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Chapter 29. The Malayic Languages

29.1 Introduction

Malayic languages are languages that are sufficiently closely related to Malay to form a direct subgroup with it (see Adelaar 1992). The Ethnologue distinguishes in excess of 40 Malayic varieties, most of which are spoken in Indonesia and Malaysia with a few others being spoken in southern Thailand, Brunei Darussalam, Singapore, Timor Leste, Cambodia, Sri Lanka and the Netherlands (Eberhard, Simons, and Fennig 2021). This source mentions 81,578,326 first language speakers of Malayic languages, and the actual number is probably in excess of that. Many varieties are in a dialect relationship to one another; others are genetically more distantly related (such as Iban and Kendayan in western Borneo) or have typologically diverged from mainstream Malay varieties to the extent that they are recognized as languages in their own right (such as Minangkabau, Kerinci, and possibly Banjar Malay). Malayic languages are traditionally spoken in Sumatra including its satellites, the Malay Peninsula, and Borneo. Through its frequent use as a means of interethnic communication, Malay has also developed into a multitude of contact languages some of which are spoken far outside the MPSEA region. Many of these mixed languages share elements of the same structure, which is fundamentally different from the structure of other Malayic varieties, and some of them (e.g., Ternate Malay and Ambon Malay) have become first languages. See Sneddon 2003, Collins 1998, and Slomanson, chapter 18, this volume, for an overview of the diversity and the social and linguistic history of Malayic languages.

[Figure 29.1. Map of Malayic Languages]

Adelaar and Prentice (1996) and Adelaar (2011) distinguish three basic sociolinguistic categories of Malayic varieties: vernacular Malay, literary Malay, and vehicular Malay (initially referred to as Pidgin Derived Malay). This division is per force a schematic one, which does not always take areal issues and other categorical cross-over factors into account. Gil (2020a) and Paauw (2008) discuss some of the limitations of this categorization. Among others, they point out the need to recognize regional koines and colloquial varieties as additional categories. These issues are also discussed in chapters 9, 16, 18, and 19, this volume.

The goal of this chapter is to provide a short overview of the typological features displayed by members of the Malayic subgroup, focusing on areas of typological interest rather than on the sociolinguistic status of Malayic languages or the genetic distance between them. An earlier overview of typological variation in Malayic is found in Adelaar (2011). The present chapter goes beyond that publication by providing data from a broader range of Malayic varieties and more thorough analyses of the typological features that occur in them. Although other varieties will be mentioned, the languages chosen for this overview best capture the typological diversity of the Malayic subgroup, including Banjar Malay (Nirmala Sari [1984] and Abdul Djebar Hapip [2006]), Besemah, a dialect of South Barisan Malay also known as Central Malay (McDonnell 2016b), Jakarta Malay (Muhadjir 1981), Kelantan and Ulu Terengganu Malay (Wu to appear),

Kerinci (McKinnon 2011), Mualang (Tjia 2007), Salako (Adelaar 2005), Standard Malay/Indonesian (Sneddon 2010) and Ternate Malay (Litamahuputty 2012).[1]

The chapter is organized as follows. Section 29.2 gives a phonological typology of Malayic varieties. Section 29.3 deals with the morphology of these varieties; §29.4 is about their syntax; §29.5, about TAM and negation. Concluding remarks follow in §29.6.

29.2 Phonology

Malayic varieties show similarities in many aspects of their phonology, but also present considerable diversity. In §29.2.1, we show that the consonant inventory is mostly comparable across the subgroup, whereas the size of vowel inventory varies to a great extent. In the prosodic domain (§29.2.2), Malayic varieties have diverse patterns in the stress system, and some varieties demonstrate remarkable patterns of phrasal allophony. Some common phonological processes are discussed in §29.2.3.

29.2.1 Segmental inventories

29.2.1.1 Consonants

Consonant inventories of most Malayic varieties have 18 to 20 consonant phonemes. Table 29.1 presents the consonant inventory of Banjar, which has 18 consonant phonemes including four sets of stops, four nasals, two fricatives, two liquids and two

[1] Unless mentioned otherwise, Kerinci refers to the Tanjung Pauh Mudik variety (McKinnon 2011). Kelantan refers to the variety spoken in the Tanah Merah district, and Ulu Terengganu refers to the variety spoken in Kampung Dusun. Banjar Malay has two sub-dialects, Banjar Hulu and Banjar Kuala. The main difference between these is that Banjar Hulu has three phonemic vowels (/a/, /i/, and /u/), whereas Banjar Kuala has six (/a/, /e/, /ə/, /i/, /o/, and /u/; Nirmala Sari 1984). In this chapter the two sub-dialects will only be distinguished where this is relevant.

glides.[2] This is the same consonant inventory as Standard Indonesian, and Proto Malayic (PM) is reconstructed with these 18 consonant phonemes (where *r is realized as velar and not alveolar) plus a disputable *-ʔ (Adelaar 1992, also see Anderbeck, chapter 9, this volume).

Table 29.1: Consonant inventory of Banjar

		Labial	Dental/Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	Voiceless	p	t	c	k	
	Voiced	b	d	j	g	
Nasals		m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
Fricatives			s			h
Liquids			l,r			
Glides		w		y		

These 18 consonant phonemes are commonly found in other varieties as well, with divergence in the realizations of the palatal obstruents *c, j* and the rhotic *r*. In some varieties *c* and *j* are described as stops (IPA /c/ and /ɟ/, as in Banjar), in others, as palato-alveolar affricates /t͡ʃ/ and /d͡ʒ/ (e.g., Besemah and Kerinci) or palatal affricates

[2] Nirmala Sari (1984) does not include a glottal stop in the phoneme inventory, but we suggest that a glottal stop might be phonemic in Banjar, see §29.2.3.4.

/c͡ç/ and /ɟ͡ʝ/ (e.g., Kelantan and Ulu Terengganu).[3] The realization of *r* varies from a dental or alveolar tap/trill, as in Salako and Kerinci, to a velar or uvular fricative in many other varieties, such as Mualang and most peninsular varieties. Kaur (southwest Sumatra), even has a pharyngeal fricative /ʕ/ (McDonnell fieldnotes). There is, as a rule, an asymmetry in the place of articulation between a dental /t̪/ and an alveolar /d/ across Malayic varieties, and more broadly in MPSEA languages (Adelaar 1983, Donohue 2009). Another phonotactic rule is that voiced obstruents and palatals do not occur root- or word-finally, although in a few varieties such as Jakarta Malay, root-final voiceless obstruents can be voiced when followed by a suffix with an initial vowel, e.g., [jawabin] 'to answer' (← /jawap-in/) and [parudin] 'to grate' (← /parut-in/).

