Voice and verb morphology in Minangkabau, a language of West Sumatra, Indonesia

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Abstract

Minangkabau is an Austronesian, Indonesian-type language spoken in West Sumatra by approximately seven million speakers. Despite its large number of speakers and the spread of Minangkabau people throughout the Indonesian Archipelago, Minangkabau remains under-described when compared to other Indonesian-type languages like Javanese. This study seeks to improve current understanding about Minangkabau by describing its system of voice alternations and verb morphology. This study presents a novel analysis of the forms and functions of voice marking in Minangkabau, incorporating naturalistic data into the analysis as well as taking the findings of recent typological and theoretical studies of Austronesian languages into consideration.

The study makes use of naturalistic, conversational and narrative data from a database maintained by the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology Field Station in Padang. The study also makes use of elicited data collected in Perth and during fieldwork in Padang. Naturalistic and more formal, elicited Minangkabau data reveals different kinds of linguistic patterns, therefore this study makes a distinction between Colloquial Minangkabau and Standard Minangkabau.

The study concludes that Minangkabau has a pragmatically motivated voice system encoded by the alternation between active voice, passive voice and the *pasif semu* construction. In addition, the study concludes that Minangkabau also has a conceptually motivated voice system that is encoded by a series of semantic and lexical/derivational affixes (*ta-*, *pa-*, and *ba-*) which show how the action originates and develops. The Minangkabau applicatives *-an* and *-i* are for the most part valency changing devices but operate within both the pragmatic and conceptual domains of Minangkabau voice. The active voice marker *maN-* also operates in both pragmatic and conceptual domains whereas the use of the passive voice marker *di-* is primarily motivated by pragmatic and syntactic factors. This analysis is supported by the finding that *di-* is a morphosyntactic clitic whereas the conceptual voice markers are affixes and have mainly lexico-semantic properties.

The study further demonstrates that although voice marking is obligatory in Standard Minangkabau, bare verbs (i.e. verbs that are not marked for voice) are a prevalent feature of Colloquial Minangkabau. Bare verbs show that morphological underspecification is acceptable in Colloquial Minangkabau. As such, it is argued that Standard Minangkabau can be characterised as having an Indonesian-type voice system whereas Colloquial Minangkabau can be characterised as having a Sundic-type voice system. The existence of bare verbs does not entail that Minangkabau is a precategorial language and the study argues that Minangkabau has a clear lexical distinction between nouns and verbs.

This study is divided into seven chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the scope of the study and Chapter 2 constitutes a review of the relevant literature concerning the descriptive and theoretical issues involved in writing about Austronesian voice systems. Chapter 3 summarises the methodological concerns involved in collecting the linguistic data for this study. The major findings and the analysis and description of Minangkabau can then be found in Chapters 4, 5 and 6. Chapter 4 describes the Minangkabau parts of speech and predicate construction, and also discusses some derivational morphological processes. Chapter 5 provides an analysis of the pragmatically and conceptually motivated voice systems of Minangkabau. Chapter 6 then describes the use bare verbs and addresses some of the theoretical implications of their use in Colloquial Minangkabau. Finally, concluding remarks can be found in Chapter 7.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Minangkabau: Speakers and Location

Minangkabau is an Austronesian language with approximately 7 million speakers (Gordon, 2005). It is primarily spoken around Padang and in the highlands of West Sumatra but it is also spoken throughout the Indonesian Archipelago due to the Minangkabau *marantau* tradition of migration (Drakard, 1999). The Minangkabau homeland borders areas where the Batak languages, Kerinci Malay and Riau Indonesian are spoken (Moussay, 1998).

There are approximately 12 recognisable dialects of Minangkabau (Gordon, 2005; Medan, n.d.) and there is some evidence that a standard form of the language exists for intergroup communication (Adnani, 1971: 4). Moussay (1998) recognises the Padang dialect as the prestige form and argues that it is used for intergroup communication throughout the Minangkabau homeland. Standard and Colloquial Indonesian are also used by Minangkabau speakers and it seems likely that contemporary speakers would also use a Colloquial Minangkabau/Indonesian koiné for intergroup communication as well (Gil, 2003).

In this dissertation, I make a distinction between Standard Minangkabau, which is comparable with the prestige form recognised by Moussay (1998), and Colloquial Minangkabau. Standard Minangkabau is used for intergroup communication, in formal contexts and in the written medium, for example in newspapers and magazines. Standard Minangkabau is similar to Standard Indonesian in terms of its syntactic structures and voice system and may also be influenced by the prescriptivist rules that inform the use of Standard Indonesian. Colloquial Minangkabau, on the other hand, is used in informal and familiar contexts and is more susceptible to dialectal variation than Standard Minangkabau. Colloquial Minangkabau can be characterised by its freer word order and the use of bare verbs (see Chapter 6).

Typologically speaking, Minangkabau can be characterised as an Indonesian-type language since its voice system resembles that of Malay/Indonesian, although Colloquial Minangkabau might be better characterised as a 'Sundic-type' language (see Section 2.4). Minangkabau can be genetically classified as a member of the Malayic sub-group of the Malayo-Polynesian branch of Austronesian. The Malayic sub-group also includes languages such as Jakarta Malay, Kelantan Malay, Kerinci Malay, Banjar Malay, Iban and Kendayan. Minangkabau can then be further classified as a Para-Malay language of the Malayan sub-group with its closest relatives being Duano', Pekal, Urak Lawoi' and Muko-Muko (Gordon, 2005). It is closely related to, although not mutually intelligible with, Malay and Bahasa Indonesia but it has a "clearly apparent character of its own" (Voorhoeve, 1955).

It is important, however, to recognise that the internal classification of the Malayic sub-group remains a contentious issue amongst historical linguists. It is therefore difficult to establish categorically which languages Minangkabau is most closely related to. Adelaar (2005a) attributes the difficulty of sub-grouping Malayic languages to lack of evidence. Where evidence is available it also often contradictory. There is also the added complexity of centuries of language contact in the region. Separating and identifying independent historical change from contact induced change becomes especially difficult considering the influence that early contact varieties of Malay, as well as contemporary standard and colloquial varieties of Malay and Indonesian, might have had on the Malayic languages (Adelaar, 2005a). Furthermore, it might be argued that, for sub-grouping at this lower level, a history recognising contact is more revealing than a definitive sub-grouping in the traditional sense.

1.2 Minangkabau: Existing Studies

Despite its large number of speakers and the spread of Minangkabau people throughout the Indonesian Archipelago, Minangkabau remains under-described when compared to other Indonesian-type languages like Javanese. Some descriptive work on the language was carried out by Dutch scholars in the 19th and early 20th centuries. This work mainly focuses on its Arabic-based orthography and the creation and implementation of a Romanised orthography (for further discussion see Voorhoeve, 1955). There are also a

number of Minangkabau word lists, dictionaries, collections of folk tales and a grammatical sketch of the language that were published during this period (cf. van der Toorn, 1899). However, the scholarship of these early Dutch works has long been surpassed by studies grounded in modern descriptive linguistics.

More recently published works on the language range in scope from semantics (cf. Adnani, 1971; Anwar, 1992; Puspawati, 1997; Ramadian, 1992), to phonology (cf. Adelaar, 1992a; Williams, 1961), morphology (cf. Ansjar, 1971; Be, 1978/1979; 1984), syntax (cf. Arifin, 1979; Fortin, 2001; 2004), and pragmatics (cf. Genta, 1999; Tanner, 1972). The historical-genetic features of the language are discussed by Adelaar (1995) and a good dialect survey of the language is presented by Medan (n.d.). In addition, Moussay has published a detailed descriptive grammar of Minangkabau (cf. Moussay, 1998) as well as a three way Minangkabau-Indonesian-French dictionary (cf. Moussay, 1995).

A number of these studies (cf. Fortin, 2001; 2004; Moussay, 1998; Williams, 1961) also examine Minangkabau voice and morphosyntax, which is the focus of this dissertation. However, a shortcoming of these works is that they rely primarily on elicited data and/or examples of formal Minangkabau for their analysis. In writing this dissertation, I have had access to naturalistic, informal and conversational Minangkabau data. The nature of this data means that I present a different and more complete picture of the nature of voice in Minangkabau than presented in previous studies (see Chapters 4, 5 and 6).

Nevertheless, the existing studies raise a number of interesting questions about Minangkabau morphology that provide a useful departure point for discussion in this dissertation. The grammatical descriptions presented by Fortin (2001; 2004) and Moussay (1998) suggest that there are two features of Minangkabau morphology that present major problems for the analysis of voice. First, many of the Minangkabau affixes are multifunctional. Second, some of the affixes are difficult to distinguish since they have an overlapping distribution and/or function in a similar semantic domain.

To illustrate the multifunctionality of Minangkabau morphology, consider Moussay's (1998: 254-56) analysis of the Minangkabau prefix *ba-*. Moussay argues that it can be used to form intransitive verbs with a number of different functions, including a *referential* function, an *existential* function and a *reflexive* function. He also claims that the *ba-* prefix can combine with an active intransitive root to form a transitive verb which shows a *habitual* meaning. Unfortunately Moussay does not provide a unified analysis for the *ba-* prefix nor does he argue why he has presented a multifunctional analysis of the prefix (as opposed to an analysis which treats each use of *ba-* as a different morpheme).

Many other verbal affixes in Minangkabau can be analysed as multifunctional. The analysis of the distribution of the various functions of an affix, as well as the motivations behind their selection, impacts directly on how we understand voice and morphosyntax. In this dissertation I discuss the multifunctional uses of *ba-* as well as other affixes including *ta-*, *pa-* and *maN-*. Based on Shibatani's (2006) "evolution of action" framework for understanding voice phenomena, I also seek to provide a unified description of each of these affixes so that their role in Minangkabau's voice system is made clear (see Chapter 5).

Now let us examine an example of two Minangkabau morphemes with an overlapping distribution. Examples (1) and (2) show the uses of the two applicatives *-an*[1] and *-i*. Fortin (2001) argues that *-an* and *-i* function primarily as valency changing devices and this is reflected by her glossing of the morphemes as *APP*, 'applicative'. Fortin's translation makes it clear that the applicatives cause significant shifts in meaning to the root *garam*, 'salt', and her analysis also reveals that the *-an* applicative has a causative meaning whereas the *-i* applicative adds a locative NP to the core argument structure of the verb.

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[1] Fortin's (2001) Minangkabau consultant uses *-kan*, which is a prestige variant of *-an* and possibly a calque of the cognate Standard Indonesian applicative *-kan*.

(1)   *Ambo   manggaramkan ayia   lawik.*
       ambo   maN-garam-kan   ayia   lawik
       1sg   TRANS-salt-APP   water sea
       'I make the sea water become salt.'

       (adapted from Fortin, 2001: 44)[2]

(2)   *Ambo   manggarami   makanan.*
       ambo   maN-garam-i   makan-an
       1sg   TRANS-salt-APP eat-NOM
       'I salt the food.'

       (adapted from Fortin, 2001: 44)

I agree with Fortin that *-an* and *-i* are both applicatives and that they operate primarily as valency changing devices. My analysis also reveals that *-an* and *-i* function to show the termination point of an action. The difference is that *-i* is a locative applicative, i.e. it shows that the termination point of the action is a location, whereas *-an* marks undergoers, recipients and benefactors as the end points of the action (see Chapter 5). To illustrate this point, note that in (1) *ayia lawik*, '*sea water*', is an undergoer, whereas in (2), *makanan*, 'food', is a location.

Similarly, *di-* and *ba-* also have an overlapping distribution in Minangkabau, as demonstrated by examples (3) and (4).

(3)   *Barang   ko   dibaok   dari   kampuang.*
       Barang   ko   di-baok   dari   kampuang.
       thing   DEM   PASS-carry from   village
       'Those things were carried from the village.'

       (adapted from Fortin, 2001: 24)

(4)   *Barang   ko   babaok   dari   kampuang.*
       Barang   ko   ba-baok   dari   kampuang.
       thing   DEM   ACT-carry from   village
       'Those things were carried from the village.'

       (adapted from Fortin, 2001: 24)

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[2] It is noted below each example whether it is obtained by elicitation or from some other source. Examples from the MPI EVA Padang Field Station *Minangkabau Corpus* are referenced by their Text ID number. Glossing conventions and explanation of the abbreviations used in examples can be found in Appendix 1.

Fortin (2001) gives the morphemes *ba-* and *di-* a different gloss but her English translations do not reflect this distinction. Clearly, the two morphemes represent a semantic distinction that is not available in English. I argue instead that *di-* is a passive voice marker whereas *ba-* is used to mark the middle voice. This analysis adequately explains the semantic differences between *di-* and *ba-* and does not conflict with my analysis of other verb morphology within Shibatani's (2006) "evolution of action" framework (see Chapter 5).

1.3 Examination of Minangkabau Voice and Morphosyntax in this Study

The examination of Minangkabau voice and morphosyntax in this study aims to contribute some answers to questions raised in previous studies of Minangkabau as well as to overcome some of the shortfalls of previous studies. I present a novel analysis of the form and function of voice in Minangkabau, incorporating naturalistic data into the analysis. My analysis of Minangkabau voice and morphosyntax also takes the findings of recent typological and theoretical studies of Austronesian languages into consideration.

My analysis of the Minangkabau voice system can be found in Chapters 4, 5 and 6. The major findings presented in these chapters are listed below:

1. Standard Minangkabau voice can be characterised as an Indonesian-type system whereas Colloquial Minangkabau voice is more effectively characterised as a Sundic-type system.

2. Minangkabau voice morphology can be usefully described in terms of Shibatani's (2006) "evolution of action" framework for analysing voice phenomena. This is summarised in Table 1.

Table 1. Voice and the "evolution of action" in Minangkabau.

WHICH PART OF THE "EVOLUTION OF ACTION"?	VOICE MARKER	FUNCTION
I. ORIGIN OF ACTION	*ta-*	Involuntary, superlative & ability predicates
	pa-	Causative voice
II. DEVELOPMENT OF ACTION	*maN-*	Active voice
	ba-	Middle voice
III. TERMINATION OF ACTION	*-an*	Applicative
	-i	Locative applicative

3. The passive voice marker *di-* is a clitic. Its primary function is syntactic, whereas other Minangkabau voice markers function primarily in the semantic and lexical/derivational domain.

4. Naturalistic, conversational and informal data reveal that bare verbs (i.e. verbs that are not marked for voice) are a prevalent feature of Colloquial Minangkabau.

5. Bare verbs show that morphological underspecification is acceptable in Colloquial Minangkabau.

6. The existence of bare verbs does not entail that Minangkabau is a precategorial language. In fact, Minangkabau has a clear lexical distinction between nouns and verbs.

Chapter 2. Literature Review : Voice in Austronesian Languages

2.0 Introduction

The rich systems of verbal morphology evident in many Austronesian languages are one of the most striking and unusual features of the language family. This chapter will examine some existing studies of the verb morphology and voice systems of some of these languages. The chapter will begin with a description of voice in Philippine-type languages and will then outline the features of the Indonesian-type voice system, the unusual Acehnese-type voice system, and the basic 'Sundic-type' voice system (cf. Gil, 2008).

There are a number of recurrent theoretical issues that emerge in descriptions of Austronesian voice systems. First, descriptions of Austronesian voice systems are primarily concerned with how semantic roles are mapped to grammatical function and thus how grammatical relations are organised in these languages. As this chapter will demonstrate, Philippine-type languages make a clear distinction between pivot and non-pivot grammatical functions, whereas languages such as Acehnese, and the Sundic-type language Riau Indonesian, are pivotless languages.

A second theoretical issue that emerges from studies of Austronesian voice systems is the role that discourse/pragmatics plays in grammatical organisation. Studies have shown that the relative topicality of participants in a clause is the primary motivator for the choice of one voice construction over another in both Indonesian-type languages and Philippine-type languages (cf. Cooreman, Fox and Givon, 1984; Cumming and Wouk, 1987; Du Bois, 1987; Hopper, 1979; Payne, 1982; Rafferty, 1982; Schachter, 1977; 2002; Wouk, 1989; 1996; 1999; 2004a).

Other linguists argue that voice is a semantic and conceptual phenomenon. For example, Gil (2002a) argues that the voice opposition between *N-* and *di-* in Riau Indonesian is used to show the relative conceptual saliency of the agent or patient participant rather than to encode any grammatical distinctions. Similarly, Croft (1994)

and Shibatani (2006) claim that voice can encode an 'event view' distinction, that is voice can highlight a particular stage in the action encoded by the verb, whether this be the inception, development or termination of the action (see Chapter 5). Some Austronesian voice markers also have aspectual qualities which may be linked with their role in showing semantic and conceptual notions (cf. Himmelmann, 2006a; Hopper, 1979; Rafferty, 1982; Soh and Nomoto, 2008; Son and Cole, 2008).

The discussion of Austronesian voice and verb morphology in this chapter aims to contextualise the study of Minangkabau presented in this dissertation as well as to provide a theoretical framework for examining voice phenomena in Minangkabau. It also aims to support my characterisation of Minangkabau as a language that possesses features of both a pragmatically motivated voice system and a voice system that is used to encode conceptual properties of events.

2.1 Philippine-type Voice

In Philippine-type languages the discourse notion of 'topic' has been grammaticalised. This means that the most topical participant in a given utterance has control over morphological marking of the verb (i.e. the voice of the verb) as well as the syntactic organisation of the clause (Schachter and Otanes, 1972; Schachter, 1976; 1977). Foley and Van Valin (1985; 1984) refer to the kind of grammatical function that the topic performs in Philippine-type language as the 'pivot'. Their term 'pivot' also refers to the kind of grammatical function that the subject in English performs. The pivot is the participant that occupies the highest position in terms of grammatical relations. It dictates morphological 'agreement' or marking on the verb, as well having control over some elements of clausal syntax. The pivot is also highly referential and typically definite.

The pivot is a useful concept for talking about grammatical relations in Philippine-type languages because its grammatical functions are not adequately characterised by a universal definition of 'subject' (cf. Keenan, 1976). Schachter (1976; 1977) argues that subjects have both *reference related properties*, i.e. the subject is typically the most referentially salient participant in the clause and it thus has control over the syntactic

organisation of the clause, and *role related properties*, i.e. subjects are typically actors and the semantic controllers or instigators of events. According to Schachter (1976; 1977), in Philippine-type languages, there is a division of these *role* and *reference* related properties of subjects between the actor and the pivot. The reference related properties of subjects, such as the ability to be relativised and to launch floating quantifiers, correspond most closely to the function of the pivot, whereas the role related properties are performed by the actor participant, whether the actor is aligned with the pivot function or not (see below).

Foley and Van Valin (1985; 1984) argue that voice in Philippine-type languages constitutes a realignment between the grammatical function of pivot and semantic role. This means that voice marking on the verb changes according to the semantic role of the participant that is selected to be the pivot. Philippine-type languages are conservative (when compared to Indonesian-type languages) and have rich voice systems that allow for a range of different participant types to be selected as pivot (Ross, 2002).

Tagalog is described as having four voices, as example (5) demonstrates.

(5) a. ***Mag**-salis*   ***ang babae*** *ng   bigas sa sako para.sa bata.*
         ACT:TOP-will-take-out TOP woman GOAL rice   DIR sack BENF   child
         'The woman will take some rice out of a/the sack for a/the child.'

     b. *Aalis**in**   ng   babae **ang bigas** sa sako para.sa bata.*
         GOAL:TOP-will-take-out ACT woman **TOP rice**   DIR sack BENF   child
         'A/the woman will take the rice out of a/the sack for a/the child.'

     c. *Aalis**an**   ng   babae ng   bigas**ang sako** para.sa bata.*
         DIR:TOP-will-take-out   ACT woman GOAL rice   TOP sack BENF   child
         'A/the woman will take some rice out of the sack for a/the child.'

     d. ***Ipag**-salis*   ng   babae ng   bigas sa sako ***ang bata***.
         BENF:TOP-will-take-out ACT woman GOAL rice   DIR sack **TOP child**
         'A/the woman will take some rice out of a/the sack for the child.'

         (adapted from Schachter, 1976: 494-95)

In (5a), the verb is marked for active voice. This means that the participant that holds the actor semantic role, in this case *babae*, 'woman', is topical and has therefore been assigned pivot status. This is evidenced not only by the morphological marking on the

verb but also by the fact that *babae*, 'woman', is marked by the article *ang*, which denotes pivot status. The other participants in the clause are marked by articles that show their semantic role; for example the benefactor *bata*, 'child', is marked by the benefactive composite *para sa* and so on.

Sentences (5b), (5c) and (5d) show the three other Tagalog voice types. In (5b) the verb is marked for goal voice, meaning that the goal *bigas*, 'rice', is the pivot. In (5c) the direction is the pivot therefore the verb is marked for locative voice, and in (5d) the benefactor is pivot therefore the verb is marked for benefactive voice.

An additional typologically salient feature of Philippine-type voice systems is that they are symmetrical (Foley, 1998; Himmelmann, 2005; 2008). This means that no single voice is basic or 'underlying', nor can any voice be directly derived from another voice. Philippine-type voice systems are also symmetrical in the sense that voice marking does not encode a change in valency of the verb root (Ross, 2002). Foley (1998) argues that the symmetry of Philippine-type voice systems has a number of implications for how we ought to understand the grammar of Philippine-type languages. First, since no single voice type is basic, this implies that a verb's argument structure is realised as a result of voice affixation and is therefore not specified in the lexicon. Second, since argument structure is not specified in the lexicon, then there can be no underlying lexical distinction made between nouns and verbs (see Chapter 6). Thus, voice marking in Philippine-type languages also has a verbal derivational function.

2.2 Indonesian-type Voice

Like Philippine-type languages, Indonesian-type languages have symmetrical voice systems that mark the realignment of the pivot function with semantic role (1985; Foley and Van Valin, 1984; Himmelmann, 2005). However, unlike Philippine-type languages, which allow for a range of participant types to be assigned pivot status, in Indonesian-type languages voice alternation centres around the alignment of the pivot function with either the actor or the undergoer (cf. Klamer, 1996). If the actor is selected as the pivot then the verb is marked for active voice, however if the undergoer is selected as the pivot then the verb is marked for passive voice.

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In Indonesian-type languages active voice is marked on the verb by a prefix that contains a final homorganic nasal *N-*. Ross (2002: 54) argues that *maN-* is the most conservative form of the active voice prefix in Malayic languages and suggests that the prefix is an innovation, replacing **um-* which marked actor pivot constructions in Proto Austronesian. Minangkabau marks active voice using the conservative form of the prefix *maN-*, whereas Standard Malay/Indonesian makes use of the cognate form *meN-*. Some more innovative Indonesian-type languages, such as non-standard varieties of Malay/Indonesian, have retained only the homorganic nasal part of the active voice prefix. A typical Indonesian-type active voice construction will not only have voice marking on the verb, but the actor will also occupy pre-verbal position and if the verb is transitive, the undergoer will follow the verb.

In most Indonesian-type languages passive voice is marked on the verb by an oral prefix (i.e. a prefix with an initial oral, as opposed to nasal, stop) or a pronominal cliticised form of the agent (Ross, 2002: 54-56). In some other Indonesian-type languages the passive voice verb is unmarked. In an Indonesian-type passive voice clause the undergoer typically occupies pre-verbal position because it is the pivot. If the actor is not cliticised to the verb then it appears in post-verbal position.

Indonesian-type languages include standard and non-standard varieties of Malay and Indonesian, as well as the Malayic languages of Indonesia. The Malayic languages are mainly contained to Western Indonesia, including Sumatra, Java, Bali and parts of Borneo. The languages of Eastern Indonesia, which includes Sulawesi, the islands of Nusa Tenggara as well as parts of Borneo, have voice morphology that is more similar typologically to Philippine-type languages (Himmelmann, 2002; Ross, 2002). Minangkabau, the focus of this study is also an Indonesian-type language since it shows an alternation between active and passive voice. Active voice is marked by the prefix *maN-* whereas passive voice is marked by the clitic *di-*. However, the "associative" nature of Colloquial Minangkabau lends itself more towards a 'Sundic-type' classification (see Section 2.4, Chapter 5, Chapter 6).

One of the most widely researched Indonesian-type languages is Standard Indonesian. As well as having the standard symmetrical active voice and passive voice constructions characteristic of Indonesian-type languages, Standard Indonesian also has an asymmetric passive construction and a *pasif semu* construction in which the undergoer is selected as the pivot (see Table 5 in Section 2.4 for a summary of the Standard Indonesian voices).

In Standard Indonesian, active voice is marked on the verb by the prefix *meN-*. In an active voice construction the actor functions as the pivot and occupies pre-verbal position. If the verb is transitive then any other non-pivot arguments of the predicate come after the verb. In a passive voice construction pivot status is assigned to the undergoer and the verb is marked by *di-*. The undergoer appears in pre-verbal position and the actor appears after the verb (Arka and Manning, 2008).

Example (6) illustrates the form of symmetrical active and passive voice in Standard Indonesian. In (6a) the actor *Sul* is the pivot and the verb is marked by the active voice prefix *meN-*. In (6b) the pivot function is aligned with the undergoer *Ali*. For this reason *Ali* is in pre-verbal position and the verb is marked for passive voice by *di-*. The actor *Sul* is consequently in post-verbal position.

(6)   a.   *Sul   memukul   Ali.*
           Sul   AV-hit   Ali
           'Sul hit Ali'

      b.   *Ali   dipukul   Sul.*
           Ali   PV-hit   Sul
           'Ali was hit by Sul.'

      c.   *Ali   dipukul   oleh   Sul.*
           Ali   PV-hit   by   Sul
           'Ali was hit by Sul.'

           (Elicitation)

To understand the form and function of Standard Indonesian's other two voice types it is necessary to recognise the concept of a core argument and a non-core argument. Using Foley and Van Valin's (1984: 79) terminology, a core argument is licensed by the verb's argument structure and has a privileged syntactic status. This means that it is

available to undergo a range of syntactic operations, including being selected as the pivot. A non-core argument, on the other hand, is "peripheral" in the sense that it is not as syntactically 'available' as a core argument. Non-core arguments are typically adjunct-like and their non-core status is often marked by the presence of adpositions (Arka, 2003b).

So, in contrast to the symmetric passive construction, in Standard Indonesian's asymmetric passive, the actor argument is syntactically demoted and given non-core status (Arka, 2003b; Cole, Hermon and Yanti, 2007). This is marked by the presence of the agentive/causal preposition *oleh*. An example of this can be seen in (6c) where the actor *Sul* has been given non-core status and is thus preceded by the preposition *oleh*.

However, in the *pasif semu*, also referred to as the 'pseudo passive', the object voice, or passive type two (hereafter the P2 construction), both actor and undergoer are retained as core arguments (Arka and Manning, 2008; Musgrave, 2000). In the P2 construction, the undergoer is selected as the pivot (cf. Chung, 1976a) and precedes the verb. The P2 verb is not marked for voice but hosts a pronominal proclitic coding the actor. The sentence in (7) shows an example of a P2 construction. In this example notice that the undergoer *buku ini*, 'this book', is the pivot and thus precedes the verb, *baca*, 'read'. The first person actor, *ku*, then appears as a proclitic on the verb.

(7)   *Buku ini   sudah ku=baca.*
         book   DEM:prox   PFCT   1sg=read
         'I have read this book.'

         (adapted from Sneddon, 1996: 249)

Since the actor and the undergoer are retained as core arguments in both the symmetrical *di-* passive and the *pasif semu*, what is the motivation to chose one construction over the other? Sneddon (1996) argues that the P2 is the preferred passive for first and second person pronominal actors because they are ungrammatical in a *di-* passive. However, as has been pointed out by Chung (1976a) and Wouk (1989), in more informal contexts, and in regional and non-standard varieties of Indonesian, first and second person actors are quite acceptable in *di-* passives.

Non-standard and Colloquial varieties of Indonesian also have voice oppositions that are similar in form to the Standard Indonesian voice oppositions discussed above, except that they also encode discourse/pragmatic and conceptual distinctions.

One variety of Colloquial Indonesian, Spoken Jakarta Indonesian (hereafter SJI), has a number of verbal affixes that correspond closely in form and function to the set of verbal affixes used to mark voice in Standard Indonesian. These affixes are listed in Table 2.

Table 2. Spoken Jakarta Indonesian Verbal Affixes.

(Wouk, 1989: 12)

	SJI AFFIXES	*STANDARD INDONESIAN AFFIXES*
ACTIVE	*meN-, N-, Ø-*	*meN-*
PASSIVE	*di-, Ø-*	*di-*

As Table 2 shows, in SJI, many verbs that would require voice morphology in Standard Indonesian are left bare[3]. Another formal difference between the two varieties is that the Standard Indonesian active voice marker *meN-* is often replaced with a simple nasal form *N-*. The SJI voice markers *N-* and *di-* encode an active and passive voice distinction like their cognate Standard Indonesian counterparts.

Wouk (1989; 1996; 2004a) argues that the use of *N-* and *di-* is also determined by discourse/pragmatic factors such as discourse transitivity, as well as topicality and thematicity. Her analysis draws on Hopper and Thompson's (1980) Transitivity Hypothesis, which works on the grounds that a clause can be assigned a level of transitivity on a continuum ranging from high to low transitivity. The level of transitivity is assigned according to the Transitivity Schema, which is presented in Table 3.

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[3] A similar phenomenon also occurs in Colloquial Minangkabau (see Chapter 6).

Table 3. Transitivity Schema.

(Hopper and Thompson, 1980: 252)

	HIGH TRANSITIVITY	*LOW TRANSITIVITY*
A. PARTICIPANTS	2 + participants (A and O)	1 participant
B. KINESIS	action	non-action
C. ASPECT	telic	atelic
D. PUNCTUALITY	punctual	non-punctual
E. VOLITIONALITY	volitional	non-volitional
F. AFFIRMATION	affirmative	negative
G. MODE	realis	irrealis
H. AGENCY	A high in potency	A low in potency
I. AFFECTEDNESS OF O	O totally affected	O not affected
J. INDIVIDUATION OF O	O highly individuated (e.g.: concrete, referential, definite, count, animate)	O non-individuated (e.g.: abstract, non-referential, mass, inanimate)

The Transitivity Schema works on a comparative scalar system so that not all criteria need to be satisfied in order for a clause to be transitive. If a clause satisfies more conditions of low transitivity than high transitivity, then that clause will be seen as being low in discourse transitivity. Even if a clause has only one participant, it can satisfy more transitivity conditions than a clause with two participants if the conditions B to H are high in transitivity (Hopper and Thompson, 1980: 254). The Transitivity Hypothesis then predicts that if two clauses show a difference in transitivity (i.e. one is *high* in discourse transitivity whereas the other is *low* in discourse transitivity) and that if one clause is grammatically marked in some way, then the difference in transitivity will be encoded by that marked grammatical construction (Hopper and Thompson, 1980: 255).

In Wouk's (1989; 1996; 2004a) study of SJI, she found that verbs marked by the active voice marker *N-* were more frequently found in clauses that were low in discourse transitivity whereas verbs marked by the passive voice marker *di-* were more frequently found in clauses that were high in transitivity. Clauses with *N-* marked verbs were irrealis, stative, off the timeline of the main narrative events, and more likely to have non-referential patients. Clauses with *di-* marked verbs, on the other hand, were

indicative, eventive, and on the timeline of the main narrative events. These clauses were also more likely to have referential patients that were individuated, animate, and that had continuous mention throughout the text (Wouk, 1989: 132-40).

However, the transitivity factors alone are not enough to predict the choice of *N-* and *di-* in SJI. So, Wouk (1989: 233-34; 1996: 366; 2004a) argues that the relative saliency of actor and patient arguments "as mediated through theme and topic" also motivates the choice of voice morphology. As Wouk (1996: 381) defines it, a "theme" is a "referent that is the focus of attention". It is a referent that has a high frequency of mentions throughout a text and is most often a pronoun or zero anaphora. A topic, on the other hand, is essentially "what a text or segment of text is about. [It] need not be an individual entity; it may also be a class or concept". Topics can be identified by continuity of mention (Wouk, 1996: 382). So *di-* clauses are used when the patient participant is thematic and/or topical, and *N-* clauses are used when the actor participant is thematic and/or topical.

For example, consider the SJI dialogue presented in (8). The choice of the passive voice marker *di-* in A1, A2 and A4 is triggered by the thematicity and topicality of the patient participant. The thematic referent, i.e. the patient, is the person telling the story, participant A, who is recounting meeting her new boyfriend's parents. The patient is not overtly expressed in A's first and second utterances but it is understood to refer to the speaker and to be thematic. Notice that the verbs *dianggap*, 'consider', and *dikenal-kenalin*, 'introduce', are marked for passive voice by *di-*. This is because even though it is not overtly expressed, the patient is the most referentially salient participant.

(8) A1: *Heeh, udah dianggap anak nih.*
         uhuh,   already DI-consider child this
         'uhuh, they consider (me) their child.'

      B1: *Oh ya.*

      A2: *Udah dikenal-kenalin ke   keluarganya.*
          already DI-know-in   to   family-GEN
          'They've introduced (me) to their family.'

      B2: *Hm.*

A3: *Itu   saudaranya Okki,   Okki   peragawati.*
     that   relative-GEN Okki,   Okki   fashion.model
     'One of their relatives is Okki, Okki the fashion model.'

B3: *Oh Okki, Okki.*

A4: *Hm   hm   saya dibawa   udah   dibawa   ke situ,*
     hm   hm   I   DI-bring   already   di-bring   to   there
     'Uhuh, they brought me there.'

     (adapted from Wouk, 1989: 188)

After the mention of *Okki*, in A's forth utterance, the speaker is explicitly reintroduced into the discourse again, this time in the form of the first person pronoun *saya*. In A4, *saya* is encoded as a patient and the verb *dibawa*, 'bring', is marked for passive voice. As a topic, *saya* satisfies the continuity of mention criterion and *saya* is also "inherently and situationally thematic" because it refers to the storyteller and is therefore the most referentially salient participant (Wouk, 1989: 187-88).

Wouk's (1989; 1996; 2004a) characterisation of SJI focuses on the discourse/pragmatic factors involved in voice alternation. However, voice alternation in Indonesian-type languages has also been shown to correlate with semantic and conceptual factors such as aspect (Hopper, 1979; Rafferty, 1982; Soh and Nomoto, 2008). For example, Rafferty (1982) argues that voice morphology in Chindo, a non-standard variety of Indonesian spoken by ethnically Chinese Indonesians in Malang, East Java, encodes an aspectual distinction.

The variety of Chindo that Rafferty examined has a nasal prefix *N-*, which is cognate with the Standard Indonesian active voice marker *meN-* and is used to mark verbs with active aktionsart. Chindo also has a *di-* prefix cognate with Standard Indonesian *di-*. Rafferty (1982: 25-30) argues that although the *N-* and *di-* are thought to encode an active and passive voice distinction in the traditional literature, in Chindo, *N-* is a marker of imperfective aspect and *di-* is a marker of perfective aspect.

Example (9) shows an example of an *N-* verb, *mbalek*, 'return'. Rafferty argues (1982: 44) that the verb in this example is imperfect because the activity of returning the motorbike is happening simultaneously with the conversation about where the employee

had gone. Contrastively, example (10) shows the use of the *di-* verbs *ditumbok*, 'mash', and *diminum*, 'drink'. According to Rafferty (1982: 46), in this example the verbs refer to "real (past, present or future) events" and that the *di-* prefix therefore encodes perfective aspect.

(9)   *Pas amblas barangkali mbalekno   hondae.*
         exact disappear perhaps   N-return-3sg   Honda-that
         '(He's) completely disappeared, (he's) probably returning a/the motorbike.'

         (Rafferty, 1982: 44)

(10)   *Suru   ditumbok sebelume pagi,   sebelume makan itu   diminum.*
         ask   di-mash   before-it morning, before-it   eat   that di-drink
         '(She) told me to mash (it), and in the morning, before eating, to drink (it).'

         (Rafferty, 1982: 46)

Hopper (1979) has also argued that the Indonesian-type language Early Modern Malay had a distinction between imperfective and perfective clauses. However, he argues that the aspectual distinctions are a result of some clauses being foregrounding, i.e. they are central to the development of the narrative and are perfective, and some clauses being backgrounding, i.e. they provide information that supports, but is not central to, the main events of the narrative and are imperfective. He found that in Early Modern Malay the voice markers *meN-* and *di-*, which are cognate with Standard Indonesian *meN-* and *di-*, as well as Chindo *N-* and *di-*, are associated with backgrounding and foregrounding clauses respectively and the aspectual properties of these clauses are a 'by-product' of the voice markers. That is to say, that perfectivity and imperfectivity are not encoded by the voice markers, rather these aspectual notions are associated with the voice markers due to their propensity to appear in either foregrounding or backgrounding clauses.

Interestingly, Davies' (2005) study of Madurese, which is an Indonesian-type language spoken in Madura and East Java, suggests that the active and passive voice markers in this language are also used to encode a foregrounding/backgrounding distinction and are associated with an aspectual distinction. Davies (2005: 213) found that in Madurese, foregrounding clauses were more likely to occur in passive voice, which he refers to as "object voice" and which is marked by the prefix *e-*. Backgrounding clauses, on the other hand, were more likely to occur in the active voice, which is marked by a

homorganic nasal prefix *N-*. Foregrounding clauses were also more likely to be perfective, and backgrounding clauses to be imperfective. He argues then that *e-* and *N-* are associated with this aspectual distinction not categorically, but by virtue of their appearance in foregrounding and backgrounding clauses respectively.

Examples (11) and (12) come from a recounting of the folk tale *Bang Mera so Bang Pote*, 'Onion and Garlic', which tells of the fate of two sisters named Onion and Garlic. In (11) we see an example of active voice used in a clause containing background information. In (12) we see use of the "object voice" in a foreground clause used to describe an "action that moves the story forward" (Davies, 2005: 213).

(11)   *Reng lake' gelle'   ngrabadi   Bang.Pote.*
            person   male   previous   AV-care-APP Garlic
            'The man took care of Garlic.'

            (Davies, 2005: 213)

(12)   *Samper gelle'   etabang   bi'   Bang.Pote.*
            cloth   previous   OV-search   with   Garlic
            'Garlic searched for the cloth.'

            (Davies, 2005: 213)

From this discussion about Indonesian-type languages it should be clear that although voice constructions in these languages are similar both morphologically and syntactically, that Indonesian-type voice systems also have discourse/pragmatic, semantic and conceptual features in common. These features include the fact that the choice of voice morphology is dictated by the thematicity and/or topicality of the participants in the clause and that active voice is associated with backgrounding clauses and imperfective aspect whereas passive voice is typically associated with foregrounding clauses and perfective aspect. As it will be shown in Chapter 5, these discourse/pragmatic and conceptual properties also play a role in the Minangkabau voice system.

2.3 Acehnese-type Voice

Acehnese is spoken in the northernmost tip of Sumatra, in Aceh province. Although it shares some typological characteristics with the Malayic languages that are spoken in surrounding areas, Acehnese is a Chamic language and therefore displays characteristics that are distinct in comparison to Malayic languages (Adelaar, 2005a: 17). Most importantly, Acehnese is a pivotless language, and therefore it does not display the kind of verbal voice marking that is characteristic of Philippine-type and Indonesian-type languages (Durie, 1985a; Foley and Van Valin, 1984: 120).

Acehnese has a system of pronominal marking on its verbs which cross-references the agent and undergoer arguments. Pronominal proclitics are always co-referential with the agent argument whereas pronominal enclitics are always co-referential with the undergoer argument. In Acehnese, grammatical relations are not affected by the split between intransitive and transitive clause types, instead they depend on this distinction between the roles of agent and undergoer. Thus both intransitive and transitive verbs are marked in the same way depending on whether they are agent oriented or undergoer oriented (Durie, 1985a).

Some Acehnese examples that demonstrate this pronominal clitic cross-referencing can be found in (13), (14) and (15).

(13)   *Lôn   teungöh=lôn=jak.*
         I   middle=1=go
         'I am going/walking.'

         (Durie, 1985a: 55)

(14)   *Gopnyan   galak=geuh   that.*
         he   happy=3   very
         'He is very happy.'

         (Durie, 1985a: 56)

(15)   *Gopnyan   ka=ji=poh=geuh.*
         he   IN=3=hit=3
         '[He] hit him.'

         (Durie, 1985a: 203)

Example (13) shows a clause with an intransitive, agent oriented verb *jak*, 'go'. In this example, the first person pronoun *lôn* is the agent, therefore the verb is marked by the first person agent proclitic *lôn*. Example (14), on the other hand shows an example of an intransitive, undergoer oriented verb *galak*, 'happy'. Since the undergoer *gopnyan*, 'he', is in the third person, the verb is thus marked by the third person undergoer enclitic *geuh*.

In example (15), the transitive verb *poh*, 'hit', is used. Notice that the verb is marked by both the proclitic *ji*, which is co-referential with the (null) agent, and the enclitic *geuh*, which is coreferential with the undergoer, *gopnyan*, 'he'. In Acehnese transitive verbs, the agents are compulsorily referenced by proclitics whereas undergoers are only optionally referenced by enclitics. The presence of undergoer enclitics implies that the undergoer is topical therefore it is rare to have a undergoer cross-referencing on the verb if the agent is topical (Durie, 1985a: 201-06). In example (15) the undergoer is indeed topical since the agent is not overtly expressed. Notice also that the undergoer appears before the verb. The ability to appear in pre-verbal position is a property of Core Topics in Acehnese (see below).

Since both active and stative verbs can be either agent oriented or undergoer oriented, Durie (1985a) argues that the split between agent oriented verbs and undergoer oriented verbs is instead defined according to the semantic notions of control and de-control. If a verb takes an agent, the ultimate initiator of the event, it is a controlled verb, whereas if a verb takes an undergoer, the participant that is ultimately affected by the event, then it is a de-controlled verb (Durie, 1985a: 55-56). Table 4 shows some examples of agent oriented (i.e. controlled) verbs and undergoer oriented (i.e. de-controlled) verbs. Notice that both the controlled and de-controlled categories include verbs which are semantically active and verbs which are semantically stative.

Table 4. Agent and Undergoer oriented verbs in Acehnese.

(Durie, 1985a: 188)

	VERB		*VERB TYPE*
AGENT ORIENTED (CONTROLLED)	*jak*	'go'	Active
	duek	'sit'	Stative
UNDERGOER ORIENTED (DE-CONTROLLED)	*rhët*	'fall'	Active
	matê	'dead'	Stative

Acehnese also has two verbal affixes, *meu-* and *teu-* that can alter the level of control implied by the semantics of the verb root. The prefix *meu-* can change a de-controlled verb root into a controlled verb. Example (16) illustrates this with the verb root *göt*, 'good'. This verb root is a de-controlled stative verb, however the addition of the *meu-* prefix derives the controlled verb *meugöt*, 'make up'. As a result, the verb now licenses an agent argument, the first person pronoun *lôn*, and the verb is accordingly marked by the co-referential first person agent proclitic *lôn*.

(16)   *Lôn   ka=lôn=meu-göt   ngön=jih.*
         I   IN=1=INTR-good   with=he
         'I have made it up with him.'

         (Durie, 1985a: 91)

The prefix *teu-*, conversely, can add the element of de-control to a controlled verb root. Example (17) shows how the two de-controlled verbs *teujak* and *teudöng* have been derived from the controlled roots *jak*, 'go', and *döng*, 'stand', with the use of *teu-*. The meaning implied here is that the agent *jih*, 'he', appears as though he has lost his mind and therefore does not have control over his movements.

(17)   *Jih   teu=jak teu=döng lagee=ureung=gadöh=tuwah.*
         he   DC=go   DC=stand manner=person=lost=mind
         'He is wandering about stopping and starting as though out of his mind.'

         (Durie, 1985a: 73)

Example (18) provides another example of how the *teu-* prefix is used.

(18) a.   *Beu=neu=ingat   keu   lôn.*
           HORT=2=remember to   I
           'Remember me!'

      b.   *Gopnyan   ka   h'an   teu=ingat=geuh keu   lôn.*
           he   already not   DC=remember=3 to   I
           'He does not (cannot) remember me.'

           (Durie, 1985b: 49)

In (18a), notice that the verb *ingat*, 'remember', is marked by the second person agent proclitic *neu*, which is coreferential with the addressee. This is because the addressee is in 'control' over the act of remembering. However, in (18b) the act of remembering has been de-controlled due to the addition of the *teu-* prefix on the verb. Notice also that the de-controlled verb in (18b) is now undergoer oriented and is therefore marked by an undergoer enclitic, *geuh*, which is co-referential with the undergoer *gopnyan* (Durie, 1985b: 49).

The pronominal proclitic marking on Acehnese verbs is remarkable, not just because of the semantic distinctions about control and de-control that it entails, but because it does not encode grammatical relations or a voice distinction in the way that verbal marking does in Philippine and Indonesian-type languages. Acehnese is a pivotless language, which means that no one argument has a more privileged syntactic status than another. Agents and undergoers have control over various different constructions, for example only agents can be the addressees of imperatives, but this is based on the semantic qualities of the two argument types rather than any syntactic differences. Syntactic tests used to identify pivots also prove unsuccessful in Acehnese since the language has "no switch reference marking; any argument can be ellipsed in context; there is no syntactic passive or anti-passive to promote or demote arguments to or from a privileged syntactic status; there are no raising phenomena [...]; both agents and undergoers can be relativised in the same way; [and] there are no syntactic dummies" (Durie, 1985a: 190).

However, Durie (1985a: 180) does make a distinction between 'Core Roles' and 'non-Core Roles' in Acehnese. He argues that a Core Role is a participant licensed by the

verb's argument structure that is syntactically 'available'. Core Roles are more syntactically privileged than adjunct NPs, which can be identified by prepositional marking. Only agents, undergoers and datives can be Core Roles.

Durie (1985a: 191) also argues for the existence of a 'Core Topic'. The Core Topic has a similar pragmatic function to the English subject in that it is refers to a referentially salient participant. However, unlike the English subject, no participant is underlyingly selected as the Core Topic therefore any one of the Core Roles in a clause may be selected. Also unlike the English subject, Core Topics are not obligatory therefore it is possible for clauses to have no overt Core Topic.

Core Topics have a syntactic effect in that the Core Topic must occupy pre-verbal position. However, the selection of agent or undergoer as Core Topic has no effect on pronominal clitic marking on the verb except that it is rare for there to be undergoer cross-referencing on the verb if the agent is selected as the Core Topic (see example (15)). When the undergoer is selected as the Core Topic, the agent argument occurs in post-verbal position and is marked by the preposition *lé* (Durie, 1988). An example of this construction can be found in (19).

(19) a. *Gopnyan ka   geu=côm lôn.*
        she   already 3-kiss   I
        'She (already) kissed me.'

     b. *Lôn ka   geu=côm lé gopnyan.*
        I   already 3=kiss   by she
        'I've (already) been kissed by her.'

        (adapted from Lawler, 1977: 225)

In (19a) the agent, *gopnyan*, 'she', is the Core Topic and is therefore in pre-verbal position. In (19b), however, the undergoer has been selected as the Core Topic. This has resulted in no difference in the pronominal clitic marking on the verb but the undergoer, *lôn*, is now in pre-verbal position and the agent appears in post-verbal position marked by the *lé* preposition.

Lawler (1977) argues that constructions like those in (19) represent an opposition between active voice (19a) and passive voice (19b). However, as Durie (1988) points out, there is no evidence that Acehnese has an underlying subject/pivot nor does the undergoer in constructions like (19b) have any privileged syntactic status when compared to the agent. The fact that there is no change in pronominal clitic cross-referencing on the verb also constitutes further evidence that the syntactic status of the agent and undergoer has not been altered and that (19b) is therefore not an example of passive voice (Durie, 1988).

2.4 Sundic-type Voice

The final type of voice system to be discussed in this chapter is the 'Sundic-type'. The term 'Sundic-type' was coined by Gil (2008) to characterise a set of typologically similar languages, which, like Acehnese, appear to be pivotless. In this set, Gil (2008) includes Sundanese (cf. Hardjadibrata, 1985), Riau Indonesian and other Colloquial Malay/Indonesian varieties such as Jakarta Indonesian, Sulsel Indonesian, Irian Indonesian and Kuala Lumpur Malay (cf. Gil, 2002a), Colloquial Javanese (cf. Conners, 2008), as well as Colloquial Minangkabau. Gil (2008) also argues that Mentawai displays some Sundic-type features. All these languages have traditionally been characterised as having 'Indonesian-type' voice systems. However, Gil (2008) shows this to be a false assumption and demonstrates that 'voice' morphology in these languages actually encodes a semantic distinction rather than a syntactic distinction.

As we saw in Section 2.2, Indonesian-type languages have symmetric active and passive voice constructions. In addition to this, Standard Indonesian also has an asymmetric passive construction and a *pasif semu* construction. Sundic-type languages, on the other hand, have a three-way distinction between a neutral construction where the verb is unmarked for 'voice', a generalised active construction where the verb is marked by a 'generalised active' morpheme, and a generalised passive construction in which the verb is marked by a 'generalised passive' morpheme. An additional difference is that unlike Indonesian-type languages, in which the pivot must precede the verb, Sundic-type languages are pivotless therefore any NP may precede the verb (Gil, 2008). The differences between these two kinds of voice systems are summarised in Table 5.

Table 5. Indonesian-type voice and Sundic-type voice.

(Gil, 2008)

	CLAUSE STRUCTURE	*VOICE TYPE*
I. INDONESIAN-TYPE VOICE	Actor AV-Verb Undergoer	active
	Undergoer PV-Verb Actor	passive (symmetric)
	STANDARD INDONESIAN ALSO HAS:...	
	Undergoer PV-Verb PP Actor	passive (asymmetric)
	Undergoer Actor-Verb	*pasif semu*
II. SUNDIC-TYPE VOICE	NP Verb NP	neutral
	NP general.ACT-Verb NP	generalised active
	NP general.PASS-Verb NP	generalised passive

Riau Indonesian, a colloquial variety of Indonesian used for inter-ethnic communication in Riau Province, Sumatra, has been described in detail by Gil (cf. 1994; 2001; 2002a; 2006) and perhaps demonstrates the typological properties of the Sundic-type most effectively. In Riau Indonesian, Gil (2002a) argues that the prefix *N-* and the proclitic *di-*, cognate with Standard Malay/Indonesian *meN-* and *di-*, are generalised verbal semantic markers and do not encode a voice distinction. According to Gil's analysis, *N-* marks the fact that the actor participant is referentially salient or conceptually significant in the utterance. Similarly, *di-* marks the patient participant as referentially or conceptually important. The Riau Indonesian semantic markers *N-* and *di-* do not correspond with any shift in word order or syntactic structure and can even be used to mark the conceptual salience of a null actor or a null patient.

Example (20) provides a minimal pair to demonstrate the use of *N-* and *di-* with the same verb root, *simer*, 'polish'.

(20) a. *Mister,   aku **ny**imer   lagi.*
White.person 1sg **N**-polish CNJ.OP
'I'm going off to shine shoes.'
[Context: At table with shoeshine boys; speaker takes leave.]

(Gil, 2002a: 262)

b. *Aden   **di**simer.*
1sg   **DI**-polish
'I'm polishing them.'
[Context: Shoeshine boy pointing to potential customer's sandals, addressing other shoeshine boys, who are possible competitors.]

(Gil, 2002a: 249)

In both (20a) and (20b) the actor precedes the verb and in neither examples is a patient overtly expressed. Nevertheless, the verb in (20a) is marked by the generalised active marker *N-* whereas the verb in (20b) is marked by the generalised patient marker *di-*. Since the shift in verb marking does not entail any change to syntactic organisation or grammatical relations, Gil (2002a) concludes that they must encode a semantic or conceptual distinction. Indeed, if we look at the context for each of the utterances in (20) we find that in (20a) the actor, the boy taking leave, is more conceptually salient, whereas in (20b) it is the patient, the customer's sandals, that is the conceptually salient participant. It is this conceptual shift in focus to the actor or patient that triggers the use of *N-* and *di-* respectively.

