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## **A grammar of Mualang : an Ibanic language of Western Kalimantan, Indonesia**

Tjia, J.

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## 4 NOUN PHRASES

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

### 4.1 Constituency and word order in the noun phrase

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

(4-1) Constituent order of NP

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

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

#### 4.1.1 Heads of NP

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

## 4.1.1.1 Pronouns

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

- (4-2) *Ku nitaw' bada'.*  
 1s not.know bada'  
 'I don't know' (or 'I have no idea.')
- (4-3) *Aw', pia', kati kami N-kumay m'ih ah?*  
 yes like.that how 1p.excl ACT-call 2s.masc ah  
 'Ok, as you said, how do we call for you (to come) then?'

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

- (4-4) *[Kita' nam] sunyi' kah!*  
 2p six quiet kah  
 'The six of you be quiet please!'
- (4-5) *[sida' tay ba-bagi ramu nya]*  
 3p REL ANPAS-divide property that  
 'they who were dividing up property (among themselves)'
- (4-6) *Malam datay agi' [sida' Puyang Gana].*  
 night come again 3p P G  
 'In the night Puyang Gana and his associates came again.'

The use of a personal name after a pronoun as in (4-6) is a typical construction to mean the person and others associated with him/her.<sup>1</sup> Pronouns can also be reduplicated for an emphatic purpose (see section 4.3.4 below).

The reflexive pronoun *diri'* 'self' can appear as a single head, occupying various syntactic positions (see section 7.2.11):

- (4-7) *Ia N-tapak diri' ari bini ia.*  
 3s ACT-hide self from wife 3s  
 'He hid himself from his wife.'
- (4-8) *Udah ia' diri' ti ba-laki-bini N-padah ....*  
 already that self REL ANPAS-husband-wife ACT-say  
 'After that they themselves who are going to marry say....'

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

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

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

#### 4.1.1.2 Demonstratives

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

- (4-10)    *Tu'ia' ti da-beri' sida'.*  
 this/that REL PASS-give 3p  
 'This/that is what was given by them.'
- (4-11)    *Nya' tay pemenaw ku.*  
 that REL knowledge 1a  
 'That is what my knowledge is. (That's all I know).'
- (4-12)    *Tu' ku N-padah ka m'ih ....*  
 this 1s ACT-say to 2s.masc  
 'Here I am going to tell you ....'
- (4-13)    a. *Belitang Ulu aba' tay semak nya' ....*  
           B        U     and   REL close that  
           '(The region of) Belitang Ulu and that which is close by ....'
- b. *Belitang Ulu aba' tay semak nyin ....*  
           B        U     and   REL close that.over.there  
           '(The region of) Belitang Ulu and that which is over there....'

(4-10) and (4-11) are anaphoric usages, and also in (4-11) the demonstrative *nya'* refers back to the whole story just told. It is only *tu'* that can be used cataphorically; see example (4-12). *Nya'* and *nyin* in (4-13a and b) are two more examples of anaphoric use. The choice between *nya'* and *nyin* show how the speaker as a first point of reference (PR<sub>1</sub>) determines the next point of reference (PR<sub>2</sub>). The use of *nya'* in (a) means that the subdistrict of *Belitang Ulu* was chosen as the PR<sub>2</sub> by the speaker (PR<sub>1</sub>), whereas with *nyin* in (b), it was the hearer and the speaker that were chosen as the PR<sub>2</sub>; both of them were distantly located from the place and its surrounding area.

## 4.1.1.3 Quantifiers

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

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

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

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

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

## 4.1.1.4 Nouns

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

## 4.1.2 Modifiers of the NP

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

## 4.1.2.1 Quantifying phrases

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

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

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

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

(4-18)     *dua \*(iku) babi*  
             two CLASS pig  
             ‘two pigs’

(4-19)     *mayuh ay*  
             much water  
             ‘much water’

(4-20)     *mayuh \*(iku) babi*  
             many (CLASS) pig  
             ‘many pigs’

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

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

(4-21)     a. *dua renti babi*  
             two MEAS pig  
             ‘a pig measuring two *renti*’<sup>5</sup>

b. *dua kilu babi*

<sup>2</sup> The idea of categorizing classifiers and measure words under the label of quantifying auxiliaries was taken from the discussion in Alieva et al. (1997:224ff) concerning Indonesian; the authors consider the Indonesian classifiers to be *kata bantu bilangan* (‘numeral auxiliaries’) that grammatically behave largely like measure words.