Many Malayic varieties have an additional phonemic glottal stop or an extra liquid, expanding the size of consonant inventory to 20. A phonemic glottal stop is common throughout the Malayic-speaking area, as can be found in Salako, Besemah, Kerinci and Kelantan, among many others. In some varieties it is the result of debuccalization of final stops; for example, in Besemah root-final /ʔ/ originated from an earlier velar stop *-k, and in Kelantan and Ulu Terengganu, all earlier final stops have merged to /ʔ/. Ibanic and various Sumatran varieties have /ʔ/ with different origins, which corresponds to ∅ or /r/ in other varieties (Adelaar 1992: 62-69; Blust 2013: 568-569; Anderbeck, chapter 9, this volume). Besemah and all other South Barisan Malay dialects also stand out as they distinguish an alveolar tap/trill and velar fricative /ɣ/ or /x/. Kelantan and Ulu Terengganu also have a velar fricative /x/, although it is only

[3] It is unclear whether these differences represent different articulations or different analyses of the same articulations of *c and j*.

marginally phonemic, and is the result of reciprocal assimilation from earlier *kɣ- clusters, e.g., Kelantan /xɛtɔ/ ‘car’ < Standard Malaysian /kəreta/.

An inventory with more than 20 consonant phonemes is found in Urak Lawoi’, Mualang and Jambi Malay. Urak Lawoi’ aspirated stops /pʰ, tʰ, cʰ, kʰ/ are probably due to contact with Thai (Hogan 1988: 15). In Mualang and some dialects of Jambi Malay (Yanti et al. to appear), a set of postploded nasals /mᵇ, nᵈ, ɲʲ, ŋᵍ/ is described as phonemic alongside four plain nasals, which apparently developed from earlier word-medial homorganic nasal + voiced obstruent sequences. Sequences as such are usually considered strings of two segments in other varieties (Cohn & Riehl 2016); the number of consonant phonemes therefore depends on the language-dependent analysis of these consonant sequences (see McDonnell, chapter 28, this volume, for a discussion of the consequences of these factors in the non-Malayic languages of Sumatra).

Many Malayic varieties also have preploded nasals [ᵖm, ᵗn, ᵏŋ] which typically occur in final position, but their phonemic analyses differ across the subgroup. Preploded nasals in Mualang are in variation with plain nasals, as in /malam/ ‘night’ → [mãlaᵖm] ~ [mãlam] and /ujuŋ/ ‘tip; end’ → [ujuᵏŋ] ~ [ujuŋ]. Here, nasal preplosion is clearly a synchronic phonetic process. In Salako, however, preploded nasals are phonemic, as justified by (near-)minimal pairs like /muaᵏŋ/ [muɔᵏŋ] ‘go back’(← *N-puàkŋ* ‘AV-go.back’) vs. /muaŋ/ [muaŋ] ‘throw away (← *N-buàkŋ* ‘AV-throw.away’).[4] Preploded nasals in Salako also appear word-medially in suffixed forms, e.g., /ŋiɲaᵖmiʔ/ [ŋiɲaᵖmiʔ] ‘lend out to’ (← *ŋ-iɲapm-iʔ* ‘AV-lend-APPL’) and /puaᵏŋaʔ/ [puaᵏŋɔʔ] ‘go home’ (← *puàkŋ-*

[4] Orthographically, *à* represents [ɔ], an allophone of /a/ (Adelaar 2005).

aʔ ‘go.home-SBJV’). Therefore, they are best treated as single complex phonemes. Diachronically preploded nasals have been further reduced to their obstruent components in certain varieties, including Belangin (a Kendayan variety, Adelaar 2006), Urak Lawoi’ (Hogan 1988), some subvarieties of Duano (Seidlitz 2007) and Satun Malay (Uthai 2007). Original nasals became homorganic stops, as shown in Urak Lawoi’ /kirip/ ‘to send’, /turot/ ‘to descend’ and /bitak/ ‘star’ (cf. Standard Indonesian *kirim, turun* and *bintang*). Nasal preplosion (or traces thereof) is also a widespread phenomenon outside Malayic, as has been reported in Blust (1997) and chapters 8, 27, 30, and 41, this volume. There are also varieties where the reverse pattern is observed. That is, final oral stops can be pronounced as prenasalized in several Kerinci varieties, e.g., /sakat/ ‘sick.AB’→ [sakat] ~ [sakaⁿt].

On the left edge of words, Kelantan and Ulu Terengganu have developed word-initial clusters of various shapes, some of which appear as geminates at the phonetic level. All consonants except for glottals and glides can appear geminated in Kelantan, and initial geminates can be either monomorphemic, e.g., /nnatɛ/ ‘animal’ and /ttinɔ/ ‘female’, or morphologically complex, e.g., /jjalɛ/ ‘to walk’ (← *j-jalɛ* ‘INTR-road’) and /ggadiʔ/ ‘to thicken’ (← *g-gadiʔ* ‘CAUS-thick’). The morphological aspect of initial geminates will be discussed in §29.3.3.

29.2.1.2 Vowels

The size of vowel inventory varies considerably across Malayic varieties. Some have as few as three vowel phonemes, while many others have retained the original four vowels /a, i, u, ə/ from PM and acquired a set of mid vowels. Some more innovative varieties have expanded the inventory size up to 12.

Varieties with a small vowel inventory are typically found in Borneo. Brunei, Berau and Banjar (Hulu variety) all have three monophthongs /a, i, u/.[5] Most Sumatran varieties have developed a set of mid vowels therefore having five or six monophthongs, with the exception of Besemah. In Besemah a four-vowel system /a, i, u, ə/ can be established, with /a, i, u/ showing predictable allophonic variations depending on the presence or absence of a coda consonant and the position of the vowel within the root (McDonnell 2008). Standard Indonesian also has six monophthongs /a, i, u, ə, e, o/, but the mid vowels are only contrastive with high vowels in non-final syllables.

Kelantan and Kerinci are more innovative in the vowel system; both have developed a four-way distinction in vowel height. In Kelantan, in addition to eight oral vowels /a, i, u, e, o, ɛ, ɔ, ə/, there are four phonemic nasal vowels /ã, ũ, ɛ̃, ɔ̃/. These nasal vowels occur independent of nasal contexts and can be contrasted with their oral counterparts, as in /ɛsɔʔ/ ‘tomorrow’ vs. /ɛsɔ̃ʔ/ ‘to scoot over’ and /busuʔ/ ‘ant hill’ vs. /busũʔ/ ‘stinky’. The genesis of nasal vowels in Kelantan mostly reflects rhinoglottophilia (Matisoff 1975), i.e., oral vowels were nasalized adjacent to laryngeals (also see Brunelle and Jensen, chapter 30, this volume, for a similar phenomenon in Chamic). However, not all nasal vowels in Kelantan have such a clear origin (e.g., /ɛ̃/ in /matɔ kaɛ̃/ ‘fishhook’, cf. Standard Indonesian *mata kail*).

While diphthongs can be found in the descriptions of many Malayic varieties, we suggest that there is a distinction between vowel-glide sequences and true diphthongs. Final *ay* and *aw* in Standard Indonesian, as in *pantai* [pantay] ‘beach’ and *pulau* [pulaw]

[5] The Kuala variety on which Nirmala Sari’s (1984) description is based has six monophthongs /a, i, u, ə, e, o/.

