Phrasal alternation in Kerinci
Ernanda, N.

Citation
Ernanda, N. (2017, May 23). *Phrasal alternation in Kerinci. LOT dissertation series.* Retrieved from https://hdl.handle.net/1887/49206

Cover Page

The handle http://hdl.handle.net/1887/49206 holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation

Author: Ernanda
Title: Phrasal alternation in Kerinci
Issue Date: 2017-05-23

9 Derived verb constructions

9.1 Introduction

Verb derivation from other word classes is formed by adding prefixes to the roots. The verbalizing prefixes in PT are *maN-* (9.2), *N-* + OBL (9.3), *pa-* (9.4), *ba-* (9.5), *ta-* (9.6) and *ka-* (9.7). Verb reduplication is discussed in section 9.8.

   Derivational morphology can be grouped into three types. The first type displays general patterns of phrasal alternation presented in 1.7.4. The second type, the 'frozen oblique', goes back to the historical suffix **-an*, which has converged morphologically with the oblique form in PT. The third type is a combination of a prefix with a compound. This type consists of existing compounds combined with derivational prefixes, so that patterns of phrasal alternation differ from one construction to another.

9.2 *maN-*

This section discusses the prefix *maN-* in combination with adjective roots (9.2.1) and noun roots (9.2.2).

9.2.1 with adjective roots

The prefix *maN-* with adjective roots expresses 'to become X' (Table 9.1). The realizations of *maN-* are slightly different from that of *N-* in active transitive constructions (8.4.1), in that root-initial voiced obstruents are preserved. Only roots have ABS-OBL alternation, whereas the derivational forms are morphologically frozen in the absolute form.

Root	Derivational form
gədua/gədon 'big'	*maŋgədua*.A 'to become big'
kəran/kərin 'dry'	*maŋəran*.A 'to become dry'
kunan/kunin 'yellow'	*maŋunan*.A 'to become yellow'
putaih/puteih 'white'	*mamutaih*.A 'to become white'

Table 9.1. *maN-* + adjective roots

The prefix *maN-* takes one argument intransitively (1)–(2). It can also occur as a nominalized intransitive predicate (3)-(4).

(1) *padoi   keʔ   sawah   lah   maɲunan*
paddy.A   in   rice.field.A   already   ACT.yellow.A
'Paddy in the rice field has become yellow'

[After an accident]
(2) *kakei   ɲo   maŋ-gədua*
leg.O   3.SG.POSS   ACT.big.A
'Her/his leg was becoming bigger'

[Comparing two colors]
(3) *maɲunan   toh   ilauʔ*
ACT.yellow.A   toh   good.A

daripado   kunin   tuwao
than   yellow.O   old.A
'Yellowish [turning yellow] is better than dark yellow'

[A conversation about dough]
(4) *maŋ-gədua   toh   ŋə   ilauʔ*
ACT.big.A   toh   REL   good.A
'Becoming big is good'

9.2.2   with noun roots

Combined with a small number of noun roots, the prefix *maN-* denotes 'to be like X' (Table 9.2).

Root	Derivational form
bateu/batu 'stone'	*mambateu*.A 'to harden'
bukoiʔ/bukit 'hill'	*mambukoiʔ*.A 'to form a heap'
gunea/gunun 'mountain'	*maŋgunea*.A 'to pile up'

Table 9.2. *maN-* + noun roots

These morphological forms are also frozen in the absolute form (5)–(6). In a limited number of cases, this prefixed form can appear in the oblique form when combined with a participant functioning as a complement (7).

(5) *baɟu   kumauh   lah   maŋ-gunea*
     shirt.O   dirty.A   already   ACT.mountain.A
     'Dirty clothes are piling up'

(6) *ajei   dalon   <u>kulkas</u>   lah   mam-bateu*
     water.O   inside   fridge   already   ACT.stone.A
     'Water inside the fridge is hardened [frozen]'

(7) *baɟu   kumauh   lah   maŋ-gunun   tiŋgai*
     shirt.O   dirty.A   already   ACT.mountain.O   high.A
     'Dirty clothes are highly piled up'

9.3   *N-*+OBL

Monovalent verb roots and adjective roots can increase their valency by creating active causative verbs. This section describes the valency increasing derivation on the basis of monovalent verb roots (9.3.1) and adjective roots (9.3.2).

9.3.1   with monovalent verb roots

The nasal-prefixed oblique can form verbs that can take two arguments from monovalent verb roots. Examples of monovalent bare verb roots that increase valency through *N-*+OBL are: *tideu/tidu* 'to sleep' vs. *nidu* 'to make someone sleep', *mandai* 'to take a bath' vs. *mandei* 'to bathe someone', *matai* 'to die' vs. *matei* 'to turn something off', *aɲauʔ* 'to drift' vs. *ŋaɲouʔ* 'to set adrift'.

In these derived active transitive constructions, the oblique form indicates that there is an agent which functions as the causee (8). Unlike intransitives (9), these derived forms do not alternate and can only occur in the oblique form, including when the object can be understood from the context (10).

            [Her 3-year-old sister is still awake at midnight]
(8) *ɲo   nidu   adiʔ   ɲo*
     3.SG   ACT.sleep.O   younger.sibling.O   3.SG.POSS
     'She is trying to make her younger sibling sleep'

(9) *adiʔ   ɲo   tideu*
     younger.sibling.O   3.SG.POSS   sleep.A
     'Her/his younger sibling is sleeping'

[What is she doing to her 3-year-old sister who is still
awake at midnight?]

(10)   *ɲo   nidu*
         3.SG   ACT.sleep.O
         'She is trying to make [her sister] sleep'

These constructions can be passivized with the P1 construction (11), which takes an oblique form, but not with the P2 construction. In the imperative construction, the bare absolute root is used with the prefix *di-* (12). Note that without the prefix *di-*, it forms an intransitive clause (13), not an imperative.

(11)   *adiʔ*   *ɲo*   *di-tidu*   *ɲo*
         younger.sibling.O   3.SG.POSS   PASS-sleep.O   3.SG
         'Her sister was put to sleep by her'

         *adiʔ   *ɲo*   *akau   tideu*
         younger.sibling.O   3.SG.POSS   1.SG   sleep.A
         'Her sister was put to sleep by me'

(12)   *di-tideu*   *adiʔ*   *ɲo*
         PASS-sleep.A   younger.sibling.O   3.SG.POSS
         'Put her sister to sleep!'

