Phrasal alternation in Kerinci

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8 Verbal constructions

8.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to discuss the general syntactic properties of verb constructions, as well as the distribution of absolute and oblique forms within the verbal domain.

Verbal predicates are predicates headed by a verb. These constructions are complex, since they can appear in several voice constructions each of which displaying distinct morphological and syntactic properties. Phrasal alternation is crucial to understanding the properties of each of these constructions, as we shall see.

The general pattern of ABS-OBL opposition in verbal constructions is that the oblique form is used when the referent of the verb has a restricting specification either expressed or known from the context (see 1.7.4), whereas the absolute form occurs in neutral or generic contexts. However, a number of details and exceptions necessitate a topic-by-topic treatment of PT verbal constructions.

Notions of valency and transitivity as applied to PT are discussed first (8.2), followed by intransitive constructions (8.3), transitive constructions (8.4), ditransitive constructions (8.5), imperative constructions (8.6), secondary predication (8.7), non-alternating verbs (8.8) and verbs in free variation (8.9).

8.2 Valency and transitivity

Key to verbal constructions are the notions of valency and transitivity. Valency is the semantic relationship between a verb and the number of participants that can be bonded to it. According to their valency, verbs can be grouped into 'monovalent' verbs that take one participant, 'bivalent' verbs that take two participants and 'trivalent' verbs that take three participants. All types occur in PT.

Transitivity is the syntactic relationship between the participants or 'arguments' (Dixon 2010). Constructions can be classified into 'intransitives' that take one argument, 'transitives' that take two arguments and 'ditransitives' that take three arguments. Again, all types occur in PT.

8.3 Intransitive constructions

An intransitive construction has one core argument (Payne 2006; Dryer 2007; Foley 2007). The verb occurs in the absolute form (1)-(2).

(1) *əla neh lah tərbua pulao*
eagle.A neh already fly.A too
'The hawk is already flying'
[P1_FS_DAS_OLD_MALE.049]

(2) *dari padua ɲo masauʔ*
from Padang.A 3.PL come.A
'From Padang, they came'
[fc3.088]

In narratives particularly, the predicate typically appears in the initial position. The Predicate-Subject (PS) word order highlights the action expressed by the verb and expresses dynamicity (3)-(7). The particle *lah* can be added (7) for more emphasis (7).[90] The intransitive verb can also occur in the oblique form when followed by a complement (8).

(3) *əntai ɲo sə-loh karaŋan pukat*
stop.A 3.SG next.to basket.O avocado
'He stops next to the avocado basket' [Dyn.]
[P10_PV_ERM_OLD_FEMALE.019]

(4) *maŋaʔ ɲo kateh umpun kajau*
ACT.climb.A 3.SG up cluster.O wood.A
'He climbs the tree' [DYN]
[P10_FS_ERM_OLD_FEMALE.022]

(5) *ŋimaʔ ɲo ŋaduaʔ kateh*
ACT.see.A 3.SG toward up
'He looks at the upper side' [Dyn.]
[P10_PV_ERM_OLD_FEMALE.022]

[90] Note that *lah* has two separate functions. It functions as an emphasizing discourse marker and as a modal that marks past tense.

(6) *ba-imbua* *ɲo*
VBLZ-summon.A 3.SG
'He summons' [Dyn.]
[P4_FS_HAL_OLD_FEMALE.060]

(7) *ba-lahoi* *lah* *ɲo* *tigea* *toh* *kateh*
VBLZ-run.A PART 3.PL three.A toh up
'The three of them run to the top' [Dyn.]
[fc11.072]

(8) *burun* *itoh* *tərbon* *tiŋgai*
bird.O itoh fly.O high.A
'That bird is flying high'

8.4 Transitive constructions

Transitive verbs differ from intransitive verbs in their ability to form active and passive sentences. There are different ways to express an event, each of which occurs in different contexts and constructions and displays specific information packaging profiles (cf. Fillmore 1968, 1977; Anderson 1971; Goldberg 1995, 2006, 2013). These variants keep a discourse systematic and logical, as part of the information already known to the hearer (Lambrecht 1994). In the words of Foley (2007: 363-364).

> A discourse is not merely a set of sentences randomly strung together, but is rather a structured series, the development of which constitutes a coherent whole and is recognized as such by speakers of a language. Speakers therefore employ the various packaging options for clauses in the languages in order to ensure the coherence of the discourse. Each conceptual event described in the discourse will be presented in such a way as to foster the coherence of the discourse.

As mentioned previously, the verb of a transitive construction is bivalent (9). Monovalent verb roots (10) can also occur in transitive constructions (11), in which case their valency increases. The English translations are identical, since there is no one-to-one correspondence between PT and English, yet the latter example expresses that the agent performs the action in an active way.

(9) *tono* *nukun* *kucaeʔ*
PN ACT.hit.O cat.A
'Tono hit a cat'

(10) *tono dudeuʔ keʔ miɲua*
PN sit.A on table.A
'Tono sits on a table' [he has no chair]

(11) *tono man-duduʔ*[91] *miɲua*
PN ACT-sit.O table.A
'Tono sits on a table' [he is rebelling against his teacher]

This section focuses on transitive constructions and discusses nasal substitution with *N-* (8.4.1), active constructions (8.4.2) and two different types of passive constructions (8.4.3)-(8.4.4). The paradigm of transitive constructions in PT is displayed in Table 8.1.

	Absolute Verb Form	**Oblique Verb Form**
Active	*N*-root.A	*N*-root.O
P1	*di*-root.A	*di*-root.O
P2	person marker + root.A	

Table 8.1. The paradigm of the transitive constructions

8.4.1 Nasal substitution with *N-*

The morpheme *N-* typically marks a verb as active. This morpheme exhibits a number of allomorphs whose distribution is determined by phonological properties of the word-initial phoneme of the segment to which it is prefixed. In the examples below, the monomorphemic root is given first, followed by the derived active verb formed by the prefix *N-*. As can be seen, PT does not prefer NC clusters in initial position and exhibits processes of nasal substitution whereby the root-initial consonant is replaced by a homorganic nasal.[92]

[91] Note that the retention of the root-initial /d/ in this particular word differs from the general pattern of nasal prefixation shown in 8.4.1.

[92] Pater (1999: 311) observes the same phenomenon in Indonesian: 'nasal substitution is just one of a range of processes that languages make use of to rid themselves of NC clusters'.

a) Root-initial velar stops (/k/, /g/) are replaced by /ŋ/

N-	+	*kəran/kərin*	=	*ŋəran/ŋərin*	'to dry'[93]
N-	+	*kalau/kalun*	=	*ŋalau/ŋalun*	'to present'
N-	+	*guron/gurin*	=	*ŋurin*.O[94]	'to fry'
N-	+	*ganteu/gantun*	=	*ŋantau*.A[95]	'to hang'

b) Root-initial vowels are preceded by /ŋ/

N-	+	*asauh/asouh*	=	*ŋasouh*.O	'to nurture'
N-	+	*ikaʔ/ikat*	=	*ŋikat*.O	'to tie'
N-	+	*urauh/urouh*	=	*ŋurauh/ŋurouh*	'to manage'

c) Root-initial nasals remain as they are

N-	+	*maka/makan*	=	*maka/makan*	'to eat'
N-	+	*naaeʔ/naeʔ*	=	*naaeʔ/naeʔ*	'to go up'
N-	+	*ɲaŋi*	=	*ɲaŋi*[96]	'to sing'

d) Root-initial liquids (/l/, /r/) are preceded by /ma/

N-	+	*ləpaeh/ləpeh*	=	*maləpaeh/maləpeh*	'to release'
N-	+	*lawa/lawan*	=	*malawa/malawan*	'to oppose'
N-	+	*rusaʔ/rusoʔ*	=	*marusaʔ/maruso?*	'to damage'

e) Root-initial palatal stops (/c/, /ɟ/) and sibilants (/s/) are replaced by /ɲ/

N-	+	*caŋkau/caŋkou*	=	*ɲaŋkau/ɲaŋkou*	'to hoe'
N-	+	*cukaiʔ/cukeiʔ*	=	*ɲukeiʔ*.O	'to poke'
N-	+	*ɟəmea/ɟəmo*	=	*ɲəmao*.A	'to dry in the sun'
N-	+	*ɟəɟuaʔ/ɟəɟoʔ*	=	*ɲəɟoʔ*.O	'to set down'
N-	+	*saboiʔ/sabit*	=	*ɲaboiʔ/ɲabit*	'to mow'
N-	+	*sijao/sijo*	=	*ɲijao/ɲijo*	'to rent'

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[93] I follow the convention in Malay linguistics of glossing forms as (English) infinitives.

[94] Some nasalized words only occur in the oblique form although the roots have absolute and oblique alternations.

[95] Note that nasally prefixed roots with word-initial G-phonemes change into K-words (3.4.3).

[96] The verb *ɲaŋi* does not have ABS-OBL opposition.

f) Root-initial bilabial stops (/p/, /b/) are replaced by /m/

N-	+	*pakau/pakou*	=	*makau/makou*	'to nail'
N-	+	*pətaiʔ/pəteiʔ*	=	*mətei*ʔ.O	'to pick'
N-	+	*bacea/baco*	=	*macea/maco*[97]	'to read'
N-	+	*bənua/bəno*	=	*məna/məno*	'to make'

g) Root-initial dental and alveolar stops (/t/, /d/) are replaced by /n/

N-	+	*tulaih/tuleih*	=	*nulaih/nuleih*	'to write'
N-	+	*tana/tanan*	=	*nana/nanan*	'to cultivate'
N-	+	*tuwaiʔ/tuweiʔ*	=	*nuweʔ*[98]	'to ask'
N-	+	*təmau/təmou*	=	*nəmou.O*	'to meet'
N-	+	*dakoi/daki*	=	*nakai/nakei*	'to climb'
N-	+	*dəŋua/dəŋo*	=	*nəŋa/nəŋo*	'to hear'

h) Monosyllabic roots are preceded by /ŋə/[99]

N-	+	*bom*	=	*ŋəbom*	'to bomb'
N-	+	*cek*	=	*ŋəcek*	'to check'
N-	+	*pel*	=	*ŋəpel*	'to swab'
N-	+	*cas*	=	*ŋəcas*	'to charge'

Certain verbs, such as *dapuaʔ/dapot* 'to get' and *busuaʔ* 'to wash one's face' cannot take nasal prefixes.

