

Kasi and bikin

Two causative strategies in Melayu Tenggara Jauh (Southwest Maluku, Indonesia)

AONE VAN ENGELENHOVEN

ABSTRACT¹

This paper discusses the causative constructions found in Melayu Tenggara Jauh 'Far Southeast Malay' (MTJ), which is used as lingua franca in Southwest Maluku. MTJ encodes causatives by means of MTJ features four periphrastic constructions with the verbs *bikin* 'do/make' and *kasi* 'give' that signal whether or not the CAUSER (Kemmer and Verhagen 1994) is involved in or has control over the caused event.

KEYWORDS

Causatives, biclausal constructions, monoclausal constructions, Melayu Tenggara Jauh, Leti, control, involvement, language contact, Southwest Maluku.

INTRODUCTION

The new regency of Maluku Barat Daya with its capital Tiakur (Moa Island, Leti Islands group, see Map 1) was carved out of the regency Maluku Tenggara Barat in 2008. Three sub-regions can be appointed in this area. The five languages or so of Wetar Island tend towards an isolating type as on Timor Island (Hull 1998). The ten or so languages in the Babar Archipelago distinguish themselves by their intriguing complex phonology and phonotactics, whereas

¹ Hein is the *Pakar yang Arif* of Indonesian Linguistics and will remain so for many years to come. His warm and academic support is total and without any hesitation. This explains the unconditional loyalty of his pupils of which I am proud to be one. This paper was initially presented as a keynote lecture at the Seventh International Symposium on Malay/Indonesian Linguistics (ISMIL 7) at the Catholic University of Nijmegen in 2003 where Hein Steinhauer had been appointed as Professor of Ethnolinguistics. May this contribution evoke a little smile on his face and a memory of how we met.

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the languages of the island string from Wetar off the west coast of Babar to Leti features extensive metathesis. Because of its occurrence in the languages of Teun, Nila, and Serua, these three islands that in fact belong to the Maluku Tengah Regency are also included in the linguistic area of Southwest Maluku. All languages are Austronesian with one notable exception: Woirata, an isolect spoken on Kisar Island that is closely related to the Fataluku language in East Timor (Nazarudin 2015 in this volume). In inter-insular or interethnic communication a local Malay variant, Melayu Tenggara Jauh (MTJ ‘Far Southeast Malay’) is spoken.²



Map 1. Leti Island (http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Leti_Islands_en.png).

A grammatical comparison of the Southwest Malukan languages and the local Malay variant reveals the typological divergence of the latter. Southwest Maluku (SWM) languages use possessive constructions where a spatial gram (Svorou 1993: 31) profiling a location, for example ‘inside’ is conceptualized as a ‘part’, a possession, and the noun profiling the ‘whole’, for example ‘house’ is conceptualized as a (preposed) possessor (example 1). These spatial grams

² The data for the paper were collected mainly at the end of the 80’s and the beginning of the 90’s when the islands were still part of the Maluku Tenggara Regency and communication with the provincial capital Ambon was still very deficient. This fact is reflected in the name of the Malay variant discussed here: “Far Southeast Malay”. Ever since then the region became connected to the outside world through the introduction of the smart phone. As such this paper may contain words, as for example *saya* ‘I’ and *tra* ‘NEG’ that have been replaced in youngsters’ speech by the Ambonese Malay *beta* ‘I’ and *seng* ‘NEG’, respectively. See also Nazarudin (2015 in this volume). I thank Angela Kluge (Summer Institute of Linguistics) for her keen remarks on an earlier draft of this paper. Of course, I am the only one to blame for any mistakes or shortcomings in this paper.

categorize as a special kind of nouns in most SWM Austronesian languages (see Van Engelenhoven 2003). MTJ, however, uses preposed spatial grams, which are traditionally categorized as prepositions.³

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|-----|-----------------------|------------------------------|-----|----------------------|-------------|
| (1) | <i>lo ruma</i> | <i>riaramne</i> ⁴ | (2) | <i>di dalam</i> | <i>ruma</i> |
| | lo^ruma | riarma-ne | | di^dalam | ruma |
| | LOC^house | inside-POS | | LOC^inside | house |
| | 'in the house' (Leti) | | | 'in the house' (MTJ) | |

In Babaric there is only one oblique marker. The conception of whether it profiles a location or a direction depends on the construal of the verbal scene. In Wetaric there are four deverbal markers to specify whether the oblique phrase profiles a direction or location, whereas in Luangic-Kisaric both options apply. Elsewhere (Van Engelenhoven 2002) it is explained that MTJ directional constructions that make reference to the speaker's location obligatorily add 'to come' or 'to go' to a motion verb as in example (3a).

- (3a) *Kita bawa yaklu datang.*
 1PL.INC carry playing-top come
 'We bring the playing-top (hither).' (MTJ)
 (Van Engelenhoven 2002: 182)

Example (3b) shows that in case of a transfer scene in which the main or controlling participant is physically involved in the motion (away from the speaker), the theme is encoded as the object of 'to go'. When the main participant is not physically involved the locative marker is used instead (example 3c).

- (3b) *Ongtua antar surat pi Ambon.*
 he (POL) carry letter go A.
 'He brings the letter to Ambon (himself).' (MTJ)
 (Van Engelenhoven 2002: 183)

- (3c) *Ongtua antar surat di Ambon.*
 he (POL) carry letter LOC A.
 'He sends the letter to Ambon.' (MTJ)
 (Van Engelenhoven 2002: 183)

Both the indigenous languages of SWM and local Malay prepose possessor

³ In how far the categorization of spatial grams in Malay is accurate requires further research. In Malay linguistics they are traditionally categorized as prepositions.

⁴ In fact the possessive suffix is obligatory only in emphatic speech in Leti.

nouns before possession nouns. Some SWM languages, however, distinguish between alienable and inalienable nouns. For example, in Kisaric Meher and Roma nouns designating inalienable things are directly marked with a possessive suffix (example 4a). In alienable possessive constructions, however, the suffix is added to a preposed particle (example 4b). Observe in example (4c) that MTJ does not mark inalienability and uses *punya* ‘to have’ as a preposed “particle” and uses pronominal suffixes only when the possessor is not mentioned in the phrase (4d).⁵

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|------|--------------------------------|---------------|-------------|------|----------------------------------|-------------|---------------|
| (4a) | <i>maweke</i> | <i>maka-n</i> | | (4b) | <i>maweke</i> | <i>ni-n</i> | <i>nakara</i> |
| | woman | eye-3SG | | | woman | POS-3SG | house |
| | ‘the eye of the woman’ (Meher) | | | | ‘the house of the woman’ (Meher) | | |
| | | | | | | | |
| (4c) | <i>prempuan</i> | <i>punya</i> | <i>mata</i> | (4d) | <i>ruma-nya</i> | | |
| | woman | have | eye | | house-3SG | | |
| | ‘the eye of the woman’ (MTJ) | | | | ‘his/her house’ (MTJ) | | |

All SWM languages, including the local Malay variant, display extensive clause combining and distinguish “sequential coordination” by means of a conjunction meaning ‘then’ from “simultaneous coordination”. As can be anticipated from the discussion above, the indigenous languages lack genuine prepositions. Beside the directional notions mentioned above, clause combining is used for instrumental and comitative notions and alike where the standard Malay variants use a preposition (see Van Engelenhoven 2002). Luangic stands out among the Austronesian languages in the region, because it has no lexical or morphological means to encode an ablative notion. As a consequence, sequential coordination iconically signals the chronological order of the events described in the combined clauses. This is exemplified in the following Leti sentence (5a) where the first clause by means of the state verb *delo* ‘to be from, originate’ describes the situation from which the motion described in the next clause, *nèma* ‘to fly’, sets out.

