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

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7   SIMPLE VERBAL CLAUSES AND ARGUMENT STRUCTURE

In Chapter 6 I have dealt with predicate nominals and some constructions related to them. In this chapter I will turn to predicates that are verbal. In the first place the discussion will be concerned with the verb and its core arguments and their morphosyntactic marking in clauses. Mualang is an inconsistent SVO language. Subjects and objects are not marked morphologically, indirect (and oblique) objects are introduced by a preposition. Verbs are morphologically marked with prefixes. There are no suffixes. Verbal prefixes have two different functions, namely 1) VALENCE INCREASER (or VALENCE for short), and 2) VOICE MARKER. Valence increasing operators, discussed in 7.1.3.1, include verbal prefixes that derive verbs from noun roots or increase transitivity of verbal roots. Such derivational operations yield an inflectable stem. In discourse, such a verbal stem can be inflected for voice (discussed in 7.2), using a Voice prefix (see example (7-2). Thus, the voice marker operates after valence increasing prefixation. One voice prefix, namely *ba-*, can operate directly on a noun stem (7-3). Basically the verb structure in Mualang may be represented as follows (parentheses mark optionality; a stem may consist of a single root):

(7-1)   Verb structures:
        a. **LEXICAL STEM = (VALENCE) – (NOUN/)VERB ROOT**
        b. **GRAMMATICAL VERB = VOICE – STEM**

As an illustration, consider (7-2) and (7-3):

(7-2)   a. *diri*
        stand
        'stand'

        b. *N-*   *pe-*   *diri* → *meniri*   (Active Voice)
        ACT-   CAUS-   stand
        VOICE   VALENCE   STEM
        'cause to stand up, make s.t. stand or erect'

        c. *da-*   *pe-*   *diri* → *dapediri*   (Passive Voice)
        PASS-   CAUS-   stand
        VOICE   VALENCE   STEM
        'put in erect position'

(7-3)   *ba-*   *peN-*   *tam'ak* → *bapenam'ak*
      ANPAS-   NOM-   plant   (Antipassive Voice)
      VOICE   NOMINALIZER   STEM
         'do cultivation work'

Following the discussion on the classification of verbs (7.1) and on voice constructions (7.2), advancement of peripheral elements to core syntactic roles will be discussed in (7.3).

7.1   Classification of verbs

Verbs in Mualang are divided into two major groups: *intransitive* and *transitive*. This distinction is based on the semantic roles of the participants typically associated with the verb. For the current analysis, I have adopted the major semantic roles proposed in Givón (2001a:107), which is summarized as follows:[1]

> 1) *agent* = the participant, typically animate, who acts deliberately to initiate the event, and thus bears the responsibility for it, e.g.: **Mary kicked John**;
> 2) *patient* = the participant, either animate or inanimate, that either is in a state or registers a change-of-state as a result of an event, e.g.: *Mary saw **John***;
> 3) *dative* = a conscious participant in the event, typically animate, but not the deliberate initiator, e.g.: ***John** knew Mary*;
> 4) *instrument* = a participant, typically inanimate, used by the agent to perform the action, e.g.: *She chopped firewood **with an axe***;
> 5) *benefactive* = the participant, typically animate, for whose benefit the action is performed, e.g.: *He fixed the roof **for his mother***;
> 6) *locative* = the place, typically concrete and inanimate, where the state is, where the event occurs, or toward which or away from which some participant is moving, e.g: *He went **to the store***;
> 7) *associative* = an associate of the agent, patient or dative of the event, whose role in the event is similar, but who is not as important, e.g. *with her father* in: *She worked **with her father***;
> 8) *manner* = the manner in which an event occurs or an agent performed the action, e.g: *He left **in a hurry***.

Verbal bases can be monomorphemic (i.e. consist of merely a root), or polymorphemic (i.e. consist of a (derived) stem).[2] The subdivision into various intransitive and transitive verbs is further outlined in (7.1.2) and (7.1.3), respectively.

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[1] Givón's analysis of semantic roles broadly follows that of Fillmore (1968) and Chafe (1970). I have also benefited from Payne's (1997:48ff) discussion of semantic roles, which is based primarily on the work of Comrie (1989) and Fillmore (1968).
[2] A root contains the basic lexical meaning of a word. The basic meaning can be modified by means of prefixes, reduplication or both.

7.1.2   Intransitive verb roots

Intransitive verbs are univalent (i.e. they have a semantic valence of one). They typically express a property, state, or situation involving only one participant (Payne 1997:171). In Mualang, verb roots grouped as intransitive typically include the following:

1) words prototypically categorized as adjectives in the literature (cf. Payne 1997:63; Givón 2001a:82ff), e.g.:
   a.   age: *tuay* 'old', *muda'* 'young', *manta'* 'raw', *muduh* 'ripe';
   b.   dimension: *besay'* 'big', *mit* 'small, little', *panyay* 'long', *panus* 'low, short', *jawuh* 'distant', *semak* 'close';
   c.   color: *mirah* 'red', *ijaw* 'green, blue', *putih* 'white';
   d.   value: *bayik* 'good, pretty'[3], *jat* 'bad', *bagas* 'handsome';
   e.   physical characteristics: *gemu'* 'fat', *ringkay* 'thin', *rangkay* 'dry'; *kukuh* 'strong';
   f.   shape: *bujur* 'straight', *buntar* 'round';
   g.   human propensity/mental states: *gaga* 'glad', *pedih* 'sad, difficult, sick', *ingkuh* 'dilligent', *luntus* 'lazy', *lelak* 'tired', *lemaw* 'weak, lazy', *kerampak* 'arrogant, egotistical', *pan'ay* 'clever', *mawa* 'stupid', *takut* 'afraid', *ringat* 'angry';
   h.   speed: *sigat* 'fast', *lawun* 'slow'.

2) locomotion verbs (in Payne's sense (1997:56)), i.e. verbs describing "no simple motion but movement out of one scene and into another". There is no internal process depicted. Some of them express only one trajectory of movement. For example: *rari* 'run (away)', *datay* 'come', *angkat* 'go', *pulay* 'come/go home', *tama'* 'enter', *pansut/keluar* 'exit, come out', *sampay* 'arrive, achieve', *terbay* 'fly', *tim'ul* 'emerge', *teng'elam* 'sunk', *turun* 'descend', *pin'ah* 'move (intransitive)', *labuh* 'fall, drop'. Some other verbs are very close to this sense in that they describe no movement but rather a still or a static position, e.g.: *duduk* 'sit', *diri* 'stand up', *tin'uk* 'sleep', *dani* 'wake up', *diaw* 'stay, quiet', *ting'al* 'stay', *nugaw* 'stay quiet (go nowhere)',;

3) various other states, e.g.: *tum'uh* 'grow (intransitive)', *idup* 'alive', *mati* 'dead', *sunyi* 'quiet', *ilang* 'lost', *aday* 'exist', *anyut* 'swept away (by water)', *selabuk* 'hide one's self', *bira'* 'defecate', *kemih* 'urinate', *mutah* 'vomit', *semuh* 'recovered', *mimpi* 'dream', *suayak* 'divorced', *ingat* 'remember', *riu* 'to be long', *putus* 'broken', *ka'* 'want', *ayap* 'lost', *mabuk* 'to be drunk', *tem'u'* 'finished, done', *miskin* 'poor', *kaya* 'rich', *cawis* 'finished'.

I will use the term 'static intransitive verbs' to generally refer to the "adjectival-like" intransitive verbs; non-static intransitive verbs will be referred to as 'dynamic intransitive verbs'. All intransitive roots can appear directly in the clause without a

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[3] The meaning 'pretty' occurs in the Downstream speech.

prefix (7.2.2). Some can be semantically modified by the use of certain voice prefixes (e.g. with *te-* (see 7.2)).

7.1.3   Transitive verb roots

Transitive roots have at least a semantic valence of two, involving an *agent* and a *patient*. Some roots allow three core arguments in a clause. Some examples of transitive roots are *bunuh* 'kill', *pangkung* 'hit, beat', *tunu* 'burn', *am'i'* 'take', *pakay* 'eat', *inum* 'drink', *beri' / jua'* 'give', *beli* 'buy'.

   Morphosyntactically transitive roots require the active prefix *N-* in simple active clauses (see 7.2.3). Transitive verbs can also be derived with the use of a valence increasing operator, which will be discussed in 7.1.3.1 below.

7.1.3.1   Valence increasing prefixes and derived transitive verb stems

Valence increasing prefixes raise the valence of a word. They can verbalize a noun, or transitivize an intransitive or nominal root or, in some cases, increase the degree of transitivity (i.e. in the sense of Hopper and Thompson 1980) of a transitive verb. The verb stems derived from such a derivational operation may be used as such (i.e. with "zero-marking") or must occur with a voice prefix in order to fully function in discourse. There are two grammatical processes which increase the valence of words:

   1)   morphologically unmarked derivation
   2)   derivation by means of the causative prefix *pe-*.

Each of them is discussed below.

1. Morphologically unmarked verbal derivation

There are a lot of common nouns that can be used as, or converted into, a verbal form directly without any morphological marking. Such an unmarked noun-to-verb derivation is also recognized in English as noticed in Givón (2001a:81; e.g. *can* 'put … into a can' (as a verb)). For illustration in Mualang consider (7-4):

(7-4)   *Unmarked noun to verb derivation*

Noun		→ Verb
ili'	'downstream'	→ 'to go downstream (a river)'
catuk	'spoon'	→ 'to scoop (food, etc.) with a spoon'
tusuy	'story'	→ 'to tell (a story, etc.)'
getah	'latex; sticky sap of plant'	→ 'to trap (something) with sticky sap'
tugal	'a pointed stick to make holes for seeds'	→ 'to make holes for seeds with a stick, to dibble'

The derivations are transitive verb forms with "inverse zero-marking" (see 7.2 below). The transitivity of these derivations is morphologically evident from the existence of parallel verbal forms with the inflectional voice prefixes *N-* and *da-*, or

the inverse zero marking. Thus, the derived stems in (7-4) can be used with voice inflection as follows:

(7-5)   *Voice forms (including those with zero marking) for transitive denominal verbs*

Derived verb stem	Active	Passive	Inverse
ili'	*N-ili' (= ngili')*	*da-ili'*	*ili'*
catuk	*N-catuk (= ncatuk)*	*da-catuk*	*catuk*
tusuy	*N-tusuy (= nusuy)*	*da-tusuy*	*tusuy*
getah	*N-getah (= ngetah)*	*da-getah*	*getah*
tugal	*N-tugal (= nugal)*	*da-tugal*	*tugal*

Since Mualang only has prefixes, I include the unmarked derivation under the same category, that is, valence increasing prefixes, together with the causative *pe-*. The various derivative meanings resulting from the unmarked noun to verb transitivizing operation have to do with carrying out an action against an object that primarily involves the noun root in question. The entity expressed in the noun root is treated semantically as generic and is incorporated into the meaning of the verb form in some way as in (7-6):

(7-6)   *Derivative meanings of the nominal verb stems*

a) as an incorporated (generic) object. The action is carried out toward something with or in relation to the object expressed in the nominal root, e.g.:

tusuy 'a story'	→	'to tell (a story)'
kisah 'a story'	→	'to tell (a story)'
umung 'a talk'	→	'to talk'
salak 'a bark of a dog'	→	'to bark (e.g. a squealing sound)'
sawut 'a reply'	→	'to reply'
pikir 'a thought'	→	'to think'
jabaw 'bamboo shoots'	→	'to look for bamboo shoots'
umpan 'cooked rice, food'	→	'to feed'
benih 'seed'	→	'to sow'
ludah 'saliva'	→	'to spit at'
bum'u 'spice'	→	'to put spice on (food)'
laban 'enemy, rival'	→	'to oppose, fight'
kan'ung 'womb, content'	→	'to be pregnant (with), to contain'

b) as an incorporated instrument. The action is carried out with the assistance of what the nominal root indicates, e.g.:

pen'ing 'ear'	→	'to eardrop, to listen to'
catuk 'spoon'	→	'to scoop (food) with a spoon'
getah 'latex or sticky sap plant'	→	'to trap (something) with of sticky sap'
sumpit 'blowpipe gun'	→	'to shoot with a blowpipe'
tugal 'a pointed stick to make holes for seeds'	→	'to make holes for seeds with a stick'

c) as an incorporated location, e.g.:

ili' 'downstream'	→	'to go downstream (a river)'
ulu 'upstream'	→	'to go upstream (a river)'
kubur 'grave'	→	'to bury'

Hopper and Thompson (1984:745-746) have noticed that it is apparently a universal for languages to require a special nominalizing morphology to derive a noun from a verbal form but not the other way around. The direction of the zero derivation proposed for Mualang is a confirmation of this tendency. In Mualang, if the root is lexically a verb, it would take a nominalizing prefix to derive a nominal form (see Chapter 4).

