In previous chapters (especially Chapters 6-9), the discussions have been specifically focused on matters related to simple clauses. In this chapter, I will describe complex construction types that combine two (or more) clauses or verbs. The grammatical means for coherence and semantic-pragmatic inter-clausal relationships will be addressed. Structurally the combinations involve one clause being ‘dependent’ on another (the main clause), or neither clause being grammatically dependent on the other but both being equally ‘independent’. An independent clause can function fully on its own in discourse. A dependent clause cannot function on its own; it needs grammatical, semantic and/or pragmatic information from another clause in order to be understood. For example, clause (a) in (10-1) below, uttered with a non-final clause intonation (marked with a comma), cannot stand in isolation as it depends on clause (b) for its interpretation as a proposition. Clause (b), on the other hand, can fully function by itself, and thus, is an independent, main clause:

(10-1) (a) *Datay ka rumah,* (b) *ia gaga.*  
‘Arriving home, he was happy.’

The following complex construction types will be discussed in this chapter: Verbal compounds (10.1), Serial verbs (10.2), Complement clauses (10.3), Adverbial clauses (10.4), Relative clauses (10.5), and Coordinate clauses (10.6). Sections 10.2 - 10.5 are concerned with clauses which traditionally are called “subordinate”. However, since recently linguists tend to avoid a simple dichotomy of ‘subordination’ vs. ‘coordination’, the types of dependent clauses will just be described individually as listed above.  

It is common in Mualang to find multi-clausal constructions in which verbs are simply lined up in sequence. In all cases, the verbs involved appear inflected for voice as they do in mono-clausal constructions. Two types of non-final intonation have to be distinguished: 1) intonation which is characteristic of a single clause, i.e. a straight and flat intonation contour without an intonational break between the clauses or verbs, and 2) a flat or slightly rising intonation accompanied by a slight lengthening at the end of the non-final clause. (Note that throughout this grammar an intonation contour such as the latter is marked with a comma). A clause-final intonation (in declarative sentences) on the other hand is normally falling and followed by a pause or stop. To what extent arguments, tense-aspect-modal

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1 For a discussion, see Haiman and Thompson (1984). Cf. also Givón (2001b, Ch. 18).
information, and semantic interpretation are shared by the different clauses or verbs differ from construction to construction. In the following sections, I will discuss the distinguishing morphosyntactic features and semantics for each construction type, beginning with verbal compounds.

10.1 Verbal compounds

Verbal compounds and how they differ from ordinary verb sequences and serial verbs have been discussed in section 8.2 of Chapter 8. Intonationally the compound is marked by a single intonation contour. Verbal compounds can result in a “lexical union” (in the sense of Noonan (1985:75)), that is, they form a single lexical unit. The most radical ones are seen in compounds of which one or both constituents are precategorial, such as puntang-panting (precategorial-do.with.great.effort) ‘do something with great effort’, barah-buruh (precategorial-hurried) ‘be in a hurry’, kun’ang-katang (precategorial-precategorial) ‘go back and forth’.

10.2 Serial verbs

Serial-verb constructions (SVCs) in Mualang have the following characteristics:

a) Syntactic:
- a SVC is a combination of two or sometimes three verbs $V_1 V_2 (V_3)$;
- the series can be continuous ($V_1 V_2 ...$) or discontinuous ($V_1 ... V_2$);
- verbs in a series are uttered with a non-final intonation, i.e. under a straight-flat intonation contour, with no intervening pause or intonation break, as if it were a single verb;
- the verbs in the series share one grammatical subject;
- the verbs in the series share the same tense-aspect-modal information.

b) Semantic:
- the verbs in the series are perceived by the speaker as together indicating one complex event, and not two or more distinct events. As such, the verb members that compose the complex event have to express different facets of the event.

The discussion hereafter will be divided accordingly into two parts: the morphosyntax of SVCs (10.2.1) and the semantics of SVCs (10.2.2).

10.2.1 Morphosyntax of SVCs

In examples (10-2) and (10-3) below, the combination of events coded by datay ‘come’ and peda ‘to see’ are viewed in different ways. Especially in rapid speech, utterances (10-2a) and (10-3) may be extremely hard to distinguish. Although context can provide help, careful observation reveals that the SVC in (10-2a) has clausal intonation similar to that in mono-clausal constructions, i.e. datay and N-peda ‘are uttered with a straight-flat intonation, even if there is subject-predicate inversion, as in (10-2b). Semantically, they compose two consecutive facets of one
complex event, that is, the action of ‘seeing’ was accomplished by ‘coming’ first to the place of the object. In other words, the total event was perceived as covering the time when the grammatical subject was underway until it was nearby the object. Although the sequence of verbs in (10-3) was also uttered with a non-final clause intonation, in contrast to (10-2a), it showed prosodic features of multi-clausal constructions, i.e. $V_1$ *datay ‘come’* was pronounced with a bit longer rising intonation (marked with a comma), separating it from the second clause. The event ‘see’ occurred prior to ‘come’, and both were distinct events. Sentence (10-3) is therefore a non-serial construction.

(10-2)  
a. *Ia datay N-peda’ utay nya*.  
3s come ACT-see thing that  
‘He came and saw (came to see) that thing.’

b. *Datay ia N-peda’ utay nya*.  
come 3s ACT-see thing that  
‘He CAME and saw (CAME to see) that thing.’

(10-3)  
*Ia datay, N-peda’ utay nya*.  
3s come ACT-see thing that  
‘He came (closer), (after) seeing that thing.’

Tense-aspect-modal (TAM) information, as well as negation, applies to the whole SVC, but does not do so in a non-SVC. Thus, comparing (10-2) and (10-3) with (10-4) and (10-5) respectively, it is clear that the negation in non-SVC such as in (10-5) has scope over only one verb and not over all the verbs as it does with the verbs in a SVC such as in (10-4).

(10-4)  
*Ia naday datay N-peda’ utay nya*.  
3s NEG come ACT-see thing that  
‘He did not come and see (come to see) that thing.’

(10-5)  
*Ia naday datay, N-peda’ utay nya*.  
3s NEG come ACT-see thing that  
‘He did not come (closer), (after) seeing that thing.’

Another pair of examples in which TAM markers have scope over both verbs in a SVC and where they obviously do not, is the following:

(10-6)  
*Ia turun N-jala agi*.  
3s descend ACT-net again  
‘He came down to go net-fishing again.’

(10-7)  
*Baru’ ia turun ka ay’ tih, ka’ N-pasaw bubu*.  
then 3s descend to water tih want ACT-set.up k.o.fish.trap  
‘Then he went down to the water, wanting to set up a fish trap.’
Verbs in SVCs always share at least one argument. Except for the cause-effect SVC (as in (10-10); see below for further details), serialized verbs share the same subject:

a) Subject-$V_{\text{intransitive}}$-$V_{\text{intransitive}}$:

(10-8)  Laki ia tay mati nyaw pulay idup agi'.
husband 3s REL die PERF come.google live again
‘Her husband who had been dead has come home/back to live again.’

b) Subject-$V_{\text{intransitive}}$-$V_{\text{transitive}}$-Object:

(10-9)  Tay laki datay ngeN-bay' keban keluarga.
REL male come ACT-bring all.kind family
‘The male (i.e. the bridegroom) came bringing all of his relatives.’

c) Subject-$V_{\text{transitive}}$-Object-$V_{\text{intransitive}}$:

(10-10)  Ia N-tipah gelas labuh ka tanah.
3s ACT-hit.aside glass fall to ground
‘He pushed the glass (so it fell) to the ground.’

d) Subject-$V_{\text{transitive}}$-Object$_1$-$V_{\text{transitive}}$-Object$_2$:

(10-11)  Ku ka' aba' apay N-gusung wan kia'.
1s FUT/want follow father ACT-meet 2s.hon thither.near
‘I am going to/want to follow father to meet you there.’

In the cause-effect serialization of (10-10), the object gelas ‘glass’ of the first verb serves also as the logical subject of the second verb, labuh ‘fall’. Although the logical subject of $V_2$ is not coreferential with the syntactic subject of $V_1$, the event coded in $V_2$ is in fact still associated with the subject of $V_1$ as a causer.

In (10-11) each verb in the series, namely aba’ ‘meet’ and N-gusung ‘ACT-meet’ has its own object, apay ‘father’ and wan ‘2s.hon’, respectively. Both verbs share the same syntactic subject ku ‘1s’.

As in ordinary single clauses, in SVCs transitive verbs are always inflected for voice, in order to keep the logical subject of the verbs in the series coreferential with each other. The logical subject of the second verb is ellipsed. In (10-9 and 10-11) the second verb takes the active N-, which also serves to code the logical subject of the second verb as an agent. The active N- marking justifies the existence of the object. In the following example, the da-passive is used instead to mark the subject of the second verb as a patient:

(10-12)  Ia mati da-bunuh.
3s die PASS-kill
‘He died of being murdered.’
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Verb marking with inverse voice does not occur in a “normal” SVC except when the object of V$_2$ is clefted for contrastive purposes, as in (10-13) below, in which – different from (10-2a) - the object utay nya’ ‘that thing’ is clefted:

(10-13)  Utay nya’ tay ia datay peda’.
thing that REL 3s come see
‘It was that thing that he came to look at.’

When clefted, the object is moved to clause-initial position, thus preceding the subject and the serial verb. This shows the high structural integration of the verbs in the SVC. It is in fact one of the typical characteristics of SVCs cross-linguistically (see also Payne 1997:308), which distinguishes a SVC from a non-SVC. For example, there is no way to cleft the object of N-peda’ ‘ACT-see’ in the multi-clausal sentence (10-3) to the front of the entire construction: *Utay nya’ tay ia datay, N-peda’.

As regards the number of verbs in a SVC, there are several instances in my corpus of three consecutive verbs, e.g.:

(10-14)  Turun ba-jalay N-sumpit, senua tih
descend ANPAS-road ACT-blowpipe 3d tih
		ba-malam ka kampung ....
ANPAS-night to village
‘(After) going down walking blowpiping (animals), the two of them spent the night in a village....’

(10-15)  ... Putung Kempat te-puntang-panting
P K MID-(precategorial)-do.with.great.effort
		anyut da-bay’ ulak ay’.
swept.away PASS-bring eddy water
‘... Putung Kempat was bumped around badly, swept away by an eddy of water.’

