1 Salako morphology and the interrelation between voice, mood and aspect

SANDER ADELAAR

In memory of Jack Prentice
In gratitude for the knowledge he shared with us
For his generosity, tolerance and patience
In constant friendship

1 Introduction

This contribution[1] gives a short description of Salako morphology, showing the interdependence of undergoer-orientation, completive aspect and subjunctive mood in this language.

Salako is a Malayic language with more than 15,000 speakers living in the Sambas regency of West Kalimantan and in the First Division (Lundu district) of Sarawak.[2] It is also called bahasa Dameà,[3] and it is mutually intelligible with Ahe, Belangin and some other dialects with which it forms the Kendayan dialect chain.

The Kendayan[4] dialects are prominent in the Pontianak regency and in the southern part of Sambas regency of West Kalimantan.[5] They are richer and more complex in structure

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[1] I collected the Salako data used in this paper during a series of field trips between 1986 and 1990 to West Kalimantan, Indonesia. My main informant was Mr Vitus Kaslem from Nyarumkop (Tujuhbelas District, Sambas Regency). I am greatly indebted to him for all the time he spent with me, for his thorough instructions and for his patience. I would also like to thank John Bowden from The Australian National University and Michael Ewing from the University of Melbourne, for their careful proofreading of an earlier draft of this paper. Any omissions or errors in it are, of course, my responsibility.

[2] According to my own calculations in Adelaar (1991:1 n.2), the number of speakers must exceed 18,000.

[3] This term has in fact become more current in Sambas, although the relation with the Salako people in Sarawak and an original common homeland along the Selakau River in Sambas (see Ina Anak Kalom and Hudson 1970:281) are still acknowledged.

[4] Pronounced [kanay'ɒn] or [kanay'ɔ'n] among Kendayan speakers themselves.

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than most other forms of Malayic, and they have many phonological, morphological and lexical retentions from Proto Malayic that were lost in most Malay dialects (Adelaar 1992b).

Malayic languages are usually strongly influenced by forms of literary Malay and also trade Malay. However, Kendayan and many other autochthonous Malayic languages spoken in western Borneo are somewhat exceptional in this respect. While they have also been influenced by various mainstream forms of Malay, they were less affected by them as a result of the geographical and social isolation of their speakers in the past.

This paper[6] has the following sections: some explanatory notes on phonemics and morphophonemics (§2), verbal morphology (§3), noun morphology (§4), the interrelation between voice, aspect and mood (§5) and concluding remarks (§6). A chart with pronouns and a short sample of Salako prose with translation are given in Appendix I and Appendix II respectively.

2   Explanatory notes on Salako phonemics and morphophonemics

This section gives only very basic information on the phonemes of Salako and on the morphophonemic alternations of the suffix *-AN*. For a more detailed overview, see Adelaar (1991).

Phonemes

Salako has eight vowel phonemes: *i, e, ə, a, o, ō, u* and *ū*. There are no diphthongs, except in loan words such as the Malay function words *kalaw* 'if, when' and *ataw* 'or' (usually pronounced *kalo* and *ato* respectively). Stress is non-phonemic and falls on the last syllable.

The vowels *i, e, a, o* and *u* have oral and nasal allophones. Nasalised vowels occur after a nasal consonant which is not the result of the historical reduction of a consonant cluster consisting of a nasal + homorganic voiced occlusive. Of the nasal allophones, only *ō* and *ū* are phonemic (but only marginally so, see Adelaar 1991:4–5).

The low mid-vowel *a* is realised as a rounded open vowel [ɔ] before #, *-ʔ*, *-h*, *-pm*, *-tn* and *-kng*. It is also realised as [ɔ] when immediately preceding another rounded *a*, or when it is separated from a rounded *a* by *h* or *ʔ*. This rounding is indicated as 'à' in my spelling of Salako.

Salako consonants are *p, t, c, k, ʔ, b, d, j, g, m, n, ny, ng, r, l, s, h, w* and *y*.

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5   Ahe (Pontianak regency) is an especially important lingua franca in some of the inland areas of West Kalimantan.

6   The following abbreviations and conventions will be used in the interlinear glossing of Salako sentences in this paper: *-AN* nominal and verbal suffix with the allomorphs [-an], [-ʔan], [-àtn] and [-ʔàtn]; CAUS causative; DEF definite marker; EMP emphatic particle; IV intransitive marker; N nasalisation; NC non-controlled prefix; PA personal article; PL plural; RED reduplication; SG singular; SJ subjunctive suffix; TV transitive affix; U undergoer; UO undergoer-oriented prefix; VOC vocative suffix.

Palatals and voiced stops do not occur in final position, *h* is not realised in initial position in inherited vocabulary,[7] *ʔ* is not phonemic in word-initial position, and *w* and *y* only occur intervocalically in inherited vocabulary.

Salako has the following intervocalic consonant clusters: (inherited:) *mp*, *nt*, *nc*, *ngk*, *ns*, (only occurring in loan words:) *mb*, *nd*, *nj*, *ngg*, *st*, *kt*, *kl*, *ks*, *ngl*. It also has the preploded nasals *pm*, *tn* and *kng*, which consist of an unreleased homorganic voiceless stop + nasal and occur in final position (e.g. *garàpm* 'salt') as well as before morpheme boundaries (e.g. *N* + *garàpm* = *iʔ* → *ngarapmiʔ* 'to salt ʊ'). These preploded nasals change to *m*, *n* and *ng* respectively when prefixation or suffixation brings them in proximity of another (simple or preploded) nasal (e.g. *N-* + *buàkng* → *muang* 'to throw away'; *uràkng* 'person; stranger' + *-AN* → *urangan* 'to receive many people'). They are analysed as consonant clusters for reasons of descriptive economy (see Adelaar 1991). However, see Blust (1997) for an alternative analysis.

Finally, there are also consonant clusters which only occur word-initially and consist of a stop + *l*.

Morphophonemic alternations of *-AN*

-AN occurs as a suffix or as part of a circumfix. Derivations with *-AN* (as a suffix as well as part of a circumfix) are verbs or nouns (see below).

-AN has four allomorphs, [-an], [-àtn], [ʔan] and [ʔàtn]. Their distribution was originally phonotactically conditioned but has become unpredictable due to two factors: (1) the historical reduction of homorganic nasal + voiced stop clusters to simple nasals, and (2) borrowing from Malay, which has a corresponding suffix *-an* without allomorphs showing preplosion.

The allomorph -[an] is suffixed to:

1. roots ending with a preploded nasal (whereby the latter becomes a simple nasal, e.g. *uràkng* + *AN* → *urangan*);

2. roots ending with a vowel other than *a* preceded by a nasal that developed from a historically simple nasal, e.g. *anyi* + *AN* (< **hanyi*) → *anyian* 'harvest, crop', (but cf. *ningiàtn* (< **tinggi*), below);

3. roots ending with a vowel + glottal sequence (*h* or *ʔ*) preceded by a nasal that developed from a historical simple nasal, e.g. *rumàh* 'house' + *sa- -AN* → *sarumahan* members of the same neighbourhood or village' (but cf. also *numuhàtn*, below);

4. loan words not yet completely adapted to the canonical shape of Salako, e.g. *tarusan* 'channel' (< Indonesian *tərusan*).

The allomorph -[àtn] is suffixed to:

1. roots ending in a consonant other than a nasal or glottal (e.g. *samut* 'ant' + *AN* → *samutàtn* 'covered with ants'); and

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[7] Contrary to Adelaar (1991), I now recognise the existence of an initial *h* in Salako inherited vocabulary. This *h-* appears following a morpheme boundary in word-medial position, e.g. the *h-* in *<hanyi>* is not realised in *anyi-an* 'harvest' but it is in *ba-hanyi* 'to harvest' and *pa-hanyi-an* 'field ready to be harvested'.

2.   roots ending in a vowel other than *a*, or a (any) vowel + -*h*/-*ʔ*. The preceding consonant can be a nasal provided that it historically derives from a homorganic nasal + voiced stop cluster, e.g. *N* + *tingi* + *AN* (< (*tinggi*) → *ningiàtn* 'to raise' *N* + *uih* + *AN* → *nguihàtn* 'hit, caught'; *tumuh* 'grow' (< *tumbuh*) + *AN* → *numuhàtn* 'to cultivate (plant)'.

The allomorph -[ʔan] is suffixed to:

1.   roots ending in *a* preceded by a nasal historically deriving from a simple nasal, e.g. *amà* (< (*lama*) + reduplication + -*AN* → *amà-kaʔamaʔan* 'eventually, in the end';

2.   loan words ending in *a* that are not yet completely adapted to the canonical shape of Salako, e.g. *ka* + *biasà* + *AN* → *kabiasaʔan* 'habit, custom' (cf. Indonesian *kebiasaan* [kəbiasaʔan] 'habit, custom').