<sup>3</sup> For the major semantic features of nouns, see Givón (2001a:55-59).

<sup>4</sup> These terms are taken from Givón (2001a:57).

<sup>5</sup> See section 3.3.4.3 for an explanation of *renti* and other measure words.

two MEAS pork  
‘two kilograms of pork’

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

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

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

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

[*Dua kacang*] *N-lompat gaga.*  
two frog ACT-jump happy  
‘There suddenly came two strange frogs. The two frogs were jumping happily.’

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

(4-24) *s-ari*  
ONE-day  
‘one day’

(4-25) *mpat tawun*  
four year  
‘four years’

#### 4.1.2.1.1 *The numeral prefix se-*

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

(4-26) *s-iku’ urang*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (4-30) *Urang se-kampung nya' ba-pakay ba-inum.*  
 person ONE-village that ANPAS-eat ANPAS-drink  
 '(All) the people of one and the same village had a party (lit. had all kinds of food and drink).'
- (4-31) *Ba-jerita aba' diri' se-bilik.*  
 ANPAS-story with self ONE-room  
 'Have a conversation with those (staying) in the same house as you(rself).'
- (4-32) *Sida' diaw se-rumah.*  
 3p stay ONE-house



‘They live in the same house.’

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

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

A few temporal conjunctions (see Chapter 10), e.g. *sebedaw* ‘before’, *selama* ‘during’, *sesudah-sudah* ‘after’ seem to be historically derived from forms with the prefix *se-*.<sup>6</sup>

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

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

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

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

#### 4.1.2.1.2 *Floating quantifying phrases*

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

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

<sup>6</sup> Synchronically the historical form \**se-* is considered here as having been lexicalized in these conjunctions. Therefore it is no longer considered as a prefix.

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

*buah bukit tujuh buah darung ga'.*

CLASS hill seven CLASS valley also

'Again they cut down an area as large as the one they had done already, seven hills and seven valleys.'

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

*bung ka kiba' s-uti'.*

part to left ONE-CLASS

'That being the case, he took one of Pukat Bengawan's ribs from the left side (of his chest).'

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### 4.1.2.2 Nouns

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

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

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

(4-39) [tulang rusuk] $N_1$  [Pukat Bengawan] $N_2$   
bone rib P B  
'Pukat Bengawan's rib'

(4-40) [uma] $N_1$  [ia] $N_2$   
rice.field 3s  
'his/her rice field'

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

(4-41) [baruh] $N_1$  [peraw] $N_2$   
bottom.part proa  
'the bottom part of the proa'

(4-42) [daerah ulu] $N_1$  [sungay Ketungaw] $N_2$   
area upstream river K  
'the upstream area of the Ketungaw River'

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

(4-43) [urang] $N_1$  [laki] $N_2$   
person male  
'a male (person)'

(4-44) [din'ing] $N_1$  [kelibak] $N_2$   
wall tree.bark  
'wooden bark wall'

(4-45) [jelu] $N_1$  [ay'] $N_2$   
animal water  
'water animal'

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

(4-46) [sungay] $N_1$  [Ketungaw] $N_2$   
river K  
'the Ketungaw River'

- (4-47) [pun]N<sub>1</sub> [kiara ]N<sub>2</sub>  
 tree banyan  
 ‘banyan tree’

e) N<sub>2</sub> is an argument (agent or patient) of a deverbal N<sub>1</sub>:

- (4-48) [peN-datay]N<sub>1</sub> [agama Katulik]N<sub>2</sub> (N<sub>2</sub> = agent)  
 NOM-come religion K  
 ‘the coming of Catholicism’

- (4-49) [peN-kuasa]N<sub>1</sub> [tanah]N<sub>2</sub> (N<sub>2</sub> = patient)  
 NOM-power land  
 ‘authority over land’

#### 4.1.2.3 Participial attributes

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

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

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

- (4-52) Masalah [ba-uma–bataya ],  
 problem ANPAS-rice.field–precategoryal  
  
 [ba-kebun–ba-tanam] ....  
 ANPAS-garden–ANPAS-plant  
 ‘The matter of working rice fields and working gardens ....’