10.2.2 Semantics of SVCs

Verbs in SVCs refer to components of one complex event, the constituent parts having a particular semantic relationship to each other. As thus far attested in the corpus, the semantic relationships in Mualang SVCs may be qualified as sequential, simultaneous, cause-effect, state-cause, directional, and adverbial (manner/aspect) serialization. However, a sequential or a simultaneous logical relationship of one event to another is also apparent in the four latter types. Thus, one may find overlap in several types of semantic relationships. For example, a cause-effect SVC implies two sequential events. Nevertheless, in each distinguished type a meaning or interpretation other than sequentiality or simultaneousness may be more salient. Each of these types will be described individually below.
10.2.2.1 Sequential serialization

In a sequential serialization, the overall scene of one complex event is described, in which $V_1$ refers to the initial action or state that precedes the action or state referred to by $V_2$. The examples (10-2a) and (10-6), presented again in (10-16) and (10-17), show such a relationship.

(10-16)  
Ia datay N-peda’ utay nya’.  
3s come ACT-see thing that  
‘He came and saw (came to see) that thing.’

(10-17)  
Ia turun N-jala agi’.  
3s descend ACT-net again  
‘He came down to go net-fishing again.’

Although a purposive interpretation could be inferred, a sequential serialization significantly differs from a purposive constructions, marked for instance by ngaw ‘for’ as in (10-18). Here the purposive part (ngaw) $N$-pinta’ di’ ‘(for) proposing to you’ has not happened yet, whereas the event datay ‘come’ has. In (10-19), however, the entire event in the serial construction has occurred:

(10-18)  
Kami nyaw datay ngaw N-pinta’ di’.  
1p.excl PERF come for ACT-ask 2s.fem  
‘We have come to propose to you.’

(10-19)  
Jadi tu’, telany’ur kami nyaw datay  
so this, already.happened 1p.excl PERF come  
$N$-pinta’ di’.  
ACT-ask 2s.fem  
‘So, well, it already happened that we have come and proposed to you.’

10.2.2.2 Simultaneous serialization

In a simultaneous serialization, components of the complex event coded in the verbs in series take place at the same time, e.g.:

(10-20)  
Datay urang laki tu’ N-bay’ keban keluarga.  
come person male this ACT-bring all.kind family  
‘The man came bringing the whole family.’

(10-21)  
Buh, ba-jalay N-sumpit.  
come.on ANPAS-road ACT-blowpipe  
‘Let’s have a blowpiping walk.’ (i.e. have a walk while blowpiping)
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10.2.2.3 Cause-effect serialization

In a cause-effect serialization, $V_1$ expresses a cause while $V_2$ the effect. As shown in the example (10-10), repeated below as (10-23), the action $N$-tipah ‘ACT-hit.aside’ causes the object $gelas$ ‘glass’ to fall $labuh$. More examples are provided in (10-24 – 10-26).

(10-23) 

\textit{Ia N-tipah gelas labuh ka tanah.}

3s ACT-hit.to.side glass fall to ground

‘He pushed aside the glass (so it fell) to the ground.’

(10-24) 

\textit{Nyelipan da-palu’ ia mati.}

centipede PASS-strike 3s die

‘The centipede was striken dead by him.’

(10-25) 

\textit{Nyiur labuh pecah.}

coconut fall broken

‘The coconut fell and broke.’

(10-26) 

\textit{Nemiak labuh te-duduk.}

child fall MID-sit

‘The child fell in a sitting position.’

10.2.2.4 State-cause serialization

A state-cause serialization expresses the reverse situation of a cause-effect SVC: $V_1$ describes the state (or ongoing action as the case may be) and $V_2$ the cause that made the subject be in the state (or performing the action), e.g.:

(10-27) 

\textit{Ia rari takut.}

3s run afraid

‘He ran away being afraid.’

(10-28) 

\textit{Buah ntawa’ nya’ da-tiki’ sida’, da-am’i’, labuh da-buay ka tanah.}

fruit k.o.fruit that PASS-climb 3p PASS-take fall

PASS-throw.away to ground

‘The \textit{ntawa’} tree was climbed by them, the fruit was taken, (and) fell being thrown away to the ground.’
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(10-29)  Nyelipan  mati da-palu’.
    centipede  die  PASS-beat
    ‘The centipede was dead as a result of being beaten.’

10.2.2.5  Directional serialization

Motion verbs V₂ such as terbay ‘fly (away)’, rari ‘run (away)’, pulay ‘go/come home’, and turun ‘descend’, tiki ‘ascend’ add a directional meaning to V₁. For some examples, consider:

(10-30)  Tu’ babi, bay’ pulay ulih m’ih!
    this pig  bring  go/home  by  2s.masc
    ‘This is (some) pork, take (it) home!’ (lit. ‘(it) be brought home by you’)

(10-31)  Kudi’ ngeN-bay’ dawun terbay.
    wind  ACT-bring  leaf  fly
    ‘The wind blew the leaves away.’ (lit. ‘… brought the leaves flying’)

(10-32)  Tekanyat, ia N-lumpat turun.
    startled  3s  ACT-jump  descend
    ‘Being startled, he jumped down.’

10.2.2.6  Adverbial serialization

In adverbial serialization V₂ modifies V₁ in terms of manner and aspectual information. In manner serialization (10.2.2.6.1) V₂ explains the way V₁ takes place or is carried out. In aspectual serialization (10.2.2.6.2) V₂ indicates the internal temporal progress of V₁.

10.2.2.6.1  Manner serialization

Manner serialization is found, if V₂ is an intransitive verb. Those with adjectival-like meanings are the most likely to occur as V₂ (examples (10-33 – 10-35)), but other verbs occur as well (such as in (10-36)).

(10-33)  Arus ba-kerja keras kita’!
    must  ANPAS-work  hard  2p
    ‘You have to work hard you all!’

(10-34)  Ngapa m’ih datay lawun?
    why  2s.masc  come  slow
    ‘Why did you come late?’
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10.2.2.6.2 Aspectual serialization

Aspectual meanings are mostly expressed through the use of modals (see Chapter 8). However, cases of aspectual meanings have been found to be expressed via serialization using mis ‘finished’ in V₂ position, and pulay ‘go/come home’ in V₁ position. In (10-37), for example, the use of mis expresses the completeness of the event:

(10-37)  
N-pakay mis, ia angkat.  
ACT-eat finished 3s go  
‘After having finished eating, he started off.’

Motion verbs are frequently found in V₁ position in sequential and simultaneous serialization. In this respect, one motion verb, namely pulay ‘go/come home’, is worth noting as its use in SVC is rather different semantically, that is, it can encode several meanings: sequential, simultaneous and ‘completive-reverse’ order:

(10-38)  
Ia pulay N-am’i’ ay’.  
3s go/come.home ACT-take water  
(a) ‘He came home to get water.’ (= sequential)  
(b) ‘He came home from getting water.’ (=completive-reverse order)

(10-39)  
Ia pulay N-bay’ ay’.  
3s go/come.home ACT-bring water  
(a) ‘He came home carrying water.’ (= simultaneous)  
(b) ‘He came home from carrying water.’ (=completive-reverse order)

(10-40)  
Pulay N-ketaw, tay laki  
go/come.home N-harvest REL male  
N-ma’ padi.  
ACT-carry.on.one’s.back uncooked.rice  
‘Coming home from harvesting, the male ones were carrying rice on their back.’ (=completive-reverse order)
The sequential (10-38a) and simultaneous readings (10-39a) have been addressed previously. Our concern here is the “completive-reverse order” reading in (10-38b) and (10-39b) and (10-40), in which, even though it is in $V_1$ position, pulay expresses an action carried out after completing $V_2$, translatable as “come home/back from doing $V_2$”. Intonationally there is a slight difference: in sequential and simultaneous readings, pulay and $V_2$ have their own (primary) stress, and this is a typical intonation contour of SVCs. In the completive-reverse order reading, however, pulay is uttered together with $V_2$ under a single intonation contour with a single primary stress on $V_2$. The latter contour is similar to that of a modal auxiliary with its main verb. Another example of the “completive-reverse order” reading is also seen in 

$$dani \ rin'\text{'uk}$$ (wake.up-sleep) ‘wake up (from sleeping)’.

**10.2.3 Cases of grammaticalization via SVCs**

As noted in Chapter 5, the following formatives can function as verbs and also as a preposition and/or a connector: aba’ 1) ‘follow’, 2) ‘and’, ngusung 1) ‘meet’ (morphologically N-gusung ‘ACT-meet’), 2) ‘with’, ngaw 1) ‘use’, 2) ‘with’, nuna’ 1) ‘follow (from behind)’ (morphologically N-tuna’ ‘ACT-follow’), 2) ‘according to’, and sampay 1) ‘arrive’, 2) ‘until’. Their use in sequential and simultaneous SVCs shows how the (meaning of the) prepositions may have originated:

(10-41) $Ku$ aba’ apay N-gusung wan kia’.
1s follow/and father ACT-meet 2s.hon thither.near
a) ‘I follow father to meet you there.’
b) ‘Father and I (will) meet you there.’

(10-42) $Ku$ ka’ ba-ran’aw N-gusung m’ih.
1s want ANPAS-visit ACT-meet 2s.masc
a) ‘I want to visit and see you.’
b) ‘I want to go visiting with you.’

(10-43) Sida’ N-ili’ ngaw peraw.
3p ACT-go.downstreams use praw
a) ‘They went downstream using a proa.’
b) ‘They went downstream with a proa.’

(10-44) Sida’ angkat N-tuna’ dany’i ia.
3p go ACT-follow promise 3s
a) ‘They started off following his promise.’
b) ‘They started off according to his promise.’

(10-45) Ia rari sampay da rumah.
3s run arrive LOC house
a) ‘He/she ran reaching home.’
b) ‘He/she ran until he/she was at home’

In Chapter 5 several morphosyntactic features were shown that accompany the verbs in bold above when they function as verbs and as prepositions or connectors. *Aba’*
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and ngaw are of special interest as they can be used in various functions. Aha’ can function both at the phrasal and clausal level (see sections 5.2.2 and 10.6.1.1 of the present chapter). Ngaw as a preposition marks the following NP as instrument or benefactive (see section 5.2.1), whereas as a subordinator it marks purposive clauses (10.4.4 below).

10.3 Complement clauses

This section will describe major types of complement clauses in Mualang. A prototypical complement clause is defined in Payne (1997:313, following Noonan 1985) as “a clause that functions as an argument (subject or object) of some other clause.” Syntactic forms of complement clauses in relation to the matrix/main clauses vary depending on their structural and semantic integration. Some linguists view the possible kinds of integration as scalar or as constituting a continuum (cf. Payne 1997:314 and Givón 2001a, b). For the current purpose, I have adopted the idea of “complexity continuum” discussed in Payne (1997:313-315). According to Payne, complement clauses can fall somewhere on a non-finite – finite complement continuum depending on the degree of structural integration – hence conceptual integration – of the complement clause into the matrix clause. For Mualang, major subtypes of complement clauses are roughly outlined as follows (PCU (taken from Givón 2001b) stands for verbs of “perception, cognition and utterance”):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-finite Complements</th>
<th>Finite Complements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominalized verb–Manipulation verb-type–Modality verb-type–PCU verb-type</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Finite complements have formal characteristics of independent clauses, while non-finite complements are less independent and are grammatically reduced in some way. Their possible manifestations in Mualang will be described in subsection 10.3.1. After that, 10.3.2 will deal with the distribution of complement clauses within clauses. Finally, 10.3.3 will highlight similarities and differences between complement clauses and serial verbs.