The allomorph –[ʔàtn] is suffixed to:

1.   roots ending in *a* preceded by a consonant other than a nasal, e.g. *N* + *bisà* -*AN* → *misàʔàtn* 'make U poisonous';

2.   roots ending in *a* preceded by a nasal historically deriving from a homorganic nasal + voiced stop cluster, e.g. *N* + *tingà* + *AN* (< *tinggal*) → *ningàʔàtn* 'to leave U behind'.

Derivations with -*AN* (whether a transitive suffix, a nominal suffix or part of a verbal or nominal circumfix) will be treated below in various sub-sections of §3 and §4.

3   Verbal morphology

3.1   The stative suffix -*AN*

-*AN* is suffixed to nouns or stative intransitive verbs denoting an unpleasant condition, or to nouns denoting something that is capable of creating such condition. The resulting form is a stative intransitive verb meaning 'suffering from [root]'. Examples:

gaiʔ	'afraid'	*gaiʔ-àtn*	'frightened easily, timid, nervous'
garo	'ulceration; scab'	*garo-àtn*	'to suffer from ulcers'
tuiʔ	'ear-wax'	*tuiʔ-àtn*	'to have wax in one's ear'
biar	'worms'	*biar-àtn*	'to have worms'
sangeh	'asthma'	*sangeh-an*	'to be asthmatic'
samut	'ant'	*samut-àtn*	'covered with ants'
uràkng	'human, person'	*urang-an*	'to receive many people'

3.2   The intransitive prefix *ba-*

This prefix forms intransitive verbs. It occurs with verbals, nominals and precategorials. (Precategorials are roots of which the word class cannot be determined because they never occur underived. They are indicated between angled brackets).

The prefix *ba-* has three allomorphs: [ba-], [baʔ-] and [bar-].

The most frequent allomorph is [ba-]. It occurs before any consonant. It also occurs before vowels; however, [baʔ-] usually occurs before initial *a* except if the latter was historically

preceded by **l*.[8] On the other hand, [bar-] may occur before any initial vowel, but the conditioning for its appearance (rather than [ba-]/[ba?-]) remains unclear. Examples include:

<komo?>		*ba-komo?*	'to gather, to come together'
nanang	'to see'	*ba-tanang*	'to look at each other'
madàh	'to ask leave'	*ba-padàh*	'to say; to inform'
<hanyi>		*ba-hanyi*	'to harvest'
<bagi>		*ba-bagi*	'to split up; to be divisible'
ng-ajet	'to fight, to scratch'	*bar-ajet*	'to to fight, to scratch each other'
ampat	'four'	*bar-ampat*	'to be four in number'

With nouns, *ba-* forms stative intransitive verbs. These sometimes can be translated as 'possess [root]', 'use [root]' or 'wear [root]'. For example:

karajà	'work, task'	*ba-karajà*	'to work'
daràh	'blood'	*ba-daràh*	'to bleed'
bu?uk	'head hair'	*ba-bu?uk*	'to have head hair'
ayukng	'companion, friend'	*bar-ayukng*	'to be accompanied'
anak	'child'	*bar-anak*	'to bear a child'
ate?	'lightning'	*ba?-ate?*	'to be struck by lightning'
arti	'meaning'	*ba?-arti*	'to mean, have a meaning'
angir	'k.o. fruit' (< **langir*)	*ba-angir*	'wash one's hair with angir'
enyekng	'domestic pig'	*ba-enyekng*	'to be provided with a pig'
insi?	'content'	*ba-insi?*	'to contain, be filled'

With nouns and verbs, *ba-* also occurs in combination with *-AN*. The resulting derivation has an added meaning of plurality, which includes reciprocality and diffuseness. Examples include:

ng-ampar	'to spread out'	*ba?-ampar-àtn*	'to be spread all over; to be spread, of many things'
samak	'close by'	*ba-samak-àtn*	'to be close to each other'
sampà?	'a betel chew'	*ba-sampà?-àtn*	'to chew betel together'
<gugur>		*ba-gugur-àtn*	'to fall (of several things)'
cintà	'love'	*ba-cintà-cintà-?àtn*[9]	'to love each other'

It is important to note that *ba-* also occurs in combination with *-i?* or with *-AN + -i?*. These derivations with *-i?* (a plurality marker) will be discussed in §3.5.

Derivations with *ba-* are the intransitive counterparts of actor-oriented transitive verbs derived with *ma-*. The latter are often combined with *-AN*. The corresponding undergoer-oriented forms are formed with *pa-* (*-AN*) (a circumfix which is homonymous with the noun-forming circumfix treated in §4.3). The allomorphs *mar-* (*-AN*) and *par-* (*-AN*) apply where the corresponding *ba-* prefix appears as *bar-*.[10] Examples:

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[8] At some point Salako lost its lateral although it was reintroduced through borrowing (Adelaar 1992b: 385–388).

[9] With reduplication of the root denoting intensive action.

[10] Expected forms with glottal stop corresponding to [ba?-] (viz. **[ma?- -(?)an]/[ma?- -(?)átn] and **[pa?- -(?)an]/[pa?- -(?)átn] do not occur in my data.

ba-diri	'to stand'	*ma-diri*	'to erect (U)'
ba-sangkà?	'to deny'	*ma-sangkà?-àtn*	'to deny (something)'
ba-tampirikng	'to have a fight'	*ma-tampiring-an*	'to attack (U)'
ba-lawàkng	'to get married'	*ma-lawang-an*	'to marry off (one's child)'
bar-anti	'to stop' (<anti>)	*mar-anti-àtn*	'to stop (U)'
ba-gawe	'hold a ritual feast'	*di-pa-gawe-àtn*	'to be given such a feast, to be the reason for a ritual feast'

3.3 The transitive prefix *N-*

N- is apparently a marker of transitive verbs. It is prefixed to completed and non-completed transitive verbs, with the exception of transitive verbs in imperative phrases or in undergoer-oriented non-completed phrases (see §5.3). *N-* has the following realisations:

ng- before *g* and *k*, which are deleted in the process, and before an initial vowel:

N + garàpm + i?	$\longrightarrow$	*ngarapm-i?*	'to salt (U)'
N + kayuh	$\longrightarrow$	*ngayuh*	'to paddle'
N + ako?	$\longrightarrow$	*ng-ako?*	'to admit'
N + ukum	$\longrightarrow$	*ng-ukum*	'to sentence (U)'

nga- before initial *w*,[11] *l* and *r*[12]:

N + waris + i?	$\longrightarrow$	*nga-waris-i?*	'to inherit (U)'
N + lelet	$\longrightarrow$	*nga-lelet*	'to cut (throat)'
N + rabà	$\longrightarrow$	*nga-rabà*	'to taste'

m- before *b* and *p*, which are deleted:

N + bare?	$\longrightarrow$	*mare?*	'to give'
N + pangkong	$\longrightarrow$	*mangkong*	'to slap'

n- before *d* or *t*, which are deleted:

N + duduk + i?	$\longrightarrow$	*nuduk-i?*	'to sit on, occupy'
N + tunu	$\longrightarrow$	*nunu*	'to burn (U)'

ny- before *s*, *c* or *j*, which are deleted:

N + sahut	$\longrightarrow$	*nyahut*	'to answer'
N + cocok	$\longrightarrow$	*nyocok*	'to drink'
N + jahit	$\longrightarrow$	*nyahit*	'to sew'

ø before an initial nasal:

N + makàtn	$\longrightarrow$	*makàtn*	'to eat'
N + nyanyi	$\longrightarrow$	*nyanyi*	'to sing'

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[11]   Note that the data do not provide verbal roots with initial *y*.

[12]   *nga-* sometimes also applies before an initial vowel in roots that originally had an initial **l*.

3.4 The transitive marker *-iʔ*

There are two suffixes *-iʔ*, a transitive marker and a plurality marker.