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|------|---|--------------|----------------|---------------|------------------|
| (5a) | <i>Kapalnèmnème</i> | <i>ndelo</i> | <i>Kupambo</i> | <i>nnèmla</i> | <i>Denpasar.</i> |
| | kapalnèmnèma=e | n-delo | Kupna=po | n-nèma=la | Denpasar |
| | aeroplane=DEX | 3SG-be.from | Kupang=SEQ | 3SG-ly=DIR | D. |
| | ‘The aeroplane flies from Kupang to Denpasar.’ (Leti) | | | | |

One other outstanding feature in Luangic is the phenomenon of metathesis. In the Serua isolect it is mainly attested between verbs and objects (Van Engelenhoven 2003), whereas in Babaric it seems to occur only between

⁵ Note that also the *punya* construction may be used, for example, *saya punya ruma* (1sg have house) ‘my house’. The *punya* construction seems unmarked in MTJ as far as I can see. A corpus-based analysis is required in order to determine what triggers possessive suffix constructions.

pronominal prefixes and verbal stems (Steinhauer 2009). In Wetaric it appears to be completely absent (Taber 1993). In Makuva, a language closely related to Kisaric-Luangic in the tip of East Timor (Van Engelenhoven 2009), and in East Damar (Taber 1993) it seems no longer productive.

One of its major functions in the Luangic languages is adhesion: to signal shared phrase membership of constituents (example 6a). An additional function in Leti is cohesion where predicate constituents (in example 6b the VP or predicator *mpòkpenna* ‘he shoots dead’ and the object *maundó* ‘that bird’) are attached to each other.

(6a)	<i>piplialavansai</i> pipi≈la-lavna=sai goat=RED-big=DEM ‘this big goat’ (Leti)	(6b)	<i>Nvene</i> n-vena=e 3SG-want=DEX ‘He wants to shoot the bird dead.’ (Leti)	<i>mpòkpenanmaundó.</i> [n-pòka=penna]=[maanu=dó] 3SG-shoot=dead=bird=DEM
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Because metathesis is not as salient and all-permeating in the other grammars in the region, we want to focus here on how speakers whose first language (L1) is Luangic (specifically Leti) encode causation in local Malay, a language that is typologically very different.

CAUSATION IN LUANGIC LANGUAGES

In order to understand the semantics of causative constructions in the Malay speech of Luangic speakers we need to know about the ontological categorization of scenes or situations as they are depicted in a Luangic language, say Leti. Here, scenes are categorized on a gliding scale as dynamic events or states.

Verbs designating dynamic events (dynamic verbs for short) may refer to movements (for example *na-laava* ‘he walks’), processes (for example *n-nupu* ‘it grows’), and actions (for example: *n-kakri* ‘he cries’). Verbs designating experiences (experiential verbs for short) may refer to emotions (*na-mtaatu* ‘he is afraid’), perceptions (*n-toli* ‘he sees’), and mental activities (*n-atu* ‘he knows’, *n-surta* ‘he remembers’, *n-vavarma* ‘he thinks’). Verbs designating states (static verbs for short) may refer to posture (*na-mtiëtna* ‘he sits’), locations (*n-dena* ‘he stays’), and relations (*n-òra* ‘he is with’).

In Leti, qualities, for example, ‘strong’ are referred to by (mostly) deverbal adjectives in NPs (for example, *ru-ruri*) or by nominalized verbs in predicates (*rur-ni* ‘its strength = it is strong’), or by equations, for example, *Ari ian=o* (ray fish=IND) ‘A ray is a fish/ Rays are fish’. Like many Southwest and Southeast Malukan languages, Leti lacks a special verb to designate possession. This can only be profiled by means of verbalizing a noun (for example, *na-ruma* (3SG-house) ‘he has a house’) or by means of a (nonverbal) existential clause, for example, *Kupan-ne e=la^e* (money-POS 3SG=DIR^DEX) ‘his money is there = he has money’ (see Figure 1).

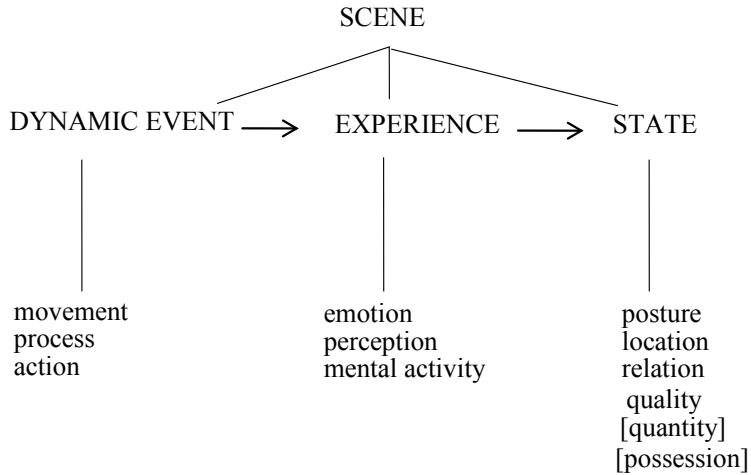


Figure 1. Ontological categorization of scenes in Leti.

In their discussion on causative constructions Kemmer and Verhagen (1994)⁶ recognize three core participants in a causative event. There is an entity that brings on or causes the entire situation described in the sentence (hence CAUSER); there is an entity that carries out an activity (hence CAUSEE) and sometimes (but not always) there is an entity that is either literally or metaphorically affected by the caused activity (hence AFFECTEE).

They distinguish three types of causation involving force dynamics (Talmy 2000: 120). In direct physical causation "the CAUSER acts on the causee without any intervening entity", for example, *She made it fall over by pushing on it*; in indirect physical causation "the CAUSER brings about the effected event through some intermediary physical process", for example, *She made it fall over by rolling a ball into it*, and in inductive causation "the CAUSEE is an agentive entity who is caused to act by some non-physical means, typically by some verbal stimulus produced by the CAUSER"; for example, *She made him type the letter* or *he had him type the letter*. Two other types are mentioned that do not involve any exertion of force on an entity in order to have an event happen but rather "the removal by the CAUSER of a conceived barrier that was preventing the CAUSEE from carrying out or undergoing the effected event". In enablement this barrier is physical, for example, *She let the water run out of the bathtub*, whereas in the other type, permission, the perceived barrier is rather "social or sociophysical", for example, *She let him eat some of the brownies*.