‘island’, as well as their equivalents in other varieties and PM *-ay and *-aw, are often referred to as diphthongs. Combinations of vocoids as such are common in Austronesian languages, but they typically only occur root-finally and cannot be followed by a coda consonant. The label ‘diphthongs’ has thus been questioned (Clynes 1997; 1999), and an alternative analysis is to treat them as vowel-glide sequences and to analyse the second component as a syllable coda. Diachronic evidence within Malayic supports this analysis. In Ulu Terengganu, for instance, final-syllable *a is raised to /ɔ/ before all back consonants (*-k, *-h, *-ŋ, *r [ɣ]) and retained as /a/ before non-back consonants, and all final approximants were deleted. The diachronic paths of *-aw and *-ay well fit into the pattern: *-aw > /ɔ/ and *-ay > /a/, which suggest that *-w in *-aw behaved just like a back coda, whereas *-y behaved like a non-back coda. True diphthongs are single phonemes, i.e., they are complex vowel units that can be analysed as syllable nuclei. Ulu Terengganu has two diphthongs /ɛi/ and /əʊ/; they can be followed by a coda, and they also have similar distributions as other monophthongs in final syllables. It has to be conceded that the demarcation between vowel-glide sequences and true diphthongs is not always clear-cut, and the phonological analysis of vocoid sequences is ultimately language-dependent. In Kerinci, for instance, seven types of vocoid sequences are attested in final syllables, namely /ɨy, ɨw, əe, ʌe, əo, ae, ao/. These vocoid sequences behave like single phonemic units as they can be followed by a coda, but the following coda must be glottal (monophthongs may be followed by dental/alveolar, velar stops and nasals /t, k, n, ŋ/*)*. In order to capture the constraints on rimes, one could propose an alternative analysis and treat the second component in these vocoid sequences as a glide-like component, which has a competing place

feature with the following non-glottal coda (see more details in Mckinnon 2011). In various other Sumatran varieties including Minangkabau and some varieties of South Barisan Malay, diphthongs are well-attested at the phonetic level (Adelaar 1995, Zainul Arifin Aliana et al 1979), but their phonological analyses require further study.

29.2.2 Prosody

29.2.2.1 Stress

Most Malayic varieties do not have phonemic stress in the sense that stress does not differentiate otherwise identical pairs. However, many vehicular varieties have apparent minimal pairs that contrast stress location, e.g., Ternate /'aŋka/ ‘lift up’ vs. /aŋ'ka/ ‘a kind of cake’, /'barat/ ‘west’ vs. /ba'rat/ ‘heavy’. In other varieties, word stress is often reported to be predictable. Banjar is said to have fixed penultimate stress, whereas Besemah, Kerinci, and Salako have regular final stress. Mualang stress is described as generally falling on penultimate syllables, e.g., ['uma] ‘field’, [kə'mua] ‘1DU.EXCL’, but it shifts to final syllables when the penultimate has a schwa or the final syllable has a preploded nasal, as in [təm'paʔ] ‘to forge’, [tu'hatn] ‘Lord’.[6] Kelantan also has penultimate stress unless the penultimate syllable has a schwa or the final syllable has a final glottal stop, then stress tends to shift to the final syllable. Exceptions are found in words with initial geminates, in which cases stress always falls on the initial syllable even if it has a schwa, e.g., ['ssəjeʔ] ‘mosque’ and ['jjəlah] ‘to explain’ (cf. [jə'lah] ‘clear’).

[6] Note that preploded nasals in Mualang are variable realizations of plain nasals, and the difference in stress location between ['tuhan] and [tu'hatn] ‘Lord’ is secondary and pragmatic, with the latter bearing more emphasis.

The descriptions of stress assignment in many varieties are based on rather impressionistic generalizations, and acoustic correlates of stress are usually not clear. In more recent phonetic studies, Besemah is shown to have final-syllable stress associated with a higher fundamental frequency and increased intensity (McDonnell 2016a), and word stress in Papuan Malay is most strongly indicated by longer duration (Kaland 2019). Detailed phonetic studies as such are often lacking for other varieties. However, whether there are fixed patterns for stress assignment or whether there is stress at all is a subject of controversy in Malayic languages. Standard Indonesian is a notable case in point (see Himmelmann and Kaufman, chapter 42, this volume, for a detailed summary of these issues).

29.2.2.2 Phrasal allophony

Phrase-level allophony occurs in several Malayic varieties. The observed processes occur at the end of a prosodic phrase and affect the nucleus or coda of a final syllable. There is considerable variability in the conditioning environments for the processes described here. Section 29.3.4 distils some generalizations about the phrasal-phonological and morphological conditioning environments found in varieties spoken in Jambi; however, like stress and intonation, variation in Malay phrasal allophony is yet poorly understood. We discuss three processes found in Sumatran varieties: oralization of final nasals, excrescent nasals, and changes to vowels in the final rime. Additional phenomena not discussed here include the presence of a final glottal stop phrase-finally in Jakarta Indonesian (e.g., ***dua****?* 'two' vs. ***dua*** *kali?* 'two times'), metathesis in Kupang Malay (e.g., ***satu*** 'one' vs. ***saut*** *kali* 'one time'), and phrase-final lengthening among others (see Gil & Mckinnon 2015).

One particularly common pattern involves ‘oralization’ of word-final nasal stops in phrase-final position. Muaro Sipongi, a variety spoken in the Mandailing Natal Regency of North Sumatra near the border of West Sumatra exemplifies this. In word-final position, segments /m/, /n/, /ŋ/ become [p], [t] and [k] respectively; however, underlying nasal forms surface when the closest preceding consonant is nasal or when a nasal appears in certain phrase-medial positions. The following pairs from Puspawati & Laili (2013), all of which underlyingly end with a nasal stop, illustrate the phrase-medial ~ phrase-final pattern: [malom] ~ [malop] ‘night’, [maken] ~ [maket] ‘eat’, [pasaŋ] ~ [pasak] ‘pair’. The following forms fail to alternate as the result of a preceding nasal: [dɛmum] ‘fever’, [holamen] ‘yard’, and [bənaŋ] ‘thread’. Oralization fails to apply when a base is followed by a suffix or a word within a sufficiently ‘tight’ syntactic relation, including the suffix /-et/ (a cognate of Standard Indonesian *-an*, which surfaces as [-en] with nasal-final bases) and phrases like numeral-numeral, numeral-classifier, and less consistently, noun-noun and noun-attributive adjective, as in Table 29.2.

Table 29.2: Phrase-final oralization in Muaro Sipongi[a]

	Final			Medial	
Suffix /-et/	*kirip*	‘send’	→	*kirimen*	‘a package’
Numeral-numeral	*lapet*	‘eight’	→	*lapen bɛlɛh*	‘eighteen’
Numeral-classifier	*lapet*	‘eight’	→	*lapen ori*	‘eight days’
Noun-modifier	*gorek*	‘fry’	→	*gorek/goreŋ pisak* (free variation)	‘fried banana’

[a] Puspawati & Laili (2013)

A number of other varieties in Sumatra show phrasally conditioned oralization of final nasals (see Yanti et al. 2018).