(13)   *tideu*   *adiʔ*   *ɲo*
         sleep.A   younger.sibling.O   3.SG.POSS
         *'Put her sister to sleep!'
         'Her/his younger sibling is sleeping'

9.3.2   with adjective roots

With a number adjective oblique roots, *N-*+OBL produces the meaning 'to cause the patient to have the characteristics of X' (14)-(15). The prefix *di-* can be combined with the oblique root in P1 constructions, when its referent is restricted by an overt (16) or covert agent (17). This type of causative cannot occur either in P2 or in imperative constructions.

[What is the sewing machine for?]

(14)   *untuʔ ŋəneʔ   baɟeu*
         for   ACT.small.O   shirt.A
         'To make the shirt smaller'

[What is s/he doing with the shirt?]

(15) *ɲo   ŋəneʔ*
      3.SG   ACT.small.O
      'S/he makes it smaller'

(16) *suwaro   tipi   di-neʔ   tino*
      voice.O   television   PASS-small.O   grandmother.O
      'The TV volume was lowered by Granny'

(17) *anoʔ   itoh   di-gədon*
      child.O   itoh   PASS-big.O
      'That child has been raised [by so.]'

9.4   *pa-*

The prefix *pa-* can be combined with adjective and noun roots without phonological change in the root-initial phoneme, yielding transitive verbs. The prefix *pa-* can be preceded by the prefix *mam-* in active and *di-* in passive constructions. *Pa-* with adjective roots is discussed in 9.4.1 and with noun roots in 9.4.2.

9.4.1   with adjective roots

The prefix *pa-* combined with adjective roots forms transitive stems with the meaning 'to make something more X'. It implies that the patient already has the characteristic denoted by the adjective, which characteristic is increased further (Table 9.3).

Root	Derivational form
cəpaʔ/cəpat 'fast'	*pacəpaʔ/pacəpat* 'to speed up'
ənaeʔ/əneʔ 'small'	*paənaeʔ/paəneʔ* 'to minimize, to decrease'
gədua/gədon 'big, large'	*pagədua/pagədon* 'to enlarge'
ilauʔ/ilouʔ 'good, attractive'	*pailauʔ/pailouʔ* 'to make more attractive, to decorate'
libua/libo 'broad'	*palibua/palibo* 'to broaden'
muduah/mudoh 'easy'	*pamuduah/pamudoh* 'to make easier, to facilitate'
panʲa/panʲan 'long'	*papanʲa/papanʲan* 'to lengthen'
siŋkaeʔ/siŋkeʔ 'short'	*pasiŋkaeʔ/pasiŋkeʔ* 'to shorten'
tiŋgai/tiŋgei 'high, tall'	*patiŋgai/patiŋgei* 'to make taller, to heighten'

Table 9.3. *pa-* + adjective roots

In active constructions, the oblique verb is preceded by the prefix *mam-* (18). This form cannot occur in intransitive constructions, i.e. without an overt or covert object. It differs from *N-*+OBL, which lacks the nuance that the adjective already possesses the quality that is being increased (19).

(18)   *ɲo   mam-pa-paɲan   barih   ineh*
          3.SG   ACT.CAUS-long.O   line.O   ineh
          'S/he lengthens this line'

          *ɲo   mam-pa-paɲa
          3.SG   ACT.CAUS-long.A

(19)   *ɲo   maɲan   barih   ineh*
          3.SG   ACT.long.O   line.O   ineh
          'S/he makes this line long'

The prefix *pa-* combined with adjective roots can also form P1 constructions (20). The general rules of phrasal alternation presented in 1.7.4 apply (21)-(22). Adverbial constructions following the verb do not affect the absolute form of the verb (23).

(20)   *ɟalon   ineh   di-pa-libo*
          road.O   ineh   PASS-CAUS-broad.O
          'This road was broadened [by so.]'

(21)   *gawe   ineh   di-pa-mudoh   ɲo*
          work.O   ineh   PASS-CAUS-easy.O   3.SG
          'This work was made easier by him/her'

(22)   *gawe   ineh   di-pa-muduah*
          work.O   ineh   PASS-CAUS-easy.A
          'This work was made easier'

(23)   *tijan   ineh   di-pa-tiŋgai   ka   ateh*
          pillar.O   ineh   PASS-CAUS-height.A   to   above
          'This pillar was made taller upwards'

P2 constructions, which are discussed in 8.4.4, also follow this pattern. The prefix *pa-* combined with a verb root occurs in the absolute form (24)–(25). This is also the case with imperative constructions (26)-(27).

(24)   *siwan   ineh   akau   pa-siŋkaeʔ*
           pants.O ineh   1.SG   CAUS-short.A
           'This pair of pants was shortened by me'

(25)   *umoh   ineh   ikao   pa-ilauʔ*
           house.O ineh   2.SG   CAUS-good.A
           'This house was decorated by you'

(26)   *pa-gədua   umoh   ineh*
           CAUS-large.A house.O ineh
           'Enlarge this house!'

(27)   *pa-libua   ɟalon   itoh*
           CAUS-broad.A road.O itoh
           'Broaden that road!'

9.4.2   with noun roots

The prefix *pa-* in combination with a noun root implies 'to treat the patient as X'. Only two examples show up in my corpus, neither of which exhibit ABS-OBL alternation (Table 9.4).

Root	Derivational form
adoiʔ/adiʔ 'younger sibling'	*paadiʔ* 'to regard as a younger sibling'
buduaʔ/budoʔ 'slave'	*pabuduaʔ* 'to enslave'

Table 9.4. *pa-* + noun roots

In active constructions, *pa–* is preceded by the prefix *mam-* (28)–(29). The prefix *di-* is used in passive constructions (30)-(31). P2 constructions are exemplified in (32)-(33). The bare form is used in imperatives (34). Note that *buduaʔ/budoʔ* requires an absolute-like root and *adoiʔ/adiʔ* an oblique-like root.

(28)   *ɟəpua   mam-pa-buduaʔ   kitao   duleu*
           japan.A ACT.CAUS-slave   1.PL.INCL   in.the.past.A
           'The Japanese enslaved us in the past'

(29)   *ɲo   mam-pa-adiʔ   akau*
           3.SG ACT.CAUS-younger.sibling   1.SG
           'S/he regards me as a younger sibling'

(30) *memaŋ* *di-pa-buduaʔ* *ɲo* *ɲa*
     indeed PASS-CAUS-slave 3.PL really
     '[Our people] were really enslaved by them'
     [fc4.229]

(31) *akau* *di-pa-adiʔ* *ɲo*
     1.SG PASS-CAUS-younger.sibling 3.SG
     'I am regarded as a younger sibling by her/him'

(32) *anoʔ* *jatan* *ikao* *pa-buduaʔ*
     child.O orphan.A 2.SG CAUS-slave
     'An orphan was treated by you like a slave'

(33) *akau* *ikao* *pa-adiʔ*
     1.SG 2.SG CAUS-younger.sibling
     'I am regarded as a younger sibling by you'

(34) *pa-buduaʔ* *uhan itoh*
     CAUS-slave 3.SG.M
     'Treat him like a slave!'