The transitive marker *-iʔ* often forms verbs that are location-oriented or direction-oriented, but in some derivations this orientedness does not apply, as is shown in the case of *maik-iʔ* among the following examples:

berà	'angry'	*mera-iʔ*	'to get angry at (U), scold (U)'
maniʔ	'to bathe'	*maniʔ-iʔ*	'to give a bath to (U)'
ba-padàh	'to ask for permission; to report'	*madah-iʔ*	'to inform (U); to invite (U)'
salàh	'wrong, mistaken'	*nyalah-iʔ*	'to blame (U)'
lalu	'to pass'	*nga-lalu-iʔ*	'to pass along (U)'
ampus	'to go'	*ng-ampus-iʔ*	'to go to (U)'
baik	'good'	*maik-iʔ*	'to bring (U) into order, to improve (U)'

-iʔ also adds the notion of location-orientedness or direction-orientedness to transitive verbal roots, although here again this does not necessarily apply to all resulting forms. Note the following examples:

mayar	'to pay (money, goods)'	*mayar-iʔ*	'to pay to (U)'
madàh	'to ask permission for (U), to inform about (U)'	*madah-iʔ*	'to inform (U); to invite (U)'
nanang	'to see (U)'	*nanang-iʔ*	'to watch (U); to call in on (a sick person)'

3.5 The plurality marker *-iʔ*

The plurality marker *-iʔ* is suffixed to transitive as well as intransitive verbs. With verbs prefixed with *ba-*, it adds the notion of reciprocality, plurality of actors or repeated action. Examples:

<abuh>		*baʔ-abuh-iʔ*	'to commit incest'
<karàhàkng>		*baʔ-karahakng-iʔ*	'to yell at each other'
naap	'to hold'	*ba-taʔap-taʔap-iʔ*	'to hold on to each other'
tumàkng	'to fall down, to topple long things'	*ba-tumakng-iʔ*	'trampled down (of many (long things)'

When suffixed to verbs that are circumfixed with *ba- -AN*, *-iʔ* forms iteratives indicating that large numbers join in the action or that everyone joins in the action. It sometimes also denotes a repeated or intensified state or action. Examples:

dari	'to run'	*ba-dari-atn-iʔ*	'to run (of everybody or of many people)'
ukàʔ	'injury, wound'	*ba-ukaʔ-atn-iʔ*	'to be covered with wounds'
turutn	'to go down'	*ba-turun-an-i*	'to go down (everybody or many people)'
atàkng	'to come'	*ba-atang-an-iʔ*	'to come in great numbers'

When -*i?* is suffixed to transitive verbs suffixed with -*AN*, it adds the notion of plurality of undergoer or repeated action. Examples are:

naban-an   'to take (along)'   *naban-an-i?*   'to take everything or everyone; to take (U) to several places'

ngapas-àtn 'to set free'   *ngapas-atn-i?* 'to set free (of many things)'

Sentences (1)–(5) provide some examples in context:

(1)   *Ba-dari-atn-i?-lah   uràkng Saboyo?   ba uràkng   Saribas   an-nyian.*
      IV-run-AN-PL-EMP   people Saboyo?   with   people   Saribas   this
      'Off ran all the Saboyo and Saribas people.'

(2)   *Tubuh   Ne?   Dibo?-pun   ba-uka?-atn-i?,   ba-daràh.*
      body   Grandpa   ibo-EMP   IV-wound-AN-PL   IV-blood
      'Grandpa Dibo?'s body was all covered with wounds, he was bleeding.'

(3)   *Ba-turun-an-i?-lah   samue?e uràkng ka   dààpm   kapal*
      IV-go down-AN-PL-EMP   all   people   at   inside   ship

      angkoà   tai.
      that   aforementioned
      'So out came everybody who was on that ship.'

(4)   *Uràkng kan   supàtn   kalaw dri?   naban-an-i?*
      people   don't they?   embarrassed   if   we   take along-AN-PL

      bini-e   ka sià   ka na?an?
      wife-their   to here   to there
      'People'd get embarrassed if we took their wives here and there, right?'

(5)   *Di-ngapas-atn-i?   burukng-e   di-natak-i?   tali-e   samue?e.*
      UO-to free-AN-PL   bird-DEF   UO-cut-TV   line-DEF   all
      'All birds were released, all the lines (holding them) were cut.'

3.6 The transitive marker -*AN*

The suffix -*AN* forms causative verbs from stative and dynamic verbs, as is shown in the following examples:

tarus	'to continue'	*narus-àtn*	'to continue (U)'
koat	'strong'	*ngoat-àtn*	'to strengthen (U)'
susàh	'difficult, cumbersome'	*nyusàhàtn*	'to complicate (U), to trouble (U)'
tantu	'definite; certain'	*nantu-àtn*	'to determine (U)'
kalàh	'to lose, be defeated'	*ngalàhàtn*	'to defeat (U)'
<*malu*>		*uràkng an-di-maluàtn*	'a respected person'
taamà?	'to go inside'	*naama?an*	'to put (U) inside'
adà	'there is'	*ngadà?àtn*	'to bring about (U)'
ba-komo?	'to come together'	*ngomo?àtn*	'to collect (U)'
naik	'to go up'	*rajà an-nyian di-naikàtn ka kapal*	'the sovereign was carried into the ship'

| *uas* | 'wide, broad' | *ngauas-àtn padi* | 'to spread paddy about, to sow rice' |

The transitive marker *-AN* also derives transitive verbs from nouns. Examples:

curità	'story'	*nyurità?àtn*	'to tell (s.th.)'
sumpàh	'oath, curse'	*nyumpàhàtn*	'to curse (s.th.)'
subarang[13]	'the opposite side'	*nyubarangan*	'to put/bring (U) across' as in *aku pane nyubarangan kau sampe ka tapi sawangan* 'I can set you across the river'

Suffixed to a transitive verbal root, it changes either the meaning or the undergoer of the verb.

Examples of *-AN* changing the meaning of a transitive root include:

| *muang* | 'to throw away' | *muangan* | 'to place or store (U) away' |
| *nabàtn* | 'to take away, steal' | *nabanan* | 'to take (U)' |

Examples of *-AN* changing the undergoer of a transitive root (*-AN* as an 'undergoer-selector') are listed below:

mare?	'give (someone)'	*mare?àtn*	'to give (something)'
nginyàpm	'to borrow (U)'	*nginyaman*	'to lend (U)'
ngamuat	'to make'	*ngamuatàtn*	'to make for (someone)' *ià dingamuatàtn songko?* 'They made a rimless cap for him'
ngago	'to look for, fetch'	*ngagoàtn*	'to look for on behalf of (s.o.)' *picarà ngagoàtn ià andarà* 'the matchmaker looked for a young maiden on his behalf'

3.7 *di-*

di- occurs in undergoer-oriented phrases.[14] When *di-* is used and there is an explicit actor, it directly precedes that actor. The latter can be first, second or third person. If there is no explicit actor, *di-* directly precedes the undergoer-oriented verb.

3.8 *-à?*

-à? is a subjunctive marker. It is suffixed to the head of a predicate and adds the notion of intention or future; see §5.2.

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[13] This form must be borrowed as its final nasal does not show the expected preplosion. Its first syllable has *u* which is explained by the fact that words of more than two syllables (including loan words) often exhibit colouring of the antepenultimate vowel which is conditioned by their consonantal environment, e.g. *jubatà* 'deity' (< Malay *dewata*, Sanskrit *dewata* 'gods'); *sulendang* 'k.o. scarf' (< Malay *sǝlendang* id.); *siturup* 'syrup' (< Malay *sǝtrup*, Dutch *stroop* id.).

[14] *di-* is denoted as a prefix but its status as a prefix or an independent particle in Salako remains unclear and requires further investigation.

3.9 Non-controlled *ta-*

ta- denotes an unintentional or uncontrolled movement or action. It can also denote possibility or feasibility to do something.[15]   *ta-* has the allomorphs [ta-], [ta?-] (before historical initial *a-*) and [tar-]. [tar-] only occurs before initial vowels, but it remains unclear under which exact conditions it does so.[16] Examples of *ta-* denoting unintentional or uncontrolled movement or action are:

ngomo?	'to collect (U)'	*ta-komo?*	'gathered'
janto?	'to fall'	*ta-janto?*	'to fall unexpectedly'
nontokng	'to pour out s.th.'	*ta-tontokng*	'to pour out, gush out accidentally'
jadi	'and so'	*ta-jadi*	'to happen'
<masok>		*ta-masok*	'included'
<tangkap>, *nangkap*	'to seize, grab'	*ta-tangkap*	'caught'
ng-angkat	'to lift'	*tar-angkat*, *ta?-angkat*	'capable of lifting'

Sentences (6)–(8) provide examples in context:

(6)   *là   ta-tangkap   basà?.*
       she NC-catch   wet
       'She was caught red-handed.'

(7)   *Kuit kapala-e ta-janto? ka Bukit   Rayà an-nyian.*
       skin head-his NC-fall on   mountain/hill Rayà this
       'The skin of his head fell on Mount Rayà.'

(8)   *Darah-e   ta-tontokng   ka   daeràh   Mantarado.*
       blood-his NC-pour out   in/on area   Montrado
       'His blood gushed out over the Montrado area.'

