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

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## 9 PRAGMATICALLY MARKED STRUCTURES

This chapter discusses major types of primarily pragmatically-motivated structures, that is, structures that are markedly used to express *pragmatic statuses*.<sup>1</sup> This latter term has to “do with choices speakers make about how to efficiently adapt their utterances to the context, including the addressee’s presumed ‘mental state’” (Payne 1997:261). Payne notes the following pragmatic notions that are often used to describe pragmatically marked structures: *given*, *new*, *presupposed*, *focus*, *topic*, *identifiable*, and *referential*. In what follows the morphosyntactic devices employed for such structures are described, as well as their most typical functions in discourse. However, much study still needs to be done in the future with respect to their discourse function. Thus the present analyses concerning this issue are preliminary in nature.

This chapter is divided into several main sections as follows: identifiability, referentiality and anaphoric reference (9.1), focus articulation (9.2), marked-topic articulation (9.3), illocutionary markers (9.4), negation (9.5), non-declarative speech acts (9.6), and exclamations (9.7).

### 9.1 Identifiability, referentiality and anaphoric reference

This section will discuss Identifiability (9.1.1), Referentiality (9.1.2), and Anaphoric reference (9.1.3).

#### 9.1.1 Identifiability

Identifiability is concerned with the speaker’s assumption about a particular referent being identifiable by the addressee (Payne 1997, Ch. 10; cf. Givón (2001, Chapter 10) who uses the term “definiteness”). Mualang utilizes the following grammatical marking for coding the identifiability status of a referent: the numeral prefix *se-* ‘ONE’, spatial demonstratives *tu* ‘this’ and *ia* ‘that’, temporal adverbs and apposition. Each of these is explained below.

##### *a. The numeral prefix se- ‘ONE’ plus a classifier*

The numeral prefix *se-* has been discussed in 4.1.2.2.1 of Chapter 4. Besides being used for counting, *se-* + *classifier* is also typically used for asserting the

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<sup>1</sup> This chapter owes much to the outline for analysis proposed in Payne (1997, Chapter 10). In general I have also much benefited from the discussion regarding pragmatic issues in Givón (2001a, b).

indefiniteness of a newly introduced entity. By using it, the speaker assumes that he or she is referring to something that the addressee would not be able to identify. Reference may be either referential (specific) as in (9-1), or non-referential (non-specific) as in (9-2). Context usually determines the interpretation.

- (9-1) *Jeman dulaw da se-buah kampung aday*  
 time previously LOC ONE-CLASS village exist

*ini' aba' ucu' tay miskin aba' tay*  
 grandmother and grandchild REL poor and REL

*pedih idup.*  
 difficult live

‘Once in a village there were a grandmother and a grandchild who were poor and who lived in difficult circumstances.’ (The opening of a story)

- (9-2) *Ku N-pinta' da-putar s-uti' lagu ja'.*  
 1s ACT-ask PASS-turn ONE-CLASS song ja'  
 ‘I am asking to just play a song (for me).’

#### b. Spatial demonstratives

Spatial demonstratives *tu'* ‘this’, *ia'* ‘that’, *nyin* ‘that over there’, and *nyun* ‘that far away’ have been discussed in 4.1.2.1 of Chapter 4. They are the most common device to mark a NP as identifiable or definite. A NP is modified in this way normally when it is mentioned for the second time, or when it has not appeared for some time in a discourse so that the demonstrative helps the addressee to recall it.

- (9-3) *..., jaku' nsia ia'.*  
 say human that  
 ‘..., said the/that man.’

- (9-4) *Tajaw tu' ku temu da sabar bubu nyin.*  
 jar this 1s find LOC fence k.o.fish.trap that.over.there  
 ‘This jar I found at the fence of the fish trap far over there.’

#### c. Temporal adverbs

Several temporal words such as *tadi'* ‘a while ago’, *kemari'* ‘yesterday’, can also be used as a device for locating a particular referent. As the term suggests, such “temporal deictics” refer back to the referent on the basis of time rather than space as the spatial demonstratives do in “spatial” discourse. E.g.:

- (9-5) *Dini miak tadi' tih?*  
 where child a.while.ago tih  
 ‘Where is the child that was just here a while ago?’ (lit. ‘Where is the “a-while-ago”-child?’)

- (9-6) *Duwit kemari', kati bah?*  
 money yesterday how bah  
 'That money of yesterday, how about it?' (lit. "Yesterday's money",  
 how is it?')

(9-5) was uttered at the moment of a "discourse vacuum" (i.e. no previous conversation was held; the speaker went somewhere for a moment and came back finding out that the child was gone). In such a situation an actual time reference is used rather than a spatial discourse marker. (9-6) is similar in that the context relies on the temporal reference of the event.

*d. Apposition*

Apposition is also helpful in re-enforcing the identifiability of a referent in the form of a (paraphrastic) "afterthought", e.g.:

- (9-7) *Baru' pulay ka kisah ia', kisah sida' Bejit Manay ....*  
 then go.home to story that story 3p B M  
 'Then going back to that story, the story of Bejit Manay and his  
 siblings ....'
- (9-8) *Putung Empat, menyadi' tay in'u'....*  
 P K sibling REL female  
 'Putung Empat, the female sibling ....'
- (9-9) *...jaku' Dara Reja', bini Puyang Gana.*  
 say D R wife P G  
 'said Dara Reja', the wife of Puyang Gana.'

*e. Zero marking*

An entity can appear without any marking (such as demonstratives), and yet its referent is still identifiable. Such a usage requires a maximal context such that the referent is still fresh or accessible in the addressee's mind. A maximal context has been found at least under the following conditions:

- 1) The referent was just mentioned in the immediately preceding discourse, as in (9-10) below. The first mentioned *tepayan* 'jar' in the first clause will be explained later in the next subsection on referentiality. Here our focus is the second mention which refers back to the same *tepayan* in the earlier clause without any marker. If the two occurrences of *tepayan* would have been interrupted by a change of the "theme" or if the story would have changed temporarily, the second mention would have been marked, for example, with a demonstrative *ia* 'that'.

(9-10) *Ari jawuh ia N-peda' aday tepayan<sub>1</sub>. "Apa utay ia'?"*  
 from far 3s ACT-see exist jar what thing that

*jaku' ia. Baru' da-gusung. Peda' ia d=alam*  
 say 3s then PASS-go.after see 3s LOC=inside

*tepayan<sub>2</sub> aday nsia.*  
 jar exist human

'From a distance he saw that there was a jar. "What is that thing?" he said. Then he went after it. It appeared to him inside the jar there was a person.'

2) The referent is "unique" in the story, hence no ambiguity arises. Much earlier in the context the referent *gua* 'cave' in (9-11) has appeared sporadically and it is the only 'cave' referred to in the story.

(9-11) *Nisi' ari alam gua.*  
 EXIST.NEG from inside cave  
 'Nothing came out of the cave.'

3) The referent is associated with another referent in discourse or context (see Payne 1997:264 for this). In (9-12) below, *padung* 'attic' is directly identifiable due to its being part of the house intended in the story. Similarly, *apay* 'father' in (9-13) is due to its association with the addressee:

(9-12) *Ia N-tiki' ka ataw padung.*  
 3s ACT-climb to upper.part attic  
 'He climbed up to the attic.'

(9-13) *Dini apay wih?*  
 where father wih  
 '(I am wondering) Where is your father?'

### 9.1.2 Referentiality

Referentiality and identifiability are similar but not identical to each other (Payne 1997:264). Payne notes two general understandings of referentiality: objective and discourse referentiality. Objective referentiality is concerned with whether a particular (individuated) entity in the real or imaginary world (e.g. in the speaker's mind) is referred to, and is thus referential, or whether the entity is designated as generic or non-specific, and thus non-referential.<sup>2</sup> Definite (or identifiable) entities are most commonly referential (cf. Givón 2001a:441). Thus, the grammatical marking of an identifiable entity explained in 9.1.1 above also encodes the entity as (objectively) referential. Unlike objective referentiality, discourse referentiality deals

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Givón's usage of the terms "referring" vs. "non-referring" (see Givón 2001, Ch. 10).

with the continuing presence of a referent in subsequent discourse. Below I will describe how the referentiality status of an entity is typically coded in Mualang.

*a. Marking of “generics”*

The non-specificity (or referential status) of an entity may be implied by the use of the numeral prefix *se-* as mentioned in 9.1.1 above. On the other hand, if the generic meaning of an entity is intended, making it non-referential and non-identifiable (in the sense that it is not individuated), then the nominal referent is coded in several ways:

- appearing unmarked:

(9-14) *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 thrown away by my parents into the forest.’

(9-15) *Beram tu' da-pulah ari beras pulut.*  
 k.o.alcohol TOP PASS-make from rice glutinous.rice  
 ‘*Beram*, is made from *pulut* rice.’

- appearing in plural forms, by reduplication (9-16), compounding (9-17), or with “indefinite” quantifiers such as *uga* ‘all’, *keban* ‘all kinds of’, *bala* ‘many/much (in a large group)’ (9-18):

(9-16) *Nurut urang-urang tuay kelial' tih, ...*  
 according.to person-RED old past.time tih  
 ‘According to the old people of the past, ...’

(9-17) *M'ih tay mpu tapang-lalaw.*  
 2s REL have k.o.big.tree-k.o.big.tree  
 (Said to a god) ‘You who have all (big) trees.’

(9-18) *Mayuh tay da-tam'ak dia', jenis bala nsawi, ...*  
 many REL PASS-plant there kind many Chinese.cabbage  
 ‘Many that are planted there (in the field), all kinds of Chinese cabbage ....’

- appearing unmarked as unspecified objects of habitual activities or certain activities usually associated with those objects (as in antipassive constructions, see Chapter 7), e.g.:

(9-19) *Agi' N-getah burung.*  
 still ACT-sticky.sap.of.plant bird  
 ‘He is trapping birds with sticky sap.’

- (9-20) *Urang ba-bunuh babi-manuk ba-pulah jimut.*  
 person ANPAS-kill pig-chicken ANPAS-make k.o.snack  
 ‘People do/did pig-chicken-killing and *jimut* making (at the party).’

*b. Existentials and referentiality*

While the use of the prefix *se-* introduces the appearance of an indefinite entity into discourse, the existential-presentative construction *aday* NP,<sup>3</sup> on the other hand, asserts the existence of a first-time-mentioned entity. Therefore, the NP referent is referential and normally appears unmarked in this construction. The indefiniteness of the NP of an *aday* construction may (but does not have to) be explicitly expressed by the use of the prefix *se-* and the relevant classifier, e.g.:

- (9-21) *Dulaw tih, N-pin'ah lubang kubur ... nurut*  
 before *tih* ACT-move hole grave according.to  
  
*ke-pecaya' urang Mualang, aday s-iku' nsia*  
 NOM-believe person M exist ONE-CLASS human  
  
*mati da kampung ....*  
 die LOC village  
 ‘In former times if people changed a grave (and left the one that had been opened), according to the belief of the Mualang, somebody would die in the village ....’

### 9.1.3 Anaphoric reference

A separate extensive discourse study is needed regarding the semantic and pragmatic considerations that determine the speaker’s choice of a particular anaphoric device. Although the texts examined seem to indicate that grammatical relations *subject* and *object*, and types of voice construction, are also involved, it is not yet entirely clear how relevant they are in this respect. In this section I shall merely list all grammatical devices commonly used in Mualang for anaphoric reference. The term anaphoric reference has to do with ways of referring back to a coreferential antecedent in the preceding clause(s). Mualang employs the following three grammatical devices for this purpose:<sup>4</sup>

1. Pronouns
2. Definite full-NPs
3. Zero anaphora

Mualang has only independent pronouns, which are discussed in Chapter 4. The term “definite full-NPs” will be used to characterize the re-appearance of an NP in its full form, with or without an overt definite marker (e.g. a demonstrative, see 9.1.1 above). This includes a personal name. Zero anaphora is “zero”-referencing of a

<sup>3</sup> For the presentative-existentials and their examples, the reader is referred to section 6.6.3 of Chapter 6.

<sup>4</sup> Such devices are well documented cross-linguistically in Givón (2001, Chapter 9).

coreferential antecedent, i.e. by deletion of the referent in subsequent discourse (for the sake of convenience, in the following examples [Ø] is used to mark zero anaphora). The excerpt of a narrative in (9-22) below will first be used to show some situations in which all these three devices are employed:

- (9-22) (1) *Aday kisah urang tuay kelia' tih, kisah*  
 exist story person old old.time tih story
- mula-mula menua tu' da-pulah urang.*  
 beginning-RED world this PASS-make person  
 'There is a story from our ancestors from olden times, a story of how this world was made in the beginning.'
- (2) *Jadi, kisah urang tuay N-padah menua tu'*  
 So story person old ACT-say world this
- da-tempa' Burung Tempa'.*  
 PASS-forge Bird Forge  
 'So, the story from our ancestors said that this world was forged by the Forging Bird.'
- (3) *Ni' masa tu' mah, Tuhan ti N-pulah dunia.*  
 if time this mah Lord REL ACT-make world  
 '(But) now, (we know) it was God who made the world.'
- (4) *Ulih kisah urang tuay kita Mualang, Burung*  
 but story person old 1p.incl M Bird
- Tempa'. Jadi Burung Tempa' N-tempa' tanah,*  
 Forge so bird forge ACT-forge earth
- [Ø] *N-tempa' langit,* [Ø] *N-tempa' apa*  
 [Ø] ACT-forge sky [Ø] ACT-forge what
- semua tay aday.*  
 all REL exist  
 'But (according to) the story of our Mualang ancestors, it was the Forging Bird. Thus, the Forging Bird forged the earth, forged the sky, forged all that exists.'
- (5) *Keban tanam, keban kayu, rumput, ikan, jelu,*  
 all.kind plant all.kind wood grass fish animal
- burung, semua da-tempa' ia, sampay ia*  
 bird all PASS-forge 3s until 3s
- N-tempa' nsia.*  
 ACT-forge human



‘All kinds of plants, all kinds of trees, grass, fishes, animals, birds, all were forged by him, until he forged men.’

- (6) *Jadi mula ia N-tempa' nsia tih, kisah,*  
so beginning 3s ACT-forge human *tih* story

*da-tangkal uwi sega', [Ø] da-tegah.*

PASS-cut rattan k.o.rattan [Ø] PASS-startle

‘Thus, in the beginning he forged men, so the story goes, he cut some *sega'* rattan, (and then) startled it.’

