- (19)
- |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |                                 |                                                      |                                             |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| lpapatai (i-po-patai)<br>TF-caus-KILL<br><br>tu, minanabpo (-in-m-poN-tabpo) dit peyak yah.<br><i>because *-past-NomF-trans-CATCH nonP.def chick our</i><br><i>I will have Janama kill that dog, because it killed our chicks.</i> | CAUSER (Nom)<br>kuh<br>I (nonP) | CAUSEE (Acc)<br>dih Janama<br>nonP.def <i>Janama</i> | PIV-PATIENT<br>ilo tasu<br>P.def <i>dog</i> |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
- (20)
- |                                                                            |                                                                                           |                                       |                                                           |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|
| N-o-tutud-an<br>past-stat-BURN-DatF<br><br>CAUSER (Nom)<br>kuh<br>I (nonP) | Agent (Nom)<br>nuh<br><i>you (nonP)</i><br><br>CAUSEE (Acc)<br>dikau<br><i>you (nonP)</i> | noh<br><i>already</i><br><br>oi?<br>Q | PIV-PATIENT<br>it n-i-po-tutud<br>P.def past-TF-caus-BURN |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|
- Did you burn what I told you to burn yet?*

Notice that in example (20), the causative verb nipotutud itself functions as the Pivot of the main clause: *that which I caused you to burn* (the root tutud *burn*, assigns its Patient to the dative). This method of using verbs as nouns, usually by inserting a determiner (in this case it), is quite common in Kimaragang. It is a process of nominalisation, rather than relativisation, as there is no head noun to be relativised. This phenomenon makes it difficult to distinguish categorically between nouns and verbs when dealing with many derived forms; see the discussion in my other paper in this volume relating to the oblique focus types, Instrumental and Setting.

## 2.2 Affected vs. non-affected Causee

In the preceding section, we noted that the affixation of the causative verb with the Causee in focus depends on whether the verb stem is transitive or intransitive. The possible forms are po- -on for intransitives, and poN- -on for transitives. However, example (2) above offers a counter-example to this rule: the transitive root akan *eat*, takes the po- -on form. Some other transitive verbs also take the "intransitive" affixation, e.g.:

- (21)
- |                                                                    |                             |                    |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|
| Po-sigup-o<br>caus-SMOKE-AccF.imper<br><i>Give me a cigarette.</i> | PIV-CAUSEE<br>okuh<br>I (P) | poh!<br><i>yet</i> |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|
- (22)
- |                                                                                  |                             |                    |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|
| Poopugo (po-apug-o)<br>caus-LIME-AccF.imper<br><i>Give me some lime, please.</i> | PIV-CAUSEE<br>okuh<br>I (P) | poh!<br><i>yet</i> |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|
- (23)
- |                                         |                                                       |                                                             |                   |
|-----------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Penumon (po-inum-on)<br>caus-DRINK-AccF | PIV-CAUSEE<br>ih tanak nuh<br>P.def <i>child your</i> | PATIENT (TF)<br>ditih tubat,<br><i>this (nonP) medicine</i> | iso<br><i>one</i> |
|-----------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|

oh sonduk tokodok.  
 P.indef spoon small  
*Give your child one teaspoonful of this medicine.*

- |      |                                                                                                |                                                |                                                                            |
|------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (24) | Pentongo (po-intong-o) poh<br>caus-LOOK.AT-AccF.imper yet<br><i>Show Janama your pictures!</i> | PIV-CAUSEE<br>ih Janama<br>P.def <i>Janama</i> | RANGE(TF) <sup>4</sup><br>do gambar nuh.<br>nonP.indef <i>picture your</i> |
|------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|

Examples (21)-(24) make it clear that the variation of po- with poN- is not conditioned by simple transitivity. What is involved here is a contrast between affected vs. non-affected Agent as Causee.

Saksena (1980) has described how the case marking of the Causee-Agent in Hindi causatives depends on whether or not the Agent is affected by the action. The Agent is affected with verbs like *see, drink, run away, learn, run, jump*, etc. The Agent is unaffected with verbs like *tear, scour, wash, ask, look for, plant*, etc. In non-causative clauses, the agent always takes the same case marking (Agentive), whether or not it is affected. However, in causative constructions, affected agent Causees take one case marker (which Saksena calls "dative-accusative"), while non-affected agent Causees take another (instrumental). Some Hindi verbs allow the use of either case marking to signal such semantic distinctions as direct vs. indirect causation, or contrastive intentions of the Causer.

In Kimaragang, the Accusative case is used whenever the Causee is in focus. When that Causee is an affected Agent, the normal causative prefix po- occurs. When the Causee is a non-affected Agent, as in examples (13)-(15) above, the causative prefix is replaced by the transitivity marker, poN-.

This use of the transitivity marker is consistent with Saksena's claim that transitive verbs prototypically involve an affected Patient and a non-affected Agent. Verbs involving non-affected Agents are higher in transitivity than those involving affected Agents, and carry explicit transitive marking in Kimaragang causatives.

As in Hindi, there are various secondary uses of the affected Agent causative form in Kimaragang. Some of these are not strictly causative in meaning; see section 4 below.

A few Kimaragang verbs allow a contrast between affected and non-affected Agent marking. Sometimes the distinction corresponds to transitive vs. intransitive senses of the root, as in the following examples:

- |      |                                                                                                                   |                                                        |                                          |                                  |
|------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| (25) | PIV-CAUSEE<br>Isai<br><i>who</i><br><br>tasu nuh?<br><i>dog your</i><br><i>Who will you get to kill your dog?</i> | oh pamatayon (poN-patai-on)<br>P.indef trans-KILL-AccF | CAUSER (Nom)<br>nuh<br><i>you (nonP)</i> | PATIENT (Acc)<br>dit<br>nonP.def |
| (26) | Papatayon (po-patai-on) -i<br>caus-DIE-AccF<br><i>Just let him die!</i>                                           | PIV-CAUSEE<br>yalo dinoh!<br>he (P) <i>that</i>        |                                          |                                  |

Examples (25) and (26) illustrate the contrast between the transitive and intransitive senses of the root patai. The corresponding simple (non-causative)

Nominative Focus forms are mamatai (m-poN-patai) *kill*, and matai (m-patai) *die*.

- (27)
- |                                  |                                                          |                                  |               |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------|
| Ong obongol<br><i>if naughty</i> | (PATIENT)<br>ilo tanak nuh,<br><i>that(P) child your</i> | PIV-CAUSEE<br>isai<br><i>who</i> | ot<br>P.indef |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------|
- pangarasangon (poN-rasang-on)  
trans-ANGER-AccF  
*Who do you get to scold your child when he is naughty?*
- |  |                                           |
|--|-------------------------------------------|
|  | CAUSER (Nom)<br>nuh?<br><i>you (nonP)</i> |
|--|-------------------------------------------|
- (28)
- |                                               |                                     |
|-----------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Pa-rasang-o poh<br>caus-ANGER-AccF <i>yet</i> | PIV-CAUSEE<br>yalo!<br><i>he(P)</i> |
|-----------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
- Make him angry!* (e.g. a fighting cock)

The parentheses around the tag "PATIENT" in example (27) indicate that the corresponding NP (*your child*) is not an explicit element of the clause for which the label applies. The child is explicit subject of the stative predicate *naughty*, and implicitly the Patient of the causative verb *cause to scold*. The semantic distinction in examples (27)-(28) corresponds to the difference between the intransitive form *rumasang angry*, and the transitive form *mangarasang to scold*.

The intransitive root *tu'un* (Nominative Focus form *tumu'un*) means to jump or leap down from a high place. This root has no transitive form, but in causative forms with the Causee in focus, there is a distinction between the affected and non-affected Agent markings. The affected Agent form (example (29)) indicates that the Causer physically pushes or forces the Causee over the edge. The non-affected Agent form (example (30)) signals merely verbal causation, e.g. a request or command to jump.

- (29)
- |                              |                                        |                                         |                       |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Po-tuun-on<br>caus-DROP-AccF | CAUSER (Nom)<br>kuh<br><i>I (nonP)</i> | PIV-CAUSEE<br>ikau<br><i>you (P.sg)</i> | silol<br><i>there</i> |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|-----------------------|
- I am going to push you over the edge.*
- (30)
- |                                           |                                        |                                         |                       |
|-------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Ponuunon (poN-tuun-on)<br>trans-DROP-AccF | CAUSER (Nom)<br>kuh<br><i>I (nonP)</i> | PIV-CAUSEE<br>ikau<br><i>you (P.sg)</i> | silol<br><i>there</i> |
|-------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|-----------------------|
- I am going to send you down there (over the edge).*

The Agent of the transitive verb *akan eat*, is generally affected by the act of eating. Causatives derived from this root mark the Causee as an affected Agent (as in example (2) above) when the Patient (that which is eaten) is a full meal or a form of medicine: something which affects the Agent by making him full or by healing him. When the Patient involved is some particular item of food, rather than a complete meal, the Causee is marked as a non-affected Agent:

- (31)
- |                   |                                        |                                |                                                         |                                      |
|-------------------|----------------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Amu<br><i>not</i> | CAUSER (Nom)<br>kuh<br><i>I (nonP)</i> | pang-akan-on<br>trans-EAT-AccF | PATIENT (TF)<br>do gula-gula<br>nonP.indef <i>candy</i> | PIV-CAUSEE<br>ilot<br><i>that(P)</i> |
|-------------------|----------------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
- tanak kuh.  
*child my*  
*I don't let my children eat candy.*



A second use of this distinction is when the thing eaten is something harmful or repulsive, in which case the non-affected Causee-focused form *panganan* carries the meaning *forced to eat*. Similarly, the non-affected form *pongnumon* may mean *forced to drink*, as in the following examples:

- (32)
- |                      |     |            |                  |
|----------------------|-----|------------|------------------|
| Pang-akan-o          | poh | PIV-CAUSEE | PATIENT(TF)      |
| trans-EAT-AccF.imper | yet | yalo       | do tana!         |
|                      |     | he(P)      | nonP.indef earth |
- Make him eat dirt!*
- (33)
- |        |                                     |                  |            |
|--------|-------------------------------------|------------------|------------|
| Ara'at | (CAUSER)                            |                  | PIV-CAUSEE |
| bad    | it nokotoonok dogon,                | pong-inum-on     | okuh       |
|        | P(def) <i>step.mother me</i> (nonP) | trans-DRINK-AccF | I(P)       |
- PATIENT(TF)  
do rasun.  
nonP.indef *poison*  
*My stepmother is horrible, she tried to force me to drink poison.*

While drinking poison clearly affects the Agent, this use of the prefix *poN-* is consistent with its general meaning of increased transitivity. The Causer in example (32) has more complete control of the situation than the Causer in example (2); thus the form *panganan* is higher in transitivity than the form *paakanon*.

