

Melanau and Indonesian:

A comparative grammatical study

Chou Shu Hsiu

BSc

Tamkang University, Taiwan

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the degree of
Graduate Diploma in Arts, Northern Territory University.**

1999

Abstract

This thesis describes and compares the grammars of the Melanau language of Sarawak and Indonesian with regard to their phonology, morphophonemics, morphology, independent clauses, and relative clauses. The main purpose of the comparison is to use what is known about Indonesian to help highlight gaps in our knowledge of Melanau, so that they may be addressed by further research. In addition, it is hoped that this study may provide a basis for designing material for helping Melanau speakers to master their national language, Malay, which is very similar to the Indonesian used for comparison.

Table of Contents

Abstract	ii
Table of contents	iii
Table of figures	vi
Table of tables	vi
Acknowledgement	vii
Abbreviation	viii
Chapter 1 Introduction	1
1.1 Melanau: the people and the site	3
1.1.1 General information	3
1.1.2 Melanau Dialects	3
1.2 Past work	4
1.3 Data Sources	5
1.4 Methodology	5
1.5 Structure of this thesis	6
Chapter 2 Phonology	7
2.1 Melanau	7
2.1.1 Word Structure	7
2.1.2 Stress	7
2.1.3 Phonemes and their allophones	7
2.1.4 Metathesis and Stammer	11
2.2 A phonological comparison between Melanau and Indonesian	12
2.2.1 Phonemes	12
2.2.2 Word structure	13
2.2.3 Stress	13
Chapter 3 Morphophonemics	14
3.1 Melanau	14
3.1.1 Vowel <i>e</i> deletion	14
3.1.2 The affix <i>me-</i> and its allomorphy	14
3.1.3 The affix <i>ne-</i> and its allomorphy	16
3.1.4 Infix <i>-u-</i> and <i>-i-</i>	16

3.2	Indonesian	17
3.2.1	Morphophonemics of <i>meN-</i> , and <i>peN-</i>	17
3.2.2	Affixation process of <i>ber-</i>	18
3.3	Comparison	18
Chapter 4	Word classes	20
4.1	Nominals	20
4.1.1	Nouns	20
4.1.2	Personal Pronouns	20
4.1.3	General pronouns	21
4.1.4	Numbers	22
4.1.5	Classifiers	23
4.1.6	Demonstrative pronouns	24
4.1.7	Interrogative pronouns	24
4.2	Verbs (or Verbals)	25
4.3	Adjectives	25
4.4	Adverbials	25
4.5	Prepositions	26
4.6	Negation	26
4.7	Tense-aspect particles	26
4.8	Emphatic and question marker	26
Chapter 5	Morphology	27
5.1	Noun Morphology	27
5.1.1	Melanau prefix <i>ke-</i>	27
5.1.2	Indonesian affixes	28
5.1.3	Comparison	29
5.2	Verb Morphology	29
5.2.1	Melanau <i>pe-</i> and Indonesian <i>ber-</i> and <i>ter-</i>	30
5.2.2	Melanau <i>me-</i> and <i>-u-</i> and Indonesian <i>meN-</i>	36
5.2.3	Melanau <i>ne-/i-</i> and Indonesian <i>di-</i>	48

Chapter 6 Independent Clauses	50
6.1. Non-Verbal Clauses	50
6.1.1. Melanau	50
6.1.2. Indonesian	51
6.1.3. Comparison	52
 6.2. Verbal Clauses	 52
6.2.1. Melanau	53
6.2.2. Indonesian	59
6.2.3. Comparison	66
 Chapter 7 Relative Clauses	 70
7.1 Melanau	70
7.1.1 Non-restrictive Relative Clauses	70
7.1.2 Restrictive Relative Clause	72
7.1.3 Summary and other observations	74
7.2 Indonesian	74
7.2.1 Restrictive relative clauses	75
7.2.2 Non-restrictive clauses	76
7.3 Comparison	76
 Chapter 8 Conclusion	 78
 Appendix: Wordlists of Dalat Melanau and Malay	 81
References	83

Table of Figures

Figure 1.1 The Melanau region of coastal Sarawak	2
Figure 1.2 The percentage of lexical similarity among eight Melanau varieties.....	4

Table of Tables

Table 2.1 Melanau Phonemes in IPA (and their orthographic representation)	8
Table 2.2 The allophones of vowel phonemes	10
Table 2.3 Diphthong in Melanau.....	11
Table 3.1 Variants of Melanau <i>me-</i> and Indonesian <i>meN-</i>	19
Table 4.1 Pronouns in Melanau and Indonesian.	21
Table 4.2 The numbers in Melanau and Indonesian	22
Table 4.3 Some common classifiers in Melanau	24
Table 4.4 Some common classifiers in Indonesian.....	24
Table 5.1 Noun affixes in Melanau and Indonesian.....	27
Table 5.2 Verb affixes in Melanau and Indonesian	29
Table 5.3 Affixes used for causative usage, beneficiary marking and locative usage in Melanau and Indonesian.....	48

Acknowledgement

This thesis would not have been started or completed without people's help. I'd like to express my gratitude to people who provided that help.

I am deeply indebted to Paul Black who supervised this thesis, for spending many hours and weekends reading my drafts, for his comments and insights on linguistics and writings, for plenty of cups coffee, for teaching me to 'bite the bullet' at the right time, for encouraging me to keep going, for his humor, and enthusiasm.

I deeply appreciate Paul Kroeger, from his knowledge of linguistics and languages in Borneo I greatly benefited. Thanks to Paul for interesting me in this project, helping me to start it, and for giving comments on the early drafts.

Thanks also to Ian Walter, a course coordinator for Honors students, who encouraged me by the way he led the Friday discussion on thesis structure. Thanks to the fellow students, Don, Patricia, Jane, Debbie, Julie, and Jenny for participating in discussion, commenting on my writing, and cheering me up.

Thanks to Hong-Tae, my writing companion, for struggling with me, sharing thoughts, computer help, for encouragement and patience.

I am grateful to Beatrice Clayre for initiating my interest on Melanau language and from whom my information on that language originated.

My deepest gratitude to God the Almighty.

Abbreviations

1PL	First person plural
1SG	First person singular
2PL	Second person plural
2SG	Second person singular
3PL	Third person plural
3SG	Third person singular
ACC	Accidental
ACT	Active
AdjP	Adjective Phrase
AdvP	Adverbial Phrase
CAU	Causative
CL	Classifier
Emph	Emphatic
excl.	Exclusive
FUT	Future
IC	Iain Clayre
incl.	Inclusive
JS	James Sneddon
Neg	Negation
NOM	Nominalisation
NP	Noun Phrase
Num	Number
PASS	Passive
PP	Prepositional Phrase
PREP	Preposition
Rel	Relativizer
Subj	Subject

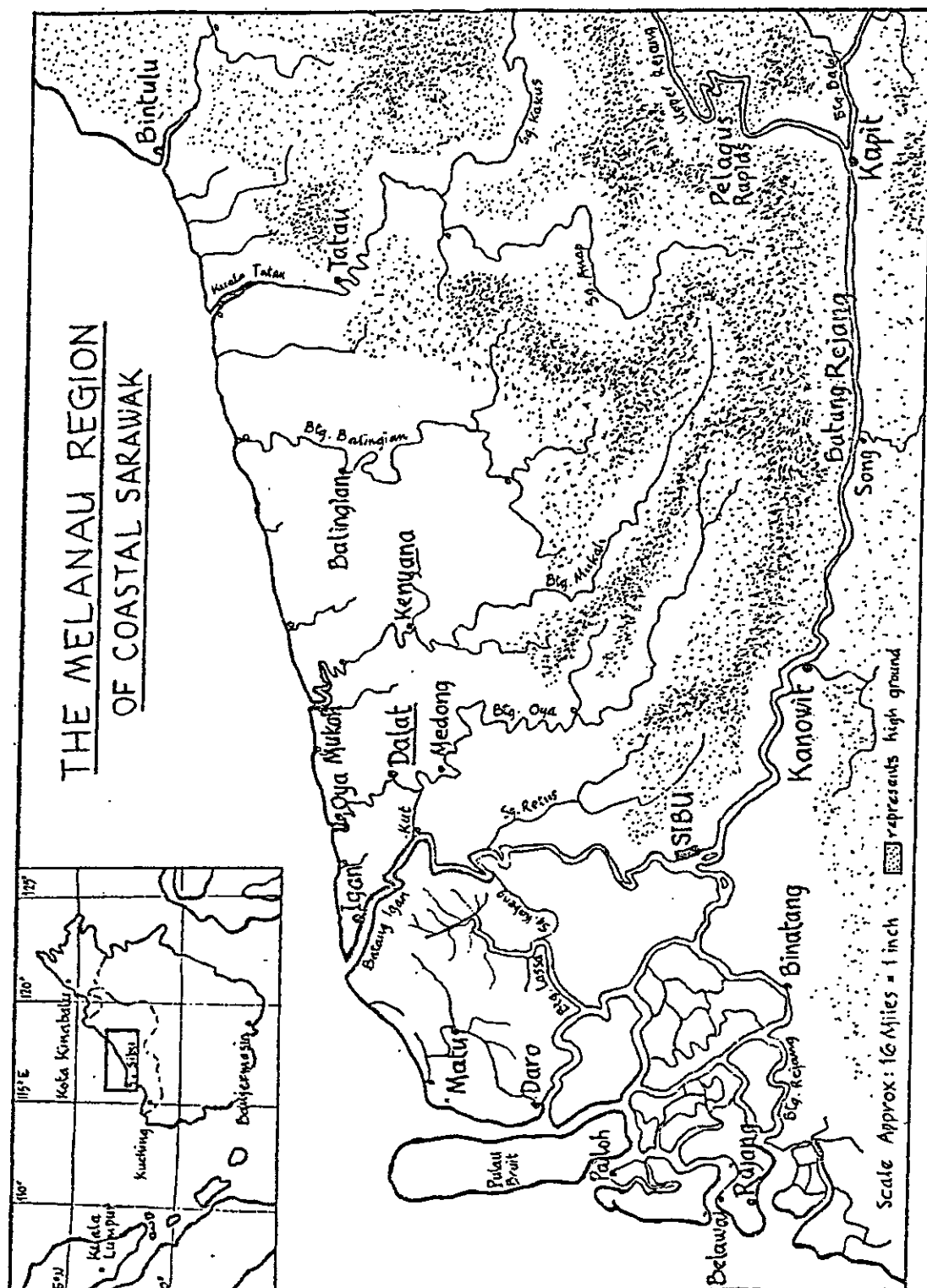
Chapter 1 Introduction

This study will attempt to describe the similarities and differences between the grammars of Melanau and Indonesian-Malay with regard to their phonology, morphophonemics, morphology, independent clauses, and relative clauses.

Melanau is a vernacular language on the west coast of Sarawak, Malaysia (see Figure 1.1), whereas Malay, a variety of the same language as Indonesian (Prentice 1987:913), is the official language of Malaysia. Since Malaysian is the national language of Malaysia, Melanau speakers have to learn that language for wider communication, education, economic and various other reasons. It is hoped that the description of the similarities and differences between the languages will contribute to the basis for developing Malay teaching material for the Melanau speakers. The other purpose of this study is to locate the gaps in our knowledge of Melanau which might be addressed through further research on the language, for which description is currently limited

Ideally we would compare Melanau and Malaysian. However since I have a better reference for Indonesian (Sneddon 1996) than for the closely related Malaysian-Malay, I will compare Melanau and Indonesian.

Figure 1.1 The Melanau region of coastal Sarawak (after Clayre 1972)



1.1 Melanau: the people and the site

1.1.1 General information

The population of Melanau speakers is about 104,500 (Sarawak Government 1999). The population is the sum of the population of Dalat, Mukah, Daro and Matu, where most of the people are Melanau. The Melanau inhabit the area from Rejang River, the largest river in Sarawak, to Bintulu, and from the coast to Kanowit. The areas from south to north includes Rajang, Matu-Daro, Oya, Mukah-Dalat, Balingian, and Bintulu, and from the coast to the east it includes Seduan, Kanowit, and, according to Zaini (1989), Tanjong.

1.1.2 Melanau Dialects

Since Melanau covers so many areas, it has various dialects. Different researchers have different classification. Zaini Ozea (1989), who is a native Melanau speaker, classified the Melanau language into six dialects: Kuala Rajang, Seduan, Matu-Daro, Mukah-Dalat, Balingian and Bintulu. Within Seduan he includes Tanjong. This classification includes all the dialects which researchers consider to belong to the Melanau language, but it seems to include distinct languages as well (see later). Hudson (1978) classified Melanau into three groups, namely Core Melanau, Kanowit and Tanjong. The Core Melanau includes Rejang, Seduan, Matu-Daro, Mukah-Dalat, Oya, and Teh. The percentage of lexical similarity of this group ranges from 56% to 83% according to a comparison of Swadesh 200-item wordlists collected by Blust (1974), but there is no data for Rejang and Seduan. The percentage of lexical similarity is lower than 70% for the dialects other than the Core Melanau (Kroeger 1998:161), but there is no data for Tanjong. Blust concluded that Bintulu is a separate language rather than a Melanau dialect.

**Figure 1.2 The percentage of lexical similarity among eight Melanau varieties.
(after Kroeger 1998, source from Blust 1974)**

Bintulu						
51	Balingian					
45	68	Mukah				
46	65	76	Dalat (Kg. Teh)			
45	62	74	83	Dalat (Kg. Kekan)		
44	57	65	73	78	Matu	
40	54	56	63	64	79	Sarikei (Kg. Jerijeh)
40	43	49	48	46	48	Kanowit

1.2 Past work

Some linguistic and anthropological work has been done among the Melanau, predominantly in the Mukah-Dalat area. Mulder and Lawrence (1930) compiled a Mukah Melanau vocabulary. Aikman (1943) composed a word and phrase book based on the Matu dialect.

Stephen Morris (1953) started doing sago plantation research among the Melanau, and later he undertook anthropological research among the Melanau along the Oya River and wrote about the Oya Melanau (Morris 1978, 1991). During his anthropological research he realized the linguistic need for describing the phonology and grammar of language. He hired Iain Clayre as a Melanau language researcher, and Clayre (1972) subsequently wrote a grammatical description of the Melanau, covering various aspects of the language, including phonology, morphology, syntax and style, in order to transcribe Morris' collection of Melanau folktales.

Morris didn't publish all that he collected. Beatrice Clayre became the editor of his books after he passed away. To solve the orthography problem for editing his book, B. Clayre collected language data in Medong, Mukah, and Dalat. She wrote a phonological paper on the Medong dialect with some notes on the phonological differences between the three dialects (B. Clayre 1997).

Blust (1988, 1997) wrote a morphological sketch and a paper on the ablaut of the Mukah dialect based on language data which he collected in 1971.

1.3 Data Sources

The source of Melanau data for this study is I. Clayre's (1972) dissertation, since he's the researcher who did the most complete language work on the Melanau language, in Dalat. Although his description is extensive, it is certainly not easy to follow, and one of the contributions of the present thesis is to summarize some of its main points in more readable form. This study will also refer to other literature which has been produced for different Melanau dialects, in particular Blust's (1988) morphological and phonological statement for the Mukah dialect. The Indonesian data is mainly from James Sneddon's (1996) *Indonesian reference grammar*.

The sources of data in this thesis will be indicated using the author's initials and page number. For instance, If the data is from page 105 of Iain Clayre's dissertation, it is written as (IC105). It will be written as (JS256) if the data is from page 256 of James Sneddon's book.

Examples for Melanau and Indonesian are in italics with a sequential number following by a letter M for Melanau or I for Indonesian; for instance, example (17M) would be in Melanau while (38I) is in Indonesian.

1.4 Methodology

This present study uses methods of contrastive analysis to compare the grammar of Melanau and Indonesian, but it does not attempt to draw conclusion from a language learning perspective. Hopefully it will enable others to do this, but the motivation for using a contrastive approach here is actually as much for the way it helps raise

questions about possible gaps in Melanau grammar. For example, Indonesian has two negative particles, *tidak* and *bukan*, where only one is attested for Melanau (see section 4.6). Presumably the Melanau description is largely complete, but to the extent it may not be, this could be an area worth investigating.

For the most part, the grammar of both languages are described independently, then they are compared (James 1980:64). However, where the comparison is relatively straight forward, I will discuss them together.

1.5 Structure of this thesis

Chapter 2 describes the phonology and orthography in order to make clear the transcription in this present study. Chapter 3 then describes and compares the morphophonemics and chapter 4 will introduce the word classes in both languages. The remaining chapters will then discuss and compare the morphology, independent clauses and relative clauses.

Chapter 2 Phonology

This chapter will briefly describe Melanau phonology and compare it with that of Indonesian. Since the bulk of this study is based on Dalat Melanau, I normally adopt Iain Clayre's (1970) suggested orthography for writing the language except when it's necessary to explain the sounds, and of course I write Indonesian in its normal orthography.