- (7) [Ø] *Da-tegah, [Ø] ketawa' ka ketawa',*  
[Ø] PASS-startle [Ø] laugh to laugh

[Ø] *nitaw' jadi nsia.*

[Ø] can't become human

‘Being startled, it laughed and laughed, (but) couldn't become a man.’

- (8) *Baru' ia ba-pikir: "N-pulah tanah," jaku' ia.*  
then 3s ANPAS-think ACT-make soil say 3s  
‘Then he thought: “(I) make (them from) soil,” he said.’

- (9) *Baru' ia N-pulah tanah. [Ø] Da-bentuk,*  
then 3s ACT-make soil [Ø] PASS-shape

[Ø] *pulah tubuh, pulah kaki-jari, pulah mata-mua,*

[Ø] make body make foot-hand make eye-face

*idung-nyawa, pen'ing-telinga.*

nose-mouth ear-ear

‘Then he made (the human being from) soil. It was shaped by creating a body, creating feet and hands, creating eyes and face, nose and mouth, (and) ears.’

- (10) *Da-tegah, baru' [Ø] jadi nsia idup.*  
PASS-startled then [Ø] become human alive  
‘(When) it was startled, then it became a living human being.’

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

*S-iku' ti in'u' nama Pukat Bengawan.*

ONE-CLASS REL female name P B

‘One was made by him, his name was Am'un Menurun. The other one that was female was named Pukat Bengawan.’

- (12) *Jadi, Am'un Menurun aba' Pukat Bengawan tu', nya'*  
 so A M and P B TOP that  
*mula-mula nsia ti aday di menua tu'.*  
 beginning-RED human REL exist LOC world this  
 'Thus, Am'un Menurun and Pukat Bengawan, those were  
 the first human beings in this world.'

In the first three clauses in (9-22) above several participants are introduced in the story, e.g., *kisah urang tuay kelia'* 'the story of the old people of olden times', *menua tu'* 'this world', *urang* 'person' in (1); *Burung Tempa'* (2); and *Tuhan* 'Lord' in (3). The participants are referred to by means of NPs (including names). Then, in (4) the full-NP *Burung Tempa'* is used due to its being relatively distant after its first mention in (2). Starting from (4), and continuing to (11), the *Burung Tempa'* is established as the topic or the central character in that part of the story. This is one typical use of the full-NP, as seen also in (12), in which the full-NP *Amun Manurun aba' Pukat Bengawan* 'AM and PB' is used in order to become the topic in the subsequent part of the story.

In (4) zero anaphora is used to anaphorically refer to *Burung Tempa'*. The zero anaphora is used when the clauses are still within a "clause-chain" and there is grammatical subject continuity, i.e. *Burung Tempa'*. It is also seen in (6) where the zero refers to *uwi sega'* 'rattan *sega'*', which is also the subject of the immediate following clause within the same clause-chain. Example (7) also illustrates the same situation.

Grammatical subject and object may be zero. In (6), for example, the zero subject of *da-tegah* 'PASS-startle' is governed by the subject of the preceding clause, whereas in (9), it is the object of the preceding clause that governs the zero subject of *da-bentuk* 'PASS-shape' in the following clause. A zero object is exemplified in (9-23) below, where it is coreferential with the *ntawa'* tree mentioned in the previous clauses:

- (9-23) "...*aday buah ntawa' d=ataw nyin. Buh,*  
 exist fruit k.o.fruit LOC=above that.over.there come.on  
*kita N-tiki' [Ø] ah!" Tiki' sida' ntawa' tih.*  
 1p.incl ACT-climb [Ø] ah climb 3p ntawa' tih  
 '... there's a *ntawa'* fruit up there. Let's climb (it)!" (So), they climbed  
 the *ntawa'* tree.'
- (9-24) *Jadi, asa aday maram tu' anyut da-peda'*  
 so whenever exist k.o.fruit this swept.away PASS-see  
*kita', datay kin, aa, siap dih kita' N-serang [Ø].*  
 2p come thither.far well ready dih 2p ACT.attack [Ø]

‘Thus, whenever you see *maram* fruits being swept away (on the river), go there, ah, be ready to attack (them).’

Further study is needed to thoroughly examine how relevant the grammatical relations (subject, object) are in controlling zero anaphora.

Pronouns are used, among others, in the following situations:

- 1) when the referent is the topic in the subsequent clause(s), e.g., in (9-22) above, starting from (4), until (11), *ia* ‘3s’ refers to *Burung Tempa*’ which is the topic;
- 2) when there is a “reference-switch” from one clause to another, e.g., in (5) in the first clause *keban tanam* ‘all kinds of plants’, etc. is the subject of the clause and then it changes to *ia* ‘3s’ in the second clause; and
- 3) when there is a change in the “theme” of the story, usually displayed by different clauses (marked by a period), e.g. as shown in a change of theme in (6) and (7) to (8); in (6) and (7) the story is about creating men from rattan, then it changes to making soil to create human beings.

## 9.2 Focus articulation

The term “focus” has been used in literature with different intentions. What is meant here is that, in a focus articulation, a special device is used to “highlight” some part of the clause (which may be the entire clause or a particular constituent) as pragmatically marked. This “focused part” is presumed to be unknown to the hearer, hence carrying some pragmatic nuances. The other part that is presupposed (or presumed to be familiar) is not marked. (Cf. Andrews 1985:79-80; Payne 1997, Chapter 10; Givón 2001a, b).<sup>5</sup> Mualang employs the following devices to mark focus: contrastive stress (9.2.1), fronting (9.2.2), cleft constructions (9.2.3), and *aday*-focus (9.2.4), each of which is explained below.

### 9.2.1 Contrastive stress

The basic (pragmatically unmarked) word order is S-V-O-Oblique (time, place, instrument, etc.). More than one oblique constituent can appear in the clause, and there is a tendency for the one carrying “new information” to be expressed towards the end of the clause, e.g.:

- (9-25) *Ia ka' datay ditu' pagi.*  
 3s want come here tomorrow  
 ‘He wants to come here *tomorrow*.’

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<sup>5</sup> Many labels have been used for various types of focus-marked constructions, among others ‘focus of assertion’ and ‘contrastive focus’ (Givón 2001a, b); ‘focus-presupposition articulation’ (Andrews 1985:79). Payne’s (1997) description in general covers most of them.

- (9-26) *Ia ka' datay pagi ditu'.*  
 3s want come tomorrow here  
 'He wants to come tomorrow *here*.'

In this basic word order, a marked stress can be used to mark a particular constituent or part of it (e.g., auxiliary, attribute) *in situ* as “focused”, involving no change in word order (cf. “fronting” below). The focused part gets more stressed (with relative loudness and high pitch, which may be accompanied with a longer duration) compared to the “unfocused part” of the clause. This is similar to the so-called “contrastive stress”. Contrastive stress (and also cleft constructions – see 9.2.3 below) always involves “a strong assumption of hearer’s contrary belief” (Givón 2001b:225). For example, in example 4 (*Burung Tempa*) of the clause ‘*BURUNG TEMPA*’ *N-tempa*’ *tanah*’ (S-V-O) is given contrastive stress. It was made to contrast with *Tuhan* in example 3, in order to emphasize that contrary to the hearer’s belief, the Bird was indeed believed by the older people as the creator. An example of verb (or predicate) focus is shown in example 2 of (9-22), in which *da-tempa*’ ‘PASS-forged’ was stressed for contrast with *da-pulah* ‘PASS-make’ in example 1. The reason was to emphasize the way the world was made. Contrastive stress focusing on the object, the attribute of the instrumental prepositional phrase and the auxiliary are shown in (9-27), (9-28) and (9-29) below, respectively. In (9-27) the hearer thought he heard someone calling him (the speaker), and the speaker corrected him by stressing *m’ih* in order to emphasize that it was the hearer that was called (yelled at) instead of him. In (9-28), in a situation where someone was caught doing something bad, the traditional fine was to kill a BIG pig, not an ordinary size pig. Thus, a contrast in size was made in order to anticipate the hearer’s incorrect assumption or ignorance. In (9-29) *nitaw*’ ‘can’t’ was emphatically stressed to emphasize how imperative the rule was.

- (9-27) *Ia N-kumay m’ih.*  
 3s ACT-call 2s.masc  
 ‘He’s calling to **you!**’ (not me)
- (9-28) *Arus da-tebus ngaw babi besay.*  
 must PASS-redeem with pig big  
 ‘It must be redeemed with a **big pig**.’ (not with an animal of a different kind and size)
- (9-29) ... *urang diri’ menyadi’ nitaw’ jadi ba-laki-bini.*  
 person self sibling can’t become ANPAS-husband-wife  
 ‘... persons who are each other’s siblings **can’t** be married to each other.’

### 9.2.2 Fronting

“Fronting-focus” involves placing a focused constituent in the initial position of the clause which is not its “normal” position in the basic word order. Oblique constituents, notably those of time- and place-adverbs, are more flexible in that they

may appear in the middle of the clause. However, primary focus is on the left-most constituents. Loudness, pitch and duration of word stress which occurs in fronting is less outspoken than with contrastive stress. The main fronting possibilities for constituents in various voice construction types are shown below. (Note that in each voice construction type, the grammatical subject is the topic of the clause and occupies clause-initial position, but it is not focused pragmatically. Rather the entire clause in its basic word order (S-V-O-Oblique) is pragmatically neutral. For subject-focusing, a cleft construction (see 9.2.3 below) can be used; whereas for the non-subject constituents, such as V, O, or Oblique, focus is indicated by fronting).

- Simple stative:

- (9-30) a. *Kita' datay kitu'.* (= SV, basic order)  
 2p come here  
 'You all came here.'
- b. "*Datay kita' kitu'!*" *Datay sida' ia' jara'.*  
 come 2p here come 3p that jara'  
 (= verb-fronting)  
 "Come here you all!" (And) **come** they did.' (It was a surprise that they (i.e. the animals) listened to the speaker and did come forward)

- Active voice:

- (9-31) a. *Ku N-lawan ia.* (= SVO, basic order)  
 1s ACT-enemy 3s  
 'I fight with him.'
- b. *Baru' udah bala N-tebang, aday panas,*  
 then PERF all.kind ACT-slash exist hot  
  
*N-tunu mah urang.* (= VS, verb-fronting)  
 ACT-burn mah person  
 'Then after having slashed all (the trees), (when) it is the hot season, it is **burning** that the people do.'
- c. "*Ku aja' naday mampu N-iga' akal*  
 1s only NEG be.able ACT-look.for device  
  
*N-lawan Aji Kum'ang. Ku, ia=m, naday mampu*  
 ACT-oppose haji K 1s 3s=m NEG be.able  
  
*ku N-lawan, ti kebukay ta'luk uga' ulih ku.*"  
 1s ACT-oppose REL other subject.to all by 1s  
 (= OV, object fronting)

“I myself wasn’t able to find a way to fight against Aji Kum’ang. As for me, it is only against **him** that I wasn’t able to fight, the others have all been beaten by me.”

- Passive voice:

(9-32) a. *Uwi sega’ da-tangkal.* (= SV, basic order)  
 rattan k.o.rattan PASS-slash  
 ‘*Sega’* rattans were cut.’

b. *Jadi mula ia N-tempa’ nsia tih, kisah,*  
 so beginning 3s ACT-forge human *tih* story

*da-tangkal uwi sega’, da-tegah.*  
 PASS-slash rattan k.o.rattan PASS-startle  
 (= VS, verb-fronting)

‘Thus, in the beginning he forged men, so the story goes, he **cut** some *sega’* rattans, **startled** them.’

- Inverse voice:

(9-33) a. *Ntawa’ sida’ tiki’.* (= PAV, basic order)  
 k.o.tree 3p climb  
 ‘The *ntawa’* they climbed.’

b. “*Aday buah ntawa’ d=ataw nyin. Buh*  
 exist fruit *ntawa’* LOC=top that.over.there come.on

*kita N-tiki’!” Tiki’ sida’ ntawa’.*  
 1p.incl ACT-climb climb 3p *ntawa’*  
 (= VAP, verb-fronting)

“There’s a *ntawa’* fruit up there. Let’s climb (it).” (So) **climb** they did the *ntawa’* tree.’

The possible word order variations have been touched upon in Chapter 7 in relation to the structural difference between the voice construction types. Here their pragmatic functions are focused on. One significant difference between “fronting-focus” and “contrastive focus” is that the former does not function to “correct” the hearer’s belief. In most cases with fronting, the speaker redirects or reconfirms the hearer’s attention toward the importance of the fronted element, e.g. in verb-fronting as in the (b)-clauses of (9-30 – 9-33), the event itself (rather than the subject or object) being highlighted. In (9-30b) and (-33b) the accomplishment of the event is spotlighted. The part of the story in (9-32b) speaks about the process of creating men, and so the order VS – instead of SV – (*datangkal uwi sega’*) is used to highlight HOW it was done. Similarly, (9-31b) is about the process of working the rice field, hence verb-fronting is used. In (9-31c), the topic of the clauses is *ku* ‘1s’; however, in the second clause it is the fronted-object *ia=m* ‘3s=m’ that gets focused

(enforced also with an illocutionary marker ‘=m’, see 9.4.13 below) in order to highlight it in comparison with another referent in the following clause.

The fronting of non-core arguments is exemplified below:

- (9-34) “*Di’ N-tung’u’ ditu’.*” ... *Dia’ ia N-tung’u’.*  
 2s.fem ACT-wait here there 3s ACT-wait  
 (= location-fronting)  
 ‘“You wait here.”... (And) **there** she waited.’
- (9-35) *Kami malam tu’ ka’ ba-pinta’.* (= time-fronting)  
 1p.excl night this FUT ANPAS-ask  
 ‘**Tonight** we’re going to make a (wedding) proposal.’
- (9-36) *Ngaw Bujang Jat naday kelupa ku N-ucap trima-kasih.*  
 for brother J NEG forget 1s ACT-say thanks  
 (= benefactive-fronting)  
 ‘**To Brother Jat** I don’t forget to say thanks.’