8.4.2 Active constructions

This section demonstrates the properties of the active construction and discusses the distribution of the absolute and oblique forms. In PT, the active transitive construction exhibits the following properties:

1) Agentivity: there is an active and deliberate agent occurring pre-verbally in subject position.
2) Affectedness: there is a concrete and affected patient occurring post-verbally in the object position.

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[97] The nasal prefix would have normally yielded a K-word (3.4.3), yet *bacea/baco* is a lexical exception.

[98] Note the irregular syllable rime.

[99] All these words are borrowings from English or Dutch, probably through Malay. They do not display ABS-OBL opposition.

3) The verb is marked with the prefix *N-* (the morphophonological properties of which have been discussed in 8.4.1).
4) Auxiliaries and negations can precede the subject and/or intervene between the subject and the nasal-prefixed verb.

An active clause thus exhibits a pre-verbal agent–subject (property 1) and a post-verbal patient–object that is affected by the action denoted by the verb (property 2). The argument can be expressed (12) or left out when it is clear from the context (13)–(14). Note that the verb must be nasal-prefixed, the bare form is ungrammatical.

(12) *ɲo* *nukun* *kucaeʔ*
3.SG ACT.hit.O cat.A
'S/he hits a cat'

[What did s/he do?]
(13) *nukun* *kucaeʔ*
ACT.hit.O cat.A
'[S/he] hits a cat'

[What happened to the cat?]
(14) *ɲo* *nukun*
3.SG ACT.hit.O
'S/he hits [it]'

**ɲo* *tukun*
3.SG hit.O

Auxiliaries or negations can intervene between the subject and the nasal-prefixed verb (15) or precede the subject (16). In natural speech, auxiliaries or negations are preferred clause-initially. Auxiliaries and/or negations cannot intervene between the verb and its object.

(15) *ɲo* *suduah* *nukun* *kucaeʔ*
3.SG already.A ACT.hit.O cat.A
'S/he already hit a cat'

(16) *iŋia* *ɲo* *nukun* *kucaeʔ*
NEG 3.SG ACT.hit.O cat.A
'Did not s/he hit a cat' [Lit.]
'S/he did not hit a cat'

ɲo	*nukun*	*ɨjia*	*kucae?*
3.SG	ACT.hit.O	NEG	cat.A

The following sections delve deeper into the distribution of ABS-OBL alternation in active constructions: examining the oblique form (8.4.2.1), the absolute form (8.4.2.2), and object topicalization (8.4.2.3). Note that the broad patterns of phrasal alternation in PT are similar to those of SP (Steinhauer and Usman 1978; Usman 1988) and TPM (Mckinnon 2011). However, there are cross-dialectical differences on a detailed level, which will also be discussed in this section.

8.4.2.1 OBL in the active constructions

The use of the oblique form instructs the interlocutor to identify the restriction placed on the verb. In this context, the correlation between the verb and the object is not mentioned explicitly. Chafe (1987: 26), in line with my argument, expresses this correlation as follows:

> Those concepts which are already active for the speaker, and which the speaker judges to be active for the hearer as well, are verbalized in a special way, having properties which have often been discussed in terms of 'old' or 'given' information. The general thing to say is that given concepts are spoken with an attenuated pronunciation. The attenuation involves, at the very least, weak stress. Typically, though not always, it also involves either pronominalization or omission from verbalization altogether.

The omission of an object is well attested cross-linguistically (cf. Mittwoch 1971, Sag and Hankamer 1984).[100] To Fillmore (1986: 97):

> […] cases where the speaker's authority to omit a complement exists only within an ongoing discourse in which the missing information can be immediately retrieved from the context, and on condition that the omission is authorized by a particular lexical item or grammatical construction in the language.

What makes PT differ from other languages is that it makes use of phrasal alternation to mark the object or the complement in that position. Following the general rules of phrasal alternation presented in 1.7.4, the

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[100] For example, the phenomenon has been observed in Japanese, Korean and Hungarian (Goldberg 1995: 59).

oblique form is required when the referent of a verb is restricted by an object, either overt (17)-(18) or unexpressed (19)-(21)

(17) *uha ɲabut umpauʔ təpei ɟalua*
people.A ACT.pick.O grass.A edge.O road.A
'People pulled up grass at the side of the road'

(18) *ɲo ŋimoʔ kaŋkun ɲo dalon <u>toples</u>*
3.SG ACT.look.O frog.O 3.SG.POSS inside jar
'S/he looks at his frog inside the jar'
[P1_FS_DAS_OLD_MALE.005]

(19) *dijea lamao ɲa nuŋgou*
3.SG long.A really ACT.wait.O
'She awaited [you] for a long time'
[fc4.025]

[A group of people burnt some houses]
(20) *ku duwea mala uha ɲundun*
time two.A evening.A people.A ACT.burn.O
'At 2 am, people burnt [them]'
[fc5.028]

(21) *anɟeʔ ɲo neh tərauh*
dog.O 3.SG.POSS neh continuous

ugea ɲəgut
also ACT.bark.O
'His dog still barks at [the wasp nest]'
[P1_FS_DAS_OLD_MALE.033]

The oblique form is also required in active constructions which take a clausal complement (22)-(24).[101]

(22) *ani ŋiro lampou lah matai*
PN ACT.reckon.O lamp already die.A
'Ani reckons that the lamp was already turned off'

[101] This is different in TPM, where a verb with a clausal complement occurs in the absolute form (Mckinnon 2011).

(23) *aril nuweʔ bilea ikao k-uwo*
PN ACT.ask when 2.SG to.outside.O
'Aril wonders when you go to the market'

(24) *rini ɲeŋko*[102] *uto numbouʔ kanda*
PN ACT.think.O car ACT.hit.O cage.A
'Rini thought that the car hit the cage'

In this regard, the verb *pilaih/pileih* 'to choose, to vote for' behaves idiosyncratically. The oblique form is used when the verb is followed by a nominal adjunct (25), but also when the verb is followed by a nominal complement functioning as an object (26).[103] In PT, *pilaih/pileih* 'to choose, to vote' cannot occur intransitively and has to take an overt or covert object, requiring the oblique form.

[An election was held on Saturday]
(25) *nanda mileih ahi sətau*
PN ACT.vote.O day.O Saturday.A
'Nanda voted [for someone] on Saturday'

[The day to hold an event was decided on]
(26) *nanda mileih ahi sətau*
PN ACT.vote.O day.O Saturday.A
'Nanda voted for Saturday'

We see clear cross-dialectical differences between PT and TPM in the domain of phrasal alternation in active constructions (Table 8.2).

PT		**TPM**
V-OBL	Nominal complement	V.OBL
V-OBL	Nominal adjunct	V.ABS
V-OBL	Clausal complement	V.ABS

Table 8.2. Comparison of verb roles in PT and TPM

[102] In TPM, the verb root would have been required in this clause (Mckinnon 2011).

[103] In TPM, the absolute form takes a nominal adjunct, whereas the oblique form takes a nominal complement. Examples in PT below are adapted from TPM (Mckinnon 2011).

8.4.2.2 ABS in the active constructions

The absolute form can only occur in phrase–final position. Verbs occur in the absolute form when they do not take an object. This construction, therefore, is syntactically intransitive; a so-called 'indefinite null complement' (Fillmore 1986; Goldberg 1995).[104]

Common nasal-prefixed verbs that can occur in the absolute form include *maka* 'to eat' (*maka/makan*), *minan* 'to drink' (*minan/minun*), *ɲubea* 'to try' (*cubea/cubo*), *ŋantau* 'to hang' (*ganteu/gantun*), *ɲampau* 'to mix' (*campau/campou*), *nulaih* 'to write' (*tulaih/tuleih*) and *maŋkau* 'to hold' (*paŋkau/paŋkou*).

When these verbs take an object, they must occur in the oblique form. In other words, if the subject-agent performs an object-less or object-irrelevant activity, the absolute form is used (27)-(28). When the oblique form is used, the implication is that the referent of the verb is restricted by an object understood from the context (29)-(30).

(27) *ɲo* *minan (*minun)* *keʔ* *kantin*
3.SG ACT.drink.A in canteen.A
'S/he drinks in the canteen'

(28) *iteʔ* *suduah* *nuwae* *pətan*
aunty already.A ACT.harvest.A yesterday
'Aunty already harvested yesterday'

[Where did s/he drink tea?]

(29) *ɲo* *minun (*minan)* *keʔ* *kantin*
3.SG ACT.drink.O in canteen.A
'S/he drank [it] in the canteen'

'What happened to the paddy?'

(30) *iteʔ* *suduah* *nuwe* *pətan*
aunty already.A ACT.harvest.O yesterday
'Aunty already harvested [it] yesterday'

Some nasal-prefixed verbs occur in the absolute-like form and have no oblique counterparts, including *ŋawae* 'to execute' (< *gawoa/gawe* 'work'),

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[104] In the words of Fillmore (1986: 96), '[…] with *indefinite null complements* the referent's identity is unknown or a matter of indifference'.

nampaʔ ‘to appear’ (< *tampaʔ* ‘visible’), *ŋumpau* ‘to collect’ (<*kumpau* ‘to collect’), *mukaʔ* ‘to open’ (< *bukuaʔ* ‘to open’), *ŋəla* ‘to give so./sth. a name’ (< *gəlua/gəlo* ‘name’), *ɲanda* ‘to lean up against sth.’ (< *sanda* ‘to lean up against sth.’), *muta* ‘to turn’ (< *puta* ‘to turn’), *nawa* ‘to recite a mantra in order to cure illnesses (< *tawa* ‘to recite a mantra in order to cure illnesses’) and *nuka* ‘to change’ (< *tuka* ‘to change’). Some examples are presented in (31)-(33).