A second pattern of phrasal allophony involves the appearance of an excrescent nasal. This is a historical process wherein a nasal segment surfaces in a phrase-final position after a final high vowel. This pattern is illustrated by two varieties spoken in the Sarolangun Regency of Jambi: Lubuk Kepayang and Dusun Baru. In both varieties, the nasal stops [n] and [m] appear after word-final /i/ and /u/, respectively, in phrase-final forms: e.g., Lubuk Kepayang [taum] (compare Standard Indonesian *tahu*) 'know' and [talin] (compare Standard Indonesian *tali*) 'rope', see wordlist in Anderbeck (2008:49). Dusun Baru shows the same pattern with an additional complication: the excrescent nasal variably undergoes partial preoralization, e.g., [bejupm] or [bejum] (compare Standard Indonesian *baju* 'clothes'). The presence of the excrescent nasal does not appear on bases with a suffix including the third person enclitic pronoun or certain post-nominal modifiers, as in (1) and (2), respectively.

Dusun Baru Sarolangun, pronominal cliticization

(1)	Final form		Medial form	
	talin	'rope'	*tali:[a]h*	'his/her/the rope'
	tamum	'guest'	*tamo[a]h*	'his/her/the guest'

(Mckinnon fieldnotes)

Dusun Baru Sarolangun, nominal modification

(2) a. *ɲo* *mli* *beju^{p}m*

3 AV.buy.MED clothes.FIN

'He/she bought clothes.'

b. *ɲo* *mli* *beju* *biʁu^{p}m*

3 AV.buy.MED clothes.MED blue.FIN

'He/she bought blue clothes.' (Mckinnon fieldnotes)

Another common form of phrasal allophony involves changes in the quality of the vowel in the root final syllable, either via change of place of articulation or the formation of a vowel-glide sequence from a historical monophthong. A hallmark of so-called strongly alternating varieties of Kerinci (Yanti et al. 2018) is that vowels in final syllables, especially *i and *u, historically underwent complex vowel chain shifts that led, among other things, to the formation of vowel-glide sequences (also analysed as diphthongs by Steinhauer 2002 inter alia). Jambi Ulu varieties, such as the Jernih dialect of Sarolangun Regency, provide a relatively straightforward illustration of this phenomenon. (Incidentally, Jernih Sarolangun also exhibits oralization of phrase-final forms, as illustrated by examples in §29.3.4) Root-final *i and *u developed an off-glide in citation/phrase-final forms but are lowered in certain syntactically 'tight' phrase-medial positions, e.g., [api^{ɣ}] 'fire' ~ [apɪ ʊnggʊt] 'campfire' (lit. 'woodstack fire'), [nʊŋgu^{w}] 'AV-wait' vs. [nʊŋgʊ nɪneʔ] 'AV-wait for grandma'. However, not all sentence-medial positions trigger the medial form.

29.2.3 Phonological processes

29.2.3.1 Vowel raising

Vowel shifts triggered by voiced obstruents (henceforth *phonation-driven vowel shifts* or PDVS), are prevalent in Malayic varieties in several regions but have received limited attention. These changes affect vowels to the right of the triggering voiced obstruent, but in some varieties may trigger changes non-locally, skipping intervening vowels (e.g., Kerinci ***a**n**a**ʔ* ‘child’ → ***b**-**a**nɨʔ* ‘have children’), spread across vowels in more than one syllable (e.g., Jernih Sarolangun ***a**n**a**ʔ* ‘child’ → ***b**ə-**ɒ**nɒʔ* ‘have children’), or even across words (e.g., Kerinci *(nəŋ) mal**a*** ‘(six) night(s)’ → *tuj**ɨ**wh mal**ɨ*** ‘seven nights’). Moreover, voiced obstruents preceded by a homorganic nasal stop in some varieties fail to act as triggers (e.g., Kerinci *p**a**ɲj**a*** ‘long’ vs. *taj**ɨ*** ‘sharp’ but Jernih Sarolangun *p**a**ɲj**ɒ**k**ŋ*** ‘long’ and *taj**ɒ**p**ᵐ*** ‘sharp’). In most cases, PDVS only affects the low vowel *a and may be restricted to penults, e.g., in the Batok variety of Orang Laut *a > ***e*** in ***de**han* ‘branch’ but *a > ***a*** in *panas* ‘hot’.[7] In a few cases of final syllable PDVS, the final coda conditions vowel quality, e.g., in the Lubuk Kapayang, a Jambi Malay variety, non-local PDVS affects *a in root-final syllable and conditioned by a non-local trigger, *a > ***e*** or ***ɛ*** before a final coronal coda (e.g., *k**ə**b**ɛ**t* ‘tether’, *tiŋ**ᵍ**e**l* ‘stay’) and *a > ***o*** before a final rhotic or labial coda (e.g., *taj**o**m* ‘sharp’, *lib**o**ʁ* ‘wide’). In many Kerinci varieties, and a handful of Jambi Malay varieties, PDVS affects non-low vowels. In Jernih Sarolangun, *a raises to ***ɒ***, and *i and *u in closed final syllables remain high following voiced obstruents, but lower to mid vowels elsewhere. Kerinci varieties, despite the complexity of their

[7] The original source (Kadir et al. 1986) does not specify whether *e* is [e] or [ə].

historical phonological changes, show stratification of vowel reflexes whereby higher exponents of proto vowels occur following a voiced obstruent trigger. Numerous variants of the same process can be found across the Malay varieties of western Indonesia.

29.2.3.2 Nasalization

Nasalization in Malayic varieties is allophonic and generally progressive, a common feature of MPSEA (see Blevins, chapter 41, this volume). Vowels following nasal consonants may be nasalized, and nasality often spreads rightwards and affects more than one vowel until it is blocked by consonants other than glottals or glides. This pattern is observed in Salako, Mualang and Ulu Terengganu, as shown in the following examples: Salako /muha/ [mũhɔ̃] (*muhà*) 'face', /ɲahit/ [ɲãhĩt] (← *N-jahit*) 'to sew' and Ulu Terengganu /naiʔ/ [nãĩʔ] 'to go up', /ŋŋuwaʔ/ [ŋŋũwãʔ] 'to yawn'. A by-product of nasalization is the (historical) final nasal accretion in some varieties. In Kelantan and Ulu Terengganu, original final open syllables consisting of a nasal onset and a high vowel have acquired a final nasal as a result of the carryover of nasality: *bini 'wife' > Kelantan /bini/ ~ /biniŋ/, *kamu '2SG' > Kelantan /moŋ/, Ulu Terengganu /məʊŋ/ (also see discussion on phrasally conditioned excrescent nasals in §29.2.2.2).