10.3.1 Finite and Non-finite complements

10.3.1.1 Finite complements

Finite complements in Mualang have the following characteristics:

a) The complement clause is uttered under an intonation contour separated from its main or matrix verb. Typically, the matrix verb, which precedes the complement clause, is pronounced with a bit prolonged, rather flat or slightly rising intonation contour;
b) The complement clause is like an independent clause: it has its own subject, which needs not be coreferential with that of the matrix clause, and it has its own separate tense-aspect-modal information.

As an illustration, consider example (10-46) (complement clauses are in brackets):

(10-46) Subject Verb Object-complement
Ku N-dinga [ia udah datay].
1s ACT-hear 3s PERF come

main (matrix) clause complement clause
‘I heard that he has come.’

Note that the grammatical subject of a finite complement clause may not surface syntactically due to zero anaphora (see section 9.1.3). However the intonational features as explained above still hold, e.g.:

(10-47) Ku N-dinga [udah datay].
1s ACT-hear PERF come

matrix clause complement clause
‘I heard that he has come.’

Finite complements normally appear without a complementizer as complements of verbs of perception, cognition and utterance (PCU) such as *peda* ‘see’, *tilik* ‘observe’, *ipa* ‘spy, peek’, *pikir* ‘think’, *kira* ‘suspect’, *padah* ‘say, tell’, *dinga* ‘hear’, *taw* ‘know’. Other examples are:

(10-48) Ari jawuh ia N-peda’ [aday tepayan].
from far 3s ACT-see exist jar
‘From a distance he saw that there was a jar.’

(10-49) Baru’ ia ba-pikir [N-pulah tanah].
then 3s ANPAS-think ACT-make soil
‘Then he had a thought of creating (men) from soil.’

(10-50) ... nitaw’ [ia anyut k=ili’ jara’].
not.know 3s swept.away to=downstream jara’
‘She didn’t know that she was really swept away downstream by water.’

Verbs denoting a mental/emotional state can also take a complement clause as an object of their mental/emotional state, e.g.: ²

² Finite complements with verbs of perception, cognition, utterance and mental activity have been well-attested cross-linguistically (see e.g. Noonan 1985, Givón 2001b).
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(10-51) \( Sida'\ ia'\ gaga\ [m'i\ h\ datay]. \)
\( 3p\ \text{that\ glad\ 2s.masc\ come} \)
‘They were glad that you came.’

(10-52) \( Apay\ takut\ [\text{burung\ terbay\ rari}]. \)
\( \text{father\ afraid\ bird\ fly\ run} \)
‘Father was afraid that the bird would fly away.’

(10-53) \( Pedih\ [kita'\ suayak]. \)
\( \text{sad\ 2p\ divorced} \)
‘It’s sad that you (two) got divorced’

Verbs of cognition and utterance also take direct and indirect quotes as their finite complements:

(10-54) \( Ia\ pikir\ [ila'\ (ia)\ datay]. \) (= Indirect quote)
\( 3s\ \text{think\ later\ (3s)\ come} \)
‘He thought that he would come later.’

(10-55) \( Apay\ Aluy\ N-umung\ kadiri'\ [ka'\ pulay]. \)
\( \text{father\ Aluy\ ACT-talk\ alone\ want\ go.home} \) (= Indirect quote)
‘Aluy’s father said to himself that he wanted to go home.’

(10-56) \( Puyang\ Belawan\ mulai\ ba-pikir:\ \)
\( P\ B\ \text{begin\ ANPAS-think} \)
‘[Kati\ mah\ aba’\ Putung\ Kempat\ tu’?]\) (= Direct quote)
how\ mah\ with\ P\ K\ this
‘Puyang Belawan began to think: “How is it with Putung Kempat?”

(10-57) \( Sa’\ urang-urang\ Buah\ Kana\ ngeN-bay':\ \)
\( 3p\ \text{person-RED\ B\ K\ ACT-summon} \)
‘[Angkat\ mah\ kita!]’ (= Direct quote)
go\ mah\ 1p.incl
‘They, the people of Buah Kana, summoned: “Let’s just go off.”’

A direct quote is distinguished from an indirect one by its pronoun (usually a first person form, such as \( kita\) in (10-57)) and intonation, which normally imitates the original statement.

Similar to indirect quotes are “indirect questions”. Indirect questions function as finite complements of cognition and utterance verbs. They can, but need not, be introduced with a question word. For illustrative examples the reader is referred to section 9.6.1.4 of Chapter 9.
10.3.1.2 Non-finite complements

Non-finite complements are “more tightly knit, less independent, less like a separate clause from the matrix clause than are finite complements” (Payne 1997:315). In Mualang the following specific characteristics apply:

a) In contrast to finite complements, in non-finite complement clauses, the clausal complement is uttered under a tight intonation contour with the matrix verb, i.e. not separated from the matrix clause; such a contour is comparable to that between a verb and its object noun phrase in a single clause;
b) The verb of the complement clause is independently marked for voice;
c) The subject of the complement clause is highly constrained. It is zero-coded (ellipsed) if corefential with the subject or the object of the matrix clause, or left unspecified (see further explanation below with respect to each subtype of non-finite complements);
d) Tense-aspect-modal information of the complement clause is subject to constraints or left unspecified.

Three subtypes of non-finite complements will be discussed below: a) non-finite complements of a manipulation verb-type; b) non-finite complements with a modality verb-type, and; c) nominalized complements.

a) Non-finite complements of a manipulation verb-type

Typically in manipulation verbs the agent subject manipulates the patient object to perform something. Examples of such verbs are asuh ‘cause’, suruh ‘order; cause’, pukung/paksa ‘force’, pulah ‘make’, uti ‘disturb, jokingly challenge’, bay ‘call for, summon’, pinta ‘ask for’, bantu ‘help’, ajar ‘teach’. When taking a clausal complement as its object-complement, the (logical) subject of the complement clause functions as the grammatical object of the matrix clause. The complement-clause subject itself is not expressed grammatically. Its zero-coding is due to the subject being coreferential with the object of the matrix clause. As illustrated in (10-58) below, Belang Baw serves as the grammatical object of the matrix clause and the logical subject or agent of the complement clause:

(10-58) Subject   Verb   Object
\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
Sida’ & N-suruh & Belang Baw \\
3p & ACT-order & B & B & [N-am’i’ api]. \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Matrix clause} \\
\leftarrow \\
\text{‘They ordered Belang Baw to get fire.’}
\end{array}
\]

The grammatical object status of the constituent like Belang Baw in (10-58) is evidenced by: 1) a tight intonation contour between the matrix verb and the object,

\footnote{3 For further explanation on manipulation verbs, see, e.g. Givón (2001a:151-153); cf. also Noonan (1985:125-127).}

\footnote{4 Cf. “paratactic complements” in Noonan (1985:55-56, 76-82).}
and 2) the possibility for the object to become the grammatical subject in the passive or inverse clause (see 10.3.2 below).

Typical causative constructions with the verbs asuh or suruh are constructed in such a way, e.g.:

(10-59) \( Tu' \, N\text{-asuh} \, ku \, [N\text{-rut} \, kita']. \)
\[ \text{this ACT-cause 1s ACT-forbid 2p} \]
\[ \text{‘This causes me to forbid you all.’ (i.e. ‘This is why I forbid you all.’)} \]

(10-60) \( Nya' \, N\text{-suruh} \, ia \, [da-sebut \, Belang \, Ping'ang]. \)
\[ \text{that ACT-cause 3s PASS-mention B P} \]
\[ \text{‘That causes him to be called Belang Pinggang.’ (i.e. ‘That’s why he was called Belang Pinggang.’)} \]

More examples:

(10-61) \( Sida' \, N\text{-uti'} \, ipar \, ia' \, N\text{-inum}. \)
\[ \text{3p ACT-jokingly.challenge sibling.in.law that ACT-drink} \]
\[ \text{‘They challenged their sister-in-law to drink.’} \]

(10-62) \( Ia \, N\text{-paksa} \, diri' \, ba-kerja – ba-uma. \)
\[ \text{3s ACT-force self ANPAS-work – ANPAS-rice.field} \]
\[ \text{‘He forced himself to do all kinds of household work (lit. to work and work in the rice field).’} \]

Besides taking a finite complement (see 10.3.1.1 above), verbs of perception, cognition and utterance (PCU) can also take a non-finite complement in the same way as do the manipulation verbs, e.g.:

(10-63) \( Sida' \, naday \, kala' \, N\text{-peda'} \, m'ih \, [datay]. \)
\[ \text{3p NEG ever ACT-see 2s.masc come} \]
\[ \text{‘They’ve never seen you come.’} \]

Example (10-63) differs from, for example, (10-46) in that the subject of the complement clause is left unexpressed: grammatically \( m'ih \, ‘2s.masc’ \) is part of the matrix clause, that is, its object. Semantically, in non-finite complements with such “manipulative” PCU verbs the (logical) subject of the complement clause is in focus, whereas in the finite ones (e.g. 10-46), the entire event referred to by the complement clause is in focus. Also, aspectual and modal information often do not appear in non-finite complements. Another example of non-finite complement of PCU verbs is given below:

(10-64) \( Seniku' \, N\text{-dinga} \, gu' \, Apay \, Aji \, [N\text{-kumay} \, ukay]. \)
\[ \text{3d ACT-hear sound father haji ACT-call dog} \]
\[ \text{‘Each of the two of them heard the voice of Mr. Haji calling a dog.’} \]
b) Non-finite complements with a modality verb-type

The term modality verb is taken from Givón (2001a:149ff). Modality verbs include verbs expressing “modal attitude” (such as volition, intent, attempt, ability, necessity and probability) and aspectuality (initiation, duration, achievement, and termination). Examples of modality verbs in Mualang are *ka* ‘want’, *keran* ‘like (to do)’, *ngay* ‘not want/will’, *cuba* ‘try’, *perlu* ‘need’, *mulay* ‘begin’, *balang* ‘fail, cancel’, *mis* ‘finished’, *p-amis* ‘finish’, *lepa* ‘rest’. When such verbs take a clausal complement, the subject of the complement does not surface and is always coreferential with that of the matrix clause. For example:

(10-65)  
*la keran [N-pakay pekasam].*
3s like ACT-eat pickled/fermented.fish
‘He is fond of eating pickled fish.’