### 9.2.3 Cleft constructions

A nominal constituent of a clause can also be focused by separating it from the rest of the clause with a regular *tay*-relative clause (see Chapter 10 on relative clauses). The structure of such a “cleft construction” is as follows:

- (9-37) NP<sub>1</sub> [ $\emptyset_1$  ...]<sub>tay-Relative clause</sub>

Although formally rather similar, cleft constructions differ from relative constructions, in that they are complete clauses on their own (signaled by a falling clause-final intonation), whereas relative constructions are not. The relativized NP is not realized in the relative clause (indicated by zero ( $\emptyset_1$ ) for the “gap”). This  $\emptyset_1$  is coreferential with the clefted NP (=NP<sub>1</sub>). Since Mualang only permits subject relativization, the  $\emptyset_1$  pertains only to subjects; in other words, clefting in Mualang is restricted only to subjects. In addition, it is only NP<sub>1</sub> that (optionally) gets contrastive stress, which proves that NP<sub>1</sub>+ relative clause is not a single NP and that the relative clause is a headless relative clause. Example 3 in (9-22) contains a cleft construction, presented again below in (9-38b):

- (9-38) a. *Tuhan N-pulah dunia.* (= simple active clause)  
 Lord ACT-make world  
 ‘God made the world.’
- b. *Nti’ masa tu’ mah, [Tuhan] [ti N-pulah dunia].*  
 if time TOP mah Lord REL ACT-make world  
 [NP<sub>1</sub>] [ $\emptyset_1$  ...]<sub>Relative clause</sub>  
 ‘(But) now, (we know) it was God who made the world.’

Other examples:

- (9-39) a. *Tu' da-beri' sida'.* (= passive clause)  
 this PASS-give 3p  
 'This was given by them.'
- b. *Tu' tay da-beri' sida'.* (= clefting of passive subject)  
 this REL PASS-give 3p  
 'It's this that was given by them.'  
 (\*This (thing) that was given by them ...)
- (9-40) a. *Nya' pemenaw' ku.* (= equative clause)  
 that knowledge 1s  
 'That is what I know.' (lit. 'That is my knowledge.')
- b. *Nya' ti pemenaw' ku udah.*  
 that REL knowledge 1s udah  
 (= clefting of subject of equative clause)  
 'It's that which is what I know.' (lit. 'That which is my knowledge.')

Apparently the clefted topic-subjects in the above examples imply a contrast. In (9-38b) for instance, *Tuhan* 'Lord' is contrasted with *Burung Tempa'* (see 9-22 above for context); in (9-39a) *tu* 'this' is stressed for it is only that thing that was given and not anything else that could have been given. Similarly in (9-40b), what the speaker knew was that that is what has been told, and nothing else which could be imagined.

Structurally, a cleft construction constitutes a type of predicate nominal construction (cf. Payne 1997:278), which enables a change in word order (a typical operation of a predicate nominal construction, see Chapter 6). In the reversed order a pause is clearly heard in between the relative clause and the NP, and the construction may seem to resemble the so-called "pseudo-cleft" in English:

- (9-41) [ $\emptyset$   $\dots$ ]<sub>tay</sub>-Relative clause NP<sub>1</sub>

Some examples of reversed cleft constructions or "pseudo-clefts":

- (9-42) *Tay N-gusung Janta menyadi' Gegura.*  
 REL ACT-go.after J sibling G  
 'The ones who followed J (i.e. the descendants of J) were the siblings of Gegura.'
- (9-43) *A, baru' tay ke-tiga "tuntun mata".*  
 well then REL ORD-three guide eye  
 'So, then the third one is "guiding (your) eyes".'



In contrast to the cleft construction, the “pseudo-cleft” is “cataphoric”, that is, it is often used to stress something that has not been mentioned by the speaker and is thus supposedly unknown by the hearer. So the focused-element is not anaphoric as it is in the “regular” cleft type. In “pseudo-cleft” construction the focused element is going to be discussed in the following discourse and here the speaker is appealing to the hearer’s attention for the first time. It is interesting to note that the NP focused with the “pseudo-cleft” has the potential to be the topic in the subsequent discourse. *Gegura* in (9-42) and *tuntum mata* in (9-43) are in fact what the next several clauses are about.

As a final note, recalling the discussion in 6.1.2 of Chapter 6, cleft constructions can also be used to express a superlative meaning, in which the typical contrastive function of the cleft constructions is still apparent, that is, by contrasting the clefted element with other possible referents, such as in: *ia tay ting’i’ da kampung tu’* (3s-REL-tall-LOC-village-this) ‘He’s the tallest (person) in this village’ (compared to other people).

#### 9.2.4 *Aday-focus*

Besides being used in existentials (see 6.3 in Chapter 6), *aday* ‘exist’ functions also as a focus particle. This idea of the existential particle functioning as a focus device has been noticed in Payne (1997:268) for Indonesian *ada* ‘exist’. As Payne suggests, it asserts a “truth-value focus” of the entire clause (not of a particular constituent), countering the assumed presupposition that questions the truth value of the entire clause. This is true for Mualang as well and is commonly used, e.g.:

(9-44) *Aw’, Bang!<sup>6</sup> Aday lah ku N-padah ka ia.*  
 well Brother exist lah 1s ACT-say to 3s  
 ‘Well, Brother! I **did** tell (it to) him.’

(9-45) a. *Nisi’ m’ih b-ulih burung. Nisi’*  
 EXIST.NEG 2s.masc ANPAS-get bird EXIST.NEG  
  
*ku N-peda’ m’ih ngeN-bay’ burung.*  
 1s ACT-see 2s.masc ACT-bring bird  
 ‘It is not (true) that you got birds. It is not (true) that I saw you bring birds along.’

b. *Tadi’ tih ku aday b-ulih burung.*  
 a.while.ago tih 1s exist ANPAS-get bird  
 ‘A while ago I **did** get birds.’

*Aday-focus* asserts that an event really took place in order to overcome the hearer’s disbelief (as in 9-45b), or his doubt (as in 9-44). It is interesting to note that the existential negative *nisi’* is used in the same way to negatively counter presuppositions (as in 9-45a).

<sup>6</sup> *Bang* ‘brother’ is a Malay borrowing.

To sum up the discussion above, all grammatical devices used in Mualang to mark focus are displayed again in Table 9.1 below:

**Table 9.1:** *Focus articulation devices in Mualang*

	Focused element	Pragmatic function
Contrastive stress	any constituent in the basic neutral word order ( <i>in situ</i> )	To contrast the focused element with some other assumed to be in the hearer's mind.
Fronting	non-subject	Direct the hearer's attention to the importance of the focused element.
Cleft	subject	To contrast the entity referred to by the subject with some other entity supposed to be in the hearer's mind.
<i>Aday</i> -focus	predicate or entire clause	To emphasize the truth value of the event.

### 9.3 Marked-topic articulation

Andrews (1985:77) explains “topic” as follows: “In topic-comment articulation there is usually one NP, the topic, which indicates what the sentence is about. The remainder of the sentence, the comment, provides information about the topic.” A NP argument becomes a topic usually due to its being pragmatically important. Andrews proposed two principal kinds of topics: ‘expected topic’ and ‘switch topic’. With the former, the topicality of the referent is “predictable from the immediately preceding discourse” (op.cit.:78), whereas with the latter it is not. In Mualang the expected topic is normally expressed via the grammatical subject NP of various voice constructions (i.e. active, passive, inverse, see Chapter 7). However, expected-topic articulation with such voice constructions is not “marked” functionally. Marked-topic constructions, which may involve a “switch-topic”, are typically associated with such constructions as ‘left-/right-dislocation’, “topicalization”, etc. (cf. Andrews 1985, Foley and Valin 1985, Givón (2001a, b)).<sup>7</sup> In what follows, major constructions with such a functionally marked-topic will be described as employed in Mualang. They are: left-dislocation with *tu*’ or a pause (9.3.1), right-dislocation (9.3.2), *aday*-existential-presentative (9.3.3), and *nti*’-preposing (9.3.4).

#### 9.3.1 Left-dislocation with *tu*’ or a pause

Dislocation refers to “the placing of a clause element outside the syntactic boundaries of the clause” (Payne 1997:273). In Mualang, the boundary is normally indicated by a particular intonation contour (see below). In left-dislocation, the topicalized element is preposed to the left of the boundary. Mualang frequently utilizes two strategies for this, namely with the topic marker *tu*’ (originally a demonstrative meaning ‘this’), and simply with a *pause*. I will refer to the topicalization with *tu*’ simply as “*tu*’-topicalization” and refer to that with a pause as

<sup>7</sup> In Givón’s terms, such switch-topic constructions function to code ‘discontinuous topics’ (2001b:254). Analogically, the ‘expected topics’ may be associated with ‘continuous topics’.

“*pause*-topicalization”. Both of them create a “gap” in the clause. There are two formal differences between them: 1) in the *tu*'-topicalization the topic marker *tu*' is usually stressed with a rising intonation contour whereas in the *pause*-topicalization the only or final word (if more than one word) of the dislocated part is typically pronounced with a rising intonation followed by a short pause; 2) in the *tu*'-topicalization, there is no resumptive pronoun in the clause, whereas in the *pause*-topicalization a resumptive pronoun is often present (except in the case of zero anaphora, as in (9-53)). As a result, the topicalized element in *pause*-topicalization is extracausal, i.e. the topicalized element is not a constituent of the clause that contains a comment about it. The following examples are presented for illustration (the topicalized element is underlined):

9.3.1.1 *tu*'-topicalization:

- (9-46) *Baru' ilang kisah ia' tih, aday kisah Antu. Antu ia'*  
then lost story that *tih* exist story ghost ghost that

*Raja Sua nama. Jadi, Raja Sua tu' (\*ia) N-asu.*  
king S name so R S TOP (\*3s) ACT-hunt

*N-asu ka kampung .... Ke-panyay-panyay ia ....*  
ACT-hunt to dense.forest NOM-long-RED 3s

‘Then, after that story, there was a story of a ghost. That ghost was named King Sua. **So, this King Sua, he went hunting.** (He) went hunting in the jungle .... After a long time he ....’

- (9-47) *Beram tu' (\*nya') da-pulah ari beras*  
k.o..alcohol TOP (\*that) PASS-make from rice

*pulut.*  
glutinous.rice  
‘**Beram** (that) is made from sticky rice.’

- (9-48) *Beruang aba' kekura' tu' (\*seniku') ba-kawan.*  
bear and turtle TOP (\*2d) ANPAS-friend

*Seniku' ba-jalay ....*  
2d ANPAS-road  
‘The bear and turtle (they) made friends. Both of them walked ....’

9.3.1.2 *pause*-topicalization:

- (9-49) *Sida' ... Buwi Nasi tu' ka' ba-dua'*  
3p B N TOP FUT ANPAS-divide.(PREC)

*arta .... Aw', waktu ka' ba-bagi ia', Raja Sua.*  
wealth well time FUT ANPAS-divide that R S

*nama s-igi' antu jara', taw' ia bada' ....*  
 name ONE-CLASS ghost jara' know 3s bada'  
 'Those Buwi Nasi people, they were going to divide up wealth ....  
 Well, when they were going to divide it up, **King Sua**, so it is with a  
 ghost, **he** knew it ....'

- (9-50) *Ku tu', semua urang ditu' ta'luk uga' ka ku.*  
 1s this all person here subjected.to all to 1s

*Cuma ti di ulu menua kami tu'=m,*  
 only REL LOC upstream country 1p.excl this=m

*Aji Kum'ang, [ia=m, ku naday mampu N-lawan ia.]*  
 haji K 3s=m 1s NEG be.able ACT-oppose 3s  
 'As for me, all people here are submitted to *me*. It's only the one in the  
 upstream of our country, Haji Kum'ang, **him**, I wasn't able to fight  
 against.'

- (9-51) *M'ih, ia' salah!*  
 2s.masc that wrong  
 'As for you, that's wrong (of you).'

- (9-52) *Ba-kerja, ku naday N-inyaw urang.*  
 ANPASS-work 1s NEG ask.for.help person  
 'As for working, I don't rely on others.'

- (9-53) *M'ih, ngapa (m'ih) naday N-inum?*  
 2s.masc. why (2s.masc) NEG ACT-drink  
 '(As for) you, why don't you drink?'

In sentences such as (9-46 – 9-48), the presence of resumptive pronouns (that refer to the topicalized referent) has not been attested in natural discourse. (The supposed ones in the examples are preceded by an asterisk and parenthesized). The presence of the relevant resumptive pronoun would yield to another function, e.g. as a *pause*-topicalization, rather than a *tu'*-topicalization. The element that can be topicalized in this way is only the grammatical subject of the clause. Typically, the referent of the topicalized constituent is very close, e.g. in the immediate preceding clause (*Raja Sua* in (9-46)), or in context (as in (9-47) where the traditional liquor *beram* was being discussed). By using the topic marker *tu'*, the referent is made highly topical in the subsequent clauses, i.e. there will be something very important the speaker is going to say about the referent, and the speaker is asking for the hearer's attention or

preparing the hearer for this.<sup>8</sup> *Tu'* is originally a demonstrative 'this'. However, the demonstrative meaning is semantically reduced when functioning as a topic marker. In (9-46) for example, it is "redundant" to interpret *tu'* as a demonstrative, since the referent is so close and easily identified. Nevertheless, it seems that the use of *tu'* as a topic marker which signals a cataphorically important referent is associated with its cataphoric usage as a demonstrative, e.g. as may be seen in the following examples:

(9-54) *Tu' ku N-padah ka m'ih.*  
 this 1s ACT-say to 2s.masc  
 'This I'm going to say to you.'

(9-55) *Baru' tu' ku N-ajar seniku' tu'.*  
 then this 1s ACT-teach 2d this  
 'Then, this I'm going to teach to each of you.'

In contrast to the *tu'*-topicalization, when the *pause*-topicalization is used, the topicalized element may or may not have a coreferent in the clause. In (9-49), *Raja Sua* is coreferential with the resumptive subject *ia*. In (9-50), *ku tu'* is coreferential with the resumptive benefactive *ku*, and *ia* with the resumptive object *ia*. In (9-51 and 9-52), the topicalized *m'ih* and *bakerja*, respectively, do not have their coreferent as a constituent in the clause. This feature differs from that of the *tu'*-topicalization. In the *pause*-topicalization, an element (an NP or a clause) can be inserted in between the topicalized referent and the rest of the clause, for example in (9-49) the "additional clause" *nama sigi' antu jara'* intervenes the topicalized NP *Raja Sua* and its comment *taw' ia bada'*. Chances for the presence of a resumptive pronoun are high when such an insertion occurs. Another significant difference is that, functionally *pause*-topicalization is used when there is a switch in topic, e.g. when the topicalized referent is distant and is reintroduced. For example, in (9-49) the topic changes from *sida' Buwi nasi* to *Raja Sua*. In (9-50), it changes from *ku* to *Aji Kum'ang*. On the other hand, in *tu'*-topicalization, the topicalized referent typically just appears in the immediate preceding discourse, e.g. in (9-46) *Raja Sua* is made topical right after its presence in the preceding clause.