Next, Kemmer and Verhagen (1994) distinguish causative constructions that refer to effected one-participant events from causative constructions that refer to effected two-participant events, labelled Intransitive Causative Construction (IC) (as in example 7a) and Transitive Causative Construction

⁶ Lexical causatives, for example, 'to kill', were excluded from their discussion.

(TC) (as in example 7b), respectively.

(7a)⁷ *J'ai fait courir Paul.*
 I-have made run P.
 'I made Paul run.' (French)

(7b) *J'ai fait manger les pommes à Paul.*
 I-have made eat the apples to P.
 'I made Paul eat the apples.' (French)

A quick glance at the Leti data reveals that this language has two strategies to encode causation. Morphological derivation is very rare and always produces ICs.⁸ Some monovalent⁹ process verbs are causativized by means of the polyfunctional *va*-prefix, for example, *n-tèrsa* (3SG-firm) 'it becomes firm' > *n-va-tèrsa* (3SG-CAUS-firm) 'he makes something firm'. Some monovalent action and process verbs using metathesized prefixes inflect full subject prefixes, for example, *m~k~ii~ernu* (2SG~descend) 'you descend' > *mu-kernu* (2SG-descend) 'you lower (something)';¹⁰ *n-koli* (3SG-loose) 'it gets loose' > *na-koli* (3SG-loose) 'he makes something loose'.

An analytic strategy to encode causation in Luangic languages, which is fully productive, is by means of a sequence of two clauses in which the first is headed by the bivalent verb *sia* 'to do/make' that profiles the causation itself, whereas the verbal head in the second clause profiles the effected event.

(8a) *Asie pranse ntuuni.*
 a^sia=e pransa=e n-tuuni
 S^1SG.do=DEX chisel=DEX 3SG-fall.DEX
 'I do it and the chisel falls' → 'I let the chisel fall.' (Leti)

Juxtaposition of clauses in Leti merely indicates that the profiled events take place simultaneously. In the above example it is the order of clauses that imposes a causal relation between both profiled events.¹¹ The fact that both

⁷ Examples (7a) and (b) in Kemmer and Verhagen 1994: 124.

⁸ The only obvious example of a morphologically derived TC I have been able to find in Leti concerns the bivalent state verb 'to stay', for example, *n-den=Tutküi* (3SG-stay=Tutukei) 'he stays in Tutukei' > *na-den=e kupn=e* (3SG-CAUS.stay=DEX money=DEX) 'he left the money (behind)'. There are some lexically causative verbs in which a causative *va*-prefix can be traced, for example, *n-vòdna* (3SG-feed) 'he feeds' < **n-va-aana* (3SG-CAUS-eat).

⁹ Following Talmy (1999) we will use valency in this paper in order to signal the amount of entities that are brought into perspective (= the participants). Note, however, that we do not use this notion interchangeably with transitivity. The latter term relates exclusively to the argument structure in clauses (and to pronominal objects in Leti verb phrases). For a discussion, refer to Van Engelenhoven 2004.

¹⁰ From a diachronic comparative perspective, these full prefixes derive from a proto-form containing a cognate of the PAN causative prefix **peR*, for example **mu-peR-keDuj* (2SG-CAUS-descend).

¹¹ In fact, this no longer exists when they are reversed, for example, *Pranse ntuuni asie*

verbs can be negated separately confirms the grammatical independence of both clauses, for example, *Asie pranse tantuuni* (S¹SG.do.DEX chisel.DEX NEG³SG.fall.DEX) ‘I make that the chisel does not fall (= I prevent the chisel from falling)’ and *Tasie pranse ntuuni* (NEG¹SG.do.DEX chisel.DEX 3SG-fall.DEX) ‘I do not let the chisel fall’. In other words, negation of the causation-profiling event automatically implies that the effected event profiled by the second clause does not happen either and as such evidences the causal link between both events. This causal relation can be made even more evident by combining both clauses by means of the conjunction *po* ‘and then (glossed as SEQ)’.¹²

- (8b) *Asiepo* *pranse* *ntuuni*.
 a¹sia=e¹po pransa=e n-tuuni
 S¹SG.do=DEX^{SEQ} chisel=DEX 3SG-fall.DEX
 ‘I do it and then the chisel falls’ → ‘I make the chisel fall.’ (Leti)

Example (8a) looks like a serialization in which the constituency of *pranse* ‘chisel’ may be unclear (object of *sia* ‘do’ in the first clause, subject of *tuuni* ‘fall’ in the second clause, or both?, see also Van Staden and Reesink 2008). The conjunction in (8b) clearly separates the clause *asie* ‘I do (it)’ from *pranse ntuuni* ‘the chisel falls’. In order to signal a sense of ‘teasing’, human CAUSEEs are encoded as the object of *sia* (being at the left side of the conjunction).

- (8c) *Asie* *kkòipo* *nkakri*
 a¹sia=e kkòì¹po n-kakri
 S¹SG.do=DEX kid.DEX^{SEQ} 3SG-cry.DEX
 ‘I do the kid and then he cries’ → ‘I tease the boy into crying.’ (Leti)

CAUSATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN MTJ 1: *BIKIN*

Melayu Tenggara Jauh uses two strategies to encode causation. One looks very much like the biclausal construction in Luangic with *sia* ‘to do/make’. Like *sia*, *bikin* schematically profiles an action whose specification is provided by a following adverb (9a) or a demonstrative complement that functions like a ‘cognate object’ (9b).

- (9a) Leti: *nsi=iòta-ïata* (3SG-do=RED-bad) ‘He does bad (= wrong).’
 MTJ: *dia bikin sala* ‘He does (it) wrong’
- (9b) Leti: *n-si=sai* (3SG-do=DEM) ‘He does that.’
 MTJ: *dia bikin itu* ‘He does that/he makes that.’

A possible explanation for the examples in (9a) is that these sentences in fact

(chisel.DEX 3SG-fall.DEX 1SG.do.DEX) ‘The chisel falls and I do it.’

¹² Here too, negation of either clause separately is grammatical and negation of the first clause equally implies that the event profiled by the second clause does not take place either.

are intransitive constructions, which impose that there is only one participant in the profiled scene. This participant is construed as the entity that commences and controls the action. This action, although schematic, is inherently bivalent, because there is always something that emerges from that action. This other entity, the “product”, so to speak, is ontologically different from the subject referent, because it is in itself an action or process and not a “thing”. Botha’s (1997) schematic representation for the Afrikaans verb *doen* also applies to the meaning of the Leti verb *sia*:

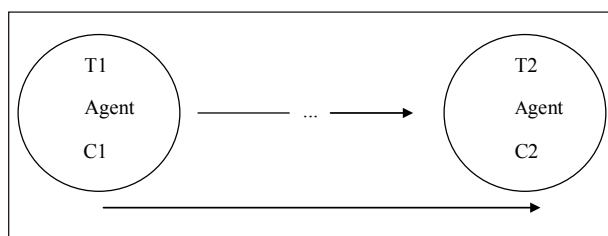


Figure 2. Schematic representation of the conceptual base of Leti *sia* (after Botha 1997).