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

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

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

*ba-pin'ah-pin'ah.*

ANPAS-move-RED

‘(I) want to tell a story of the way to do slash-and-burn cultivation /  
(... the way people do ...).’

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

#### 4.1.2.4 Verb phrases

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

- (4-55) *s-iku' babi kerampak*  
ONE-CLASS pig egotistic  
‘an egotistic pig’
- (4-56) a. *tepayan itam besay*  
jar black big  
‘big black jar’  
b. *tepayan besay itam*  
jar big black  
‘big jar that is black’ (lit. ‘black big jar’)
- (4-57) *sedua ba-duay<sup>8</sup> nya'*  
3d.coll ANPAS-sibling.in.law that  
‘those two having a sibling-in-law relationship’
- (4-58) *urang ba-nama ia'*  
person ANPAS-name that  
‘that famous person’ (lit. ‘that person having name’)
- (4-59) *ubi tunu*  
cassava bake  
‘baked cassava’
- (4-60) *pisang sumay*  
banana cook  
‘boiled banana’

<sup>8</sup> *Ba-duay* is family relationship between husbands of women who are siblings.

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

(4-62) *jelu piara*  
 animal domesticate  
 ‘domesticated animal’

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

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

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

#### 4.1.2.5 Prepositional phrases

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

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

<sup>9</sup> Static intransitive verbs refer to adjectival-like verbs; see section 7.1.2 for such verbs.

<sup>10</sup> For the inherent boundedness and duration of verbs, see for example Givón (2001a:287ff).

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

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

- (4-64) *Padah ka [sida' da rumah] ti N-tung'u' ia.*  
 say to 3p LOC house REL ACT-wait 3s  
 'Tell them at home who is waiting for her!'
- (4-65) *Upa tih da-am'i' ia tulang rusuk Pukat Bengawan*  
 as tih PASS-take 3s bone rib P B  
 [*bung ka kiba' s-uti'*],  
 part to left ONE-CLASS  
 'That being the case, he took one of Pukat Bengawan's ribs from the left side (of his chest).'
- (4-66) *Keban [raja ari nya'] ka' N-pinta' ia ....*  
 all.kind king from that want ACT-ask 3s  
 'All kings from there wanted to propose her ....'
- (4-67) *... ngaw [peti' ari buluh].*  
 use k.o.animal.trap from bamboo  
 '... use an animal trap (made) of bamboo.'
- (4-68) [*Kemansay ngaw N-ulih ikan tu'*] *da-pulah ari uwi.*  
 fish.scoop for ACT-get fish this PASS-make from rattan  
 'This fish scoop for getting fish is made of rattan.'

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

#### 4.1.2.6 Relative clauses

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

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

‘the person who said to me’

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

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

#### 4.1.2.7 Demonstratives

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

#### 4.1.2.7.1 *Temporal orientation*

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

----- past (*tih*)----- present ----- future (*lah*)-----  
 |-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|  
 (nyun) (nyin) (nya'/ia') (tu') (nya'/ia') (nyin) (nyun)

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

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

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

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

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

(4-80) a. Past reference with demonstratives

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

b. Present and future reference with demonstratives

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

### 4.1.3 Appositive and conjoined noun phrases

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

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

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

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

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

- (4-84) *Semak kubur [urang tuay aba' ayung-gempung].*  
 near grave person old and family-PREC  
 'It was close to the parent's and families' graves.'
- (4-85) *Kisah [beruang aba' kekura].*  
 story bear and tortoise  
 'The story of the bear and the tortoise.'