In sentences (9)–(12) examples of *ta-* denoting possibility or feasibility are provided:

(9)   *Ta-dangar bunyi dameà   pun anà?.*
       NC-hear   sound what   EMP not
       'No sound whatsoever was (=could be) heard.'

(10) *là ngole? ka   kebà   ka   kanan, anà? ugà?   ta-gole?.*
       he roll at/to left   at/to right   not   only/just NC-roll
       'He tried to roll it (the monkey) left and right, but it just couldn't be rolled over.'

(11) *Anà? ta?-angkat salong-e   an-nyian.*
       not   NC-lift   sarong-DEF this
       'The sarong could not be lifted.'

---

[15] In contrast to Malay *ter-*, *ta-* does not denote superlative or excessive degree when prefixed to a static intransitive verb.

[16] It seems to be either an anomalous form retained from Proto Malayic or a loan form due to influence from Malay. The two forms in my texts exhibiting this allomorph could be borrowed from Malay (viz. *tar-ingat/ta-ingat* 'to remember'; *tar-angkat/ta?-angkat* 'capable of being lifted'; cf. Malay *teringat* and *terangkat* [same meanings]). Likewise, a number of forms that seem to have lexicalised this allomorph (*tarajutn* 'to jump'; *tarabàkng* 'to fly'; *tarabit* 'to rise, emerge') are suspect of borrowing from Malay.

(12) *Nyobà   ià   ng-angkat-àʔ   ià   anàʔ   ugàʔ   bisà   tar-angkat.*
    N-try   he   N-lift-SJ   it   not   just/only   can   NC-lift
    'He tried hard to lift it but it just couldn't be lifted.'

(Note that *ta-* derivations include actor-oriented forms in examples (13)–(14)).

(13) *Ià   ta-tatak ka   tali   jambatan angkoà   tai.*
    she/he   NC-cut at/on   rope   bridge   that   aforementioned
    'He accidentally cut the rope holding the rope bridge.'

(14) *PaʔAyay dah   ta-duduk di halaman   angkoà.*
    PaʔAyay already   NC-sit   in courtyard that
    'PaʔAyay had fallen on his bum in the courtyard.'

3.10 Non-controlled *ka- -AN*

Like *ta-*, *ka- -AN* also indicates unintentional or uncontrolled movement or action. It moreover adds the notion of being struck by something undesirable to the resulting derivation. It is circumfixed to transitive and intransitive verbs and to nouns. It has the following allomorphs: [ka- -an], [ka- -ʔan], [ka- -àtn], [ka- -ʔàtn] and [ka- -anan]. The rules for the distribution of [ka- -anan] remain unclear.[17] Examples:

sangeh	'asthma'	*ka-sangeh-an*	'to have an attack of asthma'
gaiʔ	'afraid'	*ka-gaiʔ-àtn*	'frightened to death'
samut	'ant'	*ka-samut-àtn*	'to become numb (of a limb)'
repo	'happy'	*ka-repo-àtn*	'overjoyed'
nahuiʔ	'to know'	*ka-tahu-anan*	'to be found out'
ningà-àtn	'to leave behind'	*ka-tinga-anan*	'abandoned'

3.11 Rare affixes

The middle verb prefix siN-

siN- only occurs in the following four examples in three of which it is preceded by *ba-*. It forms middle verbs (where the actor is doing something to herself or himself). The nasal element in this prefix assimilates to the following consonant which (other than with *N-* and *paN-*) is not deleted. The examples are:

<koʔopm>	*basing-koʔopm*	'put entirely into one's mouth'
<soor>	*sin-soor*	'throw oneself to the floor out of recalcitrance, roll oneself over the floor'
muhà	'face'	*basi-muhà*	'wash one's face'
<komor>	*basing-komor*	'rinse one's mouth'

---

[17] The ending -[anan] is the regular result of *-AN* + *-AN*: when *-AN* is suffixed to a final homorganic stop + nasal cluster, it is realised as [-an], and the cluster is reduced to its nasal component (§2.2). It is to be expected that there is also a realisation [-ʔanan] after final *a* but I found no evidence for this in my data.

The transitive prefix **maka-**

In the only two instances found in my texts, this prefix is prefixed to intransitive verbal roots and forms factitive verbs:

maka-lalu[18] moot   'keep one's promise, act according to what one has said'
maka-rehetn   'make light (particularly a punishment)'

4 Nominal affixes

Salako has several noun-forming affixes. The functions and meanings of some (viz. *paN-*, *paN- -AN* and *pa- -AN*) are not as clearcut as those of others (viz. *-AN*, *ka- -AN*), as will be seen below.

Apart from noun-forming affixes there is also a vocative suffix.

The nominalising prefix **paN-**

The prefix *paN-*, when prefixed to verbal roots, forms nouns denoting an instrument or function in relation to the root. Some of these nouns are often used attributively (see *pang-alok* and *pang-ikat*, below). *paN-* has several allomorphs with a final nasal being realised in the same way — and causing the same changes to the following consonant — as the verbal prefix *N-*, discussed in §3.3. Examples include:

ng-alok-i?	'tell lies'	pang-alok	'prone to lying; a person prone to lying'
ng-ikat	'to bind'	tali pangikat	'a rope for binding'
<tutup>		panutup moot	'something to cover the mouth'
nabo?	'to visit'	panabo?	'representative, member of delegation'
ngapàkng	'to embrace'	pangapàkng	'measurement for a circumference equalling an embrace'
<aap>		pang-aap	'delegate'

The nominalising circumfix **paN- -AN**

The circumfix *paN- -AN* derives nouns from roots that have transitive derivations with *N-*. The resulting nouns denote the performance itself (abstract nouns), actor or result. The nasal in the first segment (*paN-*) has allomorphs that are formed in a way analogous to that of the verbal prefix *N-* (§3.3). Examples with transitive verb roots are:

mintà?	'to ask for, to request'	pa-mintà?-àtn	'a request'
nga-raban-an	'to act as midwife'	panga-raban-an	'midwife'
mare?	'to give'	pa-mare?àtn	'gift'

---

[18]   As pointed out previously, an earlier *l* was lost in Salako (although it has become part of Salako phonology again through borrowing). Therefore, the *l* in the root of *maka-lalu* points to borrowing either from a neighbouring dialect (possibly Ahe) or from Malay. Along with *lalu*, Salako also has a root *au* 'to pass along'.

In a single case this circumfix occurs with a stative intransitive root and has an attributive meaning:

rongko? 'ill' *panga-rongko?-àtn* 'prone to illness, sickly'

The nominalising circumfix pa- -AN

The circumfix *pa- -AN* derives nouns from intransitive verbs. It is the nominal counterpart of intransitive verbal derivations with *ba-*. Before a vowel the allomorph *par-* may occur (as in *paridupàtn*). Examples:

ba-buis	'perform a *ba-buis* ritual'	*pa-buis-àtn*	'food preparations for a *ba-buis* ritual'
ba-jari	'have the size of a finger'	*pa-jari-àtn*	'something the size of a finger'
ba-jààtn	'to walk, go'	*pa-jaan-an*	'journey'
ba-lawàkng	'to get married'	*pa-lawang-an*	'marriage'
ba-saru?	'to invite; to invoke'	*pa-saru?-àtn*	'invitation'
(*idup*	'to live')	*par-idup-àtn*	'livelihood'

The nominalising suffix -AN

The suffix *-AN*, when attached to transitive verbal roots, derives nouns referring to a goal or result of what would be expressed by the derived verb, such as:

muih	'to obtain'	*puih-àtn*	'catch, yield'
nga-epet	'to wrap'	*epet-àtn*	'parcel'
nyangàh-àtn	'to pray'	*sangàh-àtn*	'a *sangàh-àtn* prayer'
ng-ae?	'to help a community member'	*ae?àtn*	'communal help group'

The following case is noteworthy as it seems to be a derivation from a noun that already has a suffix *-AN*:[19]

ampàhàtn	'vegetables; side-dishes'	*ampahan-an*	'all sorts of vegetables'

The nominalising circumfix ka- -AN

The circumfix *ka- -AN* forms nouns from (stative and dynamic) intransitive verbs. If the root is a stative verb, the resulting meaning refers to the root as a quality. Dynamic intransitive verbal roots with *ka- -AN* are very limited. A characterisation of their meaning is therefore rather difficult, especially since the meanings of the examples *ka-idup-àtn* and *ka-tidur-àtn* (below) seem to be lexicalised to some extent.