(10-66)  
*Ku N-cuba [N-sepu (kesuling) ja’].*
1s ACT-try ACT-blow (flute) *ja’*
‘I am just trying to play (it/the flute).’

(10-67)  
*Seniku’ balang [ba-tunang].*
3d fail ANPAS-engagement
‘The two failed to get engaged.’

(10-68)  
*Sida’ ba-lepa [ba-rin’as].*
3p ANPAS-rest ANPAS-struggle
‘They stopped fighting/struggling.’

Verbs denoting emotional or mental senses, such as *takut* ‘afraid (of)’, *gaga* ‘glad’, *riu* ‘long for’, may also behave like modality verbs in taking a complement clause. In the following examples (10-69 – 71) the subjects of the matrix and complement clause are coreferential, hence it does not surface in the complement clause:

(10-69)  
*Miaad ia takut [pulay].*
child that afraid go.home
‘The child is afraid of going home.’

(10-70)  
*Sida’ ia’ gaga [b-ulih jelu].*
3p that glad ANPAS-get animal
‘They are glad to get animals.’

(10-71)  
*la nyaw leju’ [da-tanya’].*
3s PERF bored PASS-ask
‘He was tired of being asked.’
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Note that these cases are different from (10-51 – 10-53) in which the subjects of matrix and complement clauses are not coreferential.

c) Nominalized complements

Maximal reduction takes place in a nominalized complement, in which the verb always appears with the subject and tense-aspect-modal information unspecified or unexpressed. In a nominalization type construction, the event is semantically nominalized without nominalizing morphology. The verbal form is retained, that is, it may be prefixed for voice. For example:

(10-72) \[B-uma \text{ } tu’, \text{ } reti \text{ } nya’ \text{ } [N-pulah \text{ } uma \text{ } ngaw \text{ } N-tam’ak \text{ } padi].\]

for plant rice

‘As for rice cultivation, it means making a rice field for planting rice.’

(10-73) \[N-tarik \text{ } isaw-tangkin \text{ } N-ancam \text{ } urang \text{ } kena’ \text{ } adat ....\]

ACT-draw machete-k.o.machete ACT-threaten person

afflicted customs

‘Taking out machetes and threatening another person results in a customary fine ....’

(10-74) \[N-any’ung \text{ } benih \text{ } ka \text{ } uma \text{ } tay \text{ } da-tugal \text{ } arus \text{ } lam-lam.\]

ACT-escort seed to rice.field REL PASS-dibble must morning-RED

‘Taking seeds to the rice field that is going to be dibbled has to be done in the morning.’

(10-75) \[Butang \text{ } tu’], \text{ } da-temu \text{ } ka’ \text{ } ka laki \text{ } bini \text{ } urang.\]

committing.adultery TOP PASS-meet want to husband wife person

‘As for butang (committing adultery), it consists of (lit. is found) wanting to (have an affair with) the husband or wife of another person.’

10.3.2 Distribution of complements within clauses

As seen in various examples presented above, complement clauses occupy syntactic functions in the clause analogous to a noun phrase, e.g. as a subject (as in (10-73)) or
an object (as in (10-46)). As with noun phrases, some complement types show variation with respect to their position within the clause. The most flexible position is found in finite complements of PCU-type verbs; the complement clause may appear after the matrix clause, as in (10-46), presented again below as (10-76), or clause-initially before the matrix clause, as in (10-77):³

(10-76)  
**Ku N-dinga [ia udah datay].**  
1s ACT-hear 3s PERF come  
‘I heard that he has come.’

(10-77)  
*[ia udah datay] ku N-dinga.*  
3s PERF come 1sACT-hear  
‘(That) he has come, is what I heard.’

The difference between (10-76) and (10-77) is a matter of focus: in the former it is the event in the matrix clause that gets emphasized, whereas in the latter it is the other way around. Example (10-78) below displays another case, in which the subject of the complement clause is topicalized and the rest of the complement clause appears after the matrix clause.

(10-78)  
**Ia, ku N-dinga [udah datay].**  
3s 1s ACT-hear PERF come  
‘As for him, I heard (he) has come.’

In intransitive clauses the word orders **SV** and **VS** are commonly found (see section 7.2.6 and 9.2). A complement may occupy the subject slot as in the following examples which differ in focus in the same way as (10-76) and (10-77):

(10-79)  
a.  
*N-tugal tu’ ba-guna.*  
ACT-dibble this ANPAS-benefit  
‘This dibbling (of holes) is useful.’

b.  
Ba-guna [N-tugal tu’].  
ANPAS-benefit ACT-dibble this  
‘It’s useful this dibbling (of holes).’

(10-80)  
a.  
*Turun urang laki da-peda’ ia.*  
descend person male PASS-see 3s  
‘That a man descended (from the sky) was seen by her.’

b.  
Da-peda’ ia [kekura’ N-sepu kesuling].  
PASS-see 3s turtle ACT-blow flute  
‘It was seen by him that the turtle was playing the flute.’

³ It is also possible to interpret the clause **ku N-dinga ‘1s-ACT.hear’** in (10-77) as an “afterthought” instead of a matrix clause. This would explain why one does not find the expected inverse construction here.
Note that the positional variation may also occur within the complement clause itself: in (10-80a) the order is VS (turun (=V) urang laki (=S)), whereas in (10-80b) it is SV(O) (kekura’ (=S) nyepu (=V) kesuling (=O)).

The post-matrix-clause position of the complement clause is fixed in the aday-existential-presentative construction, due to the nature of this construction:

(10-81)  *Ia N-peda’ aday [tajaw anyut ....]*
3s ACT-see exist jar swept.away
‘He saw there was a jar being swept away (by water) ....’

(10-82)  *Aday urang [datay]*.
Exist person come
‘There was somebody coming.’

(10-81) is also an example of a complement which serves at the same time as a matrix verb for another complement within the same construction. In the example aday ‘exist’ constitutes the complement for the clause *ia N-peda’ ‘3s-ACT.see’* and simultaneously becomes the matrix verb for *tajaw anyut ‘jar swept away’*. Complements of manipulation verbs, as described in example (10-58), are invariable with respect to their position, whatever the voice of the matrix clause. When passivized, inverted, or clefted, it is only the grammatical object of the matrix clause – which is also the logical subject of the complement – that becomes the clause-initial subject (of the matrix clause), but the complement clause itself remains where it was in the active clause. Thus, (10-58), presented again as (10-83a), can be passivized or inverted as follows:

(10-83)  

a.  *Sida’ N-suruh Belang Baw [N-am’i’ api].*
3p ACT-order B B ACT-take fire
(= Active voice)
‘They ordered Belang Baw to get the fire.’

b.  *Belang Baw da-suruh (sida’) [N-am’i’ api].*
B B ACT-order (3p) ACT-take fire
(= Passive voice)
‘Belang Baw was ordered (by them) to get the fire.’

c.  *Belang Baw sida’ suruh [N-am’i’ api].*
B B 3p ACT-order ACT-take fire
(= Inverse voice)
‘Belang Baw they ordered to get the fire.’

d.  *Belang Baw tay sida’ suruh [N-am’i’ api].*
B B REL 3p ACT-order ACT-take fire
(= Clefted)
‘It’s Belang Baw that they ordered to get the fire.’

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6 For *aday*-existential constructions, see section 6.3.
Such a mechanism is not found with non-finite complements of PCU verbs, in which the whole complement is moved, e.g. to subject position when passivized, as in the examples in (10-80).

### 10.3.3 Differences between constructions with non-finite complements and serial verb constructions

Non-finite complements as described in 10.3.1.2 show structural overlapping with serial verb constructions (SVCs). They also share intonational similarity. For example, both constructions may have Subject-Verb-Object-Verb-Object structure (see (10-83a) and (10-11)). Complements used with modality verbs may share the same subject (e.g. 10-65 – 10-68), a typical feature of SVCs. There being no morphosyntactic marking on the verb, their difference is not always transparent in Mualang. Although in many cases the type of the verbs used disambiguates the two types of constructions, the contrast remains subtle in some cases. For example, the utterance verb *jaku’* ‘say’ can take a complement clause (10-84) but can also be used in a SVC (10-85):

(10-84)  
“*Pulay, m’ih!*”, *jaku’* ia.  
go.home 2s.masc say 3s  
‘Go home, you!’ she said.’

(10-85)  
“*Aw’, nganti’ upa sarang renguang, buay ka*  
well if like nest k.o. anthropod throw to  
*tanah!*” *jaku’* Petara Senta N-anu’ sedua ah.  
ground say deity S ACT-angry 3d ah  
“Well, if it (your baby) looks like a nest of anthropods, (then just) throw it away to the ground!”, said God Senta reprimanding the two of them.’

Nevertheless, the semantic clue that SVCs depict one single complex event is in most cases sufficient to identify their difference. In (10-85), for example, a SVC interpretation is plausible since the events referred to by both verbs depict one single situation, that is, that *Petara Senta* was reprimanding them and that he did this by saying something angrily. In contrast, a complement clause tends to add a separate assertion to its matrix clause and does not possess a particular semantic relationship to it as do the SVCs.

### 10.4 Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses are those that function like an adverb (Thompson and Longacre 1985). They are subordinate clauses that modify a verb phrase or a whole clause. A typology of adverbial clauses has been provided, among others, in Givón (2001b) and Thompson and Longacre (1985). The latter source (1985:172) mentions three devices used to form adverbial clauses: subordinating morphemes (consisting of grammatical morphemes with no lexical meaning and those with lexical content), special verb forms, and word order. All three are represented in Mualang, with the
addition that also polymorphemic words may function as subordinators. Hereafter
the various types of adverbial clauses in Mualang will be described in the following
order: temporal (10.4.1), locative (10.4.2), manner (10.4.3), purpose (10.4.4),
simultaneity (10.4.5), conditional (10.4.6), concessive (10.4.7), reason (10.4.8),
resultative (10.4.9) and absolutive (10.4.10).

10.4.1 Temporal adverbial clauses
Temporal adverbial clauses add time information to the main clause. In Mualang
they are introduced by subordinating morphemes/words, reduplication of stative
verbs, and preposing of aspectual auxiliaries. It is very common for adverbial
clauses uttered with a non-final intonation (that is, typically with a slight rising
intonation contour) to precede the main clause.

a) Subordinating morphemes/words

The following temporal subordinators were attested in the corpus:

1) sebedaw ‘before’: introducing an event that occurred prior to the event expressed
by the main clause. The adverbial clause is frequently found before the main clause,
although the reverse order is possible. A non-final clause intonation separates both
clauses. For example:

   (10-86)  Sebedaw tin’uk, seniku’ N-sumay.
                before sleep 3d ACT-cook
            ‘Before going to bed, the two of them cooked.’