9.5 *ba-*

The prefix *ba-* has been briefly introduced in 3.4.2. This morpheme typically marks 'subject affectedness', i.e. the subject is affected by the result of the action.[126] This prefix is mostly used in intransitive constructions.[127] As such, it occurs in the absolute form. *Ba-*+OBL constructions are possible in contexts where they take a complement or a stative property, or as a frozen oblique historically reflecting the suffix **-an*. If *ba-* is combined with a compound, the ABS-OBL opposition of the pre-existing compound remains intact.

     This section discusses the prefix *ba-* in combination with noun roots (9.5.1) and verb roots (9.5.2). I then address the prefix *ba-* in constructions

---

[126] See Kemmer (1993) for a discussion on subject affectedness as a property of the middle voice.

[127] This has also been observed in Indonesian (Dardjowidjojo 1978; Vamarasi 1986).

denoting reciprocality (9.5.3) and random manner (9.5.4), followed by its use in compounds (9.5.5).

9.5.1 with noun roots

9.5.1.1 'to possess X'

The prefix *ba-* combined with noun roots yields stative verbs (STAT) expressing 'to be qualified by the possession of X' (Table 9.5). *Ba*-noun constructions can take a complement,[128] marking a 'limitative relation'; the complement provides a limitation or specification about what kind of property is denoted by the prefixed root.[129]

Root	Derivational form
dahuah/*dahoh* blood'	*badahuah*/*badahoh* 'to possess blood, to bleed'
isai/*isei* 'content'	*barisoi*/*barisi* 'to have content, filled'
kipae/*kipe* 'money'	*bakipae*/*bakipe* 'to have money'
kudea/*kudo* 'horse'	*bakudea*/*bakudo* 'to have a horse, to ride a horse'
tugeuʔ/*tuguʔ* 'hat'	*batugeuʔ*/*batuguʔ* 'to have a hat, to wear a hat'

Table 9.5. *ba-* expressing 'to possess X'

The prefix *ba-* combined with a noun root can be used predicatively. It occurs in the absolute form intransitively (35) and in the oblique form when it takes a complement (36). It occurs in the absolute form within a relative clause, which indicates an attributive relation with the head noun (37). In this context, the prefixed root may also occur without a relative marker preceding it (38), but this construction is less preferred by PT speakers.

(35)   *gəleh*   *ineh*   *bar-isoi (*isi)*
           glass.O   ineh   STAT-content.A
           'This glass is filled'

---

[128] Adelaar (1984) labels it 'complement', whereas Steinhauer (1992) calls it 'predicate adjunct'. Sneddon (2010: 274) holds that 'a complement is a clause component which resembles an object but which cannot become the subject of a passive clause'.

[129] The same is true for Indonesian (Fokker 1980).

(36)   *gəleh   ineh   bar-isi (*isoi)   ajai*
         glass.O   ineh   STAT-content.O   water.A
         'This glass is filled with water/this glass contains water'

(37)   [*gəleh   [ŋə   bar-[isoi]*ₙₚ]ᵣ𝒸]ₙₚ   *itoh   ɟateuh*
         glass.O   REL   STAT-content.A   itoh   fall.A
         'The glass which is filled fell down'

(38)   [*gəleh   bar-[isoi]*ₙₚ]ₙₚ   *itoh   ɟateuh*
         glass.O   STAT-content.A   itoh   fall.A
         'That filled glass fell down'

Constructions with *ba-* + complement denote an attributive relation with the head noun.[130] The *ba*-prefixed noun adds additional information to the preceding noun and occurs in the oblique form. Attributively, *ba*-prefixed nouns can be used without a relative marker to post-modify the head noun (39).

(39)   [*gəleh   bar-isi   ajai*]ₙₚ
         glass.O   STAT-content.O   water.A
         'The glass containing water'

Prefixed oblique roots followed by numeral complements can be used predicatively. Here, the numeral limits the possession expressed by the *ba*-prefixed root, determining the boundaries of the possessive construction (40)-(41).

(40)   *ɲo   bar-anoʔ   tigea*
         3.SG   STAT-child.O   three.A
         'S/he has three children'

(41)   *ɲo   ba-bini   duwea*
         3.SG   STAT-wife.O two.A
         'He has two wives'

Absolute roots without a complement occur predicatively (42). When followed by a numeral complement, clauses of this type are used

---

[130] A similar construction exists in Indonesian (Steinhauer 1992: 434).

attributively within a relative clause (43)-(44). Attributive usage of the prefixed roots without a relative marker requires an oblique form (45)-(46).

(42)   *ɲo   ba-binoi*
           3.SG   STAT-wife.A
           1. 'He has a wife'
           2. 'He is married'

(43)   *ɟando*   [*ŋə   bar-*[*anoʔ   tigea*]$_{NP}$]$_{RC}$
           widow.O   REL   STAT-child.O   three.A

           itoh   kantei   akau
           itoh   friend.O   1.SG
           'The widow who has three children is my friend'

(44)   *ɟanton*   [*ŋə   ba-*[*bini   duwea*]$_{NP}$]$_{RC}$
           male.O   REL   STAT-wife.O   two.A

           itoh   ŋətouʔ   pintau
           itoh   ACT.knock.O   door.A
           'The man who has two wives knocked on the door'

(45)   *ɟando   bar-anoʔ   tigea   di-tinoʔ   ɲo*
           widow.O   STAT-child.O   three.A   PASS-target.O   3.SG
           'The widow with three children is targeted by him' [Lit.]
           'The widow with three children is the woman he has in mind'

(46)   *malaeh   ɲa   ɲo   ŋimoʔ*
           lazy.A   very   3.SG   ACT.see.O

           ɟanton   ba-bini   duwea
           male.O   STAT-wife.O   two.A
           'S/he is fed up seeing men with two wives'

9.5.1.2   'to produce X'

The prefix *ba-* combined with a noun root can also express 'to produce X' (Table 9.6).