(31) *akau* *gi* *ŋawae* *gawe*
1.SG PROG ACT.execute work.O
‘I’m doing the work’

(32) *ɲo* *nuka* *kipae*
3.SG ACT.change.A money.A
‘S/he changes money’

(33) *laŋsuŋ* *ɲo* *ŋənaʔ* *tudun* *toh*
direct 3.SG ACT.wear hat.O toh

ka *kapalo* *ɲo*
on head.O 3.SG.POSS
‘He directly wears his hat on his head’
[P4_PV_HAL_OLD_FEMALE.077]

8.4.2.3 Object topicalization

Object topicalization in PT exhibits a series of properties, listed below. Constructions that do not exhibit these properties are considered ungrammatical.

1) Patient-Agent-Verb word order.
2) The patient is obligatory and precedes the agent.
3) The agent is obligatory and directly precedes the verb.
4) The verb is a nasal-prefixed oblique root.
5) All personal pronouns can function as the agent.
6) Auxiliaries may precede or follow the agent.

Object topicalization emphasizes the agent of an action. The verb is the nasal-prefixed oblique root (34)-(35). The patient is obligatory and precedes the agent. It needs to be definite. Without a patient, it is a simple active construction (36). Note that all pronouns can be used agentively in object-topicalized constructions (37).

(34) *buku itoh akau nuleih*
book itoh 1.SG ACT.write.O
'That book, I wrote [it]' [Lit.]
'It was me who wrote that book'

(35) *umoh itoh akau məlei*
house.O itoh 1.SG ACT.buy.O
'That house, I bought [it]' [Lit.]
'It was me who bought that house'

**umah akau məlei*
house.A 1.SG ACT.buy.O

(36) *akau məlei*
1.SG ACT.buy.O
'I bought [it]'

(37) *buku itoh ɲo nuleih*
book itoh 3.SG ACT.write.O
'That book, s/he wrote [it]'

Auxiliaries are not restricted (almost all types of auxiliaries can occur) in object topicalization. The aspect and modality markers *əmbauh* 'want', *bisua* 'can' and *suduah* 'already' can both precede and follow the agent yielding different interpretations (38)-(40). (38)a expresses a stronger affirmative value that the agent really wants to buy that house and s/he strongly confirms it. (38)b does not express the same affirmative value. (39)a denotes a stronger ability of the agent to buy that house whereas (39)b does not denote such ability as strong as (39) does. (40)a strongly emphasizes a completion of the action 'buying that house' by the agent whereas (40)b does not emphasize it.

The temporal related auxiliaries *lah* (past marker), *gi* (present marker) and *əndoʔ* (future marker) can only follow the agent (41)-(43).

(38) a *umoh itoh əmbauh akau məlei*
house.O itoh want.A 1.SG ACT.buy.O

Or: b *umoh itoh akau əmbauh məlei*
house.O itoh 1.SG want.A ACT.buy.O
'That house, I want to buy [it]'

(39) a *umoh* *itoh* *bisua* *akau* *məlei*
house.O itoh can.A 1.SG ACT.buy.O

Or: b *umoh* *itoh* *akau* *bisua* *məlei*
house.O itoh 1.SG can.A ACT.buy.O
'That house, I can buy [it]'

(40) a *umoh* *itoh* *suduah* *akau* *məlei*
house.O itoh already.A 1.SG ACT.buy.O

Or: b *umoh* *itoh* *akau* *suduah* *məlei*
house.O itoh 1.SG already.A ACT.buy.O
'That house, I already bought [it]'

(41) *umoh* *itoh* *akau* *lah* *məlei*
house.O itoh 1.SG already ACT.buy.O
'That house, I already bought [it]'

(42) *umoh* *itoh* *akau* *gi* *məlei*
house.O itoh 1.SG PROG ACT.buy.O
'That house, I'm buying [it]'

(43) *umoh* *itoh* *akau* *əndoʔ* *məlei*
house.O itoh 1.SG FUT ACT.buy.O
'That house, I will buy [it]'

On a comparative level, note that Malay requires a relative marker to emphasize that the agent is the focus of an object-topicalized construction (44). In PT it is semantically understood that the agent is being focus on. The patient is topicalized, whereas the next element (the comment) exhibits a focal point (the focus). Note also that where Malay requires the pronoun –*nya* to follow the verb, PT simply makes it oblique.

(44) PT *lante* *itoh* *akau* ø *mərseih*
Malay *lantai* *itu* *aku* *yang* *membersihkannya*
floor.O DEM 1.SG REL ACT.clean
topic **focus**
comment
'That floor, I cleaned it'

8.4.3 Passive type 1 (P1)

As stated previously, an event can be viewed from the perspective of the agent or the patient.[105] Passive constructions are patient-oriented (cf. Croft 2001). They carry meaning in its own right and are not just marked counterparts to active constructions (cf. Keenan and Dryer 2007).[106] In the words of Hilpert (2014: 42):

> The fact that some examples of the Passive cannot be transformed into a corresponding Active clause makes it difficult to maintain the idea of a grammatical rule that systematically links both constructions. To be sure, speakers will be aware that the two constructions correspond in important ways, that they often paraphrase one another, and that they express similar states of affairs. All of this does not run counter to the idea that the Passive is a construction in its own right, a generalization that speakers have to learn as an independent unit of grammatical knowledge.

This section discusses the properties of the so called passive type 1 (P1),[107] focusing on the use of the oblique form (8.4.3.1) and the absolute form (8.4.3.2). Passive type 1 exhibits the following general properties:

1) The verb is marked with the prefix *di-*.[108]
2) The patient occurs in the subject position. It usually precedes the verb, but may also follow it.
3) The agent occurs immediately after the verb and is optional.[109]

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[105] In the words of Jespersen (1951: 167), 'as a rule the person or thing that is the center of the interest at the moment is made the subject of the sentence'.

[106] Quirk et al. (1985) posit the 'passive gradient' in English, distinguishing three passive categories: 'central passive', 'semi-passive' and 'pseudo-passive'. Only central passives have the active counterpart expression, whereas semi-passive and pseudo passive do not. The examples they provide for semi passives are 'We are encouraged to go on with the project' and 'Leonard was interested in linguistics', whereas the example for pseudo-passives are 'The building is already demolished' and 'The modern world is getting more highly industrialized and mechanized'.

[107] This term is used by Dardjowidjojo (1978) and Sneddon (2010) in reference to a 'true' passive (i.e. resembling passive constructions in English), as opposed to passive type 2 discussed in section 8.4.4. Chung (1976, 1978) and De Vries (1983) call it 'canonical passive'.

[108] This construction is known as a 'strict morphological passive' (cf. Keenan and Dryer 2007), which is formed by prefixing and suffixing.

4) A preposition *duwot/wot* 'by' optionally follows the *di-* verb. The agent occurs within a PP headed by *duwot/wot* 'by'.[110]
5) The agent may be the first, second, and third person pronoun.[111]
6) Auxiliaries appear before the *di*-verb.

Three types of agents can occur after the *di*-verb in PT: 1) a personal pronoun, 2) a noun phrase, and 3) a prepositional phrase. A personal pronoun can be modified by a demonstrative, whereas a noun phrase can be modified by more elements (i.e. nouns, demonstratives, adjectives, numerals, and classifiers).

The subject-patient is generally required (45), but can be omitted if the context is clear (46). The agent may occur as a pronoun (47), a noun phrase (48) or within a prepositional phrase (49).

(45) *mɨjua* *di-tukun* *ɲo*
table.A PASS-hit.O 3.SG
'The table was hit by her/him'

[What happened to the table?]
(46) *di-tukun* *ɲo*
PASS-hit.O 3.SG
'Was hit by her/him'

(47) *pintau* *di-tutou?* *ɲo*
door.A PASS-close.O 3.SG
'The door was closed by her/him'

(48) *pintau* *di-tutou?* *apo?* *ɲo*
door.A PASS-close.O father.O 3.SG.POSS
'The door was closed by her/his father'

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[109] Note that agent defocusing is believed by some to be the main function of passive constructions (Shibatani 1985).

[110] This is presumably due to the influence of Malay *oleh* 'by'. The prepositional *by*-phrase is not allowed in other Kerinci varieties such as TPM (Mckinnon 2011).

[111] This has also been observed in other Malay varieties (Chung 1976; Yanti 2010). Prescriptive Standard Indonesian only allows the third-person pronoun as the agent.

(49) *pintau di-tutauʔ wot ɲo*
door.A PASS-close.A by 3.SG
'The door was closed by her/him'

The subject-patient typically precedes the verb+agent. However, in narratives, it is also common for the verb+agent to precede the patient.[112] This verb-initial structure puts emphasis on the event (50)-(52). To expand the clause, a relative clause can be added to modify the agent (53).

(50) *di-ɟuɟun* [*ɲo*]$_{AGT}$ [*sapatou* *bot* *ɲo*] $_{PAT}$
PASS-carry.O 3.SG shoes boot 3.SG.POSS
'Are carried by him, his boots'[Lit.]
'He carries his boots' [Dyn.]
[P1_FS_DAS_OLD_MALE.012]

(51) *di-siun-siun* [*anɟeʔ neh*]$_{AGT}$ [*ɲo*]$_{PAT}$
PASS-RED-kiss.O dog.O neh 3.SG
'Is repeatedly kissed by this dog, he' [Lit.]
'This dog kisses him repeatedly' [Dyn.]
[P4_FS_HAL_OLD_FEMALE.042]

(52) *di-kimoʔ* [*ɲo*]$_{AGT}$ [*kangkun toh*]$_{PAT}$
PASS-look.O 3.SG frog.O toh
'Is examined by him, that frog' [Lit.]
'He examines that frog' [Dyn.]
[P13_FS_YUL_OLD_MALE.012]

(53) *di-ambiʔ* [*uha ŋə s-uha, ŋə*
PASS-take.O people.A REL one-CLF REL

baɟu iɟua] $_{AGT}$ [*tudun toh*]$_{PAT}$
shirt.O green.A hat.O toh
'Was taken by one person who is in a green shirt, that hat' [Lit.]
'Someone in a green shirt took that hat' [Dyn.]
[P4_PV_HAL_OLD_FEMALE_073]

[112] This has also been observed in varieties of Malay (Kaswanti Purwo 1988; Kroeger 2014).