At a certain point in time (T1) the agent of the action starts his action. A certain condition/state (C1) exists at the start of the action. The broken arrow after the agent indicates the proceeding action over a certain period of time. T2 marks the end of the action at another point in time, while C2 points at a new state/condition (Botha 1997: 234).

Examples (9b) use a transitive construction where the demonstrative object refers to the action. Here, a difference of meaning emerges between Leti *sia* and MTJ *bikin*. In Leti pronominal objects refer to an affectee, which is in MTJ not construable (9c). A demonstrative object of *bikin* imposes a construal in which the verb profiles the producing of a ‘thing’ that can also be designated by a nominal object (for example, ‘he makes that’). In the Luangic languages this requires another verb, for example, Leti *iapi* ‘to make’ (9d).

- | | | | | |
|------|-------|------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (9c) | Leti: | <i>n-si=au</i> | (3SG-do=1SG) | ‘He teases me.’ |
| | MTJ: | <i>*dia bikin saya</i> | | |
| (9d) | Leti: | <i>n-si=e lòi</i> | (3SG-do=DEX proa ¹³) | ‘He does the proa.’ ¹⁴ |
| | Leti: | <i>na-iapi lòi</i> | (3SG-create.DEX proa) | ‘He makes the proa.’ |
| | MTJ: | <i>dia bikin prau</i> | | ‘He makes the proa.’ |

Whereas in Leti any verb may occur in a biclausal causative construction with *sia*, the combinations with MTJ *bikin* are more constrained. Both languages

¹³ Leti morphemes with final high vowels are not formally marked with an indexer enclitic. For ease it is not consistently glossed in the examples. See Van Engelenhoven 2004 for a discussion.

¹⁴ As in: ‘He does (the cleaning of) the proa; I’ll do (the cleaning of) the house’, or ‘He does (the drawing of) the proa’.

allow transitive constructions as second clauses. Both languages may use a conjunction meaning ‘(and) then’ (for example, Leti *po* and MTJ *la* (< *lalu* ‘then’). Example (10a) shows that the MTJ construction seems a near calque of the Leti original, which only lacks the “late system morphemes” of indexing and pronominal inflection (See Myers-Scotton 2002: 301).

(10a)	<i>Mèsre</i>	<i>n-sie</i>	<i>po</i>	<i>kkòi</i>	<i>n-aane</i>	<i>iine</i>	(Leti)
	teacher.DEX	3SG-do.DEX	SEQ	kid.DEX	3SG-eat.DEX	fish.DEX	
	<i>Guru</i>	<i>bikin</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>nyong</i>	<i>makan</i>	<i>ikan</i>	(MTJ)
	‘The teacher made the kid eat the fish.’						

Above it was observed that either clause in Leti can be independently negated, albeit that negation of the initial clause profiling the actual causation implied that the event profiled in the second clause would not take place either. In MTJ, however, the first clause can never be negated when conjoined to the second clause by *la*, for example, **Guru tra bikin la nyong makan ikan* versus *Guru bikin la nyong tra makan ikan* (‘The teacher made the boy not eat the fish’) in which *tra* functions as the negating marker. Only when the clauses are juxtaposed *bikin* may be negated. This suggests that in this case the second clause is a complement of *bikin* rather than an independent clause (marked in 10b by square brackets).

(10b)	<i>Guru</i>	<i>tra bikin</i>	[<i>nyong</i>	<i>makan</i>	<i>ikan</i>]	
	teacher	NEG^do	kid	eat	fish	
	‘The teacher did not make the kid eat the fish.’ (MTJ)					

Both languages agree in that they disallow biclausal constructions in which the second clause profiles an inherent quality. In all Luangic languages qualities are mostly profiled by process verbs, for example, Leti *n-ruri* ‘he becomes strong’, which thus are conceptualized as events. In order to evoke a construal of the situation as a state, process verbs are nominalized by means of a possessive suffix, for example, Leti *rur-ni* (strong-POS) ‘his strength, he is strong’.¹⁵ To profile a process in MTJ, so-called “quality verbs”,¹⁶ for example, *kuat* ‘strong’, are preceded by *jadi* ‘to become’ that specifically designates a change of state, as is exemplified in (11a).

¹⁵ For example:

<i>Asiepo</i>	<i>kkòi</i>	<i>nrurio/</i>	<i>*rurni.</i>
a^sie^po	kkòi	n-ruri=o/	ruri-nV
s^1SG.do.DEX^SEQ	kid.DEX	3SG-strong=IND	strong-POS
‘I make the kid strong.’ (Leti)			

¹⁶ The “verbiness” of morphemes designating qualities is a recurrent issue in Malay linguistics, for example Tjia (2015 in this volume).

(11a) MTJ: **Dia bikin la anak kuat.*¹⁷

Dia bikin (la) anak jadi kuat. 'He makes the child (become) strong.'

An important feature that biclausal TCs (as in 10a and b) in MTJ share with biclausal ICs is that the trajector of the effected process, because it is construed as a separate entity (the CAUSEE), must be profiled when the second clause is juxtaposed. Its absence would impose a construal in which both events have the same trajector, as is exemplified in (11b). The brackets of *la* in example (11a) indicate that this conjunction is optional in biclausal ICs when the CAUSEE is mentioned. If the CAUSEE is not profiled the *la* conjunction is obligatory in order to maintain the conceptual independence of the resulting sub-event TO BECOME STRONG.¹⁸ Interestingly, the absence of a mentioned second participant immediately cancels a causative interpretation. The chronological order is the only remaining relation that is construed between both events, which is probably affirmed by the implication of both events having the same trajector.

(11b) MTJ: **Dia bikin jadi kuat.*

Dia bikin la jadi kuat. 'He did it and became strong.'

We conclude that the examples above evidence that MTJ *bikin* designates the same schematic meaning as has been paraphrased for Leti *sia* above in biclausal causative constructions. It is this schematic meaning that enables the use of *bikin* in monoclausal transitive constructions.

One of the basic assumptions in cognitive linguistic theory¹⁹ is that a transitive construction (for example, NP VP NP) schematically profiles an "action chain", that is: an interaction between autonomous entities in which energy transfers from one entity to another. The subject constituent designates the emanator or starting point of the energy flow: the ACTOR. The object constituent, on the other hand, designates the endpoint of the energy flow: the UNDERGOER.²⁰ As such, the categorization of the scene as an event is already carried by the construction itself, which enables *bikin* to exclusively profile causation.

¹⁷ The insertion of the conjunction *la* is merely for the sake of explanation. Without the conjunction, the postverbal *anak* 'child' and *kuat* 'strong' are automatically interpreted as members of one NP object that specifies the product of *bikin*, for example *dia bikin anak kuat* 'he makes a strong child'.

¹⁸ See the previous note.