A similar case of morphologically unmarked derivation is also apparent in many intransitive verb roots that can be used transitively as well, e.g.:

(7-7)   *Meanings of transitive verb stems derived from intransitive verbs*

INTRANSITIVE	→	TRANSITIVE
ting'i' 'high, tall'	→	'heighten'
besay 'big'	→	'make bigger'[4]
labuh 'fall, drop'	→	'drop (something)'
idup 'alive'	→	'take care (plant, animal), operate (engine), put on (fire, lamp)'
pan'i' 'take a bath'	→	'bathe (somebody)'
pedih 'sick, sad'	→	'make sad, make to suffer'
pulay 'go/come home'	→	'return (something)'
pin'ah 'move (oneself)'	→	'move (something)'
anyut 'be swept away (by water)'	→	'make (something/somebody) be swept away'

Semantically the intransitive roots are neutral, in the sense that the state they indicate is not presented as the result of an action. They simply denote that the subject is in that state, without any further semantic implication. *Pecah* 'break' (as in '*the window broke*'), for example, does not imply that the state is the result of an action, as may be seen in the English *broken* (as in '*the window is broken*'). This fact suggests that the intransitive root is the base, and not vice versa.

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[4] Another derivative use of *besay* 'big' has the meaning 'as big as' (see 6.1.2.1.3 of Chapter 6).

The derivative meaning always increases the valence of the base: e.g., with static intransitive roots the derived verb indicates that there is a causer who makes something to be in the state expressed by the base, e.g. *ting'i'* 'heighten'. This type of derivation is productive and no other morphological operators are available. The majority of derived transitive verbs are formed via this unmarked operation.

2. The causative pe-

The morphophonemics of the causative *pe-* (and its allomorph *per-* and *pel-*) is discussed in Chapter 2 (section 2.5). This prefix is not very productive. With a few exceptions it adds a certain causative meaning to the base, which can be a verb (both intransitive and transitive) or a noun. With a transitive base, it may denote that the action is carried out together by many people or against many objects (thus increasing the "degree" of transitivity of the base). The *pe-* stems are inflectable for voice with the prefixes *N-*, *da-*, or the zero inverse (see 7.2.5). However, some *pe-* derived stems normally appear in passive constructions rather than in others, for example, *pe-bunuh* 'kill many/with many' is usually used in the passive, e.g. *babi da-pe-bunuh* (pig-PASS-CAUS-kill) 'the pig was killed (by a group of people); many pigs were killed'. The following examples are found in my corpus of data:[5]

(7-8)   *Derived causative pe- stems*

ROOT	→	***pe*-DERIVED STEMS**
uma 'rice field'		*p-uma* 'cultivate (land) as a rice field'
amis 'finished'		*p-amis* 'make finished completely'[6]
guraw 'a joke'		*pe-guraw* 'tease, make a fool of'
nselan 'a rite of making an offering'		*pe-nselan* 'make a rite for offering'
diri 'stand'		*pe-diri* 'erect (a lying object)'
nyamay 'comfortable'		*pe-nyamay* 'let (someone) feel comfortable' (used only in passive voice)
duduk 'sit'		*pe-duduk* 'put in a seat'
anyung 'escort'		*per-anyung* (also *pe- anyung*) 'escort in a mass, escort many'
bunuh 'kill'		*pe-bunuh* 'kill many/with many (usually with a big object and a

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[5] Thus far I have only found one example where the *per-* derives an intransitive verb from a noun base, that is, *ay'* 'water'→ *per-ay'* 'contain much water' (e.g. *getah ia' per-ay'* (rubber.sap-that-CAUS?.water) 'the rubber sap has much water in it'. However, with the (unique?) prefix *pel-*, a transitive verb stem is derived: *pel-ay'* 'put or add water into something' (e.g. *rempah da-pel-ay'* (side.dish-PASS.CAUS?.water) 'the side dishes have water added to them').

[6] These two forms *p-uma* and *p-amis* were found to be usually pronounced with *p-* only, and not *pe-*.

| | generic agent; used only in passive voice)' |
| *ati* 'liver' | *per-ati* 'pay attention to' |

In the last three derivatios no causative meaning can be observed.

Some illustrations in clauses:

(7-9)   *Asa pia',   nitaw'   da-pe-nyamay!*
         if   like.that cannot   PASS-CAUS-comfortable
         'If that's so, they cannot be allowed to be so comfortable!' (we have to take revenge)

(7-10)   *Pakay manta', pakay uga', p-amis,   mpa'!*
         eat   raw   eat   all   CAUS-finished chew
         'Eat (them) uncooked, eat (them) all, finish (them), chew!'

(7-11)   *Pe-duduk   miak kin!*
         CAUS-sit   child thither.far
         'Put the child in the seat over there!'

Having established the grammatical features of verbal stems, I now turn to a discussion of the various voice prefixes used with the stems in their contexts.

7.2   Voice constructions

By voice I refer to what has been traditionally called, among other labels, *active* and *passive voice* or *diathesis*. In general I refer to the definitions proposed in Payne (1997, 1999) and Givón (2001a, b). Voice has recently been viewed as a way of adjusting the relationship between grammatical relations (*subject, object,* etc.) and semantic roles (*agent, patient, benefactive,* etc.) (Payne 1997, 1999). Givón primarily defines voice in terms of functions, e.g. in terms of relative topicality of the *agent* with respect to the *patient*. The functional domain of voice is coded by a family of syntactic constructions in any given language (cf. Givón 2001b Ch. 13). Mualang employs several prefixes for different types of voice constructions. "Voice prefixes" should be distinguished from the typical derivational prefixes (as discussed in section 7.1. above).

The present section (7.2) explores the morphosyntax and functions of various types of clauses – hence (sub)-types of verbs marked by the voice prefixes. It is claimed in Givón (2001a, b) that it is basic for grammatical description to begin with the simple clause, either intransitive or transitive, that is, the main declarative, affirmative, stative or active clauses, of which "all other clause-types may be seen as *variations"* (see Givón 2001a:105). It is then best to assume the simple clause as the reference point for the present description.

This description begins first by providing a background for the notions of semantic roles and grammatical relations applied in the present analysis of Mualang (7.2.1), then followed by the simple stative intransitive clause (7.2.2) and the simple active transitive clause (7.2.3). After that, other voice constructions will be

described: *da-* passive (7.2.4), inverse (7.2.5), a comparison of the active, passive and inverse (7.2.6), *ba-* antipassive (7.2.7), unvolitional middle *te-* (7.2.8), inchoative *ke-* (7.2.9), adversative *kena'* (7.2.10), reflexives (7.2.11), and reciprocals (7.2.12). Finally, 7.3 will discuss advancement operations on peripheral elements.

7.2.1   Semantic roles and grammatical relations

Semantic roles have been addressed in 7.1. Here grammatical relations (GRs) are discussed. Grammatical relations are relations between arguments and predicates (Payne 1997:129). In Mualang the following core GRs are attested: *subject* (S), *direct object* (or simply *object* = O), *indirect object* (IO). For optional (i.e. non-core) arguments, the term *oblique* will be used. Properties that can identify the GRs in Mualang are 1) relative word order of constituents; 2) prefixal marking on the verb. Indirect objects (and obliques) are marked with a preposition. The pragmatically unmarked word order is SV(O). All voice prefixes refer to the subject of the clause (in relation to the other arguments). The syntactic and semantic status of arguments will be discussed in relation to the relevant prefixes. As an illustration, consider:

(7-12)   *Ia*   *tin'uk.*
            3s   sleep
            S (dative)
            'He/she is sleeping.'

(7-13)   *Sida'*   *N-beri'*   *ku*   *ka*   *tanah.*
            3p   ACT-give   1s   to   land
            A-S   V   benefactive-O   patient-IO
            'They gave me some land.'

7.2.2   Zero marking: Simple stative intransitive clauses

Simple intransitive (i.e. static and dynamic) verbs directly appear in clauses in "bare" forms, i.e. morphologically unmarked. I will refer to such clauses as stative clauses, in contrast to, for example, active ones (see 7.2.3 below). They take one single argument as the subject of the clause. "Zero marking" in such a way marks no agentive dynamism but stativity, that is, the subject of the clause is described as being in a particular state. The semantic role of subject is non-agent, covering both patient and dative (of a mental state). Zero marking typically applies to intransitive verb roots described in 7.1.1.

The unmarked word order of simple stative intransitive clauses is SV, with VS as its pragmatic alternative. The unmarked SV order is neutral intonationally and pragmatically:

(7-14)   *Kebila* [*m'ih*   ***pulay***]*?*
            when   2s.masc   go.home
            'When are you going home?'

(7-15)   *Jadi,* [*Dara   Jantung   tu'   **panci**, **alap**],   *jaku' kita*
            so   D   J   this   pretty   beautiful   say   1p.incl

            pia'.   [*Kulit   **putih   kuning**].*
            like.that   skin   white   yellow
            'Thus, Dara Jantung was very beautiful, so we said. (Her) skin was yellowish white.'

(7-16)   *Padi   bedaw   **muduh**.*
            rice   not.yet   ripe
            'The rice has not ripened yet.'

(7-17)   *Udah   N-pakay   kulat,*   [*sida'   **mabuk**]   semua.*
            after   ACT-eat   mushroom   3p   drunk   all
            'After having eaten mushroom, they all were drunk.'

The VS order is marked pragmatically and usually also intonationally (i.e. pronounced with relatively high and lengthened pitch on the verb). The VS order tends to be used to emphasize the event/verb, rather than the subject. In (7-18 – 7-22) below some pragmatic factors are involved in the focusing of the verb or event. In (7-18 – 7-19) the subjects carry old information and the verbs (i.e. *mit* 'little' in (7-18) and *salah* 'wrong' in (7-19) emphasize the state of the subjects. In (7-20), the fronted event *N-pabat* 'ACT-slash' is highlighted in a 'tail-head linkage' construction with the preceding clause to provide the background for the following event. In a similar way, the verb *datay* 'come' is also emphasized. In (7-21) the event *turun* 'descend' is fronted as being something happening as a fulfillment of a wish; it also shows a 'tail-head' connection with the preceding clause. However, the subject is emphasized to increase the suspense. In (7-22) the event *datay* 'come' is fronted to emphasize the unexpectedness of the event.

(7-18)   *Jadi, mulay ari   Dayang   Putri.   Dayang   Putri diaw aba'*
            thus   begin   from   D   P   D   P   stay   with

            ini'   *Aman   Tungku   Kebayan.*   [*Agi'   **mit   ia**], ...*
            grandmother   A   T   K   still   little   3s
            'Thus, (I tell the story) beginning from Dayang Putri. Dayang Putri lived with her grandmother, Aman Tungku Kebayan. She was still **little**, ...'

(7-19)   *Pia',   a,   laya' jat, seniku'.*   [***Salah***   *seniku'*].
            like.that   ha   fight   bad   2d   wrong   2d
            'So, fighting is bad, both of you. Both of you are **wrong** (if you fight each other).'

(7-20) *Aw', N-pabat agi' s-ari ia'. Udah [N-pabat*
       well ACT-slash again ONE-day that after ACT-slash

       sida'] peN-besay tay kemari' tih, pulay. Malam,
       3p NOM-big REL yesterday *tih* go.home night

       [***datay** agi' Puyang Gana aba' bala pe-suruh ia*].
       come again P G with all.kind NOM-order 3s
       'Well, they slashed again (all the trees) the whole day. Having slashed a large part (of the area) they did yesterday, they went home. At night, there **came** again Puyang Gana and all his helpers.'

(7-21) *Lama' ka lama' ia tih nyaw dara. Aday dih, aday*
       long to long 3s *tih* PERF maiden exist *dih* exist

       *turun upa ti kedeka' ia. [**Turun** urang laki] ....*
       descend as REL will 3s descend person male
       'Long after that she had become a maiden. (Then) there was, really, somebody who came down like she had been longing for. There came down a **man** ....'

(7-22) *Baru' tay ke-dua, nti' benung kita ba-laya',*
       then REL ORD-two if PROG 1p.incl ANPAS-fight

       [***datay** keban temuay senganay, tem'away*
       come all.kind guest Malay.people former.settlement

       bukay] ....
       other
       'Then the second thing would be, when we are fighting each other, that (suddenly) all kinds of guests would come visiting, the Malays, other people (then we would hurriedly make up with one another so that others would not know we had been fighting)….'

   Some stative verbs usually appear subjectless. These include verbs related to the weather, e.g. *ujan* 'it rains' (also a noun), *guntur* 'it's thundering' (also a noun), *celap* 'it's cold', *angat* 'it's hot'.

   Further usages of intransitive verbs are discussed below.

7.2.2.1 Zero marking and the middle voice

Many intransitive verbs described in 7.1.2 points 2 and 3 may also be used transitively (see list (7-7) above). Clauses containing such verbs may imply that the subject undergoes a change of state due to a process or an action of an agent or a causer, rather than carrying out an action. To some extent this situation is similar to the function of middle voice in other languages (cf. Payne 1997:216). Verbs having such a 'middle voice' are, among others, *anyut* 'swept away (by water)', *putus* 'broken, be apart', *pin'ah* 'move', *lela'* 'crushed', *pecah* 'broken', *labuh* 'fall, drop'.