The preposition *duwot/wot* 'by' optionally appears following the *di-* verb. The clause is grammatical both with a preposition (54) and without it (55). Constructions of the latter type are more natural and preferred. The use of a PP shows the influence of Malay, which has itself undergone grammatical influence from Dutch.

(54) *kucaeʔ* *di-tukau* *wot* *ikao*
cat.A PASS-hit.A by 2.SG
'The cat was hit by you'

(55) *kucaeʔ* *di-tukun* *ikao*
cat.A PASS-hit.O 2.SG
'The cat was hit by you'

Although PT does not show restrictions on the agent a verb can take in the P1 construction (56), there is a preference for the third person.[113] The first and second person are preferably combined with the preposition *duwot/wot*. In (57), the agent that occurs with *wot* is an NP.

(56) *kucaeʔ* *di-tukau* *wot* *akau/ikao/ɲo*
cat.A PASS-hit.A by 1.SG/2.SG/3.SG
'The cat was hit by me/you/s/he'

(57) *ɟadi* *aɲeʔ* *ɲo* *neh*
so dog.O 3.SG.POSS neh

di-kantan *wot* *sala*
PASS-attack.O by wasp.A
'So his dog was attacked by wasps'
[P1_FS_DAS_OLD_MALE.046]

Auxiliaries appear adjacently before the *di*-verb (58), even in otherwise verb-initial clauses (59).

(58) *kucaeʔ* *lah* *di-tukun* *ɲo*
cat.A already PASS-hit.O 3.SG
'The cat was already hit by her/him'

---

[113] Other Kerinci varieties such as SP (Steinhauer and Usman 1978) and TPM (Mckinnon 2011) show more restrictions on the agent.

(59) *lah* *di-tukun* *ɲo* *kucae?*
already PASS-hit.O 3.SG cat.A
'Was already hit by her/him, the cat' [Lit.]
'The cat was already hit by her/him'

The next section discusses the environments of the oblique forms (8.4.3.1) and absolute forms (8.4.3.2).

8.4.3.1 OBL in P1 constructions

The oblique form is used when the referent of the verb is restricted by an agent, syntactically expressed or otherwise. P1 sentences may begin with the patient in subject position followed by the verb construction '*di-* + root' and either the third–person pronoun *ɲo* (60)-(61) or a noun phrase (62).

[A conversation about the Dutch colonialism]
(60) *tanah* *kitao* *di-ambi?*
land.A 1.PL.INCL.POSS PASS-take.O

ɲo *dea?*
3.PL TAG
'Our land was taken by them, wasn't it?'
[fc3.124]

(61) *lumbun-lumbun* *padoi* *uha* *anɲo* *dusen*
RED-rice.barn.O paddy.A people.A around village.A

di-suŋkit *ɲo*
PASS-shovel.O 3.PL
'People's paddy barns around the village were shoveled by them'
[fc4.140]

(62) *ɲadi* *anɣe?* *ɲo* *neh*
so dog.O 3.SG.POSS neh

di-kantan *wot* *sala*
PASS-attack.O by wasp.A
'So his dog was attacked by wasps'
[P1_FS_DAS_OLD_MALE.046]

The oblique form is also used with the second-person (63) and first–person agents (64), as well as agents that are clear from the context (65).

(63) *uto ɲo di-tumbouʔ ikao*
car 3.SG.POSS PASS-hit.O 2.SG
'Her/his car was hit by you'

(64) *anoʔ ɲo di-suwat akau*
child.O 3.SG.POSS PASS-feed.O 1.SG
'Her/his child is fed by me'

(65) *kəreih toh di-cabut samo*
dagger.O toh PASS-pull.O together

məŋaih lahai pundauʔ
angry.A run.A pondok.A
'That dagger was pulled out angrily [by him] and [he] ran to Pondok'
[fc0.028]

It is possible for oblique verbs to appear in the order verb+agent+patient (66)-(67).

(66) *di-aŋkot ɲo ɟahi ɲo kateh*
PASS-lift.O 3.SG finger.O 3.SG.POSS up
'Are raised up by him, his hands' [Lit.]
'He raises up his hands' [Dyn.]
[P1_FS_DAS_OLD_MALE.053]

(67) *ɟadi di-kəleih ɲo <u>pukat</u> neh*
so PASS-look.O 3.SG avocado neh
'Are watched by him, the avocados'[Lit.]
'He watches the avocados' [Dyn.]
[P4_PV_HAL_OLD_FEMALE.005]

8.4.3.2 ABS in P1 constructions

The absolute form is used phrase-finally when no other constituent follows it (68). The presence of only one argument makes this type of construction intransitive.[114]

(68) *manao* *ana?* *gadoih-gadoih* *neh* *di-imbua,*
whoever child.A RED-female.A neh PASS-hide.A

dua? *uloih* *nampa?*
NEG may ACT.visible
'Girls were hidden, [they] were not allowed to be visible'
[fc0.082]

Some absolute-like verbs in fact lack ABS-OBL opposition (69)-(70).

(69) *kakei* *ɲo* ***di-kapa?***
leg.O 3.SG.POSS PASS-place

ɲo *ke?* *tandou?* *ɲo*
3.SG on antlers.O 3.SG.POSS
'His legs are placed by him upon his antlers'
[P1_FS_DAS_OLD_MALE.065]

(70) *pam-balut* *lijei* *toh*
NMLZ-bandage.O neck.O toh

di-pasa *uha toh* *ali?*
PASS-put.on 3.SG.M back.O
'So, that bandana was put back on by him'
[P4_PV_HAL_OLD_FEMALE.016]

By contrasting the absolute and oblique form in the same P1 word order, we can see the nuances of phrasal alternation in PT. In example (71), the patient is covert since it is understood from the context. The verb takes an oblique root. In example (72), the verb is absolute and *kudea* 'horse' functions as a patient affected by the action. Note that the occurrence of the patient after the verb does not trigger the oblique form.

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[114] Kroeger (2014) makes the same case for Malay.

(71) *di-əntan (*ənta)* *kudea*
PASS-kick.O horse.A
[verb] [agent]
'[Someone] was kicked by a horse'

(72) *di-ənta (*əntan)* *kudea*[115]
PASS-kick.A horse.A
[verb] [patient]
'Kicked was the horse' [Someone kicked the horse]

8.4.4 Passive type 2 (P2)

A second passive construction, which I call passive type 2 (P2),[116] displays the following paradigm.

1) The patient is obligatory and precedes the agent in subject position.
2) The agent is obligatory and directly precedes the verb.
3) The verb appears in the bare absolute form.
4) Only the first and the second person agent can be used
5) Auxiliaries occur in front of the agent.

The patient is obligatory and precedes the agent (73). A clause without a patient is only acceptable as an answer to a particular question (74). A P2 clause is not grammatical when the patient does not precede the agent. The agent is obligatory and directly precedes the verb. The verb appears in the bare absolute form; oblique and/or nasal-prefixed verbs are ungrammatical.

(73) *umoh* *itoh* *akau* *bəloi*
house.O itoh 1.SG buy.A
[subject-patient] [nonsubject-agent] [verb]
'That house was bought by me'

---

[115] *Di-ənta kudea!* can also be a polite imperative: 'Please, kick a horse!' (see 8.6.3).

[116] I follow Dardjowidjojo (1978) and Sneddon (2010) in my usage of the term 'passive type 2'. It is also known as 'noncanonical passive' (De Vries 1983), 'object preposing passive' (Chung 1976, 1978) or 'passive semu' (Cole et al. 2006). The use of P2 has declined across Malay varieties (Cole et al. 2008).

[What happened to the house?]

(74) ø *akau* *bəloi*
1.SG buy.A
'[It] was bought by me'

**akau* *umoh* *itoh* *bəloi*
1.SG house.O itoh buy.A

**umoh* *itoh* *akau* *bəli*
house.O itoh 1.SG buy.O

**umoh* *itoh* *akau* *məlai*
house.O itoh 1.SG ACT.buy.A

Only the first-person (75) and the second-person (76) pronouns can be used agentively in this passive construction. A proper name or a kinship term can be used in this position (as discussed in 4.5) as long as it is interpreted as referring to the first or the second person (77)-(78).

(75) *bəreh* *itoh* *akau* *tanaʔ*
rice.O itoh 1.SG cook.A
'That rice was cooked by me'

(76) *bəreh* *itoh* *ikao* *tanaʔ*
rice.O itoh 2.SG cook.A
'That rice was cooked by you'

**bəreh* *itoh* *ɲo* *tanaʔ*
rice.O itoh 3.SG cook.A

(77) *bəreh* *itoh* *caca* *tanaʔ*
rice.O itoh PN cook.A
1. 'That rice was cooked by me' [Caca is speaking]
2. 'That rice was cooked by you' [Caca is being spoken to]
3.* 'That rice was cooked by Caca'

(78) *bəreh* *itoh* *apaʔ* *tanaʔ*
rice.O itoh father.A cook.A
1. 'That rice was cooked by me' [Father is speaking]
2. 'That rice was cooked by you' [Father is being spoken to]
3.* 'That rice was cooked by father'

Auxiliaries occur in front of the agent. Only the temporal related auxiliaries *lah* (past marker), *gi* (present marker) and *əndoʔ* (future marker) can be used (79).

(79)

gule	*itoh*	*lah*	*ikao*	*bənua*
dish.O	itoh	already	2.SG	make.A

'That dish was already cooked by you'

The characteristics of P1 and P2 are summarized in Table 8.3.

	P1	**P2**
Verb form	ABS / OBL	ABS
Obligatory agent	No	Yes
Agent argument	Any person	Only 1st and 2nd person
Order of agent to verb	Immediately follows verb	Immediately precedes verb
Position of auxiliary	Before the verb	Before the agent
Types of auxiliary	Any	Temporal related
Obligatory patient	No	No

Table 8.3. Characteristics of P1 and P2

8.5 Ditransitive constructions

Ditransitive constructions have three arguments. Malchukov et al. (2010: 1) define the ditransitive construction as 'consisting of a (*ditransitive*) *verb*, an *agent argument* (henceforth, A), a *recipient-like argument* (henceforth, R), and a *theme argument* (henceforth, T)'. It conveys a meaning of transferring not only concrete (physical) things but also abstract (mental) things (Atoyebi et al. 2010). Languages display various ways to mark ditransitivity (e.g. Dryer 2007).