2.1 Melanau

2.1.1 Word Structure

The word structure of Dalat Melanau is $((((C)V)^*(C)V(C))(C)V(C))$, where C represents a consonant, V a vowel, and * follow a unit that can be repeated indefinitely. The most common syllable type is CVCVC. In Mukah Dialect, 49 out 100 randomly selected roots have the shape CVCVC. There are not many roots which have more than two syllables: Blust. (1988:174) reports that only 11% have more than two syllables.

2.1.2 Stress

The stress of Dalat Melanau falls predictably on the last syllable. Therefore, it is not necessary to represent the stress phonemically.

2.1.3 Phonemes and their allophones

The Melanau phonemes are listed in Table 2.1. Most of the phonemes are written using the same symbols as used in the normal orthography except for the following. The consonant phonemes /tʃ/, /dʒ/, /ʔ/, /ɲ/, /ŋ/, /R/ and /ʰh/ are written as *c*, *j*, *'*, *ny*, *ng*, *x* and *yh*

respectively. The vowel phonemes /ɛ/ and /ə/ are written as *é* and *e* respectively. Semivowels are written as *w* and *y* except in word-final position, where they are written as *u* and *i* respectively. Furthermore, /əw/ is written as *ou* in word final position. This will be further discussed in the semivowels section 2.1.3.5.

Table 2.1 Melanau Phonemes in IPA (and their orthographic representation)

	labial	dental / alveo.	palatal	velar/ uvular	glottal	Front	Centra l	Back
Plosives	p	t	tʃ (c)	k	ʔ (')			
	b	d	dʒ (j)	g				
Nasals	m	n	ɲ (ny)	ŋ (ng)				
Fricatives		s			h			
					ɬh (yh)			
Lateral		l						
Trill		r		R (x)				
Semivowels						y		w
Vowels								
High						i		u
Mid						ɛ (é)	ə (e)	ɔ (o)
Low							a	

2.1.3.1 Consonant Phonemes and Allophones

The phoneme /p/ has an allophone [f] which is a free variation with [p] in word final position. The phoneme /t/ is alveolar plosive except that it is a voiceless dental plosive [t̪] word finally. The phoneme /R/, normally a uvular trill, is in free variation with voiced velar fricative [ɣ] word finally. The compound phoneme /ɬh/, a voiced [ɬ] quickly devoiced to [h], occurs only word finally (Clayre 1972:48), whereas *s* occurs only word

initially and word medially. They could be treated as the same phoneme, as Blust (1988:183) did for Mukah Melanau, but the present study will distinguish them as *s* and *yh* respectively as in the normal orthography. Apart from the above, the consonant phonemes have the same allophones in word initial, word medial and word final position.

2.1.3.2 Consonant Sequences

Consonant sequences C_1C_2 can occur between a penultimate syllable and the final syllable. C_1 can be *r*, *x* or *s*, whereas C_2 can be any other consonant except *yh*. E.g.

<i>kerpek</i>	‘gossip’
<i>pexnget</i>	‘horsefly’
<i>mesti</i>	‘must’

2.1.3.3 Vowel Phonemes and Allophones

The allophones of vowels are more complex than those of the consonants. Each vowel phoneme except /*ε*/ has two or more allophones which occur in different environments.

The vowels /*a*/, /*u*/ and /*i*/ have wide distributions, whereas the vowels /*ε*/, /*ə*/ and /*ɔ*/ have limited distributions, as will be seen in Table 2.2.

There are two general rules for final vowels. The vowels /*a*/, /*u*/ and /*i*/ are lengthened in final open syllables, while the high vowels /*u*/ and /*i*/ are slightly lengthened with a off-glide [ʔ] before final /ʔ/. Table 2.2. shows the allophones of the vowels.

2.1.3.4 Vowel Sequences

Whenever there are vowel sequences in a word, there is a syllable boundary (.) between the two vowels. V_1 can be *i*, *a*, or *u* and can be followed by any vowel, except that *a.e* does not occur. Examples of the possible VV sequences (from Clayre 1972:57) are below.

<i>li.id</i>	'side by side'	<i>ka.in</i>	'cloth'	<i>du.in</i>	'they two'
<i>ki.ɛh</i>	'mosquito'	<i>ma.é</i>	'skinny'	<i>pu.é</i>	'fed up'
<i>di.em</i>	'dwell'	<i>*a.e</i>	(not found)	<i>bu.en</i>	'retribution'
<i>bi.a'</i>	'leaky'	<i>ma.ap</i>	'lost'	<i>bu.au</i>	'run away'
<i>mi.ud</i>	'drag along'	<i>pa.ut</i>	'long time'	<i>gu.un</i>	'forest'
<i>ti.ong</i>	'mynah bird'	<i>ga.o'</i>	'bully'	<i>u.ong</i>	'rapids'

Table 2.2 The allophones of vowel phonemes

	Phoneme	Allophones	Environment	Examples
i	/i/	[i ^ɤ]	before final /ʔ/	si' [sɪ ^ɤ ʔ] 'snail'
		[ɪ]	between consonants, but not before final /ʔ/	bedil [bədɪl] 'cannon'
		[i:]	final open syllable	tuli [tuli:]
		[i]	elsewhere	luin [luin] 'they'
é	/ɛ/	[ɛ]	before final consonants	mapé' [mæpɛʔ] 'lame' biéh [biɛh] 'body'
e	/ə/	[^ɤ i]	before final /ʔ/	se' [s ^ɤ iʔ] 'red, ripe'
		[ʌ]	before final /k/ or /g/	sek [sʌk] 'grass' medeg [mədʌg] 'touch'
		zero	after /s/ and before /k/; or after /p/ and before /s/	seken [skən] 'arms akimbo' pesawa [psawa:] 'spouse'
		[ə]	elsewhere, but does not occur in final open syllables	selui [səlui] 'gently' legen [ləgən] 'arm'
a	/a/	[ʌ]	before final /ʔ/	memada' [məmʌdʌʔ] 'order'
		[æ]~[ʌ]	in non-final syllables	tangih [tæŋih]~ [tʌŋih] 'weep'
		[a:]	final open syllable	pela [pəla:] 'paddle'
		[a]	elsewhere	lengan [ləŋan] 'voice'
u	/u/	[u ^ɤ]	before final /ʔ/	asu' [asʊ ^ɤ ʔ] 'plank' temu' [təmu ^ɤ ʔ] 'bathe'
		[ʊ]	between consonants, except before final /ʔ/	anum [ʌnum] 'water' dug [dʊg] 'flood-side'
		[u:]	final open syllable	udu [udu:] 'nose'
		[u]	elsewhere	juu' [dʒuʊ ^ɤ ʔ] 'juice, sap'
o	/ɔ/	[ɒ]	before final /ʔ/	peto' [pətɒʔ] 'fruit basket' ino' [inɒʔ] 'bundle'
		[ɔ]	elsewhere (only occurs before other final consonant)	'ok [ʔɔk] 'owl' gadong [gadɔŋ] 'green'

2.1.3.5 Semivowels and Diphthongs

As mentioned earlier, the semivowels *w* and *y* are written as *u* and *i* respectively when they occur word finally, where they follow a vowel, so the structure is *Vw* or *Vy*. Phonetically these are diphthongs which consist of a vowel and an off-glide. There are six such diphthongs in Dalat Melanau, as shown in Table 2.3. Their orthographic symbols are listed at the left column, the next column is the phonemes, and the third one shows the phonetics. Only /*ey*/ has more than one pronunciations: [ə¹] occurs after /*b*/ and /*ʔ*/, and [ɛ¹] occurs elsewhere. The diphthong /*əw*/ is written as *ou* rather than *eu*.

Table 2.3 Diphthong in Melanau

<i>iu</i>	/i ¹ w/	[i ¹]		<i>si'iu</i>	[siʔi ^u]	'before'
<i>ei</i>	/ey/	[ə ¹]	after / <i>b</i> / or / <i>ʔ</i> /	<i>bei</i>	[bəy]	'be, have', <i>na'ei</i> [nʌʔəy] 'stomach'
		[ɛ ¹]	elsewhere	<i>tulei</i>	[tule ¹]	'resin'
<i>ou</i>	/əw/	[ə ^u]		<i>da'ou</i>	[daʔə ^u]	'good'
<i>ui</i>	/uy/	[u ¹]		<i>susui</i>	[susu ¹]	'recount, tell'
<i>au</i>	/aw/	[a ^u]		<i>ka'au</i>	[kaʔa ^u]	'you'
<i>ai</i>	/ay/	[a ¹]		<i>latai</i>	[læta ¹]	'slatted floor'

2.1.3.6 A problem in the orthography

Since the semivowels *w* and *y* are written as *u* and *i* respectively in word final position, the orthography does not distinguish them from the final vowels *u* and *i*. For example, *bau* can be interpreted as /*baw*/ 'up, above' or /*ba.u*/ 'Bau (town)'. Another example is *sai*, which can be either /*say*/ 'who' or /*sa.i*/ 'what a pity'. Even though the normal orthography is ambiguous in such cases, I use it here because I depend on a data source that generally uses that orthography.

2.1.4 Metathesis and Stammer

Metathesis and Stammer are two interesting phenomena in Dalat Melanau. As for metathesis, the onset of the first syllable can optionally be exchanged with the onset of the second syllable of some words. As a result of metathesis, some words have two forms, as these examples show:.

<i>melanau</i> ~ <i>lemanau</i>	'Melanau'
<i>jereki</i> ~ <i>rejeki</i>	'livelihood'

Metathesis also happens in affixation, as will be discussed in chapter 3.

As for stammer, some words can optionally be lengthened by adding one syllable at the beginning. The additional syllable duplicates the onset of the initial syllable and inserts a vowel *e*.

<i>baja</i> ~ <i>bebaja</i>	'small black lizard'
<i>singet</i> ~ <i>sesinget</i>	'wasp'
<i>tatin</i> ~ <i>tetatin</i>	'dragonfly'

2.2 A phonological comparison between Melanau and Indonesian

2.2.1 Phonemes

Indonesian and Melanau consonants and vowels are very similar. Indonesian has *f*, *v* and *z* in loan words, but these are not found in Melanau. The Melanau consonants which are not found in Indonesian are *x* /R/ and *yh* /^hh/. Aside from this Indonesian and Melanau have the same consonant and vowel phonemes. However, the allophones of vowels in Melanau are far more complex than those of Indonesian. As shown in Table 2.2, most Melanau vowels have lax and tense as allophones. Beside that, the vowels /i/, /u/ and /ə/ have a [ʔ] off-glide or on-glide in final syllables before /ʔ/. In addition, Melanau has six diphthongs /iw/, /ey/, /əw/, /uy/, /aw/, and /ay/, whereas Indonesian has only *ai* and *au*.

2.2.2 Word structure

Indonesian forms words out of syllables of shape (C)V(C). Two syllable words are most common, i.e. (C)V(C)(C)V(C), which is similar to the most common shape of Melanau word structure. The main difference is in the CC sequences. In Indonesian CC sequences can include a nasal followed by a non-nasal consonant, such as *mp, mb, nt, nd, nc, nj, ngk, ngg* and *ngs*. This kind of CC sequence is not allowed in Melanau. For example: *kampung* ‘village’ corresponds to *kapung* ‘village’ in Melanau, while *membantuh* ‘assist’ is *mebatu* ‘assist’ in Melanau.

I. Clayre (1972:59) noted that some Melanau speakers inserted nasals before C₂ in Malay even when the words do not have nasals. For example, the Malay word *musuh* ‘enemy’ is pronounced as [munsuh] by some Melanau speakers. Since Melanau itself does not have such clusters, they are best explained as hypercorrection.

2.2.3 Stress

The stress in Indonesian generally falls on the penultimate syllable, but the stress falls on the final syllable when the penultimate syllable contains *e* followed by a single consonant (Prentice 1987:919).

<i>barat</i>	‘west’
<i>beˈtat</i>	‘heavy’

The stress of Dalat Melanau falls predictably on the final syllable. Thus, for example, both languages have the word *kain* ‘cloth’, but the pronunciation in Indonesian is [ká.in.], whereas in Dalat Melanau, the pronunciation is [ka.ín].

Chapter 3 Morphophonemics

The affixes of Melanau and Indonesian undergo sound change during affixation process.

This chapter will describe and compare the morphophonemic rules of both languages.

3.1 Melanau

The Melanau are affixes *je-*, *ke-*, *pe-*, *me-*, *ne-*, *-u-* and *-i-*, whose functions are treated in later chapters, show morphophonemic variation. I will first discuss vowel *e* deletion, which applies to the prefixes which have the shape of *Ce-*, including *je-*, *ke-*, *pe-*, *me-* and *ne-*. Then I will discuss the allomorphy of *me-*, *ne-*, *-u-*, and *-i-* respectively.

3.1.1 Vowel *e* deletion

During the affixation process, if *e* precedes a vowel, it is deleted. This applies to *je-*, *ke-*, *me-*, *ne-* and *pe-*. Here are some examples:

<i>je-</i>	+	<i>umit</i> 'small'	→	<i>jeumit</i>	→	<i>jumit</i> 'a little'
<i>ke-</i>	+	<i>ayeng</i> 'large'	→	<i>keayeng</i>	→	<i>kayeng</i> 'breadth'
<i>me-</i>	+	<i>atu</i> 'pick up'	→	<i>meatu</i>	→	<i>matu</i> 'pick up'
<i>ne-</i>	+	<i>ino</i> 'bundle'	→	<i>neino</i>	→	<i>nino</i> 'parcelled up'
<i>pe-</i>	+	<i>ubat</i> 'medicine'	→	<i>peubat</i>	→	<i>pubat</i> 'curing'

3.1.2 The affix *me-* and its allomorphy

The affix *me-* has an allomorph *meN-*, which occurs when the initial of the stem is *p*, *t*, and *s*, as well as *me-*, which occurs elsewhere, except that words with *k* initial can take either allomorph. Both allomorphs undergo sound changes which will be discussed below.

Metathesis

In addition to vowel *e* deletion (3.1.1 above), *me-* undergoes metathesis when affixed to the stems whose initials are *j*, *d*, *k*, or *g*, i.e. *m* exchanges with *j*, *d*, *k*, *g*. However, when the initial is *k* or *g*, metathesis is optional.

<i>me-</i> + <i>jaja</i> ‘sell’	→	<i>mejaja</i>	→	<i>jemaja</i>	‘sell (for others)’
<i>me-</i> + <i>daa</i> ‘blood’	→	<i>medaa</i>	→	<i>demaa</i>	‘covered in blood’
<i>me-</i> + <i>kekel</i> ‘still’	→	<i>mekekel</i>	→	<i>kemekel</i> (~ <i>mengekel</i>)	‘leave in place’
<i>me-</i> + <i>gereji</i> ‘saw’	→	<i>megereji</i>	→	<i>gemereji</i> ~ <i>megereji</i>	‘use a saw’

Note that there are two forms in the third examples only because the allomorph *meN-* can be used instead of *me-* before *k*. If the allomorph *me-* is used, metathesis must occur.

Nasal Assimilation & Voiceless consonant deletion

When *meN-* is added before *p*, *t*, *k*, or *s*, the *N* replaces them with a nasal whose point of articulation is the same as the *p*, *t*, *k*, or *s*, except that *N* becomes *ny* instead of *n* before *s*. This replacement can be taken to involve two steps. The first step is nasal assimilation, and the second is voiceless consonant deletion. The following examples illustrate the two steps.

<i>meN-</i> + <i>pesei</i>	→	<i>mempesei</i>	→	<i>memesei</i>	
‘fishing tackle’				‘go out fishing with hook and line tackle’	
<i>meN-</i> + <i>tatau</i> ‘riddle’	→	<i>mentatau</i>	→	<i>menatau</i>	‘ask riddles’
<i>meN-</i> + <i>sawa</i> ‘spouse’	→	<i>menysawa</i>	→	<i>menyawa</i>	‘give in marriage’
<i>meN-</i> + <i>kilut</i> ‘hang’	→	<i>mengkilut</i>	→	<i>mengilut</i> ~ <i>kemilut</i>	‘hang up’

Exceptions

Some words take the *me-* affix, but don’t follow the general morphophonemic rules for *me-*. These include:

(3a) Vowel-initial stems which takes *meng-*:

<i>meng-</i> + <i>upat</i> ‘swollen’	→	<i>mengupat</i>	‘swell up’
<i>meng-</i> + <i>asou</i> ‘dog’	→	<i>mengasou</i>	‘go hunting with dogs’

(3b) A monosyllabic stem which takes *meng-*:

meng- + *nyat* 'grown up' → *mengenyat* 'grow in size'

(3c) A polysyllabic *s-* initial stem which takes *me-*:

me- + *susou* 'breast' → *mesusou* 'feed milk' (?)

(3d) A polysyllabic *p-* initial stem in which *m-* replaces the *p-*:

me- + *puluh* 'low down' → *muluh* 'low down someone else'

3.1.3 The affix *ne-* and its allomorphy

This affix has two allomorphs, *ne-* and *-en-*. The allomorph *ne-* is added to monosyllabic, vowel initial stems and to stems with initial *r* or *l*, while *-en-* is added after other initial consonants. When *ne-* is added to a stem whose initial is a vowel, it undergoes vowel *e* deletion as described in 3.1.1.