### 9.3.2 Right-dislocation

In right-dislocation, the dislocated part is uttered after the clause. There is a pause between the clause and the right-dislocated part. The right-dislocated part is an "afterthought" added by the speaker for some reason after uttering the clause that usually is under focus, e.g. when the speaker realizes that the hearer may not be able to identify the referent being commented on, and so it is "supplied" again. Some examples below exemplify the case:

<sup>8</sup> In Givón's sense, it could be said that the marker *tu'* cataphorically signals "thematic importance", i.e. the importance of the referent in the subsequent discourse (see Givón 2001b:254 for this term).

- (9-56) *Da-am'i' Putung Empat, jadi mas, ntawa'.*  
 PASS-take P K become gold k.o.fruit  
 'It (the *ntawa'* fruit) was taken by Putung Empat, becoming gold, the *ntawa'*.'
- (9-57) *Pia', a, laya' jat, seniku'. Salah seniku'.*  
 like.that well quarrel bad 2d wrong 2d  
 'So is it, well, quarrel is bad, both of you. It was wrong of both of you.'

### 9.3.3 *Aday*-existential-presentative

The function of existential-presentative constructions in expressing a topical referent has been well noticed in Givón (2001b, Chapter 16). A similar function is also noticed in Mualang. The *aday*-existential-presentative clause (see 6.3 in Chapter 6) is often used, especially, in opening a story to introduce a new indefinite entity which will be topical in the subsequent clauses: "there is such and such. This such and such is so and so", etc. One example can be seen in (9-22) above, in which *kisah urang tuay kelia'* is introduced and becomes the topic in the following clauses.

### 9.3.4 *Nti'*-preposing

The conjunction *nti'* (or *anti'*) 'if' will be discussed in Chapter 10. Here its function as a topicalization device is addressed. In the following examples, the use of *nti'* does not have to do with a "conditional" situation, a typical function of *nti'* as a conjunction; rather it seems to prepose the NP as a topic about which some comments are made.<sup>9</sup> Also, there is no predicate present except the preposed-NP itself:

- (9-58) *Pia' urang Mualang. Nti' suku bukay, tay laki*  
 like.that person M if tribe other REL male  
*N-pinta'.*  
 ACT-ask  
 'That's what the Mualang are like. In the case of other tribes, the male is the one who does the (wedding) proposal.'
- (9-59) *Nti' di', naday di' salah.*  
 if 2s.fem NEG 2s.fem wrong  
 (After talking to someone else) 'As for you, you're not wrong.'

The NP-preposing with *nti'* involves a switch-topic in order to make a comparison with another referent. In (9-58), it is between the Mualang and other tribes; in (9-59) it is between *di'* '2s.fem' with someone else.

In Table 9.2 topic articulation devices utilized in Mualang are summarized.

<sup>9</sup> For the use of conditionals as topics, see, for example, Haiman (1978).

**Table 9.2:** *Marked topic articulation devices in Mualang*

	Topicalized element	Pragmatic function
<i>tu'</i> -topicalization	subject-NP	Topicalizing a referent in the immediately preceding clause. The referent typically becomes important in subsequent discourse.
<i>pause</i> -topicalization	any element	Involving a switch-topic; the topicalized element is extracausal.
right-dislocation	any NP	The topicalized NP is expressed as an after-thought.
<i>aday</i> -existential-presentative	subject-NP	Presenting a new referent which is important in the subsequent discourse.
<i>nti'</i> -preposing	non-subject NP	Comparing the topicalized referent with some other entity.

#### 9.4 Illocutionary markers

Illocutionary markers are particles that relate the information content of the clause to attitudes (assumptions, motives, feelings, beliefs, expectations, etc.) the speaker has vis-à-vis the content of the clause or with regard to the situation of the speech act. The use of such markers in Mualang is quite common.<sup>10</sup> Most of them are monosyllabic and their scope in the clause can be a particular element (even a conjunction) or the whole clause. Some of them are used along with a focus articulation device (e.g. contrastive stress, fronting) to further highlight the element under focus. Thus, they are not by themselves focus articulation devices; rather, they provide additional information with respect to the speaker's attitudes toward the focused element. With regard to adverbs, the illocutionary markers differ from adverbs in terms of their syntactic distribution and meaning. Syntactically the position of adverbs is typically flexible in the clause and their meaning is rather straightforward, whereas illocutionary markers cannot float in the clause, while they are also more complex semantically.

Below, the most frequently used markers are listed in alphabetical order with a note on their functions. The list is not exhaustive and a more complete study would be needed in the future. Since no exact label may be given to the individual illocutionary particles, throughout this grammar I prefer to simply gloss each of

<sup>10</sup> In fact, such markers are common in many spoken speech forms. Jakartan Jakarta/Betawi Malay has such well-known markers as *dong, sih, deh, nih, tuh*, etc. Kridalaksana (1986) categorized such markers as “phatic markers”. Some studies on Western Austronesian languages in which such markers are discussed are Durie (1985) for Achehness, Stoel (2005) for Manado Malay, and Tjia (1994) for Ambonese Malay, which has about 30 such particles.

In my experience, it takes some time for a language learner to “internalize” such illocutionary markers. In practice they can serve as a “criterion” for native speakers to determine whether someone is really emotionally in touch with their language.

them as they are in the English gloss. Preceding each example, some contextual information is provided in square brackets.

#### 9.4.1 *Ah*

*Ah*, and its variants *eh* and *e'*, are used after a particular element in the clause (which may be clause-final). Its function seems to be very similar to the marker *tih* in that it attempts to bring the hearer's attention to the information in that particular stretch of speech. Some speakers tend to use this marker much more frequently than others.

- (9-60) [The speaker was explaining how to make *lulun*.]  
*Da-gulay gula, gula mirah, gula pasir taw'*  
 PASS-mix sugar sugar red sugar sang can  
  
*ngaw N-gulay nyiur ngaw ati lulun,*  
 for ACT-mix coconut for liver k.o.snack  
  
*ngaw isi' ah.*  
 for content ah  
 'It is mixed with sugar, palm sugar, (or) granulated sugar can be (used) for blending coconut for the filling of the *lulun*, for its content (you know).'
- (9-61) [The speaker did not see the husband. So the speaker asked the hearer:]  
*Laki ah kikay?*  
 husband ah where?  
 'Where is that husband of yours?'
- (9-62) [The mother was listening to people who were talking. Someone suggested something, and then the mother just agreed with it.]  
*"Aw', pia' mah dih," jaku' inay ah jara'.*  
 yes like.that mah dih say mother ah jara'  
 "Yes, just let it be like that," said the mother.'

#### 9.4.2 *Bada'*

*Bada'* has thus far been found to typically appear after these three verbs: *kasih* 'feel pity', *taw'* 'know', and *nitaw'* 'not know', e.g.:

- (9-63) *Kasih bada', di' tu'!*  
 feel.pity bada' 2s.fem this  
 'Pity on you!'
- (9-64) *Ku nitaw' bada'.*  
 1s not.know bada'  
 'I just don't know.'



**9.4.3 Bah**

*Bah* indicates a strong assertion of the preceding element or the whole clause. When giving an opinion or an order, the speaker is very certain and argumentative, preventing the hearer from replying.

- (9-65) [The speaker was giving advice to a couple who was getting married, saying that they could tell their problems to their parents to ask for help.]  
*Ia' basa kita bah, naday salah kita'.*  
 that custom 1p.incl bah NEG wrong 2p  
 'That is our custom (yes it really is), you would not be wrong.'
- (9-66) [The speaker did not want the hearer to go anywhere.]  
*Kita' ditu' bah!*  
 2p herebah  
 'You stay here! (I mean it!).'
- (9-67) [The speaker gave birth to an ugly child and angrily complained about it to a god.]  
*Ngapa bah anak kemua tu'?*  
 why bah child 1d.excl this  
 'What is the matter with our child?' (or: 'Why is our child like this?')

**9.4.4 Dih**

*Dih* strongly asserts that an event really has or will have taken place. It is frequently found in verb-fronting constructions V-S in order to emphasize the event under focus. The element that immediately precedes *dih* is usually stressed, that is, pronounced longer, louder and higher in pitch, compared to the other constituents of the clause. It is typically associated with a perfective (past or future) event.<sup>11</sup>

- (9-68) [The oldest brother was disowned by his parents when he was a baby. When they grew up, his younger siblings did not recognize him. Now he comes to them to introduce himself, but they do not accept him. After they have a fight, he explains what has happened to him.]  
*Aa, baru' dih ia N-kisah kejadian ia da-buay*  
 ah then dih 3s ACT-story event 3s PASS-throw.away
- ka darung, da-intu Raja Sua. Ba-sabak dih*  
 to valley PASS-take.care king S ANPAS-cry dih
- sida' menyadi', ba-sium-ba-lulum ....*  
 3p sibling ANPAS-kiss-ANPAS-kiss(PREC)

<sup>11</sup> The meaning of *dih* is very similar to the marker *deh* of Jakarta/Betawi Malay. Example (9-70), for instance, might be translated in that language as 'Ah, skarang kamu deh!'.

*Sida' N-tesal dih.*  
 3p ACT-regret *dih*  
 'It was **then** that he told (them) the story of his being thrown away (by their parents) to the valley, (and) was taken care of by King Sua. Those siblings then **cried out** to each other, kissed each other .... They really regretted (what they had done).'

In the following example, *dih* is used after the conjunction *baru'* 'then' in order to emphasize that the action of *N-tebang* 'ACT-cut' is carried out only after the event mentioned in the preceding clause has taken place:

- (9-69) [The speaker is explaining the process of opening a forest when doing swidden agriculture]  
 ... *udah N-tebas, baru' kita N-nga' ba-ming'u –*  
 after ACT-slash then 1p.incl ACT-let ANPAS-week-  
  
*ming'u dulaw. Baru' dih kita N-tebang.*  
 RED first then *dih* 1p.incl ACT-cut  
 '... after having slashed, then we leave it for weeks first. Only **then** do we cut them down.'

In (9-70) below, *dih* is used after the second person plural pronoun to emphasize the hearers to comply with the request:

- (9-70) [Ghosts forced several men to drink blood. After having drunk blood, it is now the men's turn to claim the ghosts to drink blood]  
 "Aa, tu' *kita' dih!*" *Jaku' sida' nsia jara'.*  
 Ah now 2p *dih* say 3p human *jara'*  
 "Ah, now **you!**", said those humans.'

#### 9.4.5 *Dulaw and law*

*Dulaw* 'first, earlier' expresses an intention to comply with an action before doing anything else. Although it is clear that *law* is a short form of *dulaw*, the former seems to be more commonly used in invitations or exhortations while the latter is used in both statements and invitations, e.g.:

- (9-71) *N-pakay dulaw/law!*  
 ACT-eatfirst  
 'Eat first!'
- (9-72) *Ku angkat dulaw bah.*  
 Is go first *bah*  
 'I'd better just go now.'

**9.4.6 Gena**

*Gena* normally follows an action. It denotes that the action is merely carried out randomly or without a particular aim in mind (e.g. just for killing time):

- (9-73) *N-peda gena.*  
 ACT-see *gena*  
 ‘(I am) just seeing around/watching.’
- (9-74) [After having cleared and burnt the field.]  
 ... *naday kita’ taw’ teka N-tugal gena, alah*  
 NEG 2p can right.away ACT-dibble *gena* must  
  
*ba-pedara*<sup>12</sup> *dulaw.*  
 ANPAS- offering.(PREC) first  
 ‘... you **can’t** just make holes for planting seeds right away, you must make some offerings first.’

**9.4.7 Ja’**

*Ja’* may be translated as ‘just’. It usually occurs in declarative and imperative clauses to indicate that nothing more is or should be the case than what is expressed in the preceding sentence constituent.

- (9-75) [The speaker rejected an offer to move to a more comfortable place.]  
*Ku tin’uk ditu’ ja’.*  
 1s sleep here ja’  
 ‘I will just (simply) sleep here.’
- (9-76) [The hearer was served some spicy meals.]  
*Ah, m’ih naday ngasi N-pakay, sikit ja’ berangat*  
 ah 2s.masc NEG be.able ACT-eat little ja’ spicy  
  
*nyaw naday betah.*  
 already NEG like  
 ‘Ah, you’re not good at eating, it’s just a bit spicy and you don’t like it.’

**9.4.8 Jara’**

Generally *jara’* could mean something like ‘so it is’. In (9-30b) above, *datay sida’ ia’ jara’* can roughly be ‘they just **came** here, so it happened they just did it’. In (9-49), *Raja Sua, nama sigi’ antu jara’* may be ‘the King Sua, so it is with a ghost’. The following sentence is another example:

<sup>12</sup> The formative *pedara’* is related to *dara’*, which is a precatatorial form.

- (9-77) [Puyang Gana's brothers were clearing bushes and cutting down trees to make a rice field without first asking his permission. Then he was told by his father-in-law that he should go to his younger brothers and claim his rights.]

*Uh, angkat jara' Puyang Gana tu', datay mah*  
 oh go jara' P G TOP come mah

*N-peda' pabat sida' ....*  
 ACT-see slash 3p

'Oh, Puyang Gana just (i.e. without waiting or showing any objection) **started off**, he really **came** (following his father-in-law's advice) and saw their cutting (of trees) ....'

#### 9.4.9 *Kah*

*Kah* occurs usually in imperatives in order to gently persuade the addressee to comply with a request or command, e.g.:

- (9-78) *Am'i' kah ulih m'ih!*  
 take kah by 2s.masc  
 'Please, take it with you!'

- (9-79) *Sunyi kah kita'!*  
 quiet kah 2p  
 'Be quiet, please, you all!'

#### 9.4.10 *Kini*

*Kini* is placed at the end of interrogative clauses to stress the speaker's wondering, e.g.:

- (9-80) *Dini ia diaw kini?*  
 where 3s live kini  
 'Where does he live now? (I am wondering)'

- (9-81) *Amat n'a' ka' ujan pagi kini?*  
 true not FUT rain tomorrow kini  
 'Would it be really raining tomorrow or not? (I am wondering)?'

#### 9.4.11 *Lah*

*Lah* is used either after a particular element, or it follows the entire clause. By using it, the speaker makes a strong assertion about that element or the entire clause.

- (9-82) [Puyang Gana comes to his younger brothers and tells them he is their oldest brother. The younger brothers do not believe him, since they have never met him before. So, the oldest of the younger siblings says to Puyang Gana in defense:]

*Nisi'*                    *tuay ari ku. Ku lah menyadi' tuay kita'.*  
 EXIST.NEG    old    from 1s 1s *lah* sibling    old    2p  
 'Nobody is older than I am. I am the one who is your oldest brother.'

- (9-83) [Aluy's father would like to "buy death" (i.e. he would like to die). So, the ghosts of the world of the dead decide to pick him up at his house.