PT employs two active ditransitive constructions, which I call D1 and D2. D1 focuses on the theme, whereas D2 focuses on the recipient.[117] In D1, the theme argument is treated as the direct object (dO) and the recipient-like argument is expressed by a prepositional phrase. In D2, the recipient-like argument is treated as the indirect object (iO), whereas the theme argument is treated as the direct object (dO). An unexpressed argument is acceptable in some ditransitive verbs when it is anaphorically recoverable and understood from the context.

[117] These construction types also occur in English (Dixon 2005).

D1: [S+V+dO_{NP}+PP]
D2: [S+V+iO_{NP}+dO_{NP}]

In P1 constructions, both theme and recipient arguments can occur in subject position. The agent argument occurs either adjacently after the verb or within a PP. P1 constructions can occur in three possible orders:

1. [T+*di*-V+A+*ŋuse*+R]
2. [R+*di*-V+T+*wot*+A]
3. [R+*di*-V+A+T]

In P2 constructions, the subject-patient is the recipient-like argument. It is followed by a nonsubject-agent argument and a bare absolute verb. The theme argument adjacently occurs after the verb.

This is the case for all ditransitive verbs in PT: *bagoih/bagih* 'to give', *bəroi* 'to give' (8.5.1), *aŋua* 'to teach' (8.5.2), *kihan* 'to send' (8.5.3), *imbua/imbo* '1) to call, 2) to summon' and *səbeuʔ/səbut* '1) to call, 2) to mention' (8.5.4). Finally, subsection 8.5.5 discusses unexpressed arguments in ditransitive constructions.

It must be highlighted that only *bagoih/bagih* 'to give' and *bəroi* 'to give' are purely ditransitive, as it can occur in both D1 and D2.[118] Like in English and other languages, most PT ditransitive verbs can only occur in either D1 or D2.

This section examines the distribution of the absolute and oblique forms in active, P1, P2 and imperative constructions. Each verb is discussed separately because they behave differently.

8.5.1 with *bagoih/bagih* 'to give' and *bəroi* 'to give'

The root *bagoih/bagih* 'to give' can occur both in D1 and D2. In D1, the agent argument can be any noun phrase or pronoun. It is followed by a nasal-prefixed verb occurring in the oblique-like form and then by the theme argument (80). This verb does not alternate when it is nasal–prefixed. The verb *mərai* in example (81) follows the same order, but does not exhibit the ABS-OBL alternation.[119] Note that the meaning of *bagoih/bagih* and *mərai*

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[118] As Dixon (1973) points out, 'to give' can occur in all possible syntactic environments.

[119] Both *bəroi* 'to give' and *mərai* 'to give' can only occur in a frozen absolute form.

is identical and the verbs can be interchanged. The recipient-like argument occurs within a prepositional phrase headed by *ŋuse* 'to'. Theme arguments mentioned previously can be omitted, in which case the oblique form is used (82). Both verbs can also occur in D2, again in the Oblique-like form (83)-(84).

(80) *kamai* *magih* *kipae* *ŋuse* *ɲo*
1.PL.EXCL ACT.give money.A to 3.SG
'We gave money to her/him'

(81) *kamai* *mərai* *kipae* *ŋuse* *ɲo*
1.PL.EXCL ACT.give money.A to 3.SG
'We gave money to her/him'

(82) *ɲo* *ŋambeiʔ* *uwoh* *pukat* *toh,* *magih*
3.SG ACT.take.O fruit.O avocado toh ACT.give

se *uha ineh* *tigo* *uwuah*
to 3.SG.M three.O CLF.A
'He takes those avocados, gives to him three'
[P4_PV_HAL_OLD_FEMALE_079]

(83) *əmaʔ* *magih* *ɲo* *kipae*
mother ACT.give 3.SG money.A
'Mother gave her/him money'

(84) *əmaʔ* *mərai* *ɲo* *kipae*
mother ACT.give 3.SG money.A
'Mother gave her/him money'

In P1 constructions, both verbs can occur in the order [T+*di*-V+A+*ŋuse*+R]. The theme argument occurs in subject position and is followed by a *di*-verb. The verb precedes the agent argument. The recipient-like argument occurs within a prepositional phrase (85)–(86).

(85) *kipae* *di-bagih (*bagoih)* *əmaʔ* *ŋuse* *ɲo*
money.A PASS-give.O mother.A to 3.SG
'Money was given by mother to her/him'

(86) *nasai* *di-bəroi* *tantara*
rice.A PASS-give army

ŋuse *korban* *gəmpea*
to victim earthquake.A
'Rice was given by the army to the victims of the earthquake'

Another possible order is [R+*di*-V+T+*wot*+A], in which the recipient-like argument occurs in subject position and is followed by a *di-* passive marker with the oblique verb root. The theme argument occurs after the verb and there is adjacency between the *di*-root and the theme argument. The theme argument is followed by a prepositional 'by-phrase' containing the agent (87)-(88). This order is grammatical but less preferred by PT speakers.

(87) *ɲo* *di-bagih (*bagoih)* *umah* *wot* *əmaʔ*
3.SG PASS-give.O house.A by mother.A
'S/he was given a house by mother'

(88) *ɲo* *di-bəroi* *uto* *ŋə* *umah* *wot* *pəmərintah*
3.SG PASS-give car and house.A by government
'S/he was given cars and houses by the government'

A third order is [R+*di*-V+A+T], in which the recipient-like argument appears in subject position. The verb is marked with *di-* and takes the oblique form. The agent argument immediately follows the verb, which is adjacently followed by the theme argument (89)-(90).

(89) *ɲo* *di-bagih (*bagoih)* *əmaʔ* *kipae*
3.SG PASS-give.O mother.A money.A
'S/he was given the money by mother'

(90) *di* *ujun* *antan* *andoʔ* *poʔ* *si* *nurdin*
so group grandfather.O andok father.O ART PN

uleu *deaʔ,* *di-bəroi* *ɲo* *maka* *pagoi*
in.the.past.A TAG PASS-give 3.PL eat.A morning.A
'So the group of Mr. Andok, the father of Nurdin, were in the past given breakfast by them in the morning'
[fc0.105]

More flexible word orders are encountered in naturalistic data. Theme arguments can occurs in a conditional clause,[120] in which case the recipient appears in the main clause and is followed by the *di*-oblique verb. Also note the truncation *bagih* > *agih* in example (91). A verb+agent word order is also common in ditransitive constructions (92). Here, the agent follows the verb, the theme and the recipient respectively. The prefix *di-* can be used in an interrogative construction (93) or if the agent argument is considered irrelevant (94).

(91) *adea* *pəmbagian,* *kitao* *di-agih (*agoih)*
exist.A distribution 1.PL.INCL PASS-give.O
'[When] there was distribution, we were given it'
[fc0.116]

(92) *kalo* *balandea* *uleu* *dea?,* *di-bəroi*
if Holland.A in.the.past.A TAG PASS-give

ɲo *kaan* *kitao* *dea?*
3.PL clothes.A 1.PL.INCL TAG
'As for the Dutch in the past, clothes were given by them to us' [Dyn.]
[fc0.123]

(93) *kipe* *itoh* *di-bagoih (*bagih)* *ŋuse* *sapo*
money.O itoh PASS-give.A to who
'That money was given to whom?'

(94) *uto* *itoh* *di-bəroi*
car itoh PASS-give
'That car was given'

The bare absolute form *bagoih* is used in P2 and imperative constructions, whereas *bəroi* does not display alternation (95)-(97).

[120] This clause is understood as a conditional clause even though the marker *kalo* 'if' can be omitted.

(95) *akau* *ikao* *bagoih (*bagih)* *kipae*
1.SG 2.SG give.A money.A
'I was given money by you'

(96) *bagoih (*bagih)* *kipae* *ŋuse* *ɲo*
give.A money.A to 3.SG
'Give money to her/him!'

(97) *bəroi* *ɲo* *kipae*
give 3.SG money.A
'Give her/him money!'

8.5.2 with *aɟua* 'to teach'

The verb *aɟua* 'to teach' does not alternate and occurs in the frozen absolute form. It can occur in D1 constructions (98) and D2 constructions (99).

(98) *rina* *ŋaɟua* *matematik* *ŋuse* *ano?* *teka*
PN ACT.teach math to child.O TK
'Rina teaches math to kindergarten children'

(99) *eni* *ŋaɟua* *akau* *matematik*
PN ACT.teach 1.SG math
'Eni teaches me math'

The P1 orders [T+*di*-V+A + *ŋuse* R] (100) and [R+*di*-V+T+wot A] (101) are grammatical, but [R+*di*-V+A+T] is preferred (102). The same rules apply for P2 constructions (103), D1 imperatives (104) and D2 imperatives (105).

(100) *matematik* *di-aɟua* *rina* *ŋuse* *ano?* *teka*
math PASS-teach PN to child.O TK
'Math was taught by Rina to kindergarten children'

(101) *ano?* *teka* *di-aɟua* *matematik* *wot* *rina*
child.O TK PASS-teach math by PN
'Kindergarten children were taught Math by Rina'

(102) *ano?* *teka* *di-aɟua* *rina* *matematik*
child.O TK PASS-teach PN math
'Kindergarten children were taught Math by Rina'

(103) *anoʔ* *teka* *akau* *aɟua* *matematik*
child.O TK 1.SG teach math
'Kindergarten children were taught Math by me'

(104) *aɟua* *matematik* *ŋuse* *anoʔ* *teka*
teach math to child.O TK
'Teach Math to kindergarten children!'

(105) *aɟua* *akau* *matematik*
teach 1.SG math
'Teach me Math!'

8.5.3 with *kihan* 'to send'

Kihan 'to send' also only occurs in a frozen absolute form. D1 constructions (106) and D2 constructions (107) are both permitted.