The agent or causer appears optionally in a prepositional phrase headed by the preposition *ulih* 'by, as a result of what (X) did', e.g.:

(7-23)   a.   Active
                Ku N-labuh   buah.
                1s ACT-drop   fruit
                'I dropped the fruit.'

          b.   'Middle'
                Buah   labuh   (ulih ku).
                fruit   drop   (by me)
                'The fruit fell/dropped (by my doings, as a result of what I did).'

          c.   Inverse
                Buah   ia'   ku   labuh.
                fruit   that 1s   drop
                'That fruit was dropped by me.'

The 'middle' construction in (7-23b) may be compared to the inverse in (c) (see 7.2.5 and 7.2.6 for the inverse). However, in the middle construction the situation is a process rather than an action, whereas in the inverse the activity of an agent is apparent.[7]

7.2.2.2   Zero marking in other construction-types

Zero marking is not only used in the middle voice but also:

   a) when a verb, either intransitive or transitive, functions as an attribute of a NP (see 4.1.2.4 in Chapter 4), e.g.:

       tuay 'old', as in *urang tuay* 'old person'
       terbay 'fly', as in *kapal terbay* 'airplane'
       tunu 'burn, bake', as in *ubi tunu* 'baked cassava'

   b) in imperatives (Chapter 9, subsection 9.6.2)
   c) in an inverse construction (7.2.4)

   All the zero marking constructions mentioned in this section (7.2.2) have in common that the zero marking on the verb codes non-agentivity.[8]

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[7] Payne (1997:217) compares a middle construction with a passive, in which the latter "treats the situation as an action carried out by an agent but with the identity of the agent downplayed"; whereas in the former the situation is conceived as a process. In Mualang a similar comparison holds between the middle and inverse construction.
[8] With the imperative this "non-agentivity" is to be interpreted as the fact that an agent is hoped for, but not yet actualized.

7.2.3 The nasal prefix *N-*: active voice

The nasal prefix *N-* is used with transitive verbs primarily to code *active-transitive* voice.[9] With a verb marked by *N-* the agent of the event is assigned the subject role in the clause. In the prototypical transitive clause, the patient object always appears. All verbs that exhibit prototypical transitivity have to be marked with the prefix *N-* in the simple active-transitive clause, as in (7-24a), otherwise the clause is ungrammatical, as in (b). The unmarked word order is SVO.

(7-24) a. *Ku N-bunuh   manuk.*
          1s ACT-kill   chicken
          'I killed a chicken.'

      b. **Ku bunuh   manuk.*
          1s ACT-kill   chicken
          'I killed a chicken.'

Givón (2001a:109, based on Hopper and Thompson 1980) provides the following defining features for the semantic prototype of a transitive event: "1) agentivity: having a deliberate, active *agent*; 2) affectedness: having a concrete, affected *patient*; and 3) perfectivity: involving a bounded, terminated, fast-changing event in real time." Syntactically, "clauses and verbs that have a *direct object* are transitive. All others are syntactically intransitive." In Mualang, verbs that can take *N-* can be readily recognized as belonging to transitive stems as described in 7.1.3 (but consider also 7.2.3.1 below). More examples are shown below:

(7-25) *Sida' N-pulah   jimut.*
        3p   ACT-make   k.o.snack
        'They made *jimut*.'

(7-26) *Apay Aluy N-iga'   jabaw.*
        father A   ACT-look.for   bamboo.shoots
        'Aluy's father was looking for bamboo shoots.'

(7-27) *Jadi kita   N-pantap   kayu   dua   tiga   uti' ....*
        so   1p.incl ACT-slash wood   two   three CLASS
        'So, we cut wood into two or three pieces ....'

(7-28) *Keba'   adat   kita   Mualang,   asa ka'*
        therefore   customs 1p.incl M   if   want

        ba-laki–ba-bini,   *ti   laki N-anyung   ramu.*
        ANPAS-husband–ANPAS-wife   REL male ACT-escort   wealth

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[9] See Chapter 2 for the morphophonemics of the nasalization of the prefix *N-*.

'Therefore, our Mualang customs are, when we want to get married, the male one brings the bride price.'

7.2.3.1   Transitivity and unspecified objects

Many transitive verbs – that normally take a patient object and *N-* prefix – can also be used without an overt object, while the agentive character of the subject is still indicated by the active *N-* prefix on the verb. As such, they are syntactically intransitive, e.g.:

(7-29)   *Ku **N-pakay**   dulaw.*   (Object = food)
          1s   ACT-eat   first
          'I eat first.'

(7-30)   *Udah   ia'   sida'   **N-ili'**.*   (Object = location: river)
          already   that   3p   ACT-downstream
          'After that they went downstreams.'

(7-31)   *Bini   ia   agi'   **N-kan'ung**(Object = a baby or babies)
          wife   3s   still   ACT-womb
          'His wife is pregnant.'

(7-32)   *Urang   **N-pan'i'**   da   pian.*   (Object = one's body)
          person   ACT-bathe   LOC   bathing.place
          'People take a bath at the (open public) bathing place (at the river side).'

(7-33)   *Baru'   apay-inay   **N-sawut**.*   (Object = utterances)
          then   father-mother   ACT-reply
          'Then the parents replied.'

I will consider the absence of such a syntactic object, as shown in (7-29 – 7-33) above, as *object omission*, to distinguish it from *zero anaphora* (9.1.3 in Chapter 9). In the case of zero anaphora, the object really appears syntactically but is then dropped in the subsequent discourse. In the case of object omission, on the other hand, the patient of the verb never surfaces syntactically and this applies to transitive verbs whose patient is stereotypical, habitual or generically predictable (cf. Givón 2001a:136; 2001b:168ff). In the examples (7-29 – 7-33) the predictably generic patient is put in parentheses. However, such verbs can also take a specified patient, hence surfacing as a syntactic object in the clause. Thus, compare the syntactically intransitive use of the *N*-verbs in (7-29 – 7-33) with their syntactically transitive counterparts in the examples (b) below (the verb is in bold face whereas its object underlined):

(7-29b)   *Waktu   sida'   menyadi'   aday   aba'   apay-inay,*
            when   3p   sibling   exist   with   father-mother

     naday   **N-pakay**   <u>*umpan,*</u>   **N-pakay**   <u>*arang.*</u>
     NEG   ACT-eat   rice   ACT-eat   k.o.fruit
     'When the siblings were with their parents, they didn't eat rice but (ate) a kind of fruit.'

(7-30b)   *Sida'* **N-ili'**   <u>*sungay*</u>   <u>*Ketungaw.*</u>
        3p   ACT-downstream   river   K
        'They went downstream on the Ketungau River.'

(7-31b)   *Ku agi'* **N-kan'ung**   <u>*anak*</u> <u>*ti*</u>   <u>*tuay.*</u>
        1s   still   ACT-womb   child   REL old
        'I was still pregnant with my oldest child.'

(7-32b)   *Ini'*   **N-pan'i'**   <u>*ucu'.*</u>
        grandmother   ACT-bathe   grandchild
        'The grandma is bathing her grandchild.'

(7-33b)   *Kita'* **N-padah**   <u>*"ukay",*</u>   *naday* *pecaya.*
        2p   ACT-say   CONT.NEG   NEG   believe
        'You all said 'no', not believing (what I said).'

More examples of transitive verbs that can have a zero object:

> *sumpit* 'shoot with a *sumpit* ('blowpipe'; generic patient object: wild animals vs. specified object, e.g. *babi* 'pig')'
> *asu* 'hunt' (generic patient object: wild animals vs. specified object: *kijang* 'deer')
> *inum* 'drink' (generic patient object: liquid vs. specified object: *ay'* 'water')
> *sumay* 'cook' (generic patient object: food vs. specified object: *umpan* 'rice')
> *ulu* 'go upstreams' (generic patient object: rivers vs. *Sungay Ketungaw* 'Ketungau River')
> *tiki'* 'climb' (generic patient object: a house's ladder, i.e. 'to come in' vs. specified object: *pun* 'tree')
> *tugal* 'make holes for seeds' (generic patient object: fields vs. specified object: a particular field)

    The patient of some verbs is actually integrated in discourse at the moment of speaking. This is the case with verbs of perception and verbs referring to mental processes, e.g. *pikir* 'think', *peda'* 'look', *dinga* 'hear', and with various verbs of utterance such as *padah* 'say', *seraw* 'shout loudly', *sawut* 'reply', *tanya'* 'ask', *sabak* 'cry', *salak* 'bark (of a dog)', *umung* 'talk', *ciap* 'sound of young chickens'. For example, the patient of *padah* 'say' is what the speaker himself is saying, or has heard from others (cf. example 7-33b), or it may be encoded in the form of "indirect speech". Some other verbs have an incorporated patient object. This is very common with verbs derived from a nominal root which have the noun as their generic object,

e.g. *kisah*, *tusuy*, *jerita* 'to tell (a story)', *kulat* 'look for mushrooms', *jabaw* 'look for bamboo shoots', *benih* 'sow (i.e. put seeds in the ground)', *ludah* 'spit (i.e. to throw out saliva)'.

In most cases, the situation resembles an "antipassive" use (cf. Givón 2001b:168ff). However, I am inclined to simply see the phenomenon as object omission, rather than as a grammatical antipassive construction, on the following grounds:

1) the verb is still marked with the active-transitive *N-*, and not with an intransitive verb marking (cf. Payne 1997:219);

2) although there is some semantic and pragmatic motivation for the patient object omission, the omission seems to become a lexical matter (i.e. confined to some verbs only), rather than a (productive) grammatical device (i.e. one that may be applied to any or most transitive verbs). The verb *N-tim'ak* (ACT.shoot), for instance, always needs an overt object;

3) the antipassive function is much more clearly witnessed in *ba-* clauses (see 7.2.7).

7.2.3.2   The use of active *N-* in comparative clauses of equivalence

As explained in subsection 6.1.2.1.3 in Chapter 6, one special case has been found in which the active (?) prefix *N-* is used with a static intransitive verb in comparative clauses of equivalence. In these clauses the subject refers to the entity whose quality expressed by the base of the verb is compared to a standard, but the expression for the standard of comparison, for example *kuali sigi'* 'a cooking pan' in (7-34) below, cannot stand as an object, since the clause cannot be passivized. Therefore syntactically such comparative clauses are considered intransitive.

(7-34)   *Dulaw*   *tih* [*besay*   *gerama'*]   [*N-besay*]   [*kuali*
          previously   *tih* big   crab   ACT-big   cooking.pan
                               SUBJECT   MARKER-QUALITY

          s-igi'].
          ONE-CLASS
          STANDARD
          'In the past the size (lit. big) of crabs was as big as a cooking pan.' (Or possibly: 'In the past the size (lit. big) of crabs equaled a cooking pan in size.')

This use of *N-* in comparative clauses and in constructions with unspecified objects (see 7.2.3.1 above) displays a decrease in transitivity, as compared to the typical use of *N-* with highly transitive verb roots.

7.2.4   The *da-* prefix: prototypical passive voice

Morphosyntactically, the *da-* prefix is indicative of a prototypical transitive event.[10] This means that a transitive verb with an unspecified patient as described in 7.2.3.1 cannot take *da-*. With the *da-* prefix, it is the patient of the event which becomes the subject of the clause, whereas the agent is optional, or not required for the grammaticality of the clause. It can be omitted or, if present, be demoted to an oblique role (cf. Payne 1997:204). This is in contrast with the active-transitive *N-* clause where both the agent and the patient are required (see also section 7.2.3.1 exceptions to this rule). The unmarked syntactic position of the subject of the *da-* passive is preverbal. For contrast, an active-transitive clause as well as a corresponding passive is given in the following examples:

(7-35)   a.   Active
                  <u>*Urang*</u>   *N-curi*   <u>*manuk   ku.*</u>
                  person   ACT-steal   chicken   1s
                  S – Agent   V   O – Patient
                  'Somebody stole my chicken.'

            b.   Passive
                  <u>*Manuk   ku*</u>   *da-curi.*
                  chicken   1s   PASS-steal
                  S – Patient   V
                  'My chicken was stolen.'

   Since Mualang also has *advancement* processes (see 7.3), some peripheral participants can be promoted to become arguments. In the active-transitive *N-* clause they become direct objects. As such they can also be the subject of the *da-* passive clause. Thus, the semantic role of the subject of the *da-* clause may also be a benefactive (7-36), a locative (7-37), or even a possessor (7-38):

(7-36)   Benefactive subject
            Ku da-beri'   *kita' ka tungku'*   *tanah.*
            1s PASS-give   2p   to   cooking.pot   soil
            'I was given a clay pot by you all.'