### 2.3 Location

The Locative Focus morpheme, *-on*, signals the Location of non-causative intransitive verbs as being in focus. As indicated in hierarchy B, in causative constructions the Location takes Dative Focus. Note the following example:

- (34)
- |         |                      |                |              |              |
|---------|----------------------|----------------|--------------|--------------|
| Siomboh | PIV-LOCATION         |                | CAUSER (Nom) | CAUSEE (Acc) |
| where   | ot piroong           | po-tuun-an     | kuh          | ditih        |
|         | P.indef <i>cliff</i> | caus-DROP-DatF | I (nonP)     | this (nonP)  |
- korita?  
*car*  
*Which cliff should I drive this car over?*

The verb *ogom sit*, is generally used as an intransitive, but there is a corresponding transitive form, *mongogom to sit on*. When the Location of sitting (in the intransitive sense) is in focus, the verb is marked for Locative Focus:

- (35)
- |              |                  |             |
|--------------|------------------|-------------|
| PIV-LOCATION |                  | ACTOR (Nom) |
| Siomboh      | ot ogom-on       | kuh?        |
| where        | P.indef SIT-LocF | I (nonP)    |
- Where shall I sit?*

The patient of a transitive verb normally takes Accusative Focus. However, the Patient of the transitive action *sit on* takes Dative rather than Accusative marking:<sup>5</sup>

- (36) Nagaman (n-ogom-an) | AGENT (Nom) | PIV-PATIENT  
 past-SIT-DatF | kuh | it tupi nuh.  
 I(nonP) | I sat on your hat.  
 P.def hat your

In causative constructions based on *ogom*, the case marking patterns summarised in hierarchy B and discussed in section 2.1 above preserve the distinction between the transitive and intransitive senses. The Location of the intransitive (*where* someone is caused to sit) takes the Dative, while the Patient of the transitive (*what* someone is caused to sit on) takes Translative Focus:

- (37) PIV-LOCATION | CAUSER (Nom) | CAUSEE (Acc)  
 Siomboh | paagaman (po-ogom-an) | tokou | dih  
 where | caus-SIT-DatF | we(nonP.incl.pl) | nonP-def  
 Y.B.?  
 assemblyman  
 Where shall we seat his honour the Assemblyman?

- (38) PIV-PATIENT | CAUSER (Nom) | CAUSEE (Acc)  
 It bangku kuh | n-i-po-ogom | kuh | dih Janama.  
 P.def chair my | past-TF-caus-SIT | I(nonP) | nonP.def Janama  
 I made Janama sit in my chair (save my seat).

The verb *odop sleep*, behaves similarly. The transitive form of the verb, *mongodop*, means *to guard (a place) at night by sleeping there*. Again, Dative Focus is used for the Undergoer of the transitive verb, the place guarded, while Locative Focus marks the Location of the intransitive sense.

- (39) Adapan (odop-an) | BENEFACTIVE | PIV-PATIENT |  
 SLEEP-DatF | dogo | itih walai kuh | tu, kapayig  
 me(nonP) | this (P) house my | because go.out  
 okoi.  
 we(P.excl)  
 Come sleep in my house for me because we are going away.

- (40) PIV-LOCATION | ACTOR (Nom)  
 Sid disai | ot odop-on | nuh?  
 at who(nonP) | P.indef SLEEP-LF | you(nonP.sg)  
 Whose house will you sleep at?

The causative *poodop* can mean either *put to sleep*, e.g. a baby (as in example (7) above), or *invite to sleep*, e.g. at one's house, as in the following example:

- (41) Mobpongodop (m-poG-poN-odop) mari | PIV-ACTOR | LOCATION  
 NomF-??-trans-SLEEP | surely | ih Mejit | sid dih  
 Pangadap, | aso p-in-o-odop. | P.def Mejit | at nonP.def  
 Pangadap | not.exist \*-past-caus-SLEEP  
 Mejit just decided to sleep over at Pangadap's house, no one invited him.

When the Causee (the sleeper) is in focus, he or she may be marked as either affected or non-affected Agent. Affected Agent marking (as in example (9) above) corresponds to the intransitive sense, indicating that the Causee is being put to sleep. Non-affected Agent marking corresponds with the transitive sense, one who is asked to guard something.

|      |                                                                 |                                            |                                  |               |                                  |
|------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------|----------------------------------|
| (42) | Ong ka-payig<br><i>if able-GO.OUT</i>                           | koh<br><i>you (P.sg)</i>                   | PIV-CAUSEE<br>isai<br><i>who</i> | ot<br>P.indef | pong-odop-on<br>trans-SLEEP-AccF |
|      | CAUSER(Nom)<br>nuh<br><i>you (nonP)</i>                         | PATIENT(TF)<br>dilot<br><i>that (nonP)</i> | walai nuh?<br><i>house your</i>  |               |                                  |
|      | <i>Who will you get to watch your house while you are gone?</i> |                                            |                                  |               |                                  |

A third possibility for marking the Causee as Pivot is the use of simple (non-causative) Translative Focus. This corresponds to the sense of *invite to sleep*, e.g. invite to spend the night. Translative Focus signals a lower degree of control on the part of the Causer, as compared with the affected Agent form ("invite" rather than "put to sleep"); but less agency on the part of the Causee as compared with the non-affected Agent form (focusing on the night watchman).

|      |                                               |                                  |                                      |                                               |
|------|-----------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| (43) | N-i-odop<br>past-TF-SLEEP<br><i>I invited</i> | CAUSER<br>kuh<br><i>I (nonP)</i> | PIV-CAUSEE<br>yalo<br><i>him (P)</i> | LOCATION<br>sid dagai.<br><i>at us (nonP)</i> |
|      | <i>I invited him to sleep at our house.</i>   |                                  |                                      |                                               |

Causative uses of Translative Focus will be discussed further in section 4.2 below.

## 2.4 Ditransitive causatives

Ditransitive verbs typically involve three participants: an Agent-Source, a Theme, and a Recipient or Goal. When causative verbs are formed from ditransitive stems, the valence increases from three to four, and the Agent-Source becomes the Causee. The case marking shifts accompanying this change in valence are partially similar to those described above for transitive verb stems. They are illustrated here with two roots: *taak give*, and *isu smear*.

In non-causative forms, the Agent-Source takes Nominative Focus (examples (44)-(45)), the Recipient or Goal takes Dative Focus (examples (46)-(47)), and the Theme takes Translative Focus (examples (48)-(49)):

|      |                                                                                               |                                                                              |                                                            |
|------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| (44) | Minanaak (-in-m-poN-taak)<br>*-past-NomF-trans-GIVE                                           | PIV-AGENT<br>ih kamaman kuh<br>P.def <i>uncle my</i>                         | THEME (TF)<br>do pe'es<br>nonP.indef <i>knife</i>          |
|      | GOAL (DatF)<br>sid dogon<br><i>to me (nonP)</i><br><i>My uncle gave me a knife.</i>           |                                                                              |                                                            |
| (45) | PIV-AGENT<br>lsai<br><i>who</i>                                                               | minongisu (-in-m-poN-isu)<br>*-past-NomF-trans-SMEAR<br><i>you (nonP.sg)</i> | GOAL (DatF)<br>dikau<br>nonP.indef <i>soot</i>             |
|      | THEME (TF)<br>dot popou?<br><i>Who smeared soot all over you?</i>                             |                                                                              |                                                            |
| (46) | T-in-aak-an<br>*-past-GIVE-DatF                                                               | PIV-GOAL<br>okuh<br>I (P)                                                    | AGENT (Nom)<br>dih kamaman kuh<br>nonP.def <i>uncle my</i> |
|      | THEME (TF)<br>do pe'es.<br>nonP.indef <i>knife</i><br><i>I was given a knife by my uncle.</i> |                                                                              |                                                            |

- (47)
- |                             |                          |                                                      |                                                             |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| N-isu-an<br>past-SMEAR-DatF | PIV-GOAL<br>okuh<br>I(P) | THEME (TF)<br>do tubat<br>nonP.indef <i>medicine</i> | AGENT (Nom)<br>do bobolijan.<br>nonP.indef <i>priestess</i> |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
- The priestess rubbed medicine on me.*
- (48)
- |                                                  |                          |                                                            |                                           |
|--------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| PIV-THEME<br>ltih pe'es<br><i>this (P) knife</i> | n-i-taak<br>past-TF-GIVE | AGENT (Nom)<br>dih kamaman kuh<br>nonP.def <i>uncle my</i> | GOAL (DatF)<br>sid dogon.<br>to me (nonP) |
|--------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
- This knife was given to me by my uncle.*
- (49)
- |                                  |                                            |                                                  |                                                  |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| Nokuroh.tu n-i-isu<br><i>why</i> | AGENT (Nom)<br>nuh<br><i>you (nonP.sg)</i> | PIV-THEME<br>inoh tinasak<br><i>that (P) oil</i> | GOAL (Dat)<br>sid buuk kuh?<br><i>to book my</i> |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
- Why did you smear that oil on my book?*

Note that in rare circumstances, the Goal of *isu* may take accusative rather than dative marking. The use of Accusative Focus (*isu'on*) would mark the Recipient as being totally affected by the action, e.g. covered from head to toe with medicine. The dative form generally implies local application.

As with Agents of transitive verbs, the Agent-Source of a ditransitive causative verb is demoted from Nominative to Accusative, and marked as a non-affected Agent.

- (50)
- |                                                              |                                     |                                                                |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|
| Panaako (poN-taak-o) poh<br>trans-GIVE-AccF.imper <i>yet</i> | PIV-CAUSEE<br>yalo<br><i>he (P)</i> | THEME (TF)<br>do panambang (poN-tambang)<br>nonP.indef IF-FARE |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|
- tu, magago okoi.  
*because hurry we (P.pl.excl)*  
*Make him pay his fare, we are in a hurry!*
- (51)
- |                                      |                                             |                                     |                                 |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Nokuroh.tu pong-isu-on<br><i>why</i> | CAUSER (Nom)<br>nuh<br><i>you (nonP.sg)</i> | PIV-CAUSEE<br>yalo<br><i>he (P)</i> | THEME (TF)<br>dot<br>nonP.indef |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
- popou  
*soot*
- |                                                   |
|---------------------------------------------------|
| GOAL (Dat)<br>sid baju kuh?<br><i>to shirt my</i> |
|---------------------------------------------------|
- Why are you getting him to smear soot on my shirt?*

The root *isu* exhibits a contrast between the non-affected Agent form (as in example (51) above) and the affected Agent form. The affected Agent form, *pesuon*, carries a reflexive sense, signalling that the Agent is also the Goal of the action, as in example (53) below. Notice the contrast of meaning with the non-causative dative form in example (52), which also signals that the Goal is in focus.

- (52)
- |                      |                          |                   |                                                               |
|----------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| Isu-an<br>SMEAR-DatF | PIV-GOAL<br>okuh<br>I(P) | poh<br><i>yet</i> | THEME (TF)<br>dit tubat nuh.<br>nonP.def <i>medicine your</i> |
|----------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
- Please rub some of your medicine on me.*
- (53)
- |                                       |                            |                   |                                                               |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| Pesuon (po-isu-on)<br>caus-SMEAR-AccF | PIV-CAUSEE<br>okuh<br>I(P) | poh<br><i>yet</i> | THEME (TF)<br>dit tubat nuh.<br>nonP.def <i>medicine your</i> |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
- Let me rub some of your medicine on myself.*

This contrast between the reflexive sense of example (53) and the purely transitive sense of example (51) fits quite naturally into the general pattern of affected vs. non-affected Agent distinctions. Another usage of the affected Agent form *pesuon* is discussed in section 4 below.

The Goal of the ditransitive takes the Dative case in causatives, just as it does in non-causative forms. Since Dative is the lowest position in hierarchy B, the Goal cannot be demoted.