Regressive nasalization can be found in Kelantan, but it only operated as a historical process which left some traces. PM root-final sequences *-aN and *-əN are reflected as /ɛ̃/ or /ɛ/ depending on the sub-variety (Ajid Che Kob 1997), e.g., *hayam 'domestic animal' > /ayɛ/ ~ /ayɛ̃/ 'chicken', *jalan > /jalɛ/ ~ /jalɛ̃/ 'road'. The sound changes presumably started with the regressive nasalization of *a preceding final

nasals, followed by the raising of *ã* to /ɛ̃/ and subsequent loss of vowel nasality in some subvarieties of Kelantan.

29.2.3.3 Nasal substitution and nasal assimilation

As is the case for other MPSEA languages, Malayic varieties have morphophonemic processes involving nasal assimilation and nasal substitution, triggered by the prefixation of morphemes with a nasal *N* which is underspecified for place of articulation. In Standard Indonesian, for example, the general rules for the morphophonemic alternations of *N-* in the verbal prefix *məN-* 'AV' and the nominal prefix *pəN-* 'NMLS' are as follows: 1) *N* appears as a velar nasal [ŋ] when preceding vowel-initial stems or stems with an initial *h;* 2) *N* is 'deleted' when the stem-initial consonant is a nasal, a liquid or a glide; 3) when preceding obstruents, *N* takes up the place feature of the stem-initial consonant, and voiceless obstruents are substituted by the nasal. Exceptions to the rules are found when *N* is prefixed to stems with an initial *c* or *s*: *N* appears as [ɲ] and does not trigger substitution before *c*, and *s* is substituted by a palatal nasal [ɲ] instead of expected alveolar nasal (see Donohue, chapter 43, this volume).

Similar morphophonemic rules can be attested in Malayic in general, but the class of consonants affected by nasal substitution is not exactly the same. Unlike Standard Indonesian, in most other varieties an initial *c* is substituted by a homorganic nasal, as in Salako *N-cocok* 'AV-drink' → *ɲocok*, Kelantan *NN$_1$-cɛtɔʔ* 'NMLS-print (printer)' → *ɲɲɛtɔʔ.* Root-initial voiced obstruents also undergo nasal substitution in some varieties, as shown by the examples from Salako *N-bareʔ* 'AV-give' → *mareʔ* and

Kerinci *N-dəŋə͡o* ‘AV-listen.AB’ → *nəŋə͡o*. In Besemah, there is variation in whether *N* triggers assimilation or substitution, e.g., *N-beli* ‘AV-buy’ → *mbeli* or *meli*.

In Banjar, it has been described that *N* in *maN-* or *paN-* is deleted before vowel-initial stems, and a non-phonemic glottal stop is inserted between two vowels after *N* deletion, e.g., *maN-ukur* ‘AV-measure’ → *maukur* [maʔukur] and *maN-ambil* ‘AV-take’ → *maambil* [maʔambil] (Nirmala Sari 1984: 14). From this analysis it appears that a rule of glottal stop insertion applies between any two vowels, but it is nevertheless contradicted by the suffixation of *-i* ‘APPL’, which does not trigger glottal insertion, as shown in *maN-bawa-i* ‘AV-bring-APPL’ (to invite) → [mambawai] and *maN-bumbu-i* ‘AV-spice-APPL’ (to put spices on) → [mamumbuwi] (Nirmala Sari 1984: 17). An alternative analysis which can better account for *N-* deletion in *maN-ukur* ‘AV-measure’ → [maʔukur] is to posit that the stem has an initial phonemic glottal stop (i.e., *ʔukur* instead of *ukur*), and *N-* is deleted preceding *ʔ* rather than a vowel. Following this reasoning, we suggest a phonemic glottal stop to be included in the consonant inventory of Banjar.

29.2.3.4 Reduplication

Reduplication in Malayic languages expresses a number of conceptually related meanings and performs conceptually related functions, including, distributivity, iterativity, pluractionality, reciprocality among others. While Mattes and Schweiger (chapter 45, this volume) present an extensive list of reduplicative patterns in MPSEA languages, Malayic varieties present only some of these patterns, and they are not uniform across varieties. This section is organized according to the formal properties of reduplication.

Perhaps the most common form of reduplication across Malayic varieties is root-, stem- or word-reduplication, which is shown in Table 29.3.

Table 29.3: Full reduplication in Mualang and Ternate

	Mualang	Ternate Malay
Root	*sikit-sikit* 'little by little' (← *sikit* 'few')	*ana-ana* 'children' (← *ana* 'child')
Stem	*pəmulaʔ-mulaʔ* 'big liar' (← *bulaʔ* 'lie')	*ta-guling-guling* 'unintentionally rolling over repetitively' (← *guling* 'roll over')
Word	*pəñcuri-pəñcuri* 'thieves' (← *pəñcuri* 'thief')	*bacarita-bacarita* 'to keep talking all the time' (← *bacarita* 'to be talking')

In some cases, root-reduplication is lexicalized, e.g., Standard Indonesian *mata-mata* 'spy' (← *mata* 'eye') or Salako *gabu-gabu* 'kapok' (there is no root †*gabu*). When stem- or word- reduplication involves nasal substitution with prefix *N-* (or the nasal part of the prefix), the prefixed form appears in the reduplicant and stem or word. For example, when the Besemah root *tetak* 'chop' is prefixed with *N-* forming *netak* 'AV.chop', the entire word is reduplicated *netak-netak* 'chop repeatedly', but when it is prefixed with *di-* forming *ditetak* 'UV.chop', only the root is reduplicated *ditetak-tetak* 'chop repeatedly' (see also Mualang stem-reduplication in Table 29.3). In some varieties these patterns of reduplication involve the loss of a final coda consonant in the reduplicant, e.g.,

Besemah *ala-alap* ‘(various) good (things)’ ← *alap* ‘good’ or Jambi Malay *diki-dikit* ‘little by little’ ← *dikit* ‘a little’ (Yanti & Raimy 2010). Finally, McKinnon (2011) reports that Kerinci has foot reduplication where the final two syllables (or sesquisyllable) of the root are reduplicated, e.g., *ŋarite?-rite?* ‘active’ (← *N-karite?* ‘AV-active.AB’).

First syllable reduplication is common among Malayic varieties. In general, this reduplication only occurs in words with an initial consonant, and the antepenultimate vowel as a rule is neutralized to schwa, effectively yielding Cə-root. This is common in Besemah (e.g., *me-minum* ‘drink (coffee) as a habit’) except in roots beginning with a vowel, which have full reduplication instead, e.g., *alap-alap* ‘(various) good (things)’. In Banjar first syllable reduplication, the antepenultimate vowel is neutralized to *a* (e.g., *ra-rumah-an* ‘toy house’ ← *rumah* ‘house’), and vowel-initial roots may be reduplicated with *a* (e.g., *a-itik*an ‘toy duck’ ← *itik* ‘duck’). In the Hulu dialect, the original vowel is maintained in both cases, compare *ru-rumah-an* ‘toy house’ and *i-itik-an* ‘toy duck’ to the examples above. In Jambi Malay, first syllable reduplication has all three options: no neutralization (e.g., *bu-buda?* ‘children’), neutralize to schwa (e.g., *sə-sʊbʊr* ‘very fertile’) or neutralize to *a* (e.g., *pa-potoŋ* ‘cut’).