Root	Derivational form
buŋoi/buŋi 'noise'	*babuŋoi/babuŋi* 'to make a noise'
pəlauh/pəlouh 'sweat'	*bapəlauh/bapəlouh* 'to produce sweat, to sweat, to be sweaty'
sijau/sijou 'a whistle'	*basijau* 'to whistle'
təlau/təlou 'egg'	*batəlau/batəlou* 'to lay an egg'

Table 9.6. *ba-* expressing 'to produce X'

Predicatively, the absolute form is used (47), resulting in two possible readings depending on whether or not there is an intonational break. With an intonational break, the prefixed root is interpreted as a post-subject predicate and therefore a clause. Without an intonational break, it is interpreted as an attribute and therefore a phrase. Attributively, the prefixed root can follow a relative marker and also occurs in the absolute form (48). When the relative marker is omitted, it is not clear whether the sentence is general or definite (49). The oblique form is only used when the prefixed root is followed by an adjectival complement, such as *ilauʔ* 'good' (50).

(47)   *uha   ba-pəlauh*
         people.A   STAT-sweat.A
         1. 'People are sweaty' [with intonational break]
         2. 'Sweaty people' [without intonational break]

(48)   [In a context of doing sports]
         uha   ŋə   ba-pəlauh   itoh   ilauʔ
         people.A   REL   STAT-sweat.A   itoh   good.A
         'People who are sweaty are good' [Lit.]
         'It's good to work out'

(49)   *uha   ba-pəlauh   itoh   ilauʔ*
         people.A   STAT-sweat.A   itoh   good.A
         1. 'Sweaty people are good' ['It's good to work out']
         2. 'That sweaty person is good-looking'

(50)   *ɲo   ba-pəlouh   ilauʔ*
         3.SG   STAT-sweat.O   good.A
         'S/he is sweating a lot'

Combined with the root *dahuah/dahoh* 'blood', the prefix *ba-* can be interpreted in two different ways: 'to possess blood' (as discussed in 9.5.1.1) and 'to produce blood, to bleed'. This construction can occur attributively

within a relative clause (51) or predicatively (52), in both cases requiring the absolute form. It cannot be used adjacently after the head noun.

(51)   [*kakei*   *ŋə*   *ba-dahuah*]_{NP}   *itoh*   *sakaiʔ*

leg.O   REL   STAT-blood.A   itoh   ill.A

'The leg which is bleeding hurts'

*[*kakei*   *ba-dahuah*]_{NP}   *itoh*   *sakaiʔ*

leg.O   STAT-blood.A   itoh   ill.A

(52)   *kakei*   *ɲo*   *ba-dahuah*

leg.O   3.SG.POSS   STAT-blood.A

'Her/his leg is bleeding'

9.5.1.3 'to use/wear X'

The prefix *ba-* combined with a noun root can convey the meaning 'to use/wear X' (Table 9.7).

Root	Derivational form
baɟeu/baɟu 'shirt'	*babaɟeu/babaɟu* 'to wear a shirt'
sapatou 'shoes'	*basapatou* 'to wear shoes'
tuɟeuʔ/tuɟuʔ 'hat'	*batuɟeuʔ/batuɟuʔ* 'to wear a hat'

Table 9.7. *ba-* expressing 'to use/wear X'

It occurs in the absolute form (53). The oblique form is used when the *ba*-prefixed noun root is followed by an adjectival complement (54).

(53)   *ɲo*   *ba-tuɟeuʔ (*tuɟuʔ)*

3.SG   STAT-hat.A

'S/he is wearing a hat'

(54)   *kamai*   *ba-tuɟuʔ (*ba-tuɟeuʔ)*   *ita*

1.PL.EXCL   STAT-hat.O   black.A

'We wear black hats'

Attributively, the root appears in the absolute form within the relative clause (55) and in the oblique form when followed by an adjectival complement (56). The prefixed root cannot occur without being preceded by a relative marker in this context.

(55)   *akau   naloʔ   anaʔ   ŋə   ba-tugeuʔ*
         1.SG   ACT.search.for   child.A   REL   STAT-hat.A
         'I am looking for a child who is wearing a hat'

         *akau   naloʔ   anaʔ   ba-tugeuʔ
         1.SG   ACT.search.for   child.A   STAT-hat.A

(56)   *anaʔ   ŋə   ba-tuguʔ   ita*
         child.A   REL   STAT-hat.O   black.A

         itoh   anaʔ   <u>esde</u>
         itoh   child.A   SD
         'Children who wear black hats are elementary school students'

The prefix *ba-* combined with the root *kudea/kudo* 'horse' can technically mean 'to possess a horse' (9.5.1.1) as well as 'to use a horse', i.e. to ride one (57). The latter is generally the most common interpretation (58). The absolute form is used in both constructions. The oblique form is used when it is followed by an adjectival complement (59). Non-alternating words can also occur in this construction (60).

(57)   *kamai   ba-kudea*
         1.PL.EXCL   STAT-horse.A
         'We have horses'
         'We ride a horse'

(58)   *ɲo   ba-kudea   k-umoh   ali*
         3.SG   STAT-horse.A   PREP-house.O   PN
         'S/he rode on horseback to Ali's house'

(59)   *ɲo   ba-kudo   putaih   k-umoh   ali*
         3.SG   STAT-horse.O   white.A   PREP-house.O   PN
         'S/he rode on a white horse to Ali's house'

(60)   *haa   nəmpauh   lah   anaʔ   naeʔ   ba-<u>səpeda</u>*
         PART   ACT.pass.A   PART   child.A   small.A   STAT-bike
         'Hmm… a small kid on a bike is going past' [Dyn.]
         [P4_PV_HAL_OLD_FEMALE.028]

9.5.1.4 'to work as X'

The prefix *ba-* combined with a noun root expresses 'to work as X' (Table 9.8). On a semantic level, some derived forms only occur in the absolute form and therefore cannot take a complement, whereas others have ABS-OBL opposition and can take a complement.

Root	Derivational form
ɟagua/ɟago 'merchandize'	*baɟagua/baɟago* 'to work as a trader'
kədoa/kəde 'kiosk'	*bakədoa*.A 'to work as a retailer'
ladua/ladon 'field'	*baladua/baladon* 'to work as a farmer'
tuka/tukan 'mason'	*batuka*.A 'to work as a mason'

Table 9.8. *ba-* expressing 'to work as X'

Predicatively, the prefixed root occurs in the absolute form (61)–(62). In a nominalized construction, the oblique form is used when the *ba*-prefixed noun root is followed by a nominal complement (63). Within a relative clause, the root occurs in the absolute form and is used attributively (64). This construction cannot occur without a relative marker. Attributively, the root occurs in the oblique form and is followed by a nominal complement (65).