- (54) PIV-GOAL | | THEME (TF)  
 Isai | ot pa-taak-an | do siin?  
*who* | nonP.indef caus-GIVE-DatF | nonP.indef *money*  
*Who is collecting the contributions?* (e.g. at a funeral)
- (55) | (PIV-GOAL) | | CAUSEE (Acc) |  
 Ong oruol | inoh takod nuh, | pesuan (po-isu-an) | do dorisa |  
*if hurt* | *that(P) leg your* | caus-SMEAR-DatF | nonP.indef *dresser* |  
 THEME (TF)  
 dot tubat.  
 nonP.indef *medicine*  
*If your leg hurts, get the dresser to rub medicine on it.*

The Theme of a ditransitive verb in causative constructions takes Translative Focus, just as in non-causatives. In terms of hierarchy B, with the Goal in the Dative position, there is no place for the Theme to be demoted to.

- (56) | CAUSEE (Acc) | CAUSER (Nom) | PIV-THEME |  
 l-pa-taak | dogon | dit sawo kuh | itih tanak yah |  
 TF-caus-GIVE | *me*(nonP) | nonP.def *spouse my* | *this(P) child our* |  
 GOAL(DatF) | | | |  
 sid tobpinee yoh | nga, amu kuh koyu'u.  
*to sibling his* | *but not I(nonP) can.part.with*  
*My husband wants me to give this child of ours to his brother, but I can't bear to part with it.*

It will be helpful to summarise our discussion to this point with a simple chart. In Figure C, the top line (containing the column labels) is a restatement of hierarchy B.

The chart summarises the case assignments of clause constituents for non-causative intransitive, transitive and ditransitive clauses. The labels S for Subject of an intransitive, A for Agent of a transitive, and P for Patient of a transitive, are from Comrie 1981, modifications of labels used by Dixon (1979).

The arrows show the shifts in assignment for causative constructions. These shifts may be summarised in the following rule, a more precise formulation of the rule stated for hierarchy B in the introduction:

Rule: All constituents shift one position to the right unless blocked by another constituent.

Figure C: Summary of focus shift in direct causatives

|                                             | NomF<br>(m-) | AccF<br>(-on) | TF<br>(i-) | LocF<br>(-on) | DatF<br>(-an) |
|---------------------------------------------|--------------|---------------|------------|---------------|---------------|
| Intrans.                                    | S → -        | -             | -          | Loc. → -      | -             |
| Trans.                                      | A → P        | → -           | -          | *             | Ben.          |
| Ditrans.                                    | A → -        | -             | Theme      | *             | Goal          |
| *LocF available only to intransitive verbs. |              |               |            |               |               |

For non-causative intransitive verbs, the Subject takes NomF and the Location takes LocF. In causative constructions, the Subject becomes Causee and shifts according to the rule stated above, to AccF. The Location shifts to DatF.

For transitive clauses, the Agent takes NomF, the Patient takes AccF, and the Benefactive takes DatF. In causative constructions, the Agent becomes Causee and shifts to AccF. The Patient shifts one position from AccF to TF. The Benefactive can not move to the right, and remains in DatF (as in example (127)).

For ditransitive clauses, the Agent takes NomF, the Theme takes TF, and the Goal takes DatF. Neither Theme nor Goal can move to the right, since the LocF position is available only to intransitives. So the only shift in causative constructions is that of the Causee-Agent to AccF.

### 3. SECONDARY (INDIRECT) CAUSATION

Indirect causation in the simplest terms means that one person gets a second person to cause a third person to do something. We can label the first participant (the initiator of the causal chain) as Causer<sub>1</sub>; the second participant (the intermediary) as Causee<sub>1</sub>-Causer<sub>2</sub>; and the third participant as Causee<sub>2</sub>. If the action to be performed by Causee<sub>2</sub> (corresponding to the meaning of the verb stem) is transitive, there is a fourth participant, the Patient.

Morphological double causatives (i.e. forms bearing two causative prefixes, po-po-STEM) are very rare in Kimaragang. Only a few roots can be affixed in this way, e.g. *popoodop* *cause to put to sleep*, and *popelo* (po-po-ilo) *cause to inform* (lit. *cause to cause to know*). Note that these examples seem to involve lexicalised causative forms; but not even all lexicalised causatives can take double causative marking.

However, the case marking patterns for single-causative verbs do reveal a morphological distinction between direct (simple) and indirect (or mediated) causation. The patterns for intransitive, transitive and ditransitive verb stems are different. But in each case, the distinction is marked only when the nuclear<sup>6</sup> participant occupying the position lowest on hierarchy B is in focus: Actor-Causee for intransitives, Patient for transitives, and Goal for ditransitives.

#### 3.1 Intransitive stems

Indirect causatives with intransitive stems can be formed only when the Causee<sub>2</sub> is in focus. Indirect causation is signalled by the use of Translative Focus,

rather than the Accusative Focus form used for direct causatives when the Causee is in focus.

- (57)
- |                              |                     |                                            |                           |                           |
|------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
|                              | CAUSER <sub>1</sub> | CAUSEE <sub>1</sub><br>CAUSER <sub>2</sub> | PIV-CAUSEE <sub>2</sub>   | LOCATION (Dat)            |
| l-po-suwang<br>TF-caus-ENTER | dialo<br>he(nonP)   | dogon<br>me(nonP)                          | inoh wogok<br>that(P) pig | sid tinsod.<br>to pig.pen |
- He wants me to get that pig into its pen.*
- (58)
- |                                   |                     |                                            |                          |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------------------|--------------------------|
|                                   | CAUSER <sub>1</sub> | CAUSEE <sub>1</sub><br>CAUSER <sub>2</sub> | PIV-CAUSEE <sub>2</sub>  |
| N-i-po-odop<br>past-TF-caus-SLEEP | nuh<br>you(nonP.sg) | dih sawo nuh<br>nonP.def spouse your       | it tanak.<br>P.def child |
- You told your wife to put the baby to sleep.*
- (59)
- |                                  |                     |                         |                                            |           |
|----------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------------------|-----------|
|                                  | CAUSER <sub>1</sub> | PIV-CAUSEE <sub>2</sub> | CAUSEE <sub>1</sub><br>CAUSER <sub>2</sub> |           |
| lpelo (i-po-ilo)<br>TF-caus-KNOW | kuh<br>I(nonP)      | ikau<br>you(P.sg)       | dit tanak kuh<br>nonP.def child my         | ong<br>if |
- m-uli okuh noh.  
NomF-RETURN I(P) already  
*I will have my son inform you when I am going home.*

Examples (57)-(59) show that the Causer<sub>1</sub> is marked as Actor while the Causee<sub>1</sub>-Causer<sub>2</sub> is marked as Undergoer. Compare the non-Pivot Actor pronoun kuh in (59) with the non-Pivot non-Actor form dogon in (57). These examples also show that the valence of the indirect causative verb is three, as compared with two for the direct causative (cf. examples (6)-(12)) and one for the corresponding non-causative intransitive verb.

Note that the Translative Focus form is identical to that used for direct transitive causatives when the Undergoer is in focus. This means that for stems which have both a transitive and an intransitive sense, the Translative Focus causative form would be ambiguous. However, it appears that in every case the direct transitive sense takes precedence over the indirect intransitive sense, as in the following example (repeated from (38) above):

- (60) PIV-PATIENT
- |                                 |                                 |                          |                                          |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| lt bangku kuh<br>P.def chair my | n-i-po-ogom<br>past-TF-caus-SIT | CAUSER<br>kuh<br>I(nonP) | CAUSEE<br>dih Janama.<br>nonP.def Janama |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------------------|
- I made Janama sit in my chair (save my seat).  
(not \*I made Janama cause my chair to sit.)*

Another such stem is uli return. The intransitive sense *go home* is the most common use of this stem, either in Nominative (muli) or Locative (ulion) Focus. The transitive form monguli means to return something that has been borrowed, or to return a person's change after a purchase.

As expected, the affected Agent accusative form po-uli-on corresponds to the intransitive sense (*cause to go home* as in example (11)), the non-affected form poN-uli-on to the transitive (*cause to give back*). The Translative Focus causative marks direct causation with the Undergoer of the transitive sense in focus, rather than mediated causation in the intransitive sense:

- (61)
- |                                     |                          |                                       |                                                               |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| lpooli (i-po-uli)<br>TF-caus-RETURN | CAUSER<br>kuh<br>I(nonP) | CAUSEE<br>dih James<br>nonP.def James | PIV-UNDERGOER<br>it teep kuh<br>P.def <i>tape.recorder my</i> |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
- tu ara'ag dati.  
because spoiled likely  
I am going to make James give back my cassette player before he spoils it.

Interestingly, the Dative Focus causative form is ambiguous. The meaning corresponding to the transitive sense (example (62)) indicates indirect causation, according to the pattern described in section 3.2 below. The meaning corresponding to the intransitive sense (example (63)) should signal Location as being in focus, but seems to have neither a Causer nor any possible explicit Pivot (the implicit Pivot is *home*). The best translation for this form is something like *on the way home*.

- (62)
- |                                                                                   |                                           |                                                      |                                                    |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| Poolian (po-uli-an) poh dinoh<br>caus-RETURN-DatF<br>n-olos-∅<br>past-BORROW-AccF | yet that<br>dialo<br>he(nonP) at me(nonP) | CAUSEE <sub>2</sub><br>dih Janama<br>nonP.def Janama | PIV-UNDERGOER<br>it buuk dit<br>P.def book REL.def |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
- Tell Janama to return the book he borrowed from me.  
(speaker = Causer<sub>1</sub>; hearer = Causee<sub>1</sub>-Causer<sub>2</sub>)
- (63) Poolian (po-uli-an) noh dati dialo irih.  
caus-RETURN-DatF already likely he(nonP) this  
He must be on his way home.

### 3.2 Transitive stems

When the Patient of a transitive causative verb is in focus, as described in section 2.1 above, the verb normally takes Translative Focus. However, when the causation is indirect or mediated, the verb takes Dative Focus. This pattern is illustrated in the following examples:

- (64)
- |                                           |                                          |                                              |                                              |
|-------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| Papatayan (po-patai-an)<br>caus-KILL-DatF | CAUSER <sub>1</sub><br>dialo<br>he(nonP) | CAUSEE <sub>2</sub><br>dikau<br>you(nonP.sg) | PIV-PATIENT<br>it tasu yoh,<br>P.def dog his |
|-------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
- it minanabpo (-in-m-poN-tabpo) dit manuk nuh.  
REL.def \*-past-NomF-trans-CATCH nonP.def chicken your  
He wants you to kill his dog that caught your chicken.  
(speaker = Causee<sub>1</sub>-Causer<sub>2</sub>)
- (65)
- |                                      |                                                             |                                               |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| Pa-lapak-ai<br>caus-SPLIT-DatF.imper | CAUSEE <sub>2</sub><br>dih tama nuh<br>nonP.def father your | PIV-PATIENT<br>inoh niyuw.<br>that(P) coconut |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
- Get your father to split that coconut.  
(speaker = Causer<sub>1</sub>; hearer = Causee<sub>1</sub>-Causer<sub>2</sub>)
- (66)
- |                                        |                                                      |                |                                           |                                      |
|----------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|----------------|-------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Peduan (po-idu-an)<br>caus-REMOVE-DatF | CAUSER <sub>1</sub><br>dih Jaiwan<br>nonP.def Jaiwan | mari<br>surely | CAUSEE <sub>2</sub><br>dikau<br>you(nonP) | PIV-PATIENT<br>it tali<br>P.def rope |
|----------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|----------------|-------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|



dit nokosogilit.  
 REL.def wrapped.around.stake  
*Jaiwan wants you to go free the rope that (the buffalo) has wound around the stake.*  
 (speaker = Causee<sub>1</sub>-Causer<sub>2</sub>)

(67) 

|                               |                                 |                                                                |                                              |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| Po-owit-an<br>caus-BRING-DatF | BENEFACTIVE<br>dogo<br>me(nonP) | CAUSEE <sub>2</sub><br>dit tobpinee kuh<br>nonP.def sibling my | PIV-PATIENT<br>it dangol<br>P.def bush.knife |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|

  
 kuh.  
 my  
*Have my brother bring me my bush knife.*  
 (speaker = Causer<sub>1</sub>; hearer = Causee<sub>1</sub>-Causer<sub>2</sub>)

Compare the indirect Dative Focus forms used in these examples with the direct forms (ipapatai, ipalapak, ipoowit) in examples (17)-(19).