(7-37)   Locative subject
            a. *Jalay   da- pe-lintang*   *ka kayu.*
               road   PASS-CAUS-lay.across   to   wood
               'The road was blocked with wood.' (lit. 'The road was laid across with the wood.'

            b. *Da-ili'*   *sa' Ketungaw   nyin.*
               PASS-go.downstream   3p   K   that.over.there
               'The Ketungau (river) was passed downstreamward over there by them.'

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[10] The morphophonemic alternation of *da-* is discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.5.

(7-38)   Possessor subject
          Burung ia'   da-tamit   ka kaki.
          bird   that PASS-tie   to   foot
          'The bird had its feet tied.' (lit. 'The bird was tied to (its) feet)'

The agent may surface syntactically in non-argument status in two ways: 1) as an oblique with the preposition *ulih* 'by', or 2) not preceded by a preposition as a kind of "complement" to the verb. Structurally the *ulih*-agent phrase serves as an adjunct of the clause and therefore may have any other constituent interposed between it and the verb (7-39), or it may be moved around relative to the verb (cf. 7-40). If, however, it is a complement to the verb, there cannot be any intervening elements (7-41), and hence, structurally the agent constitutes an integral part of the VP. Or in other words, it is internal to the VP. Intonationally the verb and the agent complement are pronounced as a single phrase; if for pragmatic reasons the subject is moved to a post-verbal position, the agent is still in its position, as in (7-42). In the following examples the agent-phrases are underlined:

(7-39)   *Tu' da-kerja   (ila') ulih dua iku'   nsia.*
          this PASS-work   later   by   two CLASS   human
          'This is done (later) by two persons.'

(7-40)   *Ulih dua iku'   nsia   tu'   da-kerja.*
          by   two CLASS   human   this PASS-ork
          'By two persons this is/will be done.'

(7-41)   *Segala   umpan apa segala   da-tang'ung*
          all.kind food   what all.kind   PASS-bear

          *(ila')   urang   ti   N-tugal.
          (later)   person REL   ACT-dibble
          'All kinds of food and other stuff are borne by the person who is doing the sowing activity.'

(7-42)   *Da-kawut   ini'   beras   se-jeput.*
          PASS-scoop   grandmother   rice   one-pinch
          'A pinch of rice was scooped by the grandmother.' (lit. 'be scooped by the grandmother a pinch of rice')

There is no constraint in terms of person or number of the oblique agent:

(7-43)   *Tajaw nya' da-simpan   (ulih) ku/kita'/sida'.*
          jar   that PASS-keep   (by)   1s/2p/3p
          'The jar was kept by me/you/them.'

7.2.5   **Zero marking: inverse voice**

As with the *da*-passive, the inverse construction is used for a transitive event that prototypically requires the involvement of an agent and a patient. Instead of a patient a benefactive or locative may occur as the non-agentive argument. The morphosyntactic features of the inverse construction in Mualang are:

    1) the patient (or benefactive or locative) and the agent are obligatory, that is, they usually surface syntactically;
    2) the patient (or benefactive or locative) is placed in clause-initial position, followed by the agent and the verb (= PAV (Patient-Agent-Verb) order). The agent and verb cannot be separated by any other constituent;
    3) the verb appears in the stem form, i.e. it is not marked morphologically;
    4) the agent can be a noun or a pronoun of any person or number.

The following examples are given as a first illustration (the English translations are only meant as approximations):

(7-44)   *Tajaw nya'*   *Aji Melayu*   *temu*   da   sabar   bubu   ia.
           k.o.jar   that   haji M   find   LOC   fence   k.o.fishtrap   3s
           P   A   V
           'That jar Haji Melayu found at the fence leading to his fishtrap.'

(7-45)   *M'ih,*   *Apay*   *Aluy,*   *m'ih*   *ukay*   *urang*
           2s.masc   father   A   2s.masc   CONT.NEG   person

           kayangan.   *M'ih*   *N-tipu*   *kami.*   *Asa*
           place.of.gods   2s.masc   ACT-deceive   1p.excl   whenever

           pia',   *m'ih*   *kami*   *bunuh.*
           like.that   2s.masc   1p.excl   kill
                     P   A   V
           'As for you, Aluy's father, you're not a heavenly man. You deceive us. Therefore, you're going to get killed by us.'

(7-46)   *Tu'*   *sida'*   *beri'*   ka ku.
           this   3p   give   to   1s
           P   A   V
           'This they gave to me.'

The analysis of inverse clauses is indeed problematic in many languages, especially in contrast with passives (cf. Payne 1997:210, Givón 2001b:161), and Malayic languages are no exception. The constructions illustrated in examples (7-44 – 7-46) above are also commonly found in Malay/Indonesian, and have been analyzed as passive clauses (e.g. Chung 1976, Verhaar 1978). Semantically they also may encode an active sense, due to the obligatoriness of the agent (Verhaar 1978:12, citing also Fokker 1951). However, for Mualang I am inclined to assume that such

clauses encode a distinct voice, that is, the inverse (in reference to Payne 1997, 1999 and Givón, 2001a, b). The inverse needs to be distinguished from the active and passive on morphosyntactic grounds (explained here) and on pragmatic grounds (see 7.2.6).

Morphosyntactically, the three voices have the following primary pragmatically unmarked word order of arguments (with a relatively flat or neutral/unbiased intonation, and no pause between the arguments). The syntactic variants are pragmatically marked (e.g. for emphasis):

ACTIVE	=	agent – *N*-verb – patient (= AVP ~ VPA)
INVERSE	=	patient – agent – verb (= PAV ~ VAP)
PASSIVE	=	patient – *da*-verb (agent) (= PV(agent) ~ V(agent)P)

The inverse is similar to the active in that the agent and patient are syntactically obligatory in both clauses (although with some "exceptions" that will be explained later). However, in the active the main order is AVP and the verb is morphosyntactically marked with the *N*- prefix, indicating that the agent is the subject of the clause (cf. (7-23) above). If the agent is moved, it has to follow the patient, as in (7-47). In other words, the patient has to be closer to the verb (VPA order).[11] Other minor variations may be found, but no longer with a single intonation contour, as in (7-48) (a comma signals a pause, the agent and patient are topicalized):

(7-47)   *Agi'*   *N-pulah*   *jimut*   *sida'.*
          still   ACT-make   k.o.snack   3p
                   V   P   A
          'They ARE still making snacks / Still making snacks, they are.'

(7-48)   *Ku,*   *ia=m,*   *naday*   *mampu*   *N-lawan* ...
          1s   3s=m   NEG   afford   ACT-oppose
          A   P   V
          'It is only him that I wasn't able to fight …' (the others have all been beaten by me.)

In the inverse, although the patient and the agent occupy preverbal position, the patient is always in initial position in the primary PAV order. The position of P and A determines how V is marked morphologically.

The inverse also resembles the *da*-passive construction in that both have P in initial position, instead of A. However, in the latter the A is optional and if it surfaces, it is not an independent argument. In contrast, A in the inverse is required. Syntactically, the obligatoriness of A in the inverse is clearly seen from its

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[11] According to Foley and Van Valin (1985:305), "a *pivot* is any NP type to which a particular grammatical process is sensitive, either as controller or as target". In this sense, the agent subject of the active clause in Mualang may be viewed as the "pivot", because the agent subject (rather than the patient object) is sensitive to the *N*- marking on the verb, and may be moved around relative to the verb.

"blocking" position in between P and V that contributes to the zero marking of V. For the exceptional case where for discourse considerations the A in the inverse may be left unmentioned I refer to section 7.2.6 of this chapter.

One problematic issue for the inverse is to determine the grammatical functions of P and A, i.e. to determine which one is the subject of the clause. With the *N*-marking in the active clause it is clear that the agent is the subject. If the initial position and the *N*- marking are criteria for the subjecthood of the agent, then A of the inverse does not qualify as the subject. Also, recalling the zero marking in intransitive verbs that codes non-agentivity (7.2.2), one may conclude that the zero marking in transitive verbs decreases the agentivity of the agent. If A is not the subject of the inverse, what is it? If A is not the subject, then P is the only candidate for the subject of the inverse. In the present analysis I am inclined to view it in this way, based at least on the following criteria:

> 1) the position of P as a "pivot" (in the sense of Foley and Van Valin (1985);
> 2) relativization.

In the inverse it is P, rather than A, that is "sensitive" to (or is referenced by the marking in) V. This can be seen from the relatively flexible position of P, which may be postverbal. If P moves to postverbal position, A's position has to be adjusted accordingly. The alternative word orders of the unmarked PAV are as follows:

(7-49)   *Kayit   sida'   antu.   Mati   antu   tu'.*   = VAP
        hook   3p   ghost die   ghost   this
        V   A   P
        'They **hooked** the ghosts. The ghosts **died**.'

(7-50)   *Ka'   ku'   ting'i'   rumah   tu'.*   (**Ku ka' ting'i' rumah tu'*)
        FUT 1s   highten house   this
        Verb phrase   P
        '**I'm going to raise** this house/MAKE this house **higher**.'

In (7-50) A is inside the VP (in which the verb is preceded by the modal *ka'* 'FUT'), and it is fixed in that position when P is postverbal. However, A is also postverbal intervening between V and P, if P is in postverbal position, as in (7-49). A has to move since the AVP order is not permitted (AVP is the unmarked order of an active clause (hence requiring the *N*- marking on V)). With any position of P, A is always closer to V and it may not be in clause-initial position, hence the alternative orders of the unmarked PAV V or the verb phrase is always clause-initial (VAP or Verb phrase – P). (Compare these word orders with the one in (7-47), which is an example of the opposite: an active clause in which A is flexible and the patient object is closer to the verb). Intonationally A and V are pronounced as a single phrase. The syntactic status of A is thus like an agent complement of V.

As regards relativization (dealt with in more detail in Chapter 10, section 10.5), it is P, and not A, that is relativized with the inverse construction (0 = the gap; the relative clause is in brackets):

(7-51)   *Aday   mas   tay*   [0 *ku simpan*].
          exist gold REL   1s keep
          'There is gold that I kept.'

In the *da*-passive the agent is not required but may surface syntactically (for some reasons, see 7.2.6 below). The reverse applies to the inverse in which the agent is required, although in some cases it may not surface syntactically. In my observation ommission of the agent occurs commonly when it is generic. In the following examples the agent is 'people in general' (7-52) and 'those who were attending the rite' (7-53):

(7-52)   *Asa   urang temu N-curi   jelu,   ia kena'*
          whenever   person find ACT-steal animal 3s suffer

          hukum   adat.
          law   custom
          'Whenever a person was found stealing animals, he/she was fined.'

(7-53)   *Manuk   pakay p-amis   da   pian.*
          chicken eat   CAUS-finished LOC bathing.place
          'The chickens were eaten up at the bathing place.'

7.2.6   The use of active, passive and inverse clauses: a preliminary note

In section 7.2.3 - 7.2.5 the morphosyntax of the active *N-*, passive *da-* and zero inverse constructions has been discussed without paying attention to their functions. Since a separate full discourse study is actually needed for this purpose, the present description is only meant to give a rough picture. As with their morphosyntax, there is a valid reason to contrast the functions of these three voice types as a paradigm. The basic semantics of the event or verb used in clauses that code these three voices is not affected: the agent acts upon the patient semantically in accordance with the intended lexical meaning of the transitive verb. The use of *N-*, *da-* and zero marking on the verb is thus not derivational (as will be discussed later, this is in contrast to the use of other prefixes such as *te-*, *ba-* etc.). However, their use on the verb does affect the transitivity of the event or de-transitivize it in another way. To explain this, I shall adopt the idea of semantic and pragmatic principles of de-transitive voices proposed in Givón (2001b, Ch. 13).

According to Givón, de-transitive voice constructions are primarily semantic or primarily pragmatic. In the primarily semantic voice constructions the transitivity of the prototypical transitive event is affected or decreased in terms of the three main semantic parameters: "agentivity of the agent/subject; affectedness of the patient/object; telicity or perfectivity of the verb" (op.cit.: 93).

In primarily pragmatic de-transitive voice constructions, on the other hand, the semantics of transitivity in such terms is not affected: "In surveying pragmatic voice constructions, one notes first that the very same semantically-transitive event, coded by the very same prototypical telic verb, active agent and affected patient – our transitive event 'theme' – can be rendered by several de-transitive voice constructions ('variations'). Clearly, the semantics of transitivity is not affected in

such constructions. Rather, they render the same semantically-transitive event from different pragmatic *perspectives*. These perspectives turn out to involve, primarily although not exclusively, the *relative topicality* of the agent and patient" (op.cit.: 93). He proposes four main pragmatic voice constructions that are commonly attested cross-linguistically: active(-direct), inverse, passive and antipassive. In the first two constructions, both the agent and patient are topical; however, in active voice the agent is more topical than the patient, whereas in the inverse it is the patient that is more topical than the agent. In the passive the patient is topical and the agent is "demoted". Conversely, in the antipassive, it is the patient that is demoted and the agent is the only topical argument (op.cit: 93-94). (For the antipassive in Mualang, see 7.2.7 below).