(61)   *gawe   ɲo   ba-tuka*
         work.O   3.SG.POSS   STAT-mason.A
         'S/he works as a mason'

(62)   *uha toh   ba-kədoa   deaʔ*
         3.PL   STAT-kiosk.A   TAG
         'They work as retailers, don't they?'
         [fc4.001]

(63)   [The agent is telling about what she did to earn money]
         ba-ɟago   pisa   lamao   lao
         STAT-merchandize.O   banana.A   long.A   also
         'Selling bananas for a long time also'
         [fc10.018]

(64)   *tino*   [*ŋə*   *ba-[ɟagua]*_{NP}]_{RC}
          grandmother.O   REL   STAT-merchandize.A

          toh   sakaiʔ
          toh   ill.A
          'The old woman who works as a retailer is ill'

          *tino   *ba-[ɟagua]*_{NP}   *toh*   *sakaiʔ*
          grandmother.O   STAT-merchandize.A   toh   ill.A

(65)   *ikao   nuweʔ   tino*   [*ŋə*
          2.SG   ACT.ask   grandmother.O   REL

          *ba-[ɟago   pisa]*_{NP}]_{RC}
          STAT-merchandize.O   banana.A
          'You asked [a question] to an old woman who sells bananas'

9.5.2   with verb roots

9.5.2.1   emphasizing verbality

The prefix *ba-* can also take verbal roots. In this construction, it emphasizes the verbal status of the word and makes what is being said sound more formal.[131] The prefix *ba-* is not as productive as *N-* or *di-*, which can be combined with a much greater number of roots. The prefix *ba-* is only used in long-established derivations.[132] Some derived forms only occur in the absolute (Table 9.9). Verbs that also occur in the oblique form can take a complement.

---

[131] This is also the case in Indonesian (Alwi et al. 1998). In the words of Sneddon (2010: 65), 'it is difficult to assign a meaning to *ber-* with such bases other than that its presence is necessary to produce a well-formed verb'.

[132] This is also the case in Indonesian (Dardjowidjojo 1983).

Root	Derivational form
ɟalua/ɟalon 'to walk, road'	*baɟalua/baɟalon* 'to walk'
labeuh/labuh 'to anchor'[133]	*balabeuh* 'to anchor'
təmau/təmou 'to meet'	*batəmau* 'to meet'
tuwaiʔ/tuweiʔ 'to ask'	*batuwaiʔ* 'to ask'

Table 9.9. *ba-* + verbal roots

The root 'to walk' can occur either in the absolute form (66) or in the oblique form when followed by an adjectival complement (67). Note, however, that certain roots only occur in the absolute form (68).

(66)   *kalo   adea   ŋə   əndoʔ   ba-ɟalua   ambiʔ*
         if   exist.A   REL   want   VBLZ-road.A take.O

       ɟalon   tanah   kampau
       road.O   Tanah   Kampau.A
       'For those who want to walk, take the Tanah Kampau
       direction'
       [fc5.016]

(67)   *kamai   ba-ɟalon   ɟaeuh*
         1.PL.EXCL   VBLZ-walk.O   far.A
         'We walk far'

(68)   *tibea   kapan   tərbua   ŋanta*
         arrive.A   ship.O   fly.A   ACT.deliver

       ba-labeuh   lah   tanoh   lapa
       VBLZ-anchor.A   PART   land.O   large.A
       'When delivering flights arrived, [they] landed on the town
       square'
       [fc4.247]

---

[133] Unlike Malay *labuh* 'an anchor', *labeuh/labuh* in PT only serves a verb 'to anchor', never a noun.

9.5.2.2   marking time-stable activity

The prefix *ba-* combined with absolute verb roots occurs in intransitive constructions expressing 'to do a relatively time stable activity'. Derivational forms only take the absolute form (Table 9.10).

Root	Derivational form
aɟua 'to teach'	*balaɟua*[134] 'to be learning, to study'
ajan/*ajun* 'to swing'	*barajen*.A 'to be swinging'
mənau/*mənun* 'to ponder'	*bamənau*.A 'to be pondering'
pikai/*pikei* 'to think'	*bapikai*.A 'to be thinking, to reflect'

Table 9.10. *ba-* expressing time-stable activity

This construction is used predicatively (69) or before an adjectival complement (70)–(71), in which case the absolute form is maintained. Intransitives also occur in the absolute form (72), including in a relative clause (73).

(69)   *salagi   səɲaʔ   ɲo   ba-pikai*
         while   quiet.A   3.SG   VBLZ-think.A
         'As long as it's quiet s/he is thinking'

(70)   *puseiʔ itoh   bar-ajen   kənca*
         toy   itoh   VBLZ-swing.A   fast.A
         'That toy swings fast'

(71)   *ɲo   ba-pikai   kəraeh*
         3.SG   VBLZ-think.A   hard.A
         'S/he thinks hard'

(72)   *ba-mənau   woa   gawe   ɲo*
         VBLZ-ponder.A   only   work.O 3.SG.POSS
         'Pondering is her/his only activity'

---

[134] The prefix *bal-* (instead of *ba-*) only occurs in combination with the root *aɟua* 'to teach', cf. Malay *bəlajar* in the same meaning. The construction has probably been borrowed as a whole from Malay, otherwise one would expect **baɟua.*

(73)   *uha*   *ŋə*   *ba-mənau*   *itoh*   *ta-tideu*
          people.A   REL   VBLZ-ponder.A   itoh   PERF-sleep.A
          'The person who is pondering falls asleep'

9.5.3   with *ba-*+ABS

In combination with some noun or verb roots, the prefix *ba-* expresses reciprocality, i.e. two or more people sharing a relationship to each other as denoted by the noun root, or are simultaneously agent and patient of an action denoted by the verb root (Table 9.11). This construction requires a plural subject.

Root	Derivational form
cian/*ciun* 'to kiss'	*bacian*.A 'to kiss each other'
kantai/*kantei* 'friend'	*bakantai*.A 'to be friends'
musauh/*musouh* 'enemy'	*bamusauh*.A 'to be enemies'
tiŋau/*tiŋou* 'to punch'	*batiŋau*.A 'to punch each other'

Table 9.11. *ba-* expressing reciprocality

These derivational forms only occur in the absolute form and can be used predicatively (74) and attributively (75).

(74)   *uha itoh*   *ba-kantai*
          3.PL   RECP-friend.A
          'They are friends'

(75)   *uha*   *ba-kantai*   *itoh*   *səndo*   *itoh*   *ɲa*
          people.A   RECP-friend.A   itoh   like   itoh   really
          'That's what being friends with people is all about'

9.5.4   with *ba-*+OBL

For a limited number of roots, the construction *ba-*+OBL expresses an action carried out in a random manner, i.e. in an undirected motion and/or by many participants (Table 9.12).