They say:]

*Asa pia', aday kami N-gusung ia lah ....*  
 whenever like.that exist 1p.excl ACT-visit 3s *lah*  
 'If that is so (i.e. if he really wants to die), we will surely visit him then ....'

Note that the use of *lah* in (9-82) is very close in meaning to that of a contrastive cleft (that is: *ku TI menyadi' tuay kita'* (1s-REL-sibling-old-1p.excl) 'It's me that is your oldest brother'). However, with *lah*, the speaker did not intend to make a contrast, which is the typical effect of a cleft construction. Instead he simply made a strong claim that he was the oldest brother.

#### 9.4.12 *Lay*

*Lay* is typically used in asking for a favor, in invitations or exhortations in order to draw the hearer's attention toward what is being asked for:<sup>13</sup>

- (9-84) [I was walking and somebody up there at his house yelled at me:]

*N-tiki' lay!*  
 ACT-ascend *lay*  
 'Come up/stop by for a while!'

- (9-85) *Jang, kami ka' N-tanya' m'ih lay.*  
 TOA 1p.excl want ACT-ask 2s.masc *lay*  
 'Brother, we would like to ask you something.'

- (9-86) [The speaker forgot what he was going to say.]

*Ila' lay!*  
 later *lay*  
 '(Wait) a second, please!'

#### 9.4.13 *Mah*

*Mah* is used with a particular element (e.g. subject, verb, adverb) that is under focus. The element is spotlighted as containing the most important information that the speaker would like the hearer to pay attention to, since there is some particular presupposition or assumption related to it. The element under focus usually gets more stressed (i.e. pronounced longer in duration and higher in pitch). In (9-22) example 3 above, *mah* in *Nti' masa tu' mah ...* emphasizes the contrast between

<sup>13</sup> *Lay* is probably a short form of *ulay* 'a moment, a while'.

*masa tu* ‘present time’ and *kelia* ‘old time’. Thus, the speaker is making a statement specifically in relation to the *mah*-marked element, that is, to the present time in that example. *Mah* is also realized weaker as [məh ~ mə] and even only as [m]. This latter variant can be syllabic. The full form *mah* (and the weakened realizations [məh ~ mə]) most likely appear in slow, careful speech, whereas the short form *m* is used in rapid speech. Phonologically the form *m* needs a “docking site”. Normally it is cliticized to the preceding word under focus:

- (9-87) [I was speaking with some people when an older man came in. I stood up and offered him my chair. He rejected and wanted me to just sit there:]  
*Dia*’=**m**!  
 there=*m*  
 ‘Just (sit) there!’
- (9-88) [After having told a story, the speaker ends by saying:]  
*Aw*’, *gisah udah*=**m** *dih*.  
 well story finished=*m* *dih*  
 ‘Well, the story really is over.’

If *m* follows a consonant it may become syllabic, unless it is followed by a word beginning with a vowel, in which case it becomes phonetically the onset of the next syllable. Yet I consider it an enclitic since it often occurs sentence-finally.

In (9-88) the use of the marker *m* was to make a contrast with the hearer’s (assumed) thought that the story had not yet been finished. The marker *dih* roughly means that “Yes, it really does”. The speaker suddenly made the hearer(s) realize that the story has come to the end by stressing the word *udah* ‘finished’ with a longer and higher intonation contour.<sup>14</sup>

#### 9.4.14 *Tih*

*Tih* seems to carry a deictic sense. By using it, the speaker is trying to keep track or maintain the hearer’s attention to what he/she is focusing on. For this purpose a speaker can even repeat this marker several times within the same clause. Its scope can be over one element (nominal and non-nominal such as adverbs and verbs) or the whole clause. Some of the examples presented above contain *tih*. In (9-22), example 1 begins with *Aday kisah urang tuay kelial*’ ***tih***, in which *tih* roughly expresses “As it was told, there really existed a story of our ancestors, and this is about that very story”. In (9-22) example 6 *Jadi mula ia nempa nsial*’ ***tih***, scope of *tih* is the whole clause (thus emphatically referring back to the same information mentioned in the preceding utterance 5). Roughly it says that the speaker is going to talk about “the same event of creating men that was mentioned earlier” and is attracting the hearer’s attention to that topic of the story. In the following two examples, the function of keeping track of the hearer’s attention is also apparent

<sup>14</sup> =*m* followed by *ia* ‘3s’ is pronounced as [mia] with such frequency that it seems to have become a fixed combination. Nonetheless it should syntactically be analysed as =*m* *ia*, for example in: *Baru*’ *selamat*=*m* *ia* *dih* (then-safe=*m*-3s-*dih*) ‘Then, his life was really saved.’

from the speaker's supplying the hearer with additional periphrastic explanation (the relevant sentence fragments are underlined):

- (9-89) [The speaker was telling a story that Putung Kempat suffered from a contagious sickness. Her brothers did not want her to live with them, and so they put her in a big jar and had her be swept away by the river. Now, the speaker tells and focuses on what happens with Putung Kempat.]

Jadi kisah Putung Kempat tih, ti kena' peN-pedih  
so story P K tih REL afflicted NOM-sick

ia' tih, asa malam, ba-ren'am ka ay' ia.  
that tih whenever night ANPAS-soak to water 3s  
'So, as for the story of Putung Kempat (you know), who suffered from the disease (you know), whenever it was night, she let herself soak in the water.'

- (9-90) [The siblings were having meals and drinks.]

Aa, udah ia' tih, udah ba-pakay-ba-inum tu'  
Ah after that tih after ANPAS-eat-ANPAS-drink TOP

tih, baru' Putung Kempat tu' ngeN-bay'  
tih then P K TOP ACT-call

ipar N-pan'i' ....  
sibling.in.law ACT-bathe  
'Ah, after that (you know), after (they) had have eaten and drunk (you know), then as for Putung Kempat, she called her sister-in-law to take a bath ....'

#### 9.4.15 *Udah-postposing*

*Udah* (short form: *dah*)<sup>15</sup> as a perfect marker has been described in 8.4.2 of Chapter 8. When used after the verb in verb-fronting constructions, emphasizes the effectuation of the event, e.g.:

- (9-91) [The speaker is explaining what procedure should be followed if a couple would divorce. After such and such things have been fulfilled, ....]  
Sah udah pia'.  
valid udah like.that  
'(Then) valid it is.'

<sup>15</sup> The form [*udəh*] has also been attested. It seems that this form is a weakening pronunciation of *udah*.

- (9-92) [PG's father-in-law told him that his brothers were dividing up their parents' wealth and convinced him that he should visit them and claim his part. Without objection PG left right away.]  
*Aw', Angkat udah Puyang Gana tu' tih.*  
 well go udah P G TOP tih  
 'Well, Puyang Gana **did go.**' (i.e. the action of 'going' was really carried out)

#### 9.4.16 *Wih*

*Wih* involves a feeling or a thought that the speaker seems to ask the hearer to agree with. It is used in all speech acts and has scope either over the preceding constituent or (in clause-final position) the whole clause. Some examples:

- (9-93) [Somebody is writing a letter. She feels that she has written enough and wants to stop.]  
*Udah lay wih! Nyaw lelak.*  
 already lay wih already tired  
 'It's enough (for now), don't you think? I am already tired.'<sup>16</sup>
- (9-94) [The speaker and the hearer are going to cook a chicken.]  
*Sapa N-bunuh manuk wih?*  
 who ACT-kill chicken wih  
 'Who is going to kill the chicken, you know? (I am wondering who is going to do that, can you think of that)?'
- (9-95) [The speaker begs the hearer not to get angry with him.]  
*Nang saw ka ku wih!*  
 don't angry to I s wih  
 'Don't be angry at me, would you, please?'
- (9-96) [The speaker sees traces of an animal in his garden which has been eating his sugarcanes.]  
*Aday abi ti N-pakay tebu .... Apa wih jelu tu'?*  
 exist trace REL ACT-eat sugarcane what wih animal this  
 'There's a trace (of something) eating the sugarcanes .... What kind of animal was it (would you know)?'

The sense of assertion apparent in *bah* is in contrast with the meaning of *wih*. If *wih* in example (9-94) is replaced by *bah*, the meaning of the proposition becomes a past realis, roughly: "Who was it that killed the chicken?"

<sup>16</sup> The function of *wih* is similar to the use of *ya* in spoken Indonesian or Jakarta Malay, e.g. (9-93) is translatable in Jakartan Malay as '*Udah dulu ya. Udah cape.*'



**9.4.17 Double markers**

A clause may have two, or even three, illocutionary markers in succession. Some of them usually occupy clause-final position and occur after other markers. They are *ah*, *bah*, *jara'*, and *dih*. In the following examples brackets indicate the scope of each marker.

- (9-97)     [[*Padah kah bah*]  
              say    *kah bah*  
              ‘Come on tell it, will you (I mean it) ?’
- (9-98)     [[*Naday lama' tih jara'*], *urang N-pansa'*.  
              NEG long *tih jara'* person ACT-pass  
              ‘It didn’t last long (you know), (really), that someone passed.’
- (9-99)     [After Aluy’s father had paid the fine, the problem was thought over  
              by the ghosts. They accepted the fine and did not demand anything  
              else.]  
              *Baru' [sida' ia' tih] [[pulay mah] dih].*  
              then 3p that *tih go.home mah dih*  
              Then, (it happened that) they (those ghosts), really **did** go home.’

For an example of *ah*, see (9-60) above, which has three markers in a row. In (9-97) the speaker stresses the command with *kah* and then adds the marker *bah* to express his being serious about it. In (9-98), the speaker is directing the hearer’s attention to the time (*naday lama'* ‘not long’) after which something happened; and this is reinforced again with the marker *jara'* ‘so it was’. In (9-99), the marker *mah* stresses the cruciality of the action *pulay* ‘go/return home’ and that the ghosts did not do anything else, like staying any longer and demanding something else. The marker *dih* emphasizes that the action is indeed realized.

To summarize the discussion on the illocutionary markers given thus far above, in the following Table 9.3 the markers, their scope and their pragmatic function are listed.

**Table 9.3:** Illocutionary markers and the speaker’s attitudes

Marker	Scope	Pragmatic function
<i>ah</i>	constituent or entire clause	appealing for attention
<i>bada'</i>	entire clause	emotionally expressive
<i>bah</i>	constituent or entire clause	assertive, high certainty
<i>dih</i>	constituent or entire clause	emphasizing the actuality of the event
<i>dulaw/law</i>	entire clause	prioritizing an event over the other
<i>gena</i>	entire clause	random or aimless action

<i>jara'</i>	entire clause	conclusive (so it is)
<i>ja'</i>	constituent	restrictive
<i>kah</i>	entire clause	pressing for the realization of an action in imperatives
<i>kini</i>	entire clause	expressing one's wondering (in questions)
<i>lah</i>	constituent or entire clause	assertive
<i>lay</i>	entire clause	emphasizing the request for a favor (in invitations or exhortations)
<i>mah/m</i>	constituent	emphasizing the importance of the element under focus
<i>tih</i>	constituent	continued appeal on the hearer's attention
<i>udah</i> (postposing)	verb	emphasizing the effectuation of an event
<i>wih</i>	constituent or entire clause	emotionally expressive, appealing for empathy from the hearer

## 9.5 Negation

Negative clauses typically present a counter-assertion to some presupposition (Payne 1997:282; cf. also Givón 2001a, Chapter 8). It is because of this function that the discussion of negation is placed here in this chapter on pragmatically-motivated structures. In the current section negative formatives and their functions in Mualang are specifically addressed. Formally, they are all particles, that is, unbounded invariant forms (cf. the definition of negative particles in J. Payne (1985:222)), some of which are (historically) composed of the negative morpheme *ni-* or *n-* and some “basic” form. Most of these basic forms are still recognizable as independent words, either a verb (e.g. a verb of existence and cognition) and an adverb, a modal, or a noun. The form *ni-* appears before the basic forms beginning with a consonant whereas *n-* occurs before a vowel.<sup>17</sup> The individual discussion of the negative particles is presented below.

### 9.5.1 *Naday*: clausal negation

*Naday*<sup>18</sup> is the standard means for forming a negative clause. It is normally used for “clausal negation”, to negate the entire proposition (in T. Payne's (1997:282). Alternatively it is comparable to the “standard negation” in J. Payne's (1985:198) sense. It denies the occurrence of an event (for example (9-52), repeated below as (9-100)) or a situation (9-101); *naday* cannot be used with predicate nominals (9-102). For negating a predicate nominal, the negator *ukay* is used (cf. example (9-109) below). Throughout this grammar *naday* is glossed ‘NEG’.

<sup>17</sup> In view of the typical phonological vowel deletion process occurring on the vowel of CV-prefixes before bases beginning with a vowel (see 2.5 in Chapter 2), it would make sense to propose (a historical) *ni-* as the underlying form that has undergone such a process.

<sup>18</sup> *Naday* is commonly pronounced as *nday* notably among the speakers of the Upstream dialect.

- (9-100) *Ba-kerja, ku naday N-inyaw urang.*  
ANPASS-work 1s NEG ask.for.help person  
'As for working, I don't rely on others.'
- (9-101) *Ia' naday baik.*  
that NEG good  
'That is not good.'
- (9-102) *\*Ia' naday uma ku.*  
that NEG rice.field 1s  
'That is not my rice field.'

Apparently *naday* is historically derived from *ni-* and *aday* 'exist'. Its meaning 'not exist' is apparent in certain contexts, but in that sense it is marginalized by *nisi* 'existential negative' (see section 9.5.3 below), e.g.:

- (9-103) *Urang miskin mah naday isi'.*  
person poor mah NEG content  
'Poor people (as they are) have nothing.' (Lit. 'Poor person not exist contents')
- (9-104) *Jantung ia naday da dada.*  
heart 3s NEG LOC chest  
'He's very afraid.' (lit. 'His heart does not exist in (his) chest')

The unmarked order of *naday* is S-*naday*-V-(O), as in the above examples. However, it can be fronted for focus to clause-initial position, as in the examples (9-59) and (9-65) above. In these examples, the negative value of the situation is emphasized.

If the verbal predicate is modified by an adverbial expression, the scope of negation applies only to the latter, and not to the predicate. Thus, in (9-105) below, *naday* does not negate the action *ba-jalay* 'walk', since the action did take place; instead it negates the manner adverb *lama* 'long', regardless of its syntactic position.

- (9-105) a. *Sida' naday ba-jalay lama'.*  
3p NEG ANPAS-road long  
'They did not walk long.'
- b. *Sida' ba-jalay naday lama'.*  
3p ANPAS-road NEG long  
'They walked not long.'
- c. *Naday lama' sida' ba-jalay.*  
NEG long 3p ANPAS-road  
'Not long they walked.'