(106) *apaʔ* *ŋihan* *kipae* *əndoʔ* *ɲo*
father.A ACT.send money.A for 3.SG
'Father transferred money for her/him'

(107) *apaʔ* *ŋihan* *ɲo* *kipae*
father.A ACT.send 3.SG money.A
'Father transferred her/him money'

In P1 constructions, the orders [T+*di*-V+A+ *ŋuse* R] (108) and [R+*di*-+A+T] (109) are preferred, but [R+*di*-V+T+*wot* A] (110) is also grammatical. P2 constructions can also take *kihan* (111). Imperatives are possible for D1 (112), but not for D2.

(108) *kipae* *di-kihan* *apaʔ* *əndoʔ* *ɲo*
money.A PASS-send father.A for 3.SG
'Money was sent by father for her/him'

(109) *ɲo* *di-kihan* *apaʔ* *kipae*
3.SG PASS-send father.A money.A
'S/he was sent money by father'

(110) *ɲo* *di-kihan* *kipae* *wot* *apaʔ*
3.SG PASS-send money.A by father.A
'S/he was sent money by father'

(111) *ɲo* *akau* *kihan* *kipae*
3.SG 1.SG send money.A
'S/he was sent money by me'

(112) *kihan* *kipae* *əndoʔ* *ɲo*
send money.A for 3.SG
'Send money for her/him!'

8.5.4 with *imbua/imbo* and *səbeuʔ/səbut* 'to call'

The verbs *imbua/imbo* 'to call [D2]; to summon [transitive]' and *səbeuʔ/səbut* 'to call [D2]; to mention [transitive]' are discussed simultaneously since they exhibit identical syntactic realizations.

Goldberg (1995) proposes that ditransitive should involve a transfer. The verbs *imbua/imbo* and *səbeuʔ/səbut* 'to call' do not involve a physical transfer. For the interpretation of these verbs, it is understood metaphorically that the agent gives a certain title to the patient and the patient receives the title from the agent.

In D2 constructions, both verbs appear in the nasal-prefixed oblique form in the active construction (113)–(114). Here, they are identical in meaning. Neither can occur in D1 constructions.

(113) *uha* *ŋimbo* *pəraɟurit* *itoh* *ɟendəral*
people.A ACT.call.O soldier itoh general
'People call that soldier The General'

(114) *uha* *ɲəbut* *ɲo* *pa-mabeuʔ*
people.A ACT.call.O 3.SG NMLZ-drunk.A
'People call her/him a drinker'

Neither verb can occur in the P1 order [T-*di*-V+A+PREP R]. The order [R+*di*-V+T+*wot* A] (115) is grammatical but not preferred. Note that the verb *imbua/imbo* occurs in the oblique form, whereas *səbeuʔ/səbut* is generally in the absolute form, except in active transitive constructions (114). The preferred word order for P1 constructions is [R+*di*-V+A+T] (116). P2 constructions (117) and imperatives (118) are possible for both verbs, in requiring the bare absolute form.

(115) *pəraɟurit itoh di-imbo ɟendəral wot uha*
soldier itoh PASS-call.O general by people.A
'That soldier is called The General by people'

(116) *ɲo di-səbeuʔ uha pa-mabeuʔ*
3.SG PASS-call.A people.A NMLZ-drunk.A
'S/he is called a drinker by people'

(117) *akau ikao imbua ɟendəral*
1.SG 2.SG call.A general
'I was called The General by you'

(118) *səbeuʔ ɲo pa-mabeuʔ*
call.A 3.SG NMLZ-drunk.A
'Call her/him a drunkard'

8.5.5 with unexpressed arguments

All the verbs discussed above can occur in ditransitive constructions. However, in terms of valency, *bagoih/bagih* and *bəroi* 'to give', *aɟua* 'to teach' and *kihan* 'to send' are trivalent, whereas *imbua/imbo* and *səbeuʔ/səbut* 'to call' are bivalent verbs.

Valency and transitivity cannot always be mapped to each other. Bivalent verbs can increase their valency by adding one argument, forming ditransitives. However, when they occur with two arguments, they create monotransitive constructions. Trivalent verbs take three arguments by nature. Arguments may be unexpressed or not profiled; if they are anaphorically recoverable, they do not need to appear syntactically.[121] However, on a word level, transitivity does not affect the valency of trivalent verbs, while retaining the ability to occur with three participants.

In D1 and D2 constructions, the unexpressed theme argument denotes that the theme is anaphorically recoverable (119). Along the same lines, the unexpressed recipient argument can be understood from the context regardless of whether it actually appears in the construction or not (120)-(121).

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[121] Goldberg (1995) terms this phenomenon 'shading'. Also see Hilpert (2014) on the same phenomenon in English.

(119) *apaʔ ŋihan əndoʔ ɲo*
father.A ACT.send for 3.SG
'Father sent it to her/him'

(120) *rina ŋaɟua matematik*
PN ACT.teach math
'Rina teaches Math [to somebody]'

(121) *eni ŋaɟua akau*
PN ACT.teach 1.SG
'Eni teaches me [something]'

For the verbs *imbua/imbo* and *səbeuʔ/səbut* 'to call', it is impossible to leave the theme argument unexpressed. Without it, they become homonymous monotransitive verbs with the meaning of 'to summon' (122) and 'to mention' (123) respectively.

[He saw that the soldier accidentally dropped his wallet]
(122) *ɲo ŋimbo pəraɟurit itoh*
3.SG ACT.summon.O soldier itoh
'He summons that soldier'

[An aspiring politician is number three on the list]
(123) *ɲo ɲəbut 'pileih 3'*
3.SG ACT.mention.O vote for three
'He mentions 'Vote for 3''

In P1 constructions of the type [T+*di*-V+A+*ŋuse*+R], the agent argument (124) and the recipient argument (125) can be left unexpressed when they can be understood from the context.

(124) *matematik di-aɟua ŋuse anoʔ teka*
math PASS-teach to child.O TK
'Math was taught to kindergarten children'

(125) *kipae di-kihan apaʔ*
money.A PASS-send father.A
'Money was transferred by father'

In P1 constructions of the type [R+*di*-V+T+*wot*+A], ditransitive verbs can feature an unexpressed theme argument (126) or an unexpressed agent argument (127)

(126) *anoʔ* *teka* *di-aɟua* *wot* *rina*
child.O TK PASS-teach by PN
'Kindergarten children were taught by Rina'

(127) *ɲo* *di-bagih (*bagoih)* *umah*
3.SG PASS-give.O house.A
'S/he was given a house [by so.]'

In P1 constructions of the type [R+*di*-V+A+T], the trivalent verbs *imbua/imbo* and *səbeuʔ/səbut* with the meaning 'to call' cannot occur with an unexpressed argument. Only the bivalent verbs *imbua/imbo* and *səbeuʔ/səbut* with the meaning 'to summon' and 'to mention' respectively yield a monotransitive construction (128)-(129). The theme argument of the verb *aɟua* 'to teach', on the other hand, can be left unexpressed if clear from the context (130).

(128) *pəraɟurit* *itoh* *di-imbo* *uha*
soldier itoh PASS-summon.O people.A
'That soldier is summoned by people'

(129) *ɲo* *di-səbeuʔ* *uha*
3.SG PASS-mention.A people.A
'S/he is mentioned by people'

(130) *anoʔ* *teka* *di-aɟua* *rina*
child.O TK PASS-teach PN
'Kindergarten children were taught by Rina'

With the trivalent verb *bagoih/bagih* 'to give' in the same construction, it is possible to omit the agent argument (131) or the theme argument (132) if clear from the context. In naturalistic data, this verb can also form an intransitive construction when leaving two arguments unexpressed (133).

(131) *di-agoih* *pupuʔ*, *di-ambau* *pupuʔ* *uleu*
PASS-give.A fertilizer PASS-spread.A fertilizer first.A
'Fertilizer is given, the fertilizer is spread out first' [Dyn.]
[fc10.093]

(132) *ɲo* *di-bagih* *əmaʔ*
3.SG PASS-give.O mother.A
'S/he was given [it] by mother'

(133) *sarden* *toh* *di-agih*
sardine toh PASS-give.O
'Sardines were given [by them to us]'
[fc0.085]

Note that the bivalent verbs *imbua/imbo* 'to summon' and *səbeuʔ/səbut* 'to mention' can occur in P2 (134)-(135), whereas the trivalent verbs *imbua/imbo* and *səbeuʔ/səbut* 'to call' cannot. The theme argument of verb like *aɟua* 'to teach', *bagoih/bagih* 'to give' and *bəroi* 'to give' can be unexpressed if understood from the context (136)-(137).

(134) *akau* *ikao* *imbua*
1.SG 2.SG summon.A
'I was summoned by you'

(135) *akau* *ikao* *səbeuʔ*
1.SG 2.SG call.A
'I was mentioned by you'

(136) *anoʔ* *teka* *kitao* *aɟua*
child.O TK 1.PL.INCL teach
'Kindergarten children were taught [it] by us'

(137) *akau* *ikao* *bəroi*
1.SG 2.SG give
'I was given [it] by you'

8.6 Imperative constructions

In imperative constructions, the implied agent is an addressee which is absent in the expression. The absence of the expected agent, therefore, decreases the valency of the construction (cf. Hilpert 2014). In the words of Davies (1986: 1):

> While grammarians have most typically used the term imperative to refer to a syntactic category, it has also been used, especially by philosophers, as a description of meaning, to designate the kind of directive meaning associated with commands and requests.

Imperative clauses emphasize the activity, not the agent, the transitivity or the effect on the patient. The imperative construction can be formed with monomorphemic monovalent verbs (8.6.1), monomorphemic bivalent verbs (8.6.2), the prefix *di-* (8.6.3), the verbs *tulau* 'help' (8.6.4) and *cubea* 'try' (8.6.5), the adhortative particle *mahae* 'let' (8.6.6) and the vetative particle *moʔ* (8.6.7). Verbs in imperative constructions mostly occur in the bare absolute form, except in combination with the vetative *moʔ* and the particle *mahae* 'let'.

8.6.1 with monovalent verbs

Monovalent verbs appear in the bare absolute form (138)-(139).