<i>ne-</i>	+	<i>atu</i>	'pick up'	→	<i>neatu</i>	→	<i>natu</i>	'pick up'
<i>ne-</i>	+	<i>jil</i>	'prison'	→	<i>nejil</i>			'arrested'
<i>ne-</i>	+	<i>leka</i>	'undressed'	→	<i>neleka</i>			'undressed (by someone)'
<i>ne-</i>	+	<i>raja</i>	'ruler'	→	<i>neraja</i>			'be ruled'
<i>-en-</i>	+	<i>belei</i>	'buy'	→	<i>benelei</i>			'purchased'
<i>-en-</i>	+	<i>ki'it</i>	'fan'	→	<i>keni'it</i>			'fanned'
<i>-en-</i>	+	<i>pesaka</i>	'wealth'	→	<i>penesaka</i>			'given as inheritance'
<i>-en-</i>	+	<i>sawa</i>	'spouse'	→	<i>senawa</i>			'given in marriage'

3.1.4 Infix *-u-* and *-i-*

The infix *-u-* and *-i-* are affixed to some roots of shape C_1eCVC , where *e* is replaced by *-u-* or *-i-*. When C_1 is a *b* or *p*, these consonants are replaced by *m* before *-u-*, but not before *-i-*.

<i>gega</i>	'greeting'	<i>guga</i>	'greet'	<i>giga</i>	'welcomed'
<i>teteng</i>	'drinking'	<i>tuteng</i>	'drink'	<i>titeng</i>	'drunk by'
<i>bebah</i>	'split'	<i>mubah</i>	'split'	<i>bibah</i>	'split'

<i>gega</i>	'greeting'	<i>guga</i>	'greet'	<i>giga</i>	'welcomed'
<i>teteng</i>	'drinking'	<i>tuteng</i>	'drink'	<i>titeng</i>	'drunk by'
<i>pepex</i>	'beating'	<i>mupex</i>	'knock'	<i>pipex</i>	'beaten'

3.2 Indonesian

The affixes *peN-*, *meN-* and *ber-*, whose functions are treated in chapter 5, undergo sound change during the affixation process.

3.2.1 Morphophonemics of *meN-*, and *peN-*

The prefixes *meN-* and *peN-* essentially follow the same morphophonemics rules, and thus have only used the *meN-* prefix to exemplify them here.

Morphophonemic rules:

1. If the stem is vowel-initial, *meN-* becomes *meng-*.

<i>meN</i> +	<i>ajar</i>	'teach'	→	<i>mengajar</i>	'teach'
<i>meN</i> +	<i>olah</i>	'manner'	→	<i>mengolah</i>	'to work'

2. If the stem is monosyllabic, *meN-* becomes *menge-*.

<i>meN</i> +	<i>pel</i>	'floor cloth'	→	<i>mengepel</i>	'to wash (floor)'
<i>meN</i> +	<i>bom</i>	'bomb'	→	<i>mengebom</i>	'to bomb'

3. If the initial is *r*, *l*, *y*, *w*, or a nasal, *meN-* becomes *me-*.

<i>meN</i> +	<i>lihat</i>	'see'	→	<i>melihat</i>	'to see'
<i>meN</i> +	<i>wakil</i>	'representative'	→	<i>mewakil</i>	'to represent'
<i>meN</i> +	<i>masuk</i>	'to go in'	→	<i>memasuk</i>	'to go in'

4. If the stem is other than those described from 1 to 3, *N-* is assimilated to the point of articulation of the following consonant,

<i>meN</i> +	<i>beli</i>	'to buy'	→	<i>membeli</i>	'to buy'
<i>meN</i> +	<i>dengar</i>	'to hear'	→	<i>mendengar</i>	'to hear'
<i>meN</i> +	<i>ganggu</i>	'to disturb'	→	<i>mengganggu</i>	'to disturb'

<i>meN</i> + <i>ziarah</i>	'pilgrimage'	→	<i>menziarah</i>	'to to on a pilgrimage'
<i>meN</i> + <i>syarah</i>	'lecture'	→	<i>mensyarah</i>	'to give a lecture'
<i>meN</i> + <i>cari</i>	'to look for'	→	<i>mencari</i>	'to look for'
<i>meN</i> + <i>jual</i>	'to sell'	→	<i>menjual</i>	'to sell'
<i>meN</i> + <i>hilang</i>	'to lose'	→	<i>menghilang</i>	'to lose'
<i>meN</i> + <i>khawatir</i>	'to worry'	→	<i>mengkhawatir</i>	'to worry'

5. Voiceless consonant deletion. The voiceless consonants *p*, *t*, *k* and *s* which follow *meN*- are deleted after the above change (4), leaving only the nasal. When the initial consonant was *s*, however, the nasal is *ny* rather than the expected *n*.

<i>meN</i> + <i>pakai</i>	'to wear'	→	<i>memakai</i>	'to wear'
<i>meN</i> + <i>tulis</i>	'to write'	→	<i>menulis</i>	'to write'
<i>meN</i> + <i>irim</i>	'to send'	→	<i>mengirim</i>	'to send'
<i>meN</i> + <i>sewa</i>	'to rent'	→	<i>menyawa</i>	'to rent'

3.2.2 Affixation process of *ber*-

The prefix *ber*- is realized as *be*- when the word-initial is *r* or a combination of CerC where C is any consonant (Prentice 1987:921). Otherwise it is simply *ber*-, as in the last two examples.

<i>ber</i> - + <i>renang</i>	→	<i>berenang</i>	'swim'
<i>ber</i> - + <i>serta</i>	→	<i>beserta</i>	'accompany'
<i>ber</i> - + <i>kerja</i>	→	<i>bekerja</i>	'work'
<i>ber</i> - + <i>jalan</i>	→	<i>berjalan</i>	'walk'
<i>ber</i> - + <i>henti</i>	→	<i>berhenti</i>	'stop'

3.3 Comparison

The only similarity of the morphophonemics between the two languages is in the allomorphy of Melanau *me*- and Indonesian *meN*-. Table 3.1. summaries the variants of the two affixes.

Table 3.1 Variants of Melanau *me-* and Indonesian *meN-*

Melanau <i>me-</i>		Indonesian <i>meN-</i>	
<i>m-</i>	vowel-initial	<i>meng-</i>	vowel initial
<i>me-</i>	monosyllabic	<i>menge-</i>	monosyllabic
<i>me-</i>	before <i>r, l</i> ,	<i>me-</i>	before <i>l, r, w, y</i>
		<i>me-</i>	nasal initial
<i>meN-</i>	before <i>p, t, s</i> ($\rightarrow m, n, ny$)	<i>meN-</i>	before <i>p, t, k, s</i> ($\rightarrow m, n, ng, ny$)
<i>-em-</i>	before <i>k, d, g, j</i>	<i>meN-</i>	voiced consonants, and before
<i>me</i>	before <i>b-</i>		<i>c, sy, h, kh</i>

From the table, Melanau *me-* and Indonesian *meN-* have the same form when they are affixed to *r* and *l* initial or when they are affixed to *p, t*, and *s*. They differ in other cases. One difference comes from the fact that Melanau does not allow NC sequence as Indonesian does (see 2.2.2). Another reason is that Melanau has metathesis, which Indonesian does not have. Some of the irregular allomorphs of *me-* in Melanau do however follow the morphophonemic rules of Indonesian, such as Melanau *meng-upat* ‘swell up’, *meng-asou* ‘go hunting with dogs’, and *menge-nyat* ‘grow in size’

Chapter 4 Word classes

This chapter introduces word classes as a prelude to other aspects of morphology and syntax of Melanau and Indonesian.

4.1 Nominals

Nominals include nouns, pronouns, numerals, classifiers and interrogative pronouns.

4.1.1 Nouns

Nouns are words which refer to people, things, or abstract ideas (Sneddon 1996:128). Both Melanau and Indonesian have proper nouns and common nouns. Common nouns include countable and non-countable nouns. Countable nouns can be preceded by numerals and classifiers, such as *mano* 'bird' in Melanau and *anjing* 'dog' in Indonesian. Non-countable nouns can not be preceded by numbers and classifiers, such as *sau* 'sound' in Melanau, and *hujan* 'rain' in Indonesian. Nouns can be noun roots, derived nouns and compound nouns.

4.1.2 Personal Pronouns

Table 4.1 lists the personal pronouns of Melanau and Indonesian, it includes independent pronouns and Indonesian pronominal affixes.

There are some lexical similarities between the two languages. The first person singular is *akau* in Melanau and *aku* in Indonesian, the first personal plural is *kamei* in Melanau and *kami* in Indonesian, and the second person singular is *ka'au* in Melanau and *kau* in Indonesian.

Melanau has dual form for every person plural pronoun, whereas Indonesian does not.

Indonesian has bound forms for singular pronouns, whereas Melanau has only non-bound forms. The Indonesian bound forms *ku/-ku*, *mu/-mu*, and *-nya* can occur as possessives (Sneddon 1996:166), as in *rumah -ku/-mu/-nya* ‘my/your/his house’. The prefix *ku-* ‘I’ and *kau-* ‘you’ are used in passive transitive clauses, which will be discussed in 6.2.2.2.2.

In Melanau, the first personal singular has two forms. The form *akou* is used when the pronoun is focus, while *kou* is used when it is not in focus, as discussed in chapter 6 on independent clauses.

Table 4.1 **Personal pronouns in Melanau and Indonesian.**

		Melanau	Indonesian	
			Indepedent	Affixes
1 st person	Singular	<i>akou/kou</i>	<i>saya, aku</i>	<i>ku/-ku</i>
	Dual (excl.)	<i>nua</i>		
	Plural (excl.)	<i>kamei</i>	<i>kami</i>	
1 st + 2 nd person (or 1 st inclusive)	Dual	<i>tuah</i>		
	Plural	<i>telou</i>	<i>kita</i>	
2 nd person	Singular	<i>ka'au</i>	<i>kamu, anda</i> <i>kau, engkau</i>	<i>kau/-mu</i>
	Dual	<i>kedua</i>		
	Plural	<i>kelou</i>	<i>kamu</i>	
3 rd person	Singular	<i>nyin</i>	<i>dia/ia</i> <i>beliau</i>	<i>-nya</i>
	Dual	<i>duin</i>		
	Plural	<i>luin</i>	<i>mereka</i>	

4.1.3 General pronouns

	Melanau	Indonesian
person, somebody	<i>a</i>	---
something	<i>wa'</i>	---
those who, those which	<i>lou</i>	---

General pronouns occur in Melanau, but not in Indonesian. In Melanau, general pronouns differentiate singular and plural. The pronoun *a* means ‘person’ or ‘someone’. For example, *in hal a.* means ‘that’s someone else’s business’. The pronouns *wa'* means

‘something’ or ‘object’, and *lou* means ‘those (people or things)’. For example *wa’ ih* means ‘this thing’, and *lou in* means ‘those people or those things’. The pronouns *a*, *wa’* and *lou* are also used as a relativizers in non-restrictive relative clauses; see 7.1.1.

4.1.4 Numbers

The basic numbers are as follows:

Table 4.2 The numbers in Melanau and Indonesian

	Melanau	Indonesian
one	<i>satu/jeh/je-</i>	<i>satu/se-</i>
two	<i>duah</i>	<i>dua</i>
three	<i>telou</i>	<i>tiga</i>
four	<i>pat</i>	<i>empat</i>
five	<i>limah</i>	<i>lima</i>
six	<i>nem</i>	<i>enam</i>
seven	<i>tuju’</i>	<i>tujuh</i>
eight	<i>ayan</i>	<i>lapan</i>
nine	<i>ulan</i>	<i>sembilan</i>
ten	<i>pelu’en</i>	<i>sepuluh</i>
twenty	<i>dua pulu’</i>	<i>dua puluh</i>
teen	<i>beléh</i>	<i>belas</i>
eleven	<i>jebeléh</i>	<i>sebelas</i>
twenty five	<i>dua puluh limah</i>	<i>dua puluh lima</i>
hundred	<i>ratuyh</i>	<i>ratus</i>
thousand	<i>ribu</i>	<i>ribu</i>

The numbers in Melanau and Indonesian are very similar. In both languages, the number for ‘one’ has bound form that is used before classifiers and decimal numbers and higher number units, such as hundred, thousand and etc. It is *je-* in Melanau and *se-* in Indonesian. Both language uses the structure simple number + decimal number + (simple number) to form higher numbers, such as Melanau *je-beléh* ‘eleven’ and *duah pulu’ limah* ‘twenty five’, and Indonesian *se-belas* ‘eleven’ and *dua puluh lima*.

4.1.5 Classifiers

Classifiers are used with countable nouns in both Melanau and Indonesian. They follow the numeral and precede the noun. Different nouns use different classifiers. The following examples illustrate the usage of classifiers (CL) of Melanau and Indonesian respectively.

(1M) *duah apah payau*
two CL deer
two deers

(2I) *dua ekor anjing*
two CL dog
two dogs

The following two tables list some of the common classifiers in Melanau and Indonesian. Most of the classifiers also have meanings as nouns, but these are not always the same in the two languages. For example, in Melanau, *apah* means ‘body’ is used for counting animals and people, while the classifier which is used for counting animals in Indonesian is *ekor* ‘tail’. Meanwhile the classifiers which have the same meaning can be used to count different types of things in two languages. For example, Melanau *bexɛh* and Indonesian *biji* both mean ‘seed’, but in Melanau *bexɛh* is used to count rice grains, beads, and other small compact objects, while in Indonesian, *biji* is used to count small round objects, such as rice grains and eggs. They are some overlap, but not all of the items are the same.

Another difference is that Melanau classifiers can be used for anaphoric reference, but Indonesian ones can not. In Melanau the classifier alone can be used instead of repeating a noun of the same class (Clayre 1975:228), as illustrated by example (3M) in which only the classifier *be* is repeated, not the noun *kapek* ‘axe’. Melanau Classifiers can also be used as relativizers in restrictive relative clauses, as discussed in 7.1.2.

(3M) *ka'au bei duah be' kapek; juh kou je -be'* (IC126)
you be two Cl. axe give I one- Cl.
You've got two axes; give me one of them.

Table 4.3 Some common classifiers in Melanau (Clayre 1972:110; 1975:225)

Classifier	Meaning	Usage	Examples of nouns
<i>apah</i>	'body'	for animals and people	<i>asou</i> 'dog'
<i>lawéh</i>	'person'	is used for humans	<i>ane</i> 'child' <i>jane</i> 'sibling'
<i>bexéh</i>	'seed'	with small compact objects	<i>beréh</i> 'rice grain' <i>manek</i> 'bead'
<i>be'</i>	'blade'	with implements having a flattened surface, but not used with naturally occurring flat objects like leaves	<i>kapek</i> 'axe' <i>usid</i> 'knife'

Table 4.4 Some common classifiers in Indonesian (Sneddon 1996:135)

Classifier	Meaning	Usage	Examples of nouns
<i>orang</i>	'person'	used with humans	<i>guru</i> 'teacher'
<i>ekor</i>	'tail'	used with living creatures	<i>anjing</i> 'dog' <i>kucing</i> 'cat'
<i>buah</i>	'fruit'	used with inanimate things	<i>meja</i> 'table' <i>rumah</i> 'house'
<i>biji</i>	'seed'	used with small, round objects	<i>telur</i> 'egg' <i>padi</i> 'grain'
<i>bilah</i>	'chip'	used with sharp things	<i>pisau</i> 'knife'

4.1.6 Demonstrative pronouns

Melanau has three demonstratives, while Indonesian has only two.

Gloss	Melanau	Indonesian
this	<i>'ih</i>	<i>ini</i>
that	<i>in</i>	<i>itu</i>
that over there	<i>inan</i>	

4.1.7 Interrogative pronouns

Both languages have different interrogative pronouns for people and objects.

Gloss	Melanau	Indonesian
who	<i>sai</i>	<i>siapa</i>
what	<i>unou</i>	<i>apa</i>

4.2 Verbs (or Verbals)

Verbs can be either intransitive or transitive, depending on whether they take objects.

Intransitive verbs are divided into dynamic and stative verbs. Dynamic verbs are involved with change, whether of location or state. Stative verbs denote qualities and states of affairs.

Transitive verbs take grammatical objects. They can be active or causative.

Ditransitive verbs are transitive verbs that take two grammatical objects.

Verbs are an open class in both Melanau and Indonesian. They can occur as roots, derived, inflected or compound verbs. Verb morphology is discussed in 5.2.

4.3 Adjectives

An adjective is a word which describes a noun; it tells something about a person or thing (Sneddon 1996:175). For example: *bilem* 'black' and *derɛh* 'determined' in Melanau, and *bagus* 'beautiful' *banyak* 'numerous' in Indonesian. For Melanau, Clayre classifies adjectives as state verbs. For the convenience of comparison, however, I treat his state verbs as adjectives, since their characteristics and syntactic behavior are the same as for the adjectives of Indonesian.