The difference between (105a) and (b, c) is focus. Sentence (a) is neutral, whereas sentences (b) and (c) counter-assert some presupposition on the adverbial expression (e.g. the hearer might think that it would take a longer time for the people to walk).

*Naday* is also normally used as a plain negative response:

- (9-106)    “*Ka’ tin’uk?*”            “*Naday.*”  
                   FUT sleep                    NEG  
                   “‘Are you going to go to bed?’”    “‘No.’”

### 9.5.2            *Ukay* ‘no, not’: contrastive negation

*Ukay* ‘no, not’ (below glossed as CONT.NEG) is best compared with *naday*. The latter negates the performance or occurrence of the event/situation expressed in *verbal* predicates. *Ukay*, on the other hand, does not deal with the truth value of an event/situation, but it rather denies the essence of the negated element supposedly thought of by the hearer. As an illustration, *naday* in (107a) simply denies the occurrence of an event, namely ‘go home’. However, in (b), an event did take place, and *ukay* does not deny its occurrence, but rather it denies that it was that kind of action.

- (9-107)    a. *Ia naday pulay.*  
                   3s NEG go.home  
                   ‘He did not go home.’
- b. *Ku ukay pulay. (Baru’ ka’ angkat.)*  
                   1s CONT.NEG go.home just FUT go  
                   ‘I am not going home. (I am just about to leave).’ [The speaker is passing by; the interlocutor mistakenly thinks he is returning home.]

Given its contrastive function to negate only a particular constituent of the clause, especially nominal elements or those elements behaving like a nominal referent (9-108 – 9-110), as such it is typically used with predicate nominals (9-110):

- (9-108)    *Ukay ia’, nya’!*  
                   CONT.NEG that that  
                   ‘Not that (one), that one (over there)!’

- (9-109)    - *Ia datay kemari’.*  
                   3s come yesterday
- *Ukay. Ukay kemari’, tadi’ bah.*  
                   CONT.NEG CONT.NEG yesterday a.while.ago bah  
                   - ‘He arrived yesterday.’  
                   - ‘No, it was not yesterday, it was just a while ago (really).’

- (9-110) *Ia' ukay uma ku.*  
 that CONT.NEG rice.field 1s  
 'That is not my rice field.' (I do have a rice field, but you mis-identified it)

Because of its contrastive function *ukay* is the appropriate negator for the focused constituent in cleft constructions:

- (9-111) *Ukay urang tay budu, m'ih kediri'.*  
 CONT.NEG person REL stupid 2s.masc one's.self  
 'It's not others that are stupid, (it's) you yourself.'
- (9-112) *Ukay ia' tay da-beri' sida' ka ku tih.*  
 CONT.NEG that REL PASS-give 3p to 1s tih  
 'It's not that one that was given to me by them.'

Replacement of *uday* by *naday* in (9-111 and 9-112) would yield an ungrammatical clause.

### 9.5.3. *Nisi'*: existential negation

*Nisi'* is historically composed of *ni-* and *isi'* 'content'.<sup>19</sup> It counter-asserts any presupposition involving *aday* (cf. Chapter 6 on existentials and 9.2.4 above on *aday-focus*), which basically includes the following functions:

a) it denies the existence of the referent of the subject of the clause in place or time. In this function, *nisi'* becomes part of the predicate, e.g:

- (9-113) *Inay nisi' da dapur.*  
 mother EXIST.NEG LOC kitchen  
 'Mother wasn't in the kitchen.'
- (9-114) *Nyaw pitu' rumah panyay nisi' agi'.*  
 already like.this house long EXIST.NEG again  
 'Nowadays there are no longhouses anymore.'

b) it is used as an inherently negative quantifier (to use Payne's 1985:204 term) and can co-occur with the standard negator *naday* (9-118). It is used prenominally, as in (9-115 – 9-116), or in an absolute form, as in (9-117).

- (9-115) *Nisi' urang aba' ia.*  
 EXIST.NEG person follow 3s  
 'There was nobody who followed her.'

<sup>19</sup> Another typical expression with *isi'* can be seen in the word *bisi'*, from *ba-* + *isi'*, which means, besides 'have contents', 'there is'.

(9-116) *Nisi' apa-apa.*  
 EXIST.NEG what-RED  
 'There was nothing.' / 'It doesn't matter / it's nothing.'

(9-117) *Nisi' tay kuat ari ku.*  
 EXIST.NEG REL strong from 1s  
 'There is nobody who is stronger than I am.'

(9-118) *Nisi' urang naday angkat.*  
 EXIST.NEG person NEG go  
 'No one did not go.' (everyone left)

c) it counter-asserts the kind of presupposition found in "aday-focus" (see 9.2.4) above. It emphatically denies the occurrence of an event, e.g:

(9-119) *Nisi' ku N-peda' m'ih ngeN-bay' burung!*  
 EXIST.NEG 1s ACT-see 2s.masc ACT-bring bird  
 'There was no such thing as my seeing you bring a bird!'

(9-120) *Urang nisi' taw' N-bantah kita.*  
 person EXIST.NEG can ACT-argue 1p.incl  
 'Others will not be able to argue with us.'

(9-121) *Tu' menyadi' kula' b-uma, N-pabat-N-tebang,*  
 this sibling TOA<sup>20</sup> ANPAS-rice.field ACT-slash-act-cut

*nisi' N-padah, nisi' N-pinta'.*  
 EXIST.NEG ACT-say EXIST.NEG ACT-ask  
 'Now your siblings, my son-in-law, are doing rice field work, slashing and cutting down trees, without telling (you) and asking (for your permission).'

d) it expresses a negative possession:

(9-122) *Nyaw malam, sida' nisi' guris.*  
 already night 3p EXIST.NEG matches  
 'It was already night, they did not have matches.'

(9-123) *Kera' tu' budu, nisi' akal.*  
 long-tailed.macaque TOP stupid EXIST.NEG idea  
 'Kera' was stupid, it hadn't any ideas.'

The expression *n'a' bisi'* 'not exist' as in the following example has the same meaning as *nisi'*:

<sup>20</sup> A term of address for a son-in-law.

- (9-124) *Diang apay-inay n'a' b-isi' N-padah ....*  
 the.late father-mother not ANPAS-content ACT-say  
 'The late father and mother never said (lit. 'not exist say') ....'

#### 9.5.4 *Nitaw'*: 'not know', 'can't', 'may not', habitual inability

*Nitaw'* derives from the combination of *ni-* and *taw'* 'know', 'know how', 'can/may'. *Nitaw'* is the negation of *taw'*; it can be used on its own as a reply. It functions as a negative verb in its own right when meaning 'not know' (9-125), and as a modal auxiliary when conveying other meanings such as 'cannot' (negative ability) 'may not' (negative permissiveness) (9-126) or 'not get used to' (habitual inability) (9-127).

- (9-125) *Ku nitaw' bada'.*  
 1s not.know bada'  
 'I (just) don't know.'
- (9-126) *M'ih nitaw' angkat.*  
 2s.masc can't/may.not go  
 'You can't / may not go.'
- (9-127) *Sida' nitaw' ba-laya'.*  
 3p HAB.INAB ANPAS-quarrel  
 'They don't get used to having quarrels.'

Besides *nitaw'*, a "long" form *naday taw'* with the same meanings occurs in competition. It seems likely that the long form is used when the negation itself is more emphasized, for example in "naday-fronting":

- (9-128) *Asa m'ih da jalay, nitaw' bada' jalay.*  
 whenever 2s.masc LOC road not.know bada' way  
  
*pinang tu', m'ih pakay isi', kulit m'ih tunu.*  
 bettlenut TOP 2s.masc eat content peel 2s.masc burn  
  
*Naday m'ih taw' tesat.*  
 NEG 2s.masc can lost  
 'Whenever you are on the way and don't know the way, eat this  
 bettlenut and burn its peel. (And) you **can't** get lost.'

In (9-128), the fronted *naday* is more focused and emphasized than its "neutral" form *nitaw'* in the preceding clause. Such a use has often been noticed.

#### 9.5.5 *Bedaw* 'not yet'

*Bedaw* means 'not yet'. It negates the whole clause (9-129) or only a particular constituent, normally an adverb (9-130):

(9-129) *Padi bedaw mudah.*  
 rice not.yet ripe  
 ‘The rice has not ripened yet.’

(9-130) *Bedaw lama’ ia mansang.*  
 not.yet long 3s pass  
 ‘He passed by not yet long ago.’

### 9.5.6 *Nang*: imperative negation

*Nang* ‘don’t’ is used in imperatives (commands, orders, exhortations, etc.). It can constitute an utterance on its own. (See also 9.6.2.2 on prohibitives)

(9-131) *Nang m’ih k=ili!*  
 don’t 2s.masc to=downstream  
 ‘Don’t (you) go downstream!’

### 9.5.7 *Ngay*: ‘not want’

*Ngay* functions as a negative auxiliary meaning ‘not want’, e.g.:<sup>21</sup>

(9-132) *S-iku’ ngay N-tamak bubu.*  
 ONE-CLASS not.want ACT-enter k.o.fishing.trap  
 ‘The other one doesn’t want to come into the fishing trap.’

(9-133) *Ah, ngay ku.*  
 uh, not.want 1s  
 ‘Uh, I don’t want.’

### 9.5.8 *N’a’* ‘(or) not’

*N’a’* is a negative auxiliary. Its use is not entirely clear at this stage of my research. However, it seems that it is normally used in an “alternative” negation, such as *nyaw n’a’* ‘already or not’, *bedaw n’a’* ‘not yet or not’, *ngapa n’a’* ‘why not’, e.g.:

(9-134) *Kati, aday n’a’?*  
 how exist not  
 ‘How is it, is it there or not?’

<sup>21</sup> Dunselman (1955) has both *ng’ay* (*nggai* in his spelling) and *ngay* (*ngai*). However, I have not heard the former pronunciation. Ketungau Sesat, another Ibanic variety very close to Mualang, has *ngey*, but one older informant, from the village of Natai Ucong, exaggeratedly pronounced it as *nggey* in casual speech. Another speaker of Ketungau Sesat from the village of Sejirak gave me the form *nggay*. This suggests at least a historical *nggay* or *ng’ay* in Mualang.



- (9-135) *Nyaw n'a' ia datay kin wih?*  
 already not 3s come to.there.(far) wih  
 'Has he arrived there yet or not (I am wondering)?'
- (9-136) *D=alam pikir sida', ntah agi' n'a' idup.*  
 LOC=inside thought 3p not.know still not alive  
 'In their hearts they did not know whether she was still alive or not.'
- (9-137) *Aw', N-peda' ia' nsia n'a' nsia.*  
 well ACT-see that human not human  
 'Well, he saw that (thing) was like a human but not (really) a human.'
- (9-138) *Ku ditu' ngapa n'a' nyamay?*  
 Is here why not comfortable  
 'Why did I feel uncomfortable here?'

### 9.5.9 *Ntah*: ignorance

*Ntah* means 'not know'. It expresses the speaker's or the reported speaker's lack of knowledge regarding something. It also carries a connotation of indifference and often occurs twice in a clause: 'whether A or B, I don't know (and don't care really)'. The first or the only *ntah* is always used clause-initially; *ntah* can stand alone as an answer. Examples:

- (9-139) *Ntah kikay pe-mansang ia.*  
 not.know where NOM-pass 3s  
 'I don't know (it's not known) where he passed through.'
- (9-140) *Ntah ti laki ntah ti in'u'.*  
 not.know REL male not.know REL female  
 'It's not known, either the male or the female.'

### 9.5.10 *Nikala* 'never'

*Nikala* 'never' is a negative adverbial auxiliary that can also stand alone as a reply. It is interchangeable with the "long form" *naday kala*, e.g.:<sup>22</sup>

- (9-141) *Ku nikala' ka Punt.*  
 Is never to P  
 'I've never been to the city of Pontianak.'

<sup>22</sup> *Kala* 'is always used with a negation.

- (9-142) *Sida' naday kala' N-peda' m'ih datay.*  
 3p NEG ever ACT-see 2s.masc come  
 'They've never seen you come.'

#### 9.5.11 *Nusah* 'needn't': negative obligation

*Nusah* 'needn't' has a prohibitive sense. It probably derives historically from *ni-* and *usah*. However, the form *usah* itself does not exist in current Mualang. *Nusah* functions as an auxiliary, but it can be used on its own as a reply.

- (9-143) *Nusah mah m'ih aba'.*  
 needn't mah 2s.masc follow  
 'There's no need for you to come along.'

#### 9.5.12 *Nupa* 'not as, not like'

*Nupa* is composed of *ni-* and *upa* 'as, like'. Besides *nupa*, *naday upa* also occurs. The difference is not clear at present; however *naday upa* is found more frequently (9-145). *Nupa* seems to appear in idiomatic-like expressions (9-144).

- (9-144) *Nupa kayu ari besi, nya' N-suruh naday tan.*  
 not.as wood from iron that ACT-cause NEG endure  
 'Wood is not like iron (wood is not as strong as iron), that's why it's not durable.'
- (9-145) *Anak kemua naday upa kemua.'*  
 child 1d.excl NEG as 1d.excl  
 'Our child (the child of two of us) does not look like us.'

Finally it should be mentioned that several negators are also used in special questions, for instance in the function of a question tag (see 9.6 below).

### 9.6 Non-declarative speech acts

Declarative clauses are usually informative and considered the unmarked clause type (Sadock and Zwicky 1985:165, Payne 1997:294). For the most part, the discussion in Chapter 7 exemplifies this type of clause. This section will be dealing only with the morphosyntax and functions of the major speech act types of interrogatives (9.6.1) and imperatives (9.6.2).

#### 9.6.1 Interrogatives

Interrogative clauses express "a request for information rather than an assertion" (Payne 1997:295). Several sub-types of interrogatives are discussed below: yes/no questions (9.6.1.1), question-word questions (9.6.1.2), rhetorical questions (9.6.1.3), and indirect questions (9.6.1.4).

## 9.6.1.1 Yes/no questions

The term yes/no question refers to interrogative clauses that ask for a polarity response, i.e. positive (“yes”) or negative (“no”). In Mualang, yes/no questions differ from declaratives only in one respect: it is pronounced with a rising final intonation, in contrast to a falling one in a declarative. The word order of constituents may vary depending on the focused element (see 9.2.2 above):

(9-146) a. *Ia angkat aba' wan?*  
 3s go with 2s.hon  
 ‘Did he go with you?’

b. *Aba' wan ia angkat?*  
 with 2s.hon 3s go  
 ‘With you did he go?’