   (10-87)  Bangkay miak da-bungkus ngaw tikay, ka pua’,
             corpse  child PASS-wrap with mat to bark.clothes
         sebedaw aday kayin.
                before exist clothes
         ‘The corpse of the child was wrapped with a mat, or pua’, before there
         were clothes available.’

2) waktu or senta: both words mean ‘time’ and may be used interchangeably,
introducing the time setting at which the event in the main clause occurred; they are
best translated as ‘when’:

   (10-88)  Waktu sida’ menyadi’ aday aba’ apay inay, naday
                time 3p sibling exist with father mother NEG
         N-pakay umpan ....’
             ACT-eat  rice
         ‘When the siblings lived with their parents, they didn’t eat rice ....’

7 Pua’ is the name of the traditional clothes made of tree bark.
Senta bar-anak bini sedua nya’, tulu anak sedua

ny’a ‘...’

‘When the wives of both of them gave birth, it was true that their children ....’

3) sampay ‘until’: introducing the termination of the event mentioned in the main clause. Sampay is also a verb meaning ‘arrive’.

Ia idup da daerah Sepawuk sampay ia mati.

3s live LOC region S until 3s die

‘He lived in the region of Sepauk until he died.’

Da-tung’u’ sedua sampay sedua gali’.

PASS-wait 3d until 3d lie.down

‘They both waited until the other two laid down for a rest.’

b) Temporal adverbial clauses with prefixed words either or not reduplicated

A limited number of words prefixed with the nominalizing prefixe ke- function as subordinating conjunctions introducing temporal adverbial clauses. The derived time words carry the meaning ‘after such and such time’; for example, ke-panyay (NOM-long) ‘after a long distance/time’ (10-92) and ke-sudah (NOM-already) ‘after completing’ (10-93).

Ke-panyay ia duduk, ia N-peda’ gerama’.

NOM-long 3s sit 3s ACT-see crab

‘After sitting for a long time, he saw a crab.’

Ke-sudah N-peda’ pia’, antu’ tu’

NOM-already ACT-see like.that ghost this

ba-pekat ....

ANPAS-agreement

‘(After) having seen this, the ghosts made an agreement ....’

Both derived stative verbs are prefixed with ke- ((10-94) and (10-95)) or peN- ((10-96) and (10-97)) and are reduplicated to indicate that the time was spent in excessive degree:

8 The prefix ke- was discussed in section 4.2.3.
9 Sudah is a precategorial morpheme, found only in this use with or without reduplication (see (10-97)). It is probably a borrowing from Malay/Indonesian. Another possibility would be that sudah was the earlier Mualang form which lost its initial s-.
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(10-94) **Ke-panyay – panyay ia ba-jalay ka kampung tih**, 
NOM-long-RED 3s ANPAS-road to dense.forest tih

baru’ ukuy ia N-pelung ....
then dog 3s ACT-bark
‘After he had walked a very long distance/for a very long time into the jungle, (then) his dog barked ....’

(10-95) **Pe-lama’ – lama’ ia ba-jalay, ....**
NOM-long – RED 3s ANPAS-road
‘After he had walked for a very long time, ....’

(10-96) **PeN-panyay – N-panyay gisah ia’, ...**
NOM-long – N-RED story that
‘After a very long time the story goes, ...’

Also **ke-sudah** may undergo reduplication:

(10-97) **Ke-sudah – sudah Dara Reja’ N-inum ...**
NOM-already-RED D R ACT-drink
‘After Dara Reja’ had drunk and drunk ...’

c) Temporal adverbial clauses with aspectual auxiliary-preposing

Three “phasal” aspectual auxiliaries, namely **bedaw** ‘not yet’, **agi’** ‘still’ (durative aspect), and **udah, nyaw** ‘already’ (perfective aspect) function as a subordinator in clause-initial position.10 As a subordinator they mean ‘before’ (like **sebedaw**), ‘as long as, during the time of’, and ‘after’ respectively. Examples:

(10-98) **Bedaw urang N-pinta’, kita dulaw N-suruh.**
before person ACT-ask 1p.incl first ACT-order
‘Before a person asks (for something), we tell them to do that first.’

(10-99) **Agi’ d=alam masa penti, urang nitaw’**
as.long.as LOC=inside time taboo person cannot

ba-jalay jawuh ....
ANPAS-road far
‘During (as long as being in) the time of taboo, people could not go far (away) ....’

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10 For the term “phasal”, see Baar (1997) and Minde and Tjia (2002:290): “Phasal polarity expressions are expressions used to contrast a particular situation ‘with its opposite from a polarity perspective’, where ‘the two situations are continuatively or sequentially related’ ...”
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(10-100)  **Udah** da-ren’am, da-angkat dulaw.
        after PASS-soak PASS-lift first
        ‘After it has been soaked, it must be taken out first.’

(10-101)  **Nyaw** ke-lama’ – lama’ ia ba-kayuh, N-pansa’
        after NOM-long-RED 3s ANPAS-paddle ACT-pass
        kampung layin.
        village other
        ‘After having paddled (the proa) for a very long time, (he) passed
        another village.’

Nyaw and udah can co-occur in the same clause. In this respect, the one that comes
first functions as a subordinator and the latter serves as an aspectual auxiliary,\(^{11}\) e.g.:

(10-102)  **Udah** nyaw tiga ari, kayu tay da-pe-lintang ....
        after PERF three day wood REL PASS-CAUS-cross.position
        ‘After having been there for three days, the (piece of) wood that was
        laid across ....’

(10-103)  **Nyaw** udah N-inum ay’ tih, rusa tu’ nguap.
        after PERF ACT-drink water tih deer TOP yawn
        ‘Thus, after having drunk water, the deer yawned.’

For focus reasons, adverbial clauses can also be postposed after the main clause,
as in (10-104) below (cf. (10-103)). However, the position before the main clause is
found more often; in this position it provides temporal background information for
the event in the main clause.

(10-104)  **Rusa tu’ nguap, nyaw** udah N-inum ay’ tih.
        deer TOP yawn after PERF ACT-drink water tih
        ‘Thus, the deer yawned, after having drunk water.’

Aspectual auxiliaries can also be fronted to clause-initial position for focus
purposes, that is, to stress the predicate with its aspectual information. In such a case
the auxiliary may also be interpreted as a temporal subordinator. Which
interpretation is favored depends simply on the context. An aspectual auxiliary
reading is required when the sentence consists of two independent or main clauses,
such as in the following examples:

(10-105)  **Udah** lama’ duduk, temuay naday datay.
        PERF long sit guest NEG come
        ‘We **have** sat for a long time, (but) the guests did not come.’

\(^{11}\) For the difference between nyaw and udah, see section 8.4.2.
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10.4.2 Locative adverbial clauses
Locative clauses are introduced by the subordinator *dini* ‘where’:

(10-107) \( N\text{-}ta\text{n’}a\ \{dini\ \text{ka’} \ b\text{-}uma\}, \quad \text{baru’ pabat sida’}. \)  
ACT-sign where want ANPAS-rice.field then slash 3p  
‘(They) put a sign where (they) wanted to work a rice field, then they slashed (the trees and bushes).’

(10-108) \( \text{Any’ung ka} \ \{dini \text{ teban tanah tay kita’ pinta’ kah}\}! \)  
estort to where place land REL 2p ask.for kah  
‘Bring it to where the place is that you all are asking for!’

10.4.3 Manner adverbial clauses
Manner adverbial clauses express similarity and are introduced by *upa* ‘like, as’, e.g.:

(10-109) \( \text{Am’i’ ay’}, \quad \text{tunyaw ka jimut}. \quad \text{Da-tunyaw} \)  
take water knead to flour PASS-knead  
\( \{upa \text{ kita } N\text{-}pulah kuwi}\). \)  
as 1p.incl ACT-make cake  
‘Get (some) water, (and) knead it with the jimut flour. It is kneaded the way we make cakes.’

(10-110) \( \text{PeN-datay kami tu’ kita’} \quad \{upa \text{ N-tuju bukit}\} \)  
NOM-come 1p.excl this hither as ACT-go.to hill  
ting’i’. \)  
high  
‘Our coming here was like going up a high hill.’ (that is, it was hard to achieve)

10.4.4 Purposive adverbial clauses
Purposive adverbial clauses are introduced with *ngaw* and *jalay* ‘for, in order to’, e.g.:

(10-111) \( \text{Nyiur da-galay gula} \quad \{ngaw N\text{-}pulah ati lulun\}. \)  
coconut PASS-mix sugar for ACT-make liver k.o.snacks  
‘The coconut is mixed with sugar in order to make the fillings of the lulun.’
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(10-112) Ia siap kayu [ngaw ia N-kayit kayin Putung Kempat].
3s prepare wood for 3s ACT-hook clothes P K
‘He prepared (a piece of) wood for him to hook PK’s clothes.’

(10-113) Tajaw tay besay, taw’ [jalay N-pajak nsia].
k.o.jar REL big can for ACT-put.in human
‘A jar that is big, that can be for putting a person into it.’

(10-114) Ku taw’ bada’ teban tay bayik [jalay N-tam’ak pisang].
1s know bada’ place REL good for ACT-plant banana
‘I know a place that’s good for planting banana trees.’

The use of ngaw and jalay in purposive clauses is overlapping. However, it seems that ngaw still carries a benefactive sense, besides the purposive one (cf. subsection 5.2.2 in Chapter 5 for the various meanings of ngaw), whereas jalay is simply purposive. For example, a benefactive sense is more transparent in the following example, in which jalay would not be suitable:

(10-115) Asa pia’, ku bay’ pulay [ngaw (?jalay)
whenever like.that 1s bring go.home for
rempah da rumah].
side.dish LOC house
‘If so, I’ll take it home (to be used) for side dishes at home.’

10.4.5 Simultaneous adverbial clauses

Simultaneous adverbial clauses are introduced by sam’il ‘while’, in which two events or actions are described as taking place simultaneously, e.g.:

(10-116) [Sam’il N-palu’ tanah], N-padah ka Puyang Gana
while ACT-strike ground ACT-say to P G
diri’ ka’ N-tunu.
self want ACT-burn
‘While striking the ground, say to (god) Puyang Gana that you
yourself want to do the burning (of the place cleared for planting).’