The Causee<sub>1</sub>-Causer<sub>2</sub> is most commonly either the speaker or the hearer, as in all four of the above examples, and so can be inferred from the pragmatic context. Imperative causatives with the Patient in focus are apparently always marked as indirect, since they necessarily involve mediated or secondary causation: the speaker tells the hearer to cause some third participant to act.

It is apparently impossible for the intermediary (Causee<sub>1</sub>-Causer<sub>2</sub>) to appear as an explicit element of a clause involving transitive or ditransitive verb stems. For this reason, there is no direct evidence of an increase in valence in the indirect causative as opposed to the corresponding direct causative form. However, there is some indirect evidence of increased valence which will be discussed in section 3.4 below.

The semantic distinction between the direct and indirect causative forms is shown in the following example:

(68) 

|                               |                                                                         |                                    |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| PIV-PATIENT<br>Tongoh<br>what | ot {i-po-owit / *po-owit-an}<br>P.indef TF-caus-BRING / caus-BRING-DatF | CAUSER(Nom)<br>nuh<br>you(nonP.sg) |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|

  
 CAUSEE(Acc)  
 dogo?  
 me(nonP)  
*What do you want me to bring?*

Since there can be no intermediary between the second person Causer and first person Causee, the indirect form poowitan is impossible.

There are some contexts where the semantic distinction between direct and indirect causation does not involve the presence or absence of an intermediary (Causee<sub>1</sub>-Causer<sub>2</sub>). In such cases, when the Patient of the transitive verb is in focus, the direct and indirect causative forms may be equally grammatical, and the semantic contrast hard to pin down.

Mohanan (1983) describes indirect causation as being non-agentive, while direct causation is agentive. This distinction is helpful for understanding the uses of indirect causative forms which do not involve mediated causation, as in the following examples:

- (69) Ong amu omot-on dikoo, {(a) i-po-omot / (b) pa-amat-an}  
*if not HARVEST-AccF you(nonP.pl) TF-caus-HARVEST caus-HARVEST-DatF*
- |                |                   |
|----------------|-------------------|
| CAUSER (Nom)   | CAUSEE (Acc)      |
| yah            | do tulun.         |
| we (nonP.excl) | nonP.indef person |
- If you won't harvest (our rice), we'll (a) get someone else to do it;  
 (b) let someone else do it.*

The Translative Focus form (a) (corresponding to direct causation) implies that the owner of the field will keep the harvested rice; the harvesters will work for wages or shares. The dative form (b) (corresponding to indirect causation) implies that the harvesters will be free to keep what they harvest, if they want it. The Translative Focus form is more agentive and entails greater control on the part of the Causer than the Dative Focus.

A further semantic complication is that the Dative Focus (indirect causative) form may also be used when the Causee is in focus:

- (70) PIV-CAUSEE | CAUSER (Nom) | PATIENT (TF)
- |      |                 |               |             |             |
|------|-----------------|---------------|-------------|-------------|
| lsai | po-owit-an      | nuh           | m-uli       | dinoh       |
| who  | caus-BRING-DatF | you (nonP.sg) | NomF-RETURN | that (nonP) |
- sada nuh?  
*fish your*  
*Who will you ask to take your fish home for you?*
- (71) PIV-CAUSEE | PATIENT (TF)
- |      |                  |             |           |      |        |
|------|------------------|-------------|-----------|------|--------|
| lsai | pong-owit-on     | ditih       | dialo     | do   | tayad? |
| who  | trans-BRING-AccF | this (nonP) | he (nonP) | poss | share  |
- Who can we send to take his share to him?*

The semantic difference between forms like (70) and (71) involves difficulty of selection. The dative indicates that many possible Causees are available, or that the choice of Causee is irrelevant, while the normal accusative (non-affected Agent) form may indicate that it is hard to find a suitable or willing causee. Again, the dative form here seems to signal reduced agency rather than mediated causality.

### 3.3 Ditransitive stems

Ditransitive causatives normally assign Translative Focus to the Theme and Dative Focus to the Goal or Recipient. But when the Goal/Recipient is in focus, Translative Focus can be used to signal indirect causation.

- (72)
- |              |             |                     |                  |
|--------------|-------------|---------------------|------------------|
| l-pa-taak    | BENEFACTIVE | CAUSEE <sub>2</sub> | THEME            |
| TF-caus-GIVE | dogon       | dit sawo kuh        | dot gaji         |
|              | me (nonP)   | nonP.def spouse my  | nonP.indef wages |
- PIV-GOAL
- |                 |                            |
|-----------------|----------------------------|
| it moongomot    | tu, aso siin kuh.          |
| P.def harvester | because not.exist money my |
- Ask my husband to give the harvesters their wages for me, because I don't have any money.*  
 (speaker = Causer<sub>1</sub>; hearer = Causee<sub>1</sub>-Causer<sub>2</sub>)

|              |                     |                  |                         |
|--------------|---------------------|------------------|-------------------------|
| (73)         | CAUSEE <sub>2</sub> | THEME            | PIV-GOAL                |
| l-pa-taak    | dih Maji            | do siin          | it tanak yoh tu,        |
| TF-caus-GIVE | nonP.def Maji       | nonP.indef money | P.def child his because |

aso noh siin yoh.  
*not.exist already money his*  
*Tell Maji to give his son some money, he's broke.*  
 (speaker = Causer<sub>1</sub>; hearer = Causee<sub>1</sub>-Causer<sub>2</sub>)

Again, some instances of the indirect causative form do not involve mediated causation. The precise semantic distinction between the (indirect) Translative Focus form in the following example and the corresponding (direct) Dative Focus form in example (55) above is not known. It presumably relates to the agency of the Causer, e.g. *ask him to rub medicine on it* vs. *let him rub medicine on it*.

|           |                  |                  |                    |
|-----------|------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| (74)      | (PIV-GOAL)       |                  | CAUSEE             |
| Ong oruol | inoh takod nuh,  | ipesu (i-po-isu) | do dorisa          |
| if hurt   | that(P) leg your | TF-caus-SMEAR    | nonP.indef dresser |

THEME  
 dot tubat.  
 nonP.indef medicine  
*If your leg hurts, get the dresser to rub medicine on it.*

As stated above, indirect causation is morphologically marked only when the nuclear clause constituent lowest on hierarchy B is in focus: Causee-Actor for intransitives, Patient for transitives, and Goal/Recipient for ditransitives. To express mediated causation when other elements are in focus, explicitly biclausal constructions must be used, such as the following:

|                   |                     |                                            |               |
|-------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------------------|---------------|
| (75)              | CAUSER <sub>1</sub> | CAUSER <sub>1</sub><br>CAUSER <sub>2</sub> | PIV-THEME     |
| N-i-pa-taak       | kuh                 | dit tanak nuh                              | itih siin     |
| past-TF-caus-GIVE | I(nonP)             | nonP.def child your                        | this(P) money |

|                                        |             |                     |
|----------------------------------------|-------------|---------------------|
| CAUSEE <sub>2</sub> -GOAL <sub>1</sub> |             | GOAL <sub>2</sub>   |
| sid dih Janama                         | pa-ka'a     | sid dih Jaiwan.     |
| to nonP.def Janama                     | caus-ARRIVE | to nonP.def Jaiwan. |

*I asked your son to have Janama give this money to Jaiwan.*

|      |                                                |                     |                    |
|------|------------------------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| (76) | PIV-CAUSEE <sub>1</sub><br>CAUSER <sub>2</sub> | CAUSER <sub>1</sub> |                    |
| Isai | ot s-in-uu-Ø                                   | nuh                 | popelo (po-po-ilo) |
| who  | P.indef *-past-SEND-AccF                       | you (nonP)          | caus-caus-KNOW     |

|                                          |                 |                     |
|------------------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| CAUSEE <sub>2</sub> -CAUSER <sub>3</sub> |                 | CAUSEE <sub>3</sub> |
| dih sawo nuh                             | po-po-odop      | dit tanak?          |
| nonP.def spouse your                     | caus-caus-SLEEP | nonP.def child      |

*Who did you send to tell your wife to put the baby to sleep?*

To summarise the shifts involved in indirect causation, a revised version of Figure C is repeated here.

Rule 1 (direct causation): All constituents shift one position to the right unless blocked by another constituent (i.e. no doubling).

Rule 2 (indirect causation): The rightmost nuclear constituent in each row shifts, regardless of doubling. Shift right one position, but from lowest (rightmost) position in hierarchy shift left one position.

Figure D: Summary of focus shift in causatives

|          | NomF<br>(m-) | AccF<br>(-on) | TF<br>(i-) | LocF<br>(-on) | DatF<br>(-an) |
|----------|--------------|---------------|------------|---------------|---------------|
| Intrans. | S            | → -           | --→ -      | Loc. → -      | -             |
| Trans.   | A            | → P           | → -        | -             | Ben.          |
| Ditrans. | A            | → -           | Theme ← *  | -             | Goal          |

\*LocF available only to intransitive verbs.  
 → = Rule 1 (direct causation)  
 --→ = Rule 2 (indirect causation)

### 3.4 A note on doubling

Comrie (1976, 1981) stated his Case Hierarchy in terms of grammatical relations (see Hierarchy A above). In Dusunic languages, neither the morphological cases (i.e. focus types) nor the syntactic cases (Actor, Undergoer, Referent, Oblique) correspond precisely to the grammatical relations Subject, Direct Object, Indirect Object, etc.

This paper deals with shifts in focus assignment involved in causative formation, which parallel Comrie's hierarchy in interesting ways. The shift in non-Pivot (i.e. syntactic) case assignment is also consistent with Comrie's paradigm, though far simpler than the shift in focus types: the Causer is marked as Actor, while Causee is "demoted" to Undergoer.

Comrie (1976) showed that the syntax of causativisation in a given language depends to a great extent on the possibility of doubling on certain syntactic positions. It appears that in Kimaragang, the process of causative formation itself affects the acceptability of doubling, both in focus types and in syntactic case assignment.

In non-causative constructions, no doubling of focus types is possible. The same is true for direct causatives, which explains why the Theme of a ditransitive verb is "blocked" from shifting to Dative Focus (see Figure C above). DatF is assigned to the Goal, which cannot shift, being at the lowest position on the hierarchy. Thus the constraint against double assignment of focus types forces the theme to remain in Translative Focus.