4.4 Adverbials

Melanau has deictic adverbials and descriptive adverbials. Deictic adverbials can be temporal or locative, such as *si'iu* 'before' and *bau* 'up'. Descriptive adverbials can describe degree or manner or qualify the sentence as a whole, e.g. *angai* 'very', *paut* 'for a long time', and *mimeng* 'of course'. For Indonesian adverbs are described as a type of adjunct by Sneddon (1996:207): he defined adverbs as adjuncts which give information about the manner in which the action is performed. In this study, adverbial is used in a broad sense.

4.5 Prepositions

The following table list some common prepositions in Melanau and Indonesian. They seem to be similar in function but unrelated in form.

Gloss	Melanau	Indonesian
with	<i>jigem</i>	<i>dan</i>
for	<i>gim</i>	<i>untuk</i>
on account of	<i>buya'</i>	<i>sebab, kerana</i>
from	<i>kuman</i>	<i>dari</i>
at (location)	<i>ga'</i>	<i>di</i>

4.6 Negation

Melanau has only one negative marker, whereas Indonesian has two. The usage of the negative markers will be discussed in 6.1.

Gloss	Melanau	Indonesian
not	<i>debei</i>	<i>tidak</i>
not		<i>bukan</i>

4.7 Tense-aspect particles

Both Melanau and Indonesian use particles to mark tense-aspect, but the forms of the particles differ considerably between the two languages.

Gloss	Melanau	Indonesian
present continuous	<i>agei</i>	<i>sedang</i>
future intensitive	<i>ba'</i>	<i>akan</i>
past completive	<i>nga'</i>	<i>sudah</i>

4.8 Emphatic and question marker

The emphatic particle and question marker of Melanau and Indonesian have the same forms.

Expression	Melanau	Indonesian
emphatic	<i>lah</i>	<i>lah</i>
query	<i>kah</i>	<i>kah</i>

Chapter 5 Morphology

This chapter will describe and compare the noun and verb morphology of Melanau and Indonesian. The noun-forming and verb-forming affixes will be discussed with respect to their function and meanings.

5.1 Noun Morphology

Melanau has only one noun-forming affix *ke-*, whereas Indonesian has *ke-*, *-an*, *ke-....-an*, and *peN-* as noun-forming affixes.

Table 5.1 Noun affixes in Melanau and Indonesian

	Melanau	Indonesian
Noun affixes	<i>ke-</i>	<i>ke-</i> <i>-an</i> <i>ke-....-an</i> <i>peN-</i>

5.1.1 Melanau prefix *ke-*

The prefix *ke-* is a nominalizer which changes a concrete object into a abstract noun, an adjective into a noun, an adverb into a noun or a quantifier into a noun, as in the examples below.

<i>ji</i>	'sight'	(noun)	<i>keji</i>	'appearance'	(IC116)
<i>teben</i>	'be deep'	(adjective)	<i>keteban</i>	'depth'	(IC116)
<i>paut</i>	'for a long time'	(adverb)	<i>kepaut</i>	'duration'	(IC116)
<i>dakai</i>	'in number'	(quantifier)	<i>kedakai</i>	'number'	(IC116)

5.1.2 Indonesian affixes

5.1.2.1 Suffix *-an*

The Indonesian suffix *-an* is affixed to verbs, adjectives and nouns to form nouns. The nouns derived from verbs represent objects of actions. Those nouns derived from adjectives represent things with the characteristic of the adjective.

<i>tulis</i>	'write'	(verb)	<i>tulisan</i>	'writing'	(JS31)
<i>makan</i>	'eat'	(verb)	<i>makanan</i>	'food'	(JS31)
<i>manis</i>	'sweet'	(adjective)	<i>manisan</i>	'sweets'	(JS34)
<i>gambar</i>	'picture'	(noun)	<i>gambaran</i>	'description'	(JS34)

5.1.2.2 Prefix *ke-*

The prefix *ke-* is affixed to verbs, adjectives or nouns to form various sorts of nouns.

<i>hendak</i>	'want'	(verb)	<i>kehendak</i>	'desire'	(JS45)
<i>kasih</i>	'love'	(verb)	<i>kekasih</i>	'beloved'	(JS45)
<i>tua</i>	'old'	(adjective)	<i>ketua</i>	'chairman'	(JS45)
<i>rangka</i>	'framework'	(noun)	<i>kerangka</i>	'skeleton'	(JS45)

5.1.2.3 Affix *ke-....-an*

The combination of prefix *ke-* and suffix *-an* can be affixed to a verb or an adjective to derive a noun. It can also be affixed to a concrete noun to form an abstract noun which means 'having to do with something'.

<i>datang</i>	'come'	(verb)	<i>kedatangan</i>	'arrival'	(JS35)
<i>hidup</i>	'live'	(verb)	<i>kehidupan</i>	'life'	(JS35)
<i>baik</i>	'good'	(adjective)	<i>kebaikan</i>	'goodness'	(JS45)
<i>bebas</i>	'free'	(adjective)	<i>kebebasan</i>	'freedom'	(JS45)
<i>hutan</i>	'forest'	(noun)	<i>kehutanan</i>	'forestry, having to do with forests'	(JS37)
<i>wang</i>	'money'	(noun)	<i>kewangan</i>	'finances'	(JS37)

5.1.2.4 Prefix *peN-*

Indonesian *peN-* can derive nouns from verbs to denote the actors or the instruments of the action. It can also be added to adjectives to form nouns which mean ‘people who possess the characteristics’.

<i>tulis</i>	‘write’	<i>penulis</i>	‘writer’	(Actor)	(JS27)
<i>jebak</i>	‘trap’	<i>penjebak</i>	‘trapper’	(Instrument)	(JS28)
<i>diam</i>	‘quiet’	<i>pendiam</i>	‘quiet person’	(Possessor)	(JS48)

5.1.3 Comparison

Indonesian has more nominal affixes than Melanau. Indonesian uses nominal affixes to derive nouns denoting the actor, the instruments, or the product of actions, or mean products, actors, and instruments of actions, and possessors of some characteristics. Melanau uses headless relative clauses (see 7.1.1) to represent some of the meanings which are formed by nominal affixes in Indonesian.

5.2 Verb Morphology

In Melanau, the prefix *pe-* marks static verbs, the affixes *me-* and *-u-* mark dynamic and active verbs, and the affixes *ne-* and *-i-* passive verbs.

Table 5.2 Verb affixes in Melanau and Indonesian

	Melanau	Indonesian	
Verb affixes	<i>pe-</i>	<i>ber-</i>	Stative and dynamic verbs
		<i>ter-</i>	Stative and Accidental
	<i>me-</i>	<i>meN-</i>	Dynamic/ Active
	<i>-u-</i>		Dynamic/ Active
	<i>ne-</i>	<i>di-</i>	Passive
	<i>-i-</i>		Passive
		<i>-kan</i>	Object and beneficiary
		<i>-i</i>	Location and recipient

In Indonesian, the prefix *ber-* usually marks intransitive verbs, whereas *meN-* marks transitive verbs with active voice, and *di-* marks those with passive voice. Indonesian *meN-* and *di-* verbs can also have suffixes *-kan* and *-i*. The suffix *-kan* marks causative and beneficiary, whereas *-i* marks location and recipient.

At the first glance, Melanau *pe-* is similar to Indonesian *ber-*, Melanau *me-* and *-u-* to Indonesian *meN-*, and Melanau *ne-* and *-i-* to Indonesian *di-*. Thus they will be grouped in this way and discussed accordingly. Indonesian prefix *ter-* marks accidental usage, which is similar to the usage of the Melanau prefix *pe-*, so *ter-* will be compared with *pe-* as well.

5.2.1 Melanau *pe-* and Indonesian *ber-* and *ter-*

5.2.1.1 Melanau *pe-* verbs

The prefix *pe-* forms stative verbs whose roots can be either nouns or verbs. They can mean to engage in an activity, a continuous or habitual action or state, a reflexive action, or a reciprocal action, process or state. When *pe-* verbs are derived from nouns, they can mean to have, to use or to produce the noun. Melanau *pe-* verbs can also be transitive verbs which imply the action is habitual, accidental or for one's own interest.

5.2.1.1.1 Simple intransitive

The *pe-* in these verbs simply mark them as intransitive.

<i>peduli</i>	'take thought, be concerned'	(IC180)
<i>pupo</i>	'engaged in washing (clothes)'	(IC180)

5.2.1.1.2 Continuous state

Some *pe-* verbs carry the meaning of a continuous state.

<i>pelepeng</i>	'just hanging about, go on waiting'	(IC185)
<i>pelelou</i>	'remain bent after being snapped'	(IC185)

<i>peba</i>	'standing open'	(IC181)
<i>peleid</i>	'standing side-by-side'	(IC181)

This type of *pe-* verb can take a grammatical object, as in the following example.

<i>pasek (bajou)</i>	'have (a shirt) on'	(IC185)
----------------------	---------------------	---------

5.2.1.1.3 Habitual action

These *pe-* verbs refer to habitual action. These *pe-* verbs can take objects and become transitive verbs.

<i>petinou (uma)</i>	'be engaged in burning-off (farm-land)'	(IC185)
<i>patu' (si')</i>	'be a collector (of shells)'	(IC185)
<i>puma (balau)</i>	'be a farmer (of sago-palm)'	(IC185)

5.2.1.1.4 Reflexive action or state

Some *pe-* verbs refer to a reflexive state or process or to an action. The subjects can be either inanimate or animate. If the subjects are inanimate, the *pe-* verbs refer to a state or process. If the subjects are animate, the *pe-* verbs refer to an action which the subjects act on themselves. These *pe-* verbs often refer to bodily functions.

<i>paman</i>	'drift, floating'	(state)	(IC176)
<i>puei</i>	'dry out'	(process)	(IC176)
<i>puluh</i>	'lower oneself'	(bodily action)	(IC176)
<i>pelikang</i>	'lie down'	(bodily action)	(IC176)

5.2.1.1.5 *pe-* verbs derived from nouns

Some *pe-* verbs derived from nouns. They can mean 'to have the noun', 'to use the noun', 'to wear the noun' or 'to produce the noun'.

<i>pane'</i>	'have a child'	<i>ane'</i>	'child'	(IC173)
<i>pebua'</i>	'have fruit'	<i>bua'</i>	'fruit'	
<i>pepela</i>	'have a paddle'	<i>pela</i>	'paddle'	(IC175)
<i>peseput</i>	'armed with blowpipe'	<i>seput</i>	'blowpipe'	(IC175)
<i>pesinek</i>	'produce sweat'	<i>sinek</i>	'sweat'	(IC173)

Note that the word *pane'* can mean 'to possess children' as in example (1M) or else 'to give birth' as in example (2M).

(1M) *a mexou pane' jelaweh singen.* (IC173)
 woman S+child one+CL only
 The woman has just the one child.

(2M) *a mexou pane' adep.* (IC173)
 person womanchild alone
 The woman gave birth unattended.

5.2.1.1.6 Reciprocal action, process or state

Some verbs refer to reciprocal actions or states. If their bases are nouns, they refer to states. If their bases are verbs, they refer to actions.

<i>pesawa</i>	'married to each other'	<i>sawa</i>	'spouse'	(IC186)
<i>pemusuh</i>	'be enemies of each other'	<i>musuh</i>	'enemy'	(IC186)
<i>pebenu'</i>	'killing one another'	<i>benu'</i>	'slaughter'	(IC186)
<i>pedudug</i>	'bang into one another, collide'	<i>dudug</i>	'bang'	(IC186)

5.2.1.1.7 Accidental process or state

Some *pe-* verbs imply that the action happens accidentally or involuntarily. The subjects do not have the intention to make or experience the action, whereas if *me-* is used, it implies it's the actor's intention.

<i>peta'ah</i>	'hear, overhear, rather than listening'	<i>meta'ah</i>	'listen'	(IC184)
<i>pesabit</i>	'chance to get caught up'	<i>menyabit</i>	'hang'	(IC184)

5.2.1.1.8 Action of possible self-interest

Some *pe-* verbs refer to the action which are for the subjects' own benefit, whereas the *me-* verbs imply the action is for someone else's benefit. The syntactic use of *pejaja* and *jemaja* might be different, too, but there is no example from available language data.

<i>pejaja</i>	'sell (on one's own account)'	<i>jemaja</i>	'sell (for someone else)'	(IC179)
<i>pisah</i>	'cook (food) for oneself'	<i>misah</i>	'cook (food) for someone else'	(IC179)

5.2.1.2 The Indonesian prefix *ber-*

The prefix *ber-* marks stative, reflexive, and reciprocal verbs which are intransitive. The *ber-* verbs can also be transitive verbs which refer to habitual activities. Many *ber-* verbs are derived from nouns, and even from noun phrases.

5.2.1.2.1 Simple intransitive action

These *ber-* verbs mark intransitive action.

<i>berangkat</i>	'leave'	(JS61)
<i>berpikir</i>	'think'	(JS61)

5.2.1.2.2 Habitual action

Some *ber-* verbs imply the activity is performed regularly. They often refer to means of living.

<i>berkuli</i>	'work as a labor'	(JS63)
<i>bersawah</i>	'own or work rice fields'	(JS63)

Some of these verbs take complements to specify the work.

<i>bertanam (jagung)</i>	'plant (corn) (as an occupation)'	(JS63)
<i>berjual (ikan)</i>	'sell (fish)'	(JS267)

5.2.1.2.3 Reflexive action

Some *ber-* verbs mean that the action is carried by the subjects themselves. They optionally take the reflexive pronoun *diri*.

<i>berdiam (diri)</i>	'be silent'	(JS61)
<i>berhias (diri)</i>	'dress'	(JS61)

5.2.1.2.4 *ber-* verbs derived from noun

Some *ber-* verbs are derived from nouns. They mean 'to have or own the noun', 'to use the noun', 'to wear the noun', or 'to produce the noun'.

<i>berguna</i>	'useful, have use'	<i>guna</i>	'use'	(JS62)
<i>berduri</i>	'thorny'	<i>duri</i>	'thorn'	(JS62)
<i>beranak</i>	'have children'	<i>anak</i>	'child'	(JS62)
<i>bertopi</i>	'wear a hat'	<i>topi</i>	'hat'	(JS62)
<i>berperahu</i>	'go by boat'	<i>perahu</i>	'boat'	(JS62)
<i>berkeringat</i>	'sweat'	<i>keringat</i>	'sweat'	(JS62)

The word *beranak* has two meanings, one refer to the possession of children, the other refer to the action of giving birth. This is similar to the Melanau equivalent noted in 5.2.1.1.5.

These *ber-* verbs can be affixed to noun phrases.

<i>berkaki panjang</i>	'have long legs'	<i>kaki panjang</i>	'long legs'	(JS64)
<i>berbaju kulit</i>	'wear a leather coat'	<i>baju kulit</i>	'leather coat'	(JS64)

5.2.1.2.5 Reciprocal action

Some *ber-* verbs mean 'be the noun with each other'.

<i>berteman</i>	'be friends'	<i>teman</i>	'friend'	(JS62)
<i>bermusuh</i>	'enemies'	<i>musuh</i>	'enemy'	(JS62)

5.2.1.2.6 Verbs with adjective bases

Some *ber-* verbs derive from adjectives. Sometimes there is no difference in meaning between the derived verbs and adjective roots

<i>bergembira</i>	'be glad'	<i>gembira</i>	'glad'	(JS64)
<i>berkeras</i>	'persist'	<i>keras</i>	'hard'	(JS64)

5.2.1.3 Indonesian prefix *ter-*

The *ter-* verbs can be stative or accidental.

5.2.1.3.1 Stative *ter-* verbs

These *ter-* verbs refer to state of affairs.

<i>terputus</i>	'broken off'	<i>putus</i>	'break'	(JS113)
<i>tertutup</i>	'shut'	<i>tutup</i>	'close'	(JS113)

5.2.1.3.2 Accidental *ter-* verbs

Accidental *ter-* verbs refer to actions which are not within one's control. They can be 'unintended', 'unexpected', or 'involuntary'. These verbs can be either intransitive or transitive. Example (31) is an accidental intransitive verb corresponding to the deliberate action in example (41). Example (51) is an accidental transitive *ter-* verb.

- (31) *Piring ter-jatuh.* (JS114)
plate ACC+drop
The plate was dropped. (accidentally)
- (41) *Piring di- jatuh-kan.* (JS114)
plate PASS fall+CAU
The plate was dropped. (deliberately)
- (51) *Maaf, buku saudara ter-bawa oleh saya.* (JS114)
sorry book sibling ACC+take by 1SG
Sorry, I took your book by mistake. (*saudara* is used to address the hearer in context.)

5.2.1.4 A Comparison of Melanau *pe-* and Indonesian *ber-* and *ter-*

The Melanau *pe-* and Indonesian *ber-* verbs are basically stative. They can refer to habitual activities, reflexive action, and reciprocal action or state. When they are derived from nouns, they have such meanings as 'to have the noun', 'to use the noun', 'to wear the noun' and 'to produce the noun'. In Indonesian *ber-* verbs can also be derived from nouns

phrases, such as *berbaju kulit* 'wear a leather coat', and *bertubuh kurus* 'have a thin body, be thin' etc. There is no evidence from the data that Melanau *pe-* verbs can be derived from noun phrases.

