A grammar of Mualang : an Ibanic language of Western Kalimantan, Indonesia
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3 THE LEXICON

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

3.1 Morphological units

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

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

A separate category of *particles* has to be distinguished in Mualang. Phonologically, particles are similar to words in that they carry a primary stress in careful speech. However, they cannot have the status of a full word due to their obligatory co-occurrence and sometimes fusion with another word. The *illocutionary markers* (see 9.4 in Chapter 9) such as *bada'* in (3-1) behave in such a way. Conjunctions (e.g. *isa'* 'so that', *keba'* 'therefore'), aspect and modality markers (e.g. *nyaw* 'perfect marker', *tengan* 'progressive marker'), and prepositions (e.g. *ari* 'from', *upa* 'as, like') also show characteristics of particles.

A *clitic*, like an affix, does not bear stress. However, a clitic differs from an *affix* in that it functions beyond the word level, that is, at phrase level. By definition, then, some prepositions, such as *da* and *ka* (see 2.5 in Chapter 2), can be treated as clitics.

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

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

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

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

3.2   Morphological processes

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

3.2.1   Prefixation

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

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

3.2.2   Reduplication

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

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

3.2.3   Compounding

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

3.3   Word classes

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

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

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

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[2] The classic issue surrounding the existence or absence of adjectives in Malay/Indonesian holds for Mualang as well. For a discussion on Indonesian, see, for example, Steinhauer (1986) and Teeuw (1962); notice also Minde (1997) for Ambonese Malay.
[3] As pointed out in Durie (1985:45), the inclusion of the category of illocutionary markers in the grammatical description of Indonesian languages is not common. It was Kridalaksana's (1986) "phatic markers" that first drew my attention to the importance of describing such markers.

In the following, word classes discussed individually.

3.3.1   Nouns

3.3.1.1   Semantic properties

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

3.3.1.2   Syntactic properties

The main syntactic distributional characteristics of nouns are that:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.3.1.3   Morphological properties

3.3.1.3.1   Derivational morphology: nominalization

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

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

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

3.3.1.4   Subclasses of nouns

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

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

3.3.1.4.1   *Proper names*

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

3.3.1.4.2   *Pronouns*

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

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

Table 3.1 Pronouns

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

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

Second person

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

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

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

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

Third person

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

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

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

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

Reflexive *diri'*

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

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

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

Indefinite pronouns

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.3.1.4.3   *Terms of address*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.3.2   Verbs

3.3.2.1   Semantic properties

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

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

3.3.2.2   Syntactic properties

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

3.3.2.3   Morphological properties

3.3.2.3.1   Voice marking

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

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

3.3.2.3.2   Derivational morphology

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

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

3.3.3   Adverbs

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

3.3.4   Quantifiers

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

3.3.4.1   Numerals

For counting in Mualang the following cardinal numerals are used:

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

lapan	8
semilan	9

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

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

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

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

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

3.3.4.2   Non-numeral quantifiers

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

3.3.4.3   Quantifying auxiliaries

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. Weights
gram 'gram'
kilu 'kilogram'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.3.5 Demonstratives

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

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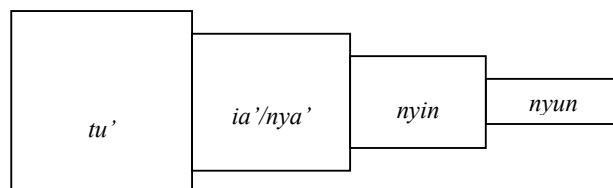
Tu' means 'this', implying that the object is close to the relevant point of reference (PR), that is PR_1 or the speaker. *Ia'* or *nya'* means 'that', indicating that the object is relatively far from PR_1, but it may also be near PR_2, the hearer. *Nyin* means 'that over there', the object is relatively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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.3.6   Prepositions

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

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

      b. Instrument, Recipient, Manner
        ngaw 'with'

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

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

      e. Accordance
        nuna' 'according to'

      f. Orientation
        ngusung 'to'

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

3.3.7   Pragmatic markers

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

3.3.8   Connectives

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

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

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

3.4   Multiple membership

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

3.5   Precategoriality

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

3.6   Doublets of lexical items

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