Sundic-type languages like Riau Indonesian also have a 'neutral' construction (see Table 5) in which the verb is unmarked for voice. The sentences in (21) show two Riau Indonesian 'neutral' constructions in which the verb *beli*, 'buy', is unmarked.

(21) a. *Beli aku laser, kan.*
buy 1sg laser Q
'I'll buy a laser, right.'
[Context: Contemplating a shopping trip.]

b. *Beli nasi goreng aku.*
   buy rice fry   1sg
   'I bought the fried rice.'
   [Context: Group of people decide they want to play cards; somebody tells speaker to go out and buy some; speaker objects on the grounds that it's somebody else's turn to go out.]

(Gil, 2006: 43)

Like the generalised active and passive constructions, a 'neutral' construction does not entail any shift in grammatical relations and actor and patient NPs are unrestricted in terms of which position in the clause they can appear. In (21a) notice that the verb is followed by the actor, the first person pronoun *aku*, and then the patient, *laser*, ' a laser'. However, in (21b) the verb is followed by the patient, *nasi goreng*, 'fried rice', and then the actor, *aku*.

The fact that 'voice' in Riau Indonesian does not encode any distinctions in grammatical relations, coupled with the additional fact that 'neutral' verbs can be left unmarked, implies that unless significant contextual background is given, the semantic roles of the participants in the clause will be underspecified. In other words, since neither word order nor verbal marking can tell us who is the patient and who is the actor, Riau Indonesian clauses remain rather vague. According to Gil (2001; 2002a; 2006; 2007), the vagueness and underspecification of semantic roles (and many other clausal elements in Riau Indonesian) does not impede communication in the language and the interpretability of underspecified utterances in the language actually relies on a system of "Associational Semantics" (see Chapter 6). In fact, since Sundic-type voice systems entail underspecification of semantic roles by their very nature, Gil (2008) argues that "Associational semantics" are a feature of all Sundic-type languages.

As the discussion in Chapters 4, 5 and 6 will demonstrate, although Standard Minangkabau resembles a typical Indonesian-type language, the flexible word order and presence of bare verbs (i.e. Gil's (2008) 'neutral' construction) in Colloquial Minangkabau means that it is better characterised as a Sundic-type language.

2.5 Conclusion

From this chapter's description of voice in Philippine-type languages, in Indonesian-type languages, in Acehnese, and in Sundic-type languages, a number of recurrent theoretical issues emerge. First, the characterisation of voice relies heavily on the nature of grammatical relations in the language. Second, in addition to the syntactic processes that motivate voice, it is also essential to consider the motivating discourse/pragmatic factors involved. Third, as well as encoding syntactic distinctions, voice marking may also encode semantic and conceptual distinctions such as aspectual notions. This third issue is especially important to consider for pivotless languages like Acehnese, since 'voice' marking does not encode grammatical relations in this kind of language. These theoretical themes also heavily inform my characterisation of the syntactic, discourse/pragmatic, and semantic properties of voice in Minangkabau (see Chapter 5).

Chapter 3. Methodology

3.0 Introduction

The Minangkabau data discussed in this dissertation comes from two sources: an electronic corpus of naturalistic Minangkabau data maintained by researchers at the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology (MPI EVA) Field Station at Bung Hatta University in Padang, Indonesia, and a corpus of elicited Minangkabau data collected during fieldwork in Perth and in Padang (please see the Acknowledgements). This chapter will outline the role each of these data sources has played in this dissertation as well as discussing the methodological considerations involved in data collection. It will also define the differences between the Standard Minangkabau and Colloquial Minangkabau data that was collected.

Section 3.1 describes the MPI EVA Minangkabau corpus and explains the role it played as the main source of data for this dissertation. Section 3.2 describes how fieldwork also played a part in data collection for this dissertation. Section 3.3 then outlines how I differentiate between Standard Minangkabau and Collquial Minangkabau in this dissertation.

3.1 The MPI EVA Minangkabau Corpus

The MPI EVA Minangkabau corpus is one of a number of corpora of Indonesian languages run as part of the MPI EVA Jakarta Field Station Project[4]. The MPI EVA Jakarta Field Station Project is funded by the Department of Linguistics at the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology in Leipzig, Germany. It aims to collect naturalistic data from a range of Indonesian minority languages across the archipelago in order to enable language description and to investigate language acquisition and

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[4] Further information about the MPI EVA Jakarta Field Station Project can be found on their website at: http://lingweb.eva.mpg.de/jakarta/.

language contact in the region. The MPI EVA Jakarta Field Station Project was initiated by David Gil and Uri Tadmor in 1999.

MPI EVA Minangkabau corpus is maintained by researchers at the Padang Field Station at Bung Hatta University. These researchers are engaged in a long term project of recording, transcribing and glossing a wide variety of naturalistic Minangkabau texts from all over West Sumatra. Researchers at the Padang Field Station are also working towards establishing naturalistic corpora of the Mentawai, Besemah and Kerinci languages.

The MPI EVA Minangkabau corpus contains over sixty-thousand utterances and includes data from a wide variety of text types including personal narratives and personal histories, traditional folk tales, gossip, conversations and interviews. In order to give an accurate cross section of Minangkabau society, the data comes from speakers who vary in age, gender, regional background and social status. The corpus is managed using the Filemaker Pro database programme which has been designed and reformatted specifically for linguistic data collection by Brad Taylor.

The MPI EVA Minangkabau corpus provided the main source of data for this dissertation. The variety of text types in the corpus, as well as the large volume of naturalistic data, enabled comparisons to be made against the less spontaneous and more formal Minangkabau data I elicited during fieldwork. One of the most striking differences between the two data sets is the high frequency of bare verbs found in the naturalistic data (see Chapter 6). Naturalistic data, especially conversational data, is particularly important to consider for linguistic analysis since it reveals a range of linguistic structures not found in elicited data. Having a range of text types in a corpus is also important in order to paint an accurate and representative picture of a language (cf. Biber, Conrad and Reppen, 1998; Biber, 2000; Francis, 1993; Mosel, 2006; Nerbonne, 1998; Wouk, 1999).

An electronic corpus like the MPI EVA Minangkabau corpus also counteracts the methodological failings of purely elicitation based analyses of language which often rely on intuition, introspection and potentially biased native speaker judgements.

Arguments for the existence of certain constructions, or arguments about the motivation for certain constructions, can instead be made on an empirical basis (Biber, 2000; Bybee and Hopper, 2001; Keller, 1999; Schütze, 1996). This is because a sophisticated electronic database like the MPI EVA Minangkabau corpus allows for usually time consuming and tedious tasks such as searching and counting to be performed quickly and easily. This means that the researcher can speedily search for specific constructions and morphemes in order to do comparisons, to check their frequency and to perform empirical analyses.

Another benefit of this corpus is that it allows for the posterity of the primary linguistic data. This means that the primary data can be made available for future language maintenance efforts in the community. Since future developments in linguistic theory can have a significant impact on grammatical analysis it is also important to have the primary data available so that further analysis of the language can be undertaken (Himmelmann, 2006b: 18-19).

3.2 Fieldwork

Although corpus based analyses of language have a number of benefits, fieldwork is also an important aspect of linguistic research. So as well as using the texts and naturalistic data found in the MPI EVA Minangkabau corpus I also conducted fieldwork in order to help answer some of the questions that the data in the corpus raised. I conducted 'fieldwork at home', working with a native speaker of Minangkabau in Perth over a number of months. I also conducted 'fieldwork in the field' in Padang, West Sumatra for a period of two and a half months working every day with three primary language consultants.

Undertaking fieldwork in Perth was useful to gain a basic understanding of the phonology, morphology and syntax of the language before I went to Padang. However, 'fieldwork in the field' was a much richer and intense experience. Nothing can compare to a fieldwork situation in which you speak, hear and live the language every day. Fieldwork in Padang provided a wealth of data because of the variety of formal and informal linguistic situations I was exposed to. Being able to engage in the community

and take part in everyday activities as well as culturally significant activities (which ranged from trips to the market, to cooking, to weddings and being at an *Aqiqa* ceremony[5]) also not only benefited the quality of research but also meant that I formed a long lasting bond with the community.

The aim of the fieldwork was primarily to collect data from elicitation. Elicitation is an important and well established method for linguistic data collection. It does not provide a representative sample of actual language use when used as the sole method of collecting data. However, during the initial stages of language description and documentation, elicitation is useful to gain an insight into the language's basic structure. It is also an effective technique to test hypotheses about what are and what are not acceptable or possible constructions in the language (Chelliah, 2001; Mosel, 2006; Munro, 2003).

I conducted elicitation sessions in Bahasa Indonesia and, as my proficiency improved, in Minangkabau. The elicitation sessions were designed to ask questions about the usage and grammaticality of unusual constructions I had noticed in the MPI EVA Minangkabau corpus and to fill incomplete paradigms that I had created based on the corpus data. In elicitation sessions I also asked speakers for their judgements and intuitions about the 'correctness' of certain constructions and the appropriateness of their use in certain contexts. I also asked for translations of specific syntactic constructions that were designed to test the use of Minangkabau voice morphology.

One of the most interesting patterns of language use I observed in the MPI EVA Minangkabau corpus was the high frequency of bare verbs, i.e. verbs that are unmarked for voice (see Chapter 6). This raised questions not only about the obligatoriness of voice marking but also how speakers are able to determine the semantic roles of the participants in the clause. Conducting elicitation was an essential stage in the process of understanding these bare verb forms because I was able to ask speakers about the restrictions on using these bare forms and also to test the productivity and use of these forms in syntactic and pragmatic contexts not found in the corpus.

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[5] An *Aqiqa* is a Muslim ceremony in which a new born baby is named.

All elicitation sessions were recorded using a Marantz Professional PMD660 Digital recorder and microphone kit. The sessions were transcribed using Audacity, an open source digital audio editing programme, and then kept in an electronic database using the Filemaker Pro programme.

Elicitation and community fieldwork involve a number of important ethical considerations. A good overview of the ethics of linguistic fieldwork can be found in Crowley (2007), Dwyer (2006), Mosel (2006) and many of the articles found in Newman and Ratliff (2001). Reading about the ethics of fieldwork can help prepare the researcher for what to expect but it is important to remember that every community is different and that any unexpected problems that do arise can only be resolved in consultation with the community. My project was designed to comply with standard human ethics research protocol to ensure the best interests of the language consultants with whom I conducted elicitation work. Language consultants were recruited through an informed consent process and their thoughts about the methodologies and goals of the research were considered throughout my fieldwork. Every effort was made to maintain a sensitive and balanced relationship with the language consultants and to ensure that they were recompensed for their time spent on the project.

3.3 Differentiating Standard Minangkabau and Colloquial Minangkabau

In this dissertation I make a distinction between Standard Minangkabau and Colloquial Minangkabau (see Section 1.1). The distinction between the two varieties is recognised by speakers of Minangkabau primarily as a difference in formality: Standard Minangkabau being used in formal and ritual contexts and Colloquial Minangkabau being used in more informal, familiar and intimate situations. My consultants also agree that Standard Minangkabau is found in the written medium (cf. Moussay, 1998) whereas Colloquial Minangkabau is primarily a spoken variety and is subject to regional variation. It is not surprising then that the naturalistic data of the MPI EVA Minangkabau corpus reveals more examples of Colloquial Minangkabau, whereas much of the elicited data contains examples of Standard Minangkabau.

Although the distinction my consultants make between Standard and Colloquial Minangkabau is primarily one of register, there are also formal differences between the two varieties that lend further support to making the distinction. Many examples of Indonesian borrowings can be found in Standard Minangkabau and speakers sometimes even use Indonesian verb morphology in place of the Minangkabau cognates (for instance, the use of the *-kan* applicative as opposed to *-an*, see example (1)). In comparison, Colloquial Minangkabau verbs are very frequently affixless or 'bare' (see Chapter 6). One can also find many examples of 'non-canonical' word order constructions in Colloquial Minangkabau, whereas the syntactic rules of Standard Minangkabau are more rigidly defined (see Section 5.1.1.4). A final clear formal difference between the two varieties is that the P2 construction can be found in Standard Minangkabau but it is not used as a distinct 'voice' construction in Colloquial Minangkabau (see Section 5.1.4 and Section 6.1.2.4).

Chapter 4. Parts of Speech and Predicate Types

4.0 Introduction

This chapter will define the parts of speech of Minangkabau and describe the Minangkabau predicate construction. It will first examine a number of theories concerned with defining parts of speech categories (See Section 4.1) and will then proceed to describe the open class (see Section 4.2.1) and closed class (see Section 4.2.2) categories of Minangkabau. The various kinds of predicate constructions in Minangkabau will then be discussed in Section 4.3. Understanding how Minangkabau parts of speech operate across different functional domains, including in the predicate construction, is necessary before examining the system of voice and verbal morphology in Chapter 5.

4.1 Defining Parts of Speech

4.1.1 Traditional Classification of Parts of Speech

Current linguistic understanding about parts of speech has its origins in the Aristotelian philosophy of language, which defined parts of speech according to the nexus between notional principles and formal principles (Lyons, 1968). Central to the Aristotelian philosophy of language was the idea that the structure of language (i.e. the formal properties of language) reflected the structure of the world.

According to Lyons (1968: 271), Aristotelian grammarians argued that "the physical world consists of things ('substances') which have certain properties ('accidents'), initiate or undergo certain processes, stand in a certain relationship to one another, or have a certain extension or location in space and time". In other words, a 'substance' is an individual entity in the real world that exists in abstraction from its 'accidents' (i.e. its properties of existence in space and time). This translates in grammatical terms to a distinction between a lexeme (which refers to some 'substance' in the real world) and its

various inflections (which show the word's 'accidents' or properties). The 'accidental' categories of inflection can be equated with grammatical categories such as person, number, gender, case tense, aspect, and mood. The formal properties of grammatical category inflection can then be used to identify which part of speech category a word belongs to. Thus, according to Aristotelian theory, a noun refers to a substantive entity that exists in the real world whose 'accidents', such as person, number and case, are marked in a certain, consistent way (Lyons, 1968).

The use of formal criteria to establish parts of speech is useful in that it helps to avoid the inherent circularity of defining parts of speech on notional grounds. However, any formal definitions are unavoidably language specific. So in contrast to traditional theories about parts of speech, Generative Linguistics aims to make generalisations across a range of different languages and, in order to do this, assumes an underlying level of language structure in addition to language specific surface structure. Thus Generativists "define the parts of speech, not as classes of words in surface structure, but as deep structure constituents of sentences" (Lyons, 1968: 319).

4.1.2 The Generative Classification of Parts of Speech

More specifically, the traditional Generative view is that parts of speech can be defined according to two 'deep structure' primitive features: [±noun] and [±verb] (Chomsky, 1970). For a language like English, Chomsky (1970) argued that there are four major parts of speech: nouns, verbs, adjectives and adpositions which can be characterised in terms of these deep structure constituents. Verbs are [+verb] and [-noun], whereas nouns are [+noun] and [-verb]. Since adjectives display verbal like features, but are used to modify nouns, they are [+verb; +noun]. The fourth category, adpositions, are [-verb; -noun]. This classification system is presented in Table 6.

Table 6. Chomsky's (1970) feature classification system for parts of speech.

	VERBS	*NOUNS*	*ADJECTIVES*	*ADPOSITIONS*
[±NOUN]	-	+	+	-
[±VERB]	+	-	+	-

Chomsky's (1970) feature based classification system for parts of speech provided some useful first steps towards a thorough definition of lexical categories in universal terms. Nevertheless, there are a number of problems with his framework. One such problem is that the features themselves are not well defined. Croft (2000: 66) argues that since the features [±noun] and [±verb] are assumed to be universal operators there is no rigorous methodology available to establish exactly what semantic, morphological, syntactic and distributional properties are associated with them. So we nevertheless end up with a circular definition about parts of speech; a verb is something that is [+verb] and a noun is something that is [+noun]; [+verb] describes verbal properties of parts of speech and [+noun] describes nominal properties of parts of speech. It is clear then that we need a comprehensive methodology to establish the precise features associated with each lexical class before we can characterise the similarities and differences between them.

A further argument against Chomsky's (1970) classification system arises from the fact that the natural classes the features suggest do not stand up to scrutiny. Baker (2003) reasons that the features [±noun] and [±verb] divide the four categories noun, verb, adjective and adposition, into natural classes. For example nouns and adjectives form a natural class because they are both [+noun].

Chomsky's (1970) classification system also suggests that certain parts of speech are incompatible because their feature specifications are diametrically opposed; nouns and verbs cannot form a natural class and neither can adjectives and adpositions. Nevertheless, syntactic and distributional evidence suggests that at least one of these 'unnatural' classes is false. In fact, adjectives and prepositions form a natural class in English because they can occur in constructions in which nouns and verbs cannot. To demonstrate this, Baker (2003: 2) argues that both adjectives and prepositions can appear clause finally in English transitive constructions showing the goal or result of an

action, whereas nouns and verbs cannot. The examples Baker cites are repeated here in (22). Notice that the goal or result of the action can be encoded by an adjective in (22a) and a preposition in (22b). Examples (22c) and (22d) show that nouns and verbs are ungrammatical in this position. Baker's (2003) distributional evidence demonstrates that adjectives and prepositions form a natural class. However, this distinction is not captured by Chomsky's (1970) classification framework.

(22) a.   John pounded the metal flat.   (AP)
      b.   John threw the ball into the barrel. (PP)
      c.   *John pounded the metal a sword.   (NP)
      d.   *John polished the table shine.   (VP)

      (Baker, 2003: 2)

Typological evidence also reveals further problems with Chomsky's (1970) framework. For example, Nootkan languages (cf. Jacobson, 1979; Swadesh, 1939), Salishan languages (cf. Jelinek and Demers, 1994; Kinkade, 1983; Kuipers, 1968) and Polynesian languages (cf. Broschart, 1997; Mosel and Hovdhaugen, 1992) are said to lack a noun-verb distinction; therefore it cannot be said that the primitive features [±noun] and [±verb] are underlying in these languages. Similarly in Minangkabau both nouns and verbs can function as predicates, a function typically assumed to be 'verbal' in nature. There is also evidence to suggest that languages like Malay/Indonesian do not have an adjective-verb distinction (Steinhauer, 2008). The indeterminacy involved in defining category membership in these languages cannot be captured or explained by the traditional Generative view espoused by Chomsky (1970). In an effort to rethink the traditional generative criteria for assigning category labels, typological studies of language have moved towards thinking about lexical categories as 'prototypes'. The 'prototype' approach is described in Section 4.1.3.

4.1.3 Prototypes

Typological discoveries about the variety of parts of speech systems in different languages raises questions primarily about a binary approach to defining these parts of speech. If the Nootkan, Salishan and Polynesian languages are said to lack a noun-verb distinction (see above) then do we characterise these parts of speech as [+noun, +verb]

thus equating them with adjectives, or do we negate both the operators, describing them as [-noun, -verb] and leaving no way of distinguishing them from adpositions? What about languages like Malay/Indonesian whose class of so-called 'adjectives' behave more like stative verbs (Steinhauer, 2008)? The binary approach does not allow us to show that adjectives in Malay/Indonesian are 'verbier' than adjectives in English.

To resolve this kind of problem, we can instead think about parts of speech as prototypes (Croft, 1990; 1991; 2000; Gil, 2000; Langacker, 1987a; 1987b). According to prototype theory, lexical categories are defined in terms of the semantic, morphological, syntactic and distributional properties they possess as well as the conceptual domains in which they operate. Evidence based on typological tendencies as well as general cognitive principles is used to establish these semantic, morphological, syntactic, distributional and conceptual parameters. Prototypical members of parts of speech categories display all of these typical features. According to this theory, the prototypes are universal whereas language specific parts of speech categories fall somewhere within the domain of the prototypical categories.

There are two facts about Minangkabau parts of speech that are inadequately described by the Generative model. First, there is some indeterminacy about the boundaries between nouns and verbs in Minangkabau. Second, there is also some indeterminacy about the nature of adjectives. Theories about parts of speech based on the prototype approach are able to account for the Minangkabau situation more convincingly. Two such theories are described in Sections 4.1.3.1 and 4.1.3.2. The first theory, promoted by Langacker (1987a; 1987b), defines parts of speech along conceptual grounds. The second, outlined in Croft (1990; 1991; 2000), bases categorisation of parts of speech on functional grounds.

4.1.3.1 Langacker

Langacker (1987a; 1987b) argues that nouns, verbs and adjectives are distinct categories and that these categories can be defined according to the general cognitive, conceptual and semantic principles 'relationality' and 'scanning'. These principles unite the functions of these parts of speech categories cross-linguistically. Langacker's view

accounts for languages that appear to have no noun and verb distinction by suggesting that the roots themselves may not be category-specific. He further explains that the roots must take on nominal or verbal properties according to the construction in which they are used. He says, "even if a language has a single class of stems that function as either nouns or verbs, a stem nevertheless takes on the differentiating properties of one class or the other whenever it is employed in a particular construction" (Langacker, 1987a: 54).

Langacker's (1987b) conceptual analysis of parts of speech is summarised in Table 7. Nouns are non-relational because they refer to discrete entities whereas verbs and adjectives are relational. Verbs are used to predicate, which implies relationality between the participants and the event. Adjectives modify, therefore they have a relational function: connecting nouns with their properties. Gradable adjectives (for example, *happy*, *big*) are also relational in the sense that they specify the property of the noun at a certain point along a scale of comparison. Polar adjectives (for example, *dead*, *pregnant*) are relational in that they specify the property of the noun in relation to an opposite quality.

Table 7. Langacker's (1987b) conceptual categorisation of parts of speech.

	RELATIONALITY	SCANNING
NOUN	-	summary
VERB	+	sequential
ADJECTIVE	+	summary

Langacker's (1987b) notion of 'scanning' refers to the perception of these entities (nouns, verbs and adjectives, i.e. objects, events, and qualities) over time. According to Langacker, nouns involve summary scanning; we need only to glance at an object summarily in order to tell what kind of object it is. Similarly adjectives describe some kind of static quality inherent in the noun. Langacker (1987b) argues that this means we conceptualise the properties encoded by adjectives in a summary way. He argues that verbs, on the other hand, involve change over time, therefore we supposedly perceive events in a sequential way; a snapshot view of a person mid-motion will not tell us if that person is *standing*, *jumping*, *running*, *falling* or involved in any number of other

possible events. Since verbs describe events that occur over a period of time they must have sequential scanning.

But what of languages like Minangkabau, that appear not to have a class of adjectives? Minangkabau has a distinct class of stative verbs. Notions encoded as adjectives in languages like English, in Minangkabau belong instead to this class of stative verbs. Even languages like English which have a class of stative verbs distinct from adjectives are problematic. Since stative verbs are telic and involve no change over time, according to Langacker's (1987b) framework, they must involve summary scanning. This then provides no way of distinguishing between conceptualisations of stative verbs and adjectives. Does this then mean that adjectives and states are the same thing? Or that states are just non-prototypical verbs? Or indeed that states are non-prototypical adjectives? These questions suggest that the solutions may be language-specific (see Section 4.1.3.2).

There are a number important ideas raised by Langacker's (1987a; 1987b) framework of parts of speech that I draw on in my analysis of categories in Minangkabau. First, categorisations of parts of speech ought to be in part based on the way humans perceive and conceptualise objects, events and qualities. Second, there are prototypical and non-prototypical instantiations of parts of speech. And third, where categories can function in a number of non-prototypical ways, it is useful to think of the properties of the construction as a whole to differentiate one instantiation of the category from another.

4.1.3.2 Croft

Croft (1991: 38-39) argues that problems with defining parts of speech arise when there is a mismatch between semantic category membership and syntactic criteria, i.e. when there is a mismatch between external, notional criteria and internal, formal criteria. For example, Minangkabau has a class of words that are notionally like adjectives but formally like verbs. So, like Langacker, Croft (1990; 1991; 2000) argues that parts of speech can be thought of as prototypical categories and that language specific instantiations of categories may fall somewhere within the specified prototypical domain. Properties of parts of speech can then be defined in terms of the language

specific constructions in which they appear rather than being inherent properties of the categories themselves.

Where Langacker (1987a; 1987b) defines parts of speech along conceptual grounds, Croft (1990; 1991; 2000) presents a more functional analysis of parts of speech prototypes based on typological trends and universal principles. He argues that we conceptualise the world primarily in terms of objects, properties and actions and that these categories perform three central functions: to show reference, modification and predication. According to Croft, the prototypical function of objects is to refer, the prototypical function of properties is to modify and the prototypical function of actions is to predicate. When performing their prototypical functions objects, properties and actions are realised in a given language as unmarked nouns, adjectives and verbs respectively.

However, language specific instantiations of these parts of speech may differ from their prototypical instantiations. If this is the case, Croft (1990; 1991; 2000) argues that the non-prototypical instantiation of a word will show structural markedness in the form of derivational morphology, prepositional marking or some other kind of distinct syntactic marking. To illustrate this point, consider the word *child*. *Child* is an object and therefore its prototypical function is a referential one. This means that when functioning within its prototypical functional domain it will be realised as an unmarked noun. However, if the same concept is used to modify or predicate then it becomes structurally marked. For example, when used to modify *child* becomes *childish*, and when used to predicate *child* becomes *be a child*.

Croft's (1990; 1991; 2000) functional categorisation of parts of speech is presented in Table 8. The conceptual categories are listed along the vertical axis of the table and the functional domains are listed along the horizontal axis. The highlighted areas of the table show the prototypical use of each conceptual category. Where a category is used in a non-prototypical function some examples of the kinds of constructions used are given. Notice that in each box I have also given a word in English to illustrate the particular function.

Table 8. Croft's (1990; 1991; 2000) functional categorisation of parts of speech.

	REFERENCE	MODIFICATION	PREDICATION
OBJECT	**Unmarked nouns.** eg: ***child***	Genitive, adjectivalisations, PPs on nouns. eg: *'childish'*	Predicate nominals, copulas. eg: *'be a child'*
PROPERTY	De-adjectival nouns. eg: *'bigness'*	**Unmarked adjectives.** eg: ***'big'***	Predicate adjectives, copulas. eg: *'be big'*
ACTION	Action nominals, complements, infinitives, gerunds. eg: *'production'*	Participles, relative clauses. eg: *'produced'*	**Unmarked verbs.** eg: ***'produce'***

4.1.4 Defining Parts of Speech in Austronesian Languages

Like Langacker (1987a; 1987b), Croft (1990; 1991; 2000) stresses the importance of thinking about parts of speech in terms of the constructions in which they appear rather than assigning words in the lexicon a part of speech category in isolation. This framework is useful for the linguist who has to account for indeterminacy of category membership. In Minangkabau, for instance, object words and property words can function to predicate, but remain unmarked. Bare verbs can also operate across a range of functional domains (see Chapter 6). So instead of assigning each of these categories an inherent function in Minangkabau, we can instead assign category membership according to the construction specific properties of the word.

The prerogative to assign category membership according to the functional role of a word within a particular construction then raises questions about the nature of categorisation in the lexicon. Croft (2000: 97) argues that the more marked the word is when functioning in a non-prototypical constructions, the more inherent the prototypical function of the word. The less marked the word then the less inherent is its prototypical function. Furthermore, the more categories an uninflected root can belong to, the more 'precategorial' the root is (Lehmann, to appear).

Questions about categorisation have also been asked about a number of Austronesian languages related to Minangkabau. Gil (2000) argues that there is indeterminacy about category membership in Malay/Indonesian, particularly in non-standard regional varieties of the languages. Since object words, property words and action words are all able to function to refer, modify and predicate in unmarked forms he argues that there are just two categories in these languages. There is a single category of open class items, consisting of object, property and action words, and a single category of closed class items, consisting of syntactic function words such as pragmatic particles, prepositions, TAM markers and conjunctions. There is also some indeterminacy about the classification of nouns and verbs in Philippine-type languages (cf. Donohue, 2008; Foley, 1998; Himmelmann, 2006a; 2008; Kaufman, 2007; Kroeger, 1998) (see Section 6.3.1).

In Minangkabau, the multifunctionality of object and property words, as well as the existence of bare verbs, suggests that Minangkabau may also be precategorial. Ultimately I argue that Minangkabau is not a precategorial language (see Chapter 6). In fact, using prototype theory and the conceptual, cognitive and functional definitions for parts of speech discussed in Sections 4.1.3.1 and 4.1.3.2 as a guiding framework to describe parts of speech in Minangkabau, I argue that Minangkabau clearly has a class of object words (nouns) and a class of action words (verbs) but that both classes can be used in non-prototypical ways (see Sections 4.2.1.1 and 4.2.1.2). Minangkabau also has a class of 'property words', but since these property words are used to predicate I argue that they represent a sub-type of stative verb. As well as nouns and verbs I also argue that Minangkabau has a class of adverbs, which are discussed in Section 4.2.1.3. Nouns, verbs and adverbs are open class items, but Minangkabau also has a number of closed class items including pronouns, prepositions, specifiers, negators, TAM adverbials and pragmatic particles. Closed class items are discussed in Section 4.2.2.

4.2.1 Open Class Items

4.2.1.1 Nouns

Section 4.1.3.2 established that the prototypical function of nouns is to refer (Croft, 1990; 1991; 2000). It is now necessary to establish the formal linguistic features of reference typologically and, more specifically, in Minangkabau. Andrews (1985) claims that there are three major factors involved in reference: semantics, pragmatics and syntax. By semantics, Andrews means the kind of meaning the noun has in a sentence, i.e. its semantic role. By pragmatics, Andrews is referring to the fact that the referents of nouns are inextricably linked with context; discourse-pragmatic contextual information determines what the speaker presumes is prior knowledge as well as the relative topicality status of the noun's referent. The syntactic factors involved in reference are the relationships that the nouns have with the syntactic organisation of the clause because nouns encode grammatical relations.

As well as these general functional properties of nouns, there are specific morphological, syntactic and distributional formal properties of nouns that relate to their definitional referential role. Typological studies show that cross-linguistically nouns are marked for number, can be assigned class membership (for example gender), can have diminutive forms, and are marked for definiteness or deictic status. Since their syntactic function is to encode grammatical relations, nouns are also marked for case and argument type (Anderson, 1985).

In Minangkabau, nouns are those words which relate to Croft's (1990; 1991; 2000) conceptual category of 'object' and which are prototypically used to refer (although nouns can also be used to predicate, see Section 4.3.1.1). Nouns in Minangkabau also show many of the formal properties associated with reference discussed by Anderson (1985), as shown in Table 9.

Table 9. Formal properties of nouns in Minangkabau.

(adapted from Anderson, 1985)

FORMAL PROPERTIES OF NOUNS	*HOW THESE PROPERTIES ARE REALISED IN MINANGKABAU*
1. Inherent properties of nouns:	
Number	• Nouns are modified for number but this is not morphologically marked. • Noun roots are reduplicated to show plurality (in contrast to verb roots which are reduplicated to encode aspectual notions). • There is a singular/plural distinction encoded in pronouns.
Gender/Classifiers	• Numerical classifiers are used when counting but they are not morphologically marked.
Diminutives	• There are no diminutive forming processes in Minangkabau.
Definiteness/deictic status	• Demonstratives are used to show the deictic status of nouns.
2. Relational properties of nouns:	
Case/grammatical relations	• Benefactive, instrumental, comitative, recipient and location non-core arguments are marked by specific prepositions. • There is no marking of core grammatical relations on nouns; pivot and non-pivot arguments are determined by verbal marking, referential status and word order.
Possession	• Possession is not morphologically marked on nouns.
3. Agreement properties of nouns:	
Possessive structures	• Possessive structures such as alienable/inalienable possession do not exist in Minangkabau.

From Table 9 it is evident that Minangkabau nouns exhibit a number of the formal properties of nouns described by Anderson (1985), although none of these are morphologically marked except plurality. Noun plurals are created by reduplicating the substantive word (although a single non-reduplicated noun root can also be interpreted as plural if the context requires it). Example (23) shows how the noun root *sanak*, 'sibling', is reduplicated to indicate plurality.

(23)   *Sanak-sank den.*
           RED-sibling   1sg
           'My siblings.'

           (Elicitation)

On the other hand, the effect of reduplication on verbal roots provides nuances of continuous aspect (see *makan-makan*, 'eat', in (24)), iteration (see *manelpon-nelpon*, 'phone', in (25)), and intensity (see *rajin-rajin*, 'conscientious', in (26))[6].

(24)   *Ndak buliah makan-makan.*
           NEG   may   RED-eat
           'You can't just eat it.'

           (Text ID: 467756102929100506)

(25)   *Manga Uni   bisa manelpon-nelpon   jo   urang, cowok lain kan.*
           why   older.sister can AV-RED-N-phone.call with person guy   other EMPH
           'How come you can keep phoning other people, other guys, you know?'

           (Text ID: 465924121203230506)

(26)   *Kalo   urang Bali tu   rajin-rajin   nyo.*
           TOP   person Bali DEM:dist RED-conscientious   3
           'As for the Balinese, they're really conscientious they are.'

           (Text ID: 139498123727191206)

Nouns in Minangkabau are marked, in a syntactic sense, for number and class membership by numerals and numerical classifiers. Nouns are also marked for definiteness and deictic status by demonstratives. In terms of the relational properties of nouns, which reflect their syntactic function as described by Andrews (1985), Minangkabau nouns which perform non-core grammatical relations, such as benefactors, instruments, recipients, locations and comitative participants, are marked by specific prepositions. Nouns with core argument status are unmarked but their grammatical relation is determined by their relative position in the clause or by their referential status. In Minangkabau there is no 'genitive case' as possession is not marked morphologically. Instead the possessor is encoded as a nominal or pronominal modifier that follows the possessed noun. Minangkabau does not have nominal

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[6] Reduplicative morphology derives "verbal aspects (such as 'iterative', 'repetitive', 'durative', 'continue to be')" in many Austronesian languages (Klamer, 2002: 938).

agreement categories or possessive structures such an alienable/inalienable possession distinction common in Oceanic languages (cf. Crowley, 2002), nor does it have regular diminutive forming processes.

Some examples of these formal properties of Minangkabau nouns follow in examples (27) to (35). Example (27) shows number marking, examples (28) and (29) show how numerical classifiers work, examples (30), (31) and (32) show how possession is marked, example (33) shows how nouns can also be modified by attributive nouns, and examples (34) and (35) show the use of demonstratives.

Example (27) shows a Minangkabau noun that is marked for number. Number is not morphologically marked in Minangkabau, instead numerals precede the noun. Example (27) illustrates this; the noun *taun*, year, is preceded by the numeral *tigo*.

(27)   *Lai   tigo   taun   lebih   kurang.*
         more three   year   more   less
         'More or less three years ago.'

         (Text ID: 979548152848070306)

Minangkabau nouns can also marked by numerical classifiers. Minangkabau classifiers are not morphologically marked on the noun, instead they consist of a noun root modified by a preceding cardinal number. They are typically inserted before the noun root but may also appear after the noun. Classes are based on the size or shape of the object and the classifier words themselves are derived from nouns denoting a prototypical member of the class. For example, thin, stick or branch shaped things belong to the *batang* 'tree' class, animals belong to the *ikua* 'tail' class, small round objects belong to the *incek* 'seed' class, and large roundish or squarish objects belong to the *buah* 'fruit' class. Numerical classifiers are not obligatory and are used mainly in the context of counting.

Examples (28) and (29) illustrate the use of two classifiers *ikua* and *incek*. In (28) *ikua* is the numerical classifier for *lauak*, 'fish'. In (29) the classifier *incek* refers to the (seed-shaped) object that *inyo*, 'he', would like to buy.

(28)   *Ado   yo   lauake saikua   nampak tadi   ma.*
          exist yes fish-3 ONE-CLASS:tail visible   before   EMPH
          'There was a fish here before.'

          (Text ID: 707279021818220506)

(29)   *Inyo   nio   bali bara   inceknyo?*
          3   want buy   how.many CLASS:seed-3
          'How many of them does he want to buy?'

          (Elicitation)

In many languages, possession is marked morphologically on the noun and languages
with case systems tend to encode possession as genitive case marking. In Minangkabau,
possession is not morphologically marked on the noun. Instead, the verb *punyo*, 'have',
is used to show a possessive relationship between the possessor and the possessed (see
example (30)). Nouns can also be modified for possession by a following noun or
pronoun. For example in (31), the noun *abuak*, 'hair', is marked for possession by the
enclitic third person pronoun *nyo*. Similarly in (32), *mainan*, 'toy', is marked for
possession by NP *anak tu*, 'the child'.

(30)   *Punyo den   ma.*
          have   1sg   EMPH
          'It's mine.'

          (Elicitation)

(31)   *Inyo manyikek abuaknyo.*
          3   AV-brush   hair-3
          'She brushed her hair.'

          (Elicitation)

 (32)   *Mainan   anak   tu.*
          play-NOM child   DEM:dist
          'The child's toy.'

          (Elicitation)

It is important to note that the constructions in (31) and (32) cannot be described
exclusively as genitive constructions. Gil (2000: 192) argues that similar constructions

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in Malay, for example *rumah Bobok*, 'Bobok's house' are in fact nominative attributive constructions. This is true also of Minangkabau, since similar 'NP + NP[modifier]' constructions are used to show relationships between nouns other than possession. For example, in (32) the NP *manian anak tu* could be construed not just as a possessive construction but also as an attributive construction, i.e. the NP could be just as easily translated as 'a toy for children' rather than 'the child's toy'. The exact nature of modification intended will be determined by context. Similarly in (33) the noun *pakaian-pakaian*, 'clothes', is modified by the nominal *adat*, 'tradition'. *Adat* shows an attributive relationship to the noun *pakaian-pakaian* rather than a possessive one. Nouns can also be modified by verbs and relative clauses that occupy the same slot as attributive NPs (see (36)).

(33)   *Pakaian-pakaian   adat.*
          RED-wear-NOM   tradition
          'Traditional clothes.'

          (Text ID: 212694092757020606)

Minangkabau nouns can also be marked by the specifiers *iko* or *ko* and *itu* or *tu*, which are proximal and distal demonstratives respectively. The opposition between *iko* and *itu* is much like the difference between 'this' and 'that' in English. Example (34) shows the use of the demonstrative *tu*, which is marking the noun *gambar*, 'picture'.

(34)   *Inyo nan mambuek gambar tu.*
          3   REL AV-make   picture   DEM:dist
          'He was the one who drew that picture.'

          (Elicitation)

The demonstratives *itu* and *iko* can also be used to show deixis. Consider the passage in (35), taken from the Minangkabau folk tale *Kak Kancia nan Cadiak*, 'The Clever Mousedeer'. The protagonist *kak Kancia* begins his adventure when he falls into a hole. In (35a) *Kancia* is the most topical participant, so is therefore marked by the proximal demonstrative *ko*. The demonstrative indicates that *Kancia* is pragmatically salient. Notice that *lubang*, 'hole', is unmarked when it is first introduced in (35a). However, in (35b) *lubang* refers to a specific hole, i.e. the one mentioned in the previous utterance. This means that it becomes more pragmatically salient and is marked by the distal

demonstrative *tu* as a result. In (35c) *lubang* becomes topical. This is reflected by the fact that *lubang* is now marked by the proximal demonstrative *ko*.

(35) a.   *Jadi   Kancia   ko   taparosok ka dalam lubang.*
            happen mousedeer DEM:prox INV-slip   to inside   hole
            'So Mousedeer had accidentally fallen into a hole.'

            (Text ID: 375360092028280607)

   b.   *Lubang tu   sabananyo bukan untuak kak   Kancia.*
            hole   DEM:dist ONE-true-3 NEG   for   older.sibling mousedeer
            '(But) the hole wasn't really meant for Mousedeer.'

            (Text ID: 286076092135280607)

   c.   *Lubang ko   untuak   sangajo   manangkok arimau.*
            hole   DEM:prox for   on.purpose AV-catch   tiger
            'The hole had been made to catch a tiger.'

            (Text ID: 890973092245280607)

Minangkabau nouns function as the head of NPs and accordingly slot into formally defined NP frames. In a clause, pivot NPs typically precede the verb whereas non-pivot NPs typically follow the verb with core arguments preceding non-core arguments (see Section 5.1.1.4). The NPs themselves also have a strict structure with specific modificatory elements preceding and following the noun. If all the modificatory elements appear in a clause then the ordering follows the general order as listed in (36). None of these elements is obligatory to form a noun phrase except the noun itself, as the brackets indicate. A *specifier* can consist of a quantifier, a numeral or a classifier (see Section 4.2.2.3). Note that a post-noun *modifier* can be a VP (stative or otherwise), a genitive NP, an attributive NP, or an adverb. If the *modifier* is a VP then it may also be preceded by the relative marker *nan* to form a relative clause.

(36) **NP** = ((preposition) → (specifier) → **NOUN** → (modifier) → (demonstrative))

An example of a Minangkabau NP with all the modificatory elements listed in (36) can be found in (37). The NP would be perfectly well formed if it consisted just of the

substantive noun *anjiang*, 'dog'. Various reduced permutations of the full NP frames are also well formed as the brackets indicate.

(37)   *((Jo)   (tigo   ikua)   **anjiang** ((nan) lia)   (tu)).*
         with   three   CLASS:tail **dog**   REL   wild   DEM:dist
         PREP   SPEC   **NOUN**   MODIF DEM
         'With those three wild dogs.'

         (Elicitation)

In summary, there is a class of words denoting objects in Minangkabau. Since the unmarked function of these words is to refer, according to Croft (1990; 1991; 2000), these words can be described as nouns. Reference involves specific kinds of syntactic, morphological, and distributional formal properties (see Table 9). This section has shown that Minangkabau object words display many of these specific formal properties associated with reference and also occupy a specific syntactic frame (see (36)). Therefore we can conclude that the language has a distinct category of nouns.

4.2.1.2 Verbs

We can also look for evidence of verbs in Minangkabau using the same logic. Minangkabau has a class of words that denote actions and these action words are used to predicate. According to Croft (1990; 1991; 2000) verbs are those unmarked action words whose prototypical function is to predicate. In Minangkabau, action words are unmarked in predicate position and show many of the cross-linguistically prominent formal properties of verbs described by Anderson (1985). We can safely assume then that Minangkabau also has a class of verbs.

A Minangkabau verb functions as the head of a VP. The syntactic frame of a VP is represented in (38). Apart from the verb, none of the elements listed in (38) are required to form a VP. Please note that the ordering of the VP frame listed in (38) is also a generalisation since word orders vary greatly in naturalistic, colloquial discourse. The NPs represent the verb's arguments. Typically the pivot NP will precede the verb and the non-pivot NPs will follow the verb, but this is not always the case (see Chapter 5). TAM adverbials occur in pre-verbal position, except in a *pasif semu* clause (see Section

5.1.4), and along with voice marking represent the best diagnostic features for identifying verbs.

(38) **VP** = ((NP) → (negator) → (TAM) → (voice marking)-**VERB**-(applicative) → (adverb) → (NP))

Other parts of speech such as nouns and adverbs can also function predicatively as the head of a VP. In this case, the syntactic frame can be described as a more general 'predicate construction' with a predicate ('PRED') as its head. The predicate construction is represented in (39) and described in further detail in Section 4.3.

(39) **Predicate Construction =**

((NP) → (negator) → (TAM) → (voice marking)-**PRED**-(applicative) → (adverb) → (NP))

Minangkabau verbs also display many of the formal properties of verbs described by Anderson (1985). These formal properties include the fact that verbs are marked for adverbial notions such as negation as well as tense, aspect and mood distinctions. Cross-linguistically verbs are also divided into classes based on their aktionsart properties or are divided into conjugation classes. According to Anderson's (1985) schema, verbs also display formal properties based on their relational functions, i.e. licensing particular argument structures. These properties include showing valency, marking causative constructions, displaying voice marking, and showing reflexive and reciprocal processes. Table 10 lists each of these formal properties of verbs and describes how these properties are realised in Minangkabau.

Table 10. Formal properties of verbs in Minangkabau.

(adapted from Anderson, 1985)

FORMAL PROPERTIES OF VERBS	HOW THESE PROPERTIES ARE REALISED IN MINANGKABAU
1. Inherent properties of verbs:	
Adverbial Notions	• There is no marking of evidentiality in Minangkabau. • Negation is not encoded morphologically. Verbs are negated by the negative operator *ndak* or the prohibitive particle *jan*.
Tense, aspect, mood	• TAM is not encoded morphologically on the verb instead speakers use a range of adverbial markers.
Aktionsart Class	• Minangkabau distinguishes between states and activities. • Stative verbs are unmarked whereas activities can be marked by the active voice marker *maN-*.
Conjugation Class	• Minangkabau does not have conjugation classes.
2. Relational properties of verbs (see Chapter 5):	
Valency Inflection	• Changes to the valency of the verb root are marked on the verb by the applicatives *-an* or *-i*.
Causatives	• Causatives are marked on the verb by the prefix *pa-* • The applicatives *-an* and *-i* also encode causative semantics.
Voice	• Minangkabau has a rich system of verbal morphology used to show pragmatically motivated voice as well as non-pragmatically motivated voice.
Reflexives and Reciprocals	• Reflexives and reciprocals are marked on the verb by the prefix *ba-*. • Some reflexives are also encoded using the reflexive pronoun *diri*.
Switch Reference	• There is no switch reference marking in Minangkabau.

The 'inherent' formal properties displayed by Minangkabau verbs are discussed in reference to the examples that follow in the remainder of this section. The relational properties of verbs in Minangkabau are inextricably linked to the language's system of voice marking. Since voice in Minangkabau is the focus of Chapter 5, discussion of these relational properties can be found in Chapter 5 instead.

First, let us examine the adverbial notions associated with verbs in Minangkabau. As Table 10 shows, negation, but not evidentiality, is a grammatical category in Minangkabau.

In Indonesian, verbal and nominal predicates can be distinguished by the choice of negator. Verbal predicates are negated by *tidak* as in (40), whereas nominal predicates are negated by *bukan* as in (41).

(40)   *Mereka tidak   menolong kami.*
          3pl   NEG   AV-help   1pl
          'They didn't help us.'

          (adapted from Sneddon, 1996: 195)

(41)   *Dia   bukan   guru.*
          3   NEG   teacher
          'He is not a teacher.'

          (adapted from Sneddon, 1996: 195)

However, in Minangkabau, both nouns and verbs are negated by *indak* (or the reduced form *ndak*). In (42) the NP *guru*, 'teacher', is negated by *indak* and in (43) the verbal predicate *manggigik*, 'bite', is also negated by *indak*. This means that the presence of *indak* or *ndak* cannot be diagnostic for whether we a dealing with a verb or a noun.

(42)   *Jadi   nyo indak guru   do?*
          become 3   NEG   teacher NEGPOL
          'So she's not a teacher?'

          (Elicitation)

(43)   *Ula tu   babunuah supayo   indak manggigik.*
          snake DEM:dist MID-kill   in.order.that NEG   AV-bite
          'The snake was killed so that it wouldn't bite (anyone).'

          (Elicitation)

Minangkabau uses a different negation strategy for imperative verbs. Instead of using *indak*, the prohibitive particle *jan* is inserted before the verb (see Section 4.3.2.5). An example of this can be seen in (44), where the prohibitive particle *jan* negates the verb *masak*, 'cook'. *Jan* cannot be used with NPs as example (45a) shows. To use a prohibitive construction with an NP, the verb *jadi*, 'become, happen', must be used, as shown in example (45b).

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(44)   *Jan   masak nasi kini, beko   se.*
         PROHIB cook   rice   now   later   just
         'Don't cook the rice now, just do it later.'

         (Elicitation)

(45) a. **Jan   guru.*
         PROHIB   teacher
         'Don't be a teacher.'

     b. *Jan   jadi   guru.*
         PROHIB   become   teacher
         'Don't be a teacher.'

         (Elicitation)

Another formal property of verbs in that they show tense, aspect and mood distinctions. In Minangkabau TAM distinctions are not morphologically marked on the verb. Instead the verb is modified by preceding adverbial TAM markers (see Table 14).

Three TAM adverbials, *nio*, *alah* and *alun*, are exemplified in examples (46), (47) and (48) respectively. Notice that the TAM markers precede the verb in all examples.

(46)   *Inyo duduak   karano   nio   makan.*
         3   sit   because   want   eat
         'He sat down because he wanted to eat.'

         (Elicitation)

(47)   *Alah   dipotongnyo cimangko?*
         PFCT   PV-cut-3   watermelon
         'Has the watermelon been cut up yet?'

         (Elicitation)

(48)   *Alun   ujan ari   ko.*
         not.yet rain day   DEM:dist
         'It hasn't rained yet today.'

         (Elicitation)

According to Anderson (1985), aktionsart can also be a formal or semantic property of verbs. In fact, in Minangkabau there is a distinction between stative verbs and activity verbs[7]. Stative verbs are unmarked by verbal morphology whereas activity verbs are marked by the active voice prefix *maN-* (see Section 4.3.2)[8]. Since the morphological and semantic properties of Minangkabau 'property words' (i.e. those NP modifiers that express the adjectival concepts of dimension, physical property, colour, human propensity, age, value, and speed (cf. Dixon, 1982; 2006)) resemble those of stative verbs, property words also form a part of Minangkabau's class of stative verbs.

Interestingly, in Malay/Indonesian there is some indeterminacy about the status of property words or adjectives as a class distinct from verbs because of their aktionsart properties (cf. Gil, 2000; Steinhauer, 2008). In terms of their prototypical function, adjectives are quite distinct from verbs because they are used to modify rather than predicate (Croft, 1990; 1991; 2000). However, cross-linguistically it seems that adjectives are a special kind of 'state' because their inherent time schemata is stative, i.e. they involve no change over time (Langacker, 1987b; Vendler, 1957). In Malay/Indonesian adjectives resemble stative verbs because they are used to predicate and their interaction with verbal morphology is the same as for stative verbs.

Similarly, Minangkabau property words, or adjectives, can be used like stative verbs to predicate. For example, in (49) notice that the 'property word' *gadang*, 'big', is used both attributively and predicatively. In (49a) *gadang* is used attributively to modify the noun *rumah*, 'house'. In (49b) *gadang* functions as the predicate. Notice that when functioning predicatively *gadang* remains unmarked. In Minangkabau, stative verbs are also unmarked by verbal morphology when used predicatively. Like property words, unmarked stative verbs can also be used attributively (see Section 4.3.2.1).

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[7] There is also a division of activity verbs based on the semantic transitivity of their root. Minangkabau has three classes of activity verbs: intransitive active verbs (i.e. active intransitives), transitive verbs and ditransitive verbs (see Section 4.3.2.).

[8] Minangkabau also has a small class of semelfactive verbs which, like stative verbs, cannot take the active voice prefix *maN-*, but unlike stative verbs, can appear in progressive constructions (see example (i), which shows the semelfactive verb *batuak*, 'cough'). Further study is required to establish the exact distribution of Minangkabau semelfactive verbs.

i.   *Ambo (*mam-)batuak   samalaman.*
        1sg   (*AV-)cough   ONE-night-NOM
        'I coughed all night.'

        (Elicitation)

In Minangkabau the transitivity and aktionsart of stative verbs can be altered by the use of verbal morphology. When affixed to a stative root, the active voice prefix *maN-* creates a change of state verb. The addition of the applicative *-an* on the verb will then create a transitive causative verb (see Section 4.3.2.1). Verbal morphology has these same effects on Minangkabau property words. This is illustrated in (49). In (49c) the property word *gadang* is prefixed by the active voice marker *maN-* thus deriving the change of state verb 'to get big'. In (49d) the applicative *-an* has been cliticised to the verb, which has altered the transitivity of the verb and added a causative nuance: 'cause to get big'.

(49) a. *Rumah   Gadang⁹ masih ado.*
        house   big   still   exist
        'Minangkabau traditional houses still exist.'

    b. *Rumahnyo   gadang.*
        house-3   big
        'His house is big.'

    c. *Balon   tu   manggadang dek   diambuih.*
        balloon   DEM:dist AV-big   CAUSE   PV-blow
        'The balloon got bigger from being blown up.'

    d. *Paman   manggadangan awak.*
        uncle   AV-big-APP   1
        'My uncle raised me.'