## 4.2 Nominalization

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

- (4-86) Verbal derivation to noun

B → NPARTICIPANT of B

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

### 4.2.1 *Pe(N)-*

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

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

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

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

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

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

## c) intransitive verbs of state: patient, experiencer

<i>mati</i> ‘dead’	<i>pemati</i>	‘death; deceased person’
<i>idup</i> ‘alive’	<i>pengidup</i>	‘domestic animals; life’
<i>mabuk</i> ‘drunk’	<i>pemabuk</i>	‘drunkard’

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

<i>terbay</i> ‘fly’	<i>penerbay</i>	‘flight; flying’
<i>rari</i> ‘descend’	<i>perari</i>	‘the run’
<i>turun</i> ‘descend’	<i>penurun</i>	‘the descending (of a road)’
<i>datay</i> ‘come’	<i>penatay</i>	‘arrival; place one comes from, place of origin’

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

<i>padah</i> ‘say, tell’	<i>pemadah</i>	‘saying’
<i>pikir</i> ‘think’	<i>pemikir</i>	‘thought; thinker’
<i>peda</i> ‘see’	<i>pemeda</i>	‘sight’

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

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

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

<i>mayuh</i> ‘many, much’	<i>pemayuh</i>	‘amount’
<i>jalay</i> ‘road’	<i>pejalay</i> (* <i>penyalay</i> )	‘the walk, trip’ <sup>11</sup>
<i>guraw</i> (precatatorial)	<i>peguraw</i> (* <i>penguraw</i> )	‘joke, tease; toy; place of playing’. <sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Formatively, the derived form *pejalay* can be said to have a noun base *jalay*. However, semantically it might plausibly be considered as being derived from the event *bajalay* ‘to walk’.

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

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

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

4.2.2 *Per*-

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

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

4.2.3 *Ke*-

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

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

Two *ke*-derivations (with optionally reduplicated bases) are used to introduce time adverbial clauses (see also section 10.4):

- panyay* ‘long (distance)    ’ *kepanyay(-panyay)* ‘after so long (in distance  
or time)’  
*lama* ‘long (time)’              *kelama’(-lama)’* ‘after so long (in time)’

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

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

---

*pelawang* ‘door, house, household’. All of them are nouns; but it seems to me that the forms with *pe*- have a nuance of plurality.

<sup>13</sup> Note that the *e* (schwa) in *perempu* is an epenthetic vowel added to conform to the canonical syllable structure.

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

### 4.3 Non-verbal reduplication

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

#### 4.3.1 Noun reduplication

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

- (4-91) *Da-kumpul batu-batu, da-susun aba' dan-dan*  
 PASS-gather stone-RED PASS-arrange with branch-RED
- kayu, baru' da-pulah upa pagar.*  
 tree then PASS-make like fence  
 ‘Stones were gathered, they were arranged with tree branches, then they were constructed like a fence.’
- (4-92) *Kemansay ngaw N-ulih ikan tu' da-pulah ari uwi.*  
 fish.scoop for ACT-get fish this PASS-make from rattan

<sup>14</sup> See also footnote 31 in Chapter 2.

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

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

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

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

- (4-94) *lam* 'morning'      *lam-lam* 'in the (typical) morning (time), early in the morning'  
*malam* 'night'      *malam-malam* 'at (typical) night (time), late at night'  
*aki* 'grandfather'      *aki'-aki* '(someone) resembling a grandfather'; 'grandfathers'  
*in'u* 'female'      *in'u'-in'u* '(someone) resembling a woman'; 'females, women'
- (4-95) *Sida' angkat pagi lam-lam.*  
3p go tomorrow morning-RED  
'They're leaving tomorrow (early) in the morning.'
- (4-96) *Ia ba-jalay rakuk-kerakuk upa aki'-aki'.*  
3s ANPAS-road bent-RED like grandfather-RED  
'He walks bent over like a grandfather.'