Several corresponding negators can be used utterance-finally as question tags in positive yes/no questions. The resulting “tag questions” differ from the corresponding yes/no questions in that they imply that the speaker assumes the content of the yes/no question to be true, but that he is not completely sure of it. With the negative tag he requests the hearer to confirm his expectation.

(9-147) *Haa, ka' da-surup, naday?*  
 (laughing) want PASS-help NEG  
 ‘Haa, do you want me to help, or not?’

(9-148) *M'ih dah N-pakay, bedaw?*  
 2s.masc PERF ACT-eat not.yet  
 ‘You have eaten, haven’t you?’

(9-149) *Tu' nu' ku, ukay?*  
 this belong.to 1s CONT.NEG  
 ‘This is mine, isn’t it?’

(9-150) *Aday, nisi'?*  
 exist EXIST.NEG  
 ‘There is, isn’t there?’

(9-147) was uttered in the situation where the speaker saw or thought the hearer had a problem but did (contrary to speaker’s expectation) not ask for help; and with the negative tag the speaker sought confirmation of his expectation that the hearer in fact did want to be helped. In (9-148), the speaker expected that the hearer had eaten, but would have been impolite not to doubt it. In (9-149), the speaker wasn’t quite sure that the thing in question belonged to him, although he thought it did. Similarly, in (9-150) he would not be certain without any doubt that the topic of conversation was there. If the content of the question is negative, the additional pragmatic intent is normally expressed via the use of an illocutionary marker, instead

of some sort of a question tag, such as in example (9-155) below where *wih* may function as such.

The tag questions are marked by a slightly rising intonation on the tag. If the intonation on the negator is falling, it is no longer a tag but an alternative. This may be expressed explicitly by the use of *ataw* 'or' (9-151 and 152):

(9-151) *M'ih dah N-pakay ataw bedaw?*  
 2s.masc PERF ACT-eat or not.yet  
 'Have you eaten or not yet?'

(9-152) *Tu' nu' ku ataw ukay?*  
 this belong.to 1s or CONT.NEG  
 'This is mine or it isn't?'

With such alternative yes/no questions as in (9-151 – 9-152) the speaker seems to be neutral with respect to (un)certainty.

As for responses to yes/no questions, the following means are used:

a) With the particle *aw'* 'yes'. This particle is a neutral positive reply both for a positive question (as in (9-146)) and for a negative question (as in (9-154)).<sup>23</sup>

b) With a corresponding negator. With respect to positive yes/no questions, a response with negators can only mean to give a negative reply, i.e. what the speaker asked does not hold. For example, a negative reply with *naday* to the question in (9-146) simply means 'No, he didn't'. A negative response toward a negative yes/no question on the other hand can be interpreted both as consent to and as disagreement with what was asked. Usually the context and the intonation contour accompanying the negator clarify the intended meaning sufficiently. With a relatively flat intonation, a response with all relevant negators expresses positively that the speaker agrees with the content of the question. Such a response with a negator, rather than with *aw'*, seems to express a more emphatic consent. For example:

(9-153) - *M'ih naday/bedaw N-pakay?* - *Naday/bedaw.*  
 2s.masc NEG/not.yet ACT-eat NEG/not.yet  
 - 'Don't you eat?' / 'Haven't you eaten yet?'  
 - 'No, I don't.' / 'Not yet, I haven't.'

<sup>23</sup> *Aw'* can actually function more than only as an affirmative reply to a question. It is also used as a sign of an agreement in the middle of a talk or conversation to what the speaker is saying, as a neutral sign that the hearer is still following the talk, or as a positive reply to a request/order. It is also used by the speaker in the middle of a stretch of speech to sum up what has been said thus far, before continuing his account: "Yes, so it was/goes"; "Ok". Interestingly, the particle *aw'* is also found in other languages in West Kalimantan, including languages which are not Ibanic such as the Land Dayak language Ahe, and most Malayic dialects (e.g. Delang, Ketapang).

- (9-154) - *Ia nisi' da rumah?* - *Nisi'.*  
 3s EXIST.NEG LOC house - EXIST.NEG  
 - 'He's not at home?'  
 - 'No, he's not.'
- (9-155) - *Nya' ukay ia wih?* - *Ukay.*  
 that CONT.NEG 3s wih - CONT.NEG  
 - 'Wasn't that him (or was it)?'  
 - 'No, it wasn't him.'

However, responses with *naday*, *ukay* or *nisi'* toward a negative question may also convey the reverse, i.e. disagreement with the negative content. This happens when they are pronounced with a particular intonation contour: relatively stretched and rising word-finally. For example, in a situation where someone was asked several times to eat but he/she did not eat, then the speaker would ask again for reconfirmation: "*M'ih naday makay?*" 'You don't eat?' The answer *Naday* (uttered with some feeling of irritation) potentially expresses disagreement with *naday* in the repeated question, to the effect that the speaker is saying that he wants to eat.

c) With the modal auxiliary or main verb used in the question. The modal auxiliary, if any, or the main verb of a yes/no question may be used as a positive response to the question. Such a reply seems to be more emphatic than a response with *aw'*. For example:

- (9-156) - *M'ih dah N-pakay?* - *Dah.*  
 - 2s.masc PERF ACT-eat - PERF  
 - 'Have you eaten?'  
 - 'Yes, I have.' (Lit. 'Already.')
- (9-157) - *Ia aday da rumah?* - *Aday.*  
 3s exist LOC house - exist  
 - 'Is he at home?'  
 - 'Yes, he is.' (Lit. 'Exist.')

#### 9.6.1.2 Question-word questions

Question-word questions are also called content questions, information questions, or *wh*-questions (Payne 1997:299). Such questions ask for particular information specified through question words. The following question words are used in Mualang:

<i>apa</i>	'what'
<i>sapa</i>	'who'
<i>berapa</i>	'how many'
<i>kati</i>	'how'
<i>dini</i>	'where (location)'
<i>kikay</i>	'where (direction)'
<i>ari ni</i> (shortened: <i>reni</i> )	'from where'

<i>kebila, bila, kemaya</i>	‘when’
<i>ngapa</i>	‘why’
<i>ni</i>	‘which’, ‘where’

Unmarked question-word questions are normally uttered with a rising intonation at the end of the clause. *Kati* dan *ngapa* are normally clause-initial. The positions of *apa*, *sapa*, and *berapa* in the sentence correspond with the position of the noun phrase and quantifier phrase they stand for (see below). The default position of all other question words is clause-initial, but for pragmatic reasons they may become clause-final (to be followed only by a pragmatic particle such as *wih*).

- (9-158) *Kati N-pulah tu’?*  
 how ACT-make this  
 ‘How do we make this?’
- (9-159) *Ngapa m’ih lawun datay pia’?*  
 why 2s.masc slow come like.that  
 ‘Why did you come so late?’
- (9-160) *Dini wan diaw? (or: Wan diaw dini?)*  
 at.where 2s.hon live  
 ‘Where do you live?’
- (9-161) *Kikay sedua? (or: Sedua kikay?)*  
 to.where 2d  
 ‘Where are you two going?’
- (9-162) *Reni peN-datay sida’? (or: Panatay sida’ reni?)*  
 from.where NOM-come 3p  
 ‘Where did they just come from?’
- (9-163) *Kebila apay angkat ka uma wih?*  
 when father go to rice.field *wih*  
 (or: *Apay angkat ka uma kebila wih?*)  
 ‘When is father going to the rice field then?’
- (9-164) *Ni selawar ku? (or: Selawar ku ni?)*  
 which pants 1s  
 ‘Which (where) are my pants?’

*Ni* also means ‘which (one)’, asked to select a particular referent from a number of possible ones, e.g.:

- (9-165) *Miak ni?*  
 child which.one  
 ‘Which child?’

In (9-158 – 9-164) with the clause-initial question word the focus of the question is pragmatically neutral, i.e. the speaker simply requires the intended information; whereas with the question word in clause-final position the subject of the clause is focused. In (9-161) for instance, when someone comes across two people on the way, it is the direction that is normally asked in passing (as in the first alternative); but the second alternative would be appropriate if the speaker would like to deal with the subject (e.g. if he had been looking for the two addressees).

*Kebila*, *bila* and *kemaya* are all (near-) synonyms. *Bila* is used most often, whereas the other two are rare. *Kemaya* is considered (by informants) as an old word (or *bahasa dalam* ‘deep or old language’). *Apa* (for non-human entities) and *sapa* (for human beings) remain *in situ*, i.e. in the normal syntactic position of the constituent in question (subject, object, possession and oblique), e.g.:

- (9-166) *Sapa N-bunuh manuk wih?* (= in subject position)  
 who ACT-kill chicken *wih*  
 ‘Who is going to kill the chicken (would you know)?’
- (9-167) *Ka’ kia’ N-am’i’ apa?* (= in object position)  
 want thither.near ACT-take what  
 ‘What do you want to get there?’ (lit. ‘You go there to get what?’)
- (9-168) a. *Ia angkat aba’ sapa?* (= in “associative” oblique position)  
 3s go with who  
 ‘He went with whom?’
- b. *Aba’ sapa ia angkat?*  
 with who 3s go  
 (= in “associative” oblique position, but with focus)  
 ‘With whom did he go?’
- (9-169) *Kubur sapa ti aday da Nanga Sepawuk nya’?*  
 grave who REL exist LOC estuary S that  
  
*Urang kita ataw bukay?*  
 person 1p.excl or other  
 ‘Whose grave is it that is at the Sepauk Estuary? Is it someone of or own people or someone else?’
- (9-170) *Getah sapa ia’?*  
 latex who that  
 ‘Whose latex is that?’

*Apa* can also be used attributively at the end of a noun phrase:

- (9-171) *Bulan apa?*  
 month what  
 ‘What month?’

- (9-172) *Nyun bukit apa ia'?*  
 that.far.away hill what that  
 'What hill is that there in the distance?'

*Berapa* functions as a question word for quantity or a number. As such its position is *in situ* in the quantifying phrase (see Chapter 4), i.e. both pre- and post-nominal, e.g.:

- (9-173) *Aday berapa iku' sida'?*  
 exist how.many CLASS 3p  
 'How many people are they?'

- (9-174) *Tawun berapa?*  
 year how.many  
 'What year?'

Generic quantity is questioned with *berapa* followed by the measurement in question, e.g. *berapa lama* 'how long?', *berapa luas* 'how wide?', *berapa besay* 'how big?'.  
 Question-word questions can also be clefted with the relativizer *tay/ti* for contrastive focus which may imply emotional overtones.

- (9-175) *Sapa tay ba-tabiāt macam tu'?*  
 who REL ANPAS-character like this  
 'Who was it that behaved like this?'

- (9-176) *Ni ti peramu m'ih?*  
 which REL clothing 2s.masc  
 'Which one is it that is your clothing?'

- (9-177) *Apa ti da-bay' ia'?*  
 what REL PASS-bring that  
 'What is it that is brought?'

- (9-178) *Berapa ti Ni' beli'?*  
 how.many REL grandmother buy  
 'How many was it that Grandmother bought?'

In (9-175) the speaker was angry about the thing that happened, and emphatically questioned who was the person who did it. In (9-176), the question was focused for contrast, because there were some pieces of clothing to choose from, and the speaker had to take care of them. In (9-178) the speaker appeared to be annoyed with his grandmother's tendency to buy more than she needed. Clauses such as (9-175 – 9-178) can be used without the relativizer *tay*, in which case the clauses will become pragmatically neutral: the speaker is simply asking for information.



## 9.6.1.3 Rhetorical questions

Rhetorical questions are those that do not solicit an actual answer. A speaker will ask a rhetorical question for a number of reasons, all of which ultimately serve the goal of convincing his audience to agree with his point of view. There are two typical ways for forming rhetorical questions as attested in Mualang:

a) with a particular intonation. This is typically used with question-word questions, in which the question word is pronounced with a longer and higher pitch and the sentential intonation is falling at the end of the clause. Generally contexts help in identifying the rhetorical intent. In the following examples, the stressed question word is capitalized:

(9-179) *Apa lah utay ia', naday jadi?*  
 what lah thing that NEG become  
 'What is it that thing, formless in shape?'

(9-180) *Nti' ia naday salah, ngapa kita N-padah salah?*  
 if 3s NEG wrong why 1p.incl ACT-say wrong  
 'If he was not wrong, why did we say he was?'

b) with a special negative particle, most typically *ukay*, or a combination of *baday* ... *naday*, e.g.:<sup>24</sup>

(9-181) *Ukay sempang urang tuay N-padah ....*  
 CONT.NEG proverb person old ACT-say  
 'Doesn't the proverb of the old people say ....'

(9-182) *Baday m'ih naday N-pegay iku' ku pia'?*  
*baday* 2s.masc NEG ACT-hold tail 1s like.that  
 'Aren't you holding my tail?'

(9-183) *Baday m'ih naday kitu' agi'?*  
*baday* 2s.masc NEG to.here again  
 'Aren't you coming here again?'

## 9.6.1.4 Indirect questions

Indirect questions normally function as complements of verbs of cognition and utterance (cf. Sadock and Zwicky 1985:186).<sup>25</sup> In Mualang, indirect question-word questions usually appear with a final falling intonation (9-184 – 9-186), e.g.:

<sup>24</sup> It is not certain at present what *baday* itself means. One possibility is that it is derived from *b-aday* 'ANPAS-exist' (cf. *b-isi* 'ANPAS-content', which has the derivative meaning 'exist').

<sup>25</sup> Indirect questions are called "dependent questions" in Sadock and Zwicky 1985:186. For a discussion of complement clauses, see 10.3 in Chapter 10.

- (9-184) *Ia nitaw' bada' [ari ni utay ia' datay jara']*.  
 3s not.know bada' from where thing that come jara'  
 'He just did not know where that thing came from (as it did).'
- (9-185) *Urang iran [ngapa ia N-beri' apay ia kin]*.  
 person wonder why 3s ACT-give father 3s to.there.far  
 'People wondered why she let her father go there.'
- (9-186) *Ku N-tanya' [kikay pe-mansang m'ih]*.  
 1s ACT-ask to.where NOM-pass 2s.masc  
 'I asked you where you are passing to.'

Since question words are also used as indefinite pronouns,<sup>26</sup> they can occur in a relative clause as the head; and when such relative clauses function as a complement of verbs other than those of cognition and utterance, they structurally resemble the indirect question-word questions. However, intonationally they are uttered as a normal declarative clause, e.g.:

- (9-187) *Kita kerja [apa tay ba-guna]*.  
 1p.incl work what REL ANPAS-benefit  
 'We work that which is useful.'