    (Elicitation)

Nevertheless, for Malay/Indonesian at least, it is argued that *gradable* property words should be distinguished from *non-gradable* property words. This then allows for a distinction to be made between stative verbs, which are not gradable, and a special class of property words that are gradable (Steinhauer, 2008). In fact, property words cross-linguistically are comparative, i.e. gradable (Anderson, 1985; Croft, 1991; Dixon, 1982; Schachter, 1985), which stative verbs are not. In Minangkabau, property words are gradable too, as example (50) shows; the comparative prefix *sa-* on *gadang*, 'big', shows that *gadang* is gradable. According to Langacker's (1987b) terminology, this

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⁹ *Rumah Gadang* translates literally as 'big house' but the term is actually used to refer to the distinctive Minangkabau traditional houses with pointed curved rooves intended to signify the horns of a water buffalo.

means that *gadang* is relational and therefore notionally an adjective. However, as we established in Section 4.1.2.1, stative verbs can also be construed as relational since their meaning is framed against a polar opposite.

(50)   *Bulek-bulek sagadang talua   puyuah.*
         RED-round   COMP-big egg   quail
         'It is round and as big as a quail's egg.'

(Text ID: 2178811323192303306)

Steinhauer (2008) cites colours and emotions as prototypical examples of gradable property words in Indonesian. Emotions are especially interesting cases because they have special syntactic valence (cf. Klamer, 2002: 941). In Indonesian, property words are intransitive. Property words denoting emotions are also syntactically intransitive but can be semantically transitive. This means that second arguments are required to be marked by a preposition. The Indonesian property word *marah*, 'angry', can have two participants: the core argument is the person who is angry, i.e. the undergoer, the second participant has the role of being either the recipient or the cause of the anger. The recipient or cause is not a core syntactic participant therefore they must be preceded by a preposition which denotes their relationship to the action, for example *dengan*, 'with', *kepada*, 'to', *pada*, 'on', *terhadap*, 'regarding', or *akan*, 'about'. In Minangkabau, property words denoting emotions have similar special syntactic valence. For example, in (76) notice that *awak*, the recipient of the emotion, is marked by the preposition *ka*.

In Minangkabau, colours do not behave differently to other gradable property words. In (51) notice that the property word *itam*, 'black', occurs in constructions similar to those in (49) in which *gadang*, 'big', was the property word. In (51a) *itam* functions attributively to modify the noun phrase *baju*, 'shirt'. In (51b) *itam* functions predicatively like a stative verb. In (51c) the prefixation of the active voice marker *maN-* creates a change of state verb from the root word and in (51d) the addition of the applicative *–an* derives a transitive, causative verb.

(51) a.   *Baju   itame tu   nan gaek-gaek tu.*
          shirt   black-3 DEM:dist REL RED-old   DEM:dist
          'The old people wear black shirts.'

(Text ID: 445038115055260406)

b. *Baju   kan   itam   ma.*
   shirt   EMPH   black   EMPH
   'The shirt is black right, isn't it.'

   (Text ID: 809457115137170506)

c. *Baa   cate   ko   maitam   nyo   e?*
   POSS-what paint-3 DEM:prox AV-black 3   FILL
   'How come the paint is going black?'

   (Text ID: 699532101857030506)

d. *Inyo maitaman   dindiang   jo   debu.*
   3   AV-black-APP wall   with   dust
   'He blackened the wall with dust.'

   (Elicitation)

To conclude, in Minangkabau verbs can be categorised according to their aktionsart, therefore stative verbs and activity verbs form two distinct classes. Minangkabau also has a class of property words that function both attributively and predicatively. Since neither one of these functions is marked we cannot argue that either one of these functions is inherent and the other derived. When property words function predicatively their syntactic and morphological features resemble those of stative verbs, but with two exceptions. The first is that property words are gradable whereas states are not. The second is that emotion property words have special syntactic valence whereas states are without exception intransitive. However, the similarities between property words and stative verbs is such that rather than assign property words a separate category in Minangkabau, it is better to think of them as special kinds of gradable stative verbs. Drawing on Langacker's (1987b) framework of parts of speech, we can characterise true stative verbs as having polar relationality and stative verbs denoting properties as having scalar relationality.

Finally, since the question of precategoriality has been raised by the fact that unmarked nouns can function predicatively in Minangkabau (see Section 4.3.1.1), it is necessary to establish whether verbs can function to refer, as nouns prototypically do. The answer is that verbs can function referentially but that they are morphologically marked when

they do so. This would indicate that predication really is an inherent, prototypical function of verbs in Minangkabau and that reference is a non-prototypical function.

Examples (52), (53) and (54) illustrate how verbs can be used referentiality with the use of the nominalising affixes *-an*, *pa-* and *paN-*. In (52) the noun *tanaman*, 'plant', is derived from the verb root *tanam*, 'to plant', in combination with the nominalising affix *-an*. The noun *parampok*, 'thief', in (53) makes use of the agentive nominaliser *pa-* to derive the form from the verb root *rampok*, 'rob, steal'. The nominaliser *-an* is also used in (54) in combination with the *paN-* nominaliser to derive the noun *panyalasaian*, 'ending', from the verb root *salasai*, 'finish'. Please see Section 6.3.1.2 for further discussion about Minangkabau nominalisers.

(52) a. *Ambo mananam bungo di kabun.*
     1sg   AV-plant   flower   LOC   garden
     'I planted some flowers in the garden.'

    b. *Tanaman*
     plant-NOM
     'A plant.'

     (Elicitation)

(53) a. *Nyo sudah marampok urang ko.*
     3   PFCT   AV-rob   person   DEM:prox
     'He's already robbed this person.'

     (Text ID: 223549133923270306)

    b. *Parampok.*
     NOM-rob
     'A thief.'

     (Elicitation)

(54) a. *Aden alah salasai mangarajoan tugeh tu.*
     1sg   PFCT   finish   AV-work-APP   task   DEM:dist
     'I've already finished doing that task.'

    b. *Panyalasaian.*
     NOM-finish-NOM
     'The ending.'

     (Elicitation)

4.2.1.3 Adverbs

We have established that Minangkabau has a class of nouns and verbs and that property words, or adjectives, are actually a sub-type of stative verb. In addition to these parts of speech, Minangkabau also has a class of adverbs.

As we saw in Section 4.2.1.2, adverbial notions such as negation as well as tense, aspect and mood are not encoded morphologically on the verb, rather they are realised as distinct lexical items that precede the verb. These kind of adverbs represent two distinct closed classes: negation and TAM adverbs. Adverbial notions such as manner and intensity of action, on the other hand, represent an open class. Manner and intensity adverbs are also realised as distinct lexical items, except they come after the verb instead of preceding it.

Just as nouns function across a range of functional domains, adverbial words denoting manner and intensity of action are also multifunctional as attributive devices. They can be used to modify not just verbs, but nominals and gradable stative verbs as well. Unmarked adverbs can also function to predicate.

Example (55) illustrates the use of the manner adverb *capek*, 'fast, quickly'. In (55a) *capek* functions prototypically as a verbal modifier. Notice that *capek* appears in the slot following the active intransitive verb *lari*. In (55b) we find *capek* modifying the same verb *lari*. However, in this example, *lari* is performing a referential role since the enclitic *nyo* refers to a possessor rather than an actor. This is evidence that words denoting adverbial notions can also function attributively to modify nominals. In (55c) we find another instance of *capek* performing a non-prototypical function. In this example *capek* functions predicatively. Evidence for this comes from the use of the imperative marker *-lah*.

(55) a. *Inyo lari capek*
        3   run   fast
        'She runs fast.'

b. *Larinyo capek.*
    run-3   fast
    'Her running is fast.'

c. *Capeklah!*
    fast-IMP
    'Hurry up!'

(Elicitation)

The sentences in (56) show how the intensifying adverb *bana* is used. Like *capek*, *bana* is used attributively with a range of parts of speech. Example (56a) shows the prototypical use of *bana* in with the verb *amuah*, 'want'. In (56b) *bana* modifies the gradable stative verb *dingin*, 'cold'. Finally, in (56c) *bana* is used to modify the nominal *rumah gadang tu*.

(56) a. *Baju iko   inyo amuah bana.*
    shirt DEM:dist 3   want   true
    'She really wants this top.'

b. *Udara dingin bana.*
    air   cold   true
    'It's really cold.'

c. *Tapi memang rumah gadang tu   bana nan alah layak runtuah.*
    but indeed   house big   DEM:dist true REL PFCT suitable collapse
    'But indeed it really is the *rumah gadang* that is ready to collapse.'

(Elicitation)

That adverbs operate across this range of functional domains again raises questions about the nature of categoriality in Minangkabau. These issues are discussed further in Chapter 6.

4.2.2 Closed Class Items

As well as the open class parts of speech discussed in Section 4.2.1 Minangkabau also has a number of closed class items that are restricted in terms of their syntactic environment. These closed class items include pronouns, prepositions, specifiers, negators, TAM adverbs and pragmatic particles.

4.2.2.1 Pronouns

Minangkabau marks a singular/plural distinction on its pronouns but notice that there is no singular/plural distinction in the third person. The Minangkabau pronoun paradigm is illustrated in Table 11.

Table 11. The Minangkabau pronoun paradigm.

PERSON	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	FULL	REDUCED	FULL	REDUCED
1st	*aden*	*den* (familiar)	*awak*[10]	*wak* (inclusive)
	ambo	*mbo*	*kito*	*kito* (inclusive)
	denai	*den* (familiar)	*kami*	*kami* (exclusive)
2nd	*waang*	*ang* (masc, familiar)	*kalian*	*kalian*
	engkau	*kau* (fem, familiar)		
3rd	*inyo*	*nyo*	*inyo*	*nyo*

The reduced forms of the pronouns can be found as enclitic actors on the passive voice verb and as enclitics on nominals to indicate possession. The reduced forms of all pronouns often appear in casual discourse in place of the full forms. In this case, the difference is merely stylistic. Pronouns that do not have a reduced form are used in full to show possession but cannot be cliticised to the passive voice verb.

Minangkabau speakers also often substitute first and second person pronouns with personal names or epithets. Names are used to show solidarity towards addressees younger than the speaker or between speakers and addressees of the same age group. Epithets are based on kinship terms and are used to show politeness. Their use is determined by the addressee's generational age, i.e. whether they are a child, a young adult, a parent-aged adult or a grandparent-aged adult, and the speaker's age in relation to the addressee. For example, if I were speaking to a younger child I would refer to them by their name or by the epithet *adik*, 'child', and refer to myself as *uni*, 'older

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[10] *Awak*, or *wak*, is also sometimes used to refer to the first person singular. Since it has an 'inclusive' meaning, its use in the singular is motivated by politeness as speakers use it to show solidarity with addressees.

sister', or *uni Sophie*. If I were speaking to an older woman I could refer to myself by name or by a pronoun. To maintain politeness I would have to refer to the older person by an epithet, either *uni*, *buk*, or *inyiak* based on their generational age (see Table 12).

Table 12. Some commonly used Minangkabau epithets.

GENERATION	MALE	FEMALE
Young child	*adik*	*adik*
Older child, young adult	*uda*	*uni*
Parent	*pak*	*buk*
Grandparent	*angku*	*inyiak*

4.2.2.2 Prepositions

The relational status of nouns that have core grammatical roles in Minangkabau is not marked morphologically; rather it is reflected in the syntactic organisation of the clause and the relative topicality of the core participants. Non-core participant nominals however, are marked by prepositions that show their semantic role.

Table 13 exemplifies each of the prepositions used in Minangkabau to show semantic roles: *dek*, *ka*, *untuak*, *di*, *dari* and *jo*.

Table 13. Minangkabau prepositions showing semantic roles of non-core arguments.

PREPOSITION	SEMANTIC ROLE	EXAMPLE	
dek	cause, actor in passive clause	*dek inyo*	'by him/ because of him'
ka	recipient, location	*ka Silvie*	'to Silvie'
untuak	benefactor	*untuak Udin*	'for Udin'
di	location	*di kabun*	'in the garden'
dari	source	*dari Padang*	'from Padang'
jo	instrument, comitative	*jo pisau*	'with a knife'

4.2.2.3 Specifiers

Specifiers function to make the referent of a noun phrase explicit. Unlike attributive modifiers which follow the noun, in Minangkabau, specifiers precede the noun. Minangkabau specifiers include cardinal numbers, classifiers, quantifiers such as *banyak*, 'lots', and *saketek*, 'a little'. The demonstratives *itu* or *tu*, and *iko* or *ko* form a separate class of specifiers which follow the noun. Please see section 4.2.1.1 for examples demonstratives as well as numbers and classifiers.

4.2.2.4 Negators

Minangkabau has two negators: the prohibitive particle *jan* which can only occur in a VP, and the general negator *indak* or *ndak* which can appear in both NP and VP frames (see Section 4.2.1.2).

4.2.2.5 TAM Adverbs

Minangkabau TAM adverbials are restricted to VP frames and occur in pre-verbal position. Some common TAM adverbials are listed in Table 14.

Table 14. Some Minangkabau TAM adverbials.

TAM MARKER	GLOSSING	
alah	PFCT	'already'
ka	FUT	'will, going to'
sadang	PROG	'is doing'
alun	not.yet	'not yet'
nio	want	'want, will'
acok	often	'often'
jarang	seldom	'seldom'
dulu	before	'before'
masih	still	'still'

4.2.2.6 Pragmatic Particles

Minangkabau pragmatic particles function in the discourse pragmatic domain of language therefore their use is not restricted by co-occurrence with specific parts of speech. They function primarily to show pragmatic emphasis, to establish politeness and solidarity, and to aid the flow of information from the "private world" of the speaker into the "shared world" of collaborative discourse (Schourup, 1983; 1999). Minangkabau speakers also make use of many Colloquial Indonesian pragmatic particles in informal contexts (cf. Wouk, 1998; 2001).

Table 15 lists some common Minangkabau pragmatic particles and their functions.

Table 15. Minangkabau pragmatic particles.

PARTICLE	FUNCTION	MEANING
onde	• exclamatory	'oh my'
nak	• emphatic • marking shared information • solidarity marking	'you know, isn't it'
do	• politeness marking (of negatives)	'isn't it'
lah	• emphatic • solidarity marking • showing lack of speaker control	'just, you know'
ma	• marking pragmatic focus	'right'
lo	• foregrounding	'furthermore'
kok	• topic marking	'as for'

4.3 The Predicate Construction

Section 4.3.2 demonstrated that Minangkabau has the distinct parts of speech noun, verb and adverb, and that nouns and adverbs are able to function predicatively like verbs. This is a non-prototypical function for these parts of speech. A number of other parts of speech can also function to predicate in Minangkabau, as will be discussed in Section 4.3.1.

Chapter 5 describes the Minangkabau system of voice and verbal morphology. In order to appreciate the claims made in that chapter it is necessary to have a preliminary understanding of verbs and predication in the language. Section 4.2.1.2 described the formal properties of verbs in Minangkabau and showed the syntactic frame of the predicate construction (see example (39)). However, the features of the predicate construction in general, including non-prototypical predicate constructions, also need to be examined. It is towards this aim that the remainder of this chapter will examine this construction in detail. Non verbal predicate constructions are discussed in Section 4.3.1. These predicate types include nominal predicates (Section 4.3.1.1), numeral predicates (Section 4.3.1.2), existential predicates (Section 4.3.1.3) and locative predicates (Section 4.3.1.4). The details of verbal predicates are discussed in Section 4.3.2.

4.3.1 Non-verbal Predicates

4.3.1.1 Nominal Predicates

Clauses with nominal predicates have a noun phrase as their head. Clauses with nominal predicates are usually equative or identifying (Lyons, 1995); they construct the pivot NP as being the same as the NP that predicates. For example, in (57) the pivot NP *namo anak tu*, 'that child's name', is equated with the noun phrase *Ana*.

(57)   *Namo   anak   tu   Ana.*
         name   child   DEM:dist   Ana
         'That child's name is Ana.'

         (Elicitation)

Nominal predicates can also function in a similar way to statives. For example, in (58) the predicate NP *guru*, 'teacher', is attributive. Also notice that in (58) the predicate is modified by the aspectual marker *alah*. All nominal predicates can be modified by TAM adverbials just as verbs are.

(58) *Inyo alah guru.*
     3 PFCT teacher
     'She is already a teacher.'

     (Elicitation)

Verbal predicates can be also derived from nominals with the addition of the multifunctional affix *ba-*. The affix derives middle verbs from nouns as demonstrated in (59) and (60) (please also see Chapter 5).

(59) *Basuami jo urang Lampuang.*
     MID-husband with person Lampung
     'She married a man from Lampung.'

     (Text ID: 337497105305200306)

(60) *Si Emi basakolah, si Roni sagalo si Ann lai ado rumah.*
     PERS Emi MID-school PERS Roni all PERS Ann more exist house
     'Emi went to school, so did Roni, all of them did, but Ann stayed at home.'

     (Text ID: 562203133739080306)

Verbal predicates can also be derived from nominals with the use of the active voice prefix *maN-*. For example, in (61) the verb *mancarito-carito*, 'tell a story', has been derived from the NP *carito*, 'story,' (see Section 6.3.1.3 for more examples of active verbs derived from nominals).

(61) *E ado mancarito-carito jo ambo.*
     FILL exist AV-RED-story with 1sg
     'Somebody told me the story.'

     (Text ID: 157057083427161106)

Unmarked nominals can be predicative even when a marked alternative exists. For example, in (62) notice that the unmarked form *namo*, 'name', functions predicatively in the same way as the marked form *banamo*.

(62) a. *Namo nyo Ana.*
     name 3 Ana
     'She is called Ana.'

b. *Banamo   nyo Ana.*
    MID-name   3   Ana
    'She is called Ana.'

(Elicitation)

4.3.1.2 Numeral Predicates

Minangkabau also has numeral predicates. Numeral predicates, like some nominal predicates, are attributive. In (63) the numeral head *duo*, 'two', modifies the argument *anak den*, 'my children'.

(63)   *Anak   den   duo.*
         child   1sg   two
         'I have two children .'
         [Literally: 'my children are two in number.']

         (Elicitation)

Also like nominal predicates, numeral predicates can be preceded by TAM adverbials. In (64) notice that *duo* is modified by the perfective marker *alah*.

(64)   *Anak   aden   alah   duo.*
         child   1sg   PFCT   duo
         'I already have two children.'
         [Literally: 'my children are already two in number.']

         (Elicitation)

Numerals can also productively combine with the affix *ba-*. In (65a) *ba-* is affixed to *duo* to indicate that the pivot *nyo* is in a state of 'twoness'. In (65a), the *ba-* affix forces the interpretation that the pivot *nyo* is a single entity consisting of two parts, these two parts performing the action *together*. Whereas in (65b), *duo* refers to two separate entities.

(65) a. *Datang   nyo   baduo.*
         come   3   MID-two
         'They came together.'

b. *Datang nyo duo.*
   come   3   two
   'Two of them came.'

(Elicitation)

Quantifiers can also function as the head of a predicate construction and have the same attributive function. For example, in (66) the predicate is the quantifier *banyak*, 'a lot', which modifies the NP *saudara ibu*, 'your brothers and sisters', and in (67) the quantifier *saketek*, 'a little bit', functions as the head to modify the NP *nasi*, 'rice'.

(66)   *Saudara ibuk masih banyak?*
            sibling   mother still   many
            Do you still have many brothers and sisters?

            (Text ID: 574966094643200306)

(67)   *Nasi   saketek.*
            cooked.rice ONE-small
            'There's only a little bit of rice.'

            (Text ID: 833517024233300606)

4.3.1.3 Existential Predicates

Existential predicates are those which have the auxiliary verbs *ado*, 'to be, to exist', or *punyo*, 'to have', as their head.

The verb *ado* licenses a single nominal argument. In examples (68) and (69) *ado* is the head of the predicate construction and *ujan*, 'rain', and *banyak samuik*, 'lot of ants', are the respective arguments.

(68)   *Ado   ujan.*
            exist   rain
            'It's raining.'

            (Elicitation)

(69)   *Ado   banyak   samuik   di   tampek   gulo.*
         exist   many   ant   LOC   place   sugar
         'There are lots of ants in the sugar container.'

         (Elicitation)

If *ado* is deleted the existential clause becomes a locative predicate. To illustrate this, consider example (70). This example is similar in meaning and structure to (69), except that in (70) the locative phrase *di tampek gulo*, 'in the sugar container', is the head.

(70)   *Banyak   samuik   di   tampek   gulo.*
         many   ant   LOC   place   sugar
         'Lots of ants are in the sugar container.'

         (Elicitation)

Similarly in (71), the locative phrase *di belakang rumah den*, 'behind my house', is the head (see Section 4.3.1.4).

(71)   *Banyak   batang   pisang   di   balakang   rumah   den.*
         many   trunk   banana   LOC   behind   house   1sg
         'Many banana trees are behind my house.'

         (Elicitation)

Example (72) illustrates a possessive construction which has the possessive verb *punyo* as its head. This type of construction is a sub-type of existential constructions (Lyons, 1995) and is transitive. In (72) the first person *aden* is the pivot and *duo* anak, 'two children', is the possessed NP.

(72)   *Aden   punyo   duo   anak.*
         1sg   have   two   child
         'I have two children.'

         (Elicitation)

4.3.1.4 Locative Predicates

Locative predicates do not contain a prototypical Minangkabau verb, instead a locative phrase (which consists of a locative preposition and an NP) functions as the head (see

examples (70) and (71)). Like verbal predicates, locative predicates can also be modified by preceding adverbials, including negators and TAM adverbials.

An example of a locative predicate can be found in (73). In this example the locative phrase *ka rumah den*, 'to my house', is the head.

(73)   *Inyo   alun   ka rumah den.*
        3   not.yet to   house   1sg
        'He hasn't been to my house yet.'

        (Elicitation)

Another example can be found in (74) where the locative phrase *di kantua*, 'at the office', functions as the head. Notice that in this example the perfective marker *alah* precedes the predicate.

(74)   *Inyo alah   di   kantua.*
        3   PFCT   LOC   office
        'He's already at the office.'

        (Elicitation)

4.3.2 Verbal Predicates

The prototypical predicate construction in Minangkabau has a verb as its head. Minangkabau verb roots can be divided into two types: statives and actives (see Section 4.2.1.2). Active verb roots can further be divided into three types: active intransitives, transitives and ditransitives. Predicate constructions using each of these verb types are discussed in the sections that follow. For statives see Section 4.3.2.1, for active intransitives see Section 4.3.2.2, for transitive see Section 4.3.2.3, and for ditransitives see Section 4.3.2.4. The imperative construction will then be described in Section 4.3.2.5.

4.3.2.1 Stative Predicates

Basic stative clauses have a stative verb as their head and a single undergoer argument which acts as the pivot and canonically precedes the verb. Stative predicates are not marked by verbal morphology and can be distinguished from other verb types because of their stative aktionsart. Example (75) illustrates a canonical, basic stative clause with the verb *berang*, 'angry'. Please note that *berang* forms part of a special class of gradable stative verbs (see Section 4.2.1.2).

(75) *Amak berang.*
   mum angry
   'Mum is angry.'

   (Elicitation)

Since *berang* is an emotion stative it has special syntactic valence. This means that a second argument can be added to this basic stative clause type with the addition of the preposition *ka*, as shown in (76).

(76) *Amak berang ka awak.*
   mum angry to 1
   'Mum was angry at me.'

   (Elicitation)

Like *berang*, *takuik*, 'fear, scared', has special syntactic valence. This means that a clausal complement (the cause) can be introduced into the clause with the use of a preposition. In (77) the cause of the fear, that the dog will bite, is marked by the causal marker *dek*.

(77) a. *Inyo takuik.*
    3 fear
    'He's scared.'

  b. *Den takuik dek anjiang tu ka manggigik den.*
    1sg fear CAUSE dog DEM:dist FUT AV-bite 1sg
    'I'm scared that dog will bite me.'

    (Elicitation)

As well as emotional states, Minangkabau stative clauses can also comprise inherent gradable physical states, for example *pendek*, 'short', *tinggi*, 'tall'. Stative clauses with inherent physical state predicates have the same clause structure as emotional states but do not have the same special syntactic valence that allows for a second argument to be introduced into the clause. An example of a gradable stative predicate can be found in (78). The clause structure resembles the clause structure of a typical state as the undergoer pivot (the pronoun *nyo*) precedes the predicate *tinggi*, 'tall'.

(78)   *Yo   iko,   nyo   tinggi a.*
         yes   DEM:prox   3   tall   FILL
         'Yes this, its big eh.'

         (Text ID: 435063103250150406)

Gradable stative predicates can also be modified by comparative markers. In (79) the stative predicate *tinggi* is modified by the comparative *labiah*, 'more'. Comparatives are inserted before the predicate and after any tense or aspect adverbials. Comparatives cannot be used with attributive nominal predicates like those exemplified in (58).

(79)   *Anak   tu   alah   labiah tinggi dari   udanyo.*
         child   DEM:dist PFCT   more   tall   from   older.brother-3
         'That kid is already taller than his older brother.'

         (Elicitation)

However, a comparative marker is not absolutely necessary for a comparative reading of a gradable stative as (80) demonstrates. In this example the comparative marker *labiah*, 'more', on *pendek*, 'short', is missing but the interpretation *shorter* is still available. The comparative reading relies on the presence of the prepositional phrase *dari pisau tu*.

(80)   *Pisau   ko   pendek   dari pisau   tu.*
         knife   DEM:prox short   from knife   DEM:dist
         'This knife is shorter than that one.'

         (Elicitation)

Non-gradable states do no co-occur with comparative markers because they represent inherent polar states. Example (81) illustrates the use of the non-gradable stative predicate *mati*, 'dead'. Stative predicates, like all predicate constructions, can be modified by preceding TAM adverbials. In (81) the TAM adverbial *alah* is used to mark perfective aspect. It is inserted before the stative predicate *mati*, but after the undergoer, *maliang tu*, 'the thief'.

(81)   *Maliang tu   alah   mati.*
          thief   DEM:dist PFCT   dead
          'The thief died.'

          (Elicitation)

Another feature of stative predicates is that they productively derive active transitive verbs with the addition of active voice morphology and the applicative *-an*. Most active transitive verbs derived from statives this way will have a causative meaning. In (82) the active transitive verb *mandinginan*, 'to cause to be cold', has been derived by adding the active voice prefix *maN-* and the applicative *-an* to the stative root *dingin*.

(82)   *Ambo mandinginan gulai.*
          1sg   AV-cold-APP   curry
          'I'm cooling down the curry.'

          (Elicitation)

Stative predicates which derive causatives can also form change of state verbs with just the addition of the active voice prefix *maN-* as (83) demonstrates. In colloquial contexts, speakers of Minangkabau will often omit the active voice prefix *maN-*. This means that if a speaker uses a bare form of a stative verb then the difference between a state and a change of state is not explicitly encoded.

(83)   *Mandingin se   udaro ko   yo.*
          AV-cold   just   air   DEM:prox   EMPH
          'The weather is getting cold, isn't it?'

          (Elicitation)

The semantics of some active transitive verbs formed from statives are unpredictable. For example in (84) the active transitive verb formed from the state *berang*, 'angry', is not a causative. Instead the form *mamberangan*, 'get angry at', implies that *awak* is the subject of *amak*'s anger. Notice that *awak* does not undergo a change of state like an undergoer in a causative construction would. This behaviour is probably due to *berang*'s special syntactic valence (see example (76)).

(84)   *Amak mamberangan awak.*
        mum   AV-angry-APP   1
        'Mum got angry at me.'

        (Elicitation)

4.3.2.2 Active Intransitive Predicates

Minangkabau active intransitive predicates display active aktionsart. Where statives have an undergoer pivot, active intransitives have an actor pivot which typically precedes the verb. The majority of active intransitive verb roots combine productively with the active voice prefix *maN-*. However, many speakers treat the active voice prefix as optional, especially in informal interaction (see Chapter 6).

Some examples of typical active intransitive predicates follow. In (85) *manyuruak*, 'hide', is the predicate and *ambo*, 'I', the actor pivot. The locative phrase *belakang batang karambia*, 'behind the coconut tree', is not part of the core argument structure of the predicate hence it is marked by the preposition *di*. In (86) *manumbuah*, 'grow', is the active intransitive predicate and *rambuik anak tu*, 'the child's hair', is the actor pivot.

(85)   *Ambo manyuruak di belakang batang karambia.*
        1   AV-hide   LOC behind   tree   coconut
        'I'm hiding behind a coconut tree.'

        (Elicitation)

(86)   *Rambuik   anak   tu   mulai   manumbuah.*
                       hair   child   DEM:dist start   AV-grow
                       'That child's hair has started to grow.'

                       (Elicitation)

Both the sentences (85) and (86) would be equally well formed if the active intransitive predicates were to appear without the active voice prefix, as (87) and (88) demonstrate. Examples (87) and (88) do not differ from (85) and (86) in terms of syntax or semantics, the main difference is one of register; the presence of the active voice prefix in (85) and (86) makes these sentences more formal and refined than (87) and (88) which are more representative of informal, casual and intimate speech in which the bare forms of active intransitive predicates frequently occur.

(87)   *Ambo suruak di   belakang batang karambia.*
                     1   hide   LOC behind   tree   coconut
                     'I'm hiding behind a coconut tree.'

                     (Elicitation)

(88)   *Rambuik   anak tu   mulai   tumbuah.*
                     hair   child DEM:dist start   grow
                     'That child's hair has started to grow.'

                     (Elicitation)

Active intransitive predicates also productively combine with the applicative *-an* to produce active transitive predicates. The applicative functions to license an undergoer argument to appear as part of the predicate's argument structure (see Chapter 5). In canonical transitive clauses the undergoer argument is inserted directly following the predicate. In (89) the applicative *-an* has licensed the undergoer argument *buku*, 'book'. Similarly in (90), *-an* has made the predicate *tumbuah*, 'grow', transitive by licensing the undergoer argument *lado jo jagung*, 'pepper and corn'.

(89)   *Ambo manyuruakan buku.*
                     1   AV-hide-APP   book
                     'I hid the book.'

                     (Elicitation)

(90)   *Inyo manumbuahan lado jo jagung.*
              3   AV-grow-APP   chilli   with   corn
             'He is growing peppers and corn.'

             (Elicitation)

In (91) notice that the undergoer argument is not overtly expressed. The presence of the applicative *-an* on the verb alone is responsible for the transitive interpretation of the predicate; it is understood that *something* was hidden even though exactly *what* was hidden is not expressed. Example (91) is taken from naturalistic conversation. In fact such a sentence could only occur in discourse where the undergoer argument can be retrieved from the discourse context.

(91)   *Nyo suruakan Ø dalam samak tu.*
              3   hide-APP   Ø   inside   bush   DEM:dist
             'He hid (it) in that bush.'

             (Text ID: 860134120315290306)

Minangkabau also has a series of active intransitive predicates that are lexically bare. The verbs *pai*, 'go', and *kalua*, 'go out', are two of the most frequent of these predicate types and are exemplified in (92) and (93). These predicates also do not regularly combine with the active voice prefix *maN-* as shown in the examples.

(92)   *Inyo (*mam-)pai surang.*
              3   (*AV-)go   ONE-person
             'He went alone.'

             (Elicitation)

(93)   *Aden suko (*mang-)kalua malam minggu.*
              1   like   (*AV-)go.out   night   week
             'I like going out on Saturday nights.'

             (Elicitation)

Nevertheless, active transitive forms can be derived from these verbs with the use of the applicative *-an*. Only then can these lexically bare stems combine with the active voice prefix. In (94) an active transitive verb has been derived from *pai* and in (95) the same process has affected *kalua*.

(94)   *Pitih   tu   mampaian ka sayua.*
                   money   DEM:dist AV-go-APP   to   vegetables
                   'The money was spent on vegetables.'

                   (Elicitation)

(95)   *Inyo mangaluaan hape   dari sakunyo.*
                   3   AV-go.out.-APP hand.phone from pocket-3
                   'He took his mobile phone out of his pocket.'

                   (Elicitation)

4.3.2.3 Transitive Predicates

Canonical transitive clauses in Minangkabau have the order 'pivot + predicate + undergoer'. In a typical transitive clause an active transitive verb root functions as the head and is marked by the active voice prefix *maN-*. Adjuncts do not form part of the predicate's core argument structure and are marked by a preposition. Like active intransitives, active transitive predicates can be marked by the active voice marker *maN-*. Example (96) illustrates a canonical active transitive clause with the active transitive predicate *mancuci*, 'wash'. Notice that *sabun*, 'soap', is marked by the preposition *jo* because it is an adjunct.

(96)   *Inyo mancuci tangannyo jo   sabun.*
                   3   AV-wash hand-3   with soap
                   'He washed his hands with soap.'

                   (Elicitation)

Like active intransitive verbs, transitive verbs are not obligatorily marked by the active voice prefix in simple clauses. In (97) the verb *cuci* appears in bare form without *maN-*. However, there are no major syntactic differences between this sentence and example (96) in which the verb is marked by the active voice prefix. The actor argument precedes the verb in both sentences but in (97) there is no overt undergoer argument. The undergoer argument is 'understood' as it is retrievable from prior discourse.

(97)　　　*E　Ci　　　cuci　taruih　ka　lalok　ma　　Sar.*
　　　　　　FILL TRU-Silvie wash　　continue　FUT sleep　EMPH TRU-Sari
　　　　　'I wash (my face) and then go straight to sleep, Sari.'

　　　　(Text ID: 256789090729220207)

Transitive verbs also productively combine with the applicative *-an* to introduce an additional argument into the clause. In (98) notice that the beneficiary *bininyo*, 'his wife', is marked as an adjunct by *untuak* in (98a) and (98b) regardless of the presence of the applicative. However, the adjunct marking preposition *untuak* can be deleted and the beneficiary can be moved to post verbal position if the applicative *-an* is present. In (98c) and (98d) sentences the beneficiary *bininyo* has been moved to post verbal position and *untuak* has been deleted. However, notice that (98c) is ungrammatical because there is no applicative on the verb. This suggests that in (98d) *bininyo* is part of the core argument structure of the verb whereas in (98c) it is not (see Chapter 5).

(98) a.　*Inyo mambuek kopi　untuak　bininyo.*
　　　　　3　　AV-make　coffee　for　　　wife-3
　　　　　'He made coffee for his wife.'

　　　b.　*Inyo mambuekan　kopi　untuak　bininyo.*
　　　　　3　　AV-make-APP　coffee　for　　　wife-3
　　　　　'He made coffee for his wife.'

　　　c.　**Inyo　mambuek　bininyo　kopi.*
　　　　　3　　　AV-make　wife-3　　coffee

　　　d.　*Inyo mambuekan　bininyo　kopi.*
　　　　　3　　AV-make-APP　wife-3　　coffee
　　　　　'He made his wife coffee.

　　　　(Elicitation)

The benefactive reading of the *-an* applicative when it combines with active transitive verbs is so strong that the beneficiary argument may be unexpressed, but still understood as being an underlying part of the verb's argument structure. For example, the number of expressed arguments is the same in both (99a) and (99b); the actor, *Santi*, and the undergoer, *baju Silvie*, 'Silvie's shirt'. However, the presence of the applicative *-an* in (99b) coerces the interpretation 'Santi is washing Silvie's shirt *for* Silvie', whereas a benefactive interpretation of the verb *mancuci* in (99a) is not possible.

(99) a. *Santi   mancuci baju Silvie.*
         Santi   AV-wash shirt Silvie
         'Santi washed Silvie's shirt.'

    b.   *Santi   mancucian   baju Silvie.*
         Santi   AV-wash-APP shirt Silvie
         'Santi washed Silvie's shirt (for her).'

         (Elicitation)

4.3.2.4 Ditransitive Predicates

Minangkabau also has an ditransitive predicate construction which has a ditransitive verb root as its head. Ditransitive verb roots productively combine with the active voice prefix *maN-* and license three arguments.

The sentences in (100) illustrate the use of the ditransitive predicate *maagiah*, 'give'. Notice that each of the sentences in (100) has three arguments: the actor pivot *ambo*, 'I', the undergoer *pitih*, 'money', and the recipient *urang tu*, 'that guy'. Since the verb root *agiah* is ditransitive the presence of the applicative *-an* is not required to change the argument structure of the verb nor the organisation of the basic clause, as comparison between (100a) and (100b) shows. Instead, *-an* explicitly marks the recipient as the end point of the action (see Section 5.3.1).

(100) a. *Ambo maagiah pitih   ka urang tu.*
          1sg   AV-give   money to   person DEM:dist
          'I gave money to that guy.'

     b.   *Aden   maagiahan pitih   ka urang tu.*
          1sg   AV-give-APP money to   person DEM:dist
          'I gave money to that guy.'

     c.   *Ambo maagiah inyo pitih.*
          1sg   AV-give   3sg   money
          'I gave that guy money.'

d. *Ambo   maagiahan   inyo   pitih.*
    1sg   AV-give-APP 3   money
    'I gave that guy money.'

    (Elicitation)

Another feature of ditransitive verbs is that the recipient argument can be assigned core argument status and swap places with the undergoer argument. For example, in (100c) and (100d) notice that the recipient *urang tu*, 'that guy', has been moved to core argument position following the verb. Its prepositional marker *ka* has also been deleted. A similar construction also exists in Indonesian, which Chung (1976b) calls the "dative" construction (see Chapter 5).

Also compare the sentences in (100c) and (100d) to those in (98c) and (98d). Notice that the "dative" construction is ungrammatical in (98c) because the applicative *-an* does not appear on the verb whereas the applicative is not required in (100c). The fact that the applicative has a different role for these two verbs shows that semantic valence is specified by the Minangkabau verb root.

4.3.2.5 Imperatives

The discussion in Section 4.3 has so far focused only on predicates in the indicative mood. This section provides an overview of Minangkabau imperatives in order to complete our understanding of the predicate construction.

In Minangkabau, only verbal predicates can be used in the imperative construction. This suggests that predication is indeed the prototypical function of verbs in Minangkabau and that other parts of speech are not able to predicate in as complete a way as verbs. The imperative construction is marked on a bare verb root by *-lah*, the imperative post-clitic[11]. If applicatives are required in the indicative form of the verb then these are retained in the imperative form. Prohibitives are formed by marking the verb with the prohibitive particle *jan*. Verbs in prohibitive constructions retain their voice marking.

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[11] Note that the imperative post-clitic *-lah* and the particle *lah* are two distinct forms. They have different prosodic qualities and very different semantic effects. Imperative *-lah* is also restricted to VP frames whereas the particle *lah* is unrestricted.

Some examples of imperative verbs marked by the imperative marker *-lah* follow. In (101) the imperative verb is the stative verb *sanang*, 'happy'. Notice that the clitic does not cliticise directly on to the verb because there is an intervening pragmatic particle. Example (102) illustrates the use of the imperative marker *-lah* with the active intransitive verb root *tari*, 'dance', and example (103) shows the imperative form of the transitive verb *tolong*, 'help'. In (104) there is an example of a transitive verb derived from the stative stem *mati*, 'dead'. Notice that in this example the applicative *-an* must still appear on the verb.

(101)   *Sanang   se   lah.*
          happy   just   IMP
          'Be happy.'

          (Elicitation)

(102)   *Tarilah!*
          dance-IMP
          'Dance!'

          (Elicitation)

(103)   *Tolonglah   kawan   tu.*
          help-IMP   friend   DEM:dist
          'Help your friend!'

          (Elicitation)

 (104)   *Matianlah   lampu dulu.*
          dead-APP-IMP   light   first
          'Switch off the light.'

          (Elicitation)

If the imperative marker *-lah* is removed, the bare verb can still be interpreted as an imperative form if context allows it (although a *-lah* form is considered more polite). An imperative interpretation of a bare verb often relies on emphatic intonation on the verb root and the presence or absence of the addressee NP. For example in (105a) an imperative interpretation is only available for the bare verb form *balian*, 'buy (benefactive)', because the NP *Santi* appears in a separate intonation unit and is therefore understood as the addressee. However in (105b) the entire sentence is one

intonation unit and *Santi* must be understood as the actor pivot of a bare active construction.

(105) a.   *Santi, balian   buku   untuak   Ali.*
           Santi   buy-APP   book   for   Ali
           'Santi, buy a book for Ali.'

     b.   *Santi   balian   buku   untuak   Ali.*
           Santi   buy-APP   book   for   Ali
           'Santi bought a book for Ali.'

           (Elicitation)

The final feature of imperatives in Minangkabau is the prohibitive construction. Some illustrative examples of this construction can be found in (106) to (108). In (106) the prohibitive marker *jan* creates a negative imperative from the stative verb *berang*, 'angry'.

(106)   *Jan   berang!*
           PROHIB   angry
           'Don't be angry.'

           (Elicitation)

Similarly in (107) the prohibitive marker precedes the verb, in this case the active transitive verb *masak*, 'cook', to create the prohibitive construction.

(107)   *Jan   masak nasi kini, beko se.*
           PROHIB   cook   rice   now   later   just
           'Don't cook the rice now, just do it later.'

           (Elicitation)

Note that the prohibitive construction allows voice marking to remain on the verb. For example, in (108) notice that the verb *dimatian*, 'switch off', retains its passive voice marking.

(108)   *Jan   dimatian.*
               PROHIB PV-dead-APP
               'Don't switch it off.'

               (Elicitation)

4.4 Conclusion

In order to prepare the reader for discussion of voice morphology in Chapter 5 this chapter has provided a description of the parts of speech categories in Minangkabau and has also presented a detailed description of the language's predicate construction. Minangkabau has the open category parts of speech noun, verb and adverb and a number of closed category parts of speech which are restricted in terms of which open category they may co-occur with.

However, the multifunctionality of Minangkabau parts of speech, as well as the existence of bare verbs, challenges some of the assumptions about parts of speech categories made in this chapter. Further discussion about bare verbs and the theoretical problems they pose can be found in Chapter 6.

Chapter 5. Voice and Verb Morphology

5.0 Introduction

Standard Minangkabau resembles a typical Indonesian-type language with an opposition between active voice, which is marked on the verb by the prefix *maN-*, and passive voice, which is marked on the verb by the proclitic *di-*. Like Standard Indonesian, Standard Minangkabau also has a *pasif semu* construction in which the verb is unmarked (see Section 2.2). In addition, and also like Standard Indonesian and other Malayic languages, Minangkabau has a class of lexical/derivational verbal affixes, including the involuntary marker *ta-*, the causative marker *pa-*, and the multifunctional prefix *ba-*. The active voice marker *maN-* also forms part of this class of affixes since it has a number of lexical/derivational functions as well (see Section 5.1.2.3). Minangkabau also makes use of two applicatives: *-an* and *-i*. Although the applicatives have a primarily syntactic function, they also have semantic and lexical/derivational functions.

Colloquial Minangkabau, on the other hand, is better characterised as having a 'Sundic-type' voice system (see Chapter 2 and Chapter 6). Colloquial Minangkabau makes use of the applicatives *-an* and *-i* as well as the lexical/derivational affixes *ta-*, *pa-*, and *ba-*. However, unlike Standard Minangkabau, in Colloquial Minangkabau bare verbs are frequently found in contexts where we would expect to find a verb marked for active or passive voice. Utterances with bare verbs are not *ungrammatical*, rather they are *underspecified*. This means that in Colloquial Minangkabau *maN-* and *di-* are optional and that their function is primarily semantic/pragmatic as opposed to syntactic.

In Standard Minangkabau, active voice, passive voice and the *pasif semu* work to realign the roles of actor and undergoer with the pivot function. Like the applicatives *-an* and *-i*, *maN-*, *di-* and the *pasif semu* construction also alter the verb's argument structure, for example *di-* demotes the actor to non-core argument status (see Section 5.1.3) The opposition between active voice, passive voice and the *pasif semu* in Standard Minangkabau is primarily pragmatically motivated. This means that the verb

is marked to indicate the discourse relevance of its actor and undergoer participants, i.e. the degree of participant involvement in the event as well as the degree of participant relevance according to the context.

Shibatani (2006) observes that although active/passive voice systems (as well as direct/inverse voice systems and Philippine-type voice systems) are pragmatically motivated, voice oppositions ultimately encode conceptual phenomena. These conceptual phenomena include showing the pragmatic relevance of event participants but also how the event itself progresses, a concept that Shibatani refers to as the "evolution of action" (similar positions are also taken in Croft, 1994; Gil, 2002a; Kemmer, 1993). Shibatani (2006) argues that voice marking reflects human conceptualisations of events and that the "evolution of action" reflects the fact that humans understand different events to have a focus either on the event's origins, its development, or its end point. Thus voice marking encodes how the action originates "origin of action", how the action progresses "development of action", and how and where the action ends "termination of action" (Shibatani, 2006). For example, transitive actions typically end in the patient being affected, however in some events, the action terminates at a third entity, perhaps a recipient or a benefactor, thus the focus is on the end point of the action. If voice marking encodes this kind of situation type then it can be said to show the "termination of action". Types of voice marking that fall into this category include benefactives, malefactives and applicatives (Shibatani, 2006: 240). Other types of voice marking used to encode distinctions at each point in the "evolution of action" are listed in Table 16.

Table 16. Types of conceptual voice marking.

(Shibatani, 2006)

EVOLUTION OF ACTION	TYPE OF VOICE MARKING
1. Origin of an action:	a. volitional/spontaneous
	b. causative/non-causative
2. Development of an action:	a. active/middle
	b. ergative/antipassive
3. Termination of an action:	a. benefactive/malefactive/applicative

Shibatani's (2006) framework provides a coherent typological approach for describing the pragmatic properties as well as the conceptual, event-based properties of voice. So, based on this framework, I argue that the opposition between active and passive voice in Minangkabau is pragmatically motivated whereas Minangkabau's lexical/derivational affixes *ta-*, *pa-*, *ba-*, as well as the active voice prefix *maN-* and the applicatives *-an* and *-i* are primarily motivated by conceptual factors to show the "evolution of action". Shibatani (2006: 218) also acknowledges the fact that "many voice phenomena straddle the semantics-pragmatics boundary". It is clear that Minangkabau's voice system also straddles this boundary, since, for example, the use of the active voice marker *maN-* is motivated by both discourse/pragmatic and semantic/conceptual notions. Therefore, I also argue that the pragmatic and semantic/conceptual voice systems of Minangkabau overlap and complement each other.

This chapter will first describe the pragmatically motivated voice system of Minangkabau, examining the properties of active voice, passive voice and the *pasif semu* (see Section 5.1). Examination of the lexical/derivational affixes that function as part of Minangkabau's conceptually motivated voice system will then follow in Section 5.2. A description of the Minangkabau applicatives can be found in Section 5.3.

5.1 Pragmatically Motivated Voice

In a pragmatically motivated voice system, one argument is assigned discourse relevance for a number of reasons, including that it: 1) has "constitutive relevance" (i.e. it refers to a first or second person speech act participant); 2) "it is most salient in the speaker's mind"; 3) "it plays an important role in the propositional act" (i.e. it refers to old information or is particularly conceptually salient); and 4) "it is the entity on which the hearer's attention is focused" (Shibatani, 2006: 259). The high discourse relevance of the argument is reflected morphologically in that it triggers corresponding verbal marking, and syntactically by the fact that it has control over a number of restricted syntactic constructions. Thus in pragmatically motivated voice systems the notion of discourse relevance has been grammaticalised.

In Minangkabau, the argument assigned the highest degree of discourse relevance is identified as the pivot. The pivot has control over a number of syntactic constructions (see Section 5.1.1.4) and triggers active voice marking if it is an actor, and passive voice marking if it is an undergoer. Section 5.1.1 explains the role of discourse pragmatics in selecting the pivot in Minangkabau, examines the Minangkabau pivot function in the context of semantic roles and grammatical relations, and also demonstrates how to identify a pivot in Minangkabau by showing the range of syntactic structures over which it has control. Sections 5.1.2, 5.1.3, and 5.1.4 then describe active voice, passive voice and the *pasif semu* (P2) constructions respectively, and show how these voice constructions interact with the pivot, how they alter grammatical relations, and how they also operate within the semantic and lexical/derivational domains.

5.1.1 The Pivot Function

5.1.1.1 Pivots and Discourse Pragmatics

In Minangkabau, there are a number of discourse pragmatic factors that affect voice marking. Definite NPs, discourse topical NPs, and NPs that refer to speech act participants are more highly referential than other nominals. These nominals are therefore more likely to be selected as the pivot and trigger corresponding voice marking.

Pivots in Minangkabau are definite. This means that the referential "scope" of pivots in Minangkabau is more restricted that the scope of non-pivots. Consider the sentence 'Every boy kissed a girl'. This sentence has two possible interpretations due to the undefined scope of the non-pivot argument *a girl*; either the sentence reads 'every boy kissed a girl *each*', or 'every boy kissed *the same* girl' (cf. Keenan, 1976). This sentence has been translated into Minangkabau in (109). Example (109a) shows that the sentence has the same ambiguity as it does in English. This is because the quantifier scope of the non-pivot argument, *padusi*, 'girl', is undefined. In (109b) the ambiguity is avoided because the demonstrative *tu* indicates that the referent of *padusi* is definite. However, in (109c) note that the demonstrative *tu* is not obligatory for the sentence to read '*the*

same girl kissed every boy'. This is because *padusi* is the pivot and, by definition, highly referential and definite.

(109) a. *Satiok   laki-laki mancium   padusi.*
ONE-every   RED-male AV-kiss   female
'Every boy kissed a girl.'
[Every boy kissed a girl *each*/Every boy kissed *the same* girl.]

b. *Satiok   laki-laki mancium   padusi tu.*
ONE-every   RED-male AV-kiss   female   DEM:dist
'Every boy kissed a girl.'
[Every boy kissed *the same* girl.]

c. *Padusi (tu)   mancium   satiok   laki-laki.*
female   (DEM:dist) AV-kiss   ONE-every   RED-male
'A girl kissed every boy.'
[*The same* girl kissed every boy.]

(Elicitation)

The pivot argument in Minangkabau is also discourse topical. This means that the pivot's referent is old information; it will be known to the hearer because it has been established in prior discourse. As a result, the pivot argument is often left unexpressed because its referent can be easily established from the discourse context. For example, in (110) the undergoer argument of the verb *diagiah*, 'given', which also happens to be the pivot, is unexpressed (as shown by the null constituent symbol Ø). Since the reference set of the null pivot includes a participant in the conversation, i.e. the speaker, who is also introduced in the previous clause *uang saku punyo awak*, 'we have our own pocket money', the null pivot's referent is highly referentially salient and retrievable from the discourse context.

(110)   *Uang saku punyo awak se   lai tapi beko Ø diagiahnyo snack.*
money   pocket own   1   only more but later Ø PV-give-3   snack
'We have our own pocket money but later on (we) get given snacks.'

(Text ID: 627106104107130306)

Similarly, the referent of the missing pivot in (111b) is also retrievable from the discourse context. It is clear from (111a) that the actor, *Kancia*, 'Mousedeer', is a

discourse topical participant, since the story[12] is *about* him. Therefore, *Kancia* is also assumed to be the missing pivot in (111b).

(111) a. *Carito nyo bamulo   dari saikua   Kancia.*
          story   3   POSS-begin from ONE-CLASS:tail mousedeer
          'The story begins with a Mousedeer.'

          (Text ID: 135333143557140607)

   b. *Ø Maendap-endap ka   mancilok mantimun pak   tani.*
       Ø   AV-RED-crouch   FUT   AV-steal   cucumber   Father   farm
       '(Mousedeer) was creeping around wanting to steel the farmer's cucumbers.'

       (Text ID: 857720144150140607)

Another example of pivot omission can be found in (112). This example comes from a conversation about traditional weddings. The topic of this particular conversation, i.e. what the conversation is *about*, is *isi jalange*, 'the contents of the wedding gift'. Being the discourse topic, *isi jalange* is necessarily referentially salient and is interpreted as the unexpressed pivot, the undergoer argument specified by the verb the verb *dicaliak*, 'examined', in (112b).