However, in indirect causation, this constraint is weakened. For both transitive and ditransitive stems, indirect causation is marked by a focus type already assigned to another element of the clause. The Patient of a transitive verb takes DatF in indirect causatives, merging with the Benefactive; and the Goal or Recipient of a ditransitive shifts to Translative Focus, merging with the Theme.

Even in non-causative constructions, there is a limited form of doubling allowed on the syntactic case Undergoer. One such instance was seen in example (45), where the Goal and Theme of the ditransitive verb are both marked as Undergoer. Transitive and ditransitive verbs may also take a Benefactive NP, which is

marked as Undergoer when not in focus. Since the Patient of a transitive and the Theme of a ditransitive are also marked as Undergoer, there is a potential double assignment here.

However, it is very rare for both Benefactive and Patient to occur as non-Pivot elements of the same clause. Only non-Pivot NPs are marked for syntactic case, and the rules of focus assignment prevent the Agent of an independent transitive verb from being selected as Pivot if there is another definite NP in the clause. Under normal circumstances when both Benefactive and Patient are present, one of them would almost certainly be definite, and thus selected as Pivot.

In causatives, the Causee is marked as Undergoer when not in focus, creating three potential Undergoers in a transitive causative construction (Causee, Patient, and Benefactive).

In indirect causatives formed from intransitive roots, the Causee<sub>1</sub>-Causer<sub>2</sub> is also marked as Undergoer (Causee<sub>2</sub> is always in focus, hence not marked for syntactic case). This may explain why the Causee<sub>1</sub>-Causer<sub>2</sub> is never an explicit element of an indirect causative construction involving a transitive stem - its presence would introduce a fourth potential Undergoer.

Even though the Causee<sub>1</sub>-Causer<sub>2</sub> cannot appear explicitly with transitive stems, the process of indirect causative formation does seem to affect the potential for explicit doubling (or tripling) of Undergoer in a single clause. It is easier to insert a Benefactive into an indirect causative construction than the corresponding direct causative construction. Compare the following examples:

|                                        |           |             |                     |               |
|----------------------------------------|-----------|-------------|---------------------|---------------|
| (77)                                   |           | BENEFACTIVE | CAUSEE <sub>2</sub> | PIV-PATIENT   |
| Po-owit-an                             | dogo      | dih         | Majudil             | it tompa kuh. |
| caus-BRING-DatF                        | me (nonP) | nonP.indef  | Majudil             | P.def shoe my |
| <i>Have Majudil bring me my shoes.</i> |           |             |                     |               |

|                                          |          |              |             |
|------------------------------------------|----------|--------------|-------------|
| (78)                                     |          | CAUSEE (Acc) | PIV-PATIENT |
| l-po-owit                                | (??dogo) | dih          | Majudil     |
| TF-caus-BRING                            | (me)     | nonP.indef   | Majudil     |
| <i>Have Majudil bring (me) my shoes.</i> |          |              |             |

The presence of dogo in example (78) is at least highly unnatural, if not ungrammatical. If accepted as grammatical, it seems to imply that the Causee (Majudil) already knows about the request. The presence of dogo in example (77), however, is entirely natural and carries no such implication.<sup>7</sup>

Further evidence relating to potential for doubling of Undergoers is seen in the following two examples:

|                                                              |           |             |                     |                |         |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|-------------|---------------------|----------------|---------|
| (79)                                                         |           | BENEFACTIVE | CAUSEE <sub>2</sub> | PIV-PATIENT    |         |
| Po-owit-an                                                   | dogon     | dih         | Janama              | itih siin      | i-taak  |
| caus-BRING-DatF                                              | me (nonP) | nonP.def    | Janama              | this (P) money | TF-GIVE |
| <i>sid tanak kuh.</i>                                        |           |             |                     |                |         |
| <i>to child my</i>                                           |           |             |                     |                |         |
| <i>Please have Janama bring this money to my son for me.</i> |           |             |                     |                |         |

|                    |           |              |              |                |         |
|--------------------|-----------|--------------|--------------|----------------|---------|
| (80)               |           | CAUSEE (Acc) | CAUSER (Nom) | PIV-PATIENT    |         |
| N-i-po-owit        | dogon     | dih          | Janama       | itih siin      | i-taak  |
| past-TF-caus-BRING | me (nonP) | nonP.def     | Janama       | this (P) money | TF-GIVE |

sid dikau.  
 to you(nonP.sg)  
*Janama asked me to bring you this money.*

The non-focus elements dogon and dih Janama are identical in the two sentences, but the interpretation varies depending on the form of the verb. In example (79), the indirect causative form is used. This makes it possible for both non-Pivot elements to be interpreted as Undergoers: dogon as Benefactive and dih Janama as Causee<sub>2</sub>. However, the direct causative form in example (80) allows for only one Undergoer. Since dogon (∩ dogo) is a non-Actor pronoun form, it must be the Undergoer, and dih Janama must be interpreted as the Actor, i.e. Causer. Thus dogon is interpreted as the Causee.

It may be that this phenomenon relates to a constraint on the number of clausal elements (i.e. valence) rather than a constraint on doubling as such. Consider the following ditransitive examples involving direct causation:

|      |                                                          |                     |               |               |         |
|------|----------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|---------------|---------------|---------|
| (81) |                                                          | CAUSEE <sub>2</sub> | PIV-THEME     | RECIPIENT     |         |
|      | l-pa-taak                                                | dih Maji            | itih siin     | sid tanak yoh | tu,     |
|      | TF-caus-GIVE                                             | nonP.def Maji       | this(P) money | to child his  | because |
|      | aso noh siin yoh.                                        |                     |               |               |         |
|      | <i>not.exist already money his</i>                       |                     |               |               |         |
|      | <i>Tell Maji to give his son some money, he's broke.</i> |                     |               |               |         |

|      |                                                                 |                    |                     |               |  |
|------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------|---------------|--|
| (82) |                                                                 | BENEFACTIVE        | CAUSEE <sub>2</sub> | PIV-THEME     |  |
|      | l-pa-taak                                                       | dogon              | dit tanak nuh       | itih siin     |  |
|      | TF-caus-GIVE                                                    | me(nonP)           | nonP.def child your | this(P) money |  |
|      | pa-ka'a                                                         | RECIPIENT          |                     |               |  |
|      | caus-ARRIVE                                                     | sid dih Janama.    |                     |               |  |
|      |                                                                 | to nonP.def Janama |                     |               |  |
|      | <i>Please ask your son to give this money to Janama for me.</i> |                    |                     |               |  |

In example (81), the Recipient is encoded as Referent, a nuclear clause element marked by the particle sid to. However, when a Benefactive (dogon) is inserted, as in example (82), the Recipient must be shifted to a subordinate clause by the insertion of the verb paka'a. Apparently the total number of explicit non-oblique elements of a simple clause must not exceed three.

However, note that in indirect causation it is possible for four explicit elements to occur in the same simple clause, as in example (72) above. This would support the hypothesis that the greater acceptability of Benefactives in indirect causative constructions as opposed to direct causatives is a consequence of the increase in valence associated with the shift from direct to indirect causation.

#### 4. INSTRUMENT AND THEME

##### 4.1 Instrumental causatives

Instrumental Focus on non-causative verbs is indicated by the prefix poN-, as in the following examples:

- (83) PIV-INST  
 Tongoh | ot pomoli (poN-boli), aso siin kuh ditih.  
*what P.indef IF-BUY not.have money my this*  
*What can we buy it with, I don't have any money.*
- (84)  
 Mongowit (m-poN-owit) | PIV-AGENT | | PATIENT/(PIV-INST) |  
 okuh | poh | do dangol | tu  
 NomF-trans-TAKE | I(P) | yet | nonP.indef bush.knife | because  
 pangalapak (poN-lapak) do niyuw.  
 IF-SPLIT nonP.indef coconut  
*I'll take a bush knife along to split coconuts with.*

Generally speaking, only transitive verbs with non-affected Agents involve the use of Instruments. With causative forms of such verbs, the Causee-Agent will be marked as non-affected when it is in focus. When the Instrument is in focus, it takes the affected Agent marking. This provides further examples of contrast between affected vs. non-affected Agent forms such as the following:

- (85)  
 Pomoliyo (poN-boli-o) poh | PATIENT (TF) | PIV-CAUSEE |  
 do tasin | ih Wati | tu,  
 trans-BUY-AccF.imper yet | nonP.indef salt | P.def Wati | because  
 aso noh tasin tokou.  
*non.exist already salt us(pl.incl)*  
*Send Wati to buy some salt, we are all out.*  
 (Causee = non-affected Agent)
- (86)  
 Po-boli-o poh | PATIENT (Acc) | PIV-INST |  
 dot kuui | it siin nuh!  
 caus-BUY-AccF.imper yet | nonP.indef cake | P.def money your  
*Spend (the rest of) your money on cakes!*  
 (Instrument = affected Agent)
- (87)  
 Ong koo-titip | (PIV-INST) | |  
 do dangol, | kada'ai pa-lapak-o |  
 if imm-FORGE | nonP.indef bush.knife | don't caus-SPLIT-AccF.imper |  
 PATIENT  
 dot niyuw.  
 nonP.indef coconut  
*Don't try to split coconuts with a newly forged bush knife.*  
 (Instrument = affected Agent)  
 (cf. example (14))
- (88)  
 Po-omot-on | AGENT | PIV-INST |  
 kuh | petih (poh itih) | linggaman nuh  
 caus-HARVEST-AccF | I(nonP) | yet | this (P) harvest.knife your  
 ditih, | ong atarom ko amu.  
 this | if sharp or not  
*I will try harvesting with your knife to see whether it is sharp.*  
 (Instrument = affected Agent)  
 (cf. example (13))

Semantically, the Instrumental case carries an inherently causative component of meaning: the Agent causes the Instrument to affect the Patient. The Instrument is, in this analysis, a kind of Causee-Agent, but with little or no volitionality or control over the event. Thus it seems perfectly natural to mark the

Instrument as an affected Causee-Agent, while the true Agent is marked as non-affected Causee.<sup>8</sup>

Notice that examples (86)-(88) above are formally causative, but do not convey an explicitly causative meaning. Semantically, no new participants are introduced by the causative form - the Agent does not become a Causee - though syntactically the valence is altered by incorporating the oblique Instrument into the clause nucleus.

The primary usage of the *po-* *-on* form, i.e. for focusing on an affected Agent Causee, is semantically as well as morphologically causative. The secondary, non-causative usage in examples (86)-(88) will be referred to as the *instrumental causative*, to distinguish it from the true causative (affected Agent) sense.

The Theme of ditransitive clauses, which normally takes Translative Focus, may also take the instrumental causative form when it is in focus, as in the following example:

- (89) PIV-THEME  
 Nunuh sontubat | ot pesuon (po-isu-on)?  
*what a.medicine* | P.indef caus-SMEAR-AccF  
*Which medicine do you want rubbed on?*

This example is part of a more general pattern which will be discussed in the following section.