¹⁹ As for example Langacker's (1987, 1991) Cognitive Grammar; Goldberg's (1995) Construction Grammar; and Fauconnier's (1997) Mental Space Theory.

²⁰ The macroroles ACTOR and UNDERGOER have been adopted from Role and Reference Grammar, which have proven to be very useful descriptive tools in cognitive linguistic analysis (See Van Valin and Wilkins 1999).

- (11c) MTJ: *Sopi bikin rusak hati.* ‘Gin damages²¹ one’s liver.’
 ?*Sopi bikin la hati jadi rusak.*

An interesting cognitive feature emerging from a comparison between biclausal and monoclausal ICs is that the latter enable inanimate CAUSER subjects. The biclausal counterpart in (11c) where ‘gin’ is construed as the emanator of the events was generally felt awkward. We explain this as being motivated by the concept that the emanator in causatively related scenes is in control of the events, which implies it to be an animate ACTOR.

The constrained capability of negating the *bikin* clause described above evidences the mutual conceptual dependence of both events. This is once again confirmed in a comparison of biclausal and monoclausal ICs. Whereas biclausal ICs allow any verb in the second clause as long as it profiles an event, monoclausal ICs only allow verbs that profile scenes that are conceived of as having some external stimulus, such as emotions and bodily conditions. In Luangic languages these are profiled by pronominally prefixed verbs, for example, Leti *na-mtaatu* (3SG-afraid) ‘he becomes/is afraid’; *n-kapansa* (3SG-ill) ‘he is/becomes ill’. The scenes depicted by these verbs categorize as states that are the result of another previous condition. It is this additional sense that enables the verbs designating these scenes to head a complement clause in MTJ.

- (12a) MTJ: *Ocep bikin la anjing takut.* ‘Joseph makes the dog afraid.’
Nona bikin la ade sakit, me! ‘You make her ill, Miss!’²²

The biclausal ICs and TCs described above profile a causative situation as a sequence of a causing sub-event and a successive effected sub-event. The profiling of the causation in a separate clause (as in 12a) enables the perception of the CAUSER as the entity that premeditatingly effectuates the event of being afraid or feeling pain.

A monoclausal IC with *bikin* is a transitive construction. As such, it profiles an ‘action chain’, a single event, between an ACTOR and an UNDERGOER. The merging of both causing and effected sub-events into a single transitive event creates a blend in which the CAUSER entity linked to *bikin*, is construed as an agent and the CAUSEE linked to the effected predicate is construed as the patient affected by the action (see Figure 3).

²¹ Literally: ‘makes defective’.

²² As in other Malay variants, MTJ evades second and first person pronouns in speech events that require a social distinction between Speaker and Hearer by using nouns or names instead.

Simple Transitive Clause:	Agent	Patient	V ₂ ²³
Monoclausal IC:	Causer	Causee	[<i>bikin</i> V ₁]

Figure 3. Correspondence between simple transitive clause and monoclausal *bikin* IC in MTJ (after Kemmer and Verhagen 1994: 126).

Monoclausal (12b) differs from biclausal (12a), because it no longer implies premeditation. This explains the awkwardness of (11c): in the cognitive framework of SW Malukans only animate entities can premeditate and as such qualify as CAUSERS in biclausal ICs. Inanimate CAUSERS are confined to monoclausal ICs.

- (12b) MTJ: *Ocep bikin takut anjing.* 'Joseph frightens the dog.'
Nona bikin sakit kaki, me! 'You hurt my leg, Miss!'

CAUSATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN MTJ 2: *KASI*

MTJ has one other causative construction with the verb *kasi* 'to give' that has no counterpart in the local languages. The Luangic verb that designates a prototypical transfer event does not indicate the direction of the transfer as in the English 'give' and its antonym 'take', as is exemplified in the Leti example in (13a). The situation depicted in this example relates to the relative positions of the speech participants (say the Hearer) and the narrated participants. The juxtaposed *rmaio* 'they come' elucidates that the 'giving/taking' entity moves into the direction of the Hearer. In the context of this sentence the Chinese stands away from the Hearer, because of which the transfer is construed as moving away from the Chinese into the direction of the Hearer.

- (13a) *Rele kupnela Sine rmaio.*
 r-ele kupne^la Sine r-mai=o
 3PL-transfer.DEX money.DEX^DIR China.DEX 3PL-come=IND
 'They took the money from the Chinese (hither).' (Leti)

MTJ *kasi* designates an event in which one entity (a GIVER) transfers an entity (a THING) to another entity (a RECIPIENT). This verb contains an inherent directionality, which makes it fundamentally different from Luangic transfer verbs, for example, MTJ *dia kasi kukis* (3SG give biscuit) 'he gives the biscuit' versus Leti *n-ene kuksi* (3SG-transfer.DEX biscuit.DEX) 'he gives/takes the biscuit'.

One other issue that must be addressed to here is that although we acknowledge the trivalence of (most) transfer verbs, Southeast and Southwest Malukan languages follow the East Indonesian typological tendency of not having a special ditransitive construction with two object complements of

²³ V₁ = monovalent verb; V₂ = bivalent verb.

which one refers to the THING transferred and one refers to the RECIPIENT (See Reesink 2008). Instead, the RECIPIENT is profiled by an oblique that is marked by a directive particle, which in the case of Luangic derives from a motion verb (for example, Leti *laava* ‘to go’ > *la* ‘to’). Luangic, again, diverts from the other languages in the region, in that it is the only group with double pronominal objects, in which the first object signals the recipient and the second signals the transferred item, for example, *mü-el=a≈s≈ü≈ai* (2SG-transfer=1SG≈DEM) ‘give me that’,²⁴ of which the MTJ counterpart (*nyong*) *kasi beta itu* ((kid) give 1SG.DEM) has been attested.²⁵

- (13b) *Dorang kasi uang sama Sine.*
 they give money with Chinese
 ‘They give the money to the Chinese.’ (MTJ)

MTJ features biclausal and monoclausal causative constructions with *kasi* ‘give’ that are either transitive or intransitive. Said differently, unlike *bikin*, *kasi* does have monoclausal TCs. Like in *bikin* constructions, *kasi* is encoded in the initial clause, as exemplified in the TCs in (14a).

- (14a) MTJ: *Nyong kasi kuda makan.* ‘The kid let the horse eat.’
Nyong kasi kuda makan rumput. ‘The kid let the horse eat grass.’

Unlike biclausal *bikin* constructions, biclausal *kasi* constructions require juxtaposition and reject the *la* conjunction.²⁶ We consider the second clause that profiles the effected event to be a complement of *kasi*. As in juxtaposed clauses with *bikin* both clauses may be negated. Negation of *kasi* implies that the effected event profiled in its complement clause does not take place either, for example, *Nyong tra kasi kuda makan rumput* (kid NEG give horse eat grass) ‘The kid did not let the horse eat grass’ versus *Nyong kasi kuda tra makan rumput* (kid give horse NEG eat grass) ‘The kid allowed the horse not to eat the grass (because it did not want to)’.