Affixation interacts with reduplication in several ways. First, there is reduplication that is formed with another affixal element, e.g., in Banjar first syllable reduplication combines with a suffixal element *-an*, resulting in forms like *ga-gilaan* ‘somewhat crazy’ (← *gila* ‘crazy’). Second, in eastern Indonesian varieties the affix (and not the root) can be reduplicated, e.g., Ternate *ba-ba-dara* ‘bleed severely’ (← *ba-dara* ‘to bleed’). Third, full reduplication sometimes occurs with a linking element, e.g., Mualang *səmak ka səmak* ‘come closer and closer’.

Finally, there are two types of reduplication that are fairly lexicalized. Echo reduplication results in the variation in an initial consonant (e.g., Standard Indonesian *sayur-mayur* ‘all sorts of vegetables’ ← *sayur* ‘vegetables’), a vowel (e.g., Jakarta Malay *orak-arik* ‘to confuse’) or both (e.g., Jakarta Malay *səluk-bɛluk* ‘complicated’ (← *bɛluk* ‘bend, curve’). The second is root-prefix-root reduplication, which expresses reciprocality, e.g., Mualang *bantu-ba-bantu* ‘be engaged in helping each other’ (← *bantu* ‘helping’).

29.3 Morphology

Malayic languages vary in their morphological complexity. Some have limited morphology, while others have fairly large inventories of affixes (see below). This section covers some of the most common nominal (§29.3.1) and verbal (§29.3.2) affixes found among Malayic languages. In §29.3.3 and §29.3.4, we discuss typologically unusual patterns found in Kelantan initial gemination and Kerinci phrasal alternations, respectively. Section 29.3.5 describes free and clitic pronouns.

29.3.1 Nominal morphology

Following Adelaar (1984, 1992, 2004), Anderbeck (chapter 9, this volume) lists seven nominal affixes from PM.[8] Three of these affix forms—*pAr-, *kA- -an, and *-an—have identical forms that also function as verbal affixes. Some languages, such as Standard Indonesian and Banjar, still make use of all seven affixes with varying levels of productivity, while others, such as Kelantan, Ulu Terengganu, and Ternate Malay have

[8] Antepenultimate PM *A stands for undecided *a or *ə (Adelaar 1992:51). This differs from Salako *A*, which stands for *a* before a plain nasal and *à* before a preploded one.

retained only one which is now unproductive. Most other Malayic varieties fall somewhere in between. Malayic varieties exhibit no infixes, although infixes sometimes appear in fossilized form, as in Banjar *turun-timurun* ‘descendant’ (← *turun* ‘to go down’) reflecting the PMP actor voice (AV) marker *<um> (which was also used in nominalizations), Banjar, Salako *minantu*, Standard Indonesian *menantu* ‘child-in-law’ reflecting the PMP non-AV marker *<in> (see Kroeger and Riesberg, chapter 47, this volume).

Nominal affixes were originally in a paradigmatic relationship with certain verbal derivations, but that relationship has to a varying extent been lost in individual varieties. For instance, *pəN-* and *pəN- -an* are usually derived from transitive verbs historically prefixed with *məN$_1$-* (or one of its cognates), whereas *pə(r)-* and *pə(r)- -an* have intransitive verbal or nominal roots that have *bə(r)-* or *pə(r)-* (or one of their cognates) as a prefix.

29.3.1.1 Nominal prefixes

In many Malayic varieties, derivations of the prefix *pəN-* (or *paN-*) often refer to the agent of an act (e.g., Jakarta Malay *pənonton* ‘watcher’ ← *tonton* ‘to watch’), the instrument with which the act is performed (e.g., Salako *panutup* ‘cover’ ← *tutup* ‘to shut, cover’) or the meaning of the root as a tendency or characteristic (e.g., Salako *paŋalo?* ‘(someone) prone to lying’ ← *alok* ‘a lie’). In Banjar and Mualang, this prefix has derivations with broader meanings (e.g., Banjar *pandangar* ‘hearing’ ← *dangar* ‘to hear’ and Mualang *pəmayuh* ‘amount’ ← *mayuh* ‘much, many’), especially in Mualang, where it is the only productive nominal affix. This results in polysemy in Mualang, e.g., *pəmbəri* ‘gift, giver, giving’ (← *bəri* ‘to give’). Finally, Kelantan and Ulu Terengganu have an

unproductive nominalising prefix *NN₁-* that corresponds to *pəN-*; it derives instruments, as in Kelantan *ɲɲɛtɔʔ* ‘printer, mould’ (← *cɛtɔʔ* ‘print’).

There is also a *pə(r)-* prefix that has similar functions but is often unproductive (as in Mualang) or no longer occurs. It frequently occurs in Standard Indonesian but usually without the (historical) final (*r*)- segment, e.g., *pekerja* ‘worker’ (cf. *bekerja* ‘to work’).

29.3.1.2 Circumfixes forming abstract nouns

Malayic varieties have up to three circumfixes that express abstract nouns: *pəN- -an, pə(r)- -an, and kə- -an*. Some languages have all three, but they do not typically show the same level of productivity. The circumfix *pəN- -an* (and its cognates) form abstract nouns from transitive and dynamic verbs, as in Salako *paminta?an* ‘requesting, request’ ← *mintà?* ‘beg, request’. It is common among Malayic varieties. In some varieties this circumfix has other functions, e.g., in Besemah *peN- -an* also expresses a locative meaning *pe-langkah-an* ‘threshold’ ← *langkah* ‘to step’. Banjar *paN- -an* derivations have wider meanings, which include, among others, ‘to have an inclination towards what is expressed by the root’, as in *pamilihan* ‘choosing all the time’ (← *pilih* ‘to choose’). Jakarta Malay *pəN- -an* derivations are even less semantically constrained, expressing the meanings above and others, such as *pəŋgəbugan* ‘person who hits, hammer’ (← *gəbug* ‘to hit with something’).

The *pə(r)- -an* circumfix (and its cognates) are derived from roots that are typically prefixed with the intransitive *bə(r)-* or causative *pə(r)-* or other dynamic intransitive verbs, e.g., Besemah *peghagihan* ‘portion’ (cf. *beghagih* ‘share’) or Salako *pajaanan* ‘journey’ (cf. *bajààtn* ‘to walk, go’).