#### 4.2 Translative Focus and causativity

Many intransitive verbs take on an explicitly causative sense when they are marked for Translative Focus, even without the use of the causative prefix *po-*. Such Translative Focus forms are often equivalent to the intransitive (i.e. affected Agent) Causee-focused forms:

- (90) Ong taak-an okuh dikau do siin, {potolibon (po-talib-on)  
*if GIVE-DatF me (P) you (nonP.sg) nonP.indef money caus-PASS.BY-AccF*
- |              |         |            |  |
|--------------|---------|------------|--|
| / i-talib}   | CAUSER  | PIV-CAUSEE |  |
| / TF-PASS.BY | kuh     | ikau.      |  |
|              | I(nonP) | you (P.sg) |  |
- If you give me money I will let you go past.*
- (91)
- |                           |         |            |             |
|---------------------------|---------|------------|-------------|
| {l-suwang / po-suwang-on} | CAUSER  | PIV-CAUSEE | LOCATION    |
| TF-ENTER caus-ENTER-AccF  | kuh     | it wogok   | sid tinsod. |
|                           | I(nonP) | P.def pig  | to pig.pen  |
- I'll put the pig into his pen.*
- (92)
- |                          |         |              |                 |
|--------------------------|---------|--------------|-----------------|
| {l-tuun / po-tuun-on}    | CAUSER  | PIV-CAUSEE   |                 |
| TF-DROP / caus-DROP-AccF | kuh     | itih korita  | silod piro'ong. |
|                          | I(nonP) | this (P) car | there-at cliff  |
- I am going to drive this car over that cliff.*

Examples (93) and (94) below are extracted from a folktale. Notice the equivalence of the causative form *posowito* in (93) with the Translative Focus *nisawit* in (94). The root *sawit* is an intransitive, meaning *to hang* (as a picture hangs). Again, the parentheses around the constituent tag "PIV-CAUSEE" indicate



that the label relates to the clause following the one of which the labelled NP is an explicit element.

- (93)
- |                       |              |                |          |               |                 |
|-----------------------|--------------|----------------|----------|---------------|-----------------|
| Kobobos               | nopoh yalo   | mongimpuros    | dit      | roo dit       | kanas,          |
| <i>satisfied only</i> | <i>he(P)</i> | <i>examine</i> | nonP.def | <i>jaw of</i> | <i>wild.pig</i> |
- (PIV-CAUSEE)
- 
- |                       |                |                 |                |
|-----------------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|
| posowito (po-sawit-o) | noh            | CAUSER          | LOCATION       |
| caus-HANG-AccF.nonfin | <i>already</i> | dialo           | sid tayup.     |
|                       |                | <i>he(nonP)</i> | <i>on post</i> |
- When he was tired of examining the jawbone of the pig, he hung it on the post of his trap.*
- (94)
- |           |                       |                     |          |                |               |
|-----------|-----------------------|---------------------|----------|----------------|---------------|
| Jadi,     | pamanau noh           | dirih mogintong     | dit      | tulang dit     | roo dit       |
| <i>so</i> | <i>walked already</i> | <i>this look.at</i> | nonP.def | <i>bone of</i> | <i>jaw of</i> |
- (PIV-CAUSEE)
- 
- |                 |         |              |          |            |                    |
|-----------------|---------|--------------|----------|------------|--------------------|
| kanas,          | it      | n-i-sawit    | CAUSER   | LOCATION   |                    |
| <i>wild.pig</i> | REL.def | past-TF-HANG | dih      | kusai      | sid tayup yoh.     |
|                 |         |              | nonP.def | <i>man</i> | <i>on post his</i> |
- So they went to look at the jawbone of the wild pig, which the man had hung on the post of his trap.*

When the Causee is animate, the contrast between Translative Focus and the affected Agent form may reflect the degree of agency on the part of the Causer. For instance, in examples (9) and (43) above, the causative form poodopon (*put to sleep*) is more agentive than the Translative Focus form niadop (*invited to sleep*).

Notice that semantically all of the above Translative Focus examples involve an element of physical motion. If there is no such semantic component in the basic meaning of the stem, e.g. with *sleep* and *hang*, the use of Translative Focus introduces it.

In the same way, transitive stems which normally mark their Patients in the accusative (or, like *tutud burn*, in the dative) take on an added sense of motion when the Patient is marked with Translative Focus.

- (95)
- |                       |                |            |                   |
|-----------------------|----------------|------------|-------------------|
| Mamanau (m-poN-panau) | itih           | pen        | ong i-tutud.      |
| NomF-trans-WALK       | <i>this(P)</i> | <i>pen</i> | <i>if TF-BURN</i> |
- This pen will work if you hold the point in a flame.*
- (96)
- |            |             |       |              |         |             |
|------------|-------------|-------|--------------|---------|-------------|
| Intang-an  | tinoo       | it    | kumut        | dit     | n-i-sidang  |
| WATCH-DatF | <i>soon</i> | P.def | <i>cloth</i> | REL.def | past-TF-DRY |
- Check on the clothes (I) put out to dry.*
- (97)
- |               |                |       |                 |                     |                |
|---------------|----------------|-------|-----------------|---------------------|----------------|
| N-i-suun      | kuh            | it    | tanak kuh       | tu                  | aralom ilo     |
| past-TF-CARRY | <i>I(nonP)</i> | P.def | <i>child my</i> | <i>because deep</i> | <i>that(P)</i> |
- bawang.*  
*river*  
*I held my child up over my head because the river was so deep.*

For stems that do not generally involve an Instrument, the instrumental causative form may be equivalent to the Translative Focus form. Compare the instrumental causative in the following example with the synonymous Translative Focus in example (97):

- (98)
- |            |                |                        |                       |                |
|------------|----------------|------------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
|            | AGENT          |                        | PIV-PATIENT-THEME     |                |
| Nan        | kuh            | po-suun-o              | it tanak kuh          | tu             |
| <i>did</i> | <i>I(nonP)</i> | caus-CARRY-AccF.nonfin | P.def <i>child my</i> | <i>because</i> |
- aralom ilo            bawang.  
*deep that(P) river*  
*I held my child up over my head because the river was so deep.*

As seen in example (95) above, the Translative Focus form *itutud* merely entails poking something into the fire. However, the instrumental causative form of *burn*, *potutudon*, definitely involves setting fire to an Instrument of some type: something that gives light or something to transmit the fire with.

- (99)
- |                      |            |  |                      |  |
|----------------------|------------|--|----------------------|--|
|                      |            |  | PIV-PATIENT-INST     |  |
| Po-tutud-o           | poh        |  | itih lampu!          |  |
| caus-BURN-AccF.imper | <i>yet</i> |  | <i>this (P) lamp</i> |  |
- Light this lamp!*
- (100)
- |                |                     |  |                       |                     |
|----------------|---------------------|--|-----------------------|---------------------|
|                | AGENT               |  | PIV-PATIENT-INST      |                     |
| Po-tutud-on    | nuh                 |  | inoh poring           | om owit-on sitih.   |
| caus-BURN-AccF | <i>you(nonP.sg)</i> |  | <i>that(P) bamboo</i> | and BRING-AccF here |
- Light that bamboo and bring it over here.*

As discussed above, non-causative Translative Focus forms of some intransitive stems can be used to convey an overtly causative meaning. The converse is true for ditransitive stems: the Theme may sometimes be marked as an affected Causee, even when no causation is involved. Again, the instrumental causative in the following example is synonymous with the Translative Focus form in example (49).

- (101)
- |                               |                 |                     |                    |           |
|-------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------|--------------------|-----------|
|                               | AGENT           |                     | PIV-THEME          | GOAL      |
| Nokuroh.tu pesuon (po-isu-on) | nuh             |                     | inoh tinasak       | sid       |
| <i>why</i>                    | caus-SMEAR-AccF | <i>you(nonP.sg)</i> | <i>that(P) oil</i> | <i>on</i> |
- buuk kuh?  
*book my*  
*Why did you smear that oil on my book?*  
 (cf. example (49) above)

However, the following two examples are not quite perfect synonyms:

- (102)
- |                |                 |  |                       |                            |
|----------------|-----------------|--|-----------------------|----------------------------|
|                | BENEFACTIVE     |  | PIV-THEME             | GOAL                       |
| Pa-taak-on     | dogo            |  | itih siin             | sid dih Maralin.           |
| caus-GIVE-AccF | <i>me(nonP)</i> |  | <i>this (P) money</i> | to nonP.def <i>Maralin</i> |
- Give this money to Maralin for me.*
- (103)
- |           |                     |  |                            |  |
|-----------|---------------------|--|----------------------------|--|
|           | AGENT               |  | GOAL                       |  |
| PIV-THEME | nuh                 |  | sid dih Maralin.           |  |
| Itih siin | <i>you(nonP.sg)</i> |  | to nonP.def <i>Maralin</i> |  |
- Give this money to Maralin for me.*

The use of a causative form in example (102) instead of simple Translative Focus as in example (103) functions as a softened command. *Pataakon* in example (102) sounds like a polite request, while *itaak* sounds rude and possibly even suspicious ("Be sure you give this money to Maralin and don't steal it!").

To summarise, there is a general tendency for Translative Focus forms and affected Causee forms to be equivalent. For intransitive stems, this means that

Translative Focus forms take on causative meanings. For ditransitive verbs, the instrumental causative form can be substituted for the simple Translative Focus form, both forms conveying non-causative senses. For transitive verbs not involving an Instrument, both Translative Focus and affected Causee forms convey non-causative senses involving change of position. In all of these cases, the object whose location is affected is in focus.

## 5. CONVERSIVES

Lexicalised causatives are causative forms which have taken on idiomatic non-causative meanings. A special type of lexicalisation of causative forms in Kimaragang involves the words for *borrow* and *buy*, and their converse actions, *lend* and *sell*.

### 5.1 'Borrow' and 'lend'

The root *olos* means *borrow*. It is used for things like tools, clothing, etc. which can be returned, as opposed to money and rice, which must be repaid and so take the Malay loanword *utang owe*, rather than *olos*.

The converse action, *lend*, is expressed by the causative form *poolos*, literally *cause to borrow*.

|       |                                                                                                                        |                              |                                                                 |                |
|-------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|
| (104) | Mongolos (m-poN-olos)<br>NomF-trans-BORROW                                                                             | PIV-BORROWER<br>okuh<br>I(P) | THEME<br>dit        tompa dih Jaiwan<br>nonP.def shoe of Jaiwan | tu,<br>because |
|       | pakay-on kuh        mibola.<br>WEAR-AccF I(nonP) play.ball<br>I will borrow Jaiwan's shoes to wear when I play soccer. |                              |                                                                 |                |

|       |                                                                 |                                       |                                                     |                               |
|-------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (105) | Po-olos<br>caus-BORROW                                          | PIV-LENDER<br>koh-i<br>you(P.sg)-emph | THEME<br>dit        tompa nuh<br>nonP.def shoe your | ong olos-on<br>if BORROW-AccF |
|       | kuh?<br>I(nonP)<br>Would you loan me your shoes if I asked you? |                                       |                                                     |                               |

In the non-causative forms meaning *borrow*, the borrower (as Agent) takes Nominative Focus, as in example (104). The borrowed items (the theme) takes Accusative Focus as in the second clause of example (105) and both clauses of example (106). The Source (or lender) appears in a possessive form, as in examples (104) and (106), or in Setting Focus, as in example (107) below.