When *pe-* and *ber-* verbs refer to habitual action, they can take complements and become transitive verbs, such as *pasek bajou* 'have a shirt on' and *payam siau* 'rear hens' in Melanau, and *berjual ikan* 'sell fish' and *bertanam jagung* 'plant corns' in Indonesian.

The Melanau prefix *pe-* also denotes accidental action, as in *peta'ah* 'overhear'. Indonesian uses *ter-* verbs to denote similar meanings.

5.2.2 Melanau *me-* and *-u-* and Indonesian *meN-*

As mentioned earlier, Melanau *me-*, *-u-*, and Indonesian *meN-* all mark dynamic and active verbs. In this section, the individual function and meaning of these three affixes will be described respectively, then they will be compared.

5.2.2.1 Melanau *me-*

Generally speaking Melanau *me-* verbs are intransitive dynamic or transitive. Some *me-* verbs are derived from nouns (5.2.2.1.3). They can mean to possess a quality like the noun, to perform the noun, to use the noun, to collect the noun to make the noun.

The prefix *me-* can also change verbs so that they can take another argument. In causative usage, the *me-* marks the an object as the patient which undergoes the action (see 5.2.2.1.4). Some *me-* verbs mark beneficiary, recipient or location (see 5.2.2.1.5 and 5.2.2.1.6). Some *me-* verbs imply the action is intentional.

I will describe those intransitive or transitive *me-* verbs whose stems are nouns or verbs. Then I will describe the *me-* verbs which have causative usage or marking beneficiary, recipient or location.

5.2.2.1.1 Intransitive *me-* verbs'

With these intransitive verbs the subject undergoes the action or process. The subjects are either animate or inanimate.

<i>madam</i>	'rot'			(IC153)
<i>miga'</i>	'wake up'			(IC153)
<i>mengupat</i>	'swell up'	<i>upat</i>	'swollen'	(IC153)
<i>mengenyat</i>	'grow large'	<i>nyat</i>	'grown up'	(IC153)

5.2.2.1.2 Transitive verbs

These *me-* transitive verbs are used in actor focus transitive clauses, while their zero affixed forms are used in verb focus clauses (see 6.2.1.2).

<i>matu'</i>	'pick up'	<i>atu'</i>	'pick up'	(IC160)
<i>melei</i>	'purchase'	<i>belei</i>	'buy'	(IC160)

5.2.2.1.3 *me-* verbs derived from nouns

These *me-* verbs derived from nouns can be either intransitive, transitive or causative. Their meaning can be 'possess a quality', 'use the noun', 'perform the noun', 'collect the noun', or 'produce the noun'.

Possession of a quality

The subjects of these verbs have the quality represented by nouns from which the verbs are formed. These nouns are all abstract.

<i>masi'</i>	'be merciful'	<i>asi'</i>	'mercy'	(IC152)
<i>mejed</i>	'be strong'	<i>jed</i>	'strength'	(IC152)

Active, use the noun, instrumental

The subjects use the nouns as instruments to do something.

<i>kemetem</i>	'use a plane'	<i>ketem</i>	'plane'	(IC156)
<i>gemereji</i>	'use a saw'	<i>gereji</i>	'saw'	(IC156)

These *me-* verbs can be transitive.

<i>mika (padang)</i>	'measure (field) in acres'	<i>ika</i>	'acre'	(IC158)
<i>demepa (anum)</i>	'sound (the water) in fathoms'	<i>depa</i>	'fathom'	(IC158)
<i>mubat (a pedih)</i>	'use medicine, heal (a sick person)'	<i>ubat</i>	'medicine'	(IC157)

Active, perform (produce) the noun

The subjects perform or produce the noun, where the noun can be a action, a sound, or a result of production.

<i>mematuh</i>	'bark, make sound of barking'	<i>matuh</i>	'bark'	(IC155)
<i>menatau</i>	'quiz, ask riddles'	<i>tatau</i>	'riddle'	(IC155)

Active, collect the noun

The subjects collect the nouns which are the stems of the verbs.

<i>melaméh</i>	'collect caterpillars'	<i>lalaméh</i>	(IC154)
<i>menyi'et</i>	'collect sago-grubs'	<i>si'et</i>	(IC154)

Active, make the noun

The meaning of this kind of verbs is 'to make the noun' from the optional direct object.

<i>makit (bati)</i>	'make a raft (of logs)'	(IC157)
<i>menalei (akah)</i>	'make rope (of vines)'	(IC157)

Causative *me-* verbs derived from noun

These *me-* verbs mean ‘to make something become the noun’ or ‘to have someone else to become the noun’.

<i>melap</i>	‘arrange in layers’	<i>lap</i>	‘layer’	(IC162)
<i>mino’</i>	‘parcel up’	<i>ino’</i>	‘bundle’	(IC162)
<i>menyawa</i>	‘marry off’	<i>sawa</i>	‘spouse’	(IC162)
<i>menunang</i>	‘arrange engagement of’	<i>tunang</i>	‘fiancée’	(IC162)

5.2.2.1.4 Causative *me-* verbs

Causative, inflected from intransitive verbs

The subject is an agent who makes the object (patient) undergo or experience an action or process. The patient can be animate or inanimate. Some of them have *pe-* verb forms as counterparts. These verbs are used in actor focus transitive dynamic clauses (see 6.2.1.2).

<i>muluh</i>	‘make someone low down’	<i>puluh</i>	‘low oneself down’	(IC161)
<i>mengan</i>	‘force to accompany’	<i>pengan</i>	‘accompany (willingly)’	(IC179)
<i>madam</i>	‘make something to rot’			(IC153)
<i>miga’</i>	‘make someone to wake up’			(IC347)

Some *me-* verbs function as either intransitive or causative verbs with no difference in the affixation. For example, *madam* means ‘something is rotting’ when it is an intransitive verb. In example (4M), it functions as a causative verb which means ‘someone make something rot’.

(6M) *buki babui in madam* (IC153)
corpse pig that rot
That dead pig is rotting.

(7M) *likou Penan madam sei babui si’iu, béh in keninah.* (IC153)
tribe Penan A+rot meat pig before after that PASS+eat
The Penan “hang” pig-meat before they eat it.

The other known example is *miga'*; it means 'someone wakes up' when it is an intransitive verb. It means 'someone wakes someone up' when it is a causative verb.

(8M) *akou miga' ga' pukul pat badi'.* (IC347)
 1SG wake up at strike four dawn
 I wake up at four in the morning.

(9M) *a sakai miga' kou ga' pukul pat badi'.* (IC347)
 person friend wake-up 1SG at strike four dawn
 I was woken by a friend at four in the morning.

Causative, derived from adjectives

These *me-* verbs mean 'to make something/someone to have the characteristics specified by the adjectives'.

<i>mebetul</i>	'put right'	<i>betul</i>	'be right'	(IC161)
<i>kemekel</i>	'leave in place'	<i>kekel</i>	'be still'	(IC161)

5.2.2.1.5 Marking beneficiary

Some *me-* verbs imply that the action is for someone else's benefit. These verb stems have *pe-* verb counterparts which are also transitive verbs. The difference between them is that the *me-* form is used when it's for someone else's benefit, whereas *pe-* form is used when it is for one's own interest, as discussed in 5.2.1.1.8.

<i>jemaja</i>	'sell (for someone else)'	<i>pejaja</i>	'sell (on one's own account)'	(IC179)
<i>mise'</i>	'cook (food) for someone else'	<i>pise'</i>	'cook (food) for oneself'	(IC179)

Some *me-* verbs imply that the action is intentional. These verbs have *pe-* verb forms as their counterparts, as described in 5.2.1.1.7, with the *pe-* verbs used to indicate that the action happens accidentally.

<i>meta'ah</i>	'listen to'	<i>peta'ah</i>	'hear, overhear (rather than	(IC179)
----------------	-------------	----------------	------------------------------	---------

listen)'

5.2.2.1.6 Locative usage

Locative, marking the object as the recipient of the action

Some *me-* verbs have objects which are acted on. In other words, the objects are recipients of the action.

<i>menetawa</i> (<i>a lakei</i>)	'mock (an older person)'	<i>tetawa</i>	'laugh'	(IC159)
<i>menangih</i> (<i>a matai</i>)	'weep over (a dead person)'	<i>tangih</i>	'tear'	(IC159)

Locative, put someone/something in a place

Some *me-* verbs mean 'to put someone in/on the noun', where the noun is a location.

<i>mejil</i> (<i>a ja 'et</i>)	'put (a criminal) in jail'	<i>jil</i>	'jail'	(IC159)
<i>mebin</i>	'carry on back'	<i>bin</i>	'back'	(IC162)

Locative, remove the noun from something

Some *me-* verbs mean 'to remove the noun', where the noun is the stem of the verbs.

<i>kemulit</i>	'peel'	<i>kulit</i>	'skin'	(IC162)
<i>meneluh</i>	'remove the eggs'	<i>teluh</i>	'egg'	(IC162)

5.2.2.2 Melanau infix -u-

The infix *-u-* is inserted after the first consonant of a word to replace the *-e-* in the stem.

The basic function of *-u-* is to make active and causative verbs.

Simple transitive

Some *-u-* verbs change stative verbs to transitive verbs.

<i>lului</i>	'mimic'	<i>lelui</i>	'mimicing'	(IC192)
<i>tukud</i>	'worry'	<i>tekud</i>	'be concerned'	(IC192)

(10M) *akou lelou singen bah iba'* (IC350)
 1SG wait only side down
 I was just hanging about down below.

(11M) *akou l-u-lou a sakai bah awel* (IC349)
 1SG ACT+wait person friend side early
 I wait for (my) friend in the morning.

Use the noun

When the *-u-* is affixed to nouns, the verbs mean 'to use the noun to do something'. Some of the nouns can be affixed with *pe-* as well, where it means 'to wear the noun' (see 5.2.1.1.5).

<i>sulud</i>	'comb (the hair)'	<i>selud</i>	'a comb'	(IC192)
<i>suput</i>	'shoot with blowpipe'	<i>seput</i>	'blowpipe'	
		<i>peseput</i>	'armed with blowpipe'	(IC175, 192)

Make (produce) the noun

The stem of the noun is a result/product of an action. The *-u-* verbs which have this kind of stems mean 'to make or produce the noun'.

<i>mubed</i>	'tie a knot'	<i>bed</i>	'knot'	(IC192)
<i>tupad</i>	'advise'	<i>tepad</i>	'advice'	(IC192)

Causative, bring about the state

In these verbs the *-u-* changes adjectives to causative verbs. These *-u-* verbs mean 'to make something into that state specified by the adjectives'. For instance, *lepeng* means 'be broken', while *lupeng* means 'make it broken'.

(12M) *Jilag l-u-peng tukat piti pengiren* (IC349)
 Jilag CAU+break staff send prince
 Jilag broke the staff-of-office sent by the prince.

<i>l-u-peng</i>	'snap'	<i>lepeng</i>	'broken'	(IC193)
<i>m-u-bah</i>	'split open'	<i>bebah</i>	'split'	(IC193)

5.2.2.3 Indonesian *meN-*

The prefix *meN-* basically marks the verbs as dynamic and active verbs. The bases of *meN-* verbs can be verbs, adjectives or nouns.

When a verb adds another argument, namely a patient (causative), a beneficiary or a recipient, either the suffix *-kan* or *-i* is added to mark the argument. The affixation then becomes either *meN-.....-kan* or *meN-....-i*. The *meN-....-kan* verbs are causative verbs or ditransitive verbs in which the suffix *-kan* marks the object as patient or beneficiary. When *meN-...-i* verbs function as ditransitive verbs, the suffix *-i* marks the location or recipient.

5.2.2.3.1 Intransitive *meN-* verbs

Some *meN-* verbs are intransitive. The *meN-* does not have specific meaning in these verbs.

<i>menangis</i>	'cry'	(JS65)
<i>menyanyi</i>	'sing'	(JS65)

5.2.2.3.2 Transitive *meN-* verbs

Some *meN-* verbs are transitive.

<i>membeli</i>	'buy'	(JS68)
<i>menulis</i>	'write'	(JS68)

5.2.2.3.3 *meN-* verbs derived from nouns

Become like, resemble

Some *meN-* verbs mean 'to become like the stem, to resemble the stem'.

<i>membatu</i>	'harden'	<i>batu</i>	'stone'	(JS65)
<i>membukit</i>	'resemble a hill'	<i>bukit</i>	'hill'	(JS65)

Produce the noun

Some *meN-* verbs mean 'to produce the noun'.

<i>menjerit</i>	'scream'	<i>jerit</i>	'scream'	(JS65)
<i>menggonggong</i>	'bark'	<i>gonggong</i>	'bark'	(JS65)

Instrumental, use the noun

Some transitive *meN-* verbs mean 'to use the noun to do something'. These nouns are instruments which have certain usage, so the action is obvious when using the tool. The object is not necessarily expressed.

<i>menyapu</i>	'sweep'	<i>sapu</i>	'broom'	(JS68)
<i>menggergaji</i>	'saw'	<i>gergaji</i>	'saw'	(JS68)

Directional use: go to the noun

Some *meN-* verbs are related to location. Their meaning is 'to go to the noun', where the noun is the stem.

<i>memdarat</i>	'land'	<i>darat</i>	'land'	(JS65)
<i>mengutara</i>	'go north'	<i>utara</i>	'north'	(JS65)

5.2.2.3.4 *meN-* verbs derived from adjectives

Some *meN-* are derived from adjectives with the meaning 'to become the adjective, to take on the characteristic of the adjective'.

<i>membengkak</i>	'swell'	<i>bengkak</i>	'swollen'	(JS66)
<i>membusuk</i>	'rot, decay'	<i>buruk</i>	'rotten'	(JS66)

5.2.2.3.5 Transitive *meN-....-kan*

Intransitive verbs can become transitive verb by marking *meN-.....-kan*. The suffix

-kan marks the object as the patient of the action (see also 6.2.2.3).

<i>menyerahkan</i>	'give'	<i>serah</i>	'surrender'	(JS69)
<i>memikirkan</i>	'think about'	<i>pikir</i>	'think'	(JS69)

5.2.2.3.6 Causative *meN-....-kan*

These verbs are inflected from intransitive verbs. When *meN-....-kan* is added, it means that the subject makes the object experience the action. In the following example, when *bangun* 'wake up' does not have any affix, the usage is that the subject experienced the action. When *bangun* is affixed with *meN- ...-kan*, it means that the subject makes the object experience the action.

- (13I) *Siti bangun.* (JS73)
 Siti wake-up
 Siti wake up.

- (14I) *Ibu mem-bangun-kan Siti.* (JS73)
 mother CAU + wake up Siti
 Mother woke Siti up.

5.2.2.3.7 Ditransitive *meN-....-kan*

When *-kan* is added to a verb with the prefix *meN-*, it can mark the object as the beneficiary. In example (15I), *mengambil* is a transitive verb, in example (16I), *meN-....-kan* marks the beneficiary. The other way of expressing the beneficiary is using a preposition phrase, as in example (17I).

- (15I) *Pelayan meng-ambil segelas air.* (JS80)
 waiter ACT+take one+glass water
 The waiter fetched a glass of water.

- (16I) *Pelayan meng-ambil-kan tamu se-gelas air.* (JS80)
 waiter CAU+take guest one+glass water
 The waiter fetched the guest a glass of water.

- (17I) *Pelayan meng-ambil se-gelas air untuk tamu.* (JS81)
 waiter ACT+take one+glass water for guest
 The waiter fetched a glass of water for the guest.

5.2.2.3.8 Ditransitive *meN-.....-i*

There are many usage of this combination. The following description does not intend to exhaust all the usages, but rather brings out some points to be compared with the usage Melanau *me-*.

To indicate the transitive verb has a recipient

The verbs might be intransitive or transitive, and *-i* is used to mean that the action takes place at a the location or is a person who receives the action.

<i>menangisi</i>	'weep over'	<i>menangis</i>	'weep'	(JS88)
<i>mendatangi</i>	'visit'	<i>datang</i>	'come'	(JS88)

The following show how similar meanings can be expressed using either prepositional phrases (in 18I and 20I) or the *meN-....-i* affixes (in 19I and 21I).

(18I) *Dia sudah me-nikah (dengan gadis itu).* (JS88)
 3SG already marry with girl that
 He has married (that girl)

(19I) *Dia sudah me-nikah-i gadis itu.* (JS88)
 3SG already marry girl that
 He has married that girl.

(20I) *Pak Basri cinta akan istri-nya.* (JS89)
 Mr. Basri love on wife-3SG
 Mr. Basri loves his wife.

(21I) *Pak Basri men-cinta-i istri-nya.* (JS89)
 Mr. Basri ACT+love wife+3SG
 Mr. Basri loves his wife.

To indicate location

These verbs have noun bases. The meaning is to 'to apply the noun to the object' or 'to remove the noun from the object'.