More discourse work is needed to comprehensively examine the differences and use of the primarily pragmatic voice constructions in Mualang. Here, I will present some salient aspects of their use in discourse. First, the *N*-active, *da*-passive and zero-marking inverse in Mualang closely fit the situation described in Givón's definition, with the last two showing pragmatic de-transitivizing. In other words, the use of these prefixes does not affect the valence of the verb (in the sense that it is still transitive semantically). If the valence is not affected, the arguments of the event may simply be "rearranged" in terms of *perspectivization*. It is thus worth viewing these three constructions in Mualang from this point of view.

For the notion of perspectivization, the following quotation from Charles Fillmore (cited in Shibatani 1996:158) serves to present a general idea: "We recognize scenes or situations and the functions of various participants in these scenes and situations. We foreground or bring into perspective some possibly quite small portion of such a scene. Of the elements which are foregrounded, one of them gets assigned the subject role and one of them if we are foregrounding two things gets assigned the direct object role in the clause. Something like a *saliency hierarchy* determines what gets foregrounded, and something like a *case hierarchy* determines how the foregrounded nominals are assigned grammatical functions."

Basically a particular voice construction is selected depending on which participant is employed by the speaker as his/her reference point in presenting a message. The speaker can switch back and forth from one type of construction to another between clauses. In (7-45) above, for example, the addressee is the point of reference and the topic of conversation (= *Apay Aluy*); first the active clause is used to report his action with him as an agent (= *m'ih nipu kami* 'you've deceived us'). The next clause is still about him, but now as a patient; in this situation the inverse construction is used since the agent is highly involved in or concerned with the action executed upon the patient (= *asa pia', m'ih kami bunuh* 'therefore, you're going to get killed by us'). The whole situation highly involves both the speaker and the addressee to a great extent with the latter becoming the point or the topic of the conversation and the reference point for the message. A similar situation is seen in the following excerpt of a narrative:

(7-54) *Aji Melayu   N-padah: "Tajaw   nya'   ku temu   da   sabar*
        haji M   ACT-say   k.o.jar   that   1s find   LOC   fence

        bubu   nyin   Tajaw   nya'   anyut   da   ataw
        fish.trap   that.over.there   k.o.jar that   swept.away   LOC   top

        ay',   ku   am'i',   ku   buka'."
        water   1s   take   1s   open
        'Haji Melayu said: "That jar I found at the fence leading to the fish
        trap over there. That jar was swept away on the water, I took (it), I
        opened (it)."'

There are two "speakers" in (7-54): the story teller and the character of the story
(Haji Melayu). For the story teller, Haji Melayu is the topic of the talk, and he is
reported as performing an action, hence the active voice is used (= *Aji Melayu
madah* 'Haji Melayu said'). In the story Haji Melayu was asked about the origin of a
jar that he found, then he told his story about the jar (hence the reference point for
the message) and that he himself found the jar, which makes the agent relevant in
the event, hence the inverse voice is used (= *(...ku am'i', ku buka* '(that jar) I took, I
opened'). (Note that in the inverse clauses here mention of the jar was omitted as a
result of the zero anaphora strategy (see 9.1.3 in Chapter 9).

   Since the agent in the inverse is involved directly in the discourse, it has to be
specified, i.e. surface in the clause. However, as seen in the examples (7-52 – 7-53),
it is also the case that when the agent is generic, it does not appear in the clause. The
reverse case is noticed in the passive: the agent is not obligatory since it is not
relevant, but may surface in the clause if specification for completeness of the
picture presented is deemed necessary.

(7-55) *Udah   N-ketaw,   padi   **da-bay'**   ka rumah.*
        after   ACT-harvest   uncooked.rice   PASS-bring   to house

        *Udah   ia',   baru'   **da-irik**.   Udah   **da-irik**,*
        already that   then   PASS-thresh   after   PASS-thresh

        ***da-ngkuh**   ka   durung,   isa'   aman,   naday*
        PASS-keep   to   padi.storage   so.that   safe   NEG

        ***da-pakay** pipit.*
        PASS-eat   sparrow
        'After harvesting, the uncooked rice is brought to the house. After that
        (it) is threshed. After having been threshed, it is kept in the storage so
        that it is safe, (and) will not be eaten by the sparrows.'

(7-56) *Ku aday, da-any'ung   apay-inay   ku ka alam babas.*
        1s exist PASS-escort   father-mother 1s to inside forest
        '(When) I was born, I was brought away by my parents into the
        forest.'

In (7-55) agentless passive forms are used several times. In all cases the intended agent is generic, that is the farmers or the people who are doing the harvest. In the last clause (i.e. *naday dapakay pipit* 'not eaten by sparrows') the agent, the sparrows, is specified. There is no sense of an "active" involvement; the whole clause seems to simply present a statement about the patient undergoing an event. (7-56) presents a similar case: the agent *apay-inay ku* 'my parents' was not directly involved at the moment of speaking but is mentioned as additional information.

The agent of the *da*-passive may also appear in a phrasal adjunct headed by the preposition *ulih*. It seems that the agent phrase is meant for emphasis or for re-identifying who is the agent of the event. Usually the agent has already been mentioned in the preceding discourse. Since the agent phrase is an adjunct, it may be fronted for focusing purposes, (cf. 7-39 and 7-40 above).

The *da*-passive construction with an agent (without *ulih*) is often used to highlight the event itself that happens to a patient. The typical word order used for this purpose is VS, which means that the verb (or verb phrase) is fronted and the patient-subject is moved to postverbal position. Some examples:

(7-57) *Datay   ka   laman,   da-kumay   ia   Apay   Aji ...*
        come   to   yard   PASS-call   3s   father   A
        'Arriving at the yard, he **called** Mr. Haji.'

(7-58) *Da-beri'   sida'   darah   ka   antu.*
        PASS-give   3p   blood   to   ghost
        'They **gave** the blood to the ghosts.'

(7-59) *N-peda'   pia',   da-buka'   ini'   bungkus*
        ACT-look   like.that   PASS-open   grandmother   wrap

        dawun.
        leaf
        'Looking that way, the grandmother **opened** the leaf wrap.'

All the events in the *da*- main clauses of (7-57 – 7-59) are perfective, punctual, depicting "abrupt" events. Example (7-57) also shows how a non-passive construction is used in the dependent clause for backgrounding while the *da*- passive in the main clause is used for foregrounding the event (also in (7-56)).[12] Although this needs further study, such a use of the *da*- passive may correlate with its use in building up the climax of a narrative, e.g.:

(7-60) *Beruang   naday   rari.   Ia   nugaw.   Apa   agi'   tih   keluar*
        bear   NEG   run   3s   still   what   again   tih   exit

        semua, nema   N-bunuh   jelu.   Datay ka rumah,
        all   because   ACT-kill   animal   come to   house

---

[12] Cf. also Hopper (1979) for a similar case found in Classical Malay.

> ***da-sangkuh,   da-tum'uk,   da-pantap,   da-sumpit.***
> PASS-spear   PASS-beat   PASS-cut,   PASS-spear
>
> ***Mati   jara'   beruang   tu'.***
> die   *jara'*   bear   this
> 'The bear did not run away. It was standing still. What's more, all people came out, because they were going to kill an animal. (Then when the people) arriving at home (with the bear), it was speared, beaten, cut, blowpiped. (And) DEAD was this bear.'

In an inverse construction the event or the verb may also be fronted, with the agent appearing postverbally, for focusing purposes. However, its discourse function does not cover the use of *da-* such as in (7-60). Structurally it may look similar to the *da-* passive, but semantically the "active" sense of the agent is still implied, e.g.:

(7-61)   *Udah   da-tunu   tih   sa' menyadi'   ia',   angus   uma*
          after   PASS-burn   *tih*   3p   sibling   that   burnt   rice.field

        sida',   pakay   api. (=VA)
        3p   eat   fire
        'After having been burnt by those siblings, their rice field got burnt, consumed by the fire.'

(7-62)   *Da-am'i'   Putung   Kempat.   Jadi   mas,   ntawa'.*   ***Pajak***
          PASS-take   P   K   become   gold   k.o.fruit   enter

        ia   *d=alam   tepayan.*   (= VA)
        3s   LOC=inside   jar
        'It (the *ntawa'* fruit) was taken by Putung Kempat. It became gold, the *ntawa'* fruit. (Then) she PUT it inside the jar.'

Note that in (7-61 – 7-62) the patient-subject of the inverse construction is deleted (i.e. zero anaphora, see Ch. 9) since it is coreferential with the subject of the preceding clauses.

Finally, it should be noted here that the use of zero-marking in the inverse construction most likely has a semantic correlation with that in noun phrases containing transitive verb roots as their attribute (see 4.1.2.4 of Chapter 4), as in *ubi tunu* (cassava-burn) 'baked cassava', *ubi sumay* (cassava cook) 'boiled cassava', etc. Syntactically the head noun may be considered as occupying a subject position, thus the NP has an SV order. Note that as a NP, the nominal head and the modifying verb in such phrases are pronounced under a single (phrasal) intonation contour.

7.2.7   The *ba-* prefix: The antipassive voice

This section describes the formal and semantic characteristics of *ba-* constructions, that is, clauses in which the verb or predicate is marked with the prefix *ba-*. The allomorphs of *ba-* were described above in Chapter 2. The following features typically characterize *ba-* clauses:

1) the predicate (the verbal word) contains the prefix *ba-*;
2) the subject is preverbal in unmarked word order;
3) the patient syntactically behaves in several different ways. However, in all cases it is not an independent argument;
4) the *ba-* clauses are syntactically intransitive;
5) semantically a *ba-* construction describes the situation of an agent carrying out an activity. The patient is not an issue in the description of the situation, or it is irrelevant. As the patient is "demoted", the agentivity of the argument subject may not be typical as it is in the active *N-* clauses. It may just be an "actor".

The *ba-* prefix is productively used with transitive verbs and with nouns. It is also prefixed to a few intransitive verbs. The type of bases, to which it is attached, correlates with the syntactic behaviour of the patient. Each of the bases will be described below. The morphosyntactic and semantic features of *ba-* clauses generally fit the description of the antipassive function (cf. Payne 1997:219ff, Givón 2001b:168ff).[13] Nevertheless, some peculiarities apply to the antipassive *ba-* of Mualang. Prefixation with *ba-* is not purely a de-transitivizing operation, since it can be attached to a nominal base as well, hence increasing the valence of the base. Also, although pragmatically the antipassive is considered the converse of the passive (i.e. in the first the patient is "demoted" whereas in the latter it is "promoted"; cf. Givón 2001b:168), in Mualang *ba-* clauses are highly contrasted semantically with the active *N-* clauses. A detailed discussion is presented below.

7.2.7.1 *Ba-* with transitive base

Ba- clauses primarily depict the agent subject as being engaged in an activity (on something). As such it is very common to find transitive verbal bases occurring with *ba-*. Examples (7-63 and 7-64) illustrate such typical *ba-* forms:

(7-63)	*ba-bunuh*	ANPAS-kill	'be engaged in X-killing'
	ba-pulah	ANPAS-make	'be engaged in X-making'
	ba-tunu	ANPAS-burn	'be engaged in X-burning'
	ba-tim'ak	ANPAS-shoot	'be engaged in X-shooting'

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[13] However, there appears to be some disagreement between Payne and Givón. Payne (1997:219) lists the following prototypical formal characteristics of antipassives: 1) the P (patient) argument is omitted or appears in an oblique case; 2) the verb (phrase) has some overt marker of intransitivity; 3) the "A" (agent) appears in the absolutive case. Givón (2001b:172), on the other hand, suggests that antipassives in nominative languages do not affect the morpho-syntax of either the verb or the subject agent, but of the object alone. If we follow Givón's proposal, then the object omission in some *N-* verbs (see 7.2.3.1) should be considered an antipassive construction as well. I will just leave this case open for future debate, but for the present analysis I make a distinction between such an object omission with *N-* verbs and the antipassive coding in *ba-* clauses. At least it is clear that functionally *ba-* clauses highlight the action whereas the *N-* clauses with object omission do not. Also, the antipassive function of the *ba-* construction applies to almost any transitive verb, whereas object omission is limited to some transitive verbs only.

	ba-tebas	ANPAS-slash	'be engaged in X-slashing'
(7-64)	*ba-pakay*	ANPAS-eat	'be engaged in (X-)eating'
	ba-inum	ANPAS-drink	'be engaged in (X-)drinking)'
	ba-sumay	ANPAS-cook	'be engaged in (X-)cooking'
	ba-padah	ANPAS-say	'be engaged in (X-)saying'
	ba-pikir	ANPAS-think	'be engaged in (X-)thinking'

Verbs in (7-63) are prototypical transitive verbs, which require an agent and a patient as in (7-65a). With such transitive verbs, the *ba-* verb has to take a patient, as in (7-65b):

(7-65)   a. Active
*Urang   N-bunuh   *(babi-manuk).*
person   ACT-steal   pig-chicken
'People killed pigs and chickens.' (at the party)

b. Antipassive
*Urang   ba-bunuh   *(babi-manuk),*
person   ANPAS-kill   pig-chicken

*ba-pulah   *(jimut).*
ANPAS-make   k.o.snack
'People were engaged in pig-chicken-killing and *jimut* making.' (at the party)

The main semantic difference between the active and antipassive use is that in the active the agent is described as acting against a patient; the patient is directly affected. In the antipassive the agent is not shown as directing the action against the patient, rather it is presented as just doing the activity on the patient. The patient in the antipassive tend to be semantically generic (or plural), and indefinite.[14] In (7-65b) the patient is 'pigs and chickens' in general, they are not referential (i.e. the speaker did not have a specific reference of pigs and chickens in his mind at the moment of speaking). In the active (7-65a) 'pigs and chickens' may or may not be referential. In the former interpretation the action of killing pigs and chickens is a habitual activity done on those particular animals. In the latter, the action is carried out once.