Root	Derivational form
ganteu/*gantun* 'to hang'	*bagantun*.O 'to hang all over the place'
tərbua/*tərbon* 'to fly'	*batərbon*.O 'to fly everywhere
tərɟen/*tərɟun* 'to fall'	*batərɟun*.O 'to fall from every direction'

Table 9.12. *ba-* + OBL random manner

The derivational forms are frozen in the oblique form (76)-(77), which historically reflects the suffix *-*an*.[135]

(76)   *lalaʔ   ba-tərbon   keʔ   təmpeʔ   sahaʔ*
          fly.A   VBLZ-fly.O   at   place.O   garbage.A
          'Flies fly everywhere at the garbage heap'

(77)   *uha   ba-tərɟun   kalon   danua*
          people.A   VBLZ-fall.O   into   lake.A
          'People from all directions fell into a lake'

9.5.5   in compounds

The prefix *ba-* can be combined with existing compounds. This morphological process does not affect the ABS-OBL alternation of the compounds; OBL+ABS compounds (78) and OBL+OBL compounds (79) remain intact. When the same lexical roots do not form a compound, phrase-final elements can occur in the absolute form (80).

(78)   *ɲo   ba-tanan   padoi*
          3.SG   VBLZ-plant.O   paddy.A
          'S/he is cultivating paddy'

(79)   *unda   itoh   ba-[lago   kambeʔ]*ᵥₚ
          motorcycle   itoh   VBLZ-fight.O   goat.O
          'The motorcycles were goat-fighting' [Lit.]
          'The motorcycles were bumping against each other'

---

[135] The corresponding Malay circumfix is *ber…an*.

(80)   *ba*-[*lagea*]ᵥₚ   *kambeʔ*   *ɲo*
         RECP-fight.A   goat.O   3.SG.POSS
         'Fighting was what her/his goats did'

9.6   *ta-*

The prefix *ta-* marks unintentionality and/or potentiality.[136] It can be combined with monovalent and bivalent verbs. The patterns of phrasal alternation presented in 1.7.4 apply, but not all verbs prefixed with *ta-* can take a complement semantically. Hence, some verbs only occur in the absolute form. This section examines *ta-*constructions expressing unintentionality (9.6.1) and potentiality (9.6.2).

9.6.1   Unintentionality

The prefix *ta-* can be combined with a monovalent or bivalent verb root, indicating that the subject undergoes an activity without a willing agent (Table 9.13).

Root	Derivational form
buwea/*buwo* 'to bring'	*tabuwea* 'taken / brought unintentionally'
dudeuʔ/*duduʔ* 'to sit'	*tadudeuʔ*/*taduduʔ* 'fallen into a sitting position'
ɟateuh/*ɟatuh* 'to fall down'	*taɟateuh*/*taɟatuh* 'fallen suddenly'
əmpaeh/*əmpeh* 'to smash'	*taəmpaeh*/*taəmpeh* 'hurled, thrown down'
galincai/*galincei* 'to slip'	*tagalincai*/*tagalincei* 'come to slip'
guloi/*guli* 'to roll on'	*taguloi*/*taguli* 'rolled on, toppled'
kimaʔ/*kimoʔ* 'to see'	*takimaʔ* 'suddenly seen'
maka/*makan* 'to eat'	*tamaka*/*tamakan* 'eaten by accident'
pandauʔ/*pandouʔ* 'to bang'	*tapandauʔ*/*tapandouʔ* 'bumped into sth.'
tideu/*tidu* 'to sleep'	*tatideu*/*tatidu* 'fallen asleep'

Table 9.13. *ta-* + monovalent and bivalent verb roots

For monovalent roots, no situational transition is indicated (81). *Ta-*prefixed forms mark a situational transition caused by an internal factor (the subject commits the act involuntarily) or an external factor (the subject is unwillingly affected by the act). The situational change characterizing *ta-*

---

[136] The prefix *ta-* is cognate with the prefix *ter-* in other Malay varieties (Cf. Djiang 1988; Tajuddin 1993; Goddard 2003; Tjia 2007; Crouch 2009; Chung 2011).

constructions indicates a notion of perfectivity. The verb occurs in the absolute form (82)-(84).

(81)   *ɲo   dudeuʔ (*duduʔ)*
        3.SG   sit.A
        'S/he is sitting'

(82)   *ɲo   ta-dudeuʔ (*ta-duduʔ)*
        3.SG   PERF-sit.A
        'S/he fell into a sitting position'

(83)   *ɲo   ta-ɟateuh,   ta-guloi,*
        3.SG   PERF-fall.A   PERF-roll.on.A

        ta-əmpaeh   palo
        PERF-smash.A   head.O
        'He accidentally fell, toppled, [and had his] head smacked down'
        [P4_PV_HAL_OLD_FEMALE.055]

(84)   *ɲo   ta-duduʔ (*ta-dudeuʔ)   ilauʔ*
        3.SG   PERF-sit.O   good.A
        'S/he fell into a perfect sitting position'

    The absolute form is also required for bivalent verb roots (85). The oblique form is only used when it is followed by a complement (84). In terms of word order, note that *ta*-constructions can precede either the agent (86) or the patient (87). As a result, it must be determined from the context which element functions as the agent and which one functions as the patient (88).[137]

(85)   *kərteh   itoh   ta-buwea   duwot   akau*
        paper.O itoh   PERF-bring.A by   1.SG
        'That paper was accidentally taken by me'

---

[137] This sort of construction is sometimes considered a passive (Salim et al. 1988; Cumming 1991). However, it is notoriously difficult to determine in which contexts the *ta*-construction is active or passive (cf. Adelaar 1992).