(10-117) “Ngay ku,” jaku’ miak ia’ [sam’il N-sabak].
not.want 1s say child that while ACT-cry
‘I don’t want (it), said that child while crying.’

10.4.6 Conditional adverbial clauses

Conditional adverbial clauses are introduced by nti’ (with alternative forms nganti’ and anti’)12 ‘if’ and asa ‘whenever’. Where nti’-clauses purely express a condition

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12 (Ng)anti’, but not nti’, is also used as a verb meaning ‘wait’.
for a single event, \textit{asa}-clauses indicate that the event mentioned in the main clause is triggered each time the condition is fulfilled:

(10-118) \[\text{[Nti’ N-besay ia’], naday bayah da-pakay ku.}\]
\text{if ACT-big that NEG enough PASS-eat 1s ‘If it’s as big as that, that’s not enough for me to eat.’}

(10-119) \[\text{... aday kami N-gusung ia lah, [nti’ pia’].}\]
\text{exist 1p.exl ACT-go.after 3s lah if like.that [nti’ ia ka’ N-beli pe-mati].}\n\text{if 3s want ACT-buy NOM-die ‘... we will go after him, if such is the case, if he wants to buy death.’}

(10-120) \[\text{[Asa kita’ N-tugal], N-kumay ku.}\]
\text{whenever 2p ACT-dibble ACT-call 1s ‘Whenever you all are going to do dibbling for seeds, you call me.’}

(10-121) \[\text{Ia, [asa malam], ngay tin’uk.}\]
\text{3s whenever night not.want sleep ‘As for him, whenever it was night, he didn’t want to sleep.’}

The word \textit{mali} (cf. another usage in 9.6.2.2) seems to be used also as a negative conditional, translatable as ‘lest’. In this sense, \textit{mali}-clauses appear following the main clause, e.g.:

(10-122) \[\text{Padi da-angkut ka durung,}\]
\text{uncooked.rice PASS-carry to paddy.store [mali padi bu-kulat].}\n\text{lest uncooked.rice ANPAS-fungus ‘The uncooked rice is (then) carried to the paddy store, lest it gets moldy.’}

(10-123) \[\text{Nang kita’ N-uti’ ipar kita’}\]
\text{don’t 2p ACT-jokingly.challenge sibling.in.law 2p [mali ia mutah].}\n\text{ACT-drink lest 3s vomit ‘Don’t you make your sister-in-law drink, lest she vomits.’}

\textbf{10.4.7 Concessive}

Concessive clauses are introduced by \textit{amat} ‘although’, ‘even though’. \textit{Amat} also means ‘true; really.’
Aw', waktu ka’ ba-bagi ia’, Raja Sua, nama well time FUT ANPAS-divide that R S name

s-igi’ antu jara’, taw’ ia bada’,
ONE-CLASS ghost jara’ know 3s bada’

[amat nisi’ urang N-padah]. although EXIST.NEG person ACT-say
‘Well, when they were going to divide it (the wealth among themselves), King Sua, so it is with a ghost, he knew it, even though nobody told him.’

[Amat ia bini kita], ulih ia anak urang.
even.though 3s wife 1p.incl but 3s child person
‘Even though she is our wife, (but) she is (still) the child of somebody.’ (So, don’t beat your wife)

10.4.8 Reason
Reason clauses are introduced by keba’ therefore’, nema ‘because’, ulih ‘because of’. Keba’ and ulih ia’ always occupy the onset of a new clause. Nema-clauses may appear before or after the main clause.

[Keba’] ku N-rut melia’ tih.
therefore 1s ACT-forbid long.ago tih
‘Therefore I forbade (you) long ago to do so.’

Ku naday datay, [nema ujan].
1s NEG come because rain
‘I didn’t come because it rained.’

[Nema N-turut kami bah], seniku’ tu’, saja
because ACT-follow 1p.excl bah 2d TOP really
tumas-tucuk.
fit-suitable
‘Because, to us, both of you really match each other (as a pair).’

The verbs asuh and suruh, which both mean ‘order; cause’, can in their active form also be used to express a reason.

Ku tabin. Nya’ N-asuh / N-suruh ku naday aba’.
1s fever that ACT-cause 1s NEG follow
‘I got fever. That’s why I didn’t come along.’

Ku naday talah agi’. Nya’ N-asuh / N-suruh ku pulay.
1s NEG afford again that ACT-cause 1s go.home
‘I wasn’t able (to eat) anymore. That’s why I went home.’
In such a usage, both verbs usually appear in the expression *nyā’tu’ N-asuh / N-suruh* ... ‘that/this ACT-cause ...’. These expressions seem to be used interchangeably.\(^\text{13}\)

### 10.4.9 Resultative

Resultative clauses are introduced by *isa’* and *jalay* ‘so that’. It is not clear at present what the difference is between their usages. It seems that with *isa’*, a cause-effect relationship between the main clause and the *isa’*-clause is strongly asserted, i.e. the main clause provides a state of affairs that would trigger the effect in the *isa’*-clause. This implication seems to be absent with the use of *jalay*, which also carries a purposive sense.

\(^{13}\) One informant judged that the word *asuh* was used mostly by the older generation.
10.4.10 Absolutive

The term ‘absolutive’ is borrowed from Thompson and Longacre (1985:200). Absolutive clauses in Mualang are quite common. They are characterized by the following features:

- the absolutive clause typically precedes the main clause without any subordinator. A final rising intonation at the end of the absolutive (i.e. dependent) clause separates it from the main clause;
- the absolutive clause is initiated by a finite verb (i.e. prefixed for voice) but always with a zero subject, which is coreferential with the subject in the main clause. The aspectual and modal information is reduced or unspecified;
- The semantic relationship of the absolutive and its main clause is not specified (= absolute), thus it depends on the context;
- the absolutive clause refers back to the event of the immediately preceding clause. The situation resembles a “tail-head linkage”, in which the absolutive clause summarizes, repeats, or even elaborates on the content of the immediately preceding clause.

Pragmatically, absolutive clauses seem to re-emphasise the completion of the previously mentioned event, at the same time providing background information (e.g. relating time, place or event) for the event in the main clause. The event in absolutive clauses occurs before or at the same time as the event of the main clause, but the actual temporal arrangement is a matter of interpretation. In the following examples (10-135 – 10-138), clauses in parentheses with the index (2) are absolutive and refer back to events in the clauses indexed with (1).

(10-135)  
[Ia pulay ka rumah.]₁, [Datay ka rumah.]₂  
3s go.home to house come to house  
da-anu’ bini ia.  
PASS-reprimand wife 3s  
‘He went home. Having come / coming home, he was reprimanded by his wife.’

(10-136)  
Turun ba-jalay N-sumpit, [senua tih  
descend ANPAS-road ACT-blowpipe 3d tih  
ba-malam da kampung], [Ba-malam da  
ANPAS-night LOC village ANPAS-night LOC  
kampung nya’ tadi’,]₂  senua ka’ tin’uk.  
village that a.while.ago 3d want sleep  
‘When walking down to do animal-blowpiping, both of them spent the night in a village. Spending the night in the village, both of them wanted to sleep.’
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10.5 Relative clauses

The present section describes characteristics of relative clauses in Mualang. For convenience, the discussion is broken down into typical or major relativization with the marker *tay* (10.5.1), relativization of place (10.5.2), participial relative clauses (10.5.3), and headless relative clauses (10.5.4).

10.5.1 Relative clauses with the marker *tay*

A relative clause functions as a nominal modifier (Keenan 1985, Payne 1997). Payne (1997:325-326) lists the following important elements forming a relative clause: a) the head (i.e. the noun phrase modified by the clause), b) the restricting clause (i.e. the relative clause), c) the relativized noun phrase (i.e. the element within the restricting clause that is coreferential with the head), and 4) the relativizer (i.e. a marker that marks the restricting clause as a relative clause). Example (10-140) represents the typical structure of relative clauses (RCs) in Mualang; the relative clause is bracketed in the example:

(10-139)  *Urang* *N-padah* *ka* *ku.*

person ACT-say to 1s

‘Somebody (a person) said to me.’

(10-140)  *urang* *tay* [Ø *N-padah* *ka* *ku]*

person REL Ø ACT-say to 1s

‘the person who said to me’
Example (10-139) shows a main clause; example (10-140) illustrates a relativization of the element urang ‘person’ of (10-139). Mualang RCs, as seen in (10-140), are postnominal, i.e. following the head (urang ‘person’), marked by the relativizer tay, whereas the relativized NP itself is zero coded (Ø) in the restricting clause. Tay has an alternate form ti.\(^1\) Relativization only operates on a subject, and for this reason, the form of the verb in the restricting clause has to be adjusted for voice according to the semantic role of the subject. Thus, in (10-140) the relativized NP is an agent-subject and the verb padah ‘say’ in the RC takes the active N-. Non-subject relativization (object and oblique) is not attested, e.g.:

\[(10-141) \quad {^*}Manuk \; ti \; ku \; N-bunuh.\]
\[
\text{chicken REL 1s ACT-kill}
\]
\[
\text{‘The chicken that I killed.’}
\]

The following examples illustrate subject relativization with various voices according to the semantic role of the subject:

\[(10-142) \quad \text{uma} \; ti \; \text{[dah da-tunu]} \quad (= \text{patient-subject, passive})
\]
\[
\text{rice-field REL PERF PASS-burn}
\]
\[
\text{‘the rice field that has been burnt’}
\]

\[(10-143) \quad \text{darah} \; \text{tay} \; \text{[kami beri’ ka kita’]}
\]
\[
\text{blood REL 1p.excl give to 2p}
\]
\[
\text{ (= patient-subject, inverse)}
\]
\[
\text{‘blood that we gave to you’}
\]

\[(10-144) \quad \text{ini’} \; \text{aba’ ucu’ ti} \; \text{[lampar miskin]}
\]
\[
\text{grandmother and grandchild REL very poor}
\]
\[
\text{ (= subject, intransitive)}
\]
\[
\text{‘a grandmother and a grandchild who were very poor’}
\]

\[(10-145) \quad \text{tajaw} \; \text{tay} \; \text{[besay]}
\]
\[
\text{k.o.jar REL big}
\]
\[
\text{ (= subject, intransitive)}
\]
\[
\text{‘a jar that is big’}
\]

\[(10-146) \quad \text{urang} \; \text{tuay tay} \; \text{[ba-ajar] nya’}
\]
\[
\text{person old REL ANPAS-teach that}
\]
\[
\text{ (= agent-subject, antipassive)}
\]
\[
\text{‘that old person who was doing the instruction (i.e. to the marriage couples)’}
\]