(112) a. *Nyo kan   ditanyo a   **isi   jalange**.*
          3   EMPH PV-ask   what **contents wedding.gift-3**
          'They were asked what was in the wedding gift.'

          (Text ID: 113014112832080506)

   b. *Ø Dicaliak dek   urang ma.*
       Ø   PV-look   CAUSE person EMPH
       '(The contents of the wedding gift) were examined by people.'

       (Text ID: 570264113048080506)

Arguments are selected as pivots because they are highly referential and discourse topical. Arguments are discourse topical if their referents are participants in the conversation. Arguments are also discourse topical if they have a high number of mentions in the discourse, i.e. if the discourse is *about* these particular participants

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[12] A transcript of the Minangkabau folk tale '*Yang Lamah Yang Cadiak* or *The Weak and The Cunning*', from which these examples are taken, can be found in Appendix 4.

(Wouk, 1989). The referential saliency of arguments can also be determined by the pragmatic effects of contrastive focus (Arka, 2003a).

To test the effects of contrastive focus on pivot selection in Minangkabau I asked my language consultants the question in (113a), '*sia nan mambali oto baru*?', 'who bought a new car?', and added that they should imagine that I already knew that it was either *Udin* or somebody else. This meant that their answer would then provide contrastive focus between the two possible answers. In (113b) the answer *Udin* is given, but this answer should be understood in context; i.e. it was Udin that bought the new car (rather than somebody else). Since the answer *Udin* provides contrastive focus, this means that *Udin* the NP is referentially salient and therefore selected as the pivot. This in turn triggers active voice marking on the verb since *Udin* is an actor. Notice that although (113c) is grammatically well formed, in this context it is infelicitous (as shown by the # symbol). This because the NP *oto baru*, 'a new car', has been selected as the pivot even though it is not the most referentially salient argument.

(113) a. *Sia   nan mambali oto   baru?*
          who   REL AV-buy   car   new
          'Who bought a new car?' [Udin or somebody else?]

    b. *Udin nan   mambali oto   baru.*
        Udin REL   AV-buy   car   new
        'Udin bought a new car.' [rather than somebody else]

    c. *#Oto   baru nan   dibali Udin.*
        car   new REL   PV-buy Udin
        'Udin bought a new car.'

        (Elicitation)

Compare example (113) to (114). In example (114), contrastive focus is placed on the undergoer argument *a*, 'what', in (114a). This means that in the answer provided in (114b), the most referentially salient participant is the undergoer, *oto baru*, 'a new car', thus the undergoer is selected as the pivot and the verb is correspondingly marked for passive voice by the proclitic *di-*. The answer provided in (114c), however, is pragmatically inappropriate because the actor argument, *Udin*, has been selected as the pivot but is the least referentially salient argument according to this context.

(114) a. *A   nan   dibali Udin?*
          what REL   PV-buy Udin
          'What did Udin buy?' [A car or something else?]

     b.   *Oto   baru nan dibali Udin.*
          car   new REL PV-buy Udin
          'Udin bought a new car.' [rather than something else]

     c.   #*Udin nan mambali   oto   baru.*
          Udin   REL AV-buy   car   new
          'Udin bought a new car.'

          (Elicitation)

Referentiality is a relative measure. In Minangkabau, if one participant is underspecified then the other will automatically be more referential. This means, for example, that if the actor participant is unknown or underspecified, then the undergoer will be automatically assigned a higher degree of referential saliency and therefore selected as the pivot. Thus a *di-* passive construction will be the preferred way to encode the event.

For example, in (115) and (116) passive voice is preferred because the actor is underspecified. In (115), the speaker does not know the referent of the actor (the person who broke the flower stem), therefore the undergoer *bungo*, 'flower', is more referentially salient and selected as the pivot. This then triggers the use of passive voice. Notice that (115b) is a grammatically well constructed sentence but the use of active voice is infelicitous in this context.

(115) a. *Bungo   ko   dipatahannyo.*
          flower   DEM:prox   PV-broken-APP-3
          'Somebody broke the flower.'
          [Context: speaker is walking in garden and sees that a flower stem has been snapped off but doesn't know who did it.]

     b.   #*Inyo mamatahan   bungo ko.*
          3   AV-broken-APP flower DEM:prox
          'Somebody broke the flower.'
          [Context: speaker is walking in garden and sees that a flower stem has been snapped off but doesn't know who did it.]

          (Elicitation)

Similarly in (116) the referent of the actor participant *nyo* is unknown therefore the undergoer is naturally more referentially prominent and is selected to be the pivot. The

use of the passive voice in (116a) is pragmatically appropriate but the use of the active voice in (116b) is grammatically well formed but pragmatically strange.

(116) a. *Anjiang lia   tu   dikabeknyo jo   tali.*
        dog   wild DEM:dist PV-tie-3   with rope
        'Someone tied that wild dog up with rope.'
        [Context: speaker is replying to question, 'what happened to the wild dog?'.]

    b. *#Inyo mangabek Anjiang lia   tu   jo   tali.*
        3   AV-tie   dog   wild DEM:dist with rope
        'Someone tied that wild dog up with rope.'
        [Context: speaker is replying to question, 'what happened to the wild dog?'.]

    (Elicitation)

5.1.1.2 Pivots and Semantic Roles

In Minangkabau's pragmatically motivated voice system, voice marking essentially marks the realignment of the pivot function with different semantic roles. In active voice, the prefix *maN-* marks the fact that the pivot function is being performed by the actor argument, whereas in passive voice, the passive voice marker *di-* indicates that the pivot function is being performed by the undergoer argument. Similarly, the bare verb and distinctive clausal syntax of the *pasif semu* (P2) construction also indicate that the pivot is aligned with the undergoer role.

In Minangkabau, actors are those participants that posses the role-related properties of subjects (cf. Schachter, 1977). Semantically speaking, they are the participants who ultimately initiate the action by their own control or because they are being acted on by external forces. As such actors can be either volitional or non-volitional agents. They can also be experiencers (cf. Van Valin, 1999)[13].

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[13] Inanimate actor arguments of change of state verbs can also sometimes possess undergoer-like qualities as is the case for *kopi*, 'coffee', in (i). However, note that this kind of usage is rare and speakers are more likely to use a stative construction, as in (ii).

i.   *Kopinyo   mandingin.*
        coffee-3   AV-cold
        'His coffee is getting cold.'

        (Elicitation)

Examples (117) to (122) illustrate the use of *maN-* with the active verbs *manyipak*, 'kick', *mangumpua*, 'gather, swarm', *maloncek*, 'jump', *mandanga*, 'hear', *mamikia*, 'think', and *mambanci*, 'hate'. These verbs have pivots that are aligned with a range of different kinds of actor arguments (which are marked in the examples in bold).

In (117), *Santi* is an agent and has volitional control over the 'kicking' event.

(117) **Santi** *manyipak batu*   *karikia.*
        Santi   AV-kick   CLASS:stone   pebble
        'Santi kicked a pebble.'

        (Elicitation)

However, in (118) and (119) the actors *samuik*, 'the ants', and *sagadang cindua ko*, 'most of the cendol drink', are not prototypical agents because the origin of the action has an external cause. In (118) the gathering of the ants is an incidental consequence of them looking for sugar and in (119) the *cendol* drink 'jumps' out of Ajo Asai's mouth due to him involuntarily coughing.

(118) **Samuik** *mangumpua dek*   *ado gulo.*
        ant   AV-gather   CAUSE exist   sugar
        'The ants were swarming because of the sugar.'

        (Elicitation)

(119) *Bakacau batuak tabik. Khek. Maloncek lah*   **sagadang**   **cindua**
        MID-stir   cough   rise   IMIT   AV-jump   EMPH   **ONE-big**   **cendol.drin**k

        ko,   *dari muncuang Ajo.Asai ko*   *ka dalam pariuak.*
        DEM:prox from   mouth   Ajo.Asai   DEM:prox to   inside   cooking.pot

        'He stirred it then coughed. *Splat!* Most of the *cendol* drink jumped out of Ajo Asai's mouth and into the cooking pot'

        (Text ID: 780120002419210606)

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ii.   *Kopinyo*   *dingin.*
        coffee-3   cold
        'His coffee is cold.'

        (Elicitation)

In (120), (121) and (122) the actor arguments are experiencers. More specifically, in (120) *aden* is a perceiver, in (121) *inyo* is a cogniser and in (122) *inyo* is an emoter.

(120)   *Amak berang waktu nyo tau **aden** mandanga rahasionyo.*
          mum   angry time 3   know **1sg** AV-hear   secret-3
          'Mum was angry when she found out that I heard her secret.'

          (Elicitation)

(121)   ***Inyo** mamikia baa   caronyo kalua dari siko.*
          3   AV-think POSS-what method-3 go.out from here
          'He's thinking about how to get out of here.'

          (Elicitation)

(122)   ***Inyo** mambanci ibuknyo.*
          3   AV-hate   mother-3
          'He hates his mum.'

          (Elicitation)

Undergoers are those participants who are ultimately affected by the action. Undergoers include those participants undergoing a change of state (*gulai dagiang*, 'beef curry', in (123)) or a change of location (*roti*, 'bread', in (124)). They can also be recipients (*anak tu*, 'the child', in (125)), benefactors (*inyo*, 'he', in (126)), or locations (*kabun*, 'garden', in (127)). Undergoers are also the only arguments of stative predicates (*padusi tu*, 'the girl', in (128)).

(123)   ***Gulai dagiang*** *dimasaknyo.*
          curry   meat   PV-cook-3
          'Somebody cooked a beef curry.'

          (Elicitation)

(124)   ***Roti*** *diagiahan   dek   ibuk ka anaknyo.*
          bread PV-give-APP CAUSE mum to child-3
          'Bread was given by the mum to her child.'

          (Elicitation)

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(125)   ***Anak tu   diagiahan   roti dek   ibuknyo.***
         child   DEM:dist PV-give-APP bread CAUSE mum-3
         'The child was given bread by his mum.'

         (Elicitation)

(126)   ***Inyo dibuekan   kue dek   ibuknyo.***
         3   PV-make-APP cake CAUSE   mum-3
         'He was made a cake by his mum.'

         (Elicitation)

(127)   ***Kabun   ditanaminyo   jo   bungo.***
         garden   PV-plant-APP:loc-3 with flower
         'The garden was planted with flowers.'

         (Elicitation)

(128)   ***Padusi tu   sadiah.***
         female   DEM:dist sad
         'That girl is sad.'

         (Elicitation)

5.1.1.3 Pivots, Core Arguments, and Non-core Arguments

Pivots play an important role in Minangkabau grammatical relations because they trigger the use of corresponding voice morphology on the verb and also have a highly privileged syntactic position (see Section 5.1.1.4). In Minangkabau, only core arguments can be selected as pivots. The distinction between core and non-core arguments reflects a difference in syntactic status, but it also reflects a difference in their "degree of discourse relevance" (Shibatani, 2006: 261). Core arguments are unmarked and are licensed by the verb's argument structure. They are also assigned more discourse relevance than non-core arguments. Non-core arguments on the other hand, are not part of the verb's argument structure and are often accordingly case marked (Foley and Van Valin, 1984: 79). In Minangkabau, non-core arguments are marked by prepositions (see Section 4.2.2.2).

In Minangkabau, the argument structure of intransitive verb roots licenses a single core argument: stative verbs license an undergoer whereas active intransitives license an actor. Transitive verb roots license two core arguments: an actor and an undergoer,

either of which may be selected to be the pivot. Ditransitive verb roots, on the other hand, license a third argument which can be assigned core argument status in a 'dative' construction. Non-core arguments can also be assigned core status, and thus become available to be selected as the pivot, with the use of the general applicative *-an* or the locative applicative *-i* (see Section 5.3).

To demonstrate how the core/non-core distinction has an effect on which argument can be selected as the pivot, consider the two verbs *agiah*, 'give', and *buek*, 'make'. The verb *agiah* is ditransitive so specifies three arguments as part of its underlying argument structure: an actor, an undergoer and a recipient. However, *buek* is transitive so only specifies two arguments: an actor and an undergoer, but the use of the applicative *-an* licenses an additional benefactor participant.

Examples (129) and (130) show the use of these two verbs, *agiah*, 'give', and *buek*, 'make', respectively. In (129b) the recipient argument, *inyo*, 'him', (which is marked in bold), is assigned core argument status. This means that it can appear unmarked, i.e. without the preposition *ka*, in post-verbal position. This also means that if *agiah*, 'give', is marked for passive voice, both the undergoer *pitih*, 'money', and the recipient *inyo*, 'him', are available to be selected as the pivot (see (129c) and (129d)).

(129) a.   *Ali   maagiah   pitih   * **ka   inyo**.
          Ali   AV-give   money   **to**   **3**
          'Ali gave money to him.'

    b.   *Ali   maagiah * **inyo**   *pitih.*
          Ali   AV-give   **3**   money
          'Ali gave him money.'

    c.   *Pitih   diagiah   dek   Ali * **ka inyo**.
          money   PV-give-APP   CAUSE   1sg   **to**   **3**
          'Ali gave money to him.'

    d.   **Inyo**   *diagiah   pitih   dek   Ali.*
          3   PV-give   money   CAUSE   Ali
          'Ali gave him money.'

        (Elicitation)

In (130), the benefactor argument, *Udin*, is not specified by the argument structure of the verb *buek*, 'make', and is therefore a non-core argument. However, *Udin* can be

assigned core argument status with the cliticisation of the *-an* applicative on the verb. In (130b) *Udin* is a core argument and appears without the benefactive preposition *untuak*, 'for', in post-verbal position, and (130e), which is in passive voice, *Udin* is again assigned core argument status and is thus available to be selected as the pivot. However, notice that *Udin* may only be assigned core argument status if the verb is marked by the applicative *-an* (see (130c) and (130f)).

(130) a.   *Bininyo mambuekan   kopi **untuak**   **Udin**.*
        wife-3   AV-make-APP   coffee **for**   **Udin**
        'Udin's wife made coffee for him.'

     b.   *Bininyo mambuekan   **Udin**   kopi.*
        wife-3   AV-make-APP   **Udin**   coffee
        'Udin's wife made him coffee.'

     c.   **Bininyo   mambuek **Udin**   kopi.*
        wife-3   AV-make   **Udin**   coffee

     d.   *Kopi   dibuekan   dek   bininyo **untuak**   **Udin**.*
        coffee   PV-make-APP   CAUSE wife-3   **for**   **Udin**
        'Udin's wife made coffee for him.'

     e.   ***Udin**   dibuekan   kopi dek   bininyo.*
        Udin   PV-make-APP coffee CAUSE wife-3
        'Udin's wife made him coffee.'

     f.   ****Udin** dibuek   kopi   dek   bininyo.*
        Udin   PV-make   coffee   CAUSE   wife-3

       (Elicitation)

5.1.1.4 Pivots and Syntax

By definition, pivots in Minangkabau occupy the most privileged syntactic position in the clause. As well as (typically) occurring in pre-verbal position, Minangkabau pivots also have control over a number of syntactic constructions such as raising, relativisation, extraction and zero anaphora, as the following examples will demonstrate.

Example (131) demonstrates the three-way voice opposition between active voice, passive voice and the *pasif semu* with the verb *tulih*, 'write'. In (131a) the verb is

marked for active voice, this reflects the fact that the actor *aden* has been selected as the pivot. In (131b) and (131c), the undergoer, *surek tu*, 'the letter', is selected as the pivot, thus the verb is marked for passive voice in (131b) and appears in *pasif semu* form in (131c). Notice that in each of these examples the pivot occupies pre-verbal position. The pre-verbal slot is typically reserved for the pivot, although examples of more flexible word orders can be found in informal discourse (see Section 5.1.2.2 and Section 5.1.3.2). The pre-verbal position is preferred for pivots because it is iconic; the most referentially important participant comes first.

(131) a.   *Aden   manulih surek tu.*
            1sg   AV-write letter   DEM:dist
            'I wrote the letter.'

      b.   *Surek tu   ditulih   dek   aden.*
            letter   DEM:dist PV-write CAUSE 1sg
            'I wrote the letter.'

      c.   *Surek tu   den   tulih.*
            letter   DEM:dist 1sg   write
            'I wrote the letter.'

            (Elicitation)

In Minangkabau only pivots can be raised. In (132) the actor argument, *amak*, 'mum', is the pivot. The basic sentence in (132a) appears in (132b) as a complement clause introduced by the head *nampaknyo*, 'it seems', where *nyo* acts like a dummy subject. Since only the pivot of the complement clause can be raised to pivot position in the matrix clause, this means that only the actor argument *amak* can be raised, as we see in (132c) and (132d).

(132) a.   *Amak ka   mamberangan   awak.*
            mum   FUT AV-angry-APP   1
            'Mum is going to get angry with me/ scold me.'

      b.   *Nampaknyo amak ka   mamberangan   awak.*
            seem-3   mum   FUT AV-angry-APP   1
            'It seems that mum is going to get angry with me/ scold me.'

      c.   *Amak nampaknyo ka   mamberangan   awak.*
            mum   seem-3   FUT AV-angry-APP   1
            'Mum seems like she is going to get angry with me/ scold me.'

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d.　*Awak nampaknyo amak ka　mamberangan.
　　　1　　seem-3　　　mum　FUT　AV-angry-APP

(Elicitation)

Similarly in (133), only the undergoer argument, the first person pronoun *awak*, can be raised to pivot position in (133c). This is because *awak* is the pivot of the complement clause.

(133) a.　*Awak ka　diberangan dek　amak.*
　　　　1　　FUT　PV-angry-APP CAUSE mum
　　　　'I'm going to be scolded by mum.'

　　b.　*Nampaknyo awak ka　diberangan dek　amak.*
　　　　seem-3　　　1　　FUT　PV-angry-APP CAUSE mum
　　　　'It seems that I'm going to be got angry at/ scolded by mum.'

　　c.　*Awak nampaknyo ka　diberangan dek　amak.*
　　　　1　　seem-3　　　FUT　PV-angry-APP CAUSE mum
　　　　'I seem like I'm going to be got angry at/ scolded by mum.'

　　d.　*Amak　nampaknyo awak ka　diberangan.*
　　　　mum　　seem-3　　　1　　FUT　PV-angry-APP

(Elicitation)

Another property of pivots in Minangkabau is that they have control over relativisation, i.e. the pivot of a relative clause must be also be the head of the relative clause. For example, in (134), *anak*, 'child', the relativised NP head, must also be the pivot of the relative clause for (134a) to be grammatical. This means that the relative clause must be in active voice because *anak*, 'child', has the semantic role of actor. In (134b), notice that the assignment of semantic roles has shifted due to the presence of the applicative on the verb. *Anak*, 'child', is now an undergoer and the new argument, the third person pronoun *inyo*, is the actor. In this sentence the pivot of the relative clause is *inyo* but the relativised NP is *anak*, making the sentence ungrammatical. We can fix (134b) by making *anak* the pivot of the relative clause in (134c) and correspondingly marking the verb *suruakan*, 'hide', for passive voice.

(134) a.　*Anak　nan manyuruak di　belakang batang karambia alah　lari.*
　　　　child　REL AV-hide　LOC behind　　tree　　coconut　PFCT　run
　　　　'The child who hid behind the coconut tree ran away.'

b.   *Anak nan inyo manyuruakan di   belakang batang karambia alah
child   REL 3   AV-hide-APP LOC behind   tree   coconut   PFCT

lari.
run

'The child who he hid behind the coconut tree ran away.'

c.   Anak nan disuruakannyo di   belakang batang karambia alah lari.
child   REL PV-hide-APP-3 LOC behind   tree   coconut   PFCT run
'The child who was hidden behind the coconut tree ran away.'

(Elicitation)

Similarly in (135), notice that the undergoer argument, *kue*, 'cake', is the relativised pivot. This means that the verb must be marked for passive voice.

(135) a.   Kue nan disuruakannyo tu   alah   masak.
cake REL PV-hide-APP-3   DEM:dist PFCT   cook
'The cake that was hidden by him is already cooked.'

b.   Ambo makan   kue nan disuruakannyo.
1sg   eat   cake REL PV-hide-APP-3
'I ate the cake that was hidden by him.'

c.   *Kue nan inyo manyuruakan tu   alah masak.
cake   REL   3   AV-hide-APP   DEM:dist PFCT cook
'The cake that he hid is already cooked.'

(Elicitation)

Another syntactic property of Minangkabau pivots is that only the pivot can be extracted from an embedded clause. For example, notice that *Ana*, the actor argument, is the pivot in (136a). *Ana* is also the pivot of the embedded clause in (136b). Notice that the extraction of the pivot, *Ana*, in (136c) is grammatical whereas the extraction of the undergoer, i.e. the non-pivot argument, in (136d) produces an ungrammatical sentence.

(136) a.   Ana manguduang   cimangko.
Ana AV-cut   watermelon
'Ana cut the watermelon.'

b.   Dikironyo Ana nan manguduang cimangko tu.
PV-think-3 Ana REL AV-cut   watermelon DEM:dist
'They think it was Ana who cut the watermelon.'

c. *Ana dikironyo nan manguduang cimangko tu.*
Ana   PV-think-3 REL AV-cut   watermelon DEM:dist
'Ana they think was the one who cut the watermelon.'

d. **Cimangko tu   dikironyo Ana nan manguduang.*
watermelon   DEM:dist PV-think-3 Ana   REL AV-cut

(Elicitation)

Similarly in (137) only the pivot argument of the embedded clause in (137b) can be extracted. Since the embedded clause is in passive voice, the undergoer argument must be the pivot. This means that only the undergoer argument *cimangko*, 'watermelon', can be extracted. And as we see in (137d) extraction of the non-pivot argument *Ana* results in an ungrammatical sentence.

(137) a. *Cimangko tu   alah   dikuduangnyo.*
watermelon DEM:dist PFCT   PV-cut-3
'The watermelon has already been cut by somebody.'

b. *Dikironyo cimangko tu   nan dikuduang dek   si   Ana tu.*
PV-think-3   watermelon DEM:dist REL PV-cut   CAUSE PERS Ana DEM:dist
'They think that it was the watermelon that Ana cut.'

c. *Cimangko tu   dikironyo nan dikuduang dek   si   Ana tu.*
watermelon DEM:dist PV-think-3 REL PV-cut   CAUSE PERS Ana DEM:dist
'It was the watermelon they think that was cut by Ana.'

d. **Si Ana tu   dikironyo cimangko tu   nan dikuduang.*
PERS Ana   DEM:dist PV-think-3 watermelon DEM:dist REL PV-cut

(Elicitation)

Finally, Minangkabau pivots also have control over coreferentiality in cases of zero anaphora. In clausal conjunction, if the pivot of the main clause is also the pivot of a conjoined clause, then the pivot of the conjoined clause can be null and still be correctly interpreted as having the same referent as the pivot of the main clause. In cases where the pivot of the main clause and the pivot of the conjoined clause are different, the pivot of the conjoined clause must be explicitly stated.

To demonstrate these facts consider example (138). In all sentences the actor argument, *Efendi*, is the pivot of the main clause. This is demonstrated by the fact that the verb *mancaliak*, 'see', is marked for active voice. In sentences (138a) and (138b) the referent

of the pivot of the conjoined clause is left ambiguous. In (138a) the pivot of the conjoined clause is the third person pronoun *inyo* and in (138b) it is phonologically null. However, since only pivots can be coreferential in cases of zero anaphora, it is understood that *Efendi* is the intended referent for the pivot of the conjoined clauses in both (138a) and (138b). However in (138c), *Ali* is the pivot of the conjoined clause. This must be overtly stated because *Ali* is not coreferential with the pivot of the main clause.

(138) a. *Efendi   mancaliak Ali,   langsuang inyo lari.*
          Efendi   AV-see   Ali   direct   3   run
          'Efendi saw Ali and then he (Efendi) ran away.'

  b. *Efendi   mancaliak Ali,   langsuang lari.*
          Efendi   AV-see   Ali   direct   run
          'Efendi saw Ali and then (he, Efendi) ran away.'

  c. *Efendi   mancaliak Ali,   Ali   langsuang lari.*
          Efendi   AV-see   Ali   Ali   straight   run
          'Efendi saw Ali and then Ali ran away.'

    (Elicitation)

5.1.2 Active Voice

When the pivot is aligned with the actor participant, this triggers active voice marking on the verb. Section 5.1.2.1 details the phonological properties of the active voice prefix *maN-* and Section 5.1.2.2 describes its syntactic properties. The active voice prefix also has a number of lexical/derivational and semantic properties and these are discussed in Section 5.1.2.3.

5.1.2.1 Phonological Properties of maN-

In Minangkabau, active voice is marked on the verb by the prefix *maN-*. The prefix is a reflex of the Proto Malayic agent oriented verb marker **mAN-* (Adelaar, 1992a: 161), which is thought to be a descendent of **um-*, a marker of the actor pivot construction in Proto Austronesian (Ross, 2002: 54). The Minangkabau active voice prefix consists of the sequence *ma* and a homorganic nasal consonant. The phonological effects of the

homorganic nasal on the verb stem are described in Adelaar (1992a; 1995) and listed in Table 17 (see Appendix 2 for a more detailed phonological sketch of Minangkabau).

Table 17. Phonological Effects of maN- prefixation.

(Adelaar, 1995: 438)

ORDER	CHANGE
i.	Homorganic nasal substitution for initial voiceless stops *p*, *t*, *k*.
ii.	Palatal nasal substitution for initial *s*.
iv.	Homorganic nasal accretion before initial voice stops.
v.	In all other cases only *ma-* is used.

Examples of each of the morphophonemic changes caused by *maN-* prefixation can be found in Table 18.

Table 18. Examples of maN- prefixation.

CHANGE	VERB ROOT	PREFIXATION OF *maN-*	
i.	*pagang*	*mamagang*	'hold'
	tolong	*manolong*	'help'
	kecek	*mangecek*	'say, talk'
ii.	*sabarang*	*manyabarang*	'traverse, cross'
iii.	*bali*	*mambali*	'buy'
	dorong	*mandorong*	'push'
	galeh	*manggaleh*	'sell'
	caliak	*mancaliak*	'see, look'
	janji	*manjanji*	'promise'
iv.	*masak*	*mamasak*	'cook'
	nikah	*manikah*	'get married'
	nyunyuik	*manyunyuik*	'suck'
	ngango	*mangango*	'gape'
	rantau	*marantau*	'wander, leave home'
	lapeh	*malapeh*	'set free, release'
	iduik	*maiduikan*	'switch on'

In many varieties of Non-Standard Malay/Indonesian, instead of the full prefix, the homorganic nasal is used to mark agent oriented verbs (Gil, 2002a). For example, one of the distinguishing features of Jakarta Indonesian is that speakers use the *N-* form of the active voice prefix rather than the Standard Indonesian *meN-* (Cole, Hermon and

Tjung, 2006; Wouk, 1989). Example (139) is from Jakarta Indonesian. Note that the form of the verb in this example is *nulis*, whereas in Standard Indonesian the form would be *menulis*.

(139)   *Siti   nulis   surat   itu.*
          Siti   N-tulis   surat   itu
          Siti   N-write letter   that
          'Siti wrote the letter.'

          (Cole, Hermon and Tjung, 2006: 67)

Speakers of Jakarta Indonesian also use bare verbs as they would *N-* marked active verbs as (140) shows.

(140)   *Siti   tulis   surat   itu.*
          Siti   Ø-tulis   surat   itu
          Siti   write   letter   that
          'Siti wrote the letter.'

          (Cole, Hermon and Tjung, 2006: 68)

Speakers of Minangkabau also use the homorganic nasal form *N-* to mark active voice verbs instead of the full form *maN-* (see example (141)). The use of the homorganic nasal in place of the full prefix is restricted to Colloquial Minangkabau.

(141)a.   *Sia   mbuek?*
          sia   N-buek
          who   AV-make
          'Who made it?' (Colloquial Minangkabau.)

          (Text ID: 215709222814310506)

    b.   *Sia   mambuek?*
          sia   maN-buek
          who   AV-make
          'Who made it?' (Standard Minangkabau.)

          (Elicitation)

Perhaps more characteristic of Colloquial Minangkabau than the use of the *N-* prefix, is the use of bare verbs in place of active voice marked verbs (see example (142)). Many speakers of Minangkabau would describe the use of *buek* instead of *mambuek* in (142a)

as ill formed. However, bare verbs are used with high frequency in both active and passive clauses and are better described as *underspecified* rather than *ungrammatical* (see Chapter 6).

(142) a. *Nyo buek   agak   limo puluah buah.*
       nyo Ø-buek agak   limo puluah buah
       3   make   quite   five ten   CLASS:fruit
       'He made about fifty of them.' (Colloquial Minangkabau.)

       (Text ID: 355320104324270306)

   b. *Nyo mambuek agak limo puluah buah.*
       nyo maN-buek   agak limo puluah buah
       3   AV-make   quite five ten   CLASS:fruit
       'He made about fifty of them.' (Standard Minangkabau.)

       (Elicitation)

The Minangkabau active voice marker *maN-* is an affix and once affixed it becomes part of the whole phonological word and undergoes the same phonological processes as the word, including stress and intonation placement. Evidence from the *Sorba* ludling helps demonstrate these facts (see Appendix 3 for the *Sorba* rules). The *Sorba* transformational rules affect the whole phonological word. In this case we'd expect that affixation occurs prior to the ludling transformations and this is indeed what happens. As example (143) illustrates, the phonological rules governing the affixation of *maN-* to the stem are applied before the ludling's transformational rules take effect. So in (143) we find the forms *cermange* and *ngirmana-ngirmana* and not **mancerke* and **mangirna-mangirna* (note that the *Sorba* data is italicised with the Minangkabau translation directly underneath).

(143) a. *A   narti   cermange se lai.*
       A   xx   mangecek se lai.
       FILL xx   AV-talk   just more
       'Ah it's just the talking left to do.'

       (Text ID: 280416020521130906)

   b. *A   ngirma ngirmana-ngirmana   nyo*
       A   xx   manangih-manangih nyo.
       FILL xx   RED-AV-cry   3
       'Ah she cried and cried.'

       (Text ID: 751832215544061206)

The *Sorba* facts support the analysis of *maN-* as an affix but this evidence is only revealing if we compare how the ludling affects non-affixes. Section 5.1.3.1 presents some data that illustrates how the passive voice marker *di-* is affected by the *Sorba* ludling. Since *di-* attaches to the word after the *Sorba* ludling transformations have taken place, the evidence suggests that *di-* is a proclitic.

Affixation occurs at the word level of phonological representation, before the ludling operations take effect, whereas cliticisation occurs after all phonological processes that affect the word have taken place. These phonological behaviours reflect the fact that affixes function lexically and reflect semantic changes whereas clitics operate post-lexically and are licensed as a result of syntactic processes (Anderson, 2005: 34; Zwicky, 1985). This distinction is important to make for Minangkabau in regards to the alternation between *maN-* and *di-*. Since processes affecting *maN-* affixation occur at the lexical level, this supports the idea that *maN-* has a lexical/derivational and semantic functions. The clitic *di-* on the other hand, is licensed by processes that occur post lexically, which supports the analysis of *di-* as having a primarily pragmatic and syntactic function. These ideas are supported by the finding that *maN-* functions as a part of Minangkabau's non-pragmatically motivated voice system whereas *di-* does not (see Section 5.1.2.3).

5.1.2.2 Syntactic Properties of maN-

Since the active voice prefix *maN-* is used to mark the fact that the pivot function is aligned with the actor argument, it can only be used with a verb that specifies an actor as part of its argument structure. As such, the prefix can be used with active intransitive verb roots, transitive verb roots and ditransitive verb roots (see Chapter 4) where its role is to show that the actor has been selected as the pivot. However, *maN-* can also affix to noun roots and stative verb roots. In this case, *maN-* not only marks the fact that the pivot is aligned with the actor role, it has the additional derivational effect of altering underlying argument structure of the root (see Section 5.1.2.3).

In a typical *maN-* clause, the actor appears in pre-verbal pivot position. If the verb is transitive, then the undergoer appears in post-verbal position. This canonical word order is exemplified in (144).

(144)   *Tadi   malam   den   mandanga   musik.*
             before   night   1sg   AV-hear   music
                              ACTOR   VERB   UNDERGOER
      'Last night I listened to music.'

      (Elicitation)

Non-core arguments typically occur after the undergoer and are marked by a preposition. In (145a) note that the locative non-core argument *kabun*, 'garden', is marked by the locative preposition *di*. The addition of an applicative on the verb allows the non-core argument core status. This results in a change in word order as the new core argument is moved to post verbal position. In (145b) the locative applicative *-i* is used, resulting in the movement of *kabun*, 'garden', from non-core position to core position (also see Section 5.3).

(145)a.   *Ambo   mananam bungo   di   kabun*
           1sg   AV-plant   flower   LOC garden
           ACTOR   VERB   UNDERGOER NON-CORE
           'I'm planting flowers in the garden.'

     b.   *Ambo   mananami kabun tu   jo   bungo.*
           1sg   AV-plant-APP garden DEM:dist with flower
           ACTOR   VERB   CORE   NON-CORE
           'I planted the garden with flowers'

           (Elicitation)

Many examples of non-canonical word orders can be found in Colloquial Minangkabau. In fact, in many clauses with intransitive *maN-* verbs, the actor appears in post-verbal position. This kind of word order occurs in discourse when the actor argument is given as an afterthought, or if the actor argument is particularly pragmatically salient in terms of the development of narrative events. Examples of the 'verb + actor' word order can be found in (146), (147), and (148).

(146)   *Baru   awak dari pasa   manyuruak nyo.*
new   1   from market AV-hide   3
                                  VERB   ACTOR
'I had just come out from the market when he hid.'

(Text ID: 919128135737130406)

(147)   *Eem   manggaleh nyo   Jakarta.*
EMPH AV-sell   3   Jakarta
             VERB   ACTOR
'Uh huh he is selling in Jakarta.'

(Text ID: 888303103639230306)

(148)   *Sadang mamanjek pareman ko   nak   tibo pak   gaek ko.*
PROG   AV-climb hoodlum DEM:prox EMPH arrive Father old   DEM:prox
            VERB   ACTOR
'Just as the hoodlum was climbing up, right, the old man arrived.'

(Text ID: 165755110555290306)

Although unusual, an 'undergoer + verb' word order is also possible in transitive *maN-* clauses. Examples of this kind of word order can be found in (149) and (150). Whether this kind of word order has discourse pragmatic significance, or whether it is a symptom of Colloquial Minangkabau's 'associational' semantic nature requires further examination. Interestingly, the 'associational' nature of Minangkabau also allows for word order variation in clauses with bare verbs (see Chapter 6).

(149)   *Beko   mintake tu   mangkabua.*
later   request-3 DEM:dist AV-answer
            UNDERGOER   VERB
'Later his request would be granted.'

(Text ID: 635534100744060406)

(150)   *Lai, lai   kami   itu   nyo mandanga.*
more more 1   DEM:dist 3   AV-hear
                ACTOR   UNDERGOER VERB
'Yeah, yeah we heard it.'

(Text ID: 251777133323011206)

Another fact of Colloquial Minangkabau is that transitive *maN-* verbs may appear in informal discourse with one or more of their arguments omitted. Example (111b) illustrated the use of a *maN-* verb with a null actor argument. Sentences (151) and (152)

show two examples in which the *maN-* verb is transitive, but in which the undergoer argument is not specified.

In (151) the undergoer argument of *mananyo*, 'ask', is omitted because it is clear from A's utterance that *perasaan inyo*, 'his feelings', is the intended referent.

(151) A: *Tanyo **perasaan**   **inyo** nan sabana nyo.*
          ask   **NOM-feel-NOM** **3**   REL ONE-true 3
          'Ask him what his true feelings are.'

          (Text ID: 148539134049200406)

      B: *A   baa   caro mananyo Ø dek   Engki?*
          FILL POSS-what manner AV-ask Ø CAUSE   TRU-Hengky
          'But what is the way to ask (him about it) Engki?'

          (Text ID: 211102141210200406)

In (152a) both the actor and undergoer arguments of *manggaleh*, 'sell', are omitted. The actor argument is understood from the context since its referent is the topic of conversation. The omission of the undergoer in (152a) means that the utterance is vague, but nonetheless well formed. The speaker then specifies the undergoer argument, *asksesori honda*, 'motorcycle accessories', in (152b).

(152) a. *Ø La   tingga lo   samo jo uda   tu   manggaleh Ø.*
           Ø PFCT live   furthermore with with older.brother DEM:dist AV-sell   Ø
           '(He) lives with his older brother selling (stuff).'

           (Text ID: 443080092753090606)

      b. *Manggaleh apo aksesori honda   ko   a.*
           AV-sell   what accessory motorcycle DEM:prox EXCL
           'Selling motorcycle accessories.'

           (Text ID: 863047095102090606)

Clauses with ditransitive verbs also appear in naturalistic discourse with some of their arguments omitted. In (153) notice that the recipient argument specified by the verb *agiah*, 'give', is not overtly expressed but is nevertheless understood from the discourse context.

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(153)   *Apa apak apakah o   itu   kan   maagiah Ø namo buruak?*
                what xx   what-INT FILL DEM:dist EMPH AV-give Ø   name   bad
                'What, oh, will it, you know, give (his family) a bad name?'

                (Text ID: 868023140528170306)

Fortin (2001) argues that even if all the possible arguments of a verb are not overtly expressed, as long as the verb is marked by *maN-*, then the verb is understood as transitive and any unexpressed arguments are 'understood' but underspecified. In addition to this, Fortin also claims that clauses which have omitted arguments are illegal if the verb is unmarked.

So, by Fortin's (2001: 14) analysis, a sentence like (154), in which the verb is bare and one or more of its arguments are omitted, is illegal. The verb *gigik*, 'bite', in (154) is transitive and therefore specifies an undergoer argument but in this example the undergoer argument is omitted and the verb is not marked for active voice. This means that "the semantic transitivity of the verb root is not represented" thus causing the clause to be ungrammatical (Fortin, 2001: 14). Although Fortin's claims may represent the judgments of many Minangkabau speakers, the conversational data in the MPI EVA Minangkabau database reveals a different picture. Bare verbs are a systematic feature of Colloquial Minangkabau and sentences like (154) abound. For this reason I do not consider (154) an ungrammatical sentence.

(154)   *Inyo gigik Ø.*
           3   bite   Ø
           'He bites (something).'

           (adapted from Fortin, 2001: 14)

In Colloquial Minangkabau bare forms of transitive verb roots regularly appear in clauses in which some of their arguments are omitted (see Chapter 6). For example, in (155) the verb *agiah*, 'give', appears in its bare form even though two of the verb's arguments, the undergoer and the recipient, are unexpressed. Similarly in (156) the undergoer argument of the bare verb *tokokan*, 'hit', is omitted.

(155)   *Tapi   ketiko ado awak agiah Ø Ø se   nanti.*
         but   when   exist 1   give Ø Ø just later
         'But when it's here I'll just give (it (to you)) later.'

         (Text ID: 277943102053170506)

(156)   *Baa   ko   nyo tokokan Ø kayak gitu   tu   Yes?*
         POSS-what DEM:prox 3   hit-APP Ø like DEM:dist DEM:dist TRU-Maiyes
         'How come he hit (it) like that Yes?'

         (Text ID: 170492105523080606)

Constructions like those presented in (155) and (156) are frequently found in Colloquial Minangkabau, suggesting that speakers regularly use bare verb forms, even in cases where one or more of the verb's arguments are unexpressed. These findings raise questions about the obligatoriness of the *maN-* prefix (see Chapter 6) and require us to rigorously assess the nature of argument structure in Minangkabau.

Thompson and Hopper's (2001) study of argument structure in English examined a corpus of naturalistic conversational data. Their study revealed that speakers' intuitions and linguists' introspections about argument structure in English differ radically from the patterns revealed in their conversational data. One of their most significant findings is that verbs traditionally ascribed to the transitive category are frequently rendered intransitive in discourse. They also "identified both a range of uses and collocations of verbs as well as frequency effects that have not been addressed in argument structure discussions based on introspection" (Thompson and Hopper, 2001: 41). These findings indicate the importance of using naturalistic data, rather than elicited data or introspection, in order to paint an accurate picture of the variety of structures used in a language. If we see grammar as a reflection of how people use language then their study also reveals that in order to know all of the possible grammatical structures in a language then we must empirically examine the kinds of structures people use.

Thompson and Hopper's (2001) study of argument structure in English is important to keep in the back of our minds as we consider the Minangkabau data. The Minangkabau data reveals that argument structure is determined by the verb root but can be modified by verbal morphology. The data also reveals that the arguments specified by a verb's frame need not necessarily all be expressed. These findings demonstrate that

conversational data presents a wide range of possible structures in a language that must be incorporated into a description of the language for a comprehensive understanding of that language's grammar.

5.1.2.3 Semantic and Lexical/Derivational Properties of maN-

The primary function of *maN-* is to encode the fact that the pivot function is aligned with the actor role. The *maN-* prefix also has some lexical/derivational effects, being able to derive active verbs from NPs and stative verbs. The prefix also has semantic effects and adds active aktionsart to the NP roots and stative roots as part of the derivational process. In fact, all *maN-* verbs have active aktionsart. As such, the semantic effects of *maN-* can be described in terms of Shibatani's (2006) "evolution of action" framework (see below).

When combined with a noun, the *maN-* prefix adds an active aktionsart to the root's meaning. It can form active intransitive verbs meaning 'to use *noun*' (Moussay, 1998) and can also combine with nominal roots to form transitive verbs[14]. For example, in (157) the verb *maN-* derives the verb *manggulai*, 'make a curry', from the NP root *gulai*, 'curry'. Notice that the derived verb is transitive: it specifies an actor argument, *inyo*, 'she', the person making the curry, and an undergoer argument, *kambiang*, 'goat', the thing being turned into a curry.

(157)   *Inyo manggulai   kambiang.*
         3   AV-curry   goat
         'She's making a goat curry.'

         (Elicitation)

The prefix *maN-* can also derive intransitive 'change of state' verbs from stative roots. In this case, the prefix changes the inherent aspect of the verb root from a state to an activity. The prefix also licenses an actor argument, which is automatically assigned pivot status since the verb is intransitive. Causative verbs can also be derived from

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[14] Adelaar (1992a) claims that *maN-* can also derive intransitive verbs from nouns that mean 'to be on *noun*'. I did not find any examples of this kind of derivation in my data so I do not discuss it here.

'change of state' verbs with the addition of the applicative clitic *-an*, which has the effect of transitivising the verb by licensing an undergoer argument.

For example, in (158a), the change of state verb *mandingin*, 'get cold', has been derived from the stative root *dingin*, 'cold'. The causative, transitive verb *mandinginan*, 'cool something down', is then derived in (158b) with the addition of the applicative *-an*. Notice that the presence of the undergoer argument in (158c) is ungrammatical without the applicative.

(158) a.   *Badan ambo   mandingin.*
            body   1sg   AV-cold
            'I'm getting cold.'

    b.   *Aden   maambuih kopi untuak mandinginan   nyo.*
            1sg   AV-blow   coffee for   AV-cold-APP   3
            'I blew on the coffee to cool it down.'

    c.   **Aden maambuih kopi untuak mandingin nyo.*
            1sg   AV-blow   coffee for   AV-cold   3

    (Elicitation)

Shibatani (2006) observes that active verbs are often associated with progressive and active aspectual properties and argues that this is a feature of their role in showing the development stage in the "evolution of action". Thus, for Shibatani, although active voice indicates a pragmatically motivated opposition to passive voice, it also has conceptual underpinnings. The Minangkabau active voice marker *maN-* also occupies this intersection between semantics and pragmatics and also functions to show the development of an action. In Colloquial Minangkabau the functional load of *maN-* is primarily semantic since it is not used to mark a pragmatic voice distinction (see Chapter 6).

There is also evidence to support an analysis of *meN-* in Malay/Indonesian as a semantic/conceptual device used to mark aspectual notions. Hopper's (1979) work argues that the foregrounding and backgrounding of events in Classical Malay discourse is achieved through voice marking, whereas other languages achieve this through various other strategies including tense-aspect marking on the verb, word order, and

sentence particles. Hopper found that in Classical Malay, clauses containing *di-* marked verbs were perfective, realis, active and used to encode foregrounded events, which are central to the progression of the narrative. Clauses containing *meN-* verbs on the other hand were imperfective, often irrealis and frequently found in backgrounded clauses.

Similarly, a recent study of contemporary Malay *meN-*, also found that the prefix was associated with imperfective and progressive aspect (Soh and Nomoto, 2008). Furthermore, in her study of Chindo, a variety of Non-Standard Indonesian spoken by the Peranakan Chinese community in Malang, East Java, Rafferty (1982) argues that the homorganic nasal prefix *N-*, traditionally thought of as encoding active voice, functions primarily as a marker of imperfective aspect. The passive voice marker *di-* conversely has the function of marking perfective aspect in this variety (see Section 2.2).

None of these studies claims that *meN-* or *N- encodes* imperfective aspect but it is clear that the use of the active voice prefix correlates closely with clauses that display these imperfective aspectual qualities. The fact that Minangkabau *maN-* has similar aspectual qualities is a result of its role in showing the development of action.

5.1.3 Passive Voice

To complete our understanding of Minangkabau's pragmatically motivated voice system now let us discuss the phonological, syntactic and semantic effects of the passive voice marker *di-*.

5.1.3.1 Phonological Properties of di-

In Minangkabau, passive voice is encoded by the morpheme *di-*. The Minangkabau passive voice marker is cognate with Malay/Indonesian *di-*, which is described as a prefix (Dardjowidjojo, 1978; Musgrave, 2000; Sneddon, 1996). However, *di-* does not behave like a prefix in Minangkabau. Williams (1961: 66-67) labels the Minangkabau passive voice marker *di-* a "quasi prefix" but I argue that it is a proclitic. Evidence

comes from the fact that the morphophonemic and prosodic qualities of *di-* differ considerably from those of the Minangkabau prefixes *maN-*, *ta-*, *pa-*, and *ba-*.

Unlike the affix *maN-*, which merges and assimilates with immediately adjacent segments, *di-* preserves its phonological shape. In cases where *di-* cliticises with a vowel initial stem that has a glottal stop onset, the glottal stop will be preserved and the [i] vowel in *di-* will not merge with the initial vowel of the stem. However, *di-* cannot stand alone as a prosodic word and must 'lean on' adjacent words. This means that *di-* satisfies Anderson's (2005: 23) definition of a phonological clitic: "a linguistic element whose phonological form is deficient in that it lacks prosodic structure at the level of the (prosodic) word".

The passive voice marker *di-* is also restricted in terms of which class of substantive word it may cliticise with since it only cliticises with bi-valent verbs. *Di-* may also only occur in a certain specific syntactic frame, i.e., a passive clause. This makes *di-* a 'special clitic', according to Zwicky's (1977) terminology, and 'morphosyntactic clitic' according to Anderson (2005: 31). Since *di-* does not alternate with a non-clitic form as some 'special clitics' are seen to do, Anderson's term 'morphosyntactic clitic' more accurately describes the behaviour and functions of *di-*.

A further feature that distinguishes *di-* from Minangkabau affixes is how it is affected by prosodic structure. Affixes, which combine with the root to form a substantive word, are subject to word stress and phrasal stress. However clitics, which include the applicative *-an*, pronominal enclitics such as *-e* and *-nyo*, as well as the passive voice marker *di-*, do not attract lexical or phrasal stress. There is evidence to suggest that phrasal stress in Minangkabau is syllable final yet clitics are not affected by this tendency. For example, in (159a) stress falls on the final syllable of *dimasak*, which has been underlined and marked in bold in the example. Notice in (159b) that the applicative clitic *–an* has been introduced to provide a benefactive reading. Despite this extra phonetic material stress still falls on the *-sak* syllable (see Appendix 2 for information about stress in Minangkabau and Section 5.3 for discussion about applicatives).

(159) a. *Gulai   dagiang   dima<u>sak</u>.*
          curry   meat   PV-cook
          'The beef curry has been cooked.'

   b. *Gulai   dagaing   dima<u>sak</u>an.*
          curry   meat   PV-cook-APP
          'The beef curry was cooked (for somebody).'

          (Elicitation)

The *Sorba* ludling provides further evidence for *di-*'s status as a clitic (see Appendix 3 for *Sorba* rules). Unlike the active voice prefix *maN-*, which is incorporated into the substantive word before the word undergoes the ludling transformations, *di-* is not affected by the ludling rules. For example, in (160) and (161) notice that *di-* cliticises to the verbs, *cabuik*, 'pull', and *opor*, 'move', respectively, after the verb stems have undergone the ludling transformations (note that the *Sorba* data is italicised with the Minangkabau translation directly underneath). If *di-* cliticised to the word before the ludling transformations took effect, the incorrect forms **burdica* and **pordio* would be produced. Instead, the stems undergo the *Sorba* transformations first to produce *burca* and *poro*, then the forms become *diburca* and *diporo* after cliticisation. The fact that the clitic does not undergo the ludling transformations suggests that it is not part of the internal structure of the word and is thus outside of the phonological processes that affect the word.

(160)   *Baru   tu   jan   diburca juo.*
          Uban   tu   jan   dicabuik juo.
          white.hair DEM:dist PROHIB PV-yank   also
          'Don't pull out your white hairs.'

          (Text ID: 864386022458180906)

(161)   *Tora   ko   kan   bisa lo   diporo   ka   purda tu.*
          Atok   ko   kan   bisa lo   diopor   ka   dapua tu.
          roof   DEM:prox EMPH can furthermore PV-move to   kitchen DEM:dist
          'This roof you know can be moved to the kitchen too.'

          (Text ID: 123813212520280906)

The phonological and syntactic behaviour of *di-* in Minangkabau can partly be explained by its historical origins. Adelaar (1992a; 1992b; 2005b; 2008) suggests that *di-* has the same historical origins as the locative preposition *di* but that it once had a

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much wider range of prepositional uses[15]. His evidence comes from the fact that in some Malayic varieties, such as Kelantan Malay, *di-* functions as an agent marking preposition as well as a passive voice marker. The *di-* clitic is also used as an agent marking preposition in Salako where a homorganic nasal prefix is used to mark the passive voice instead (Adelaar, 1992b; 2005b). In Standard Malay/Indonesian the morphosyntactic and phonological behaviour of *di-* closely resembles that of the active voice prefix *meng-* (Musgrave, 2000). This may be because *di-* is at a later stage of grammaticalisation in Malay/Indonesian, whereas the morphosyntactic behaviour of *di-* in Minangkabau reflects more closely its earlier, prepositional usage.

Evidence of archaic and literary usage of *di-* in Minangkabau supports the idea that it once had a much wider prepositional usage. For example, in (162a) *di* functions as an agent marking preposition on *nyo*. This example is representative of 'archaic' usage. The example has been rendered into contemporary Colloquial Minangkabau in (162b). Notice these changes in particular: *di-* is now cliticised to the verb and *nyo* now appears as an enclitic on the verb.

(162) a. *Himbau den indak tingaran[16] **di**   nyo.*
           call   1sg   NEG   hear-APP **PREP** 3
           'He didn't hear my call.'

           (adapted from van der Toorn, 1899: 122)

     b. *Himbau den indak **di**dangaannyo.*
          call   1sg   NEG   **PV**-hear-APP-3
          'He didn't hear my call.'

          (Elicitation)

Examples (163), (164) and (165) are also representative of 'archaic' Minangkabau. They come from a collection of Minangkabau texts dated from the mid to late Nineteenth Century kept at the Leiden University Library. In (163) *di* is performing a prepositional function that cannot be described as locative marking or agent marking. Its meaning seems to be similar to English *about*. In any case, this example also provides

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[15] Musgrave's (2000) syntactic study of Malay/Indonesian also supports a prepositional origin for *di-*.
[16] *tinga* (van der Toorn's orthography) is *danga*, 'hear', in modern Minangkabau orthography.

evidence to support the idea that *di-* once had a much wider prepositional usage. Examples (164) and (165) show the agent marking function of *di*. Note that modern Minangkabau speakers do not use such constructions.