The *kə- -an* circumfix (and its cognates) form nouns referring to the quality expressed by the stative root in many varieties, e.g., Banjar *kapintaran* ‘cleverness’ (← *pintar* ‘clever’) and Salako *kagagasàtn* ‘beauty’ (← *gagas* ‘good, beautiful’). However, this circumfix is not very productive in a number of varieties. For example, in Besemah, it only occurs with a limited number of roots, e.g., *keghaseghan* ‘feeling’ (← *ghase* ‘feel’), *kepacakan* ‘ability’ (← *pacak* ‘able to’), and it shows some evidence of lexicalization in cases like *kadan* ‘situation’ (← *ade* ‘exist’). In a few cases, only the prefixal element is present, e.g., *kegalak* ‘delight’ (← *galak* ‘want’), *kepacak* ‘knowledge’ (← *pacak* ‘able to’). Furthermore, Mualang has a corresponding unproductive prefix *kə-* with the same function (e.g., *kəkaya* ‘wealth’ ← *kaya* ‘rich’).

29.3.1.3 The nominal suffix -an

The suffix *-an* has many functions. One that is often mentioned in the literature is that of object nominalizer forming nouns denoting the goal or result of an action or the patient argument associated with the root. While this description matches the use of *-an* derivations in Banjar (e.g., *ulahan* ‘make, product’ ← *ulah* ‘to make’) and Salako (e.g., *uihàtn* ‘catch, yield’ ← *puih* ‘to obtain’), it is too narrow for other varieties with this suffix. For example, in Besemah, it also derives locations (e.g., *mandian* ‘bathing place’ ← *mandi* ‘to bathe’) and instruments (e.g., *ayakan* ‘sifter’ ← *ayak* ‘sift’), and it is even added to nominal roots resulting in various meanings (e.g., *kaweghan* ‘coffee field’ ← *kawe* ‘coffee’).

29.3.1.4 Other nominal morphology

There are two other nominal affixes that need mention. Salako has a vocative suffix *-à*, e.g., *Kà?-à* 'Hey Sister!' (← *(ka)kà?* ''older sibling'). There is also an inclusive prefix for relational terms in Salako (*mi-*), as in (3). Besemah and Iban have similar constructions, expressed by the prefix *be(gh)-* and *meny-*, respectively.

Salako

(3) *là* *talu* *mi-adi?*

3 three INCL-younger.sibling

'them three siblings' or 'he with his two siblings' (Adelaar 2005: 69)

29.3.2 Verbal morphology

Anderbeck (chapter 9, this volume) lists ten verbal affixes from PM and two prepositions that have developed into applicative suffixes in many varieties. As with nominal morphology, Malayic languages vary in regards to the number of the verbal affixes present in the language and the productivity of the affixes that are present.

29.3.2.1 Causative and applicatives affixes

Many Malayic languages have two applicative suffixes, one that serves a benefactive among other functions and another that serves a locative or goal function among others. These suffixes have several disparate functions, which often represent lexicalized meanings. The argument that is licensed by the applicative suffix can be a subject or a non-subject (core) argument depending on the voice marking (see §29.4.1), and in a limited number of cases can even be marked as an oblique (see Cole & Son 2004). In

addition to these productive suffixes, some Malayic languages have a non-productive causative prefix (*məm)pə(r)-* (or equivalents in other varieties). It occurs with various roots and can co-occur with applicative suffixes. In Standard Indonesian and other varieties, it is in competition with *-kan*, which seems to have replaced it.

The applicative suffix *-i(ʔ)* occurs in a number of varieties and generally forms transitive verbs that take on a goal or location argument. It also often adds plurality to this argument or iterativity to the action, and in some varieties, it regularly acts as a causative. An example of these functions is presented in Table 29.4 below.

Table 29.4: Functions of *-i(ʔ)* in Banjar (in AV)

Locative/goal	*manduduki* 'to sit on'	← *duduk* 'to sit'
Plurality/iterativity	*manjamuri* 'to dry (many clothes)'	cf. *manjamur* 'to dry (clothes)'
Causative	*maisii* [maʔisiʔi] 'to fill'	← *isi* 'content'

In Salako, the applicative and plurality marking functions can always be distinguished because of their complementary distribution, and Adelaar (2005: 44, 49) treats applicative *-iʔ* and plural *-iʔ* as homonymous affixes. The former only appears in transitive verbs and never co-occurs with the other applicative suffix *-AN*, whereas the latter occurs with intransitive verbs and transitive verbs that are suffixed with *-AN*, as in

bauka?atni? ‘to be covered with wounds’ (← *ba-uka?-An-i?* ‘INTR-wound-APPL-PL’) and *ŋapasatni?* ‘to set free (many)’ (← *ŋ(a)-apas-AN-i?* ‘AV-loose-APPL-PL’).

Many Malayic varieties also have a suffix that is functionally equivalent to Standard Indonesian *-kan* and has various forms in other varieties: Banjar *-akan*, Besemah *-ka*, Jakarta Malay *-in*, and Salako *-AN*. It acts as a benefactive, causative or category-changing suffix that derives transitive verbs from various roots. With the exception of Salako, it also acts as an instrumental applicative. Examples of these functions with Banjar *-akan* are shown in Table 29.5.

Table 29.5: Functions of *-akan* in Banjar

Benefactive	*mambawaakan* ‘to bring for someone’	← *bawa* ‘to bring’
Instrumental	*mamukulakan* ‘to hit with’	← *pukul* ‘hit’
Category-changing	*manarusakan* ‘to continue something’	← *tarus* ‘continuously’

Jakarta Malay *-in* has an even wider application, encompassing the functions associated with both applicative suffixes. However, the instrumental applicative function is restricted to UV constructions (Muahdjir 1981: 50-56).

In general, applicatives cannot be suffixed to the same root, but in Banjar, *-akan* can also be suffixed to a verb which already has *-i*, in which case it is always benefactive, e.g., *mandudukiakan* ‘save a seat for someone’ (← *man-duduk-i-akan* ‘AV-sit-LOC.APPL-BEN.APPL’ ← *manduduki* ‘sit on’ ← *duduk* ‘sit’). Similar combinations of *-i*

and *-kan* are used in Brunei Malay (Clynes 2001: 29). It is noteworthy that most applicative suffixes — including *-kan*, *-akan, -ka*, and *-in* — are relatively recent and have replaced an older applicative *-An* (Adelaar 2021).

29.3.2.2 Voice prefixes

Most Malayic varieties have productive actor voice (AV) and undergoer voice (UV) voice prefixes. AV prefixes are expressed by the nasal prefix N_1- (e.g., Salako) or contain the nasal prefix (e.g., Banjar *ma*N_1-). The UV counterpart of these AV prefixes is *di-* and its cognate forms. In Salako *di* is not bound. Some varieties, such as Kelantan and Ulu Terengganu, no longer mark voice morphologically. They have a cognate form of AV prefix NN_2-, but it does not function as a voice marker, and there is no UV counterpart. See §29.4.1 for a description of voice.