(86)   *ɟadi   suduah   itoh,   ta-kəlaʔ*
     so   already.A   itoh   PERF-asleep.A

     anaʔ   neʔ   neh
     child.A   small.O   neh
     'Then, after that, this small kid fell asleep' [Dyn.]
     [P1_FS_DAS_OLD_MALE.007]

(87)   *tapi   kadon-kadon   kalo   <u>asam.urat</u>   neh,*
     but   sometimes   if   gout   neh

     kadon   toh   baŋkoiʔ   ɲo,   ta-maka
     sometimes   toh   wake.up.A   3.SG   PERF-eat.A

     pantan   deaʔ,   baŋkoiʔ   ɲo
     forbidden.O   TAG   wake.up.A   3.SG
     'However, sometimes, as for [people with] gout, sometimes, it relapses when forbidden food is unintentionally eaten, it relapses' [Dyn.]
     [fc10.044]

(88)   *haa   kiroɲo   ta-laŋa   bateu,   səpeda*
     PART   apparently   PERF-bump   stone.A   bike
     'Apparently, the bike accidentally hits a rock' [Dyn.]
     [P4_PV_HAL_OLD_FEMALE.053]

It is also possible that the agent is a force of nature, not a human force. The process reading for the concept of 'accidentality' with non-human forces is more natural.[138] In this case, the agent is indicated by a prepositional phrase (89) and the verb appears in the absolute form, even if followed directly by an NP indicating the agent (90). However, according to my naturalistic data, the prefix *di-* combined with the absolute root is preferred in this position (91). In these cases, too, the non-volitionary agent does not necessarily trigger the oblique form (91). On a pragmatic level,

---

[138] In Indonesian, too, the prefix is preferred to mark accidents involving non-human forces (De Vries 1983).

such constructions can be used to avoid responsibility for an action deemed intolerable (92).[139]

(89)   *daun*   *itoh*   *ta-buwea*   *duwot*   *aŋan*
        leaf.O   itoh   PERF-bring.A   by   wind.A
        'That leaf was accidentally carried by the wind'

(90)   *daun*   *itoh*   *ta-buwea*   *aŋan*
        leaf.O   itoh   PERF-bring.A   wind.A
        'That leaf was accidentally carried by the wind'

(91)   *daun*   *itoh*   *di-buwea*   *aŋan*
        leaf.O   itoh   PASS-bring.A   wind.A
        'That leaf was carried by the wind'

(92)   *udoʔ*   *ŋə*   *sədon*   *mandai*   *itoh*
        slave.O   REL   PROG   take.a.bath.A   itoh

        ta-kimaʔ   *duwot*   *ɲo*
        PERF-see.A   by   3.SG
        'The girl who was taking a bath was accidentally seen by him'

The prefix *ta-* can also convey an element of perfectiveness for the root *pilaih/pileih* 'to vote', triggering the oblique form (93) even when preceded by a relative marker (94). The prefix *di-* does not carry this element of perfectivity (95).

(93)   *SBY*   *ta-pileih*   *ɟadi*   <u>*presiden*</u>
        PN   PERF-vote.O   become.O   president
        'SBY was elected for president'

---

[139] The same has been argued for the equivalent Indonesian prefix *ter-*, which, in the words of Wouk (1980: 83), '[…] functions as a sort of morphological apology for socially unacceptable, inappropriate, or inadvertent behavior. It deemphasizes the agent by denying his responsibility for the action; thus, it is a defocus mechanism rather than a focus mechanism'. Example (92) is modified from her study.

(94) *SBY   ŋə   ta-pileih*
PN   REL   PERF-vote.O
'SBY was the one who got elected'

(95) *SBY   ŋə   di-pileih*
PN   REL   PASS-vote.O
'1. SBY was the one who got elected'
'2. SBY is the one who gets elected'

Semantically, the prefix *ta-* can express a state resulting from a perfective action (96).[140] As such, it can be preceded by an intensifier such as *saŋat* 'very' (97) or occur in comparative constructions (98) or relative clauses (99). In all cases, the absolute form is required. The oblique form is used when it is followed by an adjectival complement (100).

(96) *umoh   itoh   ta-urauh*
house.O   itoh   PERF-organize.A
'That house is organized'

(97) *umoh   itoh   saŋat   ta-urauh*
house.O   itoh   very.O   PERF-organize.A
'That house is very organized'

(98) *umoh   ineh   ləbih   ta-urauh*
house.O   ineh   more.O   PERF-organize.A

daripado   umoh   itoh
than   house.O   itoh
'This house is more organized than that house'

(99) *umoh   ŋə   ta-urauh (*ta-urouh)   itoh   di-ɟuwua*
house.O   REL   PERF-organize.A   itoh   PASS-sell.A
'The house that was organized was sold'

---

[140] The same phenomenon has been observed with *ter-* in Malay (cf. Kwee 1965; Salim et al. 1988; Soh 1994).

(100)   *umoh   ŋə   ta-urouh (*ta-urauh)   ilauʔ*
        house.O   REL   PERF-organize.O   good.A
        'The house that is well organized'

    Syntactically, *ta*-derivations can be used as a predicate (101), as head of an RC (102), and as a complement (103).[141] The root appears in the absolute form in all positions.

(101)   *kajou   itoh   lah   ta-paŋga*
        wood.O   itoh   already   PERF-burn.A
        'That wood was already burnt'

(102)   *pintou   ŋə   ta-tutauʔ*
        door.O   REL   PERF-close.A

        itoh   di-əntan   ɲo
        itoh   PASS-kick.O   3.SG
        'The door which was closed was kicked by her/him'

(103)   *uto toh   di-bijua   ta-impaiʔ*
        car   toh   PASS-let.A   PERF-squeeze.A
        'That car is allowed to be pressed [using a mechanical car press]'

9.6.2   Potentiality

The prefix *ta-* may also express that the subject has the potentiality and/or ability to carry out the action indicated by the root. This construction expresses an imperfective reading.[142] The absolute form is used (104). Note the contrast with an active construction (105). Conversely, the verb can be negated to express inability, also requiring the absolute form (106)-(107).

        [A conversation about the ability to finish meal]
(104)   *ɲo   ta-aboih   nasei   toh*
        3.SG   ABL-finish.A   rice.O   toh
        'S/he is able to finish that rice'

---

[141] See Sasangka et al. (2000) on this construction in Indonesian.

[142] Soh (1994) has observed the same phenomenon in Malaysian Malay.

(105) ɲo   ŋabih   nasei   toh
       3.SG   ACT.finish.O   rice.O   toh
       'S/he finishes that rice'

       [A conversation about old people who cannot finish their meal]
(106) iɲuaʔ   ta-aboih   uha   tuwao-tuwao   neh
       NEG   ABL-finish.A   people.A   RED-old.A   neh
       'It cannot be finished by old people'[Dyn.]
       [fc12.006]

       [A conversation about having two interviews on the same day]
(107) kalo   səmpoʔ   toh   iduaʔ   ta-kəɟua
       if   together toh   NEG   ABL-chase.A
       'Doing it together is not possible'
       [fc4.024]

Ta-constructions may cause some ambiguity, as they can express both potentiality (108) and unintentionality (109), as discussed in 9.6.1. The context usually provides clarity.

(108) apo   ta-buwea   ikao   tas   itoh
       what   ABL-bring.A   2.SG   bag   itoh
       'Could you carry that bag by yourself?'
       *'Did you take the bag accidentally?'