Indirect yes/no questions may have a final falling intonation either or not preceded by a slight rise. They may be introduced with *apa* 'whether' (9-188) or simply without it (9-189):

- (9-188) *N-tanya' kita tay apay-inay [(apa) kita' setuju]*.  
 Act-ask 1p.incl REL father-mother what 2p agree  
 'We, the parents asked whether you all agree.'
- (9-189) *Ia ka' N-tanya' [m'ih udah mis N-ketaw, bedaw]*.  
 3s want ACT-ask 2s.masc PERF finished ACT-harvest not.yet  
 'He wanted to ask whether you have yet finished harvesting or not?'

### 9.6.2 Imperatives

Imperatives are a kind of speech act that commands the hearer to perform an action or to be in a particular state. In Mualang the primary grammatical means for expressing imperatives is by using the verb in its bare form, i.e. morphologically unmarked. This is most evident with transitive verbs, since they are the most marked morphologically. Functionally this imperative may be labeled as a "typically direct"

<sup>26</sup> See 4.1.1.1 in Chapter 4; for relative clauses see Chapter 10.

one, since it directly confronts the addressee with the necessity of performing an action. Formal features of this imperative are as follows:

- it is common for the verb to appear all by itself; in a typical imperative intonation the stressed syllable of the verb tends to be pronounced more dynamically especially if the action is deemed urgent by the speaker; the clause tends to end with an abrupt falling intonation;
- the intended agent (the addressee, or in case of an adhortative the addressee and the speaker) is implied. If it is explicitly expressed (usually in order to emphasize who is the performer), it does not appear as a grammatical subject, but either as a vocative or preceded by the preposition *ulih* 'by';
- the patient of the verb, if it appears, comes directly after the verb.

The following examples illustrate direct imperatives:

- (9-190) a. *Diaw!*  
quiet  
'Be quiet!'
- b. *M'ih / Demung, diaw!*  
2s.masc/D quiet  
'You / Demung, be quiet!'
- c. *Diaw, m'ih / Demung!*  
quiet 2s.masc/D  
'Be quiet, you / Demung!'
- (9-191) a. *Am'i'!*  
take  
'Take it!'
- b. *M'ih / Demung, am'i'!*  
2s.masc/D take  
'You / Demung, take it!'
- c. *Am'i', m'ih / Demung!*  
take 2s.masc/D  
'Take it, you / Demung!'
- (9-192) *Am'i' isaw kin!*  
take machete thither.(far)  
'Get the machete over there!'
- (9-193) *Tu' ubi, tunu ulih m'ih!*  
this cassava bake by 2s.masc  
'These are cassavas, you bake them!'

(9-190) and (9-191) illustrate examples with intransitive and transitive verbs, respectively. Examples (b) and (c) contain a pronoun and a person's name separated from the verb by a slight pause; i.e. they function as a vocative, rather than as the grammatical subject. In rapid speech tempo, however, the pause may become inaudible which obscures the difference with intransitive verbs between a vocative and a grammatical subject (cf. the use of a declarative intransitive clause as imperative in “secondary imperatives” below). For transitive imperatives, however, the verb is marked morphologically with the active prefix *N-* if the expression for the agent is the subject. Note that although the structure of the inverse voice such as in *m'ih am'i* with the zero marking (i.e. without the active *N-*) has *m'ih* as the agent, the utterance of (9-191b) cannot be interpreted as an inverse clause, since it has no overt patient. This fact typically distinguishes the imperative clause from the inverse voice construction. (Compare the use of inverse clauses in “secondary imperatives” below). The appearance of the agent or the performer in an agent-phrase in (9-193) also supports the view that direct imperatives are subjectless grammatically.

That *m'ih/Demung* ‘2s.masc/Demong’ in (9-191c) is not the grammatical object is known from the fact that they are not pronounced with the verb under a single intonation contour as is usually the case with a grammatical object, such as in (9-192), where *isaw* ‘machete’ is the grammatical object.

However, two verbs have thus far been found to alternatively appear marked with the active *N-* in imperatives, besides being used with a bare form, namely *pakay* ~ *N-pakay* ‘eat’ and *tiki* ~ *N-tiki* ‘come in, stop by’ (lit. ‘climb’).<sup>27</sup> One possible answer for their frequent use in *N-*forms could be that they are in such common use in daily life:

(9-194)    *N-pakay bah!*  
 ACT-eat *bah*  
 ‘Eat, please!’

(9-195)    *N-tiki' lay!*  
 ACT-climb *lay*  
 ‘Come in/stop by, come on!’

#### 9.6.2.1 Secondary grammatical means to express imperatives

As has been noticed in Sadock and Zwicky (1985:191): “it is possible to use nearly any sentence (my term: clause) type with the effect of nearly any other, under appropriate circumstances”. This holds for Mualang in as far as an imperative effect can also be achieved by the use of yes/no questions and declarative clauses of any voice type. (9-196 – 9-197) are examples of yes/no questions that are used to get somebody to do something:

<sup>27</sup> Traditional Mualang longhouses and typical old/traditional houses are relatively high above the ground. People have to climb upon ladders to get into the house. Thus, *N-tiki*’ (ACT-climb) ‘come in, stop by’ (i.e. climb up on the ladders) has to be understood against this background; the verb continues to be used with the derived meaning even though some present-day houses may almost be level with the ground, and thus have no ladders.

- (9-196) *Angkat?* (exhortation)  
Go  
'Should we go/are you ready to go?'
- (9-197) *M'ih bedaw tin'uk wih?* (suggestion, order)  
2s.masc not.yet sleep *wih*  
'Aren't you sleeping yet?' (I want you to go to bed. I am wondering why you didn't go to bed yet)

Such imperatives with questions are indirect in nature, i.e. the speaker does not confront the addressee directly with the necessity of performing the action.

Declarative clauses too can have an imperative effect under the following conditions:

- the agent (whether or not expressed as the subject of the clause) refers to the addressee or to the addressee and the speaker;
- the event is irrealis, i.e. it has not occurred yet;
- with an "imperative" intonation, the verb receives stronger stress.

No imperative effect has been attested for constructions with the middle *te-*, and the adversative *kena*', in which the "agent" has no control over the action. (9-198) – (9-202) are examples of secondary imperatives, in the shape of respectively an intransitive (dynamic) stative, an active, an inverse, a passive, and an antipassive clause.

- (9-198) *Angkat mah kita!*  
go mah 1p.incl  
'Let's just get off!'
- (9-199) *M'ih N-pegay jari' ku!*  
2s.masc ACT-hold arm 1s  
'You hold my hand!'
- (9-200) *Asa m'ih da jalay, nitaw' bada' jalay,*  
whenever 2s.masc LOC way not.know bada' way  
  
*pinang tu' m'ih pakay, kulit m'ih tunu,*  
betel.nut this 2s.masc eat peel 2s.masc burn  
  
*naday m'ih tesat.*  
NEG 2s.masc lost  
'Whenever you're on the way and don't know the way, this betel nut you eat, the peel you burn, that way you won't get lost.'
- (9-201) *Da-bay' pulay (ulih m'ih)!*  
PASS-bring go.home by 2s.masc  
'Get (it) brought home (by you).'

- (9-202) *Ba-diri'!*  
ANPAS-self  
'Stand up!'

In comparison with the direct imperatives such declarative clauses with an imperative effect can convey 'mild' imperatives (e.g. a suggestion, advice, or instruction). In accordance with the functional nature of the clause type moreover (see Chapter 7), the speaker can make some particular element of the clause more salient by topicalizing it. This strategy is normally not achievable through the regular direct imperatives which put emphasis solely on the action itself. For instance, with the stative (9-198) the subject is highly involved. With the active (9-199), the agent and the patient are required, with the agent being topicalized. A similar case is found in the inverse (9-200), but with the patient being topicalized. In the passive (9-201), it is the patient alone that is topicalized in relation to the action that is expected to be carried out. With both the inverse and passive constructions the notion of involvement of the addressee as the intended performer of the action is suppressed, which softens the imperative effect. The inverse in (9-199), for example, sounds more like an instruction (or piece of advice) than a command or order. With the inverse and passive constructions, as shown in (9-203 and (9-204) below, the benefactive argument can be foregrounded (that is, the speaker emphasizes the action to be carried out for the benefit of the topicalized element):

- (9-203) *Kami dulaw beri' ka darah!*  
1p.excl first give to blood  
(= inverse, with topicalized benefactive subject)  
'Give the blood **to us** first!'
- (9-204) *D-am'i' ka ay' (ulih m'ih)!*  
PASS-take to water by 2s.masc  
(= passive, with topicalized (deleted) benefactive subject)  
'Get (for us) the water (by you)!'

Note that we are dealing with "advancements" in (9-203) and (9-204) with the patient *darah* 'blood' and *ay'* 'water' marked with *ka*. In (9-204) the benefactive subject is dropped (zero anaphora).

Imperatives may be used with some of the illocutionary markers to additionally express the speaker's attitude with respect to the command, order, etc. The illocutionary markers that can be used with imperatives include *wih*, *bah*, *mah*, *lah*, *kah*, *lay*, *ja'*, and *dulaw/law* (see 9.4 for examples and a semantic analysis).

Different subtypes of imperatives can also be conveyed through the use of several clause-initial particles such as *buh* 'come on' for exhortations and hortative 'let's', *ayuh* for encouragement, *tulung* (lit. 'help') for begging or requesting, *cuba* (lit. 'try') for softening a request. *Buh* can also be used at the beginning or end of the clause. The following are some examples:

- (9-205) *Buh N-pakay! (or: N-pakay buh!)*  
come.on ACT-eat  
'Come on, eat!' / 'Let's eat!'

- (9-206) *Ayuh turun!*  
*ayuh* descend  
 ‘Come on, come down!’
- (9-207) *Tulung da-ngkuh da jalay!*  
 help PASS-put LOC road  
 ‘Can you help putting it on the road!’
- (9-208) *Cuba wan kitu’!*  
 try 2s.hon to.here  
 ‘Could you come here!’

#### 9.6.2.2 Prohibitives

Prohibitives are negative imperatives through which the speaker is asking the addressee not to carry out an action. In 9.5 prohibitive negators have been discussed. They are simply applied to any of the imperative forms described above (including the secondary ones). They are *nang* ‘don’t’, a (regular) negative imperative, and modal negators such as *nitaw* ‘can’t’, ‘may not’, and *nusah* ‘needn’t’.

- (9-209) *Kita’ nang ba-laya’!*  
 2p don’t ANPAS-quarrel  
 ‘Don’t you quarrel!’
- (9-210) *Nitaw’/nusah angkat!*  
 can’t.(may.not)/needn’t go  
 ‘You can’t (may not)/don’t need to go!’

Besides the word *nang*, the word *adu* is also used with the same meaning. In examples (9-209 and 9-210), it is interchangeable with *nang*. Differences in nuances between their usages are not clear at present.<sup>28</sup>

The word *mali* is also used in prohibitions. This word is not a negator but contains a negative meaning, namely ‘(it is) taboo, it is not allowed’, e.g.:

- (9-211) [You have to make a decision by yourself now, and if something would happen in the future ...]  
*Mali di’ N-tesal.*  
 not.allowed 2s.fem ACT-regret  
 ‘You should not regret it!’

### 9.7 Exclamations

Exclamations are clauses that express the emotional attitude of the speaker. A special construction of exclamations has been noted in 6.1.3, namely with the use of

<sup>28</sup> Elicitations with various native speakers showed no clues to their differences. My informants always said that those words were just the same.

the nominal prefix *peN-*. Furthermore, exclamations are mostly marked by exclamative particles. These particles appear clause-initially with any clause type and are uttered with a relatively higher pitch and longer duration. Exclamative particles are listed below with their examples:

**9.7.1** *Ah*: expressing surprise by the sudden presence of something. The vowel may be lengthened.

(9-212) *Ah, tu' menyadi' kita, selamat!*  
*Ah* this sibling 1p.incl safe  
 'Ah, here's our sibling, she's safe!'

If it is uttered with an abrupt stop, *ah* expresses disagreement or rejection, e.g.:

(9-213) *Ah, ngay ku!*  
*Ah* not.want 1s  
 'Ah, I won't (I don't want it)!'

**9.7.2** *Akay*: expressing (unpleasant) surprise or surprise mixed with disagreement or dislike.

(9-214) *Akay, naday ku ka' mati ga'.*  
*akay*, NEG 1s want die *ga'*  
 'Oh no, I still don't want to die.'

**9.7.3** *Ay*: expressing a feeling of surprise.

(9-215) *Ay! Nang N-padah pia'!*  
*ay* don't ACT-say like.that  
 'Ah, don't talk like that!'

**9.7.4** *Ci'*: expressing indignant disagreement.

(9-216) *Ci', kala' ku naday N-kelala!*  
*ci'* ever 1s NEG ACT-recognise  
 'Oh no, when didn't I ever recognize (them)!'

**9.7.5** *Ha*: expressing surprise by something unexpected.

(9-217) *Ha! Aday s-iku' gerama' besay!*  
*ha* exist ONE-CLASS crab big  
 'Aha! There's a big crab!'



**9.7.6** *Ih*: used to attract the addressee's attention to what is going to be said.

(9-218) *Ih, kati kula'?* *Aday sida' N-beri'?*  
*Ih* how TOA exist 3p ACT-give?  
 'Hey, how was it with you, my son-in-law? Did it happen that they gave you something?'

(9-219) *Ih, tu' nu' ku!*  
*Ih* this POSS 1s  
 'Hey, this belongs to me! (not you)'

**9.7.7** *Uh*: expressing one's sudden realization of some state of affairs.

(9-220) *Uh, tu' nu' wan!*  
*uh* this belong.to 2s.hon  
 'Oh, this belongs to you!'

**9.7.8** *Uy*: used when calling somebody to get his/her attention.

(9-221) *Uy, tu' ku!*  
*uy* this 1s  
 'Hey, it is me!'

**9.7.9** *Way*: expressing commiseration.

(9-222) *Way, kasih bada' di', wih.*  
*way* pity *bada'* 2s.fem *wih*  
 'Oh dear, what a pity are you!'

**9.7.10** *Wih*: expressing pleasant surprise.<sup>29</sup>

(9-223) *Wih, untung kula'!*  
*wih* lucky TOA  
 'Wow, lucky you, my son-in-law!'

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<sup>29</sup> This *wih* is different from the illocutionary marker *wih*. As an exclamation, this form appears clause-initially and is pronounced with a longer and raising intonation. As an illocutionary marker, the form *wih* occurs after an NP or clause-finally.