|       |                                                                                                                                           |                            |               |                                                                 |             |
|-------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| (106) | Olos-on<br>BORROW-AccF                                                                                                                    | BORROWER<br>kuh<br>I(nonP) | dara<br>would | PIV-THEME<br>it        korita dih Tosong<br>P.def car of Tosong | nga,<br>but |
|       | n-o-olos-Ø        dih        Jaiwan.<br>past-stat-BORROW-AccF nonP.def Jaiwan<br>I would borrow Tosong's car, but Jaiwan has borrowed it. |                            |               |                                                                 |             |

|       |                                                 |                                |           |            |
|-------|-------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------|------------|
| (107) | PIV-SOURCE                                      |                                | BORROWER  | THEME      |
|       | lsai                                            | pinangalasan (-in-poN-olos-an) | nuh       | ditih      |
|       | who                                             | *-past-SF-BORROW-SF            | you(nonP) | this(nonP) |
|       | gampa                                           | ditih?                         |           |            |
|       | bush.knife                                      | this                           |           |            |
|       | <i>Who did you borrow this bush knife from?</i> |                                |           |            |

Dative Focus is possible when a Benefactive is in focus, i.e. someone on whose behalf a thing is borrowed:

|       |                                                                              |                 |             |       |                |
|-------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|-------------|-------|----------------|
| (108) |                                                                              |                 | PIV-BEN     |       | THEME          |
|       | Ong amu koh                                                                  | maalan, alas-an | okuh        | poh   | dot            |
|       | <i>if not you(P.sg)</i>                                                      | lazy            | BORROW-DatF | me(P) | yet nonP.indef |
|       | dangol                                                                       | SOURCE          |             |       |                |
|       | bush.knife                                                                   | sid dih         | Pangadap.   |       |                |
|       |                                                                              | at nonP.def     | Pangadap    |       |                |
|       | <i>If you are not too lazy, go borrow a bush knife for me from Pangadap.</i> |                 |             |       |                |

Viewing the event as a lending, rather than a borrowing, the lender is encoded as Causer. The bare causative form (considered an allomorph of Nominative Focus) is used when the lender is in focus, as in example (105) above. The lendee (borrower), formally encoded as Causee, takes Accusative Focus, and is marked as an affected Agent (by the use of the prefix po- rather than poN-):

|       |                                                                              |                  |              |                    |
|-------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|--------------|--------------------|
| (109) | LENDER                                                                       |                  | PIV-LENDEE   | THEME              |
|       | Amu kuh                                                                      | po-olos-on       | ih Jaiwan    | ditih tompa kuh    |
|       | <i>not I(nonP)</i>                                                           | caus-BORROW-AccF | P.def Jaiwan | this(nonP) shoe my |
|       | tu,                                                                          | ara'ag dati.     |              |                    |
|       | <i>because ruined likely</i>                                                 |                  |              |                    |
|       | <i>I won't loan my shoes to Jaiwan because he would probably spoil them.</i> |                  |              |                    |

|       |                                        |            |     |                            |
|-------|----------------------------------------|------------|-----|----------------------------|
| (110) |                                        | PIV-LENDEE |     | THEME                      |
|       | Po-olos-o                              | okuh       | poh | dot gampa nuh.             |
|       | caus-BORROW-AccF.imper                 | I(P)       | yet | nonP.indef bush.knife your |
|       | <i>Please loan me your bush knife.</i> |            |     |                            |

The loaned item takes simple (non-causative) Translative Focus, contrasting with the accusative marking of a borrowed item. Note the TF marking in the following example, in contrast to the AccF marking in example (106) above, even though the Theme is in focus in both cases.

|       |                                  |         |                 |                |
|-------|----------------------------------|---------|-----------------|----------------|
| (111) |                                  | LENDER  | LENDEE          | THEME          |
|       | N-i-olos                         | kuh     | dih Janama      | it baju kuh.   |
|       | past-TF-BORROW                   | I(nonP) | nonP.def Janama | P.def shirt my |
|       | <i>I loaned Janama my shirt.</i> |         |                 |                |

In the previous section, we discussed the tendency for simple Translative Focus forms to have (or allow) meanings equivalent to affected Agent causative forms. Indeed, a secondary use of iolos is possible which seems equivalent to pooloson; compare the following example with example (110) above.

|       |            |                                |                |            |
|-------|------------|--------------------------------|----------------|------------|
| (112) |            |                                | PIV-LENDEE     | THEME      |
|       | Ara'at ih  | Jumin, amu n-i-olos            | it tanak kuh   | do         |
|       | <i>bad</i> | P.def Jumin not past-TF-BORROW | P.def child my | nonP.indef |

gampa.  
bush.knife

*Jumin is a nasty person, he wouldn't loan my son a bush knife.*

The affected Agent form pooloson used when the lendeer is in focus ((109)-(110) above) marks the lendeer as filling the Causee slot formally. The non-affected Agent form pongoloson is used for a true Causee, someone who is literally caused (i.e. sent) to borrow something:

|                                                                        |                |            |            |                 |               |             |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|------------|------------|-----------------|---------------|-------------|
| (113)                                                                  |                |            | PIV-CAUSEE | THEME           | SOURCE        |             |
| Pong-olos-on                                                           | poh            | ih         | Janama     | dot             | korita        | sid dih     |
| trans-BORROW-AccF                                                      | yet            | P.def      | Janama     | nonP.indef      | car           | at nonP.def |
| Tosong                                                                 | tu,            | saka'an    | (sako-an)  | tokou           | t-um-alob.    |             |
| <i>Tosong</i>                                                          | <i>because</i> | MOUNT-DatF |            | <i>we(incl)</i> | *-NomF-MARKET |             |
| <i>Have Janama borrow a car from Tosong for us to go to market in.</i> |                |            |            |                 |               |             |

The Translative Focus and Dative Focus causative forms, ipoolos and paalasan, can both be used to focus on the item loaned. They seem to signal varying degrees of volitionality and control on the part of the lender. In the following examples, the non-causative form niolos (example (114)) implies that the borrower requested the loan, and the lender merely agreed; the causative form nipoolos (example (115)) implies that the borrower did not request the loan, but the lender spontaneously offered it:

|                                         |         |          |        |                  |
|-----------------------------------------|---------|----------|--------|------------------|
| (114)                                   |         | LENDER   | LENDEE | PIV-THEME        |
| N-i-olos                                | kuh     | dih      | Jaiwan | itih korita kuh. |
| past-TF-BORROW                          | I(nonP) | nonP.def | Jaiwan | this(P) car my   |
| <i>I lent Jaiwan my car.</i>            |         |          |        |                  |
| (115)                                   |         | LENDER   | LENDEE | PIV-THEME        |
| N-i-po-olos                             | kuh     | dih      | Jaiwan | itih korita kuh. |
| past-TF-caus-BORROW                     | I(nonP) | nonP.def | Jaiwan | this(P) car my.  |
| <i>I offered to loan Jaiwan my car.</i> |         |          |        |                  |

The contrast is seen even more clearly if the result is negated. In the causative form, the negation implies that the offer was refused. In the non-causative form, the negation implies that the borrower changed his mind or was somehow prevented from using the car:

|                                                                           |         |          |        |                  |     |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|----------|--------|------------------|-----|
| (116)                                                                     |         | LENDER   | LENDEE | PIV-THEME        |     |
| N-i-olos                                                                  | kuh     | dih      | Jaiwan | itih korita kuh, | nga |
| past-TF-BORROW                                                            | I(nonP) | nonP.def | Jaiwan | this car my      | but |
| amu n-olos-Ø                                                              |         | dialo.   |        |                  |     |
| not past-BORROW-AccF                                                      |         | he(nonP) |        |                  |     |
| <i>I agreed to let Jaiwan borrow my car, but he didn't get to use it.</i> |         |          |        |                  |     |
| (117)                                                                     |         | LENDER   | LENDEE | PIV-THEME        |     |
| N-i-po-olos                                                               | kuh     | dih      | Jaiwan | itih korita kuh, |     |
| past-TF-caus-BORROW                                                       | I(nonP) | nonP.def | Jaiwan | this(P) car my   |     |
| nga amu n-olos-Ø                                                          |         | dialo.   |        |                  |     |
| but not past-BORROW-AccF                                                  |         | he(nonP) |        |                  |     |
| <i>I offered to loan my car to Jaiwan, but he refused.</i>                |         |          |        |                  |     |

The semantic distinction in these examples is roughly *agree to lend* (iolos) vs. *offer to lend* (ipoolos). A third possible form focusing on the loaned item is the Dative, paalasan. This seems to imply even higher volitionality on the part of the lender. In the following example, the Dative form implies: "I'm going to loan him my shoes whether he wants them or not!"

- |       |                    |                                                                     |       |          |         |           |     |
|-------|--------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|----------|---------|-----------|-----|
| (118) |                    | LENDER                                                              |       | LENDEE   |         | PIV-THEME |     |
|       | Pa-alas-an         | kuh                                                                 | poh   | dialo    | itih    | tompa kuh | ong |
|       | caus-BORROW-DatF   | I(nonP)                                                             | yet   | he(nonP) | this(P) | shoe my   | if  |
|       | r-um-ilik          | noh                                                                 | yalo. |          |         |           |     |
|       | *-NomF-CLEAR.BRUSH | already                                                             | he(P) |          |         |           |     |
|       |                    | <i>I am going to loan him my shoes when he goes to clear brush.</i> |       |          |         |           |     |

This example also carries the sense of a loan with no strings attached, no matter if the shoes are damaged, lost, or stolen by the borrower.

## 5.2 'Buy' and 'sell'

There are two words for *buy* in Kimaragang, *boli* and *dagang*. In non-causative forms, the two seem to be perfect synonyms, and have the same focus properties. For both roots, Accusative Focus is used for the item purchased (example (119)), and Dative Focus for the Benefactive (example (120)):

- (119) Nunuh oh {boli-on / dagang-on} nuh?  
*what P.indef BUY-AccF BUY-AccF you(nonP)*  
*What are you going to buy?*
- (120) {Boli-ai / dagang-ai} okuh poh do tasin!  
 BUY-DatF.imper me(P) yet nonP.indef salt  
*Buy me some salt!*

However, in the causative forms there is a definite semantic distinction. *Poboli* means *cause to buy*, e.g. persuade or coerce someone to buy something. It implies that the person doing the persuading, the Causer, is not the person selling the item being purchased. *Padagang*, on the other hand, means simply *to sell*.

A related difference emerges in the Translative Focus forms of these two verbs. The Translative Focus form *iboli* (or the equivalent instrumental causative *pobolion*) marks the money which is spent as Pivot, as in example (121). *Idagang*, on the other hand, marks that which is sold as Pivot, as in example (122).

- (121) N-i-boli kuh it siin kuh dot tasin.  
 past-TF-BUY I(nonP) P.def money my nonP.indef salt  
*I spent my money on salt.*  
 (cf. example (86) above)
- (122) {I-dagang / pa-dagang-on} dialo ih kuda yoh.  
 TF-BUY / caus-BUY-AccF he(nonP) P.def horse his  
*He is selling his horse.*

In causative constructions, *boli* seems to follow the transitive pattern while *dagang* follows the ditransitive pattern. In both cases the Causee is marked as non-affected Agent (see example (85) above).

Translative Focus is used for both the item purchased (as Patient of a transitive; ipoboli, (123)) and the item sold (as Theme of a ditransitive; ipadagang, (124)).