(22I) *Kita harus menghormati orang tua kita.* (JS85)
 1PL must respect parents 1PL
 We must respect our parents.

<i>mengampuni</i>	'forgive'	<i>ampun</i>	'forgiveness'	(JS85)
<i>menggarami</i>	'salt'	<i>garam</i>	'salt'	(JS85)

And for the meaning of 'to remove the noun from the object':

<i>menguliti</i>	'skin, peel'	<i>kulit</i>	'skin'	(JS85)
<i>membului</i>	'remove feathers'	<i>bulu</i>	'feather'	(JS85)

5.2.2.4 A Comparison of Melanau *me-*, *-u-* and Indonesian *meN-*

1. Neither Melanau and Indonesian has much distinction between derivational affixes and inflectional affixes. An affix often has both functions, such as to derive a verb and at the same to mark the verb as dynamic, active, transitive, or causative.
2. The major difference between Melanau *me-* and *-u-* is the shape of the stems which they are affixed to. The prefix *-u-* is only affixed to the shape of CeCVC, whereas *me-* can affix to any kind of shape, including CeCVC. There is no other predictability about what can go with *-u-*, and what can not. Historically, *-u-* and *me-* might be from the same affix. Blust (1997:26) suggests that they both are from PAN *um.
2. The Major difference between Melanau *me-*, *-u-* and Indonesian *meN-* is that *meN-* can be used together with the suffixes *-kan* and *-i*, which basically mark another argument in the verb. As a result, *meN-* verbs distinguish active verbs (intransitive verbs) and causative verbs, and transitive verbs and ditransitive verbs. In Melanau, the inflection is limited because there is only one affix to mark the different functions. One can not identify the function of a Melanau verb from the form, but from the syntactic structure. Table 5.3. lists different grammatical function for causative verbs, beneficiary marking

and location and the verb affixes used in Melanau and Indonesian. Melanau only uses *me-*, whereas Indonesian uses *meN-.....-kan*, and *meN-.....-i*.

Table 5.3 Affixes used for causative usage, beneficiary marking and locative usage in Melanau and Indonesian

	Function	Affix	
		Melanau	Indonesian
Causative	Make state verbs into dynamic verbs	<i>me-</i>	<i>meN- ...-kan</i>
	Make something into the noun	<i>me-</i>	
	Make the object (patient) to undergo or experience the action.	<i>me-</i>	<i>meN-.....-kan</i>
Beneficiary marking	Marking beneficiary	<i>me-</i>	<i>meN-....-kan</i>
Locative	Recipient marking	<i>me-</i>	<i>meN-.....-i</i>
	Put someone/something into a place	<i>me-</i>	<i>meN-.....-i</i>
	Locative, remove the noun from something	<i>me-</i>	<i>meN-.....-i</i>

5.2.3 Melanau *ne-/i-* and Indonesian *di-*

The Melanau affixes *ne-* and *-i-* marks the verbs as passive voice of transitive verbs, so does the Indonesian affix *di-*.

5.2.3.1 Melanau *ne-*

Passive of transitive action

Some verbs marked by *ne-* are the passive forms of transitive verbs. Most transitive verbs have such passive counterparts.

<i>natu'</i>	'be collected'	<i>matu'</i>	'pick up'	(IC339)
<i>benelei</i>	'bought'	<i>belel</i>	'buy'	(IC166)

Passive of a causative verbs

Some *ne-* verbs are passive forms of causative verbs.

<i>neleka'</i>	'be undressed by someone'	<i>meleka'</i>	'to undress someone'	(IC169)
<i>benetul</i>	'be corrected'	<i>mebetul</i>	'correct someone'	(IC131)

5.2.3.2 Melanau infix -i-

The affix -i- is also used to mark passive voice. They change -u- verbs to passive verbs.

Besides marking passive voice, the -i- verbs are found used as imperatives and in narratives, where the unaffixed stems of other types of verbs would be used.

Passive of transitive or causative verbs

The affix -i- changes the verbs into passive voice. This means that something is brought into a state, as in the examples below.

<i>kixid</i>	'be shaved'	<i>kuxid</i>	'shave'	(IC194)
<i>sibit</i>	'be torn'	<i>sebit</i>	'tear'	(IC194)

Imperative Voice

The affix -i- is also used to form imperatives.

(23M) <i>lilou</i>	(IC193)
wait	
Wait! (for me)	

5.2.3.3 Indonesian di-

The prefix *di-* is affixed to verbs to mark them as passive.

di- + *bom* 'bomb' → *dibom*. 'to be bombed'

5.2.3.4 A comparison of Melanau *ne-/i-* and Indonesian *di-*

The function of Melanau *ne-* and *-i-* and Indonesian *di-* are the same with regard to marking passive voice, apart from the fact that the infix -i- is also used for imperatives.

Chapter 6 Independent Clauses

A clause can be either independent or dependent. This chapter will describe and compare simple independent clauses of Melanau and Indonesian, while the following chapter will deal with dependent clauses, in particular relative clauses. An independent clause can be either non-verbal or verbal depending on whether it has a verb as a predicate center. We will consider both non-verbal and verbal clauses.

6.1. Non-Verbal Clauses

We will look at the basic types of simple non-verbal clauses, including how Melanau and Indonesian negate them.

6.1.1. Melanau

Non-verbal clauses consist of a topic noun phrase accompanied by a complement which can be a noun phrase (NP), an adjective phrase (AdjP), an adverbial phrase (AdvP) or a preposition phrase (PP). There may also be an optional copula verb and an optional aspect marker. To form a negative clause, a negative marker (Neg) is added after the first noun phrase. The structure is shown below.

NP + (Neg) + (Copula Verb) + (Aspect) + NP/AdjP/AdvP/PP + (Adjunct)

Non-verbal clauses are classified into nominal, adverbial, and prepositional clauses according to their complements. Example (1M) to (4M) show these four types of non-verbal clauses, with complements that are a noun, adjective, adverbial and prepositional phrase respectively.

- (1M) *mano' in mano' tejali* (IC304)
bird that bird hornbill
That is a hornbill.

(2M) *nyin in nga' pedih duah telou lau nga'* (IC320)
 he that past sick two three day past
 He had been ill for two or three days already.

(3M) *a tama nyin agei deyeh* (IC307)
 person father 3SG yet away-from-river
 His father was still inland.

(4M) *pat apah asou bei jigem nyin* (IC307)
 four CL dog be with 3SG
 There were four dogs with him.

Example (5M) is an example of a negative Melanau clause. As far as the data goes, the only negative is *debei* 'not'.

(5M) *ikan udun debei bei dagen daat* (IC309)
 fish Udun not be in sea
 Udun fish do not live in the open sea.

6.1.2. Indonesian

The basic structure of an Indonesian non-verbal clause is essentially same as that of Melanau. It consists of a topic noun phrase accompanied by a complement with an optional negative particle, an optional copula verb, or a optional aspect particle.

NP + (Neg.) + (Copula Verb) + (Aspect) + NP/ NumP/ AdjP/ PP + (Adjunct)

Indonesian non-verbal clauses can be nominal clauses, number (or quantity) clauses , adjectival clauses or prepositional clauses, which include noun phrases, number phrases (NumP), adjective phrases, and preposition phrases respectively. The following examples show these four types of non-verbal clauses.

(6I) *Dia bukan guru.* (JS233)
 3SG not teacher
 She is not a teacher.

(7I) *Anak-nya lima.* (JS234)
 children+3SG five
 He has five children. (literally: His children are five.)

(8I) *Risikonya akan berat sekali.* (JS235)
 risk will heavy very
 The risk will be very great.

(9I) *Kehidupan mereka tidak tanpa harapan.* (JS237)
 live 3PL not without hope
 Their lives aren't without hope.

The above nominal clause (6I) and prepositional clause (9I) are also examples of negative clauses. The negative marker for nominal clause and quantity clauses is *bukan*, whereas the negative marker for adjectival clause and prepositional clauses is *tidak*.

6.1.3. Comparison

The basic structure of Melanau and Indonesian non-verbal clauses is similar. Both have a topic noun phrase and a complement. The difference is that only Indonesian can use number phrases, while only Melanau can use adverbial phrases as complements.

The structure for negative clauses of both languages is similar, but Melanau has only one negative marker, from the available language data, while Indonesian has two negative markers: *bukan* is used with nominal and quantity clauses, and *tidak* with adjectival and prepositional clauses.

6.2. Verbal Clauses

Transitivity, voice, and word order are the necessary elements which need to be considered in verbal clauses. In this section, we will compare the voice and word order of intransitive clauses, transitive clause, and ditransitive clauses.

Verbal clauses which contain intransitive verbs and no objects are intransitive clauses. Transitive and ditransitive clauses have transitive verbs, but transitive clauses have a subject and one object, whereas ditransitive clauses have a subject and two objects.

6.2.1. Melanau

The verb form and word order of a Melanau clause depends on the focus of the clause. 1. Clayre (1972:329) defines focus as ‘what-we-are-talking-about’, some linguists would refer to this as topic. The form of the first person singular pronoun has different forms: the focal form is *akou* instead of the non-focal form *kou*. The form in focus usually is the first constituent of a clause. Any constituent of a clause can be the focus, including the verb as well as any argument of the clause.

6.2.1.I. Intransitive Clause

A Melanau intransitive verbal clause consists of a noun phrase, a verb, and optional adjuncts. The intransitive verb can be a process dynamic verbs, process or static verb. The adjuncts include adverbial phrases of time, location, aspect, negation, manner, direction and etc.

Subject Focus

If the subject is in focus, the structure of an intransitive clause is as below.

Subj + Verb + (Adjuncts)

The following examples illustrate subject focus intransitive clauses with different types of verbs. Examples (10M) and (11M) illustrate dynamic verbs used in intransitive clauses.

The verb *makau* is a dynamic verb stem, and *miga'* is a *me-* verb.

(10M) *akou makau bau alun* (IC312)
1SG walk up path
I walk along the path.

(11M) *akou miga' ga' pukul pat badi'.* (IC347)
1SG wake up at strike four dawn
I wake up at four in the morning.

Examples (12M) and (13M) illustrate static process verbs are used in intransitive clauses.

The verb *pikér* in example (12M) is a verb root, where as the verb *pepela* in example (13M) is a *pe-* verb.

(12M) *nyin pikér deréh angai* (IC132)
 3SG think determined very
 He pondered very deeply.

(13M) *a lai in pepela kaju'.* (IC316)
 person man that paddle go-upriver
 'the man paddled upriver.

Verb focus

The above examples are subject focus. If the verb is the focus, then the verb precedes the subject. Compare example (14M) below with the subject focus clause in (10M).

(14M) *makau kou bau alun* (IC312)
 walk 1SG up path
 Off I went along the path.

Focus and Emphasis

The focal and emphatic constituent can be different. In example (15M), the action 'walk' is emphasized, as shown with particle *lah* following the verb *makau*. The focus is still the first person singular, as shown by the focal form *akou*.

(15M) *makau lah akou bau alun* (IC312)
 walk Emph. 1SG up path
 Walk along the path, I did.

6.2.1.2. Transitive Clause

There are three types of Melanau transitive clauses depending on the focus. The focus can be the actor, the object or the verb. Transitive clauses have two arguments, a subject and an object. Transitive clauses can use transitive verbs or causative verbs.

Actor Focus

The structure of an actor focus transitive clause is as follows:

Subject	+	<i>me-</i> Verb	+	Object	+	(Adjunct)
(Actor)		or <i>-u-</i> Verb		(Patient)		

The following examples (16M) and (17M) illustrate the basic structure of actor focus transitive clause with *me-* verbs. Examples (18M) and (19M) illustrate it with *-u-* verbs.

(16M) *akou m-atu' teluh kuman pu' in* (IC338)
 1SG ACT+pick up egg from nest that
 I pick up an egg from the nest.

(17M) *Arip meny-abit tapou 'ih ga' pakou.* (IC338)
 Arip ACT+hang up hat this at nail
 Arip hangs this hat on a nail.

(18M) *akou l-u-lou a sakai bah awel* (IC349)
 1SG ACT+wait person friend side early
 I wait for (my friend) in the morning.

(19M) *Jilag l-u-peng tukat piti pengiren* (IC349)
 Jilag ACT+snap staff send prince
 Jilag broke the staff-of-office sent by the prince.

Causative verbs with two arguments are also found in transitive clauses. The following example illustrates how causative verb *miga'* is used in a transitive clause. The following examples show a *me*-verb, *miga'*, used as an intransitive in example (20M) and a causative verb in example (21M). There is no change in verb form, but the causative is used in a transitive clause.

(20M) *akou miga' ga' pukul pat badi'.* (IC347)
 1SG wake up at strike four dawn
 I wake up at four in the morning.

(21M) *a sakai miga' kou ga' pukul pat badi'.* (IC347)
 person friend wake up 1SG at strike four dawn
 I was woken by a friend at four in the morning.

Object Focus

When the object is in focus, a passive verb is used. The syntactic structure of active clauses and their corresponding passive transitive clauses are:

Active voice:

Subject + *me-/u-* Verb + Object + (Adjunct)
(Actor) (Patient)

Passive voice:

Patient + *ne-/i-* Verb + Actor + (Adjunct)

The differences from active transitive clauses are in the verb form and the position of the actor and the patient. The affix of the verb form changes from *me-* to *ne-* or from *-u-* to *-i-* to mark passive voice. The object of the transitive verbs becomes the subject, and the actor follows the passive verb. The actor in a Melanau passive voice transitive clause takes a non-focal form, although this can only be seen for the first person singular pronoun, whose non-focal form is *kou* 'I' instead of *akou*. Here are some examples of object focus clauses; note that they correspond to the actor focus examples in (16M) to (19M) respectively.

(22M) *teluh n-atu' kou kuman pu' in* (IC339)
egg PASS+pick up 1SG from nest that
The egg(s) was picked out of the nest by me.

(23M) *tapou 'ih s-en-abit Arip ga' pakou* (IC339)
hat this PASS+hang up Arip at nail
This hat was hung on a nail by Arip.

(24M) *a sakai l-i-lou kou bah awel* (IC350)
person friend PASS+wait 1SG side morning
I wait for (my) friend in the morning.

(25M) *Tukat piti pengiren l-i-peng Jilag* (IC350)
staff send prince PASS+snap Jilag
Jilag broke the staff-of-office sent by the prince

Verb Focus

As mentioned earlier, the verb can be the focus of a transitive clause as well. The structure of the verb focus clause is:

zero affixed *-i*-Verb + NP (Actor) + *ga'* + NP (patient)

Verbs which use the *me-/ne-* affixation appear as in stem form. In other words, they have a no affix, as in examples (26M) and (27M). Verbs which use *-u-/i-* affixation, they take *-i-*, as shown in examples (31M) and (32M).

In the verb-focus construction, the actor takes the non-focal form *kou* if it is first person singular. The patient is preceded by a preposition *ga'*. Compare the following examples with actor focus examples (16M) +(19M) and object focus examples (22M) to (25M).

(26M) *atu' kou ga' teluh....* (IC341)
pick up 1SG at egg
I picked up the egg.

(27M) *sabit Arip ga' tapou....* (IC341)
V+hang up Arip at hat
Arip hung up the hat.

(28M) *lilou, lilou kou ga' a sakai* (IC350)
PASS+wait PASS+wait 1SG at person friend
I waited and waited for (my friend).

(29M) *lipeng nyin ga' tukat, lalu.....* (IC350)
 snap he at staff then
 he snapped the staff in two, and.....

6.2.1.3. Ditransitive Clauses

A ditransitive verb has three arguments, called either (1) subjects and two objects, or in terms of semantic roles (2) an agent, a patient and an applicative. Applicatives often represent a beneficiary or a recipient. Any of the arguments can be the focus.

Actor Focus

The structure of Melanau active voice ditransitive clauses is as below. The verb is marked as active voice with the affix *me-* or *-u-*, and the applicative is marked with a preposition, as shown in examples (30M) and (31M).

Subject + *me-/u-* Verb + Primary Object + Prep. + Secondary Object
 (Actor) (Patient) (Applicative)

(30M) *akou m-elei ubat 'ih gim a pedih* (IC355)
 1SG A+buy medicine this for person sick
 I buy this medicine for someone who is ill.

(31M) *tama me-miti surat in ga' kou* (IC355)
 father ACT+send letter that to 1SG
 My father sent me a letter.

Object Focus

In the passive the actor and patient exchange positions and the verb takes passive marking.

Subject + Passive verb + Actor + Prep. + Object
 (Patient) (Actor) (Beneficiary or Recipient)

Examples (32M) and (33M) illustrate the structure. Passive verbs are marked by *ne-*. The preposition *gim* in example (32M) marks the beneficiary, while *ga'* marks the recipient in example (33M).

(32M) *ubat 'ih b-en-elei kou gim a pedih* (IC355)
 medicine this PASS+buy 1SG for person sick
 I buy this medicine for someone who is ill.

(33M) *surat in p-en-iti tama ga' kou* (IC356)
 letter that PASSIVE+send father to 1SG
 That letter is sent to me by my father.

They seem to be no examples of verbs that take the affix *-i-*.