A comparison between biclausal *bikin* and *kasi* constructions reveals that whereas the first depicts a causal sequence of two events in which the CAUSER purposively sets the “action chain” in motion, the second rather signals that the CAUSER enables the effected event to take place²⁷ in a way that has been described as “permissive” by Kemmer and Verhagen (1994).

Above it was observed that biclausal *bikin* constructions require the profiling of the CAUSEE in juxtaposed clauses. Applying the CAUSEE

²⁴ Because the first object always refers to a recipient, transfer verbs with a “deictic stack” can only profile the “giving” sense of these verbs.

²⁵ Interestingly, I have attested this construction only with Ambonese Malay *beta* ‘1SG’ and not with *saya*, which is very common in MTJ.

²⁶ See ?*Nyong kasi la kuda makan rumput*, which was corrected to *Nyong kasi rumput la kuda makan* ‘The kid gave grass and then the horse ate (it).’

²⁷ Or not to take place, when the second clause is negated.

deletion test to the biclausal *kasi* constructions reveals that there seem to be two transitive types. In one type - as in (14b) - the CAUSEE, the horse, is either not mentioned or referred to by an oblique phrase, whereas the patient/ theme (or AFFECTEE), the grass, is profiled by the object.

- (14b) MTJ: *Nyong kasi makan rumput.* 'The kid gave grass to eat.'
Nyong kasi makan rumput sama kuda. 'The kid gave the horse grass to eat.'

At this point we want to quote Kemmer and Verhagen (1994: 129) who observed that “(the) causee in a TC construction, whether dative or instrumental, shares with its simple clause counterparts the property of being in some sense a ‘third’ participant, less crucial to the structure of the event as a whole than the subject and the direct object, which are conceptually the core participants in the event. [...] If we can assume that the causee of a TC in a clause is conceptually less integral to the event than the two other participants, we can understand why causees tend to be dispensable [...]. These facts suggest a semantic property shared between the TC causee and the oblique participants in simple clauses, namely their relative peripherality in the clausal predication”.

This observation (see Figure 4), which concerns monoclausal TCs, indicates that example (14c) in fact does not feature a biclausal but rather a monoclausal *kasi* construction in which the object profiles the AFFECTEE, the grass, and the oblique marked by *sama* profiles the CAUSEE.

Simple 3-Participant Clause:	Agent	Oblique	Patient	V ₂
TC Clause:	Causer	Causee	Affectee	[V _{kasi} V ₂]

Figure 4. Correspondence between simple 3-participant clause and monoclausal *kasi* TC in MTJ (after Kemmer and Verhagen 1994: 126).

In the other TC type as exemplified in (14c) the object does refer to the CAUSEE and the patient can be encoded only as a theme-object of a transfer verb in a preceding clause. This construction seems an exact calque of the Luangic counterpart.²⁸

²⁸ The corrected sentence in note 26, however, is far more natural and will undoubtedly be attested more in a quantitative analysis than the construction in example 14c.

- (14c) *Kkòì n-ene²⁹ pente po n-vòðne kude.* (Leti)
 kid.DEX 3SG-take.DEX grass.DEX SEQ 3SG-feed.DEX horse.DEX
 | | | | | |
Nyong ambil rumput la kasi makan kuda. (MTJ)
 ‘The kid takes the grass and feeds it to the horse.’

The important observation that can be made from (14c) is that monoclausal *kasi* TCs allow objects that profile both AFFECTEEs and CAUSEEeS. However, if the object refers to the latter, then there is no possibility to also encode the AFFECTEE within the same clause. This can be explained by the fact that the regional languages in Southwest Maluku do not have real prepositions to mark an oblique with. The only strategy to signal an AFFECTEE if the object is to refer to the CAUSEE is by encoding it as the object of a verb in another clause, which in order to maintain the chronology of events, must precede the TC.

One other example that bears this out is the verb *baca* ‘to read’. This verb profiles an experiential scene that is ontologically between true events of physical action and states. Reading is a kind of perception, which requires mental activity of the main participant without, however, physically affecting a patient. The verb nevertheless uses the transitive construction and the second participant, in example (15) *itu surat* ‘that letter’, is referred to by the object, which imposes an ‘affected interpretation’ of that second participant.

- (15) MTJ: *Nene kasi Tete baca itu surat.* ‘Grandma let Granddad read that letter.’
N. kasi baca itu surat. ‘Gm let that letter be read.’
N. kasi baca itu surat sama T. ‘Gm let that letter be read to Gd.’
 [N. *ambil itu surat la*] *kasi baca T.* ‘[Gm. took the letter and] let Gd read (it)’
 [“”] *kasi baca sama T.* ‘[Gm. took the letter and] let it be read to Gd.’

Tete ‘Granddad’ is the CAUSEE who reads a letter, because *Nene* ‘Grandma’, the CAUSER’, allows him to. As in (14c) the CAUSEE can be ‘cut out’ of the scene, to use Goldberg’s (1995) metaphor from film making. *Nene kasi baca itu surat* ‘Grandma let the letter be read’ is of course a monoclausal construction. This is easily verified by the negation test: **Nene kasi tra baca surat itu*. The negator cannot be inserted between both verbs, which confirm they form a single clause and thus conceptualize a single event. Upon closer inspection, however, it appears that the oblique *sama Tete* ‘to Granddad’ does not profile a CAUSEE at all, but rather a RECIPIENT. Granddad does not read himself. Rather, Grandma has someone else to read out the letter to Granddad. The

²⁹ The verb ÈLA in fact means ‘to transfer’, however, this special construction always designates the TAKE sense.

'eating' scene in (14b) imposes a construal in which only the horse, and not the grass, can be the EATER. The transitive construction of the monoclausal TC conceptualizes the object's referent as the UNDERGOER, the endpoint of the action chain and it is the blend of these two conceptions that results in the recognition of the horse as the CAUSEE. Apparently, a 'reading' scene does not imply such an interpretation. In the 'eating' scene there is clearly an interaction between, to continue Goldberg's (1995) film metaphor, three 'on stage' entities: a CAUSER, a CAUSEE and an AFFECTEE. In the 'reading' scene, the CAUSEE is taken 'off stage, while the oblique profiles a participant that is clearly inherited from the transfer scene that *kasi* 'to give' refers to. The CAUSEE can be brought back 'on stage' when the AFFECTEE is conceptualized as a theme/object in a preceding transfer scene/clause: *Nene ambil itu surat la kasi baca Tete* 'Grandma took the letter and let Granddad read (it)'. Alternatively, *baca* 'to read' may be molded in an intransitive clause, in which case both the CAUSEE and the AFFECTEE remain 'off stage' and the oblique may profile the RECIPIENT, which is then back 'on stage': *Nene ambil itu surat la kasi baca sama Tete* 'Grandma took the letter and let it be read to Granddad.'