Another difference is syntactic, namely the grammatical relation of the patient in the antipassive *ba-*. Although it appears postverbally as in the active, it is not affected semantically nor related syntactically to the verb (cf. the English translation in (7-65b). Its status seems comparable to the so-called object incorporation in other languages, cf. *fox-hunt, baby-sit* in English (cf. also Givón 2001b:169), that is, it becomes part of the *ba-*verb, hence is not an independent argument. (This is comparable to the status of agent in the *da-* passive).

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[14] This is in agreement with what Givón (2001b:169) indicates as semantic correlates of the typical patient in antipassives.

The object incorporation as explained above is one of the possible patterns of syntactic behavior of the patient used with typically transitive verbs. Some transitive verbs may also denote a reciprocal action lexically, e.g. *bunuh* 'kill', *temu* 'meet', *tim'ak* 'shoot'. With such verbs, the patient may be collapsed into the plural agent-subject since they are coreferential. The construction thus becomes reciprocal (see 7.2.12 for reciprocal constructions). Such a function cannot be formed with the active *N-* (7-66a) but it is possible with the antipassive *ba-* (7-66b):

(7-66)	a. Active *N-*
	*Sida' N-bunuh/N-temu.
	3p	ACT-kill/ACT-meet
	'They killed/met each other.'

	b. Antipassive *ba-*
	Sida' ba-bunuh/ba-temu.
	3p	ANPAS-kill/ANPAS-meet
	'They killed / met each other.'

If one party of the joint action is "extracted", it functions as a patient and is expressed in a prepositional phrase headed by *aba'* 'with':

(7-67)	*Ia ba-bunuh/ba-temu	aba' sida'.*
	3s	ANPAS-kill/ANPAS-meet	with	3p
	'He and they killed each other/he met with them.'

These two cases of *ba-* constructions present further evidence for the non-argument status of patient. Other evidence is yet witnessed in section 7.2.7.2 below.

Some *ba-* (lexically defined) forms can have a reflexive meaning, as in (7-68), in which the subject actually acts upon itself. If the patient is a different entity, then it is specified (added in (7-68) in parentheses).

(7-68)	*ba-pin'ah* (*rumah*)	ANPAS-move	'move one's self (house, i.e. move to another house)'
	ba-lepa (*tulang-urat*)	ANPAS-rest	'rest one's self (bones and blood vessels, i.e. to take a rest)'
	ba-diri	ANPAS-stand	'stand'
	ba-guay	ANPAS-run	'run'

The patient in *ba-* clauses is optionally omitted or specified, as in (7-69b). This occurs with verbs whose objects are predictable, as in (7-64). The same applies to the active *N-* (see 7.2.3).

(7-69)	a. Active *N-* with optional specified object

	*Udah	ia', sida' N-inum* (*beram*).
	already	that	3p	ACT-drink (k.o.alcohol)

'After that they drank (*beram*).'

b. Antipassive *ba-* with optional specified object

Udah   ia',   sida'   ba-inum (*beram*).
already   that   3p   ANPASS-drink (k.o.alcohol)
'After that they (were) engaged in (*beram*)-drinking.'

7.2.7.2   *Ba-* with nouns or noun phrases

Besides with transitive verbs, *ba-* is also productively used with nouns, noun phrases, and nominal compounds, .e.g:

(7-70)   *Urang Mualang biasa   ba-uma,*
          person   M   habitually   ANPAS-dry.rice.field

          nisi'   sawah.
          EXIST.NEG   wet.rice.field
          'The Mualang people usually do dry rice field cultivation, there are no wet rice fields.'

(7-71)   *Ntawa'   ba-buah.*
          k.o.tree   ANPAS-fruit
          'The *ntawa'* tree bears fruit.'

(7-72)   *Ba-laki–bini,   bar-anak   ka Ruay Mana.*
          ANPAS-husband–wife   ANPAS-child to   R   M
          'Getting married, (they) gave birth to R M.'

In (7-70) *ba-uma* means all kinds of activities usually done in association to the *uma* 'dry rice field'. In association with *buah* 'fruit' as in (7-71) it means to produce fruits, and this naturally occurs with a non-human fruit bearer. That is why the "actor"-subject may be a non-human, e.g. a tree. What a living creature primarily does socio-culturally with children is to have them or to produce them as in (7-72). In general, then, semantically *ba-* clauses express that the actor-subject carries out an activity that is habitually or generally done on or associated with the noun base. The nominal base together with the prefix *ba-* forms the verbal word. In other words, *ba-* has a derivational function and the patient itself is incorporated in the verbal form. The derived meanings vary. Although some derivatives seem to show semantic regularities, they are basically idiosyncratic, that is they are partly due to socio-cultural specificities, e.g.:

(7-73)   Common derived meanings of *ba-* + noun ("<noun>" indicates whatever the nominal base refers to)

a. Produce <noun>:   *bar-anak* (child)   'give birth, have (a) child(ren)'
                             ba-buah (fruit)   'have fruit'
                             ba-telu' (egg)   'produce eggs'

	ba-gu' (sound)	'produce a sound, noisy'
b. Possess <noun>:	*ba-pala'* (head)	'have a head, be headed'
	ba-rega (price)	'be valued (lit. have a price or value)'
	ba-tabiat (behavior)	'behave (lit. have a behavior)'
	ba-nama (name)	'be famous (lit. have a name)'
c. Spend <noun> (with temporal nouns):	*ba-malam* (night)	'spend the night'
	ba-tawun (year)	'spend a year/years
	ba-bulan (month)	'spend a month/months'
d. Have a relationship to <noun>:	*ba-laki* (husband)	'get married (of a woman), have a husband'
	ba-bini (wife)	'get married (of a man), have a wife'
	ba-keka' (brother-in-law)	'have a brother-in-law relationship, address s.o. as a brother-in-law'
e. "Irregular" activities associated with <noun>:	*ba-uma* (dry rice field)	'do cultivation in the field'
	ba-rumah (house)	'live, settle'
	ba-peN-tam'ak (NOM-plant)	'do cultivation'
	ba-papan (board, bed)	'give birth'
	ba-rim'a' (forest)	'work the forest to open a rice field'
	ba-panaw (*panu*, k.o. skin desease)	'have or suffer *panu* desease'

Some noun bases can be reduplicated for intensifying plurality, e.g.:

(7-74)   *Ba-* + noun + Reduplication
       ba-ari-ari (ANPAS-day-RED) 'spend days and days'
       ba-bulan-bulan (ANPAS-month-RED) 'spend months and months'
       ba-jalung-jalung (ANPAS-bowl-RED) 'exist in an amount of many
        bowls'
       ba-macam-macam (ANPAS-kind-RED) 'various (lit. have many kinds)'

Although the base to which *ba-* is attached is a noun rather than a verb, I prefer to label the function of *ba-* as antipassive, based on the following considerations: a typical function of a prefix may not always work consistently, some irregularities may still exist. The active *N-*, for example, does not always require an agentive subject and a patient object, but may appear to be used intransitively. In the same vein, *ba-* is not consistently employed with a verbal base, but may also be affixed to a noun base. Although it is attached to a noun base, the resultant meaning it performs still has an antipassive element, that is, the event or the action does not directly affect an object but is generically associated with it. Nouns that are used with the antipassive prefix *ba-* normally cannot undergo "zero" derivation to become

a verb that can have the active *N-* attached, e.g. *uma* 'rice field' cannot become **N-uma*.

As explained in 7.1.3.1 a number of nouns may be viewed as undergoing a morphologically unmarked derivation to yield a verb. *Ba-* attached to such bases may be derivationally ambiguous, e.g.:

(7-75)   *Ba-* + nouns or denominalized verbs
           ba-laban (*aba'*) (ANPAS-enemy/fight (with)) 'be engaged in fighting
               (with)'
           ba-pen'ing (*burung*) (ANPAS-ear/listen (to bird)) 'be engaged
               in (bird-) listening'
           ba-tugal (*lubang*) (ANPAS-stick.for.making.holes (hole))   'be
               engaged in (hole-) dibbling'
           ba-palu' (*urang*) (ANPAS-mallet/strike (person)) 'be engaged
               in (person-) striking'
           ba-ili' (*sungay*) (ANPAS-downstream/go.downstream (river)) 'be
               engaged in going downstream (a river)'
           ba-kubur (*bangkay*) (ANPAS-grave/bury (body)) 'be engaged in
               (body-)burying'

7.2.7.3   *Ba-* with other types of wordclasses

Ba- also occurs with a few static intransitive verbs, adverbs and numerals. Basically it means to carry out an activity in the manner or state expressed in the base, hence such forms are often used adverbially (some always appear in a reduplicated form), e.g:

(7-76)   *ba-rami* (ANPAS-crowded/busy) 'have fun, have a party'
           ba-buruh (ANPAS-hurry) 'act in a hurry, be hurried'
           ba-lebih (ANPAS-more) 'have more, be superfluous'
           ba-dua (ANPAS-two) 'act together in pairs'
           ba-lubah-lubah (ANPAS-slow.and.quiet-RED) 'be slow and quiet'
           ba-amat-amat (ANPAS-true-RED) 'be true, really'

The following are some examples of their use:

(7-77)   *Da   kampung   nya'   mayuh   urang   aday   ba-rami.*
           LOC   village   that   many   person   exist   ANPAS-crowded
           'In the village many people were having fun (i.e. having a party).'

(7-78)   *Sida'   ba-buruh   angkat.*
           3p   ANPAS-hurry   go
           'They were in a hurry to start off.'

7.2.7.4   *Ba-* with precategorial forms

Ba- also occurs with a few precategorial roots. The following are some examples:

(7-79)   *ba-ran'aw* 'go on a visit'
            ba-guraw 'joke around'
            ba-lepa 'take a rest'

7.2.7.5   *Ba-* with compounds

The antipassive *ba-* can also be used with nominal and verbal compounds. A general discussion about this will be provided in section 8.2 in Chapter 8. As an illustration, consider *ba-laki-bini* 'become husband and wife, get married' in (7-72) above.

7.2.8   The prefix *te-*: Unvolitional-resultative middle voice

It is problematic to classify *te-* clauses in terms of a voice typology, such as proposed in Payne (1997) and Givón (2001a, b). Syntactically it resembles a passive in that the patient appears as subject and the only argument of the clause. On the other hand, the "agent" also can be subject, although in that case the clause is not active, and the agent is not agentive (i.e. not conscious, volitional, controlling, initiating). Therefore, since it seems to be in-between structurally, I will tentatively (mostly for structural reasons) label *te-* clauses as coding some variant of middle voice (glossed as MID), that is, an unvolitional-resultative one, which is different from the one mentioned in 7.2.2.1. The morphophonemics of *te-* are discussed in Chapter 2. The morphosyntactic and semantic features of *te-* constructions are as follows:

1) the verb is marked with the prefix *te-*;
2) if the patient is the subject, it constitutes the only argument in the clause (7-80). The "uncontrolling" agent may appear but is not an independent argument (7-81);
3) the agent is not agentive according to its typical function (cf. the agent in a typical active *N-* clause). It does not have control over the occurrence of the event. The uncontrolling agent can become the subject, but the patient has to occupy an indirect object position, marked with the preposition *ka*. The patient is obligatory (7-82);
4) the clause is syntactically intransitive, i.e. it contains a subject that is not typical agentive and there is no patient (direct) object;
5) semantically, *te-* clauses mostly apply to transitive verbs, with a few intransitive ones. They describe a situation in which the event occurs

without volition by the agent. There are two basic meanings in *te-*
clauses:[15]

    a) unintentionality
    b) ability and/or possibility

The following examples are typical *te-* clauses:

(7-80)   *Ia*   *te-bunuh.*
              3s   MID-kill
              Patient-S
              'He got killed (not by an intentional act).'

(7-81)   *Selawar   m'ih*   *te-bay'*   *(ulih) ku.*
              pants   2s.masc MID-bring by   1s
              Patient-S   Agent
              'Your pants were accidently carried away (with me).'