(163)   *Baantah-antah* ***di***   *bulan, baanta-antah* ***di***   *bintang.*
               RFLX-RED-wonder **PREP** moon   RFLX-RED-wonder **PREP** star
               '(She) wondered to herself about the moon, wondered about the stars.'

               (Cod. Or. 3205 (2), ff. 37v-38r., (Wieringa, 2007: 39))

(164)   *Kadangaran* ***di***   *suaminyo itu*   *suaro parampuannyo.*
               undergo-hear-APP **PREP** husband-3   DEM:dist voice   female-3
               'What the husband heard was the voice of his wife.'

               (Cod. Or. 3303 I (3. pp. 112   113.), (Wieringa, 2007: 210))

(165)   *Jadi*   *tadanga* ***di***   *urang banyak.*
               happen INV-hear **PREP** person many
               'So many people heard it (without meaning to).'

               (Cod. Or. 3303 I (7. pp. 126   127.), (Wieringa, 2007: 211).

The morphophonemic behaviour of the Minangkabau passive voice marker *di-* can thus be attributed to its origins as a preposition. However, an explanation for the initial appearance of *di-* on verbs still requires further investigation.

5.1.3.2 Syntactic Properties of di-

Di- functions primarily in the syntactic domain to alter clause structure. *Di-* functions as a marker of passive voice, i.e. it shows that the pivot function is aligned with the undergoer. Passive voice clauses are highly marked structures in the language and typically follow a rigid set of structural parameters.

In passive voice, undergoers occupy canonical, pre-verbal pivot position whereas actors are demoted to non-core argument status and appear in post-verbal position. The actor may be expressed as a post-verbal enclitic, as a full NP, or as an adjunct NP marked by the cause/agent marking preposition *dek*.

For example, in (166), the pivot *awak*, which also happens to be an undergoer, appears in pre-verbal position. The verb is correspondingly marked for passive voice by the proclitic *di-* and the actor appears in post-verbal position. Notice that in (166a) the actor, *nyo*, 'him', is expressed as an enclitic, whereas in (166b) it is expressed as a full NP, *paman*, 'uncle', and in (166c) as an adjunct NP, *dek paman*, 'by my uncle'. Note that adding *dek* in (166c) clearly marks the non-core argument status of the actor and enables the hearer to decode the semantic roles of the participants. This is especially important if the word order is non-canonical (see (166d) and (166e)). *Dek* is also a marker of agency and causality and implies that the actor in (166c) has a greater degree of agency than the actor in (166b)[17].

(166) a.   *Awak   digadangannyo.*
       1   PV-big-APP-3
       'I was raised by him.'

    b.   *Awak   digadangan   paman.*
       1   PV-big-APP   uncle
       'I was raised by my uncle.'

    c.   *Awak   digadangan   dek   paman.*
       1   PV-big-APP   CAUSE uncle
       'I was raised by my uncle.'

    d.   *Dek   paman awak   digadangan.*
       CAUSE uncle   1   PV-big-APP
       'I was raised by my uncle.'

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[17] *Dek* is also used to mark agency and causality in other contexts. For example, in (i) it is used emphatically in an active voice clause to show that *mama*, the speaker, will be the one pushing (i.e. the agent). In (ii) and (iii) it is used to show a causal connection between the causer and the resultant state.

i.   *Nyo   barek,   baa   ambo mandorong   nyo dek   mama.*
    3   heavy   POSS-what   1sg   AV-push   3   CAUSE mother
    'It's heavy, how can I push it.'

    (Text ID: 443440120503080306)

ii.   *Aden marasoan   sadiah   dek   hilang   HP   den.*
    1sg   AV-feel-APP sad   CAUSE lost   mobile.phone 1sg
    'I feel sad because I lost my mobile phone.'

    (Elicitation)

iii.   *Dek   sapatu   ko   kaki   den   sakik.*
    CAUSE shoe   DEM:prox foot 1sg   hurt
    'These shoes hurt my feet.'

    (Elicitation)

e.   *Paman awak digadangan.*
          uncle   1   PV-big-APP

    (Elicitation)

All passive voice verbs are necessarily bivalent since they require an undergoer and an actor, although not all arguments are necessarily overtly expressed in the clause (see examples (177), (178), and (179)). If the verb root being passivised is stative or an active intransitive, an applicative is required to license an additional argument first. For example, in (167) note that the stative verb root *dingin*, 'cold', must be marked by the applicative clitic *-an* in order to be passivised. The applicative transitivises the verb root, creating a causative verb which requires both an actor (*-nyo*) and an undergoer (*nasi tu*, 'the rice').

(167) a.   *Nasi tu   didinginannyo.*
           rice   DEM:dist PV-cold-APP-3
           'He has cooled the rice down.'

      b.   *Nasi tu   didinginnyo.*
           rice   DEM:dist PV-cold-3

        (Elicitation)

Similarly in (168), the *-an* applicative is required to transitivise the active intransitive verb root *suruak*, 'hide', in order for it to be passivised.

(168) a.   *Kue disuruakannyo.*
           cake PV-hide-APP-3
           'He hid the cake.'

      b.   *Kue disuruaknyo.*
           cake   PV-hide-3

        (Elicitation)

Transitive verb roots do not require an applicative in order to be passivised because they already have the required number and type of arguments. The verb root *tolong*, 'help', in (169) is transitive therefore it specifies both an actor and an undergoer argument. In (169a) the verb is marked by the active voice marker *maN-*. The pre-verbal actor

participant *nyo* is the pivot and the post-verbal participant *setiap urang*, 'everyone', is the undergoer. In (169b) the sentence has been passivised. Note that the verb is now marked for passive voice by *di-*. The undergoer is now assigned pivot status and thus appears in pre-verbal position. The actor *-nyo* has been demoted to non-core status and is encoded as a post-verbal enclitic.

(169) a. *Nyo nio   manolong setiap   urang.*
          3   want AV-help   ONE-every   person
          'He wants to help everyone.'

      b. *Setiap   urang nio   ditolongnyo.*
          ONE-every   person want   PV-help-3
          'Everyone wants to be helped by him.'

          (Elicitation)

Ditransitive verb roots also do not require an applicative to be passivised because the verb's argument structure already specifies the appropriate number and type of arguments. For example, refer to (129c) and (129d) in which the ditransitive verb *agiah*, 'give', is passivised. Note that both the undergoer *pitih*, 'money', and the pronominal recipient *inyo* can be assigned pivot status. Ditransitive verbs can also be derived from transitive verb roots with the addition of an applicative.

The *-an* applicative allows for non-core benefactor arguments to be reassigned core argument status and thus makes them available to be selected as the pivot in a passive clause (see example (130e)). However, recipients (see example (235)) and instruments or comitative participants (see example (170)) must remain non-core arguments and may not be selected as the pivot even if an applicative is used. If they appear in pre-verbal position they must be marked by a preposition in order to disambiguate semantic roles.

(170) a. *Cimangko tu   dikuduangnyo   jo   pisau.*
          watermelon DEM:dist PV-cut-3   with   knife
          UNDERGOER   VERB-ACTOR   NON-CORE
          'He cut the watermelon with a knife.'

b. *Jo   pisau   dikuduangannyo   cimangko tu.*
    with knife   PV-cut-APP-3   watermelon DEM:dist
    NON-CORE   VERB-ACTOR   UNDERGOER
    'He cut the watermelon with a knife.'

c. **Pisau   dikuduangannyo   cimangko tu.*
    knife   PV-cut-APP-3   watermelon DEM:dist
    NON-CORE   VERB-ACTOR   UNDERGOER

    (Elicitation)

The locative applicative *-i*, on the other hand, allows a locative argument to be assigned core status and to be made available for pivot selection in a passive clause. For example, in (171a) the location *kabun*, 'garden', is a non-core argument and is thus marked by the locative preposition *di*. Notice that it also appears in clause final position. The undergoer argument *bungo*, 'flowers', is the pivot and appears in canonical pre-verbal pivot position. In (171b), *kabun* appears in pre-verbal pivot position. However, since there is no applicative on the verb, *kabun* is still a non-core argument and is therefore ungrammatical in this position. In (171c) the locative applicative *-i* appears on the verb, thus assigning core argument status to the location, allowing it to be selected as the pivot. Note that the undergoer *bungo*, 'flower', from (171b) has been reassigned non-core status in (171c).

(171) a. *Bungo   ditanamnyo   di   kabun.*
       flower   PV-plant-3   LOC garden
       UNDERGOER   VERB-ACTOR NON-CORE
       'He planted flowers in the garden.'

     b. **Kabun   ditanamnyo   bungo.*
       garden   PV-plant-3   flower
       NON-CORE   VERB-ACTOR UNDERGOER

     c. *Kabun   ditanaminyo   jo   bungo.*
       garden   PV-plant-APP:loc-3 with   flower
       CORE   VERB-ACTOR   NON-CORE
       'The garden was planted with flowers.'

     d. *Di   kabun ditanamnyo   bungo.*
       LOC   garden PV-plant-3   flower
       NON-CORE   VERB-ACTOR UNDERGOER
       'He planted flowers in the garden.'

       (Elicitation)

Examples (166d), (170b), (171d) demonstrate that although *di-* passives typically adhere to a rigid syntactic structure, non-pivot arguments are able to appear in pre-verbal position so long as their semantic role is specified by a preposition. Many examples of non-canonical word orders in *di-* passive clauses can also be found in Colloquial Minangkabau. In this register, the non-canonical word order may be pragmatically motivated. In any case, Colloquial Minangkabau is highly 'associational', which means that syntactic clues are not necessary to determine semantic role assignment (See Chapter 6). For example, in (172) the undergoer, *Ida* appears in post-verbal position. *Ida* is a participant in the conversation and therefore highly referential. Since the most referential participant in the clause is assigned pivot status, *Ida* is interpreted as the pivot of the clause even though the NP does not appear in canonical pivot position. The referentially of *Ida* is further heightened by the fact that the speaker refers to herself again as *Da tu* clause finally.

(172) *Disuruah lari Ida   Ni   Da   tu.*
       PV-order   run   Ida   TRU-older.sister TRU-Ida DEM:dist
       VERB   UNDERGOER   ADDRESSEE   UNDERGOER
       'Uni, I, Ida was ordered to run.'

       (Text ID: 444694140857050506)

Example (173) comes from a popular children's song and its unusual word order may be a feature of idiomatic or literary usage. Note that the undergoer *pisang*, 'banana', is in post-verbal position. Usually, the NP in this position would be interpreted as the actor of the clause. However, since *pisang* is the only participant present and since the undergoer is referentially salient in a *di-* clause, *pisang* is understood to be the undergoer.

(173) *Dibali, dibali pisang,   dibali pisang   tidak mau makan.*
       PV-buy   PV-buy banana   PV-buy banana   NEG   want eat
                 VERB   UNDERGOER VERB   UNDERGOER
       'He bought a banana but didn't want to eat it.'

       (Text ID: 638971025505290506)

Similarly in (174) the undergoer participant *vila* is in non-canonical post-verbal position. However, since only the actor may appear as a pronominal enclitic on the verb, only one interpretation is possible; *nyo* is the actor and *vila* is the undergoer.

(174)   *Dibuatnyo*   *vila*   *kan.*
         PV-make-3   villa   EMPH
         VERB-ACTOR   UNDERGOER
         'He built a villa you know.'

         (Text ID: 573206120539170706)

There are also many examples of bare stems, i.e. verbs that are not marked for voice, in Colloquial Minangkabau. Even though the stems are not marked for voice, hearers are able to decode the utterances and assign the appropriate semantic roles to the participants. Often both passive and active readings of bare stems are possible. However, if there is a post-verbal participant marked by the preposition *dek* then the clause must be interpreted as passive. This demonstrates that the clause structure of *di-* passives is highly syntactised, i.e. canonical passive clause structure is enough to allow a passive reading even if the verb is not marked for voice (see Chapter 6).

The final point to be made about the syntax of the passive voice construction is that, like active voice constructions, the verb's arguments are often omitted in discourse if the context permits. Since it is the pivot and therefore highly referential, the undergoer argument is often unexpressed in passive voice clauses, as examples (110) and (112) (repeated here as (175) and (176)) demonstrate.

(175)   *Uang saku punyo awak se   lai tapi beko Ø diagiahnyo snack.*
         money pocket own   1   only more but later Ø PV-give-3   snack
         'We have our own pocket money but later on (we) get given snacks.'

         (Text ID: 627106104107130306)

(176)a. *Nyo kan   ditanyo a   **isi   jalange**.*
         3   EMPH PV-ask   what **contents wedding.gift-3**
         'They were asked what was in the wedding gift.'

         (Text ID: 113014112832080506)

b.   *Ø Dicaliak dek   urang ma.*
       Ø   PV-look   CAUSE person   EMPH
      '(The contents of the wedding gift) were examined by people.'

      (Text ID: 570264113048080506)

The actor argument is also frequently not expressed if it is retrievable from the discourse context or if it is underspecified in some way. For example, in (177), (178) and (179) the actor participants are underspecified but understood to mean 'someone'. Since the actor is underspecified and 'general' it is unexpressed.

(177)   *Patah rodanyo kalau didorong Ø.*
         broken wheel-3 TOP   PV-push   Ø
         'Its wheel will break if (one) pushed it.'

         (Text ID: 343568121441080306)

(178)   *Duo jalur ka   dibuek Ø di   sinan tu   tu   ma.*
         two   lane FUT PV-make Ø LOC there   DEM:dist DEM:dist EMPH
         '(They're) going to make it two lanes over there you know.'

         (Text ID: 377181144506100306)

(179)   *Tu   dak ditanyo Ø samo guru   kok   bisa dapek sapuluah.*
         DEM:dist NEG PV-ask   Ø with   teacher EMPH can   get   ONE-ten
         '(Nobody) asked the teacher how (he) could have got ten (out of ten).'

         (Text ID: 811156095359280306)

5.1.3.3 Semantic Properties of di-

Gil (2002a) argues that in Riau Indonesian both *N-* and *di-* have primarily semantic functions (see Section 2.4). *Di-* in Riau Indonesian exhibits clitic-like behaviour similar to *di-* in Minangkabau. The Riau Indonesian locative preposition *di* also displays similar morphophonemic behaviour. Since 'locative' *di* and 'patient marker' *di-* also have similar syntactic distribution Gil argues that they are one and the same; a generalised 'patient marker'.

A significant part of Gil's argument for assigning *di* a semantic as opposed to syntactic role in Riau Indonesian is that *di* clauses to not display the rigid clause structure found

in *di-* passive clauses in Standard Malay/Indonesian (see Section 2.4). But unlike Riau Indonesian, *di-* clauses in Minangkabau have strict syntactic organisation (see Section 5.1.3.2). The preferred preverbal participant in a *di-* clause is the undergoer. If the preverbal participant is unmarked it must be the pivot of the clause. However, the function of Minangkabau *di-* straddles the syntax/pragmatics boundary since its use is motivated by the existence of a conceptually salient and referential undergoer participant. The conceptual saliency and referential individuation of the undergoer participant also has semantic consequences.

Because of the focus it places on the undergoer, i.e. the *affected* participant, it has been argued that in some varieties of Malay/Indonesian, *di-* is associated with completive or perfective aspect (cf. Rafferty, 1982). Similarly, in Minangkabau the use of *di-* coerces a telic reading of the verb.

In example (180a) *di-* co-occurs with the future marker *ka*, and in (180b) with the perfective aspect marker *alah*. However, if the clause is not marked for tense/aspect as it is in (180c) then a telic reading of the verb is preferred.

(180) a. *Lauak ka   dibalinyo dari lapau   tu.*
        fish   FUT PV-buy-3   from shop   DEM:dist
        'He will buy fish from that shop.'

    b. *Lauak alah dibalinyo dari lapau   tu.*
        fish   PFCT PV-buy-3   from shop   DEM:dist
        'He bought fish from that shop.'

    c. *Lauak dibalinyo dari   lapau tu.*
        fish   PV-buy-3   from   shop   DEM:dist
        'He bought fish from that shop.'

    (Elicitation)

The aspectual properties of *di-* are more likely to occur as a 'side effect' of the clitic's primary function as a marker of passive voice, rather than the clitic functioning exclusively as an aspect marker. In fact, passive clauses cross-linguistically are generally associated with telic or perfective aspect. Hopper (1979) argues that just as the active voice is used in Classical Malay in backgrounded clauses, the passive voice is

used in foregrounded clauses. Foregrounded clauses are typically realis and are associated with perfective or telic aspect.

Hopper and Thompson (1980) also argue that passive clauses are associated with telic aspect. In passive clauses, the undergoer is conceptually salient and highly referential. According to Hopper and Thompson, this suggests that the undergoer is highly individuated, which in turn also means that the clause is high in transitivity. Another feature of clauses high in transitivity is that they are associated with telic aspect due to the degree of affectedness of the undergoer. Thus *di-* clauses in Minangkabau can be given a telic reading not because aspectual marking is a direct property of *di-*, but because *di-* clauses are high in transitivity.

5.1.4 The Pasif Semu

In Standard Minangkabau, there is another kind of passive voice construction called the *pasif semu* (henceforth the P2 construction). Like a *di-* passive, the undergoer in a P2 construction performs the pivot function. However, unlike a *di-* passive, the actor in a P2 construction retains its status as a core argument. The P2 verb is unmarked yet the construction remains distinctive from a bare active construction because of the word order constraints it exhibits. However, due to the high frequency of bare verbs and the flexible word order constraints of Colloquial Minangkabau, the P2 is not a distinctive construction in this variety (see Section 3.3 and Section 6.1.2.4).

The P2 construction in Standard Minangkabau closely resembles the P2 construction of Malay/Indonesian. In the Malay/Indonesian P2 construction, the verb is not marked for voice and the actor-verb word order of an active sentence is retained. However, the undergoer occurs in pre-verbal position and is assigned pivot status (Chung, 1976a). In the Malay/Indonesian *di-* passive construction, the actor is clearly demoted to non-core argument status, whereas the actor in a P2 clause remains a core argument of the verb (Arka and Manning, 2008; Cole, Hermon and Tjung, 2006). A further distinguishing feature of the P2 construction is that no auxiliaries (i.e. negators and TAM adverbials) may intervene between the actor and the verb (Sneddon, 1996: 249) (see Section 2.2).

To demonstrate that the undergoer is the pivot in an Indonesian P2 clause we can apply raising tests to the undergoer and actor NPs to check for grammaticality (Chung, 1976a). Example (181a) shows a typical Indonesian P2 clause in which the verb *beli*, 'buy', is unmarked. In (181b) this P2 clause has been embedded in a matrix clause. If we raise the undergoer participant *baju ini*, 'this shirt', to pivot position in the matrix clause, then the sentence is grammatical, as shown in (181c). However, if we raise the first person pronoun actor *saya*, then an ungrammatical sentence is produced in (181d). This provides evidence that the undergoer NP is the pivot in a P2 clause.

(181) a. *Baju   ini   sudah saya   Ø-beli.*
          shirt   DEM:prox   PFCT   1sg   Ø-buy
          'I've already bought this shirt.'

      b. *Mereka menganggap (bahwa) baju ini   sudah saya Ø-beli.*
          3pl   AV-believe (CP)   shirt DEM:prox PFCT   1sg   Ø-buy
          'They believe that I've already bought this shirt.'

      c. *Baju ini   dianggap   mereka sudah saya   Ø-beli.*
          shirt   DEM:prox PV-believe 3pl   PFCT   1sg   Ø-buy
          'They believe that I've already bought this shirt.'

      d. **Saya dianggap   mereka baju ini   sudah Ø-beli.*
          1sg   PV-believe 3pl   shirt DEM:prox PFCT   Ø-buy

          (adapted from Chung, 1976a)

An example of a canonical Minangkabau P2 clause can found in (182). In this example, the undergoer argument, *buku tu*, 'that book', is in pivot position. Notice also that the verb is unmarked for voice and that the TAM adverbial *alun* cannot intervene between the actor, *aden*, and the verb, *baco*, 'read'.

(182)   *Buku   tu   alun   aden   Ø-baco.*
          book   DEM:dist not.yet   1sg   Ø-read
          'I haven't read that book yet.'

          (Elicitation)

Also consider example (183). Example (183a) follows canonical word order constraints; the aspectual maker *alah* does not intervene between actor and verb so the sentence is grammatical. However, if we apply the word order of a basic active sentence to allow an 'actor + auxiliary' word order, then we get an ungrammatical P2 sentence but we do get

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a grammatical sentence with a slightly different meaning. Due to the actor-auxiliary inversion in (183b) *ambo* is now a possessor rather than an actor and the verb *masak*, 'cook', has a stative reading. So (183b) reads 'my beef curry is already cooked'. These word order constraints show that the P2 construction is a distinctive construction in Standard Minangkabau.

(183) a.   *Gulai dagiang alah ambo Ø-masak.*
        curry   meat   PFCT 1sg   Ø-cook
        'I've cooked a beef curry.'

     b.   *Gulai dagiang ambo alah masak.*
          curry   meat   1sg   PFCT cook
          'My beef curry is already cooked.'

         (Elicitation)

Further evidence that the P2 is a distinctive construction in Standard Minangkabau comes from the fact that only the undergoer argument in an embedded P2 clause can be raised to pivot position in the matrix clause. This demonstrates that the undergoer is the pivot in a P2 clause, differentiating the P2 clause from a bare active construction. In example (184a) the NP *gulai dagiang*, 'beef curry', is the undergoer but also the pivot of the embedded clause. We can show that *gulai dagiang* is the pivot, and also demonstrate that the embedded clause is a P2 construction and not a bare active construction, by raising the NP to pivot position in the matrix clause. Notice in (184b) that *gulai dagiang* has been raised and is now the undergoer pivot of the verb *dianggap* in the matrix clause. (184b) is perfectly well formed. However, if we raise the actor argument *ambo* to pivot position in the matrix clause, as is the case in (184c), then we get an ungrammatical sentence. This is because the actor argument *ambo* is not the pivot of the embedded P2 clause.

(184) a.   *Inyo maanggap gulai dagiang alah ambo Ø-masak.*
        3   AV-believe curry meat   PFCT 1sg   Ø-cook
        'They believe I've already cooked the beef curry.'

     b.   *Gulai dagiang dianggapnyo alah   ambo Ø-masak.*
          curry   meat   PV-believe-3   PFCT   1sg   Ø-cook
          'They believe I've already cooked the beef curry.'

c.　*Ambo　dianggapnyo　gulai　dagiang　alah　Ø-masak.
　　　1sg　　　PV-believe-3　curry　meat　　PFCT　Ø-cook

(Elicitation)

Although the Standard Minangkabau P2 construction resembles the P2 construction of Malay/Indonesian, many of the restrictions applied to the P2 in Malay/Indonesian do not apply in Standard Minangkabau. The P2 construction in Standard Malay/Indonesian is motivated by the choice of a first or second person pronominal actor argument because these argument types are not possible in a *di-* passive (Sneddon, 1996). However, these person restrictions do not apply to the P2 construction in Minangkabau. Third person pronouns and full NPs can function as actors in P2 constructions and first and second person pronouns may also function as actors in *di-* passive constructions.

For example, in (185a) notice that the first person pronoun *ambo* appears as the actor in the P2 construction. *Ambo* can also function as the actor in a *di-* passive construction, as shown in (185d). Examples (185b) and (185c) show that the third person pronoun *nyo* and the full NP *Udin* can also function as actors in a P2 clause without reducing grammaticality.

(185)a.　*Lauak tu　　　alah ambo　Ø-bali dari lapau　tu.*
　　　　　fish　　DEM:dist PFCT 1sg　　Ø-buy　from shop　　DEM:dist
　　　　　'I bought fish from that shop.'

　　b.　*Lauak tu　　　alah inyo　Ø-bali dari lapau　tu.*
　　　　　fish　　DEM:dist PFCT 3　　　Ø-buy　from shop　　DEM:dist
　　　　　'He bought fish from that shop.'

　　c.　*Lauak tu　　　alah Udin Ø-bali dari lapau　tu.*
　　　　　fish　　DEM:dist PFCT Udin Ø-buy　from shop　　DEM:dist
　　　　　'Udin bought fish from that shop.'

　　d.　*Lauak tu　　　alah dibali dek　　ambo　dari lapau　tu.*
　　　　　fish　　DEM:dist PFCT PV-buy CAUSE 1sg　　　from shop　DEM:dist
　　　　　'I bought fish from that shop.'

(Elicitation)

There are also restrictions on which verbs can predicate in an Indonesian P2 clause. For example the verbs *ingin*. 'want', and *percaya*, 'believe', *mirip*, 'resemble', cannot appear in a P2 clause but may occur in object relativisations (Chung, 1976a: 77). For

example, notice that the verb *ingin* cannot be passivised in (186a) and cannot appear as the predicate in a P2 clause in (186b). However, it is well formed in the object relativisation construction in (186c).

(186) a.　*Buku ini　　diingin　oleh saya.*
　　　　　book　DEM:prox PV-want　by　1sg
　　　　　'I want this book.'

　　　b.　*Buku　ini　　saya ingin.*
　　　　　book　DEM:prox 1sg　want
　　　　　'I want this book.'

　　　c.　*Buku　ini　　yang　saya ingin.*
　　　　　book　DEM:prox REL　1sg　want
　　　　　'It is this book that I want.'

　　　　　(adapted from Chung, 1976a: 77)

These constraints do not apply in Minangkabau. The examples in (187) demonstrate this with regard to the verb *picayo*, which is cognate with Malay/Indonesian *percaya* 'believe'. These examples show that *picayo* can be used in a bare active constructions as well as P2 constructions.

(187) a.　*Aden　picayo　inyo.*
　　　　　1sg　believe　3
　　　　　'I believe him.'

　　　b.　*Inyo　picayo aden.*
　　　　　3　believe　1sg
　　　　　'He believes me.'

　　　c.　*Inyo　aden Ø-picayo.*
　　　　　3　1sg　Ø-believe
　　　　　'I believe him.'

　　　d.　*Inyo　alah aden Ø-picayo.*
　　　　　3　PFCT 1sg　Ø-believe
　　　　　'I already believe him.'

　　　e.　*Inyo dianggapnyo　alah　aden　Ø-picayo.*
　　　　　3　PV-believe-3　PFCT　1sg　Ø-believe
　　　　　'They believe that I already believe him.'

　　　f.　*Aden　dianggapnyo　inyo alah　Ø-picayo.*
　　　　　1sg　PV-believe-3　3　PFCT　Ø-believe

　　　　　(Elicitation)

Example (187a) is a canonical bare active construction in which the actor pivot *aden* precedes the verb and the undergoer *inyo* follows the verb. Semantic role assignment in this case is determined by word order. As we see in (187b), if we swap the positions of *aden* and *inyo* in the clause then this affects the assignment of semantic roles. As *inyo* precedes the verb in (187b) it becomes the actor. The first person pronoun *aden* then becomes the undergoer.

Example (187c) is a P2 construction. Note that the actor precedes the verb and the undergoer *inyo* occupies clause initial position, which is the pivot slot in a P2 clause. Example (187d) provides further evidence that *picayo* can appear in a P2 construction as it displays the 'auxiliary + actor' word order distinctive of a P2 construction. Examples (187e) and (187f) provide further evidence that the construction in (187c) is a P2 construction since only the undergoer *inyo* can be raised.

Although the P2 is a distinct construction in Standard Malay/Indonesian and in Standard Minangkabau, there is evidence to suggest that in some non-standard, regional, and contact varieties of Malay/Indonesian, such as Basilectal Jakarta Indonesian, Sarang Lan Malay, Mundung Darat Malay and Kuching Malay, the P2 construction has lost its distinctiveness (Cole, Hermon and Tjung, 2006; Cole, Hermon and Yanti, 2007). The pervasive use of bare verbs in these varieties, coupled with flexible word order constraints, has meant that the P2 has merged with the bare active construction. Evidence suggests that the P2 has also merged with the bare active in Colloquial Minangkabau as well (see Chapter 6).

5.2 Voice and the "Evolution of Action"

As well as the pragmatically motivated voice alternation between active voice, passive voice and the *pasif semu*, Minangkabau also makes use of a series of multifunctional lexical/derivational verbal affixes that encode some conceptual properties of voice. These affixes include the involuntary marker *ta-*, the causative prefix *pa-*, and the multifunctional affix *ba-*. Based on Shibatani's (2006) framework for describing the

conceptual properties of voice phenomena (see Section 5.0), I describe the primary function of these affixes in terms of the "evolution of action": to show the origins of an action, the level of control participants have over the action, and how the action develops and affects other event participants. More specifically, the involuntary marker *ta-* encodes the origin of the action and marks the fact that the action originates spontaneously (see Section 5.2.1), the causative prefix *pa-* also encodes the origin of the action except to show that the action is instigated by causal mechanisms (see Section 5.2.2), whereas the multifunctional affix *ba-* shows the development of the action (see Section 5.2.3).

The active voice prefix *maN-* also functions as part of this class of lexical/derivational affixes, to show the development of the action, since it has a role in encoding active aktionsart (see Section 5.1.2.3). The applicatives *-an* and *-i*, although functioning primarily in the syntactic domain as valency changing devices, also function as part of Minangkabau's conceptually motivated voice system to show the termination of the action (see Section 5.3). The passive voice marker *di-* does not belong in this class because its functions are primarily syntactic and pragmatic. Its status as a morphosyntactic clitic also supports this analysis.

5.2.1 Involuntary **ta-**

The Minangkabau involuntary marker *ta-* is a reflex of the Proto Malayic affix **tAr-* (Adelaar, 1992a: 154) and is cognate with the Malay/Indonesian affix *ter-*. The prefix is used to show an involuntary or spontaneous origin to events in opposition to causatives and passives where a volitional agent is implied. *Ta-* does not co-occur with any of the other Minangkabau verbal prefixes. However, there is at least one *ta-* verb that requires the applicative *-an* to license the correct argument structure: the verb *tamandian*, 'to accidentally bathe someone' (see example (188)).

(188)   *Walaupun   anaknyo damam   **tamandian**   juo   dek   inyo.*
         even.though   child-3   fever   **INV-bathe-APP**   also   CAUSE   3
         'Even though her child had a fever she bathed him anyway (without knowing that she ought not to).'

         (Elicitation)

In Minangkabau, *ta-* not only functions to mark involuntary predicates, but also to mark stative 'ability' predicates and superlatives. Its semantic uses are similar to the Tagalog affix *ma-* (cf. Himmelmann, 2006a) and the Acehnese affix *ter-* (cf. Durie, 1985b), which both have involuntary and ability uses. The semantics of *ta-* also resemble those of *ter-* in Malay/Indonesian. In Indonesian, *ter-* may only be used with its involuntary meaning if the predicate is undergoer-oriented. However, involuntary *ter-* in Malay can be used in both actor-oriented and undergoer-oriented senses (Adelaar, 1992a: 151). As well as encoding involuntary actions, Malay *ter-* also functions to mark uncontrolled and unintended actions and adds a sense of momentariness to experiential predicates (Goddard, 2003). Shibatani (2006: 224) argues that *ter-* primarily expresses unintended or accidental actions and thus marks a spontaneous construction that is a marked alternative to volitional, active constructions.

Like Malay *ter-*, Minangkabau involuntary *ta-* is also able to function in both actor-oriented and undergoer-oriented predicates. Generally speaking, *ta-* forms superlatives from stative verbs and involuntary predicates from active intransitive verbs, and stative verbs. When *ta-* affixes to a transitive verb it has a de-transitivising effect and creates a stative 'ability' predicate. Each of these functions of *ta-* is illustrated in the examples that follow.

First, *ta-* can create a superlative from a stative predicate. For example, the stative predicate *cinto*, 'love', in (189a) is turned into a superlative *tacinto*, 'the most loved', in (189b). There is also a change in argument status in the two examples. In (189a), *uda*, 'older brother', is the participant who *loves*, whereas in (189b), *uda* is the participant being *loved*.

(189) a. *Uda   nan **cinto** inyo.*
          older.brother REL **love**   3
          'Older brother, who loves her.'

    b. *Uda   nan **tacinto** dek   inyo.*
          older.brother REL **SUP-love** CAUSE 3
          'Older brother who is the most loved by her.'

        (Elicitation)

In example (190) the stative predicate *gadang*, 'big', is also turned into a superlative, *tagadang*, 'the biggest', with the addition of *ta-* in (190b). Notice in (190c) that *ta-* can also create an involuntary predicate from *gadang*: *tagadang*, 'accidentally stretched'. I treat superlative *ta-* and involuntary *ta-* as two different uses of the same multifunctional prefix. In cases where the meaning is ambiguous and both the superlative and involuntary readings of *ta-* are possible, the exact reading of *ta-* will be determined by discourse and contextual factors.

(190) a. *Baju nan dibali tu   **gadang**.*
      shirt REL PV-buy DEM:dist **big**
      'The shirt that he bought is big.'

    b. *Baju nan dibali tu   **tagadang**.*
      shirt REL PV-buy DEM:dist **SUP-big**
      'The shirt that he bought is the biggest.'

    c. *Baju nan dibali tu   **tagadang**.*
      shirt REL PV-buy DEM:dist **INV-big**
      'The shirt that he bought got stretched accidentally.'

    (Elicitation)

Examples (191) and (192) show the involuntary use of *ta-*. However, notice both actor and undergoer semantic roles are possible for the participants *aden*, 'I', and *TV tu*, 'the TV'. In (191) *aden* may be understood as an actor. In this case, the interpretation of the clause would be 'I unintentionally woke up because of something I did (for example, I had a bad dream)'. If *aden* were understood as an undergoer then the sentence would mean something like 'I was unintentionally woken up by something or someone'.

(191) *Aden **tajago**.*
      1sg **INV-wake**
      'I woke up.'

    (Elicitation)

In example (192), *TV tu*, 'the TV', can be understood to have switched itself on, for example due to a power surge or some supernatural phenomenon, in which case it would be an actor. Conversely, somebody could have unintentionally switched the

television on, maybe by sitting on the remote control, in which case *TV tu* would be understood to be an undergoer.

(192)   *TV   tu   **taiduik**.*
              TV   DEM:dist **INV-live**
              'The TV switched on.'

              (Elicitation)

Sentences (193) and (194) provide some examples of involuntary *ta-* predicates which are clearly actor-oriented. In (193) the predicate *tadanga*, 'heard', is controlled by the actor argument *den*. Similarly in (194) *Sophie* is the actor pivot of the predicate *tanaiak*. The fact that only actor pivots are possible with these verbs is because the *ta-* form is derived from an active verb root.

(193)   *Suaro bom tu   **tadanga** dek   den.*
              voice   bomb DEM:dist **INV-hear** CAUSE 1sg
              'I heard the sound of the bomb.'

              (Elicitation)

(194)   *Sophie **tanaiak**   oto Labor.*
              Sophie   **INV-go.up** car   Labor
              'Sophie mistakenly took the Labor bus.'

              (Elicitation)

Examples (195) and (196) provide some further illustrations of the way in which *ta-* is used to mark involuntary predicates. However, in these examples the pivot participant must be an undergoer. This is because the *ta-* forms are derived from stative verb roots. In (195) the involuntary predicate *tabanam* is derived from the stative stem *banam*, 'sink', and the pivot *urang tu* is an undergoer.

(195)   *Urang tu   **tabanam** di   lawik.*
              person   DEM:dist **INV-sink**   LOC sea
              'That person drowned in the sea.'

              (Elicitation)

Similarly in (196), *taseba*, 'spread', is derived from a stative verb root therefore the pivot participant *kaba tu*, 'the news', must be an undergoer.

(196)   *Kaba   tu   alah   **taseba**   di   kampuang.*
           news   DEM:dist PFCT   **INV-spread** LOC   village
           'The news had already spread through the village.'

           (Elicitation)

The involuntary form *tabaka* is derived from the stative root *baka*, 'burnt', therefore the pivot *rumahnyo*, 'his house', must be an undergoer in (197a). However, notice in (197b) that the same sentence can also be rendered in passive voice. In this example *rumahnyo* remains the undergoer pivot but the semantics of the clause have changed. In (197b), it is understood that the action was instigated by an actor participant, even though the actor is not overtly expressed. In (197a) no external actor is implied and we do not know how the fire started. All the verb *tabaka* tells us is that the fire started involuntarily, either somebody set the house alight by accident or the house spontaneously combusted. Although involuntary *ta-* clauses resemble passive constructions in their English translations, it is important to remember that no external actor is implied.

(197)a.   *Rumahnyo   **tabaka**.*
            house-3   **INV-burnt**
            'His house burned down.'

     b.   *Rumahnyo   **dibaka**.*
            house-3   **PV-burnt**
            'His house was burned down (by somebody).'

            (Elicitation)

Finally, when combined with transitive verb roots, *ta-* has a detransitivising effect and creates stative 'ability' predicates, which encode the fact that the pivot could potentially undergo the action. Since the derived *ta-* verb is stative, it also must be undergoer-oriented. In (198) the verb *taubuang* is created from the transitive root *ubuang*, 'connect', and means that the undergoer *iko* '(has the potential to be) connected to something else'.

(198)   *Iko   taubuang jo   iko.*
          DEM:prox **AB-connect** with DEM:prox
          'This connects with this.'

          (Elicitation)

Similarly in (199) and (200) the predicates *taraso*, 'taste', and *tagantuang*, 'hang',
imply that the respective undergoer arguments *lauak tu*, 'the fish', and *lukisan*,
'painting', can be tasted or hung because the ability is inherent in the participant. These
predicates are similar to involuntary *ta-* predicates in that no external actor is implied;
the actions can be performed by virtue of the undergoers inherently possessing the
ability to perform these actions.

(199)   *Lauak tu   taraso lamak.*
          fish   DEM:dist **AB-feel** delicious
          'The fish tastes delicious.'

          (Elicitation)

(200)   *Lukisan   tagantuang di   dindiang tu.*
          paint-NOM **AB-hang**   LOC wall   DEM:dist
          'The painting is hanging on the wall.'

          (Elicitation)

5.2.2 Causative **pa-**

Like *ta-, pa-* is also used to encode the origin of the action. The prefix encodes the fact
that the action was instigated by a volitional actor-causer, which is distinct from the
actor of the main action (cf. Shibatani, 2006: 230). It is cognate with the
Malay/Indonesian causative prefix *per-* (Adelaar, 1992a).

Pa- may co-occur with either the active voice marker *maN-* or the passive voice marker
di- and is prefixed to the root prior to *maN-* prefixation or *di-* cliticisation. The prefix
can also affix to an applicative-marked verb. When the verb root is active then both *pa-*
and the applicative are required, for example in the verb 'to teach', *mampalajari*
requires both *pa-* and the applicative *-i*. However, in causative verbs derived from
stative stems, there is no significant shift in meaning if a verb is marked by both the

causative prefix and an applicative, or just the causative prefix, or just an applicative (see examples (201) and (202)).

The causative prefix *pa-* functions productively to create causative verbs from stative stems but its effects on active stems are often unpredictable and idiomatic. Let us first examine some examples of causatives derived from stative verb roots before discussing some of the idiomatic effects of *pa-*.

Examples (201) and (202) show how causative verbs are derived from stative verb roots. In (201) the causative verbs *mampapanjang*, *mamanjangan*, and *mampapajangan*, which all mean 'lengthen' (or literally 'cause to become long'), are derived from the same stative root *panjang*, 'long'. Notice that the causative verb can be derived using the causative prefix *pa-* as in (201a), the applicative *-an* as in (201b), or both the causative prefix and the applicative marker as in (201c).

(201) a. *Pamarintah daerah nio **mampapanjang** jalan bypass.*
          NOM-order   area   want **AV-CST-long**   road   bypass
          'The local government will lengthen the bypass.'

      b. *Pamarintah daerah nio **mamanjangan** jalan bypass.*
          NOM-order   area   want **AV-long-APP**   road   bypass
          'The local government will lengthen the bypass.'

      c. *Pamarintah daerah nio **mampapanjangan** jalan bypass.*
          NOM-order   area   want **AV-CST-long-APP**   road bypass
          'The local government will lengthen the bypass.'

          (Elicitation)

Similarly in (202), a causative form meaning 'fix, improve' may be derived from the stative verb root *elok*, 'good', with the use of the causative prefix *pa-* (see *mampaelok* in (202a)), the applicative *-an* (see *maelokan* in (202b)), or both the causative prefix and the applicative marker (see *mampaelokan* in (202c)).

(202) a. *Inyo **mampaelok**   otonyo.*
          3   **AV-CST-good** car-3
          'He is fixing his car.'

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b. *Inyo* **maelokan** *otonyo.*
    3   **AV-good-APP**   car-3
    'He is fixing his car.'

c. *Inyo* **mampaelokan** *otonyo.*
    3   **AV-CST-good-APP**   car-3
    'He is fixing his car.'

(Elicitation)

Minangkabau speakers perceive subtle semantic differences between each of these variants of the causative verbs shown in (201) and (202), which may be due to the fact that *pa-* is concerned with the origin of the action and the applicative *-an* is concerned with the termination of the action (see Section 5.3). Further investigation is required to test this. However, a similar opposition also exists between the Standard Indonesian causative prefix *per-* and the applicative *-kan*. Alwi et al (1998) argue that the *per-* verbs express an increase in the quality named by the stative verb root whereas the *-kan* verbs describe a complete change of state. So in Indonesian these two affixes encode similar processes: *per-* focuses on the origin of the event whereas *-kan* shows its end point.

In examples (203) to (206) the function of the prefix *pa-* is less easy to predict. In these examples *pa-* has a different semantic effect when it affixes to active verb roots *aja*, 'teach', *duduak*, 'sit', *tagak*, 'stand', and *cuci*, 'wash'. The effect of applicative marking on each of these verbs is also different and this also has an effect on how *pa-* interacts with the applicatives.

In (203) we see three different active forms of the transitive verb root *aja*, 'teach'. In (203a) the verb is marked for active voice and the sentence is a simple transitive construction. In (203b) the verb is marked by the applicative *-an* which alters argument structure of the verb. *Maajaan* is a ditransitive verb and the recipient participant *anak-anak*, 'children', can appear in undergoer position directly following the verb. In (203c) the verb *mampalajari*, 'learn', is marked by the causative marker *pa-*. Notice that this verb must also be marked by the locative applicative *-i* to be grammatical. The interaction of the causative prefix *pa-* with the locative applicative changes the semantics of the verb root entirely so that we get an almost reflexive meaning, i.e. 'teach to oneself'.

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(203)a. *Inyo **maaja** baso Inggirih.*
       3   **AV-teach** language English
       'He teaches English.'

  b. *Inyo **maajaan** anak-anak baso Inggirih.*
       3   **AV-teach-APP** RED-child language English
       'He teaches children English.'

  c. *Inyo **mampalajari** baso Inggirih.*
       3   **AV-CST-teach-APP:loc** language English
       'He's learning English.'

  (Elicitation)

In example (204) the active intransitive verb root *duduak*, 'sit' is the predicate head. Notice in (204b) that the verb is marked by the applicative *-an* which creates a causative change of state verb. *Manduduakan* can be translated literally as 'cause to become seated'. In (204a) the verb is also marked by the applicative *-an*, which is required to make the verb bivalent, but the causative prefix *pa-* is also used. If *duduak* were a stative root we would perceive no great difference in meaning between (204a) and (204b) since they would both encode causative events in which a change of state occurred. However, the effect of *pa-* on the verb stem in (204a) is quite unpredictable and idiomatic. The resultant verb form, *mampaduduak*, means 'put to rest, solve'.

(204)a. *Urang-urang gaek bakumpua untuak **mampaduduakan** masalah.*
       RED-person old MID-gather for **AV-CST-sit-APP** problem
       'The old people gathered to put the problem to rest.'

  b. *Amak **manduduakan** anaknyo di kursi.*
       mother **AV-sit-APP** child-3 LOC chair
       'The mother sat her child down on a chair.'

  (Elicitation)

The effect of the causative prefix *pa-* is also unpredictable in examples (205) and (206). The causative verb *mampatagakan* is derived from the active intransitive verb root *tagak*, 'stand' in (205a). The resultant *pa-* derivation of the verb uses *tagak* in a metaphorical sense to mean 'defend'. Notice that (205b), which makes use of the applicative *-an* but not the causative prefix *pa-*, has quite a different meaning from (205a), as *managakan* means 'build, erect' (literally 'cause to become standing').

(205) a. *Inyo* **mampatagakan** *anaknyo walaupun salah.*
3   **AV-CST-stand-APP**   child-3   even.though   wrong
'He defended his child even though his child was wrong.'

b. *Jadi*   *nan paralu dalam* **managakan**   *Rumah*   *Gadang adolah adat!*
happen REL need   inside   **AV-stand-APP** house   big   EQV.OP tradition
'So all you need to build a *Rumah Gadang* is tradition!'

(Elicitation)

Similarly in (206) the applicative *-an* has the effect of changing the valency of the transitive verb root *cuci*, 'wash', and inferring a benefactor participant. However the use of the causative prefix *pa-* in (206a) creates a causative that uses the sense of the verb root metaphorically.

(206) a. *Inyo* **mampacucian**   *namo*   *baiaknyo.*
3   **AV-CST-wash-APP** name   good-3
'He cleared his good name.'

b. *Santi*   **mancucian**   *baju Silvie.*
Santi   **AV-wash-APP**   shirt   Silvie
'Santi washed Silvie's shirt for her.'

(Elicitation)

5.2.3 Multifunctional **ba-**

Now let us discuss the multifunctional prefix *ba-*. Where *ta-* and *pa-* function to show the origin of the action, *ba-* shows how the action develops. Furthermore, *ba-*, like *ta-*, does not co-occur with any of the other Minangkabau voice markers, although it can combine with the applicatives *-an* and *-i* when argument structure requires it.

The prefix is sometimes realised as *bar-* rather than *ba-*, which has lead some linguists to treat the two variants as different affixes (cf. Moussay, 1998). The words *bara*, 'how much is it?', and *baa*, 'how is it?', appear to provide evidence of a minimal pair to support the claim that *bar-* and *ba-* are different affixes. At first glance, it appears that *bara* consists of the prefix *bar-* and the Minangkabau word for 'what', *a*, whereas *baa* consists of *ba-* and *a*. However, evidence from the reconstruction of Proto Malayic

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reveals that *bara* and *baa* in fact have historically different origins. *Baa*, 'how is it?', consists of the prefix *ba-* and the Minangkabau word for 'what', *a*, but *bara* is probably a compound descended from the Proto Malayic words **baraʔ* and **apa*. The word **baraʔ* is a "marker of uncertainty and indefiniteness of object or number" (Adelaar, 1994: 1) and **apa* means 'what' and has the reflexes *a* and *apo* in Minangkabau[18].

In addition to this historical evidence, my language consultants perceive no difference in meaning between *bar-* and *ba-*. There is a preference for the *bar-* allomorph with vowel initial roots, particularly /a/ initial roots, therefore I conclude that *bar-* and *ba-* are allomorphs rather than two different affixes.

The *ba-* prefix is cognate with the Malay/Indonesian prefix *ber-* and performs many of the same functions (cf. Sneddon, 1996: 60-65). In Minangkabau, *ba-* is used primarily in reflexive, reciprocal and middle constructions and can also be used to create statives from transitive verb roots. These stative constructions resemble the stative 'ability' *ta-* predicates but they are more passive-like because an agentive participant is implied. The prefix also combines productively with nominal roots to create stative possessive predicates.

Let us look first at the possessive predicates created when *ba-* affixes to a nominal root. In example (207), *ba-* is prefixed to the noun *ubuangan*, 'connection' (which is derived from the verbal root *ubuang*, 'connect'), to create a verbal predicate *baubuangan*, which means 'to have a connection'.

(207)   *Iko*   ***baubuangan***   *jo*   *politik.*
         DEM:prox **POSS-connect-NOM**   with   politics
         'This has a connection with politics.'

         (Elicitation)

Similarly in (208), the *ba-* prefix has combined with the nominal root *anak*, 'child', to create the predicate *baanak*, which means 'to have a child.'

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[18] According to Adelaar (1994: 1), the cognate Indonesian word *berapa*, 'how much is it?', has the same historical origins as *bara* in Minangkabau.

(208)   *Yo   awak   **baanak**   padusi   kan.*
          yes   1   **POSS-child** female   EMPH
          'Yeah, we have a little girl you know.'

          (Elicitation)

Now let us focus on the primary function of *ba-*, which is to show the development of an action. Examples (210) to (212) show how *ba-* can function to mark reflexive predicates. In this kind of construction the event described is active but it does not affect an undergoer participant. Instead, the action affects the actor as well. Some reflexive predicates can be encoded like a simple active clause with the use of a reflexive pronoun in undergoer position. For example, in (209) *diri*, 'self', is used as a reflexive pronoun much like the English reflexive pronoun 'himself'. The pronoun occupies undergoer position in this example and the clause resembles a simple active construction. However, reflexive predicates marked by the *ba-* prefix do not require an undergoer argument because the actor is also understood as the 'affectee'.

(209)   *Inyo   bunuah   **diri**.*
          3   kill   **self**
          'He killed himself.'

          (Elicitation)

In example (210) a reflexive predicate *baraja* has been created from the transitive verb root *aja* 'teach' and the reflexive marker *ba-*. The predicate *baraja* translates well into the English verb 'study', but translates literally as 'teach oneself'.

(210)   *Aden   mulai   **baraja**   baso   Minang   duo   minggu   nan   lalu.*
          1sg   start   **RFLX-teach** language Minang   two   weeks   REL   pass
          'I started to study Minangkabau two weeks ago.'

          (Elicitation)

Examples (211) and (212) show the use of *ba-* with the two cognitive predicates *pikia*, 'think', and *sangko*, 'suspect'. The resultant forms *bapikia* and *basangko* translate literally as 'think to oneself' and 'suspect to oneself'. Experiential predicates, particularly predicates denoting cognitive processes are encoded as reflexives in a

number of languages (Kemmer, 1994) so it is not unusual for these forms to exist in Minangkabau.

(211)   *Banyak urang maabiahan   pitih, ndak nyo **bapikia**   dulu.*
          many   person AV-finish-APP money NEG   3   **RFLX-think** before
          'Many people spend money without thinking about it first.'

          (Elicitation)

(212)   *Inyo **basangko**   buruak.*
          3   **RFLX-suspect**   bad
          'He suspects something bad.'

          (Elicitation)

The *ba-* prefix also functions to mark reciprocal predicates. Like reflexive predicates, the verb root to which *ba-* affixes is transitive but an undergoer argument is not specified. This is because the actor is also understood to be the affectee of the action because of the way the *ba-* prefix shows how the action develops. Reciprocal rather than reflexive interpretations are available for examples (213) to (215) because the actors are plural and the verb roots encode naturally reciprocal events.

In (213) the reciprocal verb *bacakak*, 'fight each other', has been created from the transitive verb root *cakak*, 'fight', and in (214) the reciprocal form *basukoan*, 'like each other', comes from the verb root *sukoan*, 'like (something)'. In example (215) there are two reciprocal verb forms. The first *balagu*, 'sing to each other', comes from the verb root *lagu*, 'sing', and *bacinto*, 'make love', comes from the verb root *cinto*, 'love'.

(213)   *Anak-anak tu   **bacakak.***
          RED-child   DEM:dist **RECP-fight**
          'Those children are fighting each other.'

          (Elicitation)

(214)   *Inyo **basukoan**   dari dulu.*
          3   **RECP-like-APP** from before
          'They liked each other from the start.'

          (Elicitation)

(215)   ***Balagu*** *tu* *sarupo* *jo* ***bacinto***.
        RECP-song DEM:dist ONE-appearance with **RECP-love**
        'Singing is like making love.'