Note that this circumfix has the same form as the non-controlledness marker *ka- -AN*, which can also occur on the basis of stative and dynamic transitive verbs. Examples include:

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[19]   Compare the [ka- -anan] forms in §3.9, which also have a 'double' suffix *-AN*.

gagas	'beautiful, attractive'	*ka-gagas-àtn*	'beauty'
susàh	'difficult, worrysome'	*ka-susàh-àtn*	'difficulties, trouble'
idup	'to live'	*ka-idup-àtn*	'life, livelihood'
tidur	'to sleep'	*ka-tidur-àtn*	'sleeping place'

The vocative marker -à

Certain nouns (kinship terms, names, nouns referring to a rank or position) can be suffixed with the vocative marker -*à*, as is shown in the following sentences:

(15)   *Am-bagà   mati   kau an-nyian, Paʔ Ayay-à!*
          Relative marker-stupid extremely you this   Paʔ Ayay-VOC
          'Gosh, how dumb you are, Paʔ Ayay!'

(16)   *Kàʔ-à!   Apiiiii! Kàʔ-à!*
          older brother-VOC fire   older brother
          'Hey brother! Fire! Brother!'

(17)   *Dameà, jar-e   pardana mantari o rajà-à?*
          what   saying-his prime minister   oh sovereign-VOC
          '"What is going on, oh king?" said the prime minister.'

5 Voice, aspect and mood

As already indicated in the introduction of this paper, voice, aspect and mood are interdependent categories in Salako. In the following paragraphs each of these categories will be treated separately, but a discussion of the details of their interrelatedness follows.

5.1 Undergoer-orientedness

Undergoer-orientedness is marked by word order and (in some cases) by *di-*. The latter can be used in two ways in an undergoer-oriented phrase.

1. If the actor is not expressed, it directly precedes the verb, as in examples (18) and (19):

(18)   *Sanang-lah   ati   Si Bunsuʔ an-nyian tai*
          pleased-EMP heart Si Bunsuʔ this   aforementioned

          nanang uma-e   akà?   di-nga-rumput.
          see   field-her finished/done UO-N-weed
          'Si Bunsuʔ was pleased to see that her field was all weeded.'

(19)   *Heran   ià: Sape nuukng-iʔ ià   nga-rumput?*
          surprised she who help-TV   her N-weed

          Padahal,   uma-e   agiʔ ayàʔ napàtn di-rumput.
          while on the contrary field-her more big   not yet UO-weed
          'She was surprised: who had helped her [housemate] to weed? Her own field,
          which was in fact bigger, had not yet been weeded.'

2. If the actor is expressed, *di-* often directly precedes it and functions as an actor case marker, as in sentences (20)–(23):

(20)   *Buuh bàà   an-nyian ga?e di-ià   ngosokatn-i?   ka   tubuh-e.*
         k.o. bamboo this   also by-her N-rub in-TV   at   body-her
         'She also rubbed the *bàà* bamboo on to her body.'

(21)   *"Angkoàlah", jare,   "tuàkng kale? di-kau   matàh-matàh 'ngkoà,*
         that-EMP   she said bone   catfish by-you N-break-RED   that

         ku-ng-amuat   kai,   ku-ngai   ka batangan namu sauàkng".
         (by) me-N-make hook   by me-hook   at river   find   k.o. carp
         "'That", she said, "is the bone of the catfish that you broke; I made it into a fish-hook and caught a carp with it in the river."'

(22)   *Kata-e   angkoà tai   di-uràkng   Saboyo?*
         word/command-his that   aforementioned by-people   Saboyo?

         am-batujuh   an-nyian   nurut-i?.
         who-IV-be seven   which-this   N-to follow/obey-TV
         'The seven Saboyo? people obeyed his orders.'

(23)   *Ià tanang agi?   tangkitn-e dah   tabà, di-daràh*[20]
         he look   again   sword-his already thick   by-blood

         kayo   mungkus, anà?   bisà di-buàkng.
         enemy   N-to wrap not   able   UO-throw away
         'He looked at his sword again which had become thick, it was completely covered with ('wrapped in') the enemy's blood which could not be shaken off ('thrown away').'

But in many cases where the actor is indicated, *di-* does not appear at all. Whether *di-* does appear or not, the actor as a rule follows the undergoer and directly precedes the verb; see sentences (24)–(26).

(24)   *Dààpm sa?-ari abis   uma-e   ang-ayà? koà ià   nga-rumput.*
         in   one-day finished field-her   which-large that (by) him N-weed
         'Within a day her field, which was large, had all been weeded by him.'

(25)   *Nanà   nange kalo dah   manyak   padi anà? kità*
         soon, later EMP   if   already   much/many paddy not   (by) you

         piharà   anà?   kità?   hormat-i?.
         look after not   (by) you respect-TV
         'Later if there is much paddy you won't take care of it, you won't respect the paddy.'

(26)   *Lalu bungà   riukng   an-nyian Si Pakapuràtn*
         then flower   riukng   this   (by) Si Pakapuràtn

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[20]   Note that example (23) exhibits the use of *di-* as an agent marker [in *di-daràh*] as well as a marker of undergoer-orientation [in *di-buàkng*].

> *ngugur-atn-iʔ*   *ka buuk   Si Mamakng Sauàkng.*
> N-strew-TV-PL   on hair   Si Mamakng Sauàkng
> 'Si Pakapuràtn then strewed these riukng-flowers on Si Mamakng Sauàkng's hair.'

Because *di-* is not obligatory in cases where the actor is expressed, it appears that word order is the principal marker of undergoer-orientedness in Salako. Neither is *di-* in complementary distribution with *N-* and able to co-occur with it, as some of the above sample sentences show. (The function of *N-* is discussed in §4.3).

The function of Salako *di-* and its co-occurrence with *N-* are remarkable against the context of voice-marking in most dialects of Malay and other languages spoken in western Indonesia. In the latter, nasalisation is a marker of actor-orientation. If *di-* applies, it never co-occurs with nasalisation, and its use is not optional; along with a restricted set of proclitic pronouns it is one of the morphological markers of undergoer-orientation. Word order is also relevant for voice-marking, but it is a concomitant factor rather than the main marker.

5.2 Subjunctive

Subjunctive is expressed by the suffix *-àʔ* which must be a reflex of the Proto Austronesian subjunctive marker **-a*, and which has a cognate *-a* (also a subjunctive marker) in the Old Malay text of the seventh century inscriptions of South Sumatra and Bangka Island (Adelaar 1992a:163–164).

This *-àʔ* is suffixed to predicates denoting an intention, an approaching event, a conceivable danger and, in conjunction with *baiʔ* 'not want to', a refusal, as in example (30). When *-àʔ* is suffixed, *à* in the preceding syllable loses its rounding[21] (cf. *ngicàkng* 'to look for' versus *ngicakng-àʔ* '[in order] to look for'), and a preceding suffix *-iʔ* loses its glottal stop (*nanam-iʔ* 'to plant' versus *nanam-i-àʔ* '[in order] to plant'); see sentences (27)–(30) below.

(27)   *Ampagi-e   Si Bunsuʔ ampus   ka   rumàh   Si Pakapuràtn,*
morning-of it Si Bunsuʔ go   at/to   house   Si Pakapuràtn

ng-icakng-àʔ kaleʔ   sabap   anàʔ di-puang-an   tumareʔ.
N-look for-SJ catfish   because not UO-back-CAUS yesterday
'The next morning Si Bunsu went to the house of Si Pakapuràtn to look for the catfish, because it had not been returned the night before.'

(28)   *Jaji,   dayà   Si Mamàkng Sauàkng   an-dohoʔ   ià gaʔe,*
really   like   Si Mamàkng Sauàkng   in.the.past   he just

dah   gagas.   Ià nanding-àʔ gagasatn-e   an-nyian
already   handsome   he compare-SJ   handsomeness-his   this

tai   ià ngicàkng taor.
aformentioned   he look.for   egg
'Really, he was like the old Si Mamakng Sauàkng again, he had become handsome. He looked for an egg (to be used as a mirror) in order to see how handsome he had become.'

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[21]   Except in cases where *-àʔ* directly follows a final *à* or *àʔ*, e.g. *ba-mintàʔ* 'to request' versus *ba-mintàʔ-àʔ* '(in order) to request'; (with a glottal stop emerging on the morpheme boundary:) *nyuà* 'to sell' versus *nyuàʔ-àʔ* 'in order to sell'.

(29)   *Ià noget-atn-i?   lah asir   angkoà ka*
         he N-fasten-TV-PL EMP palm leaf rib that   at

         samak-samak   tampat   burukng 'ngkoà ba-mani-atn-i-à?.
         close-close   place   bird   that   IV-bathe-together-PL-SJ
         'He attached the palm leaf ribs very close to a place where birds come together
         to take a bath.'