(7-82)   *Ia*   *te-bunuh*   *ka sida'.*
              3s   MID-kill   to 3p
              Agent-S   Patient-IO
              '(It happened to him that) he killed them unintentionally.'
              '(It could just happen that) he would be able to kill them.'

If there is only one participant in the clause, the subject is definitely the patient, as in
(7-80). If both the uncontrolling agent and patient appear, one of them has to be
marked after the verb. It is the agent that is marked without a preposition or with the
preposition *ulih*, as in (7-81). This case is similar to the agent of the *da-* passive. It is
the patient if marked with the preposition *ka*, as in (7-82). This *ka*-patient is required
in the clause; otherwise the clause becomes (7-80). Since the *ka*-patient is
obligatory, I consider it an indirect object.

    The semantics of *te-* clauses is worthy of a detailed study in the future. Here
some preliminary insights are provided. Since the event occurs without volition,
there are basically two meanings that appear in *te-* clauses: 1) unintentionality and 2)
ability and/or possibility. The semantic interpretation depends at least on the
following aspects (and context can help in clarifying the intended meaning):

    a) agent- vs. patient-subject
    b) realis vs. irrealis event
    c) types of verbs.

A semantic aspect of unintentionality typically appears when the event is realis or
has already happened (past-perfect), as in (7-80) and the first interpretation in (7-
82), regardless of the semantic role of the subject. The ability and/or possibility
interpretation most likely pertains to clauses where the subject is the uncontrolling

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[15] The prefix *te-* in the Iban of Sarawak encodes these two meanings as well (cf. Asmah
1981:61ff).

human agent and the event is irrealis, that is, it is in the future tense (7-82, second interpretation), negative-past tense (7-83), or conditional (7-84):

(7-83)   *Naday   antu   te-inum   ka   darah.*
           NEG   ghost   MID-drink   to   blood
           '(Contrary to their intention) the ghosts were not able to drink (up) the blood.'

(7-84)   *Naday sida' te-temu   ka m'ih   asa   m'ih*
           NEG   3p   MID-find   to 2s.masc whenever   2s.masc

           selabuk   ditu'.
           hide   here
           '(It would happen to them that) they would not be able to find you whenever you hide here.'

Ability and possibility have a semantic correlate. By itself ability includes a possibility, and this is most likely to occur with prototypical transitive events/verbs. A possibility meaning alone, by itself, occurs in an irrealis (future) event and with less typical transitive verbs.

In all cases, unintentionality and ability and/or possibility suggest a common meaning, namely that the event would occur or occured without volition.

An explanation needs to be provided for the occurrence of the uncontrolling agent as subject of the clause. One possible answer to this is semantic. Since the "supposed" agent, although directly involved in the event, does not have control over what has happened or could happen, he/she (and not only the patient) could be to some lesser degree "affected" by the uncontrolled event. In all contexts examined thus far, when the uncontrolling agent appears as subject (and the patient is "demoted" into the indirect object position), the clause suggests that the agent is focused and gets "affected" in some way since the occurrence or non-occurrence of the event is beyond his/her expectation. For example, in negative clauses as in (7-83 and 7-84), the events were detrimental to the uncontrolling agents (*antu* in (7-83) and *sida'* in (7-84)), since they (i.e. *antu* and *sida'*) actually wanted the event to happen (according to the stories). On the other hand, in affirmative (non-negative) clauses the event takes place or can take place beyond the uncontrolling agent's will or expectation and this could be detrimental to him/her (e.g. for bearing any consequences caused by the event), even though it would seem as though he/she is the one who is acting against a patient. This kind of a situation is more apparent in verbs like *teguk* 'drink once in one "movement" (of liquid)':

(7-85)   a.   *Ipuh   te-teguk   ulih ia.*
                  k.o.poison MID-drink.at.once   by   3s
                  'The poison accidentally got swallowed by him.'

           b.   *Ia te-teguk   ka   ipuh.*
                  3s MID-drink.at.once   to   k.o.poison
                  '(It happened to him that) he accidentally swallowed the poison.'

In (7-85a) *ipuh* is supposedly a "normal" patient, but it is less affected, actually. It is the uncontrolling agent *ia* '3s' in (7-85b) that is definitely affected by the event. If such an uncontrolling agent-subject would be considered as a kind of "patient", and the supposed patient alone would be considered as something like an external "causer", then the construction looks like a passive. Alternatively, then, *te-* clauses could be regarded as coding an (unvolitional-resultative) passive.[16]

   Te- also occurs with some intransive verbs, such as *te-tinuk* (MID-sleep) 'fall/get asleep', *te-duduk* (MID-sit) 'be in a sitting position'. Such verbs also involve unvolitionality.

   Some forms seem to be historically frozen with the prefix *te-*. However, since we have no synchronic evidence for the use of the assumed roots, such forms are at best considered lexical, e.g. *tekanyat* 'be surprised', *tepelanting* 'fallen headlong', *tepuruk* 'fallen vertically from a slippery place', *terentak* 'shocked'.

7.2.9   The prefix *ke-*: inchoative state

The use of verbal *ke-* is not productive. A few occurences in the data show that *ke-*clauses are intransitive, that is, they only have one argument, which is the patient-experiencer subject. Basically they have an inchoative meaning (glossed as INCH), combined with a notion of unexpectedness, e.g.:

(7-86)   *ke-ingat* (INCH-remember) 'get to remember unexpectedly'
          ke-taw' (INCH-know) 'be known (caught) unexpectedly'
          ke-tin'uk (INCH-sleep) 'fall asleep unexpectedly'
          ke-pikir (INCH-think) 'unexpectedly think (about something)'
          ke-dinga (INCH-hear) 'unexpectedly get to hear (something)'
          ke-putus (INCH-broken) 'get broken unexpectedly'

Some examples in clauses:

(7-87)   *Ku ke-taw'   ia.*
          1s   INCH-know   3s
          'I got caught by him.'

(7-88)   *Ia   teka   N-cabut   tulang   rusuk   ia, baru'*
          3s   right.away   ACT-pull.out   bone   rib   3s   then

          pen'ing   ku   ke-putus.
          ear   1s   INCH-broken
          'All of a sudden he took out his rib (which he used as a machete), then my ear got cut off.' (A pig was fighting with a man)

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[16] In the cognate *ter-* clauses in Malay/Indonesian a passive sense is more apparent and dominant. However, some cases still show an uncontrolling agent-subject, e.g. *dia ter-minum air* (3s-*ter*.drink-water) 'he accidentally drank the water'.

   The Iban language of Sarawak has corresponding *te-* clauses which are very similar to those of Mualang. However, it seems that the preposition *ka* of Mualang corresponds with a suffix *–ka* in Iban (see Asmah 1981:61ff).

Being an experiencer, the subject undergoes an event caused by another participant, as is apparent in (7-87). Note that the participant *ia* '3s' in this example is not a typical agent since he/she did not carry out any volitional or intentional action. Rather, the event simply occurred to him/her.

Some forms like the following seem to be lexically frozen with the prefix: *kesuput* 'compelled', *kelupa* 'forget', *kemedih* 'get sad'.

7.2.10   *Kena'*: adversative passive

Kena' is used as a regular main verb, meaning 'afflict; hit (a target); put on (clothes)'. However, it can also function as an auxiliary verb to denote adversative passive. The following are the morphosyntactic and semantic features of the *kena'* adversative passive:

> 1) the adversatively affected patient is the subject of the clause;
> 2) the agent is optional. If the agent is expressed, it appears either directly after the verb, or in an *ulih* agent-phrase (as in the *da-* passive);
> 3) both auxiliary *kena'* and the main verb appear unmarked morphologically;
> 4) semantically, the *kena'* adversative emphasizes the patient having an action inflicted upon it. The agent is de-focused and unvolitionality is not implied, although the event may tend to be unvolitional. The adversative situation is most likely to occur with typically transitive verbs with a clearly physically affected patient and punctual action, e.g. *bunuh* 'kill', *tim'ak* 'shoot', *pantap* 'slash', *pangkung* 'hit, beat', *palu'* 'strike'.

Some examples in clauses (ADVR = adversative):

(7-89)   *Ukuy   kena'   bunuh   (ulih)   sida'.*
dog   ADVR   kill   by   3p
'The dog got killed by them (was inflicted with their killing).'

(7-90)   *Ku kena'   bula'   ia.*
1s ADVR   deceive   3s
'I got deceived by him (was inflicted with his deceiving).'

(7-91)   *Uma   urang   kena'   pan'uk.*
rice.field   person   ADVR   burn
'The rice field of other people got burned (was inflicted with the burning).'

7.2.11   Analytic reflexive clauses with *diri'*

Prototypically in a reflexive construction the subject and the object refer to the same entity (Payne (1997:198ff). Reflexives in Mualang can be classified as being

analytic, that is, they are marked by the invariable reflexive pronoun *diri'* 'self'. Syntactically the *diri'* reflexives do not represent a specific type of voice construction. Since by definition the subject acts upon itself, voice constructions that are used to express a reflexive meaning typically have an agent(-like) subject. The verb usually has one of the following affixes: active *N-* (7-92 – 7-93), the antipassive *ba-* (7-94), zero stative with an agent-like subject (7-95), and the unvolitional middle *te-* (7-96). As a pronoun, *diri'* may occupy various syntactic roles.

(7-92)   *Ia   N-tapuk   diri'   ari   bini   ia.* (= Active, direct object)
          3s   ACT-hide   self   from   wife   3s
          'He hid himself from his wife.'

(7-93)   *Ia   ba-cakap   ka   diri'.* (= Antipassive, dative-oblique)
          3s   ANPAS-chat   to   self
          'He talked to himself.'

(7-94)   *Ia   ka'   idup   aba'   diri'.* (= Zero stative, associative-oblique)
          3s   want   live   with   self
          'She wants to live by herself.'

(7-95)   *Ia   N-pantap   kayu,   te-pantap   ka   diri'.*
          3s   ACT-slash   wood   MID-slash   to   self
          (= Unvolitional middle, indirect object)
          'He cut the wood, (but) it cut him(self).'

Diri' can also express a possessor if that is coreferential with the subject:

(7-96)   *Ia   N-padah   ka   laki   diri'.* (= Active, possessor)
          3s   ACT-say   to   husband   self
          'She said to her own husband.'

Finally, *diri'* can also function as the subject to mean 'oneself'. Such a use of *diri'* is contrastive or emphatic in comparison to ordinary pronouns like *m'ih* '2s.masc' or *ia* '3s'.

(7-97)   *Diri'   ka'   kikay?*
          self   want   to.where
          'Where are you yourself going?' (I mean you and not others)

(7-98)   *Diri'   budu.*
          self   stupid
          'You yourself (and not others) are a fool.'
          'She/he herself/himself (and not others) is a fool.'

Some verbs may be in part reflexive lexically, and may appear with *ba-*, as in (7-69) under 7.2.7.1 above.

7.2.12   Reciprocal clauses

Prototypically reciprocal clauses express that the agent and the patient act upon each other. They are different from reflexives in that reciprocals primarily involve two unique entities and that the action is mutual; whereas with reflexives this is not the case. E.g. in the reflexive *sida' ba-kaca* (3p-ANPAS.mirror) 'they saw themselves in the mirror' (and not *they saw each other in the mirror), both the agent and the (implied) patient refer to the same individual. Reciprocal constructions are formed in two ways:

> a) with the antipassive *ba-* construction;
> b) with the use of the anaphoric operator *pangan*, basically meaning 'friend, partner'

Ba- reciprocals have been introduced in 7.2.7.1. Syntactically, this construction type applies only to verbs that lexically may indicate a reciprocal action, e.g. *ba-bunuh* 'kill (each other)', *ba-temu* 'meet (each other)', *ba-laya'* 'fight (each other)', *ba-cakap* 'chat with (each other)'. With such *ba-* verbs, the subject is always plural, covering both the agent and the patient of the event. A repetitive reciprocal action is expressed by reduplication (see 8.3.1 of Chapter 8).

For verbs that lexically cannot express a reciprocal action, it seems that the word *pangan* 'friend, partner' can be used to derive a construction with a reciprocal sense. As attested in the data, the *pangan* reciprocals are used with the active prefix *N-* (7-99 – 7-100) and antipassive *ba-* verbs (7-101 – 7-102). With antipassive *ba-*verbs *pangan* is introduced by preposition *ka* 'to':

(7-99)   *Asa   anak   ba-laki-bini,   apay   aba'   inay*
          when   child   ANPAS-husband-wife   father   and   mother

          dua   piak   N-kumay   pangan   "isan".
          two   part   ACT-call   partner   *isan*
          'When children are married, parents of both parties address each other with "*isan*".

(7-100)   *Asa   naday   menyadi',   tentu   sida'   N-aru   pangan.*
           when   NEG   sibling   certain   3p   ACT-disturb   partner
           'If (they) would not be siblings, they would certainly disturb each other.'

(7-101)   *Sida'   ba-duay   ka   pangan.*
           3p   ANPAS-sibling.in.law   to   partner
           'They addressed each other as sibling-in-law/they have a sibling-in-law relationship to each other due their wives being siblings.'