        (Elicitation)

There are also a number of other *ba-* predicates in Minangkabau that do not quite fit the label 'reflexive' or 'reciprocal', but that function to show the development of the action. For these predicates, I argue that *ba-* functions to mark middle voice. These middle predicates are intransitive but it is clear that the actor also undergoes some change, so in this sense they are broadly reflexive. Middle voice in Minangkabau resembles the middle voice of Greek which is used to mark transitive predicates that are somewhere between an active and a passive, or intransitive predicates that have a passive like relation to their subject (Bakker, 1994). In fact, the reflexive and reciprocal predicates can also be described as middle constructions since the action does not extend beyond the sphere of the actor. According to Croft's (1991; 1994) event-based framework for voice phenomena, reflexives and reciprocals have the same event frame as middle verbs since they involve a situation in which the subject is both the initiator and end point of the action.

Cross-linguistically, the middle voice is associated with a number of situation types that involve similar aktionsart and event properties. Based on Talmy's (1972) classification of event types, Kemmer (1994: 181-83) lists ten middle situation types that might involve middle marking in languages that have a middle voice. Kemmer's middle situation types are listed in Table 19.

Table 19. Kemmer's (1994) middle situation types.

	SITUATION TYPE	EXAMPLE VERB
1.	Grooming or body care	*wash, shave*
2.	Nontranslational motion	*stretch, turn, bow*
3.	Change in body posture	*sit down, kneel down*
4.	Translational motion	*climb up, go away, walk*
5.	Naturally reciprocal events	*embrace, wrestle*
6.	Indirect middle	*acquire, ask, take, desire*
7.	Emotion middle	*be/become frightened, be angry, grieve*
8.	Emotive speech actions	*complain, lament*
9.	Cognition middle	*reflect, ponder, believe*
10.	Spontaneous events	*germinate, sprout, vanish, recover*

Kemmer (1994) also argues that the Indonesian prefix *ber-*, which is cognate with Minangkabau *ba-*, is used to mark middle voice. Kemmer (1994: 183) provides some examples (repeated here as examples (216) to (221)) to show that Indonesian marks middle voice for at least six middle situation types including grooming or body care, change in body posture, translational motion, naturally reciprocal events, cognition middles and spontaneous events.

(216)   Grooming or body care: *ber-dandan*   'get dressed'
(217)   Change in body posture: *ber-lutut*   'kneel down'
(218)   Translational motion: *ber-jalan*   'walk, stroll'
(219)   Naturally reciprocal events: *ber-gumul*   'wrestle'
(220)   Cognition middle: *ber-pikir*   'be cognating'
(221)   Spontaneous events: *ber-henti*   'come to a stop'

(Kemmer, 1994: 183)

The functional domain of the Minangkabau middle prefix *ba-* is very similar to *ber-* in Indonesian. Examples (222) to (225) provide some examples of Minangkabau middle constructions and show that they encode the same middle situation types as Indonesian.

In (222) the verb *baranang*, 'swim', is an example of translational motion. Like Indonesian, Minangkabau also makes use of the middle voice to encode the verb 'to walk, stroll', which is *bajalan.* The middle verb *barubah* in example (223) is an example of a spontaneous event, as is *baranti*, 'stop', in example (224) and *barambuih*, 'blow', in example (225).

(222)   *Santi* **baranang** *di   batang   aia.*
                 Santi   **MID-swim** LOC CLASS:cylinder water
                 'Santi is swimming in the river.'

                 (Elicitation)

(223)   *Mukonyo alah   **barubah**.*
                 face-3   PFCT   **MID-change**
                 'His face has changed.'

                 (Elicitation)

(224)   *Oto tu   **baranti** di   muko   kampus.*
                 bus   DEM:dist **MID-stop** LOC face   campus
                 'The bus stopped in front of uni.'

                 (Elicitation)

(225)   *Angin **barambuih** dari lawik.*
                 wind   **MID-blow**   from ocean
                 'The wind is blowing from the ocean.'

                 (Elicitation)

Examples (226) and (227) are harder to classify according to Kemmer's (1994) list of middle situation types. In its literal sense of 'bloom' (i.e. for flowers), *bakambang* could be an example of a spontaneous situation type. However, in example (227) *bakambang* is used to mean 'develop'. This metaphorical use of *bakambang* clearly does not involve a spontaneous event and may be better characterised as involving motion, albeit metaphorical, resulting in a change of state. Similarly in example (226), *bakumpua*, 'gather', also involves motion resulting in a change of state. In fact, according to Croft's (1994) analysis, all middle situations involve an event resulting in a change of state. Both examples *bakumpua*, 'gather', and *bakambang*, 'develop', are also broadly reflexive because the action does not extend beyond the sphere of the actors, but the actors are clearly still affected in some way.

(226)   *Urang sakampuang alah **bakumpua**   untuak   mancaliak urang manari.*
          person ONE-village PFCT **MID-gather** for   AV-see   person AV-dance
          'The village people gathered themselves together to watch the dancing.'

          (Elicitation)

(227)   *Nagari   tu   disabuik nagari nan sadang **bakambang**.*
          country   DEM:dist PV-refer country REL PROG **MID-bloom**
          'That country can be described as a developing country.'

          (Elicitation)

The *ba-* verbs in examples (228), (229) and (230): *babaka*, 'burn', *bagadangan*, 'stretch', and *baiduikan*, 'switch on', resemble passives but can also be characterised as middle verbs. These verbs involve a change of state but their pivots possess both undergoer and actor elements.

For example, notice that the pivot *lauak tu*, 'the fish', is semantically undergoer-like in (228a) but no external agent is implied. In (228b) the verb *baka*, 'burn', has been passivised by *di-*. In this example *lauak tu* is clearly an undergoer and even though an actor argument is not overtly expressed, it is clear that an external participant *acted* on the fish so that it became roasted. Also compare *babaka* in (228) to *tabaka* in example (197) (see Section 5.2.1). In (197) the pivot *rumahnyo*, 'his house', involuntarily or spontaneously caught fire whereas the *babaka* predicate implies that the event is occurring volitionally.

(228) a.   *Lauak tu   **babaka**   jo   baro.*
           fish   DEM:dist **MID-roast** with ember
           'The fish is roasting in embers.'

     b.   *Lauak tu   **dibaka**.*
           fish   DEM:dist   **PV-roast**
           '(Somebody) roasted the fish.'

           (Elicitation)

Examples (229) and (230) are similarly somewhere in between an active and a passive. In (229a) we cannot definitively infer an external actor for *bagadangan*, 'stretch', but in

(229b) the event referred to by *digadangan*, 'stretched', is clearly initiated by an external actor, even though this participant is not overtly expressed.

(229) a.   *Sarawah tu*   **bagadangan** *supayo*   *lapang.*
          trouser   DEM:dist   **MID-big-APP**   in.order.that   loose
          'The trousers got stretched until they were loose.'

    b.   *Sarawah tu*   **digadangan** *supayo*   *lapang.*
          trouser   DEM:dist   **PV-big-APP**   in.order.that   loose
          '(Somebody) stretched the trousers until they were loose.'

          (Elicitation)

In (230a) the television could have switched on of its own accord or it could have been switched on deliberately by somebody, this is not clear. However in (230b) we must infer an actor participant because the verb *iduikan*, 'switch on', has been passivised.

(230) a.   *TV*   *tu*   **baiduikan**.
          TV   DEM:dist   **MID-live-APP**
          'The TV switched on.'

    b.   *TV*   *tu*   **diiduikan**.
          TV   DEM:dist   **PV-live-APP**
          '(Somebody) switched the TV on.'

          (Elicitation)

Like *babaka*, 'roast', we can also compare these *ba-* middle verbs *bagadangan*, 'stretch', and *baiduikan*, 'switch on', to their involuntary *ta-* counterparts in Section 5.2.1. In (190) the origin of the *tagadang*, 'stretch', event is clearly spontaneous and non-volitional. Similarly in (192) *taiduik*, 'switch on', is an involuntary event. However, the origin of the action in (229) and (230) is not revealed by the *ba-* prefix. Notice also that the *ta-* forms of the verb roots *gadang* and *iduik* do not require an applicative, whereas the *ba-* forms do. This is because the *ba-* middle verbs are clearly two participant events; *bagadangan* and *baiduikan* imply that there is both an actor and an undergoer but unlike an active or a passive clause, we are unaware as to whether the actor participant is the same as the undergoer participant or an external entity.

This ends our discussion of the lexical/derivational affixes of Minangkabau. The following section describes the Minangkabau applicatives *-an* and *-i*: how they operate syntactically and how they show the end point in the 'evolution of an action'.

5.3 Applicatives

Many Austronesian languages have at least one transitivising and/or applicative device (Klamer, 2002: 944). Cross-linguistically, applicatives function as transitivisers. For intransitive verb roots applicatives license an additional argument and for transitive roots they function to increase the transitivity of the verb, or to modify the verb's argument structure. Applicatives also allow for non-core arguments such as prepositional, indirective, benefactive and instrumental participants, to be included as part of the verb's core argument structure (Peterson, 2007: 2). Some applicatives also allow comitative and 'reason' participants to be raised to core argument status (Sirk, 1996). Furthermore, applicatives may have secondary semantic functions in addition to their valency changing functions, including deriving verbs from nominal sources and marking aspectual notions such as continuous, iterative and intense activity (Klamer, 2000).

The Minangkabau applicatives *-an* and *-i* function primarily as valency changing devices. They function to alter the argument structure of the verb, either by increasing the valency of the verb, or by promoting non-core arguments to core argument position. The *-an* applicative enables recipient and benefactor participants to be raised to core argument status, whereas the *-i* applicative has the same effect on locative arguments. Like the lexical/derivational affixes described in Section 5.2, *-an* and *-i* also function as part of Minangkabau's conceptually based voice system. The affixes *ta-* and *pa-* show how an action originates, *maN-* and *ba-* show how the action develops, whereas *-an* and *-i* show how the action terminates, encoding the degree of affectedness of the undergoer argument.

5.3.1 Multifunctional -an

The Minangkabau applicative *-an* acts as a valency increaser, deriving transitive verbs from intransitive roots and deriving ditransitive verbs from transitive roots. In ditransitive active voice constructions it allows for recipient and benefactor participants to be promoted to core argument status. The applicative also allows for benefactive, but not recipient participants, to be realised as the undergoer pivot in passive voice constructions.

The *-an* applicative also has some secondary semantic functions. It can be seen to act as a causative marker when deriving transitive verbs from stative verb roots. It also has some aspectual properties, adding completive aspect to activity verbs. These semantic properties are a 'side effect' of *-an*'s role in showing the evolution of the action. Since *-an* functions to show the termination point of an event, it marks the degree of affectedness of the undergoer. This in turn produces these secondary semantic effects.

The semantic effects of *-an* will be discussed further in Section 5.3.1.3 but first let us examine the syntactic effects of this applicative.

5.3.1.1 Syntactic Effects of -an

Examples (231) and (232) show how *-an* functions as a valency increasing device when it combines with a stative verb root. In (231a), the root *sakik*, 'hurt, sick', is a stative verb. In (231b), *-an* modifies the argument structure of the stative verb root to create the active transitive verb *manyakikan*, 'hurt'. The applicative also gives the verb a causative meaning; in terms of its event structure *manyakikan* means 'cause to become hurt'. Note that *-an* can occur on stative roots to derive transitive verbs without the need for *maN-* prefixation as (231c) shows. Note also that although the affixation of *maN-* derives an intransitive change of state verbs from stative roots (see Section 5.1.2.3), the form **manyakik* does not exist.

(231) a. *Meja tu   tasipak dek   Silvie jadi   **sakik** kakinyo.*
         table DEM:dist INV-kick CAUSE Silvie   happen **hurt**   foot-3
         'Silvie accidentally kicked the table and now her foot hurts.'

     b. *Aden   ndak   sangajo   **manyakikan**   kaki den.*
         1sg   NEG   intentionally **AV-hurt-APP**   foot 1sg
         'I accidentally hurt my foot.'

     c. *Aden   ndak   sangajo   **sakikan**   kaki den.*
         1sg   NEG   intentionally **hurt-APP**   foot 1sg
         'I accidentally hurt my foot.'

         (Elicitation)

Similarly in (232), *-an* derives the causative transitive verb *mamatian*, 'cause to be switched off', from the stative verb root *mati*, by increasing the valency of the verb root. Active voice prefixation is not obligatory so the form *matian*, 'cause to be switched off', is also acceptable, as shown in (232c). Note that active voice prefixation without applicativisation creates the meaningless form **mamati*.

(232) a. *Kambiang tu   **mati.***
         goat   DEM:dist **dead**
         'The goat is dead.'

     b. *Inyo **mamatian**   lampu.*
         3   **AV-dead-APP** lamp
         'He switched off the lamp.'

     c. *Inyo **matian**   lampu.*
         3   **dead-APP** lamp
         'He switched off the lamp.'

         (Elicitation)

The applicative *-an* can also create transitive verbs from active intransitive verbs. The applicative has the effect of changing the valency of the active intransitive verb root by licensing an undergoer argument. The applicative also adds causative semantics to the intransitive verb root, as it does for stative verb roots. As we see in (233) the transitive verb form *mangumpuaan*, 'collect', is derived from the intransitive form *mangumpua*, 'gather'. Notice that not only has the applicative licensed the presence of an undergoer argument, but it also gives the verb a causative meaning.

(233) a. *Samuik **mangumpua** dek   ado gulo.*
ant   **AV-gather**   CAUSE exist sugar
'The ants are swarming because of the sugar.'

b. *Aden   suko **mangumpuaan** parangko.*
1sg   like **AV-gather-APP**   stamp
'I like collecting stamps.'

(Elicitation)

In (234) *-an* creates the transitive verb *mangaluaan*, 'take out', from the active intransitive verb root *kalua*, 'go out'. Notice that *mangaluaan* can also be interpreted as a causative verb and can be understood in terms of the event frame 'cause to go out'.

(234) a. *Aden   suko **kalua** malam minggu.*
1sg   like **go.out** night   week
'I often go out on Saturday nights.'

b. *Inyo **mangaluaan**   hape   dari sakunyo.*
3   **AV-go.out.-APP** hand.phone from pocket-3
'He took his mobile phone out of his pocket.'

(Elicitation)

When *-an* combines with a transitive verb root it has the effect of increasing the valency of the verb by licensing a recipient or benefactive argument. The applicative also allows for these non-core arguments to become core arguments (see Section 5.1.1.3). For example, in (235) the transitive verb *manyipak*, 'kick', can be modified by the *-an* applicative to create the ditransitive form *manyipakan*, 'kick to someone'.

The presence of the applicative in *manyipakan* also allows for a shift in grammatical relations. In (235b) notice the recipient *Silvie* is marked as an adjunct by the preposition *ka*. However, (235c) shows that the recipient can also be realised as a core argument as *Silvie* can appear in post-verbal position: the slot reserved for the undergoer argument. The ability of *-an* to alter the grammatical relations of the clause, while allowing each of the arguments to retain its semantic role, is a feature common to applicatives cross-linguistically (Peterson, 2007). In fact, in Standard Indonesian the applicative marker *-kan* has a similar effect on argument structure, allowing recipients and beneficiaries to be raised to core argument status. Chung (1976b) describes this type of *-kan* construction as "dative".

(235) a. *Santi manyipak bola.*
Santi   AV-kick   ball
'Santi kicked the ball.'

   b. *Santi manyipakan   bola **ka Silvie**.*
Santi   AV-kick-APP   ball **to Silvie**
'Santi kicked the ball to Silvie.'

   c. *Santi manyipakan **Silvie** bola tu.*
Santi   AV-kick-APP   **Silvie** ball   DEM:dist
'Santi kicked Silvie the ball.'

   d. ***Silvie** disipakan   bola tu   dek   Santi.*
Silvie   *PV-kick-APP* ball DEM:dist CAUSE Santi
'Silvie was kicked the ball by Santi.'

   e. ***Ka   Silvie** disipakan   bola tu   dek   Santi.*
to   Silvie PV-kick-APP ball DEM:dist CAUSE Santi
'Silvie was kicked the ball by Santi.'

   f. ***Ka Silvie** nan disipakan   bola tu   dek   Santi alah lari.*
to   Silvie REL PV-kick-APP ball DEM:dist CAUSE Santi   PFCT run
'Silvie who was kicked the ball by Santi ran away.'

   (Elicitation)

Notice that (235d), (235e) and (235f) are in passive voice. In these sentences, *Silvie* cannot appear in pivot position unless marked by the preposition *ka*. *Silvie* is a recipient and not an undergoer therefore prepositional marking is required to disambiguate these semantic roles. If *Silvie* were to occupy pre-verbal pivot position in a passive clause and be unmarked by the preposition *ka*, she would be interpreted as an undergoer. This is why (235d) is strange; *Silvie* is interpreted as the undergoer and *bola* as the actor.

Also consider (235f). In this sentence, *ka Silvie* has become the head of a relative clause but the resulting sentence is ungrammatical. This is because *ka Silvie* is not the true pivot of the clause and therefore cannot be the head of the relative clause (see Section 5.1.1.4). This provides evidence that although the applicative *-an* allows for the recipient to appear in core-argument position in active voice constructions, recipient arguments are not available be raised to pivot position in passive voice sentences[19].

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[19] However, in naturally ditransitive verb roots the recipient is indeed available to be selected as the pivot (see example (129)).

Unlike recipients, benefactors can be raised to pivot position in passive clauses as a result of the applicative *-an*. The applicative *-an* licenses benefactors for transitive verbs whose semantics prevent a dative-like 'giving' reading. For example, in (236) the applicative *-an* combines with the transitive verb root *masak*, 'cook', to create the benefactive verb *mamasakan*, 'cook for someone'. The applicative licenses a benefactive participant and not a recipient participant due to the semantics of the verb root *masak*. The verb root implies a change of state in the undergoer rather than movement of the undergoer, therefore a '*cook to someone' interpretation is not possible.

(236) a.   *Ambo mamasak gulai.*
           1sg   AV-cook   curry
           'I'm cooking a curry.'

      b.   *Ambo mamasakan gulai.*
           1sg   AV-cook-APP curry
           'I'm cooking a curry (for someone).'

      c.   *Ambo mamasakan gulai **untuak   urang tu**.*
           1sg   AV-cook-APP curry **for   person   DEM:dist**
           'I'm cooking a curry for that guy.'

      d.   *Ambo mamasakan **urang   tu**   gulai.*
           1sg   AV-cook-APP **person   DEM:dist** curry
           'I'm cooking that guy a curry.'

      e.   ***Urang tu**   dimasakan gulai dek   ambo.*
           person DEM:dist PV-cook-APP curry CAUSE 1sg
           'I cooked that guy a curry.'

      f.   ***Urang tu**   nan dimasakan gulai dek   ambo, urang baiak.*
           person DEM:dist REL PV-cook-APP curry CAUSE 1sg   person   good
           'The guy I cooked a curry for is a nice person.'

           (Elicitation)

Notice that even though the benefactor is not overtly expressed, a benefactive reading of the verb, i.e. 'cook for someone', is still possible in (236b) because of the semantics of *-an*. In Indonesian, the applicative *-kan* also allows for a benefactive interpretation of a verb even if the benefactor is phonologically null (Cole and Son, 2004: 342).

As well as just licensing a benefactor participant the applicative *-an* also allows for the benefactor to be raised to core argument status and appear in pivot position in passive

constructions. In (236d) notice that the benefactor *urang tu*, 'that guy', has been assigned core argument status and appears in undergoer position. In (236e) the sentence is in passive voice and the benefactor *urang tu* acts as the pivot. We can demonstrate that *urang tu* is the pivot because the argument heads the relative clause in (236f) (see Section 5.1.1.4).

The role of *-an* in changing the argument structure of a verb is much like the role of the Madurese applicatives described by Davies (2005). The Madurese applicatives interact with the existing passive and active voices to allow a range of argument types, including benefactors, recipients and instruments, to be raised from adjunct status to pivot status. In this way, Madurese is able to make available as subject "the full range of arguments that can be selected as subject in Western Austronesian languages possessing much richer voice systems" (Davies, 2005: 207). As we have seen, Minangkabau *-an* allows benefactors to be selected as pivots and we will see in Section 5.3.2, that the applicative *-i* allows for locative arguments to be promoted to pivot status.

5.3.1.2 Obligatoriness of -an

It is evident from the above discussion that *-an* plays a clearly defined role as a valency changing device but also as a means to promote non-core arguments to core argument status. However, some examples from the MPI EVA Minangkabau corpus show that in Colloquial Minangkabau these valency changing and argument structure altering effects of *-an* are possible even without the use of the applicative.

For example, in (237) we see that a 'dative' construction is possible without the use of the applicative. The verb *mambao*, 'bring', is transitive. In this example it is interpreted as ditransitive. The recipient participant *den*, 'me', appears in core argument position even though an applicative has not been used to license a recipient participant. Because the applicative has not been used, most speakers of Standard Minangkabau would label this example ungrammatical and prefer the verb *mambaoan* instead. However, the existence of this example shows that the applicative is not always required to create a 'dative' construction in Colloquial Minangkabau.

(237)   *Sabanta   lai   Yaya   **mambao**   den   nasi   goreang.*
          ONE-moment more TRU-Satria **AV-bring** 1sg   cooked.rice fry
          'In a moment Yaya will bring me fried rice.'

          (Text ID: 527933213118271106)

Example (238) also shows that the applicative *-an* is not always required to create transitive causative verbs from intransitive verb roots in Colloquial Minangkabau. Sentence (238a) shows how the verb *malarian*, 'kidnap', is used. The verb is transitive and causative and is created by cliticising *-an* to the active intransitive verb root *lari*, 'run'. Sentence (238b) shows that the 'kidnap' interpretation of the verb is also possible even if the verb is not marked by the applicative. We would expect that the sentence in (238b) would mean 'yes the child ran', but it is very clear from the context that the speaker intends the 'kidnap' meaning of the verb. It is also clear from the context that the other participants in the conversation also correctly interpret the meaning intended by the speaker. Example (238b) could of course also be an example of a sporadic hapology since [an], the first syllable of *anak*, 'child', has the same form as the applicative.

(238) a.   ***Malarian***   *anak*   *surang.*
           AV-run-APP child   ONE-person
           'He kidnapped his own child.'

           (Text ID: 880233134220161006)

      b.   *Yo*   ***malari***   *anak*   *yo.*
           yes   **AV-run**   child   EMPH
           'Yes he kidnapped his child.'

           (Text ID: 498720134358161006)

5.3.1.3 Semantic Effects of -an

As well as functioning in the syntactic domain the applicative *-an* also has a number of semantic functions, including showing causality and completive aspect. These semantic effects occur as a 'side effect' of the applicative's primary role as a valency changing device (since *-an*'s focus is on the ultimately affected participant) and are linked to the

applicative's main semantic function, which is to show the termination point of an event.

The Malay/Indonesian applicative suffix *-kan*, which is cognate with the Minangkabau applicative *-an*, is also a valency changing device and has a range of similar syntactic functions including creating causatives from intransitive verb roots, creating benefactives, marking goal PP constructions, and marking inherent ditransitives (Cole and Son, 2004; Son and Cole, 2008). The Malay/Indonesian applicative also has similar semantic effects to the Minangkabau applicative. For example, in Riau Indonesian *-kan* functions to mark the semantic end point of an event (Gil, 2002b) and this may be true of *-kan* in Standard Indonesian as well.

Two further studies of *-kan* in Indonesian propose a semantic analysis of the affix to unify its various functions. Son and Cole (2008) use an event decomposition model of verb structure (cf. Dowty, 1979) to argue that all uses of *-kan* map onto the RESULT head of event decomposition. Kroeger's (2007) approach to account for the multifunctionality of *-kan* is to posit the existence of two *–kan* affixes: *-kan$_1$* and *-kan$_2$*. He argues that *-kan$_1$* is a morphosemantic affix which alters the "Lexical Conceptual Structure" (Levin and Rappaport Hovav, 1998; 2005) of the verb, whereas *-kan$_2$* is a morphosyntactic affix. Uses of *-kan* with inherent ditransitive verbs involve *-kan$_2$* since there is no change in meaning, just a change in argument realisation. Other uses of *-kan*, which result in causative and benefactive verbs, involve *-kan$_1$*. The *-kan$_1$* affix "specifies that one argument causes the other argument to change location" and maps onto the event frame CAUSE-BECOME-AT (Kroeger, 2007: 232).

Whether we accept Son and Cole's (2008) proposal or Kroeger's (2007) view, it is clear that *-kan* in Indonesian marks the end point of an event. I argue that Minangkabau *-an* has this same semantic function as the following discussion will demonstrate.

Examples (231) to (234) demonstrated how *-an* derives transitive verbs from stative and active intransitive verbs roots. The resultant transitive verbs *manyakikan*, 'hurt', *mamatian*, 'switch off', *mangumpuaan*, 'collect', *mangaluaan*, 'take out', all have causative semantics (see Section 5.3.1.1). In terms of Croft's (1994: 112-13) framework

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for deconstructing the semantic components of events, *manyakikan*, *mamatian*, *mangumpuaan* and *mangaluaan* all have a CAUSE-BECOME-STATE event view, i.e. each of these events results in a change of state. In (231) the event results in the foot entering into the state of *sakik*, 'hurt', and in (232) the event results in the lamp becoming switched off. In (233) and (234) the action also results in the undergoer entering into a state of 'collected-ness' in (233), and in (234) the undergoer goes from being inside the pocket to being outside the pocket. The semantic event view of each of these predicates is a direct effect of *-an*'s primary function to add an undergoer argument and thus show the termination of an event. In this case, the end point of the event is the undergoer experiencing a complete change of state or location.

A related semantic phenomenon of *-an* is its ability to encode completive aspect. Notice that examples (239) and (240) both show evidence of completive aspect, even though no TAM adverbials are used. These aspectual features are a result of the applicative *-an*. In both examples *-an* does not alter the transitivity of the verbs. In (239) *mangarekan* comes from the transitive verb root *karek*, 'cut', but *-an* does not make the verb ditransitive. Similarly in (240) *mambatuakan* comes from the active intransitive verb root *batuak*, 'cough', but *-an* does not license any further arguments for the verb. Instead *-an* creates completive predicates from these potentially iterative activity verbs.

In (239) the use of the verb *mangarekan* as opposed to *mangarek* implies that the entire tree was cut down rather than just some of it.

(239)   *Pak   Amir   **mangarekan**   batang   rambutan.*
          Father   Amir   **AV-cut-APP**   tree   rambutan
          'Pak Amir cut down a rambutan tree.'

          (Elicitation)

In (240) the use of *-an* in *mambatuakan* shows that the coughing resulted in the bread coming out of the child's mouth and therefore had a discrete end point.

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(240)   *Anak tu*   **mambatuakan**   *supayo*   *roti*   *tu*   *kalua.*
      child DEM:dist **AV-cough-APP**   in.order.that bread DEM:dist go.out
      'That child coughed up the bread.'

(Elicitation)

5.3.2 Locative **-i**

The locative applicative *-i* interacts with the Minangkabau voice system in a similar way to *-an*. The locative applicative functions to alter the argument structure of the verb by making locative adjuncts available to be selected as core arguments. By promoting the location to undergoer status the applicative is able to show that the location is totally affected by the action. In this way, like *-an*, the primary semantic function of *-i* is to show the end point of an action, except that the end point is a location.

The sentences in (241) provide a clear example of how *-i* differs from *-an*. In (241a), the *-i* applicative makes *lauak*, 'fish (the location)', a core argument, whereas in (241b) *-an* creates a causative verb in which *lauak*, 'fish', is the undergoer experiencing a change of state, i.e. going from being *not salty* to being *salty*[20].

(241) a.   *Aden*   **manggarami**   *lauak.*
        1sg   **AV-salt-APP:loc** fish
        'I put salt on the fish.'

   b.   *Aden*   **manggaraman**   *lauak.*
        1sg   **AV-salt-APP**   fish
        'I salted the fish.'

(Elicitation)

Some further examples illustrating the use of *-i* can be found in (242), (243) and (244). In these examples the undergoer arguments *lawik*, 'the ocean', *rumah barunyo*, 'their new house', and *rumahnyo*, 'his house', are all locations. In Minangkabau, locations are usually encoded as adjuncts marked by prepositions showing the nature of movement to or from the location. However, in these examples *-i* allows for the locations to appear as

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[20] Fortin discusses a similar example in her (2001) description of Minangkabau morphology in which the two applicatives modify the nominal root *garam*, 'salt'. She argues that *-i* adds a locative NP to the core argument structure of the verb whereas *-kan* (a prestige variant of *-an*) provides a causative meaning.

core undergoer arguments. The applicative also shows the degree of affectedness of the location since the location is marked as the termination point of the event.

(242)   *Inyo **maranangi**   lawik.*
        3   **AV-swim-APP:loc** ocean
        'He swam across the ocean.'

        (Elicitation)

(243)   *Urang tu   **manaiaki**   rumah barunyo.*
        person   DEM:dist **AV-go.up-APP:loc** house   new-3
        'That person moved in to their new house.'

        (Elicitation)

(244)   *Pitih   **maujani**   rumahnyo.*
        money   **AV-rain-APP:loc** house-3
        'Money rained down on his house.'

        (Elicitation)

The examples above show how *-i* allows locations to be selected as core arguments in active voice constructions. Since *-i* promotes locative adjuncts to undergoer status, it also allows for locations to be selected as the pivot in passive voice constructions. Example (171) (repeated here as (245)) shows how the location *kabun*, 'garden', becomes the pivot in a passive voice construction using the verb *ditanami*, 'planted' in sentence (c).

(245) a. *Bungo   **ditanamnyo**   di   kabun.*
         flower **PV-plant-3**   LOC garden
         'He planted flowers in the garden.'

      b. **Kabun   **ditanamnyo**   bungo.*
         garden   **PV-plant-3**   flower

      c. *Kabun   **ditanaminyo**   jo   bungo.*
         garden **PV-plant-APP:loc-3** with   flower
         'The garden was planted with flowers.'

      d. *Di   kabun **ditanamnyo** bungo.*
         LOC   garden **PV-plant-3**   flower
         'He planted flowers in the garden.'

         (Elicitation)

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5.4 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a unified account of Minangkabau's system of voice oppositions. It was shown that *maN-* and *di-* function as part of a system of pragmatically motivated voice, showing active and passive voice respectively. The *pasif semu*, or P2 construction, also plays a role in this system to place the undergoer participant in pivot position whilst maintaining the actor as a core argument.

This chapter also demonstrated that the lexical/derivational affixes *ta-*, *pa-*, and *ba-* function to show the "evolution of action" (cf. Shibatani, 2006). More specifically *ta-* and *pa-* show the origin of the action, whereas *ba-* shows the development of the action. The applicatives *-an* and *-i*, although primarily functioning in the syntactic domain as valency changing devices, also operate as part of Minangkabau's semantic/conceptual voice system to show the termination of the action. The active voice prefix *maN-* also plays a role in this system but the *di-* passive voice marker does not. The active voice marker shows the development of the action whereas *di-*'s role is primarily syntactic.

Chapter 6. Bare Verbs

6.0 Introduction

Throughout this study, reference has been made to 'bare verbs', i.e. verbs that are not marked by voice morphology. Some predicate constructions obligatorily require a bare verb (see Section 4.3) and bare verbs are also required in the P2 construction (see Section 5.1.4). Other bare verbs occur non-obligatorily in constructions where we would expect to find voice marked verbs. These non-obligatory bare verbs are more frequently found in informal and conversational language, which suggests that they are a feature of Colloquial Minangkabau rather than Standard Minangkabau.

This chapter describes the distribution of bare verbs in Minangkabau and explains their functions (see Section 6.1). In Colloquial Minangkabau, the use of bare verbs in place of voice marked verbs raises questions about the obligatoriness of voice marking. It also presents problems for our analysis of grammatical relations in Minangkabau since the semantic roles of the participants in a bare verb clause are unspecified and grammatical relations remain indeterminate. The existence of multifunctional bare verbs also raises questions about the nature of categoriality in the language. These issues are discussed in Section 6.2. To help understand the categoriality problems that multifunctional bare verbs present, the arguments for precategoriality in Austronesian languages will be discussed in Section 6.3.1. Then, to better understand the issues involved in indeterminate semantic roles and grammatical relations, Gil's (2001; 2007) notion of Associational Semantics will be examined in Section 6.3.2.

It will be concluded that despite the multifunctionality of bare forms, Minangkabau does make a lexical distinction between nouns and verbs and therefore cannot be categorised as having precategorial lexicon. It will also be suggested that Minangkabau speakers rely on Associational Semantics (cf. Gil, 2001; 2007) to decode the meaning of underspecified utterances. This allows an account of the use of bare verbs in Colloquial Minangkabau. It also allows for an account of the indeterminacy about semantic roles and grammatical relations that the use of bare verbs entails. It can be concluded that

speakers of Minangkabau rely on pragmatic knowledge and contextual information to decode the meaning of the underspecified elements in a bare verb clause though the exact nature of this pragmatic knowledge requires further investigation.

6.1 Bare Verbs

In Standard Minangkabau bare verbs are used obligatorily in a number of constructions (see Section 6.1.1). The use of bare verbs in place of voice marked verbs is generally thought to be 'incorrect' and 'improper' by native speakers. However, data from the MPI EVA corpus of conversational Minangkabau indicates that, in the colloquial register of the language, bare verb forms are used frequently in places where we would expect a voice marked verb in the standard register. Hearers are nonetheless able to interpret the meaning of bare verbs, understand the referents of the participants in the clause and assign them their correct semantic roles. This indicates that the use of bare verbs is clearly a systematic feature of Colloquial Minangkabau.

Minangkabau is not the only Austronesian language to show evidence of bare verbs. For example, bare verbs can be found in object voice constructions in Madurese where voice marked verbs would be expected instead. Interestingly, most speakers find this kind of bare verb construction unacceptable even though they might frequently use it themselves in conversation, albeit unawares (Davies, 2005: 201). Bare verb forms are also used in Spoken Jakarta Indonesian (Wouk, 1989). These forms are treated by Wouk as unaffixed active verbs that have a slightly different discourse function to voice marked active verbs. Similarly in colloquial 'low' varieties of Malay, bare forms of active verbs are used with more frequency than voice marked forms (Benjamin, 1993: 366-67). And in Tagalog, bare active verbs also occur moderately frequently in naturalistic data (Himmelmann, 2008). These recent studies of conversational and naturalistic data suggest that unaffixed use of verbs might not be a peculiar feature of Minangkabau, rather a systematic feature of colloquial registers of Austronesian languages more generally.

6.1.1 Obligatory uses of Bare Verbs

Let us now look more specifically at the use of bare verb forms in Minangkabau. Bare verbs are used obligatorily in a number of constructions in the language. Stative verbs, imperatives and prohibitives must be unaffixed, as must be the main verb in a P2 construction. There are also a number of lexicalised bare active verbs in Minangkabau that cannot be marked for voice.

An example of a stative verb can be found in (246). In (246a) the inherent stative meaning of the verb root *dingin*, 'cold', is intended therefore the verb must be unaffixed. In (246b) the verb root is marked for active voice by the prefix *maN-*, this alters the inherent aktionsart of the root and derives a change of state verb (see Section 5.1.2.2).

(246) a. *Udaro ko   dingin.*
        air   DEM:prox   cold
        'It's cold.'

     b. *Mandingin se   udaro ko   yo.*
        AV-cold   just air   DEM:prox EMPH
        'It's getting cold isn't it.'

        (Elicitation)

In Minangkabau, imperative verbs obligatorily occur in the bare form (see Section 4.3.2.5). Example (247) demonstrates this fact with the verb *tutuik*, 'shut'. Sentence (247a) is a basic transitive active construction and the verb root *tutuik* is marked for active voice by the *maN-* prefix. Sentence (247b) exemplifies the use of the verb in the imperative construction. Notice that voice marking in (247c) creates an ungrammatical sentence.

(247) a. *Inyo manutuik pintu tu.*
        3   AV-shut   door   DEM:dist
        'He shut the door.'

     b. *Tutuiklah pintu tu.*
        shut-IMP   door   DEM:dist
        'Shut the door.'

c. *Manutuiklah pintu tu.*
    AV-shut-IMP   door   DEM:dist
    'Shut the door.'

(Elicitation)

In the P2 construction the undergoer argument is the pivot. This would normally require that the verb is marked for passive voice by the passive voice marker *di-*. However, the P2 construction obligatorily requires that the main verb be unaffixed (see Section 5.1.4). In (248a) the verb *bali*, 'buy', is the main verb in this P2 clause therefore it must be left bare. Notice that passive voice marking is incompatible with the clausal syntax of the P2 construction, as shown in (248b).

(248) a. *Lauak tu   alah nyo Ø-bali dari lapau tu.*
       fish   DEM:dist PFCT 3   Ø-buy   from shop   DEM:dist
       'She bought fish from that shop.'

   b. *Lauak tu   alah nyo dibali dari lapau tu.*
       fish   DEM:dist PFCT 3   PV-buy from shop   DEM:dist

(Elicitation)

Finally, there are a number of lexicalised bare active verbs in Minangkabau. Active intransitive and transitive verbs in the language are usually marked for voice. However, there are a number of active intransitive verbs in Minangkabau that cannot be marked for voice without having their valency modified by the applicative *-an* first. I refer to these forms as lexicalised bare active verbs. Members of this class include the verbs, *pai*, 'go', and *kalua*, 'go out', (see examples (92) and (93) in Section 4.3.2.2 in which these verbs are used as bare actives).

6.1.2 Bare Verbs in place of Voice Marked Verbs

In Colloquial Minangkabau, bare verb forms can be found to function in clauses where, in Standard Minangkabau, we would expect to find a voice marked verb. Unlike Madurese where bare verbs are only used in object voice (cf. Davies, 2005), or Spoken Jakarta Indonesian (cf. Wouk, 1989; 2004b), colloquial Malay (cf. Benjamin, 1993) and Tagalog (cf. Himmelmann, 2008) where bare verbs are treated as unmarked active verbs, bare verbs in Minangkabau can be found in both active voice (see Section

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6.1.2.1) and passive voice (see Section 6.1.2.2) clauses. In some cases, whether the bare verb is intended as active or passive is indeterminate (see Section 6.1.2.3). Furthermore, the pervasive use of bare verbs in Colloquial Minangkabau has meant that the P2 is not a distinctive construction (see Section 6.1.2.4).

The following sections will show some examples of bare verbs found in the MPI EVA Minangkabau corpus and discuss some of the ways in which speakers are able to decode the 'voice' of the bare verb forms and assign semantic roles to the participants in the clause. Discourse-pragmatic and contextual factors play a significant role in determining this. The syntactic organisation of the clause also affects the interpretation of bare verbs as active or passive since passive voice clauses are highly syntactised.

6.1.2.1 Bare Actives

Like Spoken Jakarta Indonesian (cf. Wouk, 1989; 2004b), bare verbs are frequently used in place of verbs marked for active voice. Both transitive and intransitive bare active verbs were found in the MPI EVA Minangkabau corpus, but intransitive verbs were found to be unmarked more frequently than transitives. Using the bare form of an active intransitive verb instead of the voice marked form is unambiguous because only one participant, the actor, is licensed by the verb. This means that assigning a semantic role to the participant is based on the inherent argument structure of the verb rather than syntactic or discourse-pragmatic factors.

Some examples of bare active intransitive verbs follow in (249) and (250). In (249) the active intransitive verb *lari*, 'run', is not marked for voice yet the third person participant *nyo* is clearly an actor because this is the only participant role specified by the verb. Similarly in (250) the active intransitive verb *tagak*, 'stand (up)', is not marked for voice. The first person plural pronoun *kami* is assigned the actor role because it is the only role specified by the verb.

(249)   *Lari lah nyo ka dalam rimbo.*
              run   PFCT 3   to inside   jungle
              'He ran into the jungle.'

              (Text ID: 145657131629280607)

(250)   *Makin   banyak, kami tagak jo   situ.*
              increasingly many   1pl stand also there
              'There were more and more (of them, but) we just kept standing there.'

              (Text ID: 599753113331130406)

The omission of the active voice prefix *maN-* can also occur if the verb root is transitive. Assigning semantic roles to the arguments of bare active transitive verbs relies on discourse-pragmatic clues and real world knowledge. Some examples of bare transitive verbs with actor pivots, i.e. bare verbs that would be marked for active voice in Standard Minangkabau, can be found in examples (251), (252) and (253). The (a) sentences in this set of examples come from the MPI EVA Minangkabau corpus. The sentences were then taken out of context and my Minangkabau language consultants were asked to assign the actor and undergoer roles to each of the participants in the clause and transform the sentence into active and passive voice. The active and passive alternatives given by the consultants are provided in the (b) and (c) sentences.

In example (251) the pre-verbal participant *nyo*, the third person pronoun, was unreservedly assigned the actor role and *matonyo*, 'his eyes', the undergoer role. This is because the construction *gadang-gadangan mato*, 'to stare' (literally: 'to widen one's eyes'), is an idiomatic expression and the language consultants' experience using and hearing this expression allows them immediately to rule out *matonyo* as the actor. By this logic, the other participant in the clause, the pronoun *nyo*, must be assigned the actor role instead. Since *nyo* occupies pre-verbal position then this bare verb *gadang-gadangan* is only compatible with active voice marking (see example (251b)) and not passive voice marking (see example (251c)).

(251) a.   *Manga nyo gadang-gadangan   matonyo ka aden ceke.*
             why   3   RED-big-APP   eye-3   to 1sg   talk-3
             'Why are you staring at me, he said.'

             (Text ID: 135016150923110406)

b. *Manga   nyo   manggadang-gadangan   matonyo ka aden ceke.*
   why   3   AV-RED-big-APP   eye-3   to 1sg   talk-3
   'Why are you staring at me, he said.'

   (Elicitation)

c. **Manga nyo   digadang-gadangan   matonyo ka aden ceke.*
   why   3   PV-RED-big-APP   eye-3   to 1sg   talk-3

   (Elicitation)

In example (252) the pre-verbal participant, *Eka tu*, was also assigned the actor role. However, the language consultants based this choice on contextual factors, as well as their knowledge of world, rather than syntactic facts. In (252) *Eka tu* is clearly more topical than *mi*, 'noodles', because she is marked by the distal demonstrative, which makes her definite, more referentially salient and therefore more likely to be selected as the pivot. Since it is also more likely that *Eka* is doing the cooking rather than the *mi* doing the cooking, *Eka* must be the actor. So, since *Eka* is in pre-verbal position, it is plausible that the bare stem is intended to be active. Sentences (252b) and (252c) show that both active and passive interpretations of the bare verb are possible, but that a passive interpretation would be pragmatically marked in this context.

(252) a. *Eka tu   masak   di   dapua, masak mi   untuk   cowoke.*
        Eka   DEM:dist cook   LOC kitchen cook   noodles for   guy-3
        'Eka is in the kitchen making noodles for her boyfriend.'

        (Text ID: 275960133308010606)

   b. *Eka tu   mamasak di   dapua, mamasak mi   untuk   cowoke.*
      Eka   DEM:dist AV-cook   LOC kitchen AV-cook   noodles for   guy-3
      'Eka is in the kitchen making noodles for her boyfriend.'

      (Elicitation)

   c. #*Eka tu   dimasak di   dapua, dimasak mi   untuk   cowoke.*
       Eka   DEM:dist PV-cook LOC kitchen PV-cook noodles for   guy-3
      'Eka is being cooked in the kitchen, cooked by noodles for her boyfriend.'

      (Elicitation)

Similarly in (253), real world knowledge suggests that *urang*, 'the person', is more likely the one buying the *padi*, 'rice plants', rather than the other way around. This means that *urang* must be the actor and that therefore an active interpretation of the bare

verb is more fitting, especially considering *urang* is in pre-verbal position. Assigning *urang* the undergoer role and putting the verb in passive voice creates a grammatical sentence but in this context the construction is pragmatically inappropriate.

(253) a. *Kebetulan ado urang bali padi.*
      in.fact   exist person buy   rice.plant
      'In fact there was a person who bought the rice plants.'

      (Text ID: 557465101327200606)

    b. *Kebetulan ado urang mambali   padi.*
      in.fact   exist person AV-buy   rice.plant
      'In fact there was a person who bought the rice plants.'

      (Elicitation)

    c. #*Kebetulan ado urang dibali padi.*
       in.fact   exist person PV-buy rice.plant
      'In fact there was a person who was bought by the rice plants.'

      (Elicitation)

6.1.2.2 Bare Passives

In a canonical passive voice clause the undergoer precedes the verb. The verb is marked by the clitic *di-* and then followed by the actor participant. The actor can be denoted by a full NP, an enclitic pronoun or a full pronoun. Full NPs and full pronouns can also be marked by the preposition *dek* (see Section 5.1.3.2). This passive clause structure is highly syntactised. This means that if a bare verb is used in place of a verb marked by *di-*, in a clause with passive syntax, a passive interpretation of the verb is still available. In fact, in narratives, bare verbs are often found in place of *di-* verbs in syntactised passive clauses of this nature. To demonstrate this, consider examples (254), (255) and (256).

(254)   *Nyo ambuangan lah   dek   gajah   jo   balalai.*
             3   throw-APP   EMPH CAUSE elephant   with trunk
             'Elephant threw him out with his trunk.'

             (Text ID: 834077131150280607)

(255)   *Nyo sasakan   juo lah   dek   baruak   ko.*
        3   tight-APP   also EMPH CAUSE short.tailed.macaque DEM:prox
        'And he was surrounded by the crowd of short-tailed macaques.'

        (Text ID: 382171132547280607)

(256)   *Singkek carito, lah nyo tangkok dek   pak tani.*
        short   story PFCT 3   catch   CAUSE father farm
        'To cut the story short, he got caught by the farmer.'

        (Text ID: 785414104609200607)

Examples (254), (255) and (256) come from two folk tales about *Kak Kancia*, 'Brother Mousedeer', (see Appendix 4 for a full transcription of the folk tale *Yang Lamah Yang Cadiak*, 'The Weak and The Cunning', from which example (256) is taken). Because he is the central character in these stories *Kak Kancia* is highly topical and is therefore encoded as the pivot in almost every mention. In examples (254), (255) and (256), *Kak Kancia*, referred to by the third person pronoun *nyo*, is the undergoer. We would expect that since the undergoer is topical, that the clause's pivot would be an undergoer and that the verb would be marked for passive voice. Instead, we find a bare verb in each example: *ambuangan*, 'throw', *sasakan* 'surround', and *tangkok*, 'catch'. Nevertheless, a passive interpretation is available for each of these examples.

In (254) the verb is followed by the causative preposition *dek* and then the full NP *gajah jo balalai*, 'the elephant with his trunk', which refers to the actor. The undergoer participant is *nyo* is in pre-verbal position. Since *nyo* is a topical participant, and the organisation of the clause adheres to the structure of a *di-* passive construction, a passive interpretation is the only interpretation available for this example even though the verb is bare. Similarly in (255) and (256), the topical undergoer *nyo* is in pre-verbal position and the verb is followed by a full NP actor adjunct: *dek baruak ko*, 'by the crowd of short-tailed macaques' in (255), and *dek pak tani*, 'by the farmer' in (256). So even though the verb is unmarked for voice, the conditions for a passive interpretation are satisfied because there is a topical undergoer and the syntactised clause structure of a *di-* passive is maintained.

The facts about examples (254), (255) and (256) suggest that *di-* is not required to mark passive voice on the verb so long as the undergoer is topical and known to the hearer,

and the rigid structural organisation of the passive clause is adhered to. The clearest indicator of passive clause organisation is the presence of the actor marking preposition *dek*. This preposition simplifies the task of assigning semantic roles to the participants; *dek* marks the actor, therefore if there is a pre-verbal participant then it must be the undergoer. In fact, the presence of a post verbal '*dek* + actor' phrase is incompatible with active voice syntax as examples (257) and (258) illustrate.

(257) a. *Tapi nyo agiahe dek urang ceke.*
but   3   give-3   CAUSE person talk-3
'But he was given it by someone, he said.'

(Text ID: 474934091648030406)

b. *Tapi nyo diagiahe dek urang ceke.*
but   3   PV-give-3   CAUSE person talk-3
'But he was given it by someone, he said.'

(Elicitation)

c. **Tapi nyo maagiahe dek urang ceke.*
but   3   AV-give-3 CAUSE person   talk-3

(Elicitation)

(258) a. *Nyo jawek dek si Malin ko.*
3   answer CAUSE PERS Malin   DEM:prox
'Malin answered him.'

(Text ID: 273888090906280208)

b. *Nyo dijawek dek si Malin ko.*
3   PV-answer CAUSE PERS   Malin DEM:prox
'Malin answered him.'

(Elicitation)

c. **Nyo manjawek dek si Malin ko.*
3   AV-answer   CAUSE PERS Malin   DEM:prox

(Elicitation)

The (a) sentences in examples (257) and (258) come from the MPI EVA Minangkabau corpus. The main verbs in these examples *agiah*, 'give', and *jawek*, 'answer', are bare verbs and the bare verbs are followed by the *dek* preposition and a full NP. In both examples my Minangkabau consultants assigned the undergoer role to the pre-verbal

participant without hesitation. The NPs marked by *dek* were categorically assigned the actor role. So, in (257) the pronoun *nyo* is the undergoer and *urang*, 'person', must be the actor since it appears in post-verbal position and is marked by the preposition *dek*. Similarly in (258) *si Malin ko* is in post-verbal position and marked by the preposition *dek* and therefore the actor. This means that *nyo* must be the undergoer.

Since the undergoer is in pre-verbal position and the actor marked by *dek* in both examples (257) and (258), only a passive interpretation is available for the bare verb root. The (b) sentences show that marking the verb for passive voice with *di-* is compatible with the structure of the sentences. However, marking the verb for active voice creates an ungrammatical structure as the (c) sentences demonstrate.

Example (259) shows another sentence from the MPI EVA corpus that contains a bare verb. Assigning semantic roles to the participants *nyo* and *sawit*, 'palm oil trees', is more difficult than in examples (257) and (258) because neither participant occupies the pre-verbal slot and *dek* is not used to disambiguate actor from undergoer. However, like the examples above, marking the verb for passive voice is compatible with the existing structure whereas marking it for active voice is not. This is because the pronoun *nyo* occurs as a post-verbal enclitic. The appearance of pronominal post-verbal actor enclitics is a distinctive feature of passive clauses (see Section 5.1.3.2), so the syntax of this construction allows for only one interpretation; *nyo* must be the actor therefore the bare verb must be passive.

(259) a. *Tanamnyo   sawit.*
          plant-3   palm.oil.tree
          'He planted palm oil trees.'

          (Text ID: 421384121144170706)

     b. *Ditanamnyo   sawit.*
          PV-plant-3   palm.oil.tree
          'He planted palm oil trees.'

          (Elicitation)

     c. **Mananamnyo   sawit.*
          AV-plant-3   palm.oil.tree

          (Elicitation)

There are also a number of 'passive' bare verbs in the MPI EVA corpus that appear in more loosely organised clauses. In these cases it is context and world knowledge that determines the semantic roles of the participants and decides which of the participants is most likely to be the pivot.

Examples (260), (261) and (262) show clauses with bare transitive verbs as their head: *gigik*, 'bite', in (260), *karek-karek*, 'cut up', in (261) and *bukak*, 'open', in (262). Each of these examples also has a pre-verbal participant whose semantic role is not revealed by the syntax of the clause. When the examples are taken out of context, the pre-verbal participants in each of the (a) sentences can be assigned either the actor or undergoer role without affecting the grammaticality of the clause. In fact, as the (b) and (c) sentences reveal, assigning the pre-verbal participant the undergoer role and marking the verb for passive voice produces a sentence equally as acceptable as assigning the participant the actor role and marking the verb for active voice.

(260) a. *Tu   gigik   acek   ndak   Mbon?*
DEM:dist   bite   leech   NEG   TRU-Mambon
'It was bitten by a leech wasn't it Mbon?'

(Text ID: 837845093215200406)

b. *Tu   digigik   acek   ndak   Mbon?*
DEM:dist   PV-bite   leech   NEG   TRU-Mambon
'It was bitten by a leech wasn't it Mbon?'