Beneficiary and Recipient Focus

The beneficiary or recipient of a ditransitive verb can also be the subject of a transitive clause in Melanau. The structure is as below.

Subject + Passive verb + Actor + Patient
 (Beneficiary or Recipient)

Example (34M) and (35M) exemplify the structure. The *ne-* affix is used to mark the passive voice, and again there seem to be no examples of verbs that take the affix *-i-*. The actor follows the verb and is followed by the patient.

(34M) *a pedih b-en-elei kou ubat 'ih* (IC355)
 person sick PASS+buy 1SG medicine this
 It is for a sick person that I buy this medicine.

(35M) *akou p-en-iti tama surat in* (IC356)
 SG PASSIVE+send father letter that
 I was sent that letter by my father.

6.2.2. Indonesian

6.2.2.1. Intransitive clause

An Indonesian intransitive clause has the following basic structure.

NP + Verb + (Adjuncts)

Examples (36I) and (37I) illustrate the structure. Example (38I) has several adjuncts.

(36I) *Mereka bekerja.* (JS241)
 3PL working
 They are working.

(37I) *Siti menangis.* (JS241)
 Siti ACT+ crying
 Siti is crying.

(38I) *Setiap hari mereka bekerja keras di pabrik.* (JS241)
 Every day 3PL work hard in factory
 Every day they work hard in the factory.

In Indonesian, intransitive verbs are generally distinguished from transitive verbs by affixes. Intransitive verbs carry *ber-*, while transitive verb carry *meN-* or, when passive, *di-*. They are some exceptions. For instance, *menangis* in example (39I) has *meN-* as a prefix, but it's an intransitive verb.

6.2.2.2. Transitive clauses

A transitive clause can be either active or passive.

Active clause

The Indonesian active transitive clause is similar to the actor focus transitive clause in Melanau.

Active voice:

Subject (actor) + *meN-* verb + Object (patient)

(39I) *Saya mem-bantu ibu.* (JS241)
 1SG ACT+help mother
 I am helping mother.

(40I) *Ali men-cari adik-nya di pasar.* (JS245)
 Ali look for younger sibling at the market
 Ali looked for his sister at the market.

The Indonesian verbs in example (39I) and (40I) are marked with *meN-* in the active voice; see chapter 3 for its allomorphs.

Passive Clauses

In Indonesian, there are two types of passive clauses. The first type is used when the agent is a noun or a third person pronoun. The second type is used when the agent is a pronoun.

Passive Type I

The structure of Indonesian active and corresponding passive clauses for the first type are as follows (Sneddon 1996:247).

Active voice:

Subject (actor) + *meN-* verb + Object (patient)

Passive voice:

Subject (patient) + *di-* verb + (*oleh*) + Agent (actor)

In Indonesian the actor is marked with *oleh* in Indonesian when the passive voice is used, as shown in example (41I). The verb is affixed with *di-*.

(41I) *Surat ini di-tulis oleh Tomo.* (JS248)
letter this PASS+write by Tomo
This letter is written by Tomo.

A third person singular agent can either use *dia* or *-nya* in this passive type, and *oleh* is optional, as in the example below.

(42I) *Saya di-jemput -nya/oleh nya.* (JS248)
Saya di-jemput dia/oleh dia.
1SG PASS+meet 3SG/by 3SG
I was met by him.

Passive Type II

When the actor is a personal pronoun, a different type of passive voice transitive clause is used. The structure is as the follows:

Subject (patient) + Agent (actor) + Verb

The difference in structure of passive type II from passive type I is that the agent precedes the verb and the verb is not marked with the passive voice prefix *di-*. For most pronouns the regular forms are used. Here are some examples:

(43I) *Buku ini tidak akan kami baca.* (JS249)
 book this not FUT we read
 This book will not be read by us.

(44I) *Buku sejarah ini belum dia baca.* (JS249)
 book history this not yet 3SG read
 He hasn't read this history book yet.

(45I) *Buku-buku ini sudah mereka baca.* (JS250)
 books these already 3PL read
 They have read these books.

For the first person singular and second person pronouns special bound forms are used in this construction. The form *ku-* is used instead of *aku* or *saya* 'I' and the form *kau-* '2SG' is used instead of *kamu* 'you'.

(46I) *Buku ini sudah ku-baca.* (JS249)
 book this already 1SG+read
 I've read this book.

(47I) *Buku ini harus kau-baca.* (JS249)
 book this must 2SG+read
 You must read this book.

Third person pronouns, both singular and plural, can use either type of passive transitive clauses.

6.2.2.3. Ditransitive Clauses

In Indonesian, any of the arguments of a ditransitive clauses can be the subject of the clause, namely actor, patient and applicative.

Active Voice

When the actor is the subject, an active verb is used. Indonesian has a similar structure for active ditransitive clause as Melanau.

Subject + Verb + Primary Object + Prep. + Secondary Object

Example (50I) illustrates the structure. The verb is marked as active voice by the affix *meN-*.

- (48I) *Dia mem-beli buku itu untuk adik-nya.* (JS251)
3SG ACT+buy book that for sibling+3SG
He bought that book for his bother.

In example (49I), the verb also takes a suffix *-kan*. The affixes *meN-...-kan* changes the intransitive verb *serah* 'surrender' to a transitive verb *menyerahkan* (see 5.2.2.3.4.).

- (49I) *Kepala kantor meny-erah-kan tugas itu kepada kami.* (JS251)
head office ACT+give task that to IPL
The office head handed us that task.

Example (50I) and (51I) illustrate another structure for active voice in Indonesian, with the actor preceding the verb. Instead of the patient, the beneficiary or recipient follows the verb. The suffix *-kan* is used on the verb in the case of a beneficiary, while the suffix *-i* is used in the case of a recipient.

- (50I) *Dia mem-beli-kan adik-nya buku.* (JS251)
3SG ACT+buy+-kan sibling+3SG book
He bought his brother a book.

- (51I) *Kepala kantor meny-erah-i kami tugas itu.* (JS251)
head office ACT+give IPL task that
The office head handed us that task.

Passive voice

When the patient is the subject, passive voice is used. Indonesian has a similar structure for passive voice ditransitive clauses as Melanau has for ditransitive object focus clause.

Subject + Passive verb + (*oleh*) + Actor + Prep. + Object
(Patient) (Beneficiary or Location)

The difference is that in Indonesian the actor is marked by *oleh* which can be omitted if the actor is a third person singular as in example (54I). The preposition *untuk* marks the beneficiary. In example (55I), *oleh* is used to mark the actor, and *kepada* is used to mark the location or recipient.

(52I) *Buku itu di-beli-nya untuk adik-nya.* (JS251)
book that PASS+buy+3SG for sibling+3SG
That book was bought by him for his brother.

(53I) *Tugas itu di-serah-kan oleh kepala kantor kepada kami.* (JS252)
task that PASS+give by head office to 1PL
That task was handed by the office head to us.

Beneficiary or Recipient

When the beneficiary or recipient is subject, Indonesian has a structure similar to a Melanau beneficiary focus ditransitive clauses:

Subject + Passive verb + Actor + Patient
(Beneficiary or Recipient)

The verb also takes the suffix *-i* for recipient or *-kan* for beneficiary. The passive voice marker is still *di-*, as shown in the following examples..

(54I) *Kami di-serah-i kepala kantor tugas itu.* (JS251)
1PL PASS+give head office task that
We were handed that task by the office head.

- (55I) *Adik-nya di-beli-kan-nya buku.* (JS251)
 sibling+3SG PASS+buy+3SG book
 His brother was bought a book by him.

Besides the above structure, Indonesian has another structure, shown below, which differs from the above structure by placing the patient after the verb and by marking the actor with *oleh*.

Subject + Passive verb + Patient + (*oleh*) + Actor

- (56I) *Kami di-serah-i tugas itu oleh kepala kantor.* (JS259)
 1PL PASS+give task that by head office
 We were handed that task by the office head.

6.2.2.4. Verb Fronting

Verb Fronting

Indonesian can have the verb precede the subject by adding *lah* after the verb, as in example (57I) (Sneddon 1996:257).

- (57I) *Lalu datang-lah seorang musyafir.* (JS257)
 then arrive one+CL traveller
 Then there came a traveler.

Sneddon (1996:261) noted that both active and passive verbs can occur before the actor and patient in Indonesian. Example (58I) shows how an active voice verb is fronted to precede the subject while taking the affix *-lah*.

- (58I) *Makin yakin-lah aku akan ke-benar-an firman Tuhan.* (JS261)
 more believe+Emph 1SG PREP NOM+truth word God
 I am increasingly convinced of the truth of God's commandments.

Example (59I) shows how a passive voice verb is fronted before the actor or patient. The actor is not mentioned. There are no examples of verb-fronting when an actor is mentioned.

(59I) *Sudah dibuatkan sepatu khusus bagi dia.* (JS258)
 alreadyPASS+make shoes special for him
 Special shoes have been made for him.

Verb-fronting in Indonesian does not necessarily mean that the verb is emphatic or is in focus. When the subject is long it tends to follow the verb (Sneddon 1996:258).

6.2.3. Comparison

The intransitive, transitive and ditransitive clauses in Melanau and Indonesian are very similar.

6.2.3.1. Intransitive clauses

The structure of Melanau and Indonesian intransitive clauses is similar. Both Melanau and Indonesian intransitive verbs can have no affix or be affixed. The word order in Melanau intransitive clauses can be changed to have verb as the focus, and at the same time, Melanau can have verb-fronting using the particle *-lah*. Indonesian does not have a verb focus construction, but it has verb-fronting and also uses a particle *-lah*.

6.2.3.2. Transitive clauses

Subject Focus/Active:

The structure of Melanau subject focus transitive clause is similar to that of Indonesian active clause.

Object Focus/Passive:

- (1) Melanau object focus transitive clauses are similar to Indonesian passive clauses, but with a difference in the verb form and in that the agent is marked by *oleh* in Indonesian.
- (2) Indonesian has a difference construction for pronouns as actors, whereas Melanau does not.

Melanau has a verb focus construction, which Indonesian does not have. Both Melanau and Indonesian have verb fronting constructions and both take *-lah*.

6.2.3.3. Ditransitive clauses

Melanau and Indonesian have similar construction for actor focus, object focus, and applicative focus. The main difference is that in object focus and passive clauses, the actor in Indonesian is marked by the preposition *oleh*.

Indonesian has more constructions than Melanau. Theoretically, the maximum number of possible constructions is six according to the relative position of three arguments. Five are found in Indonesian, three are found in Melanau. The reason is that Indonesian verbs can be inflected with the suffixes *-kan* and *-i* to mark the beneficiary and recipient respectively.

Summary of the similarities and difference of transitive clauses

	Melanau	Indonesian
Active Voice		
Structure	Subject (actor) + <i>me-/u-</i> affixed Verb + Object (patient)	Subject (actor) + <i>meN-</i> Verb + Object (patient)
Passive Voice		
Structure	Subject (patient) + <i>ne-/i-</i> Verb + Agent (actor)	Type A: common nouns & third person pronouns Subject (patient) + <i>di-</i> verb + (<i>oleh</i>) + Agent (actor)
		Type B: for pronouns Subject (patient) + Agent (actor) + zero affixed Verb

Verb Focus in Melanau and Indonesian

	Melanau	Indonesian
Verb Focus	Verb + NP (Actor) + <i>ga'</i> + NP (patient)	No corresponding structure
Verb Form	<i>-i-</i> for CeCV(C) verbs, zero affixed verbs for verbs which take <i>me-/ne-</i>	

Summary of comparison between Melanau and Indonesian ditransitive clauses

	Melanau	Indonesian
Actor precedes Verb (1)		
Structure	Actor + Verb + patient + PREP + applicative	same as Melanau
verb	<i>me-</i> verbs <i>-u-</i> verbs	<i>meN-</i> (or <i>meN-....-kan</i>)
mark for beneficiary or recipient	<i>gim</i> for beneficiary <i>ga'</i> for recipient	<i>untuk</i> for beneficiary <i>kepada</i> for recipient
Actor precedes Verb (2)		
Structure	---	Actor + Verb + Applicative + patient
verb	---	<i>meN-...-kan</i> (<i>membelikan</i>) for beneficiary <i>meN-...i</i> (<i>menyerahi</i>) for recipient (location)
mark for beneficiary or recipient	---	no marking
Patient precedes Verb		
Structure	Patient + V + Actor + Prep + applicative	Patient + V + (<i>oleh</i>) Actor + Prep + applicative
Verb	<i>ne-</i> verbs <i>-i-</i> verbs are not found	<i>di-</i> (<i>dibeli</i>) for beneficiary <i>di-...kan</i> (<i>diserahkan</i>) for recipient (location)
mark for noun	<i>gim</i> for beneficiary <i>ga'</i> for recipient	<i>oleh</i> marks actor <i>untuk</i> marks beneficiary <i>kepada</i> marks recipient (location)
Applicative precedes Verb (1)		
Structure	Applicative + Verb + Actor + Patient	same as left
Verb	<i>ne-</i> verbs	<i>di-...-kan</i> (<i>dibelikan</i>) for beneficiary <i>di-...-i</i> (<i>diserahi</i>) for recipient (location)
mark for noun	no marking	no marking
Applicative precedes Verb (2)		
Structure	---	Applicative + Verb + Patient + <i>oleh</i> + Actor
Verb	---	for beneficiary ? <i>di-....-i</i> (<i>diserahi</i>) for recipient (location)
mark for noun	---	<i>oleh</i> marks actor

Chapter 7 Relative Clauses

This chapter will describe non-restrictive and restrictive relative clauses in Melanau and Indonesian and compare their structure, relativizers, and verb forms.

A relative clause is a modifier which incorporates a clause to modify a noun (Sneddon 1996:285). A relative clause is similar to an independent clause except mainly that one argument is relativized. Restrictive relative clause is used to identify the head noun, whereas non-restrictive relative clause gives additional information about the head noun which can be identified independently (Kroeger 1999:123).

7.1 Melanau

Melanau uses different relativizers for non-restrictive and restrictive relative clauses. In non-restrictive relative clauses, *a*, *wa'*, or *lou* are used as relativizers; in restrictive relative clauses, classifiers are used. In both cases they come at the beginning of the relative clause.

7.1.1 Non-restrictive Relative Clauses

As mentioned earlier, *a*, *wa'* and *lou* are used as relativizers in non-restrictive relative clauses. The relativizer *a* is used for singular animate nouns, and *wa'* is used for inanimate nouns, and *lou* is used for plural nouns and is neutral to animation (Clayre 1975:228). However, there is no example in available data for using *lou* in relative clauses apart from headless relative clauses.

Example (1M) shows *a* as a relativizer in a non-restrictive relative clause whose head is a proper noun, which can be identified by itself, the relative clause providing information about the referent.

- (1M) *Jilag, a diem ga' tugi sungai 'Ud.*
 (IC123)
 Jilag Rel live at ACT+kick stream 'Ud
 Jilag, who lived at the mouth of the River 'Ud'

The relativizer *a* in the above clause represents the actor of the intransitive verb, *diem*, which is in its verb root form.

The verb of the relative clause may be the same as in Actor-Focus active clause, but there is not sufficient data to tell what kind of verb form is used in the relative clause when the actor or subject is relativized. Some of the *pe-* verbs are used in the headless relative clauses. This will be discussed later in this section.

The relativizer *wa'* is used in non-restrictive relative clauses, as shown in example (2M).

- (2M) *kapek wa' belei kou dagen kedai nga' padel* (I. Clayre
 1975:229)
 axe Rel buy I in shop already blunt
 The axe, which I got at the bazaar, is already blunt.

The relativizer *wa'* in the above example represents the object of the relative clause, where the zero affixed verb is used, and the agent is in non-focal form.

Rel +	Verb	+ NP (agent)	+ Adjuncts
	ø form	non-focal form	

Verb form

Surprisingly, when the object is relativized in Melanau relative clause, the verb form is not the same as that of a object focus clause, rather it's the same as in a verb focus clause. In Melanau, the relativizer and the verb form in the relative clauses give the information about the relativized semantic role. The relativizer tells whether it's an animate or inanimate noun.

Headless Relative Clauses

Melanau uses headless relative clauses to function as noun phrases. For example, *a puma*, literally means '(a person) who farms (for a living)', thus 'farmer'. When *a* or *lou* is used, the embedded phrase could be a state verb, a static *pe*- verb or an adverb.

<i>a nyat</i>	'one who is great, a great person'
<i>a puma</i>	'farmer'
<i>lou dipen</i>	'those who are slaves, the slaves'
<i>lou pekaxi</i>	'those who go fishing, fisher-folk'
<i>lou aba'</i>	'those from down-river, coastal folk'

When *wa'* is used, the embedded phrase can be an adjective or dynamic verb without affixation¹.