(30)   *aku dah   bai?   ba-lawakng-à? kau!*
         I   already don't want IV-marry-SJ   you
         'I don't feel like marrying you any more!'

Apparently, -*à?* can be suffixed to any verb, including (as attested in a single case) a verb that has the non-controlled affix *ta-*:

(31)   *Cilakà kau Pa? Ayay-à!   Dah   abis   ikàtn angkoà*
         damn   you Pa? Ayay-VOC already finished fish   that

         kau najar! Sampe-sampe   kanama?an kapala-ngu agi?, jar-e,
         by-you gobble to the extent.until got stuck   head-your again she said

         kadààpm balangà?   an-nyian. Memang   ta-rorokng-à? daràh
         inside   vessel   this   indeed   NC-pour.out-SJ blood

         hane   kau an-nyian. Nyamae   nang ka kau an-nyian!
         just/only you this   how/what to do EMP   to you this
         '"Damn you, Pa? Ayay! You devoured all the fish, so that now your head is stuck
         in this cooking pot", she said. "In fact you might have to let go of your blood (in
         order to get loose). What are we supposed do with you!"'

In sentences (32) and (33), -*à?* is also found with prepositional phrases and question words:

(32)   *Ià anà? sampat   sidi   ka   umà?-à?.*
         he not   have opportunity very at/to field-SJ
         'He had no chance at all to go to the field.'

(33)   *Jadi kapalae an-nyian botak, itàpm dayà timpurukng*
         so   head-her   this   bald   black like   coconut shell

         buu?.   Makin   manas ià. Tapi nyamae-à?-lah,   barang
         scorched increasingly angry she but   how (to do)-SJ-EMP thing

         koà dah   tajadi, ià biasà sajà agi? nange.
         that already happen she get used just   again EMP
         'So her head was bald, and black like a scorched coconut shell. She became even
         more angry. But what could she do about it, it had already happened, she'd better
         get used to it.'

However, the subjunctive marker -*à?* does not occur with undergoer-oriented forms prefixed with *N*-, as will be illustrated in §5.3. *N*- affixed to a undergoer-oriented verb indicates completed action, which is inherently incompatible with subjunctivity.

5.3 Completed and non-completed action

Transitive verbs are marked with *N-*, whether they are based on a transitive verbal root or derived from another root through affixation of the transitivising affixes *-an/-àtn*, *-i?* or *ma-/pa-*.

N- is always affixed to actor-oriented verbs, as for example in sentences (34) and (35).

(34)   *Sape   nuukng-i?   ià   nga-rumput?*
         who   N-help-TV   her   N-weed
         'Who helped her to weed?'

(35)   *Jadi   ambujàkng   an-nyian anà?   nanang*
         so   the young (unmarried) man this   not   N-see

         andarà   an-nyian.
         the young (unmarried) woman   this
         'So, the young man does not see the young woman (i.e. before marriage).'

N- is also affixed to undergoer-oriented verbs, provided that they express an action that has taken place completely; note:

(36)   *Uma-e   akà?   di-nga-rumput.*
         field-her   done   UO-N-weed
         'Her field was already weeded.'

However, *N-* is not affixed to undergoer-oriented verbs in phrases referring to events that have not taken place at all, or that have not yet completely taken place. This includes future events, events expressing various extents of possibility, desirability, permissiveness or necessity repeated and habitual events and hypothetical events. Examples of phrases expressing non-completed action in each of these categories are cited below.

The undergoer-oriented verb expresses an event that has not taken place:

(37)   *Jadi amà-amà Ne? Kulup   an-nyian tai*
         so   in the end Grandpa Kulup this   aforementioned

         anà? jaji   di-bunuh.
         not   really   UO-kill
         'So, in the end Kulup was not killed.'

The undergoer-oriented verb expresses a future event:

(38)   *Bini-e   an-nyian   sadih nangar anak-e   si Kulup   mao?   di-bunuh.*
         wife-his   which-this   sad   N-hear   child-her   PA Kulup   will   UO-kill
         'His wife was sad to hear that her child Kulup was going to be killed.'

(39)   *Uràkng am-mao? di-tunu   angkoà bukàtn-lah   uràkng*
         person   who-will   UO-cremate that   not-EMP   person

         sambarangan.
         random/whatever/whoever
         'The person that is going to be cremated is not just anyone.'

The undergoer-oriented verb expresses a measure of possibility:

(40) *Jadi   tabat bubue   di Pasir Panjang masih   dapat di-tanang*
      so   fence funnel-his at Pasir Panjang still   can   UO-see

      sampe kanià.
      until   now
      'So, the fence of his fishtrap can still be seen at Pasir Panjang.'

(41) *Salong angkoà adà   tapi napàtn bisà di-puang-an.*
      sarong   that   there is but   not yet can   UO-go back-TV
      'The sarong is here but cannot yet be returned.'

The undergoer-oriented verb expresses a measure of desirability:

(42) *Ame   ku   di-tingà-ʔàtn disià aku   sorokng!*
      don't I   UO-leave-TV   here   I/me   alone
      'Don't leave me behind here all by myself!'

(43) *Kadeʔnyà dah   masak, di-tono-iʔ   ame   apaʔ-ku   tanang.*
      if   already ripe   UO-cover-TV   lest father-my (be) seen
      'When it (the rice) is ripe, it should be covered so that my father won't see it.'

The undergoer-oriented verb expresses a necessity:

(44) *Si Kulup harus   di-bunuh karnà   ià naban-an   padi   ka dunià.*
      PA Kulup have to   UO-kill   because   he N-take-TV   paddy   to world
      'Kulup has to be killed because he took paddy to the world.'

The undergoer-oriented verb expresses a measure of suitability or permission:

(45) *Angkoà tanda-e bah[wa] tanàh [......] angkoà baik   untuk di-umà.*
      that   sign-its that   land   that   good   for   UO-work
      'That's the sign that the land [.....] is suitable for cultivation.'

(46) *Angkoà tanda-e tanàh angkoà anàʔ muih   di-umà,   jahat.*
      that   sign-DEF land   that   not N-allowed UO-work.a.field bad
      'That's the sign that the land may not be worked, it's bad.'

The undergoer-oriented verb expresses a repeated or habitual act:

(47) *Ià tatak ka sià, ià tatak ka naʔan, natak-iʔ tegeʔ kayo   ka koà.*
      he   cut   at here   he cut   at there   N-cut-TV neck   enemy there

      Ià di-kayo tatak: anàʔ ukàʔ   karana ià   kabà.
      he   by-enemy cut   not   wounded   because he   invulnerable
      'He cut left and right, slashing the necks of many enemies there. Whenever they
      would try to wound him, he was not hurt because he was invulnerable.'

(48) *Uràkng Saboyoʔ tatap   di-batak   kayo.*
      people Saboyoʔ still/always UO-call/consider enemy
      'Saboyoʔ people are still considered enemies.'

(49)   *Si Mamàkng Sauàkng tiap ari   ià   kaut-iʔ ka rumah-e.*
        PA Mamàkng Sauàkng each day   by-her   lock-TV in   house-her
        'Each day she would lock Si Mamàkng Sauàkng up in her house.'

(50)   *[......] Ià kurang sidi   marati-àtn   pamarentahatn-e.*
               he   less   extremely N-understand-TV   administration-his

       Pamarentàhàtn   salalu   di-bareʔ-àtn,   di-saràh-àtn   ka
        administration   always   UO-give-TV   UO-leave-TV   at

       pardana-mantari-e.
        prime-minister-his
       'He did not understand much at all of his administration. He would always give,
       he would leave administration to his prime minister.'

The following sample sentence (51) expresses a hypothetical event. It describes the customs that have to be observed if a person dies.

(51)   *Manurut   adat   Dayaʔ   uràkng   an-dah   mati   tatap*
        according   custom Dayak   person   who-already dead   always

       di-piharà   salamà tujuh ari tujuh maam. Tikar banta-e
        UO-look after during seven day seven night mat   pillow-her

       di-buang-an ka   entok   rumàh. Di-anggap   ià   masih   adà
        UO-put-TV   in   corner house   UO-consider   she   still   present

       di-dààpm gulungan tikar-e angkoà. Tiap gumareʔ   di-bareʔ makàtn.
        inside   roll   mat-her that   each afternoon UO-give   food
       'According to Dayak custom a deceased person is looked after for seven days and
       seven nights. Her sleeping mat and pillow are put in a corner of the house. She is
       considered still to be in her bedroll. Each afternoon she gets food'.

Phrases like this (describing a hypothetical event) can also be observed in the text 'Wedding customs', which describes the protocol and preparations prior to a wedding (see Appendix II).