(Elicitation)

c. *#Tu   manggigik   acek   ndak   Mbon?*
DEM:dist   AV-bite   leech   NEG   TRU-Mambon
'It bit a leech didn't it Mbon?'

(Elicitation)

(261) a. *Tu   pisang   karek-karek potong-potong.*
DEM:dist   banana   RED-chop   RED-cut
'Then the banana is chopped up, cut up.'

(Text ID: 346157221330230506)

b. *Tu   pisang   dikarek-karek   dipotong-potong.*
DEM:dist banana   PV-RED-chop   PV-RED-cut
'Then the banana is chopped up, cut up.'

(Elicitation)

c. *#Tu   pisang   mangarek-karek   mamotong-potong.*
 DEM:dist   banana   AV-RED-chop   AV-RED-cut
'The banana chopped (it) up, cut (it) up.'

(Elicitation)

(262) a. *Puskesmas   alun   bukak   lai.*
community.health.centre   not.yet open   more
'The Community Health Centre isn't open yet.'

(Text ID: 503509223546280606)

b. *Puskesmas   alun   dibukak lai.*
community.health.centre   not.yet PV-open   more
'The Community Health Centre isn't open yet.'

(Elicitation)

c. *#Puskesmas   alun   mambukak lai.*
community.health.centre   not.yet AV-open   more
'The Community Health Centre hasn't opened (it) yet.'

(Elicitation)

Only pragmatic knowledge and contextual clues, coupled with some real world knowledge, reveal that all the pre-verbal participants in examples (260), (261) and (262) must be undergoers. In (260) contextual information reveals that the referent of the demonstrative *tu* is the more likely participant to have been bitten and is therefore the undergoer. In (261) real world knowledge tells us that unless the situation is highly pragmatically marked, *pisang*, 'the banana', must be the undergoer and not the actor. In (262) *Puskesmas*, 'the Community Health Centre', must also be the undergoer for similar reasons. These pragmatic facts mean that since the undergoer participants are in pre-verbal position in these examples, only a passive interpretation of the bare stems is available.

6.1.2.3 Ambiguous Bare Verbs

Contextual information, as well as pragmatic and real world knowledge, are extremely important in helping to decode the semantic roles of participants in a clause with a bare verb and also for deciding what the intended 'voice' of the bare verb is. So much contextual knowledge is required to disambiguate bare verbs that outsiders to the conversation are unable to do so. The sentences in (263), (264) and (265) illustrate some underspecified clauses with bare verb heads. Since these examples lack contextual information, my language consultants were unable to disambiguate the 'voice' of the bare verbs contained in them.

(263) a. *Lah cuci   muko Afif?*
        PFCT wash   face   Afif
        'Have you washed your face yet Afif?'

        (adapted from Text ID: 937982152454210207)

    b. *Lah mancuci   muko Afif?*
        PFCT AV-wash   face   Afif
        'Have you washed your face yet Afif?'

        (Elicitation)

    c. *Lah dicuci   muko Afif?*
        PFCT PV-wash   face   Afif
        'Has your face been washed yet Afif?'

        (Elicitation)

(264) a. *Tu   masak nyo baa?*
        DEM:dist cook   3   POSS-what
        'How is it cooked?'

        (Text ID: 652922120732220306)

    b. *Tu   mamasak nyo baa?*
        DEM:dist AV-cook   3   POSS-what
        'How is it cooked?'

        (Elicitation)

    c. *Tu   dimasak nyo baa?*
        DEM:dist PV-cook 3   POSS-what
        'How is it cooked?'

(Elicitation)

(265) a. *Aden   galak   den   caliake   ma.*
       1sg   laugh 1sg see-3   EMPH
       'I laughed to see him.'

       (Text ID: 829173103348200306)

  b. *Aden   galak   den   mancaliake   ma.*
       1sg   laugh 1sg AV-see-3   EMPH
       'I laughed to see him.'

       (Elicitation)

  c. *Aden   galak   den   dicaliake   ma.*
       1sg   laugh 1sg PV-see-3   EMPH
       'I laughed and he looked at me.'

       (Elicitation)

In (263a), which is a real example from the MPI EVA corpus, both active and passive interpretations are available for the bare verb *cuci*, 'wash'. *Afif* is the addressee in (263a) but it is unclear whether he is the intended actor as well since the actor is not overtly expressed. Common sense tells us that *muko*, 'face', must be the undergoer so the interpretation of the verb as passive or active depends on whether the actor role is assigned to *Afif* or to another unexpressed participant. Since *Afif* is the addressee he must be topical, so if he is assigned the actor role then the verb can be marked for active voice by *maN-*. However, if the actor role is assigned to some unexpressed third party (perhaps, for example, *Afif*'s mother) then *muko*, 'Afif's face', becomes more topical and the verb is marked for passive voice by the clitic *di-*. Both sentences (263b) and (263c) are grammatical and, according to my Minangkabau language consultants, both sentences ('Afif is washing his face', as opposed to 'someone else is washing Afif's face') represent equally possible interpretations. However, how the semantic role assignment was intended by the speaker of (263a) remains indeterminate.

The main verb *masak*, 'cook', in example (264) is also bare, which means that the semantic roles of the participants in the clause are underspecified. Example (264a) comes from the MPI EVA corpus. The reading preferred by my Minangkabau consultants was that both *tu* and *nyo* refer to the same participant, the thing being cooked, which was assigned the undergoer role. For this reading, based on the syntax of

the clause, only marking the verb for active voice would produce a grammatical sentence. Sentence (264b) shows the active voice reading. However, my consultants agreed that *nyo* could also refer to the actor. In this case, the sentence could also be rendered in passive voice, as (264c) shows. It could also be the case that *cuci* and *masak* in (263) and (264) are intentionally left bare so that the participants *muko*, 'face', and *nyo*, 'it', are potentially both actors and undergoers thus coercing a reflexive or middle interpretation of the event.

Finally, since the verb *caliak*, 'see', in (265a) is not marked for voice, determining the semantic roles of the participants referred to by the pronouns *den* and *-e* is a difficult task if the sentence is taken out of context.

Both active and passive permutations of the sentence are possible as (265b) and (265c) demonstrate; in (265b) *den* is the actor and *-e* the undergoer, whereas in (265c) *den* is the undergoer and *-e* is the actor. However, my language consultants agreed that although the passive interpretation of the sentence presented in (265c) is plausible, the interpretation presented in (265b) is preferred. This is because the way the progression of events is encoded in (265c), i.e. the speaker laughing then being looked at by someone, is unusual. It is much more likely that if the event *aden galak*, 'I laughed', is a reason or cause for the speaker to be looked at, following principles of iconicity, it ought to come after the main verb *caliak*, 'see'. So for a passive interpretation to be as available as an active one, the sentence ought to read *den dicaliake ma (dek) aden galak*, 'he looked at me (because) I laughed', instead.

Of all the kinds of clauses with bare verb stems, the most interesting are those cases where the intended semantic roles of the participants are most ambiguous. These cases indicate the importance of pragmatics for determining semantic roles and also raise questions about the importance of specifying semantic roles in the first place. These issues are discussed further in Section 6.2.

6.1.2.4 Bare Verbs and the P2 Construction

The P2 construction is a distinctive voice construction in Standard Minangkabau (see Section 3.3 and Section 5.1.4). However, the pervasive use of bare verbs and the flexible word order constraints of Colloquial Minangkabau have meant that the properties that make the P2 construction distinct in Standard Minangkabau do not apply in Colloquial Minangkabau. In fact, the evidence suggests that the P2 construction has merged with the bare active construction in the Colloquial variety.

As described in Section 5.1.4, the P2 construction in Standard Malay/Indonesian and in Standard Minangkabau has a restrictive set of word order constraints. In Standard Minangkabau, nothing must intervene between the actor and the verb in a P2 clause, therefore all auxiliaries (i.e. negators and TAM adverbials) must precede the actor, whereas in a Standard Minangkabau active sentence, auxiliaries can intervene between the actor and the verb. In fact, if these clausal components occurred before the actor NP, then the sentence's acceptability would be very much reduced. We do not find these word order constraints in Colloquial Minangkabau and in fact find that clauses with bare verbs allow both 'auxiliary + actor' and 'actor + auxiliary' word orders.

For example, consider the sentences in (266) which show that there are no constraints on the ordering of the actor NP and the auxiliary components in an active clause.

(266) a. *Inyo acok ubah   gayanyo.*
          3   often change style-3
          'He often changes his style.'

   b. *Acok   inyo ubah   gayanyo.*
       often   3   change style-3
       'He often changes his style.'

   c. *Acok   inyo maubah   gayanyo.*
       often   3   AV-change style-3
       'He often changes his style.'

       (Elicitation)

In example (266a) a bare active verb is used. The construction follows the canonical word order of an active sentence with the adverbial *acok*, 'often', following the actor *inyo* and preceding the bare verb *ubah*, 'change'. In (266b) the word order has changed and we find that the adverbial *acok* now intervenes between the actor and the verb. The 'auxiliary + actor' word order is restricted to P2 clauses in Standard Minangkabau but example (266c) demonstrates that the word order is also acceptable in a Colloquial Minangkabau active construction.

Like examples (266a) and (266b), examples (267a) and (267b) demonstrate that both 'actor + auxiliary' (*aden alah*) and 'auxiliary + actor' (*alah aden*) orders are acceptable in bare active constructions in Colloquial Minangkabau. Notice that both orders are also possible in (267c) and (267d). These sentences resemble P2 constructions because the undergoer argument *buku ko*, 'this book', appears in pre-verbal position. The grammaticality of the sentence in (267d) is nevertheless unaffected.

(267) a. *Aden   alah   baco   buku   ko.*
         1sg   PFCT   read   book   DEM:prox
         'I have read this book.'

     b. *Alah   aden   baco   buku   ko.*
         PFCT   1sg   read   book   DEM:prox
         'I have read this book.'

     c. *Buku   ko   alah aden baco.*
         book   DEM:prox PFCT 1sg   read
         'I have read this book.'

     d. *Buku   ko   aden alah baco.*
         book   DEM:prox 1sg   PFCT read
         'I have read this book.'

         (Elicitation)

Similarly in (268a), notice that the ordering of the auxiliary and the actor (*alah aden tu*) resembles the ordering of a canonical P2 clause. The clause can also be interpreted as a bare active since the verb can be optionally marked by the active voice marker *maN-* as shown in (268b).

(268) a. *Alah aden tu   pa racik   den racik   sadoe dulu   tu.*
       PFCT 1sg DEM:dist xx thinly.slice 1sg thinly.slice all-3 moment DEM:dist
       'I've already sliced it, I sliced it all before.'

       (Text ID: 3956670909001250406)

     b. *Alah aden tu   (ma)racik   den racik   sadoe dulu   tu.*
       PFCT 1sg DEM:dist (AV-)thinly.slice 1sg thinly.slice all-3 moment DEM:dist
       'I've already sliced it, I sliced it all before.'

       (Elicitation)

There are thus no surface syntactic differences between the bare active and the P2 in Colloquial Minangkabau. To determine whether a certain sentence is indeed a P2 construction in Colloquial Minangkabau we could apply raising tests (see Section 5.1.4). However, notice in examples (269b) and (269c) that both the undergoer and the actor can be raised. This demonstrates that there are also no underlying syntactic features that differentiate the P2 construction from the bare active in Colloquial Minangkabau.

(269) a. *Dianggapnyo buku   ko   alah   aden   baco.*
       PV-believe-3   book   DEM:prox PFCT 1sg   read
       'They believe I have read this book.'

     b. *Buku   ko   dianggapnyo alah aden baco.*
       book   DEM:prox PV-believe-3   PFCT 1sg   read
       'They believe I have read this book.'

     c. *Aden   dianggapnyo buku   ko   alah baco.*
       1sg   PV-believe-3   book   DEM:prox PFCT read
       'They believe I have read this book.'

       (Elicitation)

6.1.3 Multifunctional Bare Verbs

Bare verbs create problems for analysis of the Minangkabau voice system because their very existence implies that active and passive voice marking on the verb is optional. Bare verb stems are also problematic because the semantic roles of the participants in the clause become underspecified. As it will be demonstrated in this section, bare verbs also raise questions about the nature of categoriality in Minangkabau since they can function in both predicative and non-predicative constructions.

To examine this issue, first, let us look at the phenomenon of verbs that also function to refer, which is a prototypically nominal function. Examples (270) and (271) show how the two stative verbs *berang*, 'angry', and *gaek*, 'old', can function referentially.

(270) a.   *Jan   berang!*
           PROHIB   angry
           'Don't be angry!'

           (Elicitation)

     b.   *Tambah berang-berang Buayo   ko.*
           add   RED-angry   crocodile   DEM:prox
           'But Crocodile's anger just increased.'

           (Text ID: 980031104710220607)

     c.   *Baa,   tambah urang duo lai   untuk   maota?*
           POSS-what add   person two   more for   AV-talk
           'How about we get two more people to chat?'

           (Text ID: 919266230255181006)

In (270a), *berang*, 'angry', is functioning predicatively as a stative verb and is therefore obligatorily unmarked. In (270b) notice that *berang* remains morphologically unmarked even though it is performing a referential function. In (270b) *berang-berang* becomes the undergoer argument of the verb *tambah*, 'add, increase'. Sentence (270c) shows the use of the '*tambah* + NP' construction with a nominal *urang duo*, 'two people', for comparison with the sentence in (270b). Notice that both sentences have the same word order despite the fact that the roots *berang* and *urang duo* come from different parts of speech categories.

Example (271) also illustrates how a stative verb root can function referentially but still be unmarked.

(271) a.   *Rang   tu   lah   gaek kini.*
           person   DEM:dist PFCT old   now
           'That person's already old.'

           (Text ID: 532804094630120406)

b. *Ado urang gaek mancari Apak.*
   exist person old   AV-find   Father
   'There's an old person looking for you Sir.'

(Elicitation)

c. *Nan gaek ko   ndak tantu do   ma.*
   REL old   DEM:prox NEG   certain NEGPOL EMPH
   'The old ones aren't sure.'

(Text ID: 742150150410290306)

Example (271a) shows the stative root *gaek*, 'old', functioning prototypically as a predicate. Notice that the predicate is unmarked and is modified by the perfective TAM marker *lah*. Gradable stative verbs like *gaek* can also be used to modify (see Section 4.2.1.2). Sentence (271b) provides an example of *gaek*, 'old', functioning as a modifier for the noun *urang*, 'person'. Finally, sentence (271c) shows how *gaek* can also function referentially. In this example *gaek* is introduced as the head noun by the relative marker *nan*, it is then marked for its referential status by the proximal demonstrative *ko* as referential nouns normally would be. Notice that there is no difference in the morphological marking of *gaek* in (271a), (271b) and (271c) even though the stative root performs a different function in each example.

Now let us consider an example of multifunctionality with an active verb root. The active verb root *makan*, 'eat', is transitive and frequently appears in its bare form. Notice in (272a) that *makan* is performing this prototypical predicative function and appears as a bare verb. However, *makan* can also function referentially to mean 'food'. In Standard Malay/Indonesian the same verb *makan* is used to mean 'eat' but a nominalising suffix is added to the root to form the noun *makanan*, 'food'. However, in Minangkabau, the bare form *makan* can be used referentially without the need for morphological marking as sentences (272b) and (272c) show. The major indicator that *makan* is being used referentially in these examples is that it is marked by the demonstratives *ko* and *tu*, which are used to show the referential status of NPs (see Section 4.2.1.1).

(272) a.   *Kita makan KFC nak   Dek.*
              1pl   eat   KFC EMPH TRU-Dedek
              'We ate KFC didn't we Dek.'

              (Text ID: 549093095105130306)

     b.   *Jadi   makan-makan ko   ado.*
              happen RED-food   DEM:prox exist
              'Yes there's food.'

              (Text ID: 736794113449230306)

     c.   *Makan tu   ado namo onde-onde.*
              food   DEM:dist exist name   k.o.food
              'The name of that food is *onde-onde*.'

              (Text ID: 736685132002230306)

The bare active verb roots *nyanyi*, 'sing', and *jalan*, 'walk', can also function as nouns. Notice in (273a) that *nyanyi*, 'sing', functions as the verbal head of the clause, whereas in (273b) *nyanyi*, 'song', is the NP argument licensed by the existential predicate *ado*.

(273) a.   *Nyanyi wak lah.*
              sing   1   IMP
              'Come on let's sing.'

              (Text ID: 356448092030040706)

     b.   *Ndak ado nyanyi do.*
              NEG   exist song   NEGPOL
              'I don't know the song/ there isn't a song.'

              (Text ID: 135915092110040706)

Similarly in (274a) *jalan*, 'walk', functions as the verbal head of the clause whereas in (274b) the noun *jalan*, 'road', is the undergoer argument licensed by the verb *manyabarang*, 'cross, traverse'.

(274) a.   *Inyo jalan ka siko dari   Pantai Padang.*
              3   walk   to here from   beach   Padang
              'He walked here from Padang Beach.

b. *Ujang   mamacik   anaknyo wakatu   manyabarang   jalan.*
Ujang   AV-hold   child-3   time   AV-cross   road
'Ujang held on to her child as she crossed the road.'

(Elicitation)

We have established that both stative and active verb roots in Minangkabau can be used predicatively and referentially without changing the morphological marking of the root. As we saw in example (271), morphologically unmarked gradable stative verbs can also be used to modify. Examples (275) and (276) demonstrate that morphologically unmarked active verbs can also be used to modify. In (275) the active verb root *tari*, 'dance', is used attributively to modify the noun *pakaian*, 'clothes', to mean 'dancing clothes', i.e. clothes for dancing. Similarly in (276) the active verb root *cuci*, 'wash', is used to modify the nominal *masin*, 'engine, machine'.

(275)   *Sudah   tu   pakaian tari   nyo   bacari   surang.*
PFCT   DEM:dist clothes   dance 3   MID-look.for   ONE-person
'And then we have to find our dancing clothes ourselves.'

(Text ID: 249243102345030406)

(276)   *Masin   cuci.*
engine   wash
'Washing machine.'

(Elicitation)

It was demonstrated in Chapter 4 that Minangkabau nouns are also multifunctional. Their prototypical function is to refer, for which purposes they are morphologically unmarked. Nouns can also be used to predicate and modify.

Let us first examine some examples of predicative nominals. Voice morphology can be used to derive a predicative nominal from a noun root, but bare noun roots can also function predicatively. The sentences in (277) exemplify the use of the nominal root *ujan*, 'rain'. In the (277a) sentence *ujan* is functioning to refer and its syntactic frame is a nominal one since it is an argument of the existential predicate *ado*. However in (277b) and (277c) *ujan* functions predicatively. The evidence for the 'verb-hood' of *ujan* in these examples comes from the fact that it is marked by the TAM marker *alun* in (277b) and in (277c) it licenses the argument *pitih*, 'money'.

(277) a.   *Ado   ujan.*
           exist   rain
           'It's raining.'

   b.   *Alun   ujan ari ko.*
        not.yet rain   day DEM:prox
        'It hasn't rained yet today.'

   c.   *Ujan   pitih   di   rumah tu.*
        rain   money LOC   house   DEM:dist
        'It's raining money on that house.'

        (Elicitation)

Example (278) also shows how a nominal root can function predicatively. In (278a) the nominal root *sakolah*, 'school', functions as the head of an NP since it is marked by the preposition *ka*, which denotes motion towards an object. However, in (278b) *sakolah* functions predicatively; it occupies the syntactic slot reserved for the verb and functions as the head of the clause. Notice that the root remains morphologically unmarked in this example.

(278) a.   *Awak ka sakolah naiak oto   nyo.*
           1   to school   go.up   car   3
           'I go to school by car.'

           (Text ID: 447537094637040406)

   b.   *Sanang   sakolah situ Na?*
        like   school   there TRU-Husna
        'Do you like going to school there Na?'

        (Text ID: 847465151954230306)

Example (279) shows another instance of a nominal root performing predicatively. In (279a) the root in question, *gandang*, 'drum', performs its prototypical nominal function: reference. In this sentence *gandang* is the undergoer argument of the verb *digaduah*, 'disturb', and is modified for possession by the NP *nenek moyang den*, 'my ancestors'. In (279b), *gandang* functions as the verbal head of the clause and has licensed the first person pronoun actor argument *kito*. As well as functioning predicatively *gadang* can also be used to modify. We see an example of this in (279c)

where *gadang* modifies the nominal head *bunyi*, 'sound'. Notice that the root remains morphologically unmarked regardless of its function.

(279) a.   *Gandangnenek.moyang   den   jan   dianuan,   digaduah.*
        k.o.drum   ancestor   1sg   PROHIB PV-whatchamacallit-APP PV-disturb
        'It's the drum of my ancestors, don't whatchamacallit, disturb it.'

        (Text ID: 169489132243280607)

    b.   *Ndak   kito   gandang kak   Kancia?*
        NEG   1pl   k.o.drum older.sibling   mousedeer
        'Can't we beat the drum Mousedeer?'

        (Text ID: 705085132325280607)

    c.   *Kalau taranga den bunyi gandang ko   ibo juo ati   den.*
        TOP   INV-hear 1sg   sound   k.o.drum DEM:prox piety also liver 1sg
        'If I hear the sound of the drum I'll be sad.'

        (Text ID: 127491132934280607)

Some more examples of nominal roots functioning to modify can be found in (280) and (281). In (280) the nominal root in question is *api* 'fire'. In (280a) *api* is the head of the NP *api tu*, 'the fire', whereas in (280b) *api* functions attributively to modify the noun phrase *kayu*, 'wood'. Notice that there is no difference in the morphological marking of these two instantiations of *api*.

(280) a.   *Kalua dari api tu.*
        go.out   from fire DEM:dist
        'It came out of the fire.'

        (Text ID: 211538101510150606)

    b.   *Kayu api   untuak   batanak.*
        wood   fire   for   MID-cook
        'Fire wood for cooking.'

        (Text ID: 443312100359270208)

Similarly in (281) the nominal root *kapa*, 'ship', can function both referentially and attributively without any change to its morphological marking. In (281a) it is the head of the NP *kapa tu*, 'the ship', whereas in (281b) it functions attributively to modify the noun head in the actor NP *urang kapa ko*, 'the ship's people'.

(281) a.   *Nyo nio pai lo   jo   kapa ko.*
          3   want go   futhermore with   ship DEM:prox
          'He wanted to go (work) on the ship.'

          (Text ID: 485806122147270208)

     b.   *Jadi, ditarimo lah dek   urang kapa ko.*
          become PV-receive PFCT CAUSE person ship DEM:prox
          'So he was taken on by the ship's people.'

          (Text ID: 755217122237270208)

This section has demonstrated that verbal and nominal roots in Minangkabau can operate across a range of functional domains and may perform non-prototypical functions. Verbal roots function prototypically to predicate but they can also be used to refer and to modify. Minangkabau nouns prototypically function to refer, but like verbs they can also function to predicate and to modify. It is not unusual for parts of speech to be multifunctional. However, roots in non-prototypical functions are usually morphologically marked (Croft, 1990; 2000). The interesting thing about the Minangkabau case is that verbal and nominal roots may remain morphologically bare in both prototypical and non-prototypical instantiations. The practical and theoretical implications of this are discussed in Section 6.2.

6.2 Why Bare Verbs are Problematic

The use of bare verbs in Minangkabau raises three major questions:

1. Is voice marking obligatory?

2. How are semantic roles determined?

3. Do parts of speech categories have inherent functions?

Each of these questions is discussed respectively in Sections 6.2.1, 6.2.2, and 6.2.3. Some theoretical solutions for these problems are then outlined in Section 6.3.

6.2.1 Is voice marking obligatory?

Bare verbs are a systematic feature of Colloquial Minangkabau. They are used in places where we would expect to find a verb marked for voice, which suggests that voice marking is not obligatory in this register. However, it is only the voice markers *maN-* and *di-* which appear to be optional. If a speaker intends a reading of the verb other than an active/passive reading, for example, a reflexive or involuntary reading, then this must be marked on the verb using one of the language's lexical/derivational affixes.

To demonstrate this, consider the examples in (282). Example (282a) contains the bare verb *pikia*, 'think'. In (282b) and (282c) the same verb is marked by the active voice marker *maN-* and the reflexive marker *ba-* respectively. Even though these two morphological and semantic permutations are available for the verb in this sentence, only the active interpretation is available for the bare verb in (282a).

(282) a. *Banyak urang maabiahan pitih, ndak nyo pikia dulu.*
many person AV-finish-APP money NEG 3 think first
'Many people spend money without thinking about it first.'

b. *Banyak urang maabiahan pitih, ndak nyo mamikia dulu.*
many person AV-finish-APP money NEG 3 AV-think first
'Many people spend money without thinking about it first.'

c. *Banyak urang maabiahan pitih, ndak nyo bapikia dulu.*
many person AV-finish-APP money NEG 3 RFLX-think first
'Many people spend money without thinking to themselves first.'

(Elicitation)

Similarly in (283), the bare verb *baka*, 'burn', only has an active interpretation available even though both active and involuntary morphology are possible for the verb.

(283) a. *Inyo baka lauak tu.*
3 burn fish DEM:dist
'He roasted the fish.'

b. *Inyo mambaka lauak tu.*
3 AV-burn fish DEM:dist
'He roasted the fish.'

c. *Inyo tabaka   lauak   tu.*
    3   INV-burn fish   DEM:dist
    'He accidentally burned the fish.'

    (Elicitation)

Lexical/derivational affixes are required to mark the stage of 'evolution of action' on the verb, but the *maN-* prefix is not. A bare verb root can only then be assigned active semantics. These facts suggest that active voice marking is not obligatory and that active voice is basic, which is also the case in Spoken Jakarta Indonesian (cf. Wouk, 1989; 2004b).

The evidence presented in Section 6.1.2.2 also suggests that since bare verbs can also be given a passive reading, that passive voice marking is not obligatory either. The most common place to find a bare passive verb is in a construction that resembles the syntactised passive voice construction: 'pre-verbal undergoer + *di*-verb + *dek* + actor'. Because this construction is so highly marked, perhaps the *di-* marking on the verb becomes redundant and is therefore not obligatory. However, examples (260), (261), (262), (263), (264) and (265) showed that even sentences that do not adhere to this highly syntactised pattern can be given passive interpretations. One would think then, that passive and active voice marking is only obligatory when semantic roles require disambiguation. Yet, as examples (263), (264) and (265) show, even in ambiguous cases voice marking is not required.

So do bare verbs *mean* the same as voice marked verbs? In Colloquial Minangkabau bare verbs are clearly underspecified in comparison to voice marked verbs. However, speakers are generally able to assign semantic roles to participants in a clause with a bare verb, which suggests that the role of voice marking in Colloquial Minangkabau is not syntactic. In Standard Minangkabau, *maN-* has a clearly delineated semantic function (see Section 5.1.2.3) and *di-* has some associated semantic and aspectual properties as a result of its syntactic role in individuating the undergoer participant (see Section 5.1.3.3). So in Colloquial Minangkabau, the opposition between bare verbs, *maN-*, and *di-* must be primarily motivated by these semantic factors in a similar way to the opposition between the active and passive voice markers *N-* and *di-* in Riau Indonesian (see Section 2.4 and Section 6.3.2). In Colloquial Minangkabau, bare verbs

are semantically underspecified (which has no syntactic consequences), whereas verbs that are voice marked show that the actor or undergoer is particularly conceptually salient, or show that the event has certain aspectual properties.

6.2.2 How are semantic roles determined?

The fact that bare verbs are underspecified means that the semantic roles of the participants in a transitive clause are ambiguous, particularly when utterances are taken out of context. In Minangkabau it is usually the pre-verbal participant that is the pivot, but if the verb is not marked for voice then it is unclear whether the pre-verbal participant is an actor or an undergoer. However, as the examples in Section 6.1.2 showed, speakers are usually able to disambiguate the semantic roles of the participants and work out what the intended 'voice' of the verb is.

As discussed in Section 6.1.2, discourse context and real world knowledge provide the clues that allow hearers to disambiguate the semantic roles of the bare verb's arguments. If one of the arguments in the clause refers to a participant in the conversation, is the protagonist of the narrative, has had more previous mentions than another participant, or if one of the participants is definite and the other is not, then that participant will be highly referential and topical and will therefore serve as the pivot. Establishing which is an actor and which is an undergoer is more difficult. Some contextual background can also help, and so can some knowledge of the world, for example bananas are more likely to be chopped than be the ones chopping (see example (261)).

However, in some cases, as examples (263), (264) and (265) demonstrated, only extremely detailed knowledge of the context and pragmatics of the situation can provide the clues to work out the intended semantic roles of the bare verb's arguments. But perhaps in these cases the speaker doesn't *intend* anything, therefore the hearer has no need to disambiguate in the first place. Perhaps bare verb constructions don't represent some kind of defective or underspecified version of a voice marked verb construction. Instead, they are used in cases where voice and semantic roles are not just underspecified, but unimportant. This is because ambiguity is a perfectly acceptable feature of Colloquial Minangkabau discourse. Gil (2002a; 2006) explores similar ideas

in his discussion of Riau Indonesian's voice system. He argues that no morphosyntactic devices exist in the language to disambiguate semantic roles and that semantic roles are therefore typically vague and underspecified. Gil's (2001; 2007) theory of Associational Semantics may explain why semantic roles can be underspecified not only in Riau Indonesian, but in Minangkabau as well (see Section 6.3.2).

6.2.3 Do categories have inherent functions?

The final question that the Minangkabau bare verbs raise is the question of categoriality. We saw in Section 6.1.3 that Minangkabau parts of speech are multifunctional; nouns prototypically function to refer but can also function to predicate and modify; and verbs prototypically function to predicate but can also function to refer and modify. Verbal functions are usually indicated by the presence of verbal morphology, however Section 6.2.1 demonstrated that voice marking on the verb is not obligatory. Therefore we have a set of roots in Minangkabau that can appear in a range of construction types (referential, modificatory, predicative) but that are not differentiated at the morphological level. Does this mean that each root can only then be assigned category membership based on the construction that it appears in?

As we saw in Chapter 4, according to Croft (1990; 2000), the less marked an item is when performing a non-prototypical function, the less inherent is its own prototypical function. If we apply Croft's logic to the Minangkabau case, this would suggest that roots do not have inherent functions. Because nouns and verbs can function in non-prototypical ways without any changes to their surface forms, these roots are not *inherently* nominal or verbal, some roots are just more likely to occur in nominal or verbal position due to their semantics. If we take this hypothesis to its extreme, a possible conclusion is that Minangkabau roots are precategorial; that is, categories can be defined on the basis of the construction type and lexemes do not have any 'underlying' category membership; they acquire nominal or verbal status only when they are used in a nominal or verbal construction.

Similar questions have been raised about the categorical status of roots and the role of voice morphology in other Austronesian languages, particularly Philippine-type

languages (cf. De Guzman, 1991; Donohue, 2008; Foley, 1998; Gil, 2000; Kaufman, 2007). In Minangkabau these questions exist because of the use of bare forms, whereas in Philippine-type languages it is the prevalent use of voice morphology with a range of non-verbal parts of speech that causes the conundrum. This had led some linguists to propose that roots in Philippine-type languages are precategorial. That is to say, distinctions between nominal and verbal parts of speech are not made in the lexicon, instead the distinctions depend on the syntactic and morphological frames in which the roots are used. A summary of the arguments that have been made for and against a precategorial analysis of Philippine-type languages are presented in Section 6.3.1. The arguments are then applied to the Minangkabau case and it will be demonstrated that there is indeed evidence to support a categorisation of roots at the lexical level, and that the language is therefore not precategorial.

6.3 Some Theoretical Solutions

6.3.1 Precategoriality

In this section I will first discuss Foley's (1998; 2008) proposal that Philippine-type languages are precategorial. I will then discuss some alternative solutions to the categoriality problem in Philippine-type languages presented by Kroeger (1998) and Himmelmann (2006a; 2008). I will then show some evidence to support the idea that Minangkabau is not precategorial.

Foley's (1998) argument that Philippine-type languages have no lexical distinction between nouns and verbs, and that roots in these languages are therefore precategorial, is based on two main observations. First, there are no clear nominalising processes in Philippine-type languages. All affixes that are used to derive nominal forms can also be used as voice marking affixes, therefore there are no unique nominalising affixes. In addition to this, inflected verb forms can also function as NP heads without any change to their morphological marking. Second, Foley argues that roots do not have an underlying argument structure. If this is the case then this means there is nothing at the lexical level to differentiate verbs from nouns.

Foley (1998: 30) proposes that if roots do not entail argument structure, then they specify "some generalized conceptual structure" in the lexicon instead. For example, he suggests that a root like *bigay*, 'give', will specify the conceptual paradigm 'giving by X of Y to Z', but will not specify how X, Y and Z's semantic roles map onto argument structure. The role of voice morphology is then to specify how the semantic roles specified by the root's conceptual structure ought to be realised syntactically. To do this, the root must first become a verb. So, according to Foley, voice morphology actually performs a single derivational process: deriving a verb from a precategorial root and selecting a specific semantic role as the pivot.

Since argument structure is not specified in the lexicon, according to Foley (1998; 2008) this means that there is no preference as to which of the participants entailed by the root's conceptual structure gets realised as the pivot. This, he argues, shows that no one voice type is basic and that voice in Philippine-type languages is 'symmetrical' (see Section 2.1). Naturally, precategoriality and symmetrical voice systems are complementary features and it is these features, he argues, that are typologically salient in Philippine-type languages.

Nevertheless, whether Philippine-type languages are precategorial or not is still a matter of debate and a number of alternate analyses have been put forward. Two of these alternate analyses are discussed here. First, we will examine Kroeger's (1998) argument against precategoriality, and second, we will discuss Himmelmann's (2006a; 2008) proposal that the morphology of Philippine-type languages is multifunctional.

Citing evidence from Tagalog, Kimaragang Dusun and Blaan, Kroeger (1998) argues that nominal and verbal roots in Philippine-type languages can be distinguished in the lexicon. He argues that the argument structure of a verb is underlying therefore the role of voice affixation is not as Foley (1998) claims to derive verbs from precategorial roots, but purely to select a participant as the pivot.

Kroeger (1998) gives four significant pieces of evidence to support his claims. The first is that applicative formation can alter the argument structure of a verb independently of focus or voice marking. Applicatives operate as valency changing devices and also

function to promote non-core arguments to core argument status. For example *a location* adjunct can be reassigned core argument status as *an undergoer* with the use of an applicative. Since this process can occur prior to or independently of other kinds of voice affixation, according to Kroeger (1998), this shows that argument structure, i.e. which participants are assigned core and non-core argument status, is entailed by the verbal root.

The second piece of evidence to support the idea that argument structure is specified in the lexicon is that bare verb forms in Blaan select a 'default' pivot based on the lexical properties of the verb root. Kroeger (1998) argues that pivot choice is determined by morphosyntax but that a pre-ordained argument structure also influences speakers' preference for pivot selection. He explains that most experiencer verbs in Blaan select the experiencer as pivot in their basic form, however other experiencer verbs (e.g. 'hear') select the stimulus as their 'default' pivot and some (e.g. 'see', 'smell') even select the instrument. It does not follow from the semantics of the class of experiencer verbs that stimuli or instruments be the basic pivot choice for only some verbs, therefore he concludes that the specifications for the 'default' pivot must be stipulated in the lexicon.

The third piece of evidence provided by Kroeger (1998) counters Foley's (1998) claims that there are no unique nominalising processes in Philippine-type languages. Kroeger (1998) argues that the Kimaragang infix *-in-*, although used as a marker of past tense when combined with verbal roots, can also function as a nominaliser, combining not only with verbal roots but nominal and adjectival ones as well. Kroeger (1998) argues that the resultant nominalisations are lexically distinct from the past tense forms of the verbs and also have unpredictable semantics. Some examples of nominalisations based on verbal roots in Kimaragang can be found in (284). Note that the *-in-* infix results in a semantic narrowing of the root in the nominalised forms.

(284)

	VERB ROOT			NOMINALISED FORM	
a.	*liking*	'preserve with salt'	→	*liniking*	'salt fish'
b.	*salaw*	'to dry (meat)'	→	*sinalaw*	'dried meat/ fish'
c.	*reet*	'pronounce, call'	→	*rineet*	'ritual chant'

(Kroeger, 1998: example 30c)

Finally, whereas Foley (1998) argues that roots are precategorial because voice affixation can occur with any root, Kroeger (1998) presents evidence to show that voice affixation actually affects some roots differently to others. He states that there are a number of differences in how voice affixation patterns with nominal and verbal roots in Tagalog. Most importantly, voice affixation is obligatory and productive with verbal roots, but it is optional and unsystematic with nominal roots and creates forms with highly unpredictable semantics. Moreover, for verbal roots, voice affixation functions to select different arguments as the pivot but does not change the lexical meaning of the root. However, for nominal roots, different voice affixes on the same root create forms that range greatly in meaning.

Precategorial languages must be both bidirectional and compositional, i.e. any substantive root must be able to function in any available syntactic slot and any morphological devices must have the same effects on all roots (cf. Evans and Osada, 2005). Therefore, Kroeger's (1998) evidence that the effects of voice affixation on nominal roots are unpredictable provides the most convincing argument to support the idea that there is indeed a lexical distinction between nominal and verbal roots in Philippine-type languages.

Himmelmann (2006a; 2008) proposes an alternative solution to both Foley's (1998; 2008) and Kroeger's (1998) analyses. Like Foley (1998), he argues that voice affixation is by definition derivational; there is no one basic voice type and all words bearing voice marking must belong to the same morphosyntactic class of *verb* regardless of their lexical class (Himmelmann, 2008). However, instead of arguing for or against the precategoriality hypothesis, he proposes that it is the multifunctionality and polysemy of

voice morphology in Philippine-type languages that causes the difficulty in assigning root words to a lexical category.

Himmelmann (2006a: 489) talks about Philippine-type voice morphology not as "minimal units of form and meaning" but as "(bound) formatives". This means that each voice affix has a bundle of syntactic and semantic features, only some of which are profiled in a given instance. However, the correlations between the specific syntactic and semantic sense of the affix being used and the ontological type of the root undergoing derivation is difficult to clarify. For example, in Tagalog the prefix *ma-* can occur with a large majority of all content words and can mean either 'to have ROOT' or 'to become ROOT' yet there is no clear and consistent patterning of nominal or verbal roots with either of these meanings (Himmelmann, 2008: 16-17).

Neither Foley's (1998; 2008), nor Kroeger's (1998), nor Himmelmann's (2006a; 2008) proposals can directly explain the categoriality status of the Minangkabau bare verb forms since their analyses are made to account for the peculiarities of Philippine-type languages. Nevertheless, these analyses point to three main factors for consideration before making assessments about the categorical status of roots in Minangkabau: whether the argument structure of verbs is specified in the lexicon, whether there are unique nominalisation or verbalisation processes in the language, and whether the multifunctionality of morphology patterns with specific lexical categories. I will now discuss each of these factors in turn.

6.3.1.1 Argument Structure

We cannot argue that Minangkabau makes no distinction between nouns and verbs in the lexicon because some aspects of a verb's argument structure are in fact lexically specified. The transitivity of verb roots is specified in the lexicon (this is also true of noun roots as well: see *manggulai*, 'make a curry', and *manggandang*, 'beat on the drum', in example (288)) and can only be increased by applicative formation. For example, a distinction is made in the lexicon between intransitive and transitive active verbs and applicative formation is required to increase the syntactic valency of the intransitive verb root (see Chapters 4 and 5). In addition to this, a lexical distinction is

also made between a verb's core and non-core arguments since applicative formation on transitive roots functions to alter the verb's existing argument structure by changing the lexically specified alignment between macro role and core or non-core argument.

However, unlike Blaan (cf. Kroeger, 1998), Minangkabau does not have any lexical specifications about a verb's 'default' pivot or its basic voice. This idea is supported by the fact that, when bare verbs are used in place of voice marked verbs, the 'voice' of the verb and the semantic roles of the verb's arguments are underspecified (see Section 6.1.2). This suggests that some elements of the verb's argument structure are dependent on the surface realisation of syntactic structures and voice morphology on the verb. Rather than claiming that the unmarked verb is precategorial, we can propose that some aspects of its argument structure in Minangkabau are underspecified (see Section 6.3.2). We could also propose a solution similar to Himmelmann's (2006a; 2008) and argue that some elements of argument structure are specified by the verb root and other elements are specified by the voice marker. The interaction of root with voice marker and the effects that this has on argument structure must depend on the category and semantics of the root.

6.3.1.2 Nominalisation Processes

As discussed in Section 4.2.1.2, Minangkabau has productive nominalising morphology and makes use of three main nominalising affixes: *pa-*, *paN-*, and *-an*. Like many of the nominalising affixes used in Philippine-type languages, two of the Minangkabau nominalisers, *pa-* and *-an*, are apparently homophonous with verbal morphological markers: the causative prefix *pa-* and the applicative *-an* respectively (see Section 6.3.1.3). The examples in (285) show how *pa-* and *-an* affect the verbal roots to create phonologically identical nominal and verbal forms.

(285)

	ROOT		NOMINAL		VERBAL	
a.	*tanam*	'plant'	*tanaman*	'plant'	*(man)(t)anaman*	'plant for.'
b.	*tolong*	'help'	*patolongan*	'help'	*(mam)patolongan*	'help'
c.	*tamu*	'meet'	*patamuan*	'meeting'	*(mam)patamuan*	'introduce'
d.	*ingek*	'remember'	*paringekan*	'warning'	*(mam)paringekan*	'warn'

The *paN-* nominaliser does not have a verbal counterpart. Nevertheless, nominalisations derived from the *paN-* affix can also appear in the predicate slot. This affix is a nominaliser of verbal roots, but it also narrows the semantic field of nouns to create different nominal forms. Example (286) shows that the verb *panangi*, 'hit', has been derived from the nominal form *panangan*, 'a blow, a hit', which in turn derives from the nominal root *tangan*, 'hand'. Similarly, example (287) demonstrates that the nominal form *panyapo*, 'a greeting', is able to appear in the predicate slot.

(286) a. *Panangan.*
NOM-hand
'A blow, a hit.'

(Elicitation)

b. *Kadang-kadang laki ko panangani bini.*
RED-occasional male DEM:prox NOM-hand-APP:loc wife
'Sometimes he hits his wife.'

(Text ID: 477748104228160506)

(287) a. *Panyapo.*
NOM-greet
'A greeting.'

(Elicitation)

b. *Panyapo urang siko ndak?*
NOM-greet person here NEG
'Do people greet each other here?'

(Text ID: 734480141109270306)

The fact that some nominalisers are homophonous with verbal markers and that nominalised forms can appear in the predicate slot demonstrates that the nominalising

processes in Minangkabau are not unique. However, this evidence alone is not sufficient to argue that the language is precategorial.

6.3.1.3 Multifunctional Morphology

Of course, it could be the case that the nominalisers *pa-* and *-an*, and the verbal markers *pa-* and *-an* are not homophonous, but the same, multifunctional morphemes. Cases of multifunctionality abound in Minangkabau morphology and the language's lexical/derivational affixes *ta-*, *pa-* and *ba-* are particularly multifunctional (see Section 5.2). The correlations between the syntactic and semantic properties of the root and the meaning or syntactic function of the affix being profiled are relatively transparent. For example, *ta-* derives superlative forms only from stative roots and creates stative 'ability' predicates only from transitive verb roots. Nevertheless it remains difficult to clarify the exact correlations between the category of the root and the intended use of the affix in a number of other cases, for example the causative marker *pa-* when it occurs with non-stative roots (see Section 5.2.2).

The active voice marker *maN-* is also multifunctional. It can be used to derive active verbs from nominal roots as well as mark active voice on verbal roots. However, the uses of *maN-* with verbal roots are predictable whereas the semantics of *maN-* verbs derived from nominal roots are quite difficult to predict. The examples in (288) demonstrate this. Although the derived verbal forms all share active semantics, the conceptual framework for each of the events is quite different. First, the transitivity of derived verbal forms is not predictable. For example, (288d) is intransitive whereas the other verbs are transitive. This indicates that some elements of the argument structure of nominal roots are specified in the lexicon. One can also not predict what kind of activity the nominal root entails. According to Moussay (1998) *maN-* derives verbs meaning 'to use *noun*' from nominal roots. The verb *manggandang*, 'beat on the drum', is clearly an example of this type. In addition, Adelaar (1992a) finds that nouns can also form intransitive *maN-* verbs meaning 'to be on *noun*'. Based on the examples in (288) we can also add 'to send *noun* to someone' (*manesemes*), 'to put *noun* on something' (*mancat*), and 'to make *noun*' (*manggulai*), to the list. Examples of each of these verbs predicating in a sentence can be found in (289), (290), (291), and (292).

(288)

	ROOT		DERIVED ACTIVE VERB	
a.	*esemes*	'text message'	*manesemes*	'to send a text (to someone)'
b.	*cat*	'paint'	*mancat*	'paint (something)'
c.	*gulai*	'curry'	*manggulai*	'make curry (from something)'
d.	*gandang*	'k.o. drum'	*manggandang*	'beat on the drum'

(289)   *Inyo manesemes Siti.*
3   AV-text.message Siti
'He sent a text to Siti.'

(Elicitation)

(290)   *Inyo mancat dindiang.*
3   AV-paint   wall
'She painted the wall.'

(Elicitation)

(291)   *Inyo manggulai   ayam.*
3   AV-curry   chicken
'She's making chicken curry.'

(Elicitation)

(292)   *Inyo manggandang.*
3   AV-k.o.drum
'He's beating on the drum.'

(Elicitation)

One of Kroeger's (1998) arguments for a lexical noun/verb distinction in Philippine-type languages is that the semantics of voice affixed forms derived from nominal roots are unpredictable, whereas voice affixation on verbal roots is a regular and predictable process. We can argue similarly for Minangkabau and claim that the unpredictable behaviour of *maN-* verbs derived from nominal forms demonstrates that a clear distinction between nominal and verbal roots must be made in the lexicon.

Croft's (1990, 2000) theory suggests that the presence of multifunctional bare forms means that roots do not have inherent prototypical functions. However, based on the

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evidence presented in this section, we cannot argue strongly that Minangkabau is a precategorial language.

6.3.2 Associational Semantics

The use of bare verbs nevertheless poses a problem for our analysis of Minangkabau's voice system. This section will discuss Gil's (2001; 2007) notion of Associational Semantics in a further effort to understand why we find bare verbs in Colloquial Minangkabau.

Gil (1994; 2000; 2001; 2007; 2008) argues that Riau Indonesian as a monocategorial language with some isolating morphology. He also suggests that it is a typologically 'simplistic' language. Monocategoriality and isolating morphology also mean that constructions in this language are often underspecified. For this reason, Gil (2007) proposes that Riau Indonesian is a highly Associational language, i.e. the interpretability of underspecified utterances in this language relies on Associational Semantics. Gil (2008) argues that Minangkabau, as well as Mentawai and Sundanese, are also Associational languages. It is these typological traits, Gil argues, that form the basis of the Sundic-type voice system (see Section 2.4).

According to Gil (2001; 2007), if a language is Associational it means that there will be a large amount of available interpretations for any utterance that is underspecified. The interpretations rely on the fact that the entities and events referred to in the utterance are semantically associated with each other in a variety of possible ways. For example, consider the Riau Indonesian sentence in (293) which is highly underspecified. Not only is *makan*, 'eat', not specified for tense and aspect but *ayam*, 'chicken', is not marked for definiteness. The semantic role of *ayam*, 'chicken', is also unspecified since there is no voice marking on the verb. This means that *ayam* could be interpreted as an agent, in which case the interpretation of the sentence would be 'the chicken is eating'. However, *ayam* could also be a patient ('someone is eating the chicken'), a benefactor ('someone is eating for the chicken'), or even a comitative participant ('someone is eating with the chicken'). The ontological type of the utterance is also unspecified therefore we cannot be sure if *ayam makan* is actually referring to an event. Some of the other available

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interpretations of ontological type might include an entity ('the chicken that is eating', 'chicken food'), a location ('where the chicken is eating'), or indeed a time ('when the chicken is eating') (Gil, 2007).

(293)   *Ayam   makan.*
          chicken eat
          'The chicken is eating... etc.'

          (Gil, 2007: 73)

Gil has devised an experiment to test the Associationality of a range of languages to first, establish what the typological restrictions on Associational Semantics are, and second, to find out whether Associationality is a salient feature of Creole languages. The experiment is ongoing but to date Gil (2007; 2008) has run the experiment on speakers of English, Hebrew, Papiamentu, Sranan, Bislama, Twi, Fongbe, Yoruba, Vietnamese, Sundanese, Mentawai and Minangkabau. In the experiment, subjects are presented with a sentence in their language and two pictures. Subjects are then asked to evaluate whether the situation entailed by the test sentence is accurately portrayed in any of the pictures. Subjects may choose only one of the pictures, both of the pictures or neither of the pictures. One of the pictures shows the test interpretation. If subjects choose this picture, then this demonstrates that an Associational interpretation is available in their language.

A sample of some of the test sentences from Gil's (2007) Associationality experiment with Minangkabau speakers and English speakers can be found in Table 20.

Table 20. Some Test Sentences from the Associationality Experiment.

(Gil, 2007: 96, 105)

A. BARE PERIPHERAL SENTENCES:		
MINANGKABAU TEST SENTENCES	ENGLISH TEST SENTENCES	TEST PICTURE SHOWS:
1. *Badut minum buku* clown drink book	'The clown is drinking the book'	*Clown drinking while reading book*
2. *Badut bali sanang* clown buy happy	'The clown is buying happiness'	*Clown buying fruit with happy face*
3. *Kopi galak* coffee laugh	'The coffee is laughing'	*Person spilling coffee, onlooker laughing*
4. *Pitih sanang* money happy	'The money is happy'	*Man holding money with happy face*

B. BARE PATIENT PRECEDING SENTENCES:		
MINANGKABAU TEST SENTENCES	ENGLISH TEST SENTENCES	TEST PICTURE SHOWS:
5. *Buruang makan* bird eat	'The bird is eating'	*Cat eating a bird*
6. *Harimau takuik* tiger afraid	'The tigers are afraid'	*People fearing tigers*
7. *Mancik kaja kuciang* mouse chase cat	'The mouse is chasing the cat'	*Cat chasing mouse*
8. *Oto tundo padusi* car push woman	'The car is pushing the woman'	*Woman pushing car*

The 'Bare Peripheral' sentences show the juxtaposition of an event and an entity which do not belong in the same semantic frame. Gil argues that, in an Associational language, an interpretation can be made from the juxtaposed elements that fits the situation portrayed in the test picture, whereas in a non-Associational language, the interpretation will not fit. Consider sentence (1) in Table 20. In an Associational language, the juxtaposed elements CLOWN DRINK BOOK refer to an event which is associated with a

clown, drinking and a book. Therefore, the interpretation represented in the test picture, *clown drinking while reading book*, will be available. However, in a non-Associational language the interpretation represented in the test picture will not be available since BOOK will have to be interpreted as part of the argument structure, or semantic frame, of DRINK, which is semantically odd (Gil, 2007).

The 'Bare Patient Preceding' sentences contain two elements: an event preceded by an entity which is understood to be the patient. In an SVO language the preceding entity will be interpreted as the agent therefore the situation represented in the test picture will not be available. However, in an Associational language the test interpretation will be available since all the sentence entails is an 'event X associated with entity Y' (Gil, 2007).

The results of the experiment (see Table 21) show that the percentage of available Associational interpretations of the test sentences was much higher for Minangkabau than it was for English (Gil, 2007). These findings suggest that underspecified utterances in Minangkabau are interpretable because the compositional Associationality of the language allows for a range of possible meanings to be drawn from the individual elements in the utterance.

Table 21. Results of Associationality Experiment for Minangkabau and English.