This brings us to the conclusion that biclausal and monoclausal *kasi* TCs do not automatically depict similar scenes as *bikin* constructions do. Also it becomes evident that complements, in these cases the objects, are indeed "elaboration sites" (Langacker 1991:36) that specify the sense of a verbal meaning. Subjects too are elaboration sites as was already understood by the above finding that inanimate CAUSERS can only be encoded as subjects in monoclausal *bikin* constructions. Whereas *bikin* does not have monoclausal TCs (for example, **bikin pukul anjing* (do hit dog) \approx *bikin la pukul anjing* (do SEQ hit dog) 'make (him) hit the dog'), examples (14) through (15) showed that *kasi* does have them.

DISCUSSION

Both *bikin* and *kasi* constructions prefer monoclausal constructions to biclausal constructions when the verb that profiles the effected event is categorized as designating an inherent state. A biclausal *bikin* construction is possible only when the static verb is combined with *jadi* 'to become' that profiles a change of state.

- (16) MTJ: **Dia bikin (la) lampu besar.*
Dia bikin (la) lampu jadi besar. 'He made the lights become bright.'³⁰
Dia bikin besar lampu. 'He turned the lights on high.'

The *kasi* construction profiles a scene with animate CAUSERS, which we believe it has inherited from the literal meaning of GIVE that profiles a transfer

³⁰ *Lampu* actually means 'lamp' and is used in MTJ to metonymically refer to artificial light.

scene emanated by an animate, if not human, entity. As such it does not come as a surprise that a *kasi* construction, whether biclausal or monoclausal, requires an animate subject referent. This is exemplified by the sentences in (17a) where the inanimate *ombak* 'wave' is rejected as a CAUSER subject. A CAUSER in a *kasi* construction is never a physically directly involved participant. Its animateness safeguards the "permissive" character of the effected scene, namely that it could take place with his/her consent. In a biclausal *kasi* construction the subject in the complement clause (for example *kapal* 'ship' in *Nakoda kasi kapal tenggelam* (captain give ship sink) 'The captain let the ship sink.' in example (17a) profiles the CAUSEE as the trajector of the effected event. Both the 'enabling scene' profiled by *kasi* and the effected or resulted scene profiled by *tenggelam* 'to sink' are construed as separate though causally related events. The encoding of the CAUSEE as an object in a monoclausal *kasi* IC - the last sentence in (17a) - imposes a construal in which the CAUSEE is not as much a trajector or primary figure, but rather a secondary figure or endpoint of the action chain, which is what the transitive structure of the monoclausal construction schematically profiles. The CAUSEE is perceived of as being more "affected" by the CAUSER's action than in the biclausal counterpart.

- (17a) MTJ: **Ombak kasi kapal tenggelam.*
Nakoda kasi kapal tenggelam. 'The captain let the ship sink.'
Nakoda kasi tenggelam kapal. 'The captain sank the ship.'

Biclausal *bikin* constructions conceptualize the effected sub-event as resulting from premeditated causation. The capacity of premeditating is understood in the SW Malukan conceptual framework as a feature of animate entities, and as such a subject referring to an inanimate CAUSER is considered awkward (example 17b). Inanimate CAUSERS therefore require a monoclausal construction. A comparison between a biclausal and a monoclausal *bikin* construction featuring an animate CAUSER reveals that a biclausal construction profiles a clear sequence of two interrelated sub-events: a causing or emanating event and a subsequent resulting or effected event. In a biclausal construction, especially the one where both clauses are conjoined by *la* as in example (17b), the CAUSER and CAUSEE are profiled as trajectors in separate events. Because of this both referents are construed as more or less independent from each other. Encoding the CAUSEE as object in a monoclausal construction again imposes its interpretation as an UNDERGOER, an affected entity. Additionally, the CAUSER subject is construed as fully controlling the causing event.

- (17b) MTJ: ?*Ombak bikin la kapal tenggelam.*
Ombak bikin tenggelam kapal. 'The wave made the ship sink.'

Nakoda bikin la kapal tenggelam. 'The captain made the ship sink.'
Nakoda bikin tenggelam kapal. 'The captain sank the ship.'

Notwithstanding the greater conceptual independence of the sub-events in biclausal constructions when compared to monoclausal constructions, they are nevertheless tied by a causal link. It is this causal link that prohibits simultaneous aspect marking of conjoined clauses in a *bikin* construction, much as has been described above for the individual capacity of such clauses to be negated (example 10b above). This is exemplified by the first sentence in example (18) where the insertion of *ada* 'to be' designating the progressive aspect of the event was found awkward by most informants or even plainly ungrammatical. The grammatically acceptable alternative appeared to be marking either the conjoined or juxtaposed effect clause or the juxtaposed (superordinate) causation clause.

(18) MTJ: ?*Dia ada bikin la ayam tidur.*
Dia bikin (la) ayam ada tidur. 'He makes that the chicken is sleeping.'
Dia ada bikin ayam tidur. 'He is making that the chicken sleeps.'

Whereas *bikin* constructions allow any verb to profile the effected scene as long as it implies a change of state, *kasi* constructions depend on the conceptual framework of the Speaker. Thus, in example (19), the inanimate CAUSEE *peti* 'trunk' is preferred as the object in a monoclausal *kasi* IC, because trunks are not typical entities that are expected to descend (*turun*).³¹ However, the inanimate CAUSEE *botol* 'bottle' can function as the subject in a biclausal construction and as an object in the monoclausal counterpart, because breaking (*pica*) is a characteristic option for bottles.

(19) MTJ: ?*Tete kasi peti turun dari loteng.*
Tete kasi turun peti dari loteng. 'Granddad took the trunk from the attic.'
Dia kasi botol pica di batu. 'He let the bottle break on a stone.'
Dia kasi pica botol di batu. 'He broke the bottle on a stone.'

Figure 5 recapitulates the above finding. *Bikin* constructions profile situations in which the CAUSER is physically in control of the causation. *Kasi* constructions profile the opposite situation in which either the CAUSER has no control or in which control is not conceived of as relevant. Biclausal constructions profile a situation in which the effected sub-event encoded by the subordinate

³¹ It is stressed that the inanimate CAUSEE constraint in biclausal *kasi* constructions does not automatically mean that inanimate entities cannot be profiled by subjects of monovalent motion verbs, as is evidenced by the inanimate subject of *turun* 'descend' in the following example: *Lalu Tuhan Yesus liat tikar ada turun dari atas, to?* (then Lord Jesus see mat PROGRESSIVE descend from up, TAG) 'Then the Lord Jesus saw the mat coming down from above, didn't He?'

complement clause is conceived of as clearly forthcoming from the causing sub-event encoded by the superordinate clause. Because the CAUSEE is profiled as the trajector in a separate event, the CAUSER is conceived of as having little or no influence in the emanation of the effected event. Monoclausal constructions on the other hand, because they schematically profile an action chain conceptualize the CAUSER as being directly involved in the causative situation: an ACTOR. The CAUSEE can either be profiled as an UNDERGOER in intransitive constructions or as a “third participant” by means of an oblique in transitive constructions, when the AFFECTEE remains “off stage”.