Non-completed action does, however, not apply to an event that has already taken place within the 'reality' of a hypothetical event. The following phrase originates from the same text as sample (51) and is in direct sequence to it. The overall event in (52) is hypothetical and concerns the death of a person. But within that event, the deceased person has already been buried, hence the completed forms *di-nyubur* and *di-nunu* (both meaning 'buried') in (52), instead of **di-subur* and **di-tunu*.

(52)   *[Tiap gumareʔ   di-bareʔ makàtn.] Padahal   ià   dah   di-nyubur,*
        [each afternoon UO-give   food]   while in fact she   already UO-N-bury

       ataw dah   di-nunu,   tapi di-bareʔ makàtn gaʔe.
        or   already UO-N-cremate but UO-give food   just
       'Each afternoon she gets food. In fact she is already buried or cremated, but she
       gets food all the same.'

Observe also the following phrase, which should be read in context and comes from the text 'Wedding customs' in Appendix II.

(53) *Padà ari an-di-nantu-àtn   angkoà*
      at   day which-UO-N-appoint-TV that
      'On the appointed day'

Within the context, a day has been appointed for a wedding ceremony. Although the event is a description and therefore hypothetical, the appointment of a day for the wedding is a completed action within that description, hence nasal substitution of the initial consonant of the root *tantu* (⟶ *-nantu-*).

Non-completed action includes subjunctive phrases. Predictably, subjunctive propositions are of a non-completed nature, as is demonstrated in the following two examples:

(54) *Kalo ià atàkng ka naʔan, ià atàkng ka rumàh uràkng an-di-ià*
      if   they arrive at there they arrive at house people who-by-them

      undang-àʔ angkoà tai, [...]   ià   bareʔ tali s-eteʔ.
      invite-SJ that   aforementioned they   give   rope one-piece
      'When he arrives there, when he arrives at the house of the people that he wants to invite, he gives them a piece of rope.'

(55) *Ngago   kayu api untuk   ià   juàʔ-àʔ ka   pasar.*
      N-look for wood fire in order to (by) him sell-SJ at   market
      'He looked for firewood that he could sell at the market.'

5.4 The interrelation between voice, mood and aspect

Completion of an event is basically a modal category because it provides information about whether or not an event has really taken place. The subjunctive suffix *-àʔ* expresses an intention or expectation. As already mentioned above, forms with this suffix clearly fall within the scope of non-completed events because they concern events that have not yet taken place.

However, the category of completion also has aspectual meaning. Events that have taken place completely are by definition past events, and they exclude habitual and repeated action.

The interrelation between voice and mood appears from the fact that completion is only distinguished in undergoer-oriented phrases.

An interesting problem emerging from this interrelation is the function of *N-*. This verbal prefix apparently cannot be defined in positive terms. It is no marker of voice, because it occurs with actor-oriented as well as undergoer-oriented verbs. Nor is it an aspect marker, because it occurs with verbs expressing completed action as well as with verbs expressing non-completed action. The only cases without *N-* are undergoer-oriented verbs expressing a non-completed event.

6 Concluding remarks

On account of its linguistic diversity, West Kalimantan seems to be the homeland of the Malayic language group (Adelaar 1985, 1992; Blust 1988; Collins 1996; Nothofer 1996). In order to test this hypothesis further, it is of great historical linguistic interest to investigate the morphosyntactical systems of the Malayic languages in this area. The present description of

Salako undergoer-orientation, completed aspect and subjunctive shows that within the Malayic subgroup there are languages that are morphosyntactically rather different from Malay, in spite of all formal appearances.

Although this paper is primarily of a descriptive nature, it does shed some new light on the more general question of the origin of *di-* in Malay and other Malayic languages having *di-* (or a related form). There are several theories about the origin of the Malay prefix *di-*. One theory is that it developed from the Malay personal pronoun *dia*, analogous to *ku-* and *kau-*, which are respectively first and second person agent prefixes related to the free pronouns *aku* (first person) and *engkaw* (second person). A second theory is that it was originally the preposition *di* (which is an actor marker in Salako but is more widely known as a locative preposition in Malay). This was proposed by Walther Aichele, a colleague of Dempwolff in Hamburg (Aichele 1942–43). Finally, probably the most popular theory is that *di-* is a denasalised cognate of Old Malay *ni-* and of Proto Austronesian *ni-/-in-*. Proponents of this theory are de Casparis and Teeuw (see Adelaar 1992a:162–163) and, more recently, Paul Hopper (1988:448).

The Salako evidence is clearly in support of the second theory. It has become increasingly likely that the undergoer-oriented marker *di-* is a recent development in Malayic languages and that its origins have to be sought in a (locative) preposition *di*. In Salako, *di-* is only of limited importance as a marker of voice, word order being the main indicator of undergoer-orientation. Moreover, it quite often functions as an actor marker (as it does, for instance, in Minangkabau (see Moussay 1981:277) and Kelantan Malay (see Abdul Hamid Mahmood 1994:20–21). Evidence against the first theory is that Malay *di-* forms are basically agentless forms unless the agent is explicitly mentioned in the form of a noun-phrase or third person pronominal suffix *-nya*. Evidence against the third theory is found in the fact that in Malay and other Malayic languages having a prefix *di-* it usually[22] has not undergone vowel neutralisation, in contradistinction to other prefixes which all have schwa (cf. Malay *məN-*, *bər-*, *pəN-*, *pər-*, *tər-*, *kə-*, *sə-*). If *di-* had developed from *ni-*, it would have been a Proto Austronesian *retention* and would have been expected to have undergone vowel neutralisation. Other evidence against the third theory is that a number of Malayic languages in West Malaysia do not have (and apparently never had) *di-* as a marker of undergoer-orientedness (Adelaar 1992a:155–163).

Wouk (1989) investigates the use of voice in various forms of Indonesian as well as in Jakarta Malay. One important factor governing 'trigger choice' (i.e. the choice between Agent- and Patient-Orientedness) in these Malay varieties is discourse transitivity.[23] Here as well as in languages in general, Actor-Trigger (Agent-Orientedness) points to lower transitivity and imperfective action, whereas Patient-Trigger (Undergoer-Orientedness) implies higher transitivity and perfective action. Salako is remarkably different from other Malayic varieties in that it morphologically marks the distinction between completed and non-completed action/event. It does so in Undergoer-Oriented clauses only and with the use of prenasalisation. Prenasalisation in this case marks completion of the action/event, whereas in other Malayic varieties (and in many West Austronesian languages outside the Malayic group) it marks Agent-orientedness (with the associated notions of low transitivity and

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[22]   There however are a few forms of Malayic in which this marker did undergo vowel neutralisation; compare, among others, Mualang, a Malayic language from West Kalimantan which is closely related to Iban (Dunselman 1955).

[23]   Other important factors being thematicity and topicality of the arguments of a clause.

imperfective action). In this respect Salako seems to go against the general trend observed in other West Austronesian languages.

Finally, the Salako data are also relevant from a phonological perspective. Many languages along the South China Sea coasts are typical for their preploded nasals. These nasals almost invariably occur in word-final position only. In Kendayan dialects, however, they also occur word-medially before morpheme boundaries (as in *ng-icakng-à?* '[in order] to look for'; *ba-uka?-atn-i?* 'to be covered with wounds'). Whether their occurrence word-medially has to do with a greater phonotactic tolerance or with the fact that Salako has a number of suffixes (which do not contain a nasal) remains to be investigated.

Appendix I: Personal pronouns

	Free	Possessive
1SG	*aku, ku*[24]	*-ku*
2SG	*kau*	*-ngu*
3SG	*ià*	*-e*
1PL (inclusive)	*dirì?*	*-tà*
1PL (exclusive)	*kami*	*kami*
2PL	*kità?*	*kità?*
3PL	*ià, uràkng, ne? idà?*	*-e*

Salako has two series of personal pronouns. Some details are explained below.

1. *-e* has an allomorph *-?e* which appears after words ending in *-e*. *-e* also functions as a marker of definiteness.

2. *-ngu* has the allomorphs *-ū, -u, -nu* and *-ngu*:
   - after *-r, -n, -ng, -k, -h* and *-?, -ū* applies;
   - after *-tn, -u* or *-ngu* apply (in the latter case, with loss of the preceding final nasal);
   - after *-t, -nu* or *-ngu* apply;
   - after *-pm, -ngu* applies, with loss of preceding *-m*;
   - in all other cases *-ngu* is suffixed.

Appendix II: Sample text

This sample text is part of an account by Mr Vitus Kaslem of marriage customs among the Salako. It was recorded in November 1986 in Nyarumkop (Kabupaten Sambas, West Kalimantan).