\(^1\) These latter are more common. Vowel harmony may be noticed behind this high – mid vowel alternation, i.e. conditioned by the initial sound of the word that follows ti, e.g. [ti \; \text{in’u’}] ‘REL-female’, [te \; da-bay’] ‘REL-PASS.bring’. However, this is a tendency rather than a rule. The form tay is less frequent; it is used more by the elder generation. The most likely word that may have been the historical source of tay is probably utay ‘(indefinite) thing’.
In the examples given thus far, the restricting clauses are filled by predicating elements that are verbal. However, the restricting part may also contain a non-verbal predicating element, such as a noun (phrase) (10-147), a demonstrative (10-148), an adverb (10-149), a prepositional phrase (10-150), and an ordinal numeral (10-151):

(10-147) \( \text{kita tay \ '[in'u'] } \)
\( \text{ip.incl REL female} \)
‘we who are female’

(10-148) \( \text{uma ti \ '[ia'] } \)
\( \text{rice.field REL that} \)
‘the rice field that is that (one)’

(10-149) \( \text{urang Mualang ti \ '[dia'] } \)
\( \text{person M REL there.(near)} \)
‘the Mualang people who are there’

(10-150) \( \text{Nanga Sepawuk ti \ '[da ili' Belitang] ia'} \)
\( \text{estuary S REL LOC downstream B that} \)
‘the Sepauk Estuary that is at the downstream part of the Belitang (River)’

(10-151) \( \text{anak ti \ '[ke-dua] } \)
\( \text{child REL ORD-two} \)
‘the child who is the second (one)’

Such restricting parts with a non-verbal predicate are a bit problematic since all relativized NPs in (10-147) through (10-151) can be paired NPs without the relativizer \( \text{tay} \), such as in (10-147b) through (10-151b), respectively:

(10-147b) \( \text{kita in'u'} \)
\( \text{1p.incl female} \)
‘we female’

(10-148b) \( \text{uma ia'} \)
\( \text{rice.field that} \)
‘the/that rice field’

(10-149b) \( \text{urang Mualang dia'} \)
\( \text{person M there.(near)} \)
‘the Mualang people there’

(10-150b) \( \text{Nanga Sepawuk da ili' Belitang ia'} \)
\( \text{estuary S LOC downstream B that} \)
‘the Sepauk Estuary of the downstream section of the Belitang (River)’
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(10-151b)  anak  ke-dua
            child  ORD-two
       ‘the second child’

However, syntactically, clauses in Mualang can contain a non-verbal predicating element or elements, as in equative clauses, without a copula (see Chapter 6). Thus, all constructions in (10-147 through 10-151) are indeed described as relative clauses: their plain non-verbal clause counterparts are presented in the (c) examples, hereafter:

(10-147c)  Kita  in’u’.
           1p.incl   female
       ‘We are female’ / ‘We are the female group.’

(10-148c)  Uma  ia’.
          rice.field  that
       ‘A (or the so-called) rice field is that (one).’ (E.g. as a reply to such a question: ‘Which is uma?’)

(10-149c)  Urang  Mualang  dia’.
            person  M   there.(near)
       ‘The Mualang people are there.’

(10-150c)  Nanga  Sepawuk  da  ili’  Belitang  ia’.
          estuary  S    LOC  downstream  B  that
       ‘The Sepauk Estuary is (located) at the downstream section of the Belitang (River)’

(10-151c)  Anak  ia’  ke-dua.
           child  that  ORD-two
       ‘The/that child is the second (one).’

Semantically and pragmatically, the modifying element in plain NPs – (as in the examples (b) above) – has a descriptive function (i.e. the speaker assumes that the referent would be insufficiently identifiable to the hearer without the modifying element), whereas a restricting clause chiefly functions to narrow down the number of possible referents (i.e. the speaker assumes a prior knowledge of the hearer about the identity of the referent of the antecedent (the head of the construction).\textsuperscript{15} Example (10-150), for instance, would be uttered in a situation in which both the speaker and the hearer know there is more than one rice field. The relative clause selects the one meant by the speaker in contrast with to the other ones.\textsuperscript{16}

\textsuperscript{15} Such a function of a restricting clause correlates with that of cleft constructions (see Chapter 9).
\textsuperscript{16} Parallel to the ‘optionality’ of the relativizer \textit{tay} is the behavior of the Indonesian \textit{yang}. For various discussions regarding relativization and \textit{yang} in Indonesian, see, for example, Kaswanti Purwo (1983, 1988), Verhaar (1983), Steinhauer (1992), and Minde (to appear).
10.5.2 Relativization of place

If place is relativized, the following markers are used as a relativizer: tay ‘REL’, jalay ‘place’, and dini ‘where’. Usually the head is the generic word for ‘place’ teban, e.g.:

\[(10-152)\]
Pelan’uk ba-jalay ka teban [dini ia
mouse.deer ANPAS-road to place where.at 3s
ba-temu aba’ babi].
ANPAS-meet with pig
‘The mouse-deer walked to the place where it met with the pig.’

\[(10-153)\]
... sida’ pulay ka teban [jalay Putung Kempat
3p go.home to place place P K
N-ancaw padi tadi’].
ACT-spread rice a.while.ago
‘... they went home to the place at which Putung Kempat was spreading the rice (for sun-drying) a while ago.’

\[(10-154)\]
... seniku’ angkat ka teban [tay da.padah kekura’
3d go to place REL PASS-say turtle
tadi’].
a.while.ago
‘Both of them went off to the place that was mentioned by the turtle a while ago.’

Dini and jalay are used interchangeably when the locative head appears as the locative adverb (i.e. a non-argument, or adjunct) in the relative clause, as in examples (10-152 and 10-153). The marker tay will be used instead if the locative head functions as an argument in the relative clause, as in (10-154). However, it is also common to find the marker tay in relative clauses where the locative head functions as a location in the relative clause. In such cases, the locative head appears as an uncertain place and the relativizer tay is followed by jalay ‘place’. Jalay seems to function as a “resumptive location” in the restricting clause. Some examples:

\[(10-155)\]
Datay ka menua urang tay [jalay seniku’ rari] ....
come to country person REL place 3d run
‘Coming to the country of other people where (which was the place) the two of them ran away to ....’

\[17\] Jalay also means ‘road, way’, ‘for’ (purposive clause subordinator), and ‘so that’ (resultative clause subordinator). In the meaning ‘place’, it is synonymous with teban. Their distribution, however, is different; example (10-153) presents a context in which teban is preferred to jalay.
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10.5.3 “Participial” relative clauses

What is meant here by “participial” relative clauses are those that have a verbal (i.e. dynamic intransitive and transitive) predicating element but no relativizer linking the head and the restricting clause. Some examples (restricting clauses are in square brackets as above):

kind-RED thing PASS-plait exist style alone-RED
‘Various kinds of things (that are) plaited’ have their own styles.’

(10-158) Sida’ ia’ N-giga’ urang [N-rusak keban barang].
3p that ACT-look.for person ACT-broken kind thing
‘They are looking for a person (who) damaged those kinds of things.’

(10-159) Baru’ urang tuay [ba-ajar nya’] N-padah ....
then person old ANPAS-teach that ACT-say
‘Then that old person (who) did the advice-teaching said ....’

“Participial” relative clauses are marginal and they seem to be a case of tay-dropping, found in rapid speech and in the presence of sufficient contextual information, the whole NP (i.e. the head and the restricting clause) being uttered under a straight flat intonation contour.

10.5.4 Headless relative clauses

In headless relative clauses the relativizer tay and the restricting clause appear without the head noun. The head is normally dropped when its reference is already clear, usually from context. In the following examples headless relative clauses are shown in brackets:

(10-160) Kita Mualang, nti’ ka’ ba-laki – bini,
lp.incl M if want ANPAS-husband – wife,
[tay in’u’] naday kala’ N-pinta’ [tay laki],
REL female NEG ever ACT-ask for REL male
‘We, people of Mualang, if we want to get married, the female (one who is female) never proposes to the male (one who is male).’
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(10-161)  [Tay nama pulay puang], ngay kami.
REL name go.home empty not.want lp excl
‘The so-called (that which is called) going home empty, we won’t.’
[The man’s party was visiting the girl’s party to propose. They wanted her to accept their marriage proposal]

(10-162)  Aday [tay kita tan], N-padah kah bah ....
exist REL 1p incl hold ACT say kah bah
‘(If) there’s something we hold/keep (in our heart), we (have to) tell it ....’

The following case of a headless relative clause is found even without the relativizer tay:

(10-163)  ... Belang Patung N-ipa’ [da-tebas sida’ tadi].
B  P ACT peek PASS slash 3p a while ago
‘... Belang Patung peeked at those (trees and bushes that) were slashed by them a while ago.’

10.6 Coordinate clauses
Coordination is the grammatical process by which two syntactic units of equal grammatical status are conjoined. With reference to clauses the implication is that neither is dependent on the other as was the case with the types of clauses described in previous sections 10.1 – 10.5. Mualang employs two strategies to link coordinate clauses, namely by using coordinating particles (coordinators) (10.6.1) and by juxtaposition (10.6.2).

10.6.1 Coordination with conjoining particles
In this section the various Mualang coordinators will be discussed together with the semantic relations they express.

10.6.1.1 Conjunction: aba’ ‘and’
Aba’ is also used as a verb meaning ‘follow’ and as the commitative preposition ‘with’ (see section 5.2.2). As a conjunctive, it functions as a phrasal and clausal coordinator, e.g.:

(10-164)  Terima’-kasih [ka Petara aba’ Payang Gana], nema
thanks to deity and P G because
udah N-ketaw padi aba’ da-beri’ padi ti
PERF ACT harvest rice and PASS give rice REL
bayik bah.
good bah

‘Be grateful to Petara and Puyang Gana, because we have harvested the rice and have indeed been given the good rice.’

(10-165) *Pukat Bengawan diaw aba’ idup kediri*.
P B stay and live alone
‘Pukat Bengawan stayed and lived alone.’

(10-166) *Mungkin ia N-dinga aba’ taw’ bada’ dini*.
maybe 3s ACT-hear and know bada’ where
*peN-diaw urang ti nama Putung Kempat.*
NOM-stay person REL name P K
‘Maybe he heard and knew where the home was of the person called Putung Kempat.’

In (10-164) there are two instances of *aba’*. The bracketed one functions at the level of the phrase, whereas the other one, like in the rest of the examples, operates at the clausal level. In fact, in actual discourse, *aba’* is more frequently found as a phrasal coordinator. For clausal coordination juxtaposition appears to be the preferred strategy (see 10.6.2 below).