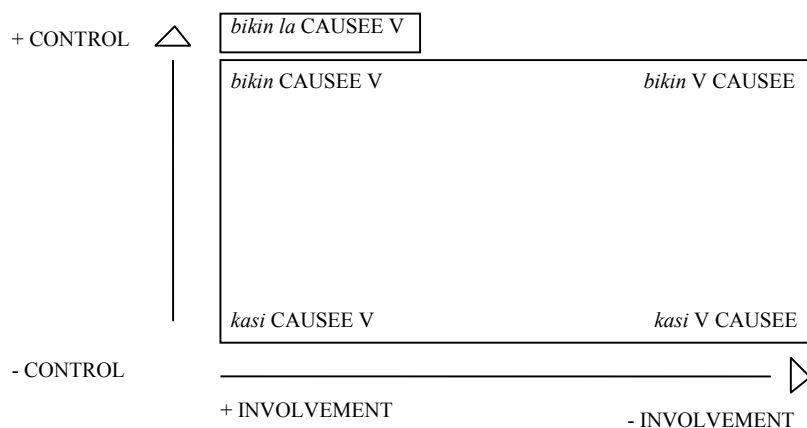


Figure 5. Involvement and control of CAUSERS in *bikin* and *kasi* constructions.

CONCLUSION

The fact that only the biclausal *bikin* construction features a conjunction suggests that this specific construction is a direct calque from Luangic and as such ‘alien’ to the Malay structure of MTJ, because of which it is in a separate square in Figure 5. As already was hinted at above, the conceptual framework of the MTJ speakers that are all bilinguals speaking two or three languages determines what construction is used to profile a causative situation. The strict grammatical structure of the Luangic languages seems to impose certain conceptualizations that may be very well language-specific. Thus, Van Minde (1997: 137) explains the monoclausal *kasi* in Ambonese Malay as stressing the outcome or result of an action.

- (20) *Kas basár foto tu.*
 give big photograph DEM
 ‘Enlarge the picture.’ (Ambonese Malay)
 (Van Minde 1997: 328)

The MTJ counterpart of the Ambonese Malay sentence in (20) would be *bikin besar foto tu* (make big picture DEM), which we explained above as being

motivated by the fact that the nearest counterparts of this kind of state verbs profile processes in Luangic. Steinhauer also acknowledges the existence of monoclausal *kasi* constructions featuring a state verb in Kupang Malay, for example, *dong kasi mera dong pung bibir* (3PL give RED 3PL POS lip) ‘they redden their lips’ (Steinhauer 1983: 54). However, he adds that **kasi mera pintu* (give red door) was rejected. This supports our claim that the conceptual framework of the Speaker in the end is decisive. For a MTJ speaker the Ambonese Malay example (20) that profiles a scene in which a photograph gets bigger may be more awkward than the Kupang Malay example that profiles a scene in which some women put lipstick on their lips. A scene in which a door is allowed to turn red, as if it is animate, is perceived of as being awkward for both Kupang Malay and MTJ speakers.³²

If whether a construction is acceptable or not depends on how the Speaker conceives the depicted situation, then the question arises how one can determine the formal borders of a Malayic variant as for example MTJ. One very salient exotic feature of MTJ for “outsiders” in Maluku and the Netherlands is the “stacking of deictics” in NPs³³ (Van Engelenhoven 2008). It seems self evident to locate the origin of imitation in Luangic languages where it is very abundant. However, this strategy appears to be most elaborate in the MTJ speech of speakers whose first language is Meher where deictic stacking is not as elaborate (eight combinations) as in Luangic, for example, Leti (19 combinations). In other words, whereas deictic stacking may be categorized as a typical feature of MTJ, one probably will not find it explicitly used in the area with a matching language structure: the islands from Leti through Wetan. This “grammatical instability” lead us elsewhere to the conclusion that MTJ qualifies for the term “interlanguage”, a transitional speech phase of the second language learner on his way to master the target language, for example, standard Indonesian (Van Engelenhoven 2002). In such a scenario where people with a different L1 background use an interlanguage as a contact language we hypothesize that the Hearer’s strategy will be more focused on interpreting the overall message and that there will be less concern on the “grammaticality” or “awkwardness” of what he hears. Said differently, an MTJ speaker whose L1 is Leti will probably discard the “superfluous” deictic stacking in a MTJ sentence by a Meher speaker and will deal with the interpretation of the Ambonese Malay example (20) similarly.

³² We therefore predict that in Kupang Malay the only option would be *bikin mera pintu* ‘make the door red’, as in MTJ.

³³ See

<i>ikan</i>	<i>besar</i>	<i>itu</i>			(Standard Indonesian)
<i>ikan</i>	<i>besar</i>	<i>itu</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>nya</i>	(MTJ)
<i>i’an</i>	<i>lalap</i>	<i>onn</i>	<i>eni</i>	<i>he</i>	(Meher)
fish	big	that	this	DEF	

‘those fish over here’ (Van Engelenhoven 2002: 187)

With reference to causative constructions, the local languages³⁴ display one causative biclausal construction featuring the verb *sia* ‘to do/make’ in one clause and the effect-profiling verb in the other clause. Sometimes, as in Leti, a local language still has a morphological strategy that has become marginal in the grammar. MTJ provides four productive periphrastic alternatives that distinguish between the CAUSER’s involvement (monoclausal constructions) or “non-involvement” (biclausal constructions) on one side and the CAUSER’s control (*bikin* constructions) or ‘non-control’ (*kasi* constructions) on the other side. The *bikin* construction in which both clauses are conjoined by *la* is analyzed as a direct calque from the Luangic languages that shows its compulsion to depict the chronology of the depicted events. It is expected that this phenomenon, which is one of the most salient features of MTJ, is immediately abandoned in a contact situation of a Southwest Malukan with somebody outside the region.

SYMBOLS USED

- ^ clitic boundary without metathesis phenomena
- = clitic boundary with final vowel apocope or internal metathesis in the left side morpheme
- ≈ clitic boundary with external metathesis between both morphemes
- morpheme boundary with final vowel apocope or internal metathesis in the left side morpheme
- ~ morpheme boundary with external metathesis between both morphemes
- . combined meanings without morpheme boundary

ABBREVIATIONS USED

- 1 : first person
- 2 : second person
- 3 : third person
- C : condition
- CAUS : causative prefix
- DEF : definitive
- DEM : demonstrative
- DEX : indexer clitic
- DIR : directional clitic
- IC : Intransitive Causative Construction
- INC : inclusive
- IND : indicative clitic

³⁴ A notable exception is the non-Austronesian Oirata on Kisar Island that also encodes GIVE and DO as causation profiling verbs in causative constructions (De Josselin de Jong 1937).

L1	: first language
MTJ	: Melayu Tenggara Jauh
LOC	: locative
NP	: noun phrase
NEG	: negator
POL	: polite
POS	: possessive suffix
RED	: reduplication
SEQ	: sequential marker
SWM	: Southwest Maluku
T	: time
TC	: Transitive Causative Construction
V	: verb
VP	: verb phrase

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