#### 4.3.2 Derived noun reduplication

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

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

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

<i>pe(N)-datay</i>	(NOM-come)	<i>penatay-penatay</i>	'arrivals, places of origin'
<i>pe(N)-palu'</i>	(NOM-hit)	<i>pemalu'-pemalu'</i>	'hammers'

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

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

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

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

### 4.3.3 Quantifier reduplication

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

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

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

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



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

- (4-99) *am'i' mayuh-mayuh*  
 take many-RED  
 'take as many as you can' (i.e. large amounts taken on each occasion)
- (4-100) *am'i' mimit-mimit*  
 take little-RED  
 'take little by little'

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

#### 4.3.4 Pronoun reduplication

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

- (4-101) *Tem'u' ku ka ku ti da-suruh.*  
 end 1s to 1s REL PASS-order  
 'At the end it is me and me again that will be ordered (to do it).'
- (4-102) *Nsia mulay ari tem'away Labay Laway sampay ka*  
 human begin from settlement L L until to
- Tampun Juah nisi' da-padah sida' sanu'-*  
 T J EXIST.NEG PASS-tell 3p 3.INDEF-
- sida' sanu'....*  
 RED  
 '(The migration story of) people from the settlement of Labay Laway to Tampun Juah has not been told by those very people from there ....'

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

#### 4.4 Nominal Compounding

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

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

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

- a) generic compounds
- b) specific compounds

##### 4.4.1 Generic compounds

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

(4-104)	<i>apay-inay</i> (father-mother)	‘parents’
	<i>aki'-ini</i> (grandfather-grandmother)	‘grandparents’

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Minde 1997:81ff for Ambonese Malay.

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

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

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

- 1) animals (cf. single words: *jelu* ‘animal’, *peN-idup* (NOM-live) ‘domestic animals’):
  - a) stock (e.g. when talking of food, offerings): *babi-manuk* (pig-chicken)
  - b) large animals causing damage in the rice field: *babi-rusa* ‘(pig-deer)
  - c) animals living on trees causing damage: *beruk-keru* ‘(short-tailed macaque–long-tailed macaque)
  - d) small animals causing damage: *tupay-bunya* ‘(kinds of rodents)
- 2) Cooking utensils:
  - a) plate-related tools: *ping'an-mangkuk* (plate-bowl)
  - b) cooking containers: *kuali-periuk* (frying pan-boiling pot)
  - c) scoops: *sengkidaw-catuk* (rice.spoon-eating.spoon)
- 3) Kinship affiliation:
  - a) relatives: *ayung-gempung* (family-precategorial)
  - b) family: *bilik-lawang* (room-house)
  - c) grandparent: *aki'-ini* ‘(grandfather-grandmother)
  - d) parent: *apay-inay* (father-mother)
  - e) spouses: *laki-bini* (husband-wife)
  - f) sibling: *menyadi'-senih* (sibling-precategorial)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**4.4.2 Specific compounds**

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

- (4-110) *ay'-mata*  
water-eye  
'tears'
- (4-111) *anak-buah*  
child-fruit  
'helper'
- (4-112) *rumah-panyay*  
house-long  
'(traditional) longhouse' (cf. with phrasal structure 'long house')
- (4-113) *ben'a-tuay*  
thing-old  
'antique (object)' (cf. with phrasal structure 'old thing')
- (4-114) *ay'-idup*  
water-alive  
'uncooked water'

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

<sup>19</sup> Such lexicalization is also found in reduplicated forms, e.g. *kekura* 'tortoise', *reribu* 'k.o. tree' (in Pungak (1976b:136), where it is said that the word is derived from *ribu* 'thousand', and that it symbolizes a long life).

<sup>20</sup> Similar cases occur in English as well (cf. Givón 2001b).

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

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

- (4-115)    *senapang patah*  
          gun        broken  
          ‘(k.o.) rifle’
- (4-116)    *sekolah Alkitab*  
          school Bible  
          ‘theological school’
- (4-117)    *banyak tanah/buk*  
          oil        soil/hair  
          ‘kerosene/pomade’