10.6.1.2 Disjunction: *ataw* ‘or’; *ntah ... ntah* ‘either ... or’

*Ataw* ‘or’ is used both at the phrasal and clausal level, e.g.:18

(10-167) ... *nitaW’ da-bay’ pulay ka kampung ataw ka rumah.*
  can’t PASS-bring go.home to village or to house
  ‘... cannot/could not be brought back to the village or home.’

(10-168) ... *agi’ idup ataw udah mati.*
  still live or PERF die
  ‘... (is she) still alive or has (she) died.’

*Ntah ... ntah* is a negative disjunctive coordinator. It basically means ‘not know’. As a coordinator *ntah ... ntah* denotes that the speaker does not know and therefore is not sure which option of the propositions holds. It operates on the level of the phrase as well as the clause, e.g.:

(10-169) *Nema kami Mualang tu’, arus N-guang,*
because 1p.excl M TOP must ACT-guang
*ntah ti laki ntah ti in’u*.
not.know REL male not.know REL female

---

18 One informant told me that the old word for the disjunctive coordinator in Mualang is *kali’, synonymous with *ataw*, but that it is rarely used nowadays.
‘Because for us, the Mualang, (we/one) must nguang (that is, to join the spouse’s family on marriage), either the male or the female.’
(It’s up to the spouses)

(10-170) Ntah idup ntah mati ntah kati kini?
not.know live not.know die not.know how kini
‘Is she alive, or is she dead, or how is she?’

10.6.1.3 Contrast: ulih ‘but’, sedang ‘whereas, while’

(10-171) Ia ka’ pulay, ulih ia nitaw’ bada’ jalay.
3s want go.home but 3s not.know bada’ road
‘He wanted to go home, but he didn’t know the way.’

(10-172) Ulih amat pia’, ku ngay.
but although like.that 1s not.want
‘But in spite of that being so, I won’t.’

(10-173) Aba’ sida’ Buah Kana19 kita tu’ se-rumah,
with 3p B K 1p.excl TOP ONE-house
sedang aba’ antu ga’ kita se-peN-peda’ rumah.
meanwhile with ghost also 1p.excl ONE-NOM-see house
‘With those BK we lived in the same house, (and) meanwhile with
the ghosts we were very close as well.’ (lit.: we could see each
other’s house)

(10-174) Kati m’ih ka’angkat, sedang bini m’ih
how 2s.masc want go whereas wife 2s.masc
bedaw datay?
not.yet come
‘How could you want to leave, whereas your wife hasn’t come yet?’

In (10-171) and (10-172) the ulih-clause appears at final and initial position, respectively. In both cases the clause introduced by ulih describes a new situation which is contrasted to a previous clause. In (10-71) this is the independent first clause ia ka’ pulay. In (10-172), the clause ulih (...) ku ngay is contrasted to a clause in the preceding discourse, referred to in this sentence by pia’ and explicitly marked as the contrast by amat.

One difference between ulih ‘but’ and sedang ‘whereas, while’ is that the latter is more emphatically contrastive.

19 Sida’ Buah Kana refers to the great people of olden times. For further ethnological information about this, see Dunselman (1955 and elsewhere).
10.6.1.4 Temporal succession: baru’ ‘(only) then’

A baru’-clause expresses what happens after the event referred to in the preceding clause(s). It can initiate a new clause. The word baru’ also means ‘newly, just a while ago’. The constructions udah ia’ also introduces a succession of the preceding clause but it refers anaphorically to the preceding clause and differs from the coordinators, being a prepositional phrase.

(10-175)  
Baru’ nti’ nyaw ba-lepa ke-dua kali’, baru’
then if PERF ANPAS-rest ORD-two time then

urang N-pakay–N-sumay, ba-inum.
person ACT-eat–ACT-cook ANPAS-drink

‘Then if they have had a rest for the second time, only then the people would cook and eat and drink.’

(10-176)  
Udah ia’ da-bungkus ka dawun pisang. Baru’
already that PASS-wrap to leaf banana then

da-jua’ ka nemiak ia’.
PASS-give to child that

‘After that it was wrapped with banana leaf. Then it was given to the child.’

(10-177)  
Udah ia’, N-peda’ tanah tay bayik, ... baru’
already that ACT-see land REL good then

N-tebas bansa dua tiga depa’ dulaw.
ACT-slash approximately two three fathom first

‘After that, (we) look for good land, ... then (we) clear (an area of) about two or three (square) fathoms first.’

10.6.1.5 Conclusive: jadi ‘so, thus’, puku’ ‘in short’

Jadi is a coordinator meaning ‘so’. As a verb it means ‘become’. The meaning of the coordinator jadi may have arisen through a perfective reading of event X in the previous discourse ‘X having become’ = X being completed.

(10-178)  
Jadi Apay Aluy tu’, amat-amat ia ka’ mati lah
so father Aluy TOP true-RED 3s want die lah

kini ...?
kini

‘So, as for Aluy’s father, we’re wondering, does he really want to die ...?’
Chapter 10: Clause Combinations

(10-179) Aday kisah urang tuay kelita’ tih, kisah mula-exist story person old old.time tih story beginning-
mula menua tu’ da-pulah urang. Jadi, kisah urang RED world this PASS-make person so story person
tuay N-padah menua tu’ da-tempa’ Burung Tempa’. old ACT-say world this PASS-forge Bird Forge ‘There is a story from our ancestors from olden times, a story of how this world was made by somebody in the beginning. So, the story from our ancestors told that this world was forged by the Forging Bird.’

As a coordinator puku’ means ‘in short’. By itself it probably means ‘core’. It is not clear whether it was borrowed from Malay/Indonesian (pokok).

(10-180) Ku din nyamay. Da-aduh N-pakay, N-inum 1s there.far comfortable PASS-serve ACT-eat ACT-drink
beram, da-bunuh ka babi .... Puku’ nyamay. k.o.alcohol PASS-kill to pig in.short comfortable ‘I (lived) comfortably there. (I was) served when eating, drank beram, pigs were killed for (me) .... In short, it was comfortable.’

(10-181) Semua barang ti ka’ da-bay’ ulih kelupa, nitaw’ all things REL FUT PASS-bring but forget can’t
da-am’i’ ka rumah agi’, bayik ia’ isaw, PASS-take to house again whether that machete
kapak. Puku’, nitaw’ da-am’i’. ax in.short can’t PASS-take ‘All things that would be brought along but were forgotten, couldn’t be picked up at home again, whether it was a machete or an ax. In short, they couldn’t be picked up again.’

10.6.1.6 Inclusive: bayik ‘whether ... or ...’

The coordinator bayik expresses an inclusion without exception of several items mentioned in a sequence. It is translatable as ‘whether ... or ...’. Lexically the word bayik itself means ‘good, kind’. An example of the use of the coordinator bayik can be seen in (10-181) above. Another example is given in (10-182):
(10-182) **Ulīh ia’ ku N-ajar seniku’, bayik da**
Because.of that 1s ACT-teach 2d whether LOC

\[\text{di’}, \ n’u’, \ m’ih, \ gas, \ nti’ \ tubuh \ pedih ...\]
2s.fem TOA 2s.masc TOA if body sick

\[\text{kita’ ba-lepa.}\]
2p ANPAS-rest

‘Therefore I am advising both of you, whether it’s on you, young lady, or you, young man, if you get sick ... you take a rest.’

10.6.2 **Juxtaposition**

Juxtaposition (conjoining of phrases or clauses without any coordinator) is a common syntactic device in Mualang. The interpretation of the construction usually depends on context and knowledge of the world. Conjunction, succession, contrast, and paraphrase are the most common semantic relations between juxtaposed clauses. They will be discussed in that order in the next paragraphs.

10.6.2.1 **Conjunction**

A conjunctive relation expressed by juxtaposition is comparable to the use of \(aba’\) ‘and’ (cf. 10.6.1.1). One significant difference between the explicit use of \(aba’\) and conjunctive juxtaposition is that in the case of the former the event or state of affairs being described are presented as a “closed list”, whereas juxtaposition suggests an (in principle) unlimited number of events. Some examples:

(10-183) **Apay Aluy tu’, luntus, tiap ari tin’uk, nisi’ kerja.**
father Aluy TOP lazy every day sleep EXIST.NEG work

‘As for Aluy’s father, he was lazy, every day (he just) slept, (and) had nothing to do.’

(10-184) **Ku din nyamay. Da-aduh N-pakay,**
1s there.far comfortable PASS-serve ACT-eat

\[\text{N-inum beram, da-hunuh ka babi-manuk,}\]
ACT-drink k.o.alcohol PASS-kill to pig-chicken

\[\text{da-pulah kalulun-jimut. Puku’ nyamay.}\]
PASS-make to k.o.snacks in.short comfortable

‘I (lived) comfortably there. (I was) served when eating, drank beram, pigs and chickens were killed for (me), lulun-jimut snacks were made for (me). In short, it was comfortable.’
10.6.2.2 Succession

Stylistically, juxtaposition to describe a succession of events seems to present a more vivid picture than the use of explicit coordinators.

(10-186) *Rusa tekanyat, langsung dani, N-lumpat ka ay’.*

‘The deer was startled, woke up right away, (and/then) jumped into the water.’


‘The ntawa’ fruit (tree) was climbed by them, (the fruit was) picked, (then) thrown down to the ground.’

10.6.2.3 Comparison-contrast

The states of affairs expressed by the juxtaposed clauses may be interpreted as being in constrast.

(10-188) *Nti’ lam N-umpan manuk, nti’ malam ari*

‘In the morning (she) feeds chickens, in the evening (she) feeds puppies.’

(10-189) *Beruang mati, kekura’ idup.*

‘The bear was dead, the turtle was alive.’
Contrast may also stress a counter-expectation, in which the state of affairs in the second clause occurred beyond the speaker’s expectation:

(10-190)  \textit{Bedaw jam 5, udah pulay.}  
\text{not.yet hour five PERF go.home}  
\text{‘It wasn’t five o’clock yet (and yet) (he) had gone home.’}

(10-191)  \textit{Padi bedaw muduh, kita’ udah datay kitu’}.  
\text{rice not.yet ripe 2p PERF come hither}  
\text{‘The rice wasn’t ripe yet, (and yet) you all have come here.’}

10.6.2.4 Paraphrase

In paraphrastic juxtaposition the second clause provides a semantic repetition for the preceding clause.

(10-192)  \textit{Beruang naday rari, ia mugaw.}  
\text{bear NEG run 3s stand.still}  
\text{‘The bear didn’t run away, he stood still.’}

(10-193)  \textit{Beruk tu’ diaw, naday nyawut}.  
\text{short-tailed.macaque TOP quiet NEG reply}  
\text{‘The \textit{beruk} kept quiet, (he) didn’t reply.’}