(7-102)   *Kemua   ba-duay   ka   pangan.*
           1d.excl   ANPAS-brother.in.law   to   partner
           'We two have a brother-in-law relationship with one another due to our wives being siblings.'

Reciprocality does not change the semantic difference between the "active *N-*" and "antipassive *ba-*" voice types.

7.3   **Advancements of peripheral elements as arguments**

The term "advancement" is used here rather loosely. It refers to a construction in which a peripheral participant is "advanced" or "promoted" into a (core) argument position, which in Mualang can be the grammatical direct object or the subject of the clause (cf. a typical definition in Payne 1997:186ff). The operation, as attested thus far in the corpus, only applies to the peripheral participants of benefactive, locative and uncontrolling agent against the (core) argument patient. In all cases the peripheral elements come to occupy the syntactic position typical for the patient of a transitive event, whereas the patient itself is "demoted" into an indirect object, which is marked with the preposition *ka.* In the active voice construction an erstwhile peripheral benefactive or locative participant, is placed right after the verb (the direct object position), while the "old" patient-direct object becomes the indirect object.[17] Examples (7-103) and (7-104) show the involvement of typical benefactive and locative peripherals respectively:

(7-103)   a.   *Sida'   N-beri'   tanah   ka   ku.*
                        3p   ACT-give   land   to   1s
                        Agent-S   V   Patient-O   Benefactive-Oblique
                        'They gave some land to me.'

              b.   *Sida'   N-beri'   ku   ka   tanah.*
                        3p   ACT-give   1s   to   land
                        Agent-S   V   Benefactive-O   Patient-IO
                        'They gave me some land.'

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[17] The advancements in Mualang partially correspond to the function of the suffix *-kan* in standard Indonesian and *–ka* in the Iban of Sarawak (cf. e.g. Asmah 1981 for Iban). In Indonesian, for example, *-kan* is used, among others, to advance a benefactive participant into a direct object position (such as in (b) below; cf. (a) in which the benefactive participant is an oblique). However, the syntactic status of the patient participant differs in these languages: in Indonesian it may be considered a "second direct object", whereas in Mualang it becomes an oblique. Compare the following examples:

              (a)   *Ayah   mem-beli buku untuk saya.*
                          father ACT-buy book for   1s
                          'Father bought a book for me.'

              (b)   *Ayah   mem-beli-kan   saya buku.*
                          father ACT-buy-*kan* 1s   book
                          'Father bought me a book.'

(7-104) a. *Ia   N-isi'   ay'   ka kuali.*
               3s   ACT-content water   to   cooking.pan
               Agent-S V   Patient-O   Locative-Oblique
               'She is putting water into the pan.'

      b. *Ia   N-isi'   kuali   ka ay'.*
               3s   ACT-content cooking.pan to water
               Agent-S V   Locative-O   Patient-IO
               'She is filling the pan with water.'

As seen in (7-103) and (7-104), word order determines the direct object position of an argument, that is, it directly follows the *N*-verb. In the (a) examples, the patient is the primary (direct) object, and the *ka*-headed elements (benefactive in (7-103) and locative in (7-104)) are oblique, whose absence cannot disturb the basic meaning of the clause. In the (b) examples the benefactive (7-103) and locative (7-104) occupy the direct object position, whereas the patients in both cases are expressed in the prepositional phrase headed by *ka*. They are required, otherwise *ku* '1s' in (7-103b) and *kuali* 'pan' in (7-104b) will be interpreted as the patient (e.g. *Ia ngisi' kuali* may mean 'she is putting the pan (into some other location)'). Also, if *kuali* in (7-104b) is interpreted as the patient, it would be the *kuali* itself that was put in the water and not the other way around. Hence *ay'* 'water' in (b) has to be considered an argument, namely the indirect object.[18]

More examples of advancement of benefactives:

(7-105) a. *Inay N-beli kayin baju ka ia.*
               mother ACT-buy clothes shirt to 3s
               'Mother bought clothes for her.'

      b. *Inay N-beli ia ka kain baju.*
               mother ACT-buy 3s to clothes shirt
               'Mother bought her clothes.'

(7-106) a. *Sida' N-ganti selawar baju ka Apay Aluy.*
               3p   ACT-change pants shirt to father A
               'They put pants and shirts on Aluy's father.'

      b. *Sida' N-ganti ia ka selawar baju.*
               3p   ACT-change 3s to pants shirt
               'They dressed him in pants and shirts.'

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[18] I have found, thus far, only one case of the so-called "dative shift" in Paternus (2001:29): *kita' meri' ku tanah* (2p-*N*.give-1s-land) 'you all gave me land', in which the patient *tanah* 'land' appears without the preposition *ka* (cf. example (7-103)). My informant rejected such a construction as being atypical for Mualang. In all cases that I have observed the patient is marked with *ka.*

More examples of advancement of locatives:

(7-107)   a.   *Sida'   N-gulay   gula   ka   beram.*
                 3p   ACT-mix   sugar   to   k.o.alcohol
                 'They mixed sugar into the *beram*.'

           b.   *Sida'   N-gulay   beram   ka   gula.*
                 3p   ACT-mix   k.o.alcohol   to   sugar
                 'They mixed the alcohol with sugar.'

(7-108)   a.   *Sida'   N-pe-lintang   kayu   ka   jalay.*
                 3p   ACT-CAUS-block   wood   to   road
                 'They put wood on the road (to block it).'

           b.   *Sida'   N-pe-lintang   jalay   ka   kayu.*
                 3p   ACT-CAUS-block   road   to   wood
                 'They blocked the road with wood.'

The possibility of benefactives and locatives appearing as core arguments is also evidenced in *da*-passive and inverse constructions. In these constructions they come to occupy the subject position while the former patient is coded in the *ka* prepositional phrase as the indirect object. Examples (7-109b – 7-110b) show *da*-passives with benefactive subject (note that in (7-109b) the benefactive subject *ku* '1s' is dropped):

(7-109)   a.   *Babi*   *da-bunuh*   *ngaw*   *ia*   *N-pakay.*
                 pig   PASS-kill   for   3s   ACT-eat
                 Patient-S   *da*-V
                 'Pigs were killed for him to eat.'

           b.   *Ku   din   nyamay,   Da-aduh   N-pakay,*
                 1s   there.(far) comfortable   PASS-arrange   N-eat

                 N-inum   beram,   da-bunuh   ka   babi,
                 ACT-drink   k.o.alcohol   PASS-kill to   Pig
                                               da-V   Patient-IO

                 da-pulah   ka   jimut.
                 PASS-make   to   k.o.snack
                 da-V   Patient-IO
                 'I lived there comfortably, eating was prepared, drinking *beram*, pigs were killed (for me), snacks were made (for me).'

(7-110)   a.   *Tanah   da-beri'   sida'   ka   ku.*
                 land   PASS-give   3p   to   1s
                 Patient-S   *da*-V   Agent   Benefactive-Oblique
                 '(Some) land was given by them to me.'

　　　　b.　*Ku*　　　　　*da-beri'*　　　　*sida'*　　*ka*　*tanah.*
　　　　　　1s　　　　　　PASS-give　　　3p　　　to　　land
　　　　　　Benefactive-S　*da*-V　　　　　Agent　　　　Patient-IO
　　　　　　'I was given (some) land by them.'

Examples (7-111b and 7-112b) show *da*-passives with locative subject:

(7-111)　a.　*Kayu*　　　　*da-pe-lintang*　　　　*ka*　*jalay.*
　　　　　　　wood　　　　PASS-CAUS-block　　　to　　road
　　　　　　　Patient-S　　*da*-V　　　　　　　　　　　Locative-Oblique
　　　　　　　'The wood was used to block the road.' (Lit. 'Wood was blocked
　　　　　　　to the road')

　　　　　b.　*Jalay*　　　　*da-pe-lintang*　　　*ka*　*kayu.*
　　　　　　　road　　　　　PASS-CAUS-block　　to　　wood
　　　　　　　Locative-S　　*da*-V　　　　　　　　　　Patient-IO
　　　　　　　'The road was blocked with the wood.'

(7-112)　a.　*Darah*　　　*da-unsut*　　*ka*　*mulut*　*ku.*
　　　　　　　blood　　　　PASS-smear　　to　　lips　　1s
　　　　　　　Patient-S　　*da*-V　　　　　　　Locative-Oblique
　　　　　　　'Blood was smeared on my lips.'

　　　　　b.　*Mulut*　*ku*　*da-unsut*　　*ka*　*darah.*
　　　　　　　lips　　　1s　　PASS-smear　　to　　blood
　　　　　　　Locative-S　　　*da*-V　　　　　　Patient-IO
　　　　　　　'My lips were smeared with blood.'

Examples (7-113b) and (7-114b) show the inverse with a benefactive subject (the agent is dropped):

(7-113)　a.　*Darah*　　*antu*　　*beri'*　*ka*　*sida'.*
　　　　　　　blood　　　ghost　　give　　to　　3p
　　　　　　　Patient-S　Agent　　V　　　　　Benefactive-Oblique
　　　　　　　'Blood was given to them by the ghosts.'

　　　　　b.　*Kami*　　　　*dulaw*　　*beri'*　*ka*　*darah.*
　　　　　　　1p.excl　　　　first　　　give　　to　　blood
　　　　　　　Benefactive-S　　　　　　V　　　　Patient-IO
　　　　　　　'We first were given the blood.'

(7-114)　a.　*Tikay*　*kita*　　　*ancaw*　*ka*　*temuay.*
　　　　　　　mat　　　1p.incl　　spread　　to　　guest
　　　　　　　Patient-S　Agent　　V　　　　　Benefactive-Oblique
　　　　　　　'A mat we spread (on the floor) for the guest.'

b. *Temuay   kita   ancaw   ka tikay,*
    guest   1p.incl   spread   to mat
    Benefactive-S Agent   V   Patient-IO

    kemay ka biday.
    spread to rattan.mat
    V   Patient-IO
    'For the guest we spread a mat, we open out a rattan mat.'

Example (7-115b) shows the inverse with a locative subject:

(7-115)   a. *Kayu   urang   pe-lintang   ka jalay.*
            wood   person CAUS-block   to road
            Patient-S   V   Locative-Oblique
            '(A piece of) wood was used by people to block the road.'

           b. *Jalay   urang   pe-lintang   ka kayu.*
            wood   person CAUS-block   to road
            Locative-S   V   Patient-IO
            'The road people blocked with (a piece of) wood.'

The following instances with *beri'* 'give' have been found where the benefactive is simply fronted in the prepositional phrase without becoming the subject, e.g.:[19]

(7-116)   *Ngaw   Bujang   Jat   ku   beri'   ka   buah   kemayaw.*
        for   B   J   1s   give   to   fruit   k.o.fruit
        'For BJ I will give a *kemayaw* fruit.'

(7-117)   *Ngaw   aki'   ku   beri'   ka   ubi.*
        for   grandfather   1s   give   to   cassava
        'For my grandfather I will give cassavas.'

In another case in (7-118) below, *darah* 'blood' is not expressed as a direct object but rather as an oblique with the preposition *ka.* Here transitivity of the action *N-inum* 'ACT-drink' obviously becomes decreased, most likely due to the fact (i.e. according to the content of the story) that the action of drinking by the agent *kita* '1p.incl' never takes place with blood as a suffering patient:

(7-118)   *Kati akal kita? Kita   tu' bila jama   N-inum*
        how   mind 1p.incl 1p.incl TOP when habitually ACT-drink

        ka darah? Naday   sa-sang'up.
        to blood   NEG   RED-be.able/prepared
        'What should we do? As for us, when do we ever drink blood? We won't be able (to do that).' (They were forced to drink blood)

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[19] These examples were collected from some young speakers.

In the unvolitional middle *te-* the uncontrolling agent can also occupy the subject position, which is typically occupied by the obligatory patient (see 7.2.8). Thus, in the example (7-80) and (7-81) above the subject is definitely a patient. But, if it is moved, it has to be marked with *ka*, as in (7-82). The possibility of the uncontrolling agent occupying the subject position of *te-* clauses is probably due to its being more like a patient semantically.

More research is needed in order to establish the semantic nature of the advancements. It seems that such an operation applies more easily to the locative element than to the benefactive. As for the benefactive, a great number of examples were found in the *da-* passive clauses than in active *N-* clauses. It was easier for my informants to construct or understand advancements of benefactive in the *da-* passives than in the active *N-* clauses. Also, it is easier to have a benefactive advancement with verbs that inherently imply the existence of a benefactive such as *beri'* 'give' and *beli* 'buy', than with, for example, the verb *bunuh* 'kill'. In the second clause of the following example a benefactive is simply implied:

(7-119)   *Nang   arap   nu'   urang.   Pulah   ka   tali!*
           don't   hope   POSS   person   make   to   rope
           'Don't expect (to use) someone else's. Make a rope (for yourself)!'