(138) *duʔua woa lah moʔ ku sihaʔ*
pray.A only PART so that 1.SG healthy.A
'Pray for my good health!'
[fc3.014]

(139) *dudeuʔ inei*
sit.A here
'Sit here!'

8.6.2 with bivalent verbs

The bivalent verb occurs in the bare absolute form if the object is mentioned (140)-(141) or implied (142).

(140) *saaʔ pintou ateh*
close.A door.O above
'Close the upper door!'
[fc1.007]

(141) *...kuncai pintau*
…key.A door.A
'Lock the door!'
[fc3.084]

[Are you hungry?]
(142) *maka* *(aja)*
eat.A (chicken.A)
'Eat [chicken]!'

8.6.3 with *di-*

A more polite imperative combines the passive *di*-form (143)-(144) with the absolute verb, decreasing the nuance of command or instruction.[122] In this construction, it is no longer explicitly the second person who is instructed to do something; the directionality of the command is concealed.

[Ladies and gentleman, the chicken is ready]
(143) *di-makua* *aja*
PASS-eat.A chicken.A
'Please, eat some chicken!'

(144) *di-kuncai* *pintau*
PASS-key.A door.A
'Please, lock doors!'

8.6.4 with *tulau* 'help'

The word *tulau* 'help' occurs clause-initially in combination with an absolute verb root (145)-(146). *Tulau* is used for imperatives that benefit the speaker. It conveys a polite nuance and is therefore favored over direct imperatives. The object can be dropped when understood from the context, yet the verb still occurs in the absolute form (147)-(148).

(145) *tulau* *bəloi* *saboa*
help.A buy.A red.pepper.A
'Would you please buy red pepper?'

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[122] The use of a passive marker *di-* for 'polite imperatives' is common in Malayic and other Malayo-Polynesian languages. See, among many other examples, Bauer (1993) on Maori.

(146) *tulau saaʔ pintou itoh*
help.A close.A door.O itoh
'Would you please close that door?'

(147) *tulau bəloi (*bəli)*
help.A buy.A
'Would you please buy [it]?'

(148) *tulau saaʔ (*saat)*
help.A close.A
'Would you please close [it]?'

8.6.5 with *cubea* 'please'

The verb *cubea* literally means 'to try' and can be used to persuade someone to do something. Unlike *tulau*, this construction is used for imperatives that benefit the speaker and/or the addressee (149).[123] The occurrence of the particle *lah* makes the clause even more polite (150).

(149) *cubea tulaih namo ikao inei*
try.A write.A name.O 2.SG.POSS here
'Please write your name here!'

(150) *cubea lah sajao kantei maŋkou*
try.A PART order.A friend.O ACT.hoe.O
'Please ask [your] friend to hoe [the rice field]!'
[fc10.138]

The first-person pronoun can also be used with *cubea*. In this context, the speaker asks permission to do an action (151). With the first-person plural inclusive, *cubea* is used when the speaker invites the interlocutor to do an activity together. The verb is nasal-prefixed and occurs in the oblique form when there is an object (152)-(153). When the object is not relevant, the verb occurs in the absolute form (154).

[123] See (Sneddon 2010) on the same phenomenon in Indonesian.

(151) *cubea akau maco (*macea)*
try.A 1.SG ACT.read.O
'Let me read it!'

(152) *cubea kitao nuleih ineh*
try.A 1.PL.INCL ACT.write.O ineh
'Let's write this!'

(153) *cubea kitao manŋat baton nijao*
try.A 1.PL.INCL ACT.climb.O stem.O coconut.A
'Let's climb a coconut tree!'

(154) *cubea kitao manŋaʔ*
try.A 1.PL.INCL ACT.climb.A
'Let's go climbing!'

8.6.6 with *mahae* 'let's'

The verb *mahae* historically means 'to come'. This verb can behave like a regular verb in declarative clauses. Clause-initially, however, it occurs when the speaker invites the interlocutor to do an activity together (hortative). The marker is followed by the subject and the intransitive or active transitive verb. The nasal-prefixed oblique verb precedes the object (155)-(156). When the specific action requested by the speaker is understood from the context, the verb can be dropped (157).

[Two guards start closing the building after working hours]
(155) *mahae kitao ŋuncei pintau*
let 1.PL.INCL ACT.key.O door.A
'Let's lock the doors!'

(156) *mahae kitao ŋuncei*
let 1.PL.INCL ACT.key.O
'Let's lock [them]!'

(157) *mahae kitao*
let 1.PL.INCL
'Let us [do it]!'

In addition to the first-person inclusive *kitao* 'we', PT also uses the second-person pronoun *ikao* 'you' in constructions with *mahae*.[124] In that case, its meaning is more archaic, encouraging the interlocutor to come closer toward the speaker (158).

[An old man asks children to listen to him telling a story]

(158)	*mahae*	*ikao*	*anaʔ*	*naeʔ*
	let	2.PL	child.A	small.A

'Come here children!'
[P1_FS_DAS_OLD_MALE.001]

8.6.7 with *moʔ* 'don't'

The negative imperative or 'vetative' expresses a command not to do something. The particle *moʔ* 'don't' occurs clause-initially, optionally followed by a second-person subject (159)-(160). The verb occurs in a nasal-prefixed oblique root when it is followed by an object, behaving like verbs in declarative clauses. The oblique form appears when the object is understood from the context (161). Otherwise, the absolute form is used (162).

(159)	*moʔ*	[*ikao*]	*makan*	*aja*
	VET	2.SG	eat.O	chicken.A

'Don't [you] eat chicken!'

(160)	*moʔ*	[*ikao*]	*ŋuncei*	*pintau*
	VET	2.SG	ACT.key.O	door.A

'Don't [you] lock the door!'

(161)	*moʔ*	[*ikao*]	*ŋuncei*
	VET	2.SG	ACT.key.O

'Don't [you] lock [it]!'

[You have to cook! Don't be lazy!]

(162)	*moʔ*	[*ikao*]	*maka*	*woa*
	VET	2.SG	eat.A	only

'Don't [you] just eat!'

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[124] In Indonesian, only the first-person inclusive *kita* 'we, us' is permitted (Dardjowidjojo 1978).

Optionally, the particle *lah* can be added after the vetative, adding a suggestive nuance to the expression (163)-(164).

(163) *moʔ lah* [*ikao*] *makan aja*
VET PART 2.SG eat.O chicken.A
'Please, don't [you] eat chicken!'

(164) *moʔ lah* [*ikao*] *ŋuncei pintau*
VET PART 2.SG ACT.key.O door.A
'Please, don't [you] lock the door!'

8.7 Secondary predication

In clauses with two predicates, the first predicate is a verb denoting an action, while the second is an adjective denoting a state. The latter is known as the 'secondary predicate' (Himmelmann and Schultze-Berndt 2005; Verkerk 2009; Irimia 2012; Ernanda, 2016).

In PT, this phenomenon determines the phrasal alternation of the verb. As we will see, secondary predication occurs in the same clause if there is a continuity of topic. Otherwise, a biclausal structure is required. A secondary predicate can be an adjective prosodically separated from the clause (i.e. active clause) or a separate clause that contains a proper predicate linked by juxtaposition to a passive clause. The ABS-OBL alternation displays mixed patterns (Table 8.4). This section, therefore, focuses on the distribution of phrasal alternation in sentences with secondary predication. Three types[125] occur in PT: depictive (8.7.1), resultative (8.7.2) and manner adverbial (8.7.3). Intransitives and imperatives can also occur with secondary predication, as will be shown below.

[125] These three types are also attested cross-linguistically (Himmelmann and Schultze-Berndt 2005).

		Active	P1	P2
Depictive	**Agent-oriented**	AGT *ACT*-V.$_{OBL}$ PAT ADJ	Requiring two clauses	Requiring two clauses
	Patient-oriented	AGT *ACT*-V.$_{OBL}$ ADJ PAT	1. PAT *di*-V.$_{OBL}$ AGT ADJ (with agent) 2. PAT *di*-V.$_{ABS}$ ADJ (agentless)	PAT AGT V.$_{ABS}$ ADJ
Resultative		AGT *ACT*-V.$_{OBL}$ ADJ PAT	1. PAT *di*-V.$_{OBL}$ ADJ (agentless) 2. PAT *di*-V.$_{OBL}$ AGT ADJ (with agent)	PAT AGT V.$_{ABS}$ ADJ
Manner adverbial		AGT *ACT*-V.$_{OBL}$ PAT ADJ	1. PAT *di*-V.$_{ABS}$ ADJ (agentless) 2. Requiring two clauses (with agent)	PAT AGT V.$_{ABS}$ ADJ

Table 8.4. Patterns of secondary predication

8.7.1 Depictive

In depictive constructions, the verbal first predicate and adjectival second predicate occur simultaneously. According to Himmelmann and Schultze-Berndt (2005: 4), '[…] depictives express a state that holds during the reference time of the event encoded by the main predicate'. Depictives can be agent-oriented or patient-oriented. Patient-oriented expressions are generally more natural, but there are some syntactic barriers.

In intransitive one–argument clauses, the verb occurs in the absolute form and is followed directly by the adjective (165). Active constructions exhibit the oblique verb followed by a secondary predicate in the form of an absolute patient. The intonational break is between the patient and the adjective (166). If the patient takes the oblique form, the adjective does not function as the secondary predicate but as modifier of the head noun. The adjective still occurs in the absolute form, but is now part of a noun phrase. The intonational break is between the verb and the noun phrase (167).