(123) Amu kuh boli-on dara itih sada ditih nga, n-i-po-boli  
 not I(nonP) BUY-AccF *would this(P) fish this but past-TF-caus-BUY*  
 dih Akub.  
 nonP.def Akub  
*I wouldn't have bought this fish, but Akub made me buy it.*

(124) l-pa-dagang dih Janama ilot karabau odih.  
 TF-caus-BUY nonP.def Janama that(P) buffalo over.there  
*Tell Janama to sell that buffalo over there.*

The dative causative form padagangan focuses on the person to whom something is sold, as the Goal of a ditransitive (example (125)). Poboliyan has two uses. It may mark the Pivot as being the Benefactive of a purchase (example (126)); or it may mark the Patient (item purchased) in an indirect causative form (example (127)), according to the transitive pattern discussed in section 3.2 above.

(125) Isai pa-dagang-an kuh ditih kuda kuh?  
 who caus-BUY-DatF I(nonP) this(nonP) horse my  
*Who can/should I sell my horse to?*

(126) Po-boli-an kuh dih Paul do jaam ih Sarah nga, amu  
 caus-BUY-DatF I(nonP) nonP.def Paul nonP.indef watch P.def Sarah but not  
 b-in-oli-an dialo.  
 \*-past-BUY-DatF he(nonP)  
*I asked Paul to buy Sarah a watch, but he wouldn't.*

(127) Po-boli-an dogon dih apa ilo jaam dilo nga, amu  
 caus-BUY-DatF me(nonP) nonP.def father that(P) watch that but not  
 kuh b-in-oli-Ø.  
 I(nonP) \*-past-BUY-AccF  
*Dad asked me to buy that watch, but I didn't buy it.*

The verb tu'un *jump down* (see examples (29)-(30) and (34) above), has an interesting idiomatic sense. The causative form potuun may be used as a synonym for padagang *sell*. However, potuun is used only for produce sold by the sackfull, especially rice, rice powder and copra.

As noted above, tu'un is an intransitive root. However, in this secondary sense, tu'un (like dagang) follows the ditransitive pattern in causative forms. Translative Focus marks the Theme (that which is sold) (example (128)), Dative Focus marks the Goal (example (129)).

(128) l-po-tuun kuh dialo it parai yoh tu aso siin  
 TF-caus-DROP I(nonP) he(nonP) P.def rice his because not.exist money  
 dialo nga, amu dialo n-i-tuun.  
 he(nonP) but not he(nonP) past-TF-DROP  
*I told him to sell his rice because he is out of money, but he didn't sell it.*

- (129) Sid disai do kadai po-tuun-an ditih parai?  
*at whose poss shop caus-DROP-DatF this (nonP) rice*  
*Which shop should we sell this rice to?*

## 6. CONCLUSION

The changes in focus marking associated with morphological causatives in Kimaragang are quite complex. However, the basic patterns discussed above make it clear that Kimaragang does not fit the pattern described by Comrie (1981), i.e. with the Causee filling the highest available level on hierarchy A. In Kimaragang, the Causee always takes accusative marking, while other participants (Patient, Theme, Goal, Location) are distributed between Dative and Translative Focus.

In the preceding discussion, it has proved essential to classify verb stems as intransitive, transitive or ditransitive (while recognising that some stems have distinct transitive and intransitive senses). For non-causative constructions, such a classification is much less helpful, leaving as much variation unexplained as it accounts for. Indeed, the classification of verb stems in Philippine-type languages in general is a very difficult problem. However, based on the causative data discussed here, the distinction between intransitives, transitives and ditransitives seems to be an important starting point for Kimaragang.

Two instances have been noted where case distinctions marked in non-causative verb morphology are lost in causative constructions. The Location of an intransitive and the Goal of a ditransitive are distinct in non-causative verbs (Locative vs. Dative Focus); but both take Dative Focus in causatives. In the same way, Patients of transitives (Accusative or Dative Focus in non-causative forms) shift to Translative Focus in causatives, merging with the Themes of ditransitive verbs.

This loss of case distinctions is natural, in view of the valence changes associated with causative verbs. When Nominative Focus is assigned to the Causer, there are fewer possible forms to which the other participants can be assigned.

The reduced set of focus possibilities for causative verbs is isomorphic with the set of non-oblique syntactic cases described in section 1.1, except for the addition of the Causer in Nominative Focus. Accusative Focus causatives focus on the Causee, and correspond to Actor of the non-causative (result) event. Translative Focus, marking Patients of transitive causative verbs and Themes of ditransitive causatives, corresponds to non-causative Undergoer. Dative Focus, marking Location of intransitive causatives and Goal of ditransitive causatives, corresponds to the non-causative Referent.

This set of correspondences is summarised in Figure E below.



Figure E: Focus marking of causatives in relation to the non-causative event

|                            |        |        |           |          |
|----------------------------|--------|--------|-----------|----------|
| Focus morpheme:            | ∅-     | -on    | i-        | -an      |
| Intrans.                   | Causer | Causee | ---       | Location |
| Trans.                     | Causer | Causee | Patient   | ---      |
| Ditrans.                   | Causer | Causee | Theme     | Goal     |
| Non-causative constituent: | ---    | ACTOR  | UNDERGOER | REFERENT |

Finally, the possible focus types for both causative and non-causative verbs are summarised in the following matrix. The top row shows the focus-marking affixes, while the left-most column lists the prefixes discussed in this study: poN- 'transitive', and po- 'causative'.

Figure F: Summary of focus-marking affixation for Kimaragang verbs

|      | ∅                             | m-                                        | -on                                                          | i-                                                                                                                  | -an                                                                                            |
|------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ∅    | -                             | m-<br>Nominative<br>Focus<br>(intr.)      | -on<br>1. Acc.Focus<br>(trans.)<br>2. Loc.Focus<br>(intr.)   | i-<br>Translative<br>Focus                                                                                          | -an<br>Dative<br>Focus                                                                         |
| poN- | poN-<br>Instrumental<br>Focus | m-poN-<br>Nominative<br>Focus<br>(trans.) | poN- -on<br>Causee (non-<br>affected)                        | -                                                                                                                   | poN- -an<br>Setting<br>Focus                                                                   |
| po-  | po-<br>Causer                 | -                                         | po- -on<br>1. Causee<br>(affected)<br>2. instr.<br>causative | i-po-<br>1. secondary<br>caus.<br>(intr.)<br>2. Patient<br>(trans.)<br>3. Theme/<br>secondary<br>caus.<br>(ditran.) | po- -an<br>1. Location<br>(intr.)<br>2. secondary<br>caus.<br>(trans.)<br>3. Goal<br>(ditran.) |

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Translative case in Kimaragang is roughly equivalent to the semantic case-role Theme. Translative Focus is used when the Pivot is the Theme of a ditransitive verb or otherwise undergoes a change of location due to the action of the verb.

Translative and Locative are considered to occupy the same position on hierarchy B, but cannot be ordered with respect to each other; see Figure C below.

<sup>2</sup>The case marking devices used for non-Pivot NPs are described in my other paper in this volume. They include: Actor vs. Undergoer forms of first and second person (non-Pivot) pronouns, both singular and plural; different non-focus determiners (dih/do for Actor and Undergoer, sid for Referent); and word-order (a preference for Actor to precede Undergoer, which precedes Referent; however, other ordering principles take precedence over this one, e.g. pronouns occur before nouns).

The case marking system for non-focused NPs could be referred to as *syntactic case*, in contrast to the focus system, which could be said to mark *morphological case*. Kimaragang grammar distinguishes four syntactic cases but, in non-causative constructions, seven morphological cases (or focus types).

<sup>3</sup>The *valence* of a verb is the number of nuclear participants associated with that verb: one for intransitives, two for transitives, three for ditransitives.

<sup>4</sup>The verb *intong look at*, is another transitive which assigns the Undergoer (in this case the Range, that which is seen) to the Dative in non-causative forms. In causatives, *intong* follows the regular transitive pattern of assigning the Undergoer to Translative Focus.

<sup>5</sup>Since the Locative suffix is homophonous with Accusative Focus, the use of the dative here serves to maintain the transitive-intransitive distinction which would be lost if the Patient of the transitive verb *to sit on* took Accusative Focus. Dative Focus is used in the same way with other transitive verbs derived from intransitive roots, e.g. the transitive verb *sleep at; guard* discussed below.

<sup>6</sup>The term *nuclear* is used here to refer to the obligatory constituents of the simple clause, i.e. those which define the valence of the verb. Thus Agent and Patient are nuclear constituents of a transitive clause, while Benefactive is not.

The concept of a clause nucleus, used by Pike and Pike (1982) and Dik (1978, cited in Foley and Van Valin 1984), is comparable to the term *core* used by Foley and Van Valin. However, it is not yet clear whether a simple two-way distinction between the nucleus (or core) and periphery of a clause is possible in Kimaragang.

There is a clear distinction between what I have called here *oblique* constituents, which must be governed by a subordinate verb or verbal preposition, and the *non-oblique* constituents, which are elements of the simple clause. However, the status of the non-oblique, non-nuclear constituents Location (of an intransitive) and Benefactive (of a transitive) remains in question. There seems to be no morphosyntactic distinction between these elements and those I have classed as nuclear, except for the fact that the nuclear elements are obligatory while Location and Benefactive are optional.

<sup>7</sup>Although examples (77)-(78) are glossed as having equivalent meanings, there is a semantic distinction between the direct and indirect causative forms. Example (77) (the indirect form) carries the sense of, "*Go find Majudil and*

have him bring my shoes to me". Example (78), on the other hand, is based on the assumption that Majudil will be going to the hearer's house: "Send my shoes back with Majudil, when/if he comes to see you". Thus in (77), the hearer is both Causee<sub>1</sub> (being sent to find Majudil), and Causer<sub>2</sub> (getting Majudil to carry the shoes). In example (78), the hearer is more nearly a simple Causer.

<sup>8</sup>The semantic analysis outlined above also finds a parallel in non-causative verb morphology. When the Agent of a non-causative transitive verb is in focus, the verb carries the Nominative Focus morpheme, *m-*, plus the transitivity prefix, *poN-*. When the Instrument is in focus, the verb carries only the transitivity prefix; Instrument carries the same marking as Agent, except for the Nominative affix. We could interpret this to mean that Instrument is marked as an Agent but not an Actor, hence an Agent without volitionality.

#### LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

|        |   |                    |       |   |                                          |
|--------|---|--------------------|-------|---|------------------------------------------|
| able   | = | habilitative       | nonP  | = | non-Pivot                                |
| AccF   | = | Accusative Focus   | P     | = | Pivot                                    |
| CAPS   | = | verb root          | part  | = | particle                                 |
| caus   | = | causative          | past  | = | past tense                               |
| DatF   | = | Dative Focus       | pl    | = | plural                                   |
| def    | = | definite           | poss  | = | possessive                               |
| dup    | = | reduplication      | Q     | = | question marker                          |
| emph   | = | emphasis marker    | recip | = | reciprocal                               |
| excl   | = | exclusive          | REL   | = | relative clause linker                   |
| IF     | = | Instrumental Focus | SF    | = | Setting Focus                            |
| imm    | = | immediate past     | sg    | = | singular                                 |
| imper  | = | imperative         | stat  | = | stative                                  |
| incl   | = | inclusive          | TF    | = | Translative Focus                        |
| indef  | = | indefinite         | trans | = | transitivity marker                      |
| LocF   | = | Locative Focus     | *-    | = | initial consonant of stem split by infix |
| NomF   | = | Nominative Focus   | ∅     | = | zero allomorph                           |
| nonfin | = | non-finite mood    |       |   |                                          |

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