<i>wa' ja'et</i>	'what is bad, wickedness'
<i>wa' asek</i>	'what is worn, clothing'
<i>wa' li'</i>	'what is played, a game'
<i>wa' ba' sabi'</i>	'what is to be asked, a request'
<i>wa' (ba') kanen</i>	'what is (to be) eaten, food'

7.1.2 Restrictive Relative Clause

Melanau uses classifiers as relativizers for restrictive relative clauses. The particular classifiers chosen is the one used when counting the head noun. For instance, *apah* is used to count animate nouns, so is it used as a relativizer for animate head nouns, as shown in the example (3M).

(3M)	<i>ane'</i>	<i>Tegiok</i>	<i>apah</i>	<i>buya'</i>	<i>beragen</i>	<i>in</i>	(IC123)
	child	Tegiok	CL	suffer	violence	that	
	'the one of Tegiok's children who suffered violence'						

¹ In the language data, one example is *wa' penalei a bayuh* 'what is forbidden by the shaman'. The word *penalei* could be a root *penalei*, or a *pe*- verb whose stem is *nalei*, or a *ne*- verb whose stem is *palei*. There is not enough language data to tell what verb stem it is. If it is a *pe*- or *ne*- verb, it differs from the rest of the *wa'* examples, whose verb forms have no affix.

This is a restrictive relative clause because it's understood by the Melanau speakers that the other children of Tegiok did not experience such harm (I. Clayre 1975:229). It singles out the particular one who suffered. The relativizer *apah* in the above example represents the actor of an intransitive verb. The structure of the noun phrase including the relative clause is similar to those listed above, i.e. Head + Rel + Verb + Adjuncts.

The classifier *be'* is used for counting things which are flat like leaves (I. Clayre 1975:225, see also 4.2.5.), and so it is used as a relativizer for nouns such as *kapek* 'ax' and *usid* 'knife'. The example below illustrates *be'* used in a restrictive relative clause. It specifies that the *kapek* 'axe' which was bought in the shop is blunt, implying that the other ax (or axes) is/are fine.

- (4M) *kapek be' belei kou dagen kedai nga' padel* (I. Clayre 1975:229)
 axe CL. buy I in shop already blunt
 'that one of my axes which I got in the shop is already blunt'

The relativizer *be'* in the above example represent the object of the relative clause where the zero affixed verb is used, and the agent takes a non-focal form.

Head +	(Rel) +	Verb +	NP (agent) +	Adjuncts
Object	zero-affixed	non-focal form		

Different nouns use their corresponding classifiers. The following example uses the classifier *usah* 'trunk' a relativizer.

- (5M) *kelideeng usah bah aju' kenedau tou*
 (IC125)
 monument CL side upriver PASS+place spirit
 'the upstream monument is haunted'

Here the relativizer *usah* is the topic of a non-verbal modifying clause.

Omission of Relativizer

When the relativized argument in the restrictive relative clause is the object of that clause, the relativizer can be omitted.

(6M) *teluh atu' nyin nga' madam nga'*
 (IC148)
 egg pick up 3SG past rotten past
 The egg he picked up was already addled.

(7M) *tukat piti pengiren lepeng*
 (IC242)
 staff send prince snap
 the staff-of-office sent by the prince is broken.

7.1.3 Summary and other observations

	Non-restrictive	Restrictive
Animate relativized argument		
Relativizer	<i>a</i> or <i>lou</i>	animate Classifiers
Subject relativized		
Structure	(Head) + Rel + Verb + NP	Same as at left
Verb form	Actor Focus Verb form (?)	
Patient relativized	No data	No data
Inanimate relativized argument		
Relativizer	<i>wa'</i> or <i>lou</i>	Inanimate Classifier
Subject relativized	Head + (Rel) + verb/adj.	No data
Object relativized	Rel + Verb + NP (agent) + Adjuncts	Head + (Rel) + verb + NP
Verb form	No affix	No affix

7.2 Indonesian

Indonesian uses *yang* as a relativizer in relative clauses. The relativizer *yang* is neutral to animation and plurality and thus is used for all nouns. As in Melanua, it occurs at the beginning of the relative clause.

7.2.1 Restrictive relative clauses

The relative clause can be either non-verbal or verbal. In the following examples, the relative clauses are non-verbal clauses involving an adjectives phrases (8I) and prepositional phrases (9I).

(8I) *rumah yang besar*
house Rel big
big house

(9I) *orang yang di sini tadi*
person Rel PREP here just now
the person who was here a while ago

When verbs are used in relative clauses, different semantic roles can be relativized, such as actor, patient, beneficiary, and recipient. However, only subjects can be relativized regardless of their semantic roles. That is, the verb form is the same as when they are subjects of independent clauses.

Examples (10I) to (14I) illustrate how different semantic rules are relativized. The actor subject of the intransitive verb is relativized in example (10I),

(10I) *Orang yang ber-kumpul di depan pintu harus pindah.* (JS286)
people Rel S+gather at front door must move
The people (who are) gathering in front of the door will have to move.

Example (11I) and (12I) illustrate how the actor and the patient of a transitive clause are relativized. The structure of the relative clause is the same as their correspondent transitive clause (see 6.2.2.2) apart from the replacement of the subject by the relativizer *yang*.

(11I) *Orang yang mem-bangun rumah saya* (JS286)
person rel ACT+build house 1SG
the person who built my house

(12I) *Mobil yang di-tubruk truk itu rusak sama sekali.* (JS286)
car rel PASS+hit truck that broken very much
The car (which was) hit by the truck is a complete wreck.

As in main clauses (see 6.2.2.3), the verb forms are suffixed with *-kan* and *-i* respectively when the beneficiary and recipient are made subjects and relativized. Thus when the beneficiary is relativized, the verb is marked by *di-* and *-kan*. This is illustrated in example (13I). When the recipient is relativized, the verb form is affixed with *di-* and *-i*, as illustrated in example (14I).

- (13I) *Pemuda yang di-cari-kan pekerjaan sangat ber-terimakasih.* (JS287)
 youth rel PASS+look for+kan work very thankful
 The youth for whom work was sought was very thankful.

- (14I) *Beberapa orang yang di-kirim-i surat belum men-jawab.* (JS287)
 several people Rel PASS+send+i letter not yet ACT+reply
 Several of the people who were sent letters have not yet replied.

7.2.2 Non-restrictive clauses

The structure of a Indonesian non-restrictive relative clause is the same as that of the restrictive relative clause except that the relative clause is preceded and followed by commas in the written language (Sneddon 1996:288).

- (15I) *Ibu Alieva, yang seorang ibu, akan kami jemput.* (JS288)
 Mrs. Alieva Rel a woman mother FUT 1PL meet
 Mrs. Alieva, who is a woman, will be met by us.

7.3 Comparison

1. In Indonesian, all relative clauses use *yang* as relativizer, whether modifying either inanimate or animate nouns, whereas Melanau uses different relativizers according to the type of relative clauses, animation and plurality.
2. Except in the written language, Indonesian does not have the distinction between non-restrictive and restrictive relative clauses as Melanau does.
3. Indonesian can relativize different semantic roles as long as they can be made the subjects of the clauses. From the available Melanau language data, only actors and

patients can be relativized. When patient is relativized, the verb form has no affix. I suspect that applicatives can not be relativized because the limitation of the verb affixes. In Indonesian, the form of the verb in the relative clause is very important for telling which semantic role is relativized.

Summary of Comparison

	Melanau	Indonesian
Restrictive Relative Clause		
Structure	Head + Rel + Remainder of clause	Head + Rel + Remainder of clause
Clause types	Non-verbal and Verbal	Non-verbal and Verbal
Subject /Agent relativized	Classifiers as relativizers Verb form: Actor focus Clause	The verb form is the same as when the relativized semantic role is the subject of an independent clause
Object / Patient relativized	Classifiers as relativizers Verb form: no affix	
Beneficiary relativized	Not found	
Recipient relativized	Not found	
Non-Restrictive Relative Clause		
Structure	Head + Rel + Remainder of clause	(distinguished from restrictive relative clause only by punctuation in writing)
Relativizer	<i>a</i> , <i>wa'</i> , and <i>lou</i> , distinguishing animation and plurality	
Animate actor relativized	Relativizer <i>a</i> Verb: actor focus verb form	
Inanimate object relativized	relativizer <i>wa'</i> verb: no affix	

Chapter 8 Conclusion

This thesis has highlighted various similarities and differences between Melanau and Indonesian, as summarized below. In addition it has identified a few areas where Melanau could benefit from further research, as noted in the final subsection.

Melanau and Indonesian similarities and differences

The sounds of Melanau and Indonesian are similar, but Melanau vowels and diphthongs have more allophones than those of Indonesian. Stress is predictable in both languages, but occurs on different syllables. The word structure of the two languages is similar, but Melanau does not have NC sequences (i.e. a nasal followed by another consonant) as Indonesian does.

Much of the morphophonemics is different, but there are striking similarities involving Melanau *me-* and Indonesian *meN-*.

The distinctions made in closed classes tend to be similar, but the forms used not be cognate. Distinctions made by Melanau but not by Indonesian include a difference between focus and non-focus for the first person singular pronoun and a third demonstrative where Indonesian has only two. Indonesian, on the other hand, distinguishes two negative particles where Melanau seems to have only one.

In Melanau, a limited number of nouns are derived with the prefix *ke-*. In Indonesian, on the other hand, *peN-*, *ke-*, *-an*, and *ke-....-an*, they derive many nouns referring to actors, products, and results of action. In Melanau, there are no equivalent affixes other than *ke-*, so it uses headless relative clauses to express the actors of actions and the things used, and so on.

The Melanau prefix *pe-* marks stative and accidental verbs. The stative *pe-* verbs are very similar to Indonesian *ber-* verbs, while the accidental *pe-* verbs are very similar to Indonesian *ter-* verbs.

One difference between Melanau and Indonesian verb-forming affixes is that Indonesian verbs can be affixed with *-kan* and *-i*. In Melanau, on the other hand, many verbs do not show such a difference in form. For example, Melanau *miga* 'wake up' can be an intransitive verb or a causative verb, while the verb *mebelei* 'purchase' can be transitive or ditransitive. One can only tell which is the case from the syntax. On the other hand, Indonesian ditransitive verbs have two forms: either they take *-kan* or *-i* or they don't, depending on the structure of the clauses in which they are found. Since Indonesian has alternative verb forms for ditransitive clauses, it has five ditransitive clauses structures, whereas Melanau has only three because Melanau does not have similar affixes as *-kan* or *-i* to allow alternative structure.

The structure of intransitive clauses are similar, so are the basic structure of active and passive transitive clauses. In Melanau, however, the actor and patient can be the focus, or even the verb, as shown by different word orders. Indonesian has two types of passive clauses. One is similar to the Melanau passive clause, while the other is for agents that are personal pronouns. In that construction, special bound personal pronouns affixes are used, and the verb takes no affix.

Indonesian has *yang* as the only relativizer for all nouns, whereas Melanau uses the general pronouns *a*, *wa* and *lou* for non-restrictive relative clauses and classifiers for restrictive clauses.

These are some highlights of the similarities and differences between Melanau and Indonesian-Malay grammar. It is hoped that these will be useful for helping Melanau speakers learn their national language.

Gaps in the Melanau data

Some of the comparisons are incomplete because of the gaps in the Melanau data. These can be the focus of further research.

In relative clauses, there is not sufficient data to be entirely sure which verb forms can be used when the subject is relativized (see 7.1.1). Secondly, the relativizer *lou* is said to be plural and neutral to animation, but, there is no available data to show its usage. In addition, there is no data to show which relativizer is used when animate objects are relativized, and more data is needed to learn whether applicatives (beneficiary and recipient) can be relativized.

A gap in a different area is that there also seem to be no examples of *-i-* verbs used in object and applicative focus ditransitive clauses (see 6.2.1.3).

Furthermore, the most extensive description is limited to Dalat Melanau. More data is needed on other dialects and to establish their classification more clearly. There is also a great deal of scope for gathering more lexical data for developing a comprehensive dictionary for the language.

Appendix: Wordlists of Dalat Melanau and Malay (from Clayre 1972:487)

	English	Dalat Melanau	Malay
1.	hand	nyagem	tangan
2.	leg	betih	kaki
3.	walk	makau	berjalan
4.	come	labi'	datang
5.	swim	tuun	berenang
6.	dirty	mama'	kotor
7.	bone	tuli	tulang
8.	day	lau	hari
9.	blood	daa'	darah
10.	eat	keman	makan
11.	drink	tuteng	minum
12.	hear	peta'ah	dengar
13.	see	pila'	melihat
14.	sleep	tudui	tidor
15.	sit	mungu'	dudok
16.	stand	tekedeng	bediri
17.	man	alai	lelaki
18.	woman	amexou	perempuan
19.	name	ngadan	nama
20.	die	matai	mati
21.	give	tujuh	memberi
22.	dog	asou	anjing
23.	door	benawi	pintu
24.	bird	mano'	burong
25.	fire	apui	api
26.	fish	ikan	ikan
27.	forest	guun	hutan
28.	house	kubou	rumah
29.	night	malem	malam
30.	post	diei	tiang
31.	rain	basa'lau	hujan
32.	river	likou	batang
33.	sea	daat	lautan
34.	snake	dipa	ular

	English	Dalat Melanau	Malay
35.	star	dipa	bintang
36.	stream	sungai	sungai
37.	tree	usahkayou	kayu
38.	water	anum	ayer
39.	wind	pangai	angin
40.	he/she	nyin	dia
41.	I	akou	aku
42.	you	ka'au	engkau
43.	in	dagen	dalam
44.	not	debei	tidak
45.	under	bahiba'	di bawah
46.	up	bau	atas
47.	with	jigem	dengan
48.	afraid	medut	takut
49.	alive	tudip	hidup
50.	bad	ja'et	jahat
51.	big	ayeng	besar
52.	black	bilem	hitam
53.	cold	singox	sejo'
54.	dry	tu'uh	kering
55.	good	da'ou	bagus
56.	heavy	baat	berat
57.	hot	lasu'	panas
58.	many	dida'	banyak
59.	new	ba'ou	baru
60.	old	lakei	tua
61.	red	se'	merah
62.	short	dadit	pendek
63.	small	umit	kecil
64.	talk	puba'	chakap
65.	ascend	bawai	naik
66.	descend	ba'ai	turun
67.	to-river	udai	menyeberang
68.	from-river	jangai	---
69.	godownriver	kaba'	menghilir
70.	goupriver	kaju'	mudek

References:

Aikman R.G.

- 1947 A Vocabulary of Matu Melanau. Kuching: Government Printing Office.

Blust, Robert A.

- 1974 Proto-North Sarawak vowel deletion hypothesis. Ph. D. dissertation, University of Hawaii. Unpublished.
- 1988 Sketches of the morphology and phonology of Bornean languages 2: Mukah (Melanau). *In* Western Austronesian Linguistics, No. 3:151-216, Pacific Linguistics, A-78.
- 1997 Ablaut in Northwest Borneo *Diachronica*, 1997, 14, 1, spring, 1-30.

Clayre, Beatrice.

- 1997 The Medong dialect of Melanau: A preliminary analysis of the phonology. *Sarawak Museum Journal* 51: 39-62.

Clayre, Iain F.C.S.

- 1970 The spelling of Melanau. *Sarawak Museum Journal* 18:330-52.
- 1972 A grammatical description of Melanau: a language of Coastal Sarawak. Ph. D. dissertation. University of Edinburgh.
- 1973 A preliminary note on focus and emphasis in Melanau. *Lingua* 31:237-69.
- 1975 Grammatical and semantic groupings of Melanau nouns. *Sarawak Museum Journal* 23:221-41.

Hudson, A.B.

- 1978 Linguistic relations among Bornean people with special references to Sarawak: A Interim Report. *In* Sarawak: Linguistics and development problems. Studies in Third World Societies, Publication no. 3, Williamsburg, pp. 1-44.

Kroeger, Paul.

- 1998 Language classification in Sarawak: a status report. *Sarawak Museum Journal* 53:137-73.
- 1999 Grammar 1: from morphemes to discourse. Darwin: Asia SIL School.

James, Carl.

- 1980 Contrastive analysis. Wales: Longman.

Morris, H. Stephen.

1953 Melanau Sago Producing Community in Sarawak. British Colonial Office.

1978 The coastal Melanau. *In* Essays on Borneo societies (ed.) Victor T. King.
(Hull Monographs on South-East Asia, no.7.) Oxford: Oxford University Press.

1991 The Oya Melanau. Kuching: Malaysia Historical society (Sarawak Branch).

Mulder (Fr.) B. and Lawrence A.E.

1930 A Vocabulary of Mukah Milano. Sarawak Museum Journal 12:87-150.

Prentice, D.J.

1987 Malay (Indonesian and Malaysian). *In* The world's major languages (ed.)
Bernard Comrie, pp. 913-35. London: Croom Helm.

Sarawak Government

1999 [http://www.sarawak.gov.my/sarawak_online/economy/
population_density.htm](http://www.sarawak.gov.my/sarawak_online/economy/population_density.htm).

Sneddon, J. N.

1996 Indonesian reference grammar. Australia: Allen & Unwin Pty Ltd.

Zaini Ozea.

1989 Bahasa Melanau: suatu tanggapan awal. Sarawak Museum Journal 40(pt.2):
231-50.