(109) tas   itoh   ta-buwea   duwot   ikao
       bag   itoh   PERF-bring.A   by   2.SG
       'That bag was accidentally taken by you'
       *'That bag could be carried by you'

9.7   *ka* + OBL

The circumfix *ka*-OBL expresses adversativeness or non-volitionality and occurs with the oblique form of verbal roots, nominal roots, or adjectival roots. The forms *kamatin* 'to lose so. to death', *kalupan* 'to let sth. slip from one's mind' and *kamalun* 'to be ashamed' show signs of a historical suffix *-an*. Most other reflexes correspond to the oblique forms in the final-syllable rime. This construction is intransitive since it only exhibits one core argument and has no active-passive opposition. In Table 9.14, the derivations marked with √ might require a nominal complement.

Root	Derivational form
aŋaʔ/aŋat 'warm'	*kaaŋat* 'to suffer from the heat'
datua/daton 'to come'	*kadaton√* 'to have so. coming'
diŋon/diŋin 'cold'	*kadiŋin* 'to feel cold'
ila/ilan 'lost'	*kailan√* 'to suffer the loss of sth. or so.
kəla/kəlan 'dark'	*kakəlan* 'to be overtaken by darkness'
kura/kuran 'less'	*kakuran√* 'to lack sth.'
lapa/lapo 'hungry'	*kalapo* 'to be starving'
lupao/lupo 'to forget'	*kalupan* 'to let sth. slip from one's mind'
mala/malan 'night'	*kamalan* 'to be overtaken by night'
malau/malou 'shy'	*kamalun* 'to be ashamed'
matai/matei 'to die'	*kamatin√* 'to lose so. to death'
pajah/pajoh 'difficult'	*kapajoh* 'to be exhausted'
pədoah/pədeh 'spicy'	*kapədeh* 'to suffer from sth. spicy'
sakaiʔ/sakit 'ill'	*kasakit* 'to be in pain'
takauʔ/takut 'afraid'	*katakut* 'to be terrified'
uʯua/uʯon 'rain'	*kauʯon√* 'to be caught in the rain'

Table 9.14. *ka*-OBL with adversative meaning

This construction is used verbally (see 6.5.6 for the adjectival use of this circumfix) and expresses that the subject is affected in a negative way by an unexpected agent (110)-(112).[143] In (113), the prefixed oblique root is a predicate within the relative clause. The relative clause attributively modifies the preceding noun phrase. The whole clause is a subject followed by a predicate *lah sakaiʔ*.

(110)   *uha itoh   ka-matin   anoʔ*
         3.PL   VBLZ-die.O   child.O
         'They are in mourning over their child's death'

(111)   *suduah   ka-uʯon   petan   ɲo   sakaiʔ*
         already.A   VBLZ-rain.O   yesterday.O   3.SG   ill.A
         'After getting caught in the rain yesterday, s/he felt ill'

(112)   *sakaiʔ   aso   ka-uʯon   batu   es*
         ill.A   feel.O   VBLZ-rain.O   stone.O   ice
         'It hurts to get hit by hail'

---

[143] See Dardjowidjojo (1978) on the corresponding circumfix *ke-...-an* in Indonesian. Unlike PT, this construction can also be nominal in Malay.

(113)   [*anoʔ*   *naeʔ*   [*ŋə*   [*ka-uɟon*]_{PRED}   *itoh*]_{RC}]_S
           child.O   small.A   REL   VBLZ-rain.O   itoh

           [*lah*   *sakaiʔ*] _{PRED}
           already   ill.A
           'The kid who was getting wet because of the rain is ill'

9.8   Reduplication of verbs

PT verb roots can be reduplicated in full. They behave morphosyntactically identical to non-reduplicated verbs. Verbal reduplication implies that the activity is performed repeatedly or for an extended period of time (114).[144] In the case of monovalent verbs, it can also express 'doing something not seriously or leisurely' (115)-(116).

(114)   *kamai*   *gəluaʔ-gəluaʔ*
          1.PL.EXCL   RED-laugh.A
          'We laughed on and on'

(115)   *ɲo*   *tideu-tideu*
          3.SG   RED-sleep.A
          'S/he is dozing'

(116)   *kamai*   *dudeuʔ-dudeuʔ*
          1.PL.EXCL   RED-sit.A
          'We are lounging'

     Reduplicated bivalent verbs can occur in active constructions (117)-(119), P1 constructions (120)-(121), P2 constructions (122), and imperative construction (123). The general patterns of phrasal alternation presented in 1.7.4 apply.

           [A conversation about a street vendor who sells roasted fish]
(117)   ...*uha*   *ŋipeh-ŋipeh*   *keʔ*   *ɟalua*
          ...people.A   ACT.RED-fan.O   on   road.A
          'People fan [it] repeatedly on the street'
          [fc6.009]

---

[144] The same is true for Jakartan Indonesian (Muhadjir 1981).

(118) *ɟadi ɲo   ŋusouʔ-ŋusouʔ   kakei tadeh*
      so   3.SG   ACT.RED-rub.O   leg.O   just.now
      'So, he just now brushes his legs repeatedly'
      [P4_PV_HAL_OLD_FEMALE.057]

(119) *s-uha   toh   nulun   ŋəpeih-ŋəpeih*
      one-CLF   toh   ACT.help.O   ACT.RED-brush.O

      abeu   di   ɲo   tadeh
      dust.A   on   3.SG   just.now
      'One of them helps him dust himself off repeatedly'
      [P4_PV_HAL_OLD_FEMALE.062]

(120) *əntah   apo   tanah, əntah   apo   bateu*
      perhaps   what soil.A   perhaps   what stone.A

      əntah,   di-təpeiʔ-təpeiʔ   ɲo   nitoh
      perhaps   PASS-RED-beat.O   3.SG   like.that
      'Hmm… either soil or stone was beaten repeatedly by him like that'
      [P4_PV_HAL_OLD_FEMALE.068]

(121) *kulit   kajau   di-tukau-tukau   deaʔ*
      bark.O   wood.A   PASS-RED-hit.A   TAG
      'The tree bark was hit repeatedly, wasn't it?'
      [fc4.172]

      [He stole my car]
(122) *uhan itoh   akau   timbaʔ-timbaʔ*
      3.SG.M   1.SG   RED-shoot.A
      'He was shot by me repeatedly'

      [The making of jerky beef]
(123) *tukau-tukau <u>dendeŋ</u>   ineh*
      RED-hit.A   jerky.beef   ineh
      'Hit this jerky beef repeatedly!'