(Gil, 2007: 86)

LANGUAGE	NUMBER OF SUBJECTS	% AVAILABLE ASSOCIATIONAL INTERPRETATION:	
		BARE PERIPHERAL	BARE PATIENT PRECEDING
MINANGKABAU	30	74	57
ENGLISH	32	7	4

The Associational nature of Minangkabau in part accounts for the presence of bare verbs in the language. Notice in Table 20 that none of the verbs in the Minangkabau test sentences is marked by verbal morphology. This makes these sentences very similar to those described in Section 6.1.2, where the absence of voice morphology means that the

mapping of semantic roles and grammatical relations with the participants in the clause is unspecified. The Associational nature of Minangkabau then allows for a number of interpretations to be available, even if the verb is morphologically unmarked.

Nevertheless, Gil (2007) acknowledges that even languages that have a high percentage of available Associational interpretations are not *completely* Associational. For example, he argues that although in Riau Indonesian there are a range of interpretations available for a sentence like *ayam makan* (see example (293)), there is a preference for *ayam* to be understood as the agent. Thus Riau Indonesian must have a set of additional semantic rules that make reference to head-modifier structure, iconicity and information flow (Gil, 2007). Similarly, as discussed in Section 6.1.2, there is a preference for bare verbs in Minangkabau to be interpreted as active rather than passive. Therefore, although the Associational nature of Minangkabau can perhaps account for the presence of bare verbs, and can also perhaps explain how speakers interpret clauses with bare verb heads, further investigation is required to discover the additional syntactic, pragmatic, and semantic rules that speakers of Minangkabau make use of when presented with bare verbs.

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter has provided some examples of bare verb forms in Minangkabau and explained their use. The bare verb forms are problematic for our analysis of Minangkabau for a number of reasons. Their very existence implies that voice morphology is not obligatory. The fact that the bare verbs are morphologically underspecified also means that the semantic roles of participants in a bare verb clause are also indeterminate. It was suggested that Gil's (2001; 2007) notion of Associational Semantics can explain how the underspecification of elements in an utterance (caused by the existence of bare verbs) is acceptable to speakers of Minangkabau. This is because Associational Semantics allows for a wide range of possible interpretations of the utterance to be available.

Bare verb roots are also multifunctional and so are bare nominal roots. The morphological underspecification of these nominal and verbal roots implies that there is

no underlying categorical distinction between them. However, this chapter has also argued that Minangkabau is not a precategorial language and that there is indeed a lexical distinction between nouns and verbs.

Although this chapter has addressed a number of the problems that the bare verbs present for our analysis of Minangkabau, the question of *how* speakers correctly decode the intended meaning of an underspecified utterance or correctly assign semantic roles to participants in a bare verb clause requires further investigation. Associational Semantics and pragmatic knowledge play a part in a Minangkabau speaker's ability to do this, yet the exact specifications about the parameters of Associational Semantics as well as the specifications about what kind of pragmatic knowledge is required, and how much, needs further empirical study. Because of its naturalistic data, and because of the sheer amount of it, the MPI EVA Minangkabau corpus would be the perfect tool for this kind of further study.

Chapter 7. Conclusion

This study has presented a novel analysis of the forms and functions of voice in Minangkabau. The analysis draws on some recurrent theoretical themes that emerge from studies of voice in Philippine-type, Indonesian-type, and Sundic-type languages as well as in Acehnese. These were discussed in Chapter 2. The characterisation of Minangkabau voice presented in this study also takes into account the nature of grammatical relations in the language, considers the motivating discourse/pragmatic factors involved in voice alternation, and describes the semantic and conceptual distinctions that voice marking encodes. As discussed in Chapter 3, the study makes use of both naturalistic and elicited data in order to provide the most representative view of voice and verb morphology in Minangkabau.

Chapter 4 provided a description of parts of speech in Minangkabau and presented a detailed account of the predicate construction. It was concluded that Minangkabau has the open category parts of speech noun, verb and adverb and a number of closed category parts of speech which are restricted in terms of which open category they may co-occur with. Chapter 4 also demonstrated how voice marking interacts with the part of speech category of the predicate's head.

Chapter 5 then provided a unified account of Minangkabau's system of voice oppositions. It was argued that Standard Minangkabau has an Indonesian-type voice system whereas Colloquial Minangkabau has a Sundic-type voice system. Chapter 5 demonstrated that in Standard Minangkabau *maN-* and *di-* function as part of a system of pragmatically motivated voice oppositions, showing active and passive voice respectively. The *pasif semu*, or P2 construction, also plays a role in this system to place the undergoer participant in pivot position whilst maintaining the actor as a core argument.

Chapter 5 also demonstrated that the active voice marker *maN-*, as well as the affixes *ta-*, *pa-*, and *ba-*, have lexical/derivational functions. Similarly, the applicatives *-an* and *-i*, although functioning primarily in the syntactic domain as valency changing devices,

also have semantic and lexical/derivational properties. It was argued that this class of lexical/derivational devices function to show a conceptually motivated system of voice oppositions and that this voice system can be usefully described in terms of Shibatani's (2006) "evolution of action" framework. Thus *ta-* and *pa-* show the origin of the action, *ba-* and *maN-* show the development of the action, and the applicatives *-an* and *-i* show the end point of the action. Chapter 5 also suggested that the passive voice marker *di-* does not operate within this conceptually motivated voice system. This idea is supported by the finding that *di-* is a morphosyntactic clitic and that its functions are primarily syntactic and pragmatic.

Chapter 6 then showed that bare verbs, i.e. verbs that are not marked for voice, are a pervasive feature of Colloquial Minangkabau. It was argued that the existence of bare verbs implies that voice morphology is not obligatory in this variety and that the morphological underspecification of bare verbs leads to indeterminacy in assigning semantic roles to the verb's arguments. It was suggested that Colloquial Minangkabau can be described as an 'Associational' language (Gil, 2001; 2007), meaning that the language allows for a wide range of possible interpretations of an utterance to be available. This explains how the underspecification of elements in an utterance created by the existence of bare verbs is acceptable to speakers of Minangkabau.

Chapter 6 also revealed that bare verbs and bare nominals are multifunctional. It was noted that the morphological underspecification of these multifunctional verbal and nominal roots might imply that there is no underlying categorical distinction between them. However, Chapter 6 argued against a precategorial analysis for Minangkabau and concluded that there is a lexical distinction between nouns and verbs.

Though providing a comprehensive picture of voice and verb morphology in Minangkabau, this study also raises a number of issues that require further investigation. As discussed in Chapter 5, it is clear that the active and passive voice markers *maN-* and *di-*, and the applicative *-an*, encode aspectual notions. Whether this property is independently productive or whether it is just a 'side effect' of the voice markers' other functions remains to be seen. Chapter 5 also presented some evidence to suggest that the passive voice marker *di-* originally had a generalised prepositional

function. However, a full historical analysis which accounts for *di-*'s appearance on verbs is still required. Furthermore, the question that was raised in Chapter 6 about how speakers correctly decode the intended meaning of an underspecified utterance, and how speakers correctly assign semantic roles to participants in a bare verb clause, also requires further empirical study.

Appendices.

Appendix 1. Glossing conventions.

The following abbreviations are used in this dissertation:

AB	stative ability predicate	INV	involuntary
ACT	active	k.o.	a kind of
APP	applicative	LOC	locative particle
APP:loc	locative applicative	MID	middle voice
AV	active voice	N	homorganic nasal
BENF	benefactor	NEG	negator
CAUSE	cause/reason marker	NEGPOL	negative polite particle
CLASS	classifier	NOM	nominaliser
CNJ.OP	conjunction operator	ONE	one
COMP	comparative	OV	object voice
CP	complementiser	PARTRED	partial reduplication
CST	causative predicate	PASS	passive
DC	de-control	PERS	personal marker
DEM	demonstrative	PFCT	perfective aspect
DEM:dist	distal demonstrative	POSS	possessive predicate
DEM:prox	proximal demonstrative	PREP	generalised preposition
DIR	direction	PROG	progressive aspect
EMPH	emphatic particle	PROHIB	prohibitive
EQV.OP	equivalency operator	PV	passive voice
EXCL	exclamative particle	Q	question particle
FILL	filler	RECP	reciprocal
FUT	future tense	RED	reduplication
GEN	genitive	REL	relativiser
GOAL	goal	RFLX	reflexive
HORT	hortative	STAT	state
IMIT	imitation	SUP	superlative
IMP	imperative	TOP	topic, topicalisation
IN	inchoative	TRANS	transitive
INT	interrogative	TRU	truncation
INTR	intransitive		

Pronouns are glossed as:

1	first person	pl	plural
2	second person	masc	masculine
3	third person	fem	feminine
sg	singular		

Other symbols used include:

Ø	null constituent	#	infelicitous
xx	unclear speech	*	ungrammatical

Appendix 2. Phonological Sketch

Phonemic Inventory and Orthographic Conventions

Table 22 shows the Minangkabau consonant inventory and Table 23 presents the Minangkabau phonemic vowels. The phonemes are transcribed according to standard Minangkabau orthographic conventions and I use these conventions throughout this dissertation.

Table 22. Minangkabau Consonant Inventory.

	BILABIAL	*ALVEOLAR*	*VELAR*	*PALATAL*	*GLOTTAL*
PLOSIVE	p/b	t/d	k/g	c/j	{ʔ}[21]
NASAL	m	n	ng	ny[22]	
TRILL		r			
FRICATIVE		s			h
APPROXIMANT	w			y	
LATERAL APPROXIMANT		l			

Table 23. Minangkabau Vowel Inventory.

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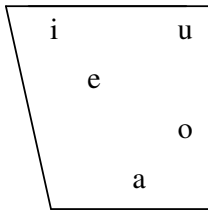
[21] The glottal stop is used predictably in Minangkabau, therefore its status as a phoneme is indeterminate. Glottal stops are inserted word initially on citation forms of vowel initial words to preserve the ideal Minangkabau CV syllable structure. To avoid a vowel initial word in more natural forms of speech the coda of the previous word is syllabified as the onset of the vowel initial word. If the final syllable of the previous word ends in a vowel then a glottal stop will be inserted. However, in fast speech two adjacent vowels will often be pronounced as a single syllable nucleus. The same rules for vowel initial words also apply to vowel initial syllables. The glottal stop also appears predictably in word final position. It is the Minangkabau reflex of word final Proto Malayic *p, *t and *k (Adelaar, 1995: 436). However Moussay (1998) treats word final [ʔ] as an allophone of [k]. Word final glottal stops are transcribed as 'k' in the standard orthography.

[22] Note that palatal nasals before palatal stops /c/ and /j/ are transcribed as 'n'.

Syllable Structure and Word Structure

Minangkabau has four possible syllable structures. CV and CVC syllables can occur anywhere in the word, whereas CVV and CVVC syllables are restricted to word final position. 'C' includes all consonants, nasals and glides as presented in Table 22. 'C' includes single consonants and also consonant clusters. Clusters are restricted to a homorganic nasal and stop sequences. Word final consonant codas are restricted to glottals and alveolar and velar nasals. 'V' includes all vowels as presented in Table 23. 'VV' means a vowel sequence of the type /ui/, /ua/ and /ia/. Most roots in Minangkabau have a CV(C)CV(V)(C) pattern. Other word patterns include CV(C) and (CV(C))(CV(C))CV(C)CV(V)(C) (Adelaar, 1992a: 14; 1995: 437; Moussay, 1998).

Stress Placement

Gil (2006) argues that Minangkabau does not have word stress *per se* but that stress is assigned according to intonation groups, or intonation units. Minangkabau intonation units are "final prominent" (Gil, 2006), that is, an intonation unit in Minangkabau has a gradually rising contour that places stress on the final syllable. Furthermore, Gil argues that within each intonation unit some words are optionally assigned semantic focus. Semantic focus is realised prosodically, with the penultimate syllable of the focused word acquiring pitch prominence and a lengthened syllable rhyme.

However, Adelaar (1992a: 12; 1995: 437) and Zarbaliev (1987: 23) argue that Minangkabau has word stress with stress falling on the penultimate syllable.

I have conducted a preliminary acoustic study of stress in Minangkabau. The study supports the idea that Minangkabau has phrasal final stress and lend support to Gil's (2006) claims about phrasal stress in Minangkabau. I found that syllables in intonation unit final position were markedly longer and more intense than the same syllable in non-final position. A comparison of the length and intensity of penultimate and word final syllables did not reveal conclusive results. The results from analysis of pitch contours were also inconclusive.

Appendix 3. Sorba Rules

Sorba is a Minangkabau reversing ludling, or word game, that involves syllable transposition and coda replacement. The basic rule for speaking *Sorba* is presented in (294).

(294) *In each word replace the coda of the final syllable with [r], then move the final syllable to word initial position.*

The *Sorba* rule is based on the available *Sorba* data but the rule has also been informed by the way *Sorba* speakers articulate the ludling rule themselves. *Sorba* is a word game so it is played for fun. Speakers also use *Sorba* to signal group solidarity and to conceal their speech from outsiders. The ludling rules must be actively learned before one can become a competent member of the *Sorba* speech community and speaking *Sorba* involves a conscious effort to disguise natural language (cf. Crouch, 2008).

An example of a *Sorba* utterance can be seen in (295) (the *Sorba* data appears in italics with a Minangkabau gloss underneath).

(295)   ***Morla***   ***morla***   *tigo*   *puluah*   *anam*   ***larbu.***
         Lamo   **lamo**   tigo   puluah   anam   **bulan**.
         long.time   long.time   three   ten   six   month
         'For thirty-six months in total.'

         (Text ID: 289946224047051206)

In (295) the *Sorba* rules apply to derive *larbu* from *bulan*, 'month', and *morla* from *lamo*, 'long time'. To derive *larbu* from *bulan*, 'month', the coda [n] is replaced by [r], the final syllable [lar] is moved to word initial position, and the word becomes *larbu*. If the word ends in a vowel like *lamo*, 'long time', then the null coda is replaced by [r], the final syllable [mor] is moved to word initial position, and the word becomes *morla*.

Appendix 4. Text: 'Yang Lamah Yang Cadiak'

Title: '*Yang Lamah Yang Cadiak*' or 'The Weak and The Cunning'
Speakers: RST - Rustam, EXP - Yessy, YET - Yettati, DILA - Dila.
Duration: 08.42 minutes.
Genre: Narrative/Folktale
Session Name: PDG-20070613-YSS[23]

1. RST   *Di   jaman   daulu.*
              LOC   era   before

              'In the olden days.'

2. RST   *Di   saat...*
              LOC   moment

              'When...'

3. EXP   *Judule   judul   alun   lai.*
              title-3   title   not.yet   more

              'The title (you haven't said) the title yet.'

4. RST   *A   judul nyo   yang lamah alun   tantu   e   yang lamah   yang cadiak.*
              FILL   title 3   REL   weak   not.yet   certain   FILL   REL   weak   REL   cunning

              'The title is The Weak, (I'm) not sure, er The Weak and The Cunning.'

5. YET   *Yang   lamah   yang   cerdik.*
              REL   weak   REL   cunning

              'The Weak and The Cunning.'

6. YET   *Yang   lamah   yang...*
              REL   weak   REL

              'The weak the...'

7. RST   *Di   jaman   waktu   binatang   bisa   mangecek-ngecek*
              LOC   period   time   animal   can   AV-RED-N-talk

              carito   ko   dimulai.
              story   DEM:prox   PV-begin

              'In the time when animals could talk our story begins.'

8. RST   *Ko   carito   nyo.*
              DEM:prox   story   3

              'This is the story.'

9. RST   *Carito   nyo   bamulo   dari saikua   Kancia.*
               story   3   POSS-begin from   ONE-CLASS:tail mousedeer

               'The story begins with a Mousedeer.'

10. RST   *Maendap-endap   ka   mancilok   mantimun   pak   tani.*
               AV-RED-crouch   FUT   AV-steal   cucumber   father farm

               '(Mousedeer) was creeping around wanting to steel the farmer's cucumbers.'

11. YET   *Maendap-endap   ko   samo   jo   manyuruak-nyuruak?*
               AV-RED-crouch   DEM:prox   same   with   AV-RED-N-hide

               'Is *maendap-endap* the same as *manyuruak-nyuruak*?'

12. RST   *Manyunyuruak   dek   lantaran paruiknyo   lah   lapa   tigo   ari*
               AV-PARTRED-N-hide CAUSE owing.to   stomach-3   PFCT hungry three day

               tigo   malam indak   dapek   makanan.
               three night   NEG   get   food

               'He was hiding because he was hungry. He hadn't had any food for three days and three nights.'

13. YET   *Tu   makan lai   ka   makan.*
               DEM:dist eat   more FUT eat

               '(Mousedeer) wanted to eat again.'

14. DILA   *Kasihan   deh   Kancil.*
               compassion-NOM EMPH mousedeer

               'Poor Mousedeer.'

15. RST   *Makanan.*
               eat-NOM

               'Food.'

16. RST   *Jadi,   inyo   maendap-endap   ka   dalam   ladang   pak   tani   ko,*
               become 3   AV-RED-crouch   to   inside   dry.field   father farm DEM:prox

               mancaliak   mintimun   pak tani ko   mudo-mudo   rancak.
               AV-see   cucumber   father farm DEM:prox RED-young   nice

               'So he crept into the farmer's field seeing the farmer's nice young cucumbers.'

17. YET   *Manyuruak-nyuruak   yo   baso   Minang   nyo   manyunyuruak*
               AV-RED-N-hide   EXCL language Minang   3   AV-PARTRED-N-hide

               tu   ma.
               DEM:dist EMPH

               '*Manyuruak-nyuruak*, yeah, is Minangkabau, *manyunyuruak* is the one right.

18. RST   *Manyunyuruak   yo.*
               AV-PARTRED-N-hide EXCL

               '*Manyunyuruak* yes.'

19. RST   *Masuak   ka   dalam   ladang.*
                        enter   to   inside   dry.field

                        '(He) entered the field.'

20. RST   *Namo   nyo   binatang indak   baraka.*
                        name   3   animal   NEG   POSS-mind

                        'Animals being animals don't have common sense.'

21. RST   *Dipupuah   nyo   makan   lah   antimun   tu.*
                        PV-gorge   3   eat   EMPH   TRU-cucumber DEM:dist

                        'He gorged himself eating the cucumbers.'

22. YET   *A   nyo   makan   nyo   antimun?*
                        FILL 3   eat   3   TRU-cucumber

                        'Ah did he eat cucumbers did he?'

23. EXP   *Si   Kancia   ko   makane   timun?*
                        PERS mousedeer DEM:prox eat-3   TRU-cucumber

                        'Did Mousedeer eat cucumbers?'

24. RST   *A   mantimun.*
                        FILL cucumber

                        'Aha cucumbers.'

25. RST   *Cuma   setelah nyo   makan   sahari,   nyo   lari   bisuak   pak   tani*
                        only   after   3   eat   ONE-day 3   run   tomorrow father farm

                        bapikia   lai.
                        RFLX-think more

                        'Only after (Mousedeer) had eaten the whole day long and run off, the next
                        day the farmer started to think.'

26. RST   *'Baa   mangko   a   nan   mamakan   rupo nampak   dek   nyo   o*
                        POSS-what then   what REL AV-eat   shape appear   CAUSE 3   FILL

                        iko   kak   Kancia   ma,'   cek   nyo.
                        DEM:prox older.sibling mousedeer   EMPH   talk   3

                        ''What is it then that's eating (my cucumbers), it seems that it's the Mousedeer', he said.'

27. RST   *Nyo   buek   lah   perangkap   dek   pak   tani   lai.*
                        3   make   PFCT trap   CAUSE father farm   more

                        'So the farmer made a trap.'

28. RST   *A   perangkap nan   nyo   buek,*
                        FILL trap   REL 3   make

                        'Ah the trap that he made,'

29. RST *nyo buek lah dari latak dari a anu dari gatah yang*
3 make EMPH from place from what whatchamacallit from sap REL

ado di dalam lubang.
exist LOC inside hole

'he made it from placing from er whachamacallit from sap which was put inside the hole.'

30. EXP *Lubang.*
hole

'A hole.'

31. RST *Nyo timbun lah jo sarok-sarok supayo lubang tu ndak nampak.*
3 heap EMPH with RED-rubbish so.that hole DEM:dist NEG appear

'He covered it with rubbish so that the hole couldn't be seen.'

32. YET *Yang ado tu xx.*
REL exist DEM:dist xx

'Which had it...'

33. RST *Bisuak ari nyo datang lah kak Kancia baliak untuk mancilok*
tomorrow day 3 come EMPH older.sibling mousedeer go.back for AV-steal

mantimun tu.
cucumber DEM:dist

'The next day Mousedeer came back again to steal the cucumbers.'

34. RST *Yo dasar binatang ndak agak kurang punyo aka.*
EXCL base animal NEG quite less have mind

'Yes these animals more or less don't have any common sense.'

35. RST *Dek kalamakan malangkah, tapuruak lah ka dalam lubang.*
CAUSE STAT-delicious-NOM AV-step INV-sink EMPH to inside hole

'Because he was so engrossed walking along (Mousedeer) sank into the hole.'

36. RST *A baru sadar kak Kancia baso kak Kancia ko*
FILL new aware older.sibling mousedeer CP older.sibling mousedeer DEM:dist

lah kanai tipu.
PFCT undergo trick

'Ah the Mousedeer only then realised that he had been tricked.'

37. EXP *Lah tatangkok lah nyo?*
PFCT INV-catch PFCT 3

'So he was caught?'

38. YET *Masuak lubang tu yo tatangkok nyo.*
enter hole DEM:dist EXCL INV-catch 3

'He went into the hole and yes (he) was caught.'

39. RST *Singkek carito, lah nyo tangkok dek pak tani.*
short story PFCT 3 catch CAUSE father farm

'To cut the story short, he got caught by the farmer.'

40. RST   *Dek   pak   tani   gadang   ati   bakuruang   lah   di   dalam   kandang.*
                      CAUSE father farm   big   liver   MID-cage   EMPH   LOC   inside   shed

                      'Because the farmer was so happy he had Mousedeer caged in a shed.'

41. RST   *Mangecek   lah   ka   urang   kampuang,   'Aden   dapek   saikua*
                      AV-talk   EMPH   to   person   village   1sg   get   ONE.CLASS:tail

                      Kancia.'
                      mousedeer

                      'And he said to the village people, 'I've got a mousedeer.''

42. EXP   *A   kecek   nyo   pa?*
                      what   talk   3   Father

                      'What did he say Dad?'

43. EXP   *'Oi...'*
                      EXCL

                      ''Oi...''

44. RST   *'Oi   rang   kampuang   aden   bisuak   datanglah   ka   rumah   den   ka*
                      EXCL person   village   1sg   tomorrow   come-IMP   to   house   1sg   to

                      mandabiah   Kancia.'
                      AV-slaughter   mousedeer

                      ''Oi! People of the village! Tomorrow come to my house where I will slaughter the Mousedeer.''

45. EXP   *'Ka   manggulai.'*
                      FUT   AV-curry

                      ''To make a curry (out of him).''

46. EXP   *'Kancia.'*
                      mousedeer

                      ''(Out of) Mousedeer.''

47. RST   *'Kancia.'*
                      mousedeer

                      ''Mousedeer.''

48. RST   *'Yo   lah,'   kecek   rang   kampuang.*
                      EXCL   PFCT   talk   person   village

                      ''Yes ok,' said the village people.'

49. RST   *A   ntah   manga   pulo   mancucuak   lo   lah*
                      FILL   wonder   AV-what   furthermore   AV-appear   futhermore   EMPH

                      saikua   anjiang   ka   sinan.
                      ONE-CLASS:tail   dog   to   there

                      'Who knows why but a dog appeared there.'

50. EXP   *Mancucuak*   *tu*   *manga*   *tu*   *pa?*
          AV-pierce   DEM:dist AV-what DEM:dist   Father

          'What is *mancucuak* Dad?'

51. RST   *Mancucuak*   *tu*   *arti*   *nyo*   *madok.*
          AV-pierce   DEM:dist meaning 3   face

          '*Mancucuak* means appear'.

52. YET   *Datang.*
          come

          'Come.'

53. RST   *Datang lah*   *ka* *tampek*   *ka* *kandang* *nan* *tampek*   *kak*
          come   EMPH   to   place   to   shed   REL   place   older.sibling

          Kancia   *ko.*
          mousedeer   DEM:prox

          '(He) came to the place, to the cage where Mousedeer was.'

54. RST   *Dek*   *binatang* *waktu* *xx* *bisa* *mangecek.*
          CAUSE animal   time   xx   can   AV-talk

          'Because animals at that time could speak.'

55. RST   *Mangecek*   *lah*   *Kancia*   *ka* *ka* *anjiang*   *ko.*
          AV-talk   PFCT   mousedeer   xx   to   dog   DEM:prox

          'Mousedeer spoke to the Dog.'

56. RST   *'A*   *manga*   *Kancia?'*
          FILL   AV-what mousedeer

          ''Ah what's going on Mousedeer?''

57. RST 'Eh   *'Eh*   *jan*   *kareh-kareh*   *bana* *mangecek,'*   *nan* *kecek*   *kak*
          EXCL   PROHIB RED-hard   true   AV-talk   REL   talk   older.sibling

          Kancia   *ka*   *anjiang.*
          mousedeer   to   dog

          ''Ah don't speak so loudly' said Mousedeer to the Dog.'

58. RST   *'Aden*   *ka*   *jadi*   *marapulai.'*
          1sg   to   become bridegroom

          ''I'm going to be a bridegroom.''

59. RST   *'Lai* *nampak*   *urang*   *tu*   *marameh*   *ka* *santan*   *tu*   *a*   *di*
          more   appear   person   DEM:dist AV-squeeze to   coconut.milk DEM:dist what   LOC

          ateh   *rumah.'*
          up   house

          ''Look at the people squeezing out coconut milk up there at the house.''

60. EXP   *'Ka*   *baralek*   *Kancia*   *tu?'*
          FUT   MID-wedding.party mousedeer   DEM:dist

          ''Are you going to have a wedding party Mousedeer?''

61. RST   *'A   iyo,'   kecek   Kancia   bantuak   itu.*
                FILL   EXCL   talk   mousedeer   form   DEM:dist

                ''Ah yes,' said Mousedeer like that.'

62. RST   *Ka   mangicuah   anjiang   ko.*
                FUT   AV-cheat   dog   DEM:prox

                '(He) wanted to trick the Dog.'

63. RST   *'Aden   se   lah   Kancia.'*
                1sg   just   EMPH   mousedeer

                ''How about me Mousedeer (can I get married, can we trade places)?''

64. RST   *'Ma   buliah.'*
                where may

                ''Not possible.''

65. RST   *Dari   pado   itutu,   lamo   jo   lambeke,*
                from   on   PARTRED-DEM:dist   long.time   with   slow-3

                'After that, after a while,'

66. RST   *nyo   rayu   lah   anjiang.*
                3   flatter   EMPH   dog

                'The Dog convinced him.'

67. RST   *Dengan   syarat-nyo,   'bukakan   pintu   setelah   tutu,   lah*
                with   requisite-3   open-APP   door   after   RED-DEM:dist   PFCT

                tunggu   dari   jauah   den   a   baru   den   basorak.'
                wait   from   far   1sg   what   new   1sg   MID-shout

                '(Mousedeer gave) the instructions, 'after you open the door I'll wait from far away and then I'll shout.''

68. RST   *Singkek...*
                short

                '(To cut it) short...'

69. YET   *'Tu   waang   manggantian   den   dalam   kandang   ko'.*
                DEM:dist   2sg:masc   AV-change-APP   1sg   inside   shed   DEM:prox

                ''Then you will take my place in the shed.''

70. RST   *A   singkek   carito...*
                FILL   short   story

                'To cut the story short...'

71. YET   *Masuak   dalam   kandang   tu.*
                enter   inside   shed   DEM:dist

                '(He) got into the shed.'

72. RST   *Yo   lah   masuak   kak   anjiang   dalam   tu.*
EXCL PFCT enter   older.sibling dog   inside   DEM:dist

'Yes Dog got in.'

73. YET   *'Beko   den   jauah-jauah   baru   den   basorak,   a   itu.'*
later   1sg   RED-far   new   1sg   MID-cheer   FILL   DEM:dist

''Then when I am far away from here then I'll shout, okay.''

74. RST   *Jadi   dari   pado   itu,   ari   lah   sanjo.*
become from   on   DEM:dist day   PFCT twilight

'So after that it was already twilight.'

75. RST   *Pak   tani   ko   ka   maambiak   Kancia   ko   ka   didabiah.*
father farm   DEM:prox FUT   AV-take   mousedeer DEM:prox FUT   PV-slaughter

'The farmer was going to take Mousedeer to be slaughtered.'

76. RST   *Basorak   lah   Kancia.*
MID-cheer   EMPH   mousedeer

'Mousedeer yelled out.'

77. YET   *'Oi   rang   kampuang...'*
EXCL person   village

''Oi people of the village...''

78. RST   *'O   rang   kampuang...'*
FILL   person   village

''Oh people of the village...''

79. YET   *'Ciek   urang   mandabiah   anjiang.'*
one   person   AV-slaughter   dog

''Somebody is slaughtering a dog.''

80. DILA   *Kancia.*
mousedeer

'Mousedeer.'

81. EXP   *'Pak   tani   manggulai   anjiang.'*
father farm   AV-curry   dog

''The farmer is making dog curry.''

82. RST   *A   nyo   sorakan   tu.*
FILL   3   cheer-APP DEM:dist

'He shouted it.'

83. RST   *Takajuik   rupo   nyo   iyo.*
INV-shock   shape   3   yes

'They seemed shocked.'

84. RST   *Nyo*   *buru*   *lah*   *kak*   *Kancia*   *ko*   *sampai*   *ka*   *dalam*   *rimbo.*
                 3   chase   EMPH   older.sibling   mousedeer   DEM:prox   arrive   to   inside   jungle

             'And they chased Mousedeer into the jungle.'

85. EXP   *A*   *tu*   *pa?*
                what   DEM:dist   father

             'What then Dad?'

86. RST   *Nyo...*
                3

             'He...'

87. DILA   *Dalam*   *rimbo?*
                inside   jungle

             '(He was) in the jungle?'

88. RST   *Ka*   *dalam*   *rimbo*   *gadang.*
                to   inside   jungle   big

             '(He) went into dense jungle.'

89. DILA   *Oo.*
                EXCL

             'Oh.'

90. RST   *Dek*   *kak*   *Kancia*   *ko*   *balari*   *balari*   *balari*   *ndak*   *tantu*
                CAUSE   older.sibling   mousedeer   DEM:prox   MID-run   MID-run   MID-run   NEG   certain

             a   *do...*
             what   NEGPOL

             'Because Mousedeer had run run run he wasn't sure (where he was going)...'

91. RST   *Tasangkuik*   *iduange.*
                INV-hook   nose-3

             'His nose got caught (on something).'

92. EXP   *Kak*   *Kancia*   *namoe?*
                older.sibling   mousedeer   name-3

             'You mean Brother Mousedeer?'

93. RST   *Iyo.*
                yes

             'Yes.'

94. RST   *Daulu*   *nyo*   *kalau*   *ka*   *binatang*   *kan*   *bakakan.*
                before   3   TOP   to   animal   EMPH   RECP-older.sibling-APP

             'In the olden days, animals called each other Kak, brother, you know.'

95. RST   *Kak*   *kak*   *Kancia,*   *Kak*   *bangau.*
                older.sibling   older.sibling   mousedeer   older.sibling   heron

             'Brother Mousedeer, Brother Heron.'

96. EXP   *Kabau   tu?*
                water.buffalo   DEM:dist

                'What about water buffalo?'

97. RST   *A   kabau   ndak Kak   kabau   lai   do.*
                FILL water.buffalo NEG older.sibling water.buffalo   more NEGPOL

                'Water buffaloes, they weren't 'Brother Water buffalo'.'

98. EXP   *Kabau   saja?*
                water.buffalo   just

                'Just 'water buffalo'?'

99. RST   *Kabau   saja   istilahnya.*
                water.buffalo   just   term-3

                'Yeah just 'water buffalo' is the term.'

100. RST   *Rupo   nyo   iduang kak   Kancia   ko   lah   taatua.*
                shape   3   nose   older.sibling mousedeer DEM:prox PFCT INV-pierce

                'So it seemed that Mousedeer's nose had got caught (on something).'

101. YET   *E   tu   xx.*
                FILL   DEM:dist xx

                'Er that xx.'

102. EXP   *Taatua   tu   a   tu   pa?*
                INV-pierce   DEM:dist what DEM:dist Father

                'What's taatua Dad?'

103. EXP   *Taatua   tacucuak   iduange   ko.*
                INV-pierce   INV-pierce   nose-3   DEM:prox

                'Taatua means that his nose got pierced (by something).'

104. EXP   *Tersangkut?*
                INV-hook

                'Hooked (on something)?'

105. RST   *Tasangkuik   a   bantuak   dicucuak   baitu   a.*
                INV-hook   what   form   PV-pierce   POSS-DEM:dist FILL

                'Hooked or pierced like that eh.'

106. RST   *Alah   bararayun   lah   kak   Kancia   ko   kalau*
                PFCT MID-PARTRED-swing EMPH older.sibling mousedeer   DEM:prox TOP

                ndak sakik dan   sakike   ndak dapek   ka   disabuik.
                NEG hurt   and   hurt-3   NEG get   to   PV-mention

                'So Mousedeer was swinging and was in so much pain that it doesn't bear mentioning.'

107. RST   *Antah   manga-manga   pulo,*
                wonder   RED-AV-what   furthermore

                'Who knows why,'

108. RST   *datang   lo   lah   ka   sinan   siamang.*
come   futhermore   PFCT   to   there   gibbon

'(but) a gibbon also came along.'

109. RST   *Baruak   awak   dulue   siamang   kini   koko.*
short.tailed.macaque   1   before-3   gibbon   now   RED-DEM:prox

'Before we used to say it was a a short tailed macaque but now people say it's a gibbon.'

110. RST   *Sejenis   itu   lah   pokoke.*
ONE-sort   DEM:dist   PFCT   main-3

'The main thing is it was that kind of a creature.'

111. RST   *'A   manga   Kancia   ko?'*
what   AV-what   mousedeer   DEM:prox

''What are you doing Mousedeer?''

112. EXP   *'Ndak   ado   bararayun.'*
NEG   exist   MID-PARTRED-swing

''Nothing much, (just) swinging.''

113. RST   *'A   bararayun   ko   a   ko   buaian   anu*
FILL   MID-PARTRED-swing   DEM:prox   what   DEM:prox   swing-NOM   whatchamacallit

a   buaian   dari   nenek.moyang.'
what   swing-NOM   from   ancestor

''Ah (I'm) swinging the dance of my ancestors.''

114. EXP   *Nenek.moyang.*
ancestor

'Ancestors.'

115. RST   *'Nenek.moyang   buaian   nenek.moyang   den.'*
ancestor   swing-NOM   ancestor   1sg

''The dance of my ancestors.''

116. RST   *'Sato   ciek   Kancia.'*
follow   one   mousedeer

''I'll try it too Mousedeer.''

117. RST   *'Jaan   berang   nenek.moyang   den   beko.'*
PROHIB   angry   ancestor   1sg   later

''Don't! (You'll make) my ancestors get angry.''

118. RST   *A   kan   bantuak   itu.*
FILL   EMPH   form   DEM:dist

'Ah you know like that.'

119. RST   *Di   dalam   babuai   tu   manyasak   lo   lah   nan*

LOC   inside   MID-swing DEM:dist AV-squeeze futhermore   EMPH   REL

banamo   baruak   ko.

POSS-name short.tailed.macaque   DEM:prox

'And as (he was) swinging the macaque squeezed up (to Mousedeer).'

120. RST   *Atau   siamang   ko.*

or   gibbon   DEM:dist

'Or the gibbon.'

121. RST   *'A   syaraike   ado.'*

FILL   requisite-3   exist

''There are some rules.''

122. RST   *'Lapehan   iko   saketek   dulu a,   beko den   cucuakan   ka*

come.off-APP DEM:prox ONE-a.little before what later 1sg   pierce-APP   to

anu   kak   Kancia   ka ka anu   baruak

whatchamacallit older.sibling mousedeer to   to   whatchamacallit short.tailed.macaque

ko.'

DEM:prox

''Loosen this a bit first then I'll attach this to er your whatist', Mousedeer said to the macaque.'

123. RST   *'Ka   iduang   baruak   ko.'*

to   nose   short.tailed.macaque DEM:prox

''To your nose.''

124. RST   *Iyo   lah   nyo   cucuakan.*

EXCL PFCT 3   pierce-APP

'And he pierced it.'

125. RST   *Mamakiak lah   baruak   ko   nyo buai   abihan.*

AV-shout   PFCT   short.tailed.macaque DEM:prox 3   swing finished-APP

'The macaque cried out as soon as he began to swing.'

126. EXP   *Siamang   pa.*

gibbon   Father

'Gibbon, Dad.'

127. RST   *Nan   siamang   ko.*

REL   gibbon   DEM:prox

'The gibbon.'

128. RST   *Yo   lah   babuai   siamang   ko   mamakiak   ka langik   nan   ka*

EXCL PFCT MID-swing gibbon   DEM:prox AV-shout   to   sky   REL   to

tujuah.

seven

'The gibbon was swinging away screaming at the top of his lungs.'

129. RST   *Nan   Kancia   ko   dipupuah   lari.*
            REL   mousedeer DEM:prox PV-hurry   run

            'And Mousedeer quicky ran away.'

130. RST   *Cuman   nasib nasib nan   malang   dek   kak   Kancia   ko.*
            only   fate   fate   REL   unlucky   CAUSE   older.sibling mousedeer DEM:prox

            'It's just that Mousedeer's fate was unlucky.'

131. YET   *Tibo   di   batang.aia.*
            arrive LOC   river

            'He came to a river.'

132. RST   *Ndak   tibo   di   batang.aia   do.*
            NEG   arrive LOC   river   NEGPOL

            'No, he didn't come to a river.'

133. EXP   *Rasai   lah   Ma   lai.*
            suffer   EMPH   TRU-mother more

            'He had more trials still Mum.'

134. RST   *Iyo.*
            Yes

            'Yes.'

135. YET   *Baa   ka   nyo   xx   batang.aia   ko?*
            POSS-what   FUT   3   xx   river   DEM:prox

            'How come he doesn't go to the river?'

136. RST   *Tibo   di   tapi   aia.*
            arrive   LOC   edge   water

            'He came to a river bank.'

137. RST   *Yo   tapi   aia   batang.aia   tapi   aia   kan   sama.*
            EXCL   edge   water river   edge   water EMPH   same

            'Yeah (okay) river bank, river it's the same thing right.'

138. RST   *Nyo   tau   baso   di   tapi   batang.aia   ko   babuayo   banyak.*
            3   know   CP   LOC   edge   river   DEM:prox   POSS-crocodile many

            'He knew that at the river's edge there were lots of crocodiles.'

139. RST   *A   bantuak   itu.*
            FILL   form   DEM:dist

            'Ah like that.'

140. YET   *Baa   caro   manyubarang.*
            POSS-what   manner   AV-traverse

            'How did (he) cross (the river)?'

141. RST   *'Baa   caroe   kini   koe',   cek   nyo.*
POSS-what   manner-3   now   DEM:prox-3   talk   3

'"How do I do it?" he said.'

142. RST   *Nyo   maongkok-ongkok   maongkok-ongkok   maongkok-ongkok.*
3   AV-RED-creep   AV-RED-creep   AV-RED-creep

'He crept along, creeeping, creeping.'

143. RST   *Di   tapi   aia   nyo   semba   kaki   dek   Buayo,*
LOC   edge   water   3   strike   foot   CAUSE   crocodile

'At the river's edge his foot was bitten by Crocodile,'

144. RST   *nyo   eloan.*
3   pull-APP

'and pulled.'

145. RST   *Tapi nan nan nan namo kak   Kancia   ko   yo   cadiak.*
but   REL REL REL name   older.sibling mousedeer DEM:prox yes   cunning

'But our Mousedeer is cunning.'

146. RST   *Mangecek   lah   Kancia.*
AV-talk   PFCT   mousedeer

'Mousedeer spoke.'

147. RST   *'O   kak   Buayo,   a   nan kak   Buayo   tangkok   tu*
FILL   older.sibling crocodile what REL older.sibling crocodile catch   DEM:dist

ndak   kaki   den   ko   do,'   nyo   semba   kayu.
NEG   foot   1sg   DEM:prox NEGPOL 3   strike   wood

'"Oh Brother Crocodile the thing that you caught isn't my foot," and he knocked on some wood.'

148. RST   *'Ko   kaki   den   a.'*
DEM:prox foot   1sg   FILL

'"This is my foot."'

149. RST   *A   jadi   rupo nyo   nyo   lapehan   iko   nyo   sorongan   lah*
FILL   become   shape 3   3   come.off-APP DEM:prox 3   push-APP   PFCT

kayu   ko   ka   muncuang   Buayo.
wood   DEM:prox to   mouth   crocodile

'And then (Crocodile) let go of (Mousedeer's foot) and he thrust the wood into Crocodile's mouth.'

150. EXP   *Kak   Buayo.*
older.sibling   crocodile

'Brother Crocodile.'

151. RST   *Dapek   lah   nyo   baranang   ka   tapi.*
get   PFCT   3   MID-swim   to   edge

'Then he could swim to the other bank.'

152. RST   *Ma   tu   salah   tu   ma.*
            EMPH   DEM:dist   wrong   DEM:dist   EMPH

            'Oh no that's wrong.'

153. RST   *A   lo   lah   salah   lo.*
            FILL   futhermore EMPH   wrong   futhermore

            'Oh it's really wrong.'

154. YET   *A   danga   dulu.*
            FILL   hear   before

            'Ah just listen (to me).'

155. RST   *Jadi...*
            become

            'So...'

156. YET   *Dangalah   iko   bacakak   lah   nyo   Buayo   jo   Kancia   ko.*
            hear-IMP   DEM:prox   RECP-fight   EMPH   3   crocodile with   mousedeer   DEM:prox

            'Listen they fought each other, Crocodile and Mousedeer.'

157. RST   *O   lah.*
            FILL   PFCT

            'Oh right.'

158. YET   *A   cakak   nyo   ndak.*
            FILL   fight   3   NEG

            'They fought, right.'

159. YET   *O   nyo   disorongan   kayu,*
            FILL   3   PV-push-APP   wood

            '(Because) the wood got shoved (in his mouth),'

160. YET   *tambah   berang-berang   Buayo   ko.*
            add   RED-angry   crocodile DEM:prox

            'Crocodile got angrier and angrier.'

161. YET   *'A   waang   kurang   aja   ang   nyo,   ang   sorongan   kayu   ka*
            FILL   2sg:masc   less   teach 2sg:masc 3   2sg:masc push-APP   wood   to

            muncuang   den,'   cek   nyo.
            mouth   1sg   talk   3

            ''Ah you imbecile, you pushed a bit of wood into my mouth,' he said.'

162. RST   *Em.*
            EXCL

            'Em.'

163. YET   *A   cek   nyo.*
            what   talk   3

            '(And) what did he say.'

164. YET   *'Kalau   yo   bagak   bana waang',   cek   nyo.'*
                   TOP   EXCL brave   very 2sg:masc talk   3

                   ''As for you you're a brave one,' he said.'

165. YET   *Tu   cek   Kancia   a   'waang   Buayo   bodoh',   cek   nyo   ndak.*
                   DEM:dist talk   mousedeer what 2sg:masc crocodile stupid   talk   3   NEG

                   'What did Mousedeer say? 'You're an idiot Crocodile,' he said.'

166. DILA   *Hajar!*
                   hit

                   'Smash!'

167. YET   *'O   kecekan   lah   ka xx kok   bagak',   cek   nyo   ndak.*
                   FILL talk-APP EMPH to xx TOP brave   talk   3   NEG

                   ''Oo say that to (me) if you're really that brave,' he said.'

168. YET   *'O   jadi   den   xx.'*
                   FILL become 1sg   xx

                   ''Oh so I'll ...''

169. RST   *Itu...*
                   DEM:dist

                   'Then...'

170. YET   *'O   bara   bana bara   banyak   waang'   cek   nyo,   ka ka Buayo*
                   FILL how.many true   how.many many   2sg:masc talk   3   to to crocodile

                   tu   kan.
                   DEM:dist EMPH

                   ''How many of you are there really?' he asked Crocodile, right.'

171. YET   *'Bara   banyak waang'   cek   nyo,   'co lawan-lawan   baparang   wak a',*
                   how.many many   2sg:masc talk   3   like RED-opponent   RECP-war   1   FILL

                   cek   nyo   ndak.
                   talk   3   NEG

                   ''How many of there are you?' he said, 'are there enough for us to go to war,' he said.'

172. YET   *'Banyak   den,' cek   nyo   ndak.*
                   many   1sg   talk   3   NEG

                   ''There are loads of us,' he said.'

173. YET   *Jadi   kiro   yo   banyak.*
                   become reckon   EXCL many

                   'So then (he) knew there were a lot.'

174. YET   *'Waang   bara   banyak   nyo',   'banyak   den', cek   nyo.*
                   2sg:masc how.many many   3   many   1sg   talk   3

                   ''How many of there are you?', 'There's lots of us,' he replied.'

175. YET   *'Kini   imbaulah   kawan-kawan   waang   tu',   cek   nyo   nak.*
now   call-IMP   RED-friend   2sg:masc   DEM:dist talk   3   EMPH

''Now call all of these friends,' he said right.'

176. YET   *'Den imbau   lo   kawan-kawan   den   xx'.*
1sg   call   futhermore RED-friend   1sg   xx

''And I'll also call all of my friends.''

177. RST   *'Itu   nyo   nyasar   ka pulau.'*
DEM:dist 3   AV-lost   to   island

'That's them (my friends) that strayed onto the island.'

178. EXP   *Nyo   manyubarang   ka sungai tu   ma.*
3   AV-across   to   river   DEM:dist EMPH

'So he went across to the river.'

179. YET   *Iyo   nyo   bae   bajalan   di   tapi di   tapi batang.aia   tu*
EXCL 3   just   MID-walk LOC edge LOC edge river   DEM:dist

banyak-banyak   banyak-banyak.
RED-many   RED-many

'And he just walked along the river's edge taking many many steps.'

180. YET   *A   tu   kan,   'ma kawan ang', 'tu   a   caliaklah   tu*
FILL DEM:dist EMPH where friend 2   DEM:dist FILL see-IMP   DEM:dist

a   banyak   jajak   nyo   a'   cek   nyo.
what   many   footstep 3   what talk   3

'Then (Crocodile said) 'Where are all your friends?' 'That's them, see how many steps they've taken,' he said.'

181. YET   *'Tu   tadi   nyo   pai   manyuruak',   cek   nyo   ndak.'*
DEM:dist earlier 3   go   AV-hide   talk   3   NEG

''Before they were hiding', he said.'

182. RST   *Tu   carito   Baruak   tu   ma   jo   Buayo.*
DEM:dist story   short.tailed.macaque DEM:dist EMPH with crocodile

'That's the story of Macaque and Crocodile.'

183. YET   *'Nyo   nyuruak,'   cek   nyo   ndak.*
3   AV-hide   talk   3   NEG

''They've been hiding,' he said.'

184. YET   *'Jadi   waang   bara   banyak   nyo', kecek Kancia   ko   ka*
become 2sg:masc how.many many   3   talk   mousedeer DEM:prox   to

Buayo   ndak.
crocodile NEG

''So how many of *you* are there?' said Mousedeer to Crocodile.'

185. YET   *'O   aden   sagitu   a',   cek   nyo.*
FILL 1sg   ONE-DEM:dist   FILL talk   3

'Oh you know around about that much,' he said.'

186. YET   *'A   giko   a   cek   nyo   den   etong   ang   dulu,' cek   nyo.*
FILL DEM:prox FILL talk   3   1sg   count   2sg:masc before talk   3

''If you're going to be like that, I'll have to count you,' he said.'

187. YET   *'Bajeje   ang   dari ko   ka suduik tu   ka ujuang tu*
MID-aligned 2sg:masc   from DEM:prox to   angle   DEM:dist to   tip   DEM:dist

a   ka   subarang   tu   a,' cek   nyo.
FILL to   across   DEM:dist FILL talk   3

''Line up from here to that corner, from this end to the other side,' he said.'

188. YET   *Jadi   bajeje   bajejer   lah   Buayo   ko.*
become MID-aligned   MID-aligned EMPH   crocodile DEM:prox

'So the Crocodiles lined up in a row.'

189. YET   *Dasar   Buayo   pakak.*
base   crocodile   deaf

'Crocodiles are stupid.'

190. RST   *Babaris   yo.*
BA-line   EXCL

'(So they) lined up yeah?'

191. YET   *Ba   babaris.*
xx   MID-line

'(They) lined up.'

192. YET   *Babaris   lah   Buayo   ko   dari ujuang ko,   dari tapi   sungai*
MID-line EMPH   crocodile DEM:prox from   tip   DEM:prox from edge   river

ko   ka tapi   sungai kian   lo.
DEM:prox to   edge   river   this.much futhermore

'So the Crocodiles were lined up from the end, from one edge of the river right up to the other edge.'

193. YET   *A   malompek   lah   Kancia   ko,   'den   etong   ang   dulu',*
FILL AV-jump   EMPH   mousedeer DEM:prox 1sg   count   2sg:masc before

'jadi' cek   nyo.
become talk   3

'And mousedeer jumped up, 'I'm going to count you first.' 'Alright,' said Crocodile.'

194. YET   *Ciek duo   tigo   ampek limo anam   tujuah   lapan   sambilan   sampai lah*
one   two   three four   five   six   seven   eight   nine   arrive EMPH

limo puluah.
five   ten

'One, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine until (he) got to fifty.'

195. YET   *Sampai   limo   puluah.*
arrive   five   ten

'Until (he) got to fifty.'

196. YET   *Sampai   lah   Buayo   Kancia   ko   ka subarang.*
arrive   EMPH   crocodile mousedeer   DEM:prox to   across

'Until the Crocodiles, until Mousedeer reached the other edge of the river.'

197. YET   *Ndak,   sampai Buayo   ka subarang.*
NEG   arrive crocodile   to   across

'No, until the Crocodiles reached the other edge.'

198. YET   *'O   waang   banyak   limo puluah ma   waang   tapi   ang   bodoh,'*
FILL 2sg:masc many   five   ten   EMPH   2sg:masc but   2sg:masc stupid

cek   nyo.
talk   3

''Oh there are lots of you, fifty of you, but you're stupid,' he said.'

199. YET   *'Aden   subananyo nio   manyubarang   batang.aia ko   ndak pandai,'*
1sg   ONE-very-3 want AV-across   river   DEM:prox NEG skillful

cek   nyo.
talk   3

''I actually wanted to cross the river but couldn't,' he said.'

200. YET   *'Tu   den   mako   den   suruah   waang   barih   babarih.'*
DEM:dist 1sg   then   1sg   order   2sg:masc line   MID-line

''That's why I wanted you to line up.''

201. YET   *A   tu   nyo   bae   tabang lai.*
FILL DEM:dist 3   just   fly   more

'And then he just disappeared off again.'

202. YET   *Lari   ka   xx.*
run   to   xx

'(He) ran to xx.'

203. YET   *Lapeh   lah   carito   ko.*
come.off EMPH   story   DEM:prox

'He ran away, the story goes.'

204. YET   *Lapeh   lah   Kancia   ko   ka rimbo.*
come.off EMPH   mousedeer DEM:prox to   jungle

'And Mousedeer ran away into the jungle.'

205. YET   *Lapeh   ka rimbo abih   lah   carito.*
come.off to jungle   finished EMPH   story

'He ran away into the jungle and that's the end of the story.'

206. RST   *Sampai   sinan   carito   ko.*
            arrive   there   story   DEM:prox

            'The story finishes here.'

207. RST   *A   beko   wak   masuak   ka   carito   nan   kaduo.*
            FILL   later   1   enter   to   story   REL   STAT-two

            'And later we'll continue with the second story.'

208. END   @END

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