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[24] Agent is usually expressed with *ku-*, although there are instances of *aku* performing the Agent role.

Adat Balawàkng

1. *An-nyian adàlah curità Dayà? balawàkng, diantara bujàkng ba andarà. Jadi, dààpm ià mao? balawàkng biasae angaki mintà? andarà. Tapi andarà an-nyian anà? ià tahui?, kahe ià bapadàh ka picarà, jare uràkng Indonesia, pərantara. Jadi ià nyuruh parantara an-nyian uràkng am-pane ngomong, pane bakatà, ampus ngagoàtn ià andarà.*

2. *Jadi picarà an-nyian ampus ka kampokng, nanang andarà di na?an. Lalu ià tanyai? uràkng tuhae: dah adà ge? kasoàkng nyangkap ka bungà kità? an-nyian? Kade?nyà napàtn, ià padàhàtn gi? anà? kasoàkng nyangkap ka bungaku an-nyian, ratiatne ka anak darae, gi? anà? bauràkng mintà ià.*

3. *Lalu, ià puàkng agi?, matakàtn ka anak, ka ambujàkng an-nyian tai, bahwa di na?an adà andarà gagas. Gagas sidi, pane karajà, koat karajà, rajitn sidilah ià karajà. Ambujàkng an-nyian tai nangar katà picarà an-nyian tai muji andarà 'ngkoà, iàpun nyabut mao?. Lalu ià ampuslah agi?, picarà 'ngkoà, ka kampokng andarà an-nyian bakatà si ane? tai mao?. Kade? ià mao? nyamae ane?e.*

4. *Baiklah. Lalu diadakanlah tai musawarah,*[25] *bakomo?, jadi istilahe 'ngkoà "ngomo?", ratiatne ngomo?an page waris, pihak angaki, bahwa angaki an-nyian mao? balawakngà?. An-nyian mərupakan pəngumuman ka kamaru?, ka page waris. Lalu akà? an-nyian picarà ampus agi? ka pihak andarà, pihak ambini. Ià madàhàtn kami mao? atakngà? padà ari sakian.*

5. *Padà ari an-dinantuàtn angkoà, pihak ambini an-nyian tai dah basiap-siap ga?e, ngadà?àtn upacarà sadikit. Lalu mataki? page warise ga?e, dan padà ari an-dah dinantuàtn angkoà, pihak angaki atàkng.*

6. *Lalu ngomo? ka pihak ambini. Pihak angaki atàkng nabanan gande, ataw jare uràkng Indonesia, mas kawin. Diamparlah gande an-nyian ka atas nyero? kade?nyà manyak. Disaksikan samue?e oleh uràkng-uràkng kamaru? ambini. Gande an-nyian disabut buàh mao? pihak angaki.*

7. *Pihak angaki, ambujàkng an-nyian tai, anà? muih ampus ka upacara bagande an-nyian ka pihak ambini. Jadi anà? adà an-nanang ià, jadi ambujàkng an-nyian anà? nanang andarà an-nyian. Baru? ià batanang apabila dah balawàkng, dah panganten. Mulà-mulà anà? sidi batahuàtn; tàh ià gagas, tàh ià bakurap, poko?e ià picayà? ka katà picarà.*

8. *Dah jaji balawàkng, pada ari dah dinantuàtn kamie buatne, baru?lah ià atàkng: "taamà?" damae. Diadà?àtn upacarà enek doho?. Mati manok tau eko?, tumpi? poe? ga?e. Angkoà ià sakamaru?àtn. Kade? uràkng tuhà ambini adà bajukut, adà baduit, ià amuat pestà ayà?, damae "bagawe". Gawe ayà?. Munuh enyekng, munuh manok, ngundang uràkng ka sià ka na?an səgala page waris, jauh-jauhpun digagoi? page waris an-nyian. Kalo ià, balawàkng, bagitu ià taamà?, bagitu ià dipagaweàtn, angkoà damae "jambu erang". Langsung bagawe.*

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[25]　After hearing the recording of his own story, the informant noted that '*Lalu diadà?àtn tai pamupakatàtn*' would have been a more correct Salako phrase. Note that both *musawaràh* and *mupakat* are ultimately Arabic loan words that were borrowed via Malay.

9. *Dààpm gawe an-nyian, tantulah sabalume bagawe, ià misti ngundang uràkng. Undangan an-nyian tai barupa tali: tali tarap, dipilin enek-enek, diboho ujuknge. Icàkng duit sen, duit sen Balandà. Sabalahe dibare? kapur, sabalàh anà? muih.*

10. *Disuruh nang seko? uràkng bajààtn ka daeràh kampokng ka na?an. An-laine ka kampokng an-lain. Tiap kampokng 'ngkoà adà uràkng bajààtn nabanan undang an-nyian mataki? page waris an di dààpm kampokng 'ngkoà masing-masing. Kalo atàkng ka na?an, ià atàkng ka rumàh uràkng an-diià undangà? angkoà tai, an-di ià saruà? an-nyian, ià bare? tali sete?. Jadi uràkng an-nyian batanyà?: "Dameà ratie tali an-nyian?" Lalu ià batakàtn: "Tali an-nyian", jare, "ngundang kità?".*

Wedding Customs

1. This is a story about how inland people get married, between young men and young women. So, when they want to get married it is usually the man who asks the hand of a young woman. But he does not know this young woman, he only talks [tells his intention] to a matchmaker or, as Indonesians say, a *perantara*. So he sends this matchmaker, who is good at talking, to go and look for a woman for him.

2. So this matchmaker goes to a village and sees a young woman there. Then he asks the parents: "Is there already a butterfly perching on your flower?"[26] If not, they will say, "No butterfly has come to perch on my flower yet," meaning that so far no one has asked for their daughter.

3. Then he goes back to tell the young man that there [in the village] is a beautiful young woman. She is very beautiful, works well and hard, and is very industrious.

   The young man, hearing the matchmaker saying words of praise about the woman, says that he wants her. The matchmaker goes to the maiden's village again and says that so-and-so wants a marriage. If they consent, how will they go about it?

4. Alright. A council is organised convening all family members — the term for this is *ngomo?* meaning that the family members on the young man's side are called together — to announce that he wants to get married. This is a sort of general announcement to relatives and close friends. The matchmaker then goes again to the family of the maiden, the woman. He (she?) announces, we would like to come at such-and-such date.

5. On the appointed day, the woman and her family are all set and have prepared a bit of a celebration. They inform their relatives,[27] and the family of the young man comes on the appointed day.

6. They gather with the family of the young woman. The young man's party brings along the bride price, or in Indonesian, the *mas kawin*. The bride price is then spread on a winnowing tray, if there is much. The woman's family and friends have a look at everything. This bride price is called the *buàh mao?* [fruit of intent] of the man's party.

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[26] That is, "Has your daughter already been spoken for?".

[27] Lit. 'Then they inform their relatives'.

7. The young man in question is not allowed to come to the bride price ceremony at the young woman's place. So, no one will see him, and he does not get to see the young woman. They only get to see each other when they are getting married, when they are bride and bridegroom. At first they do not know anything at all about each other, whether the other is beautiful, or has a skin rash:[28] the matchmaker's words are all they rely on.

8. When the day of the wedding has come, on the appointed day of such-and-such month, the bridegroom finally comes: this is called *taamà?* ('entering'). First a small ritual is performed. Three chickens are killed, and there is also *tumpi?* and *poe?*.[29] This is with relatives and close friends. If the bride's parents are well-to-do, they hold a big celebration which is called *ba-gawe* ('to hold a communal ritual'). The hold a big *gawe*. They kill pigs and chickens, and they invite relatives from everywhere here and there, even from very far away. When they are married, when the bridegroom enters the bride's house, and at the moment their wedding is celebrated; this is called *jambu erang*.

9. They start the celebration right away. During the celebration, or actually before they celebrate, they [the bride's party] have to invite people. The invitation is done by way of a rope: a rope made of the bark of a tarap tree which is plaited in a very fine fashion and has a knot at the end. A coin is taken, a Dutch coin which has chalk added to one side (the other side cannot have chalk).

10. Several people are sent to this or that village. To each of these villages a person is sent with this invitation in order to inform relatives. When he arrives and reaches the house of the relative-to-invite, he gives him a rope. So the latter asks: "What is the meaning of this rope?" "This rope", the messenger then says, "is to invite you".

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[28] *Kurap* 'ringworm (causing scurvy)'; *ba-kurap* 'to suffer from scurvy'.

[29] *Tumpi?* and *poe?* are standard ingredients in rituals. *Tumpi?* is a cake made of rice-flour and sugar; *poe?* is sticky rice cooked in a bamboo sheath.

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