(165) *ɲo* *masauʔ (*masouʔ)* *basuah*
3.SG enter.A wet.A
'S/he entered [when s/he was] wet'

(166) *ɲo* *masouʔ (*masauʔ)* [*umah*]$_{NP}$ *kumauh*
3.SG enter.O house.A dirty.A
'S/he entered a house [when s/he was] dirty'

(167) *ɲo* *masouʔ (*masauʔ)* [*umoh* *kumauh*]$_{NP}$
3.SG enter.O house.O dirty.A
'S/he entered a dirty house'

P1 constructions cannot occur with a secondary predicate in depictive agent–oriented constructions, as the focus of the passive is the subject-patient, not the agent (168). With an intonational break between the agent and the adjective, this type of sentence could mark a sequence of events. However, a more natural alternative would involve a relative marker between the subject-patient and *di*-oblique verb, so that the verb occurs within the relative clause and exhibits an attributive relation with the head noun (169). This construction is no longer a secondary predicate construction. P1-type passivization would require two separate clauses, in which the patient occurs in subject position followed by *di*+OBL and the agent. The adjective occurs in a separate clause as the main predicate (170). This construction also does not feature a secondary predicate, as there is no continuity of topic.

(168) *umah* *di-masouʔ (*di-masauʔ)* *ɲo* *kumauh*
house.A PASS-enter.O 3.SG dirty.A
1. 'The house entered by her/him was dirty'
2. 'The house was entered by her/him and [then got] dirty'

(169) *umoh* [*ŋə* *di-masouʔ (*di-masauʔ)* *ɲo*]$_{RC}$ *kumauh*
house.O REL PASS-enter.O 3.SG dirty.A
'The house that was entered by her/him was dirty'

(170) *umoh* *di-masouʔ (*di-masauʔ)* *ɲo.* *ɲo* *kumauh*
house.O PASS-enter.O 3.SG 3.SG dirty.A
'The house was entered by her/him. S/he was dirty'

The same problem occurs in P2 constructions, which also require two clauses. Here, the subject-patient is followed by the non-subject agent and the bare absolute form of the verb. The adjective occurs in a separate clause as a predicate, not a secondary predicate (171).

(171) *umoh* *kamai* *masauʔ (*masouʔ)*
house.O 1.PL.EXCL enter.A

kamai *kumauh*
1.PL.EXCL dirty.A
'The house was entered by us. We were dirty'

In patient oriented active constructions, the verb occurs in the oblique form and is followed by the secondary predicate and ultimately by the patient (172). In P1 constructions, the prefix *di-* is combined with the oblique root, followed directly by the agent and the secondary predicate (173). The absolute form is used when information about the agent is not relevant (174). In P2 constructions, the bare verb occurs in the absolute form and is followed by the secondary predicate (175). The imperative requires the verb to occur in the bare absolute form (176).

(172) *akau* *makan (*maka)* *matah* *laouʔ* *itoh*
1.SG eat.O raw.A fish.O itoh
'I ate that fish raw'

(173) *laouʔ* *itoh* *di-bakon (*di-makua)* *ɲo* *matah*
fish.O itoh PASS-eat.O 3.SG raw.A
'That fish was eaten raw by her/him'

(174) *umoh* *itoh* *di-bəloi (*di-bəli)* *baheu*
house.O itoh PASS-buy.A new.A
'That house was bought new'

(175) *ajei* *itoh* *akau* *minan (*minun)* *aŋaʔ*
water.O itoh 1.SG drink.A warm.A
'That water was drunk warm by me'

(176) *maka (*makan)* *matah* *laouʔ* *itoh*
eat.A raw.A fish.O itoh
'Eat that fish raw!'

8.7.2 Resultative

Resultative secondary predication is patient-oriented. The use of the secondary predicate in this construction is to express the state of the patient as a consequence of the action. It does not necessarily occur simultaneously with the main action denoted by the verb. In active constructions, the secondary predicate intervenes between the oblique verb and the patient (177).

(177) *akau* *ŋəbih* *kəmpauh* *ɟagun* *itoh*
1.SG ACT.stew.O soft.A corn.O itoh
'I stewed that corn soft'

In P1 constructions, the verb can only be oblique, even when the agent is not specified (178)–(179). It differs from the general patterns of phrasal alternation which require the absolute form for agentless expressions. When there is an agent, it directly follows the *di*-OBL verb (180).

(178) *sabe* *itoh* *di-gilin* *alauh*
red.pepper.O itoh PASS-grind.O fine.A
'That red pepper was ground fine'

(179) *kəcuali* *kalo* *sawoh* *toh* *sawoh*
except if rice.field.O toh rice.field.O

kəraeh, *toh* *ijea* *diŋan* *paŋkau,*
hard.A toh yes with hoe.A

di-cincan-cincan *alauh* *dea?*
PASS-RED-chop.O fine.A TAG
'Unless the rice field is hard, [you use] a hoe. [It's] crumbled fine, isn't it?'
[fc10.090]

(180) *sabe* *itoh* *di-gilin* *ɲo* *alauh*
red.pepper.O itoh PASS-grind.O 3.SG fine.A
'That red pepper was ground finely by her/him'

The verb preceding the secondary predicate appears in the absolute form in P2 constructions (181) and imperative constructions (182).

(181) *sabe* *itoh* *akau* *gilon* *alauh*
red.pepper.O itoh 1.SG grind.A fine.A
'That red pepper was ground finely by me'

(182) *boih* *kəmpauh* *ɲagun* *itoh*
stew.A soft.A corn.O itoh
'Stew that corn soft!'

8.7.3 Manner adverbial

A manner adverbial is event-oriented, not participant-oriented. It describes the manner of the main action, not the state of the agent or the patient. The secondary predicate occurs simultaneously with the main action denoted by the verb.

In intransitive constructions, the verb occurs in the absolute form (183). The verb occurs in the oblique form in active constructions, since it is followed by an expression for the patient (184). The secondary predicate cannot occur directly after the verb, but follows the patient. Note that semi-transitive verbs like *macea/maco* 'to read' can also occur with or without a patient. In the latter case, it occurs in the absolute form and is followed by the secondary predicate (185). When the patient is understood from the context, it takes the oblique form (186).

(183) *ani* *tideu* *təna*
PN sleep.A quiet.A
'Ani sleeps quietly'

(184) *akau* *maco* *buku* *itoh* *koah*
1.SG ACT.read.O book itoh fast.A
'I read that book fast'

(185) *akau* *macea (*maco)* *koah*
1.SG ACT.read.A fast.A
'I read fast'

(186) *akau* *maco (*macea)* *koah*
1.SG ACT.read.O fast.A
'I read [it] fast'

In P1 constructions, only the absolute form can occur, leaving the agent unspecified. The secondary predicate directly follows the verb (187). Two separate clauses are required when the agent is mentioned (188). In P2 constructions, the bare absolute verb is followed by the secondary predicate (189). The bare absolute verb is also used in imperative constructions (190).

(187) *uhan itoh* *di-tiŋau (*tiŋou)* *kasa*
3.SG.M PASS-punch.A rude.A
'He was punched aggressively'

(188) *uhan itoh* *di-tiŋou (*tiŋau)* *ɲo.*
3.SG.M PASS-punch.O 3.SG

ɲo *niŋou* *kasa*
3.SG ACT.punch.O rude.A
'He was punched by her/him. S/he punched him aggressively'

(189) *talai* *keʔ* *kəben* *akau* *tahaiʔ* *kənca*
rope.A in garden.A 1.SG pull.A taut.A
'The rope in the garden is pulled taut by me'

(190) *tahaiʔ* *kənca* *talai* *keʔ* *kəben*
pull.A taut.A rope.A in garden.A
'Pull the rope in the garden taut!'

8.8 Non-alternating verbs

Non-alternating verbs, by definition, do not exhibit phrasal alternation. Such verbs are typically derived from loanwords, i.e. *ŋəcas* 'to charge' (< *cas* 'charger'), *nəlepon* 'to call' (< *təlepon* 'telephone'), *ŋoɟek* 'to take a motor taxi' (< *oɟek* 'motor taxi').

Non-alternating forms occur in oblique and absolute environments. In active constructions, the object can be mentioned (191) or omitted (192), in which case it is either understood from the context or irrelevant. They further occur in object–topicalized constructions (193), imperative constructions (194), P1 (195) and P2 (196).

(191) *ɲo* *ŋəcas* *hape*
3.SG ACT.charge handphone
'S/he charges the mobile phone'

(192) *ɲo* *ŋəcas*
3.SG ACT.charge
1. 'S/he charges it'
2. 'S/he is charging'

(193) *hape* *ɲo* *ŋəcas*
handphone 3.SG ACT.charge
'The handphone, s/he charges it'

(194) *cas* *hape* *neh*!
charge handphone neh
'Charge this handphone!'

(195) *hape* *di-cas* *ɲo*
handphone PASS-charge 3.SG
'The handphone was charged by her/him'

(196) *hape* *akau* *cas*
handphone 1.SG charge
'The handphone was charged by me'

8.9 Verbs in free variation

Some verbs are in free variation and may occur either in the absolute or oblique form without change in meaning: *muwao/muwo* 'to bring' (< *buwea/buwo*), *məna/məno* 'to make' (< *bənua/bəno*), *nəguaʔ/nəgoʔ* 'to build' (< *təguaʔ/təgoʔ*), *nana/nanan* 'to plant' (< *tana/tanan* 'to plant'), *maŋkau/maŋkou* 'to hold' (<*paŋkau/paŋkou*>), etc.

Verbs in free variation occur in active constructions (197)-(199) and passive constructions (200)-(201).

(197) *ɲo* *muwao~muwo* *anɟeʔ* *toh* *asouʔ* *imbao*
3.SG ACT.bring.A~O dog.O toh enter.O forest.A
'He walks the dog to a forest'
[P3_FS_NOR_OLD_FEMALE.043]

(198) *uha* *məna~məno* *papa*
people.A ACT.make.A~O plank.A
'People are making planks'
[fc1.012]

(199) *umar* *nəguaʔ~nəgoʔ* *umah*
PN ACT.build.A~O house.A
'Umar builds a house'

(200) *di-buwea~di-buwo* *ɲo* *uncan* *kaae*
PASS-bring.A~O 3.SG purse.O clothes.A

ɟadi *təmpeʔ* *uwoh* *pukat*
become.O place.O fruit.O avocado

ɲo *toh*
3.SG.POSS toh
'He brings a cloth purse as a place to put his avocados'
[P4_PV_HAL_OLD_FEMALE.007]

(201) *di-bənua~di-bəno* *ɲo* *gule* *toh*
PASS-make.A~O 3.SG dish.O toh
'He cooks that dish'