Many Malayic varieties have a prefix with the same form as the AV prefix that forms dynamic intransitive verbs (e.g., Banjar *manaŋis* 'to cry' ← *taŋis* 'crying') and/or forms inchoative verb from stative ones (e.g., Banjar *mamucat* 'to become pale' ← *pucat* 'pale'). In Iban, this intransitive prefix does not have the same form as the AV prefix: *əN-* is dedicated to dynamic intransitive verbs (e.g., *ənsəput* 'to breathe' ← *səput* 'breath'), while *N-* acts as an AV prefix (Steinmayer 1999: 60). A similar albeit less clearly delineated distinction is found between an intransitive *məN-* and a transitive prefix *N-* in Jakarta Malay (Muhadjir 1981: 45-47). The fact that Iban and to a lesser extent Jakarta Malay distinguish two nasal prefixes and that in many other Malayic languages the nasal prefix has these distinct functions has led some to analyse them as homonymous (see e.g., Prentice 1996), while others make no such distinction because

these prefixes are never contrastive (see e.g., McDonnell [2016b: 45-51] who attributes the different functions of *N-* to the root to which the prefix attaches).

29.3.2.3 Intransitive and middle prefixes

The prefix *bə(r)-* (or its cognates) is often prefixed to intransitive verbs (e.g., Besemah *be-rupuk* ‘to think’) and also yields middle verbs (e.g., Salako *ba-cukur* ‘to shave’) or expresses reciprocity (e.g., Jakarta Malay *bə-dame* ‘to make peace’ ← *dame* ‘peace’). With nominal roots it results in verbs expressing various meanings, the most common of which are found in Table 29.6.

Table 29.6: Examples of *ber-* + nominal root in Standard Indonesian

Meaning	Root	Derived form
to have or produce [root]	*buah* ‘fruit’	*berbuah* ‘to bear fruit’
to have, use or wear [root]	*sepatu* ‘shoe’	*bersepatu* ‘to wear shoes’
to cultivate [root]	*ladang* ‘field’	*berladang* ‘to work a field, farm’
to use amount of time (for a time unit root)	*tahun* ‘year’	*bertahun(-tahun)* ‘(do/take) for years’
to be in the relationship expressed in the root	*kawan* ‘friend’	*berkawan* ‘to be friends’

For the varieties where *bə(r)-* is productive, the meanings mentioned thus far are common. However, in some varieties, this prefix expresses particular meanings. For example, in Banjar *ba-* derivations often can have an inchoative meaning (e.g., *bahabaŋ* ‘to become red’ ← *habaŋ* ‘red’), and in Ternate, it often expresses a habit (e.g., *baminoŋ* ‘to be an alcoholic’ ← *minoŋ* ‘to drink’). Finally, a common characteristic of verbs prefixed with *bə(r)-* across Malayic varieties is that they may also take an indefinite complement, as in Mualang *ba-bunuh babi* ‘to hunt pigs’ (← *bunuh* ‘to hunt’, *babi* ‘wild pig’).

In many varieties, there is also a middle prefix, which varies in productivity and the form(s) it takes (often related to a combination verbal prefix *bə(r)- and the reciprocal prefix *si-).[9] The Minangkabau middle prefix *basi-* is perhaps the most productive (Moussay 1981: 197-199). Derivations based on it are realized as middle verbs with the various meanings, some of which overlap with those in Table 29.6: verbs expressing using [noun] (e.g., *basisarawa* ‘use as trousers’), doing [verb] habitually (e.g., *basilupo* 'often forget'), reciprocity (e.g., *basiidu* ‘to hug o.a.’), doing with many (e.g., *basipulang* ‘go away together’), show/act/play [stative verb] (e.g., *basirancak* 'show one's beauty', *rancak* 'beautiful'). It also combines with the suffix *-an*, expressing meanings like ‘to rival or compete in being [stative verb]’, e.g., *basimaluan* ‘to compete being shy’ (← *malu* ‘shy’) and ‘to precipitate in doing [intransitive verb]’, e.g., *basipaian* 'to go in a rush', (← *pai* 'to go'). Other varieties have less productive middle voice prefixes, such as Standard Indonesian *be(r)si-* (see Sneddon 2010: 64). The Salako

[9] Adelaar (1992: 394-396) discusses the history of this prefix as a combination of *bər- and a reciprocal prefix *si. In a recent dissertation, Kitada (2021) discusses in more detail the history of *(maR-)si and how it expresses the notions of plurality, reflexivity and reciprocality etc. in the languages of western Indonesia.

prefix *siN-* forms middle verbs, which are sometimes preceded by *ba-* (e.g., *basimuhà* ‘to wash one’s face’ ← *muhà* ‘face’). Finally, vehicular varieties share a prefix *baku-* that expresses similar meanings of reciprocity or intensified action (e.g., Ternate Malay *bakulia* ‘to look at each other ← *lia* ‘to see’, *bakucari* ‘to search everywhere’ ← *cari* ‘to look for’).

29.3.2.4 Non-volitional prefixes

Non-volitionality is expressed in all varieties by a verbal prefix *tə(r)-* (or its cognates). It indicates that an act is performed without the actor intending it to happen. In Standard Indonesian, non-volitional constructions always have a passive meaning, as in (4), but in other varieties this is not a precondition, as demonstrated in Mualang in (5).

Standard Indonesian

(4) *imel-nya* *ter-baca* *oleh* *umum*
email-3POSS NVOL-read by general
‘his email was accidentally read by everyone’ (Sneddon 2010: 122)

Mualang

(5) *ia* *tə-təguk* *ka* *ipuh*
3SG NVOL-swallow PREP poison
‘he accidentally swallowed the poison’ (Tjia 2007: 169)

In many varieties, the non-volitional prefix expresses other notions, such as ability, stativity, and, with stative verbs, comparative or superlative degree. In Jakarta Malay,

tə- has largely been replaced by *kə-* and only occurs in a few residual forms and in loanwords from Standard Indonesian (Muhadjir 1981: 36).

29.3.2.5 Affixes indicating plurality, reciprocity and continuous action

The suffix *-an* (or the circumfix *bə(r)- -an*) has several meanings, but they all involve plurality of actors that is repeated or continuous. They also frequently involve reciprocity, iterativity and reflexivity, notions which are often encoded in the same way more universally (see e.g., Nedjalkov [ed.] 2007). In the languages that have *-an*, plurality is most clearly expressed in Banjar where it is suffixed to transitive, dynamic and stative verbs, including verbs that have been prefixed with *maN-* or *ba-*, e.g., *tulakan* 'many go' (← *tulak* 'to go'), *mamutikan* 'many pick' (← *mamutik* 'to pick'), *basandaran* 'many lean' (← *basandar* 'to lean'). With stative and dynamic verbs without *ba-* the suffix can also indicate an ongoing process, e.g., *layuan* 'withering' (← *layu* 'faded') or a continuous process, e.g., *badarahan* 'to keep bleeding' *(*← *badarah* 'to bleed', *darah* 'blood'). With some nouns it expresses action with reduced purpose, e.g., *basapedaan* 'to cycle for fun, go biking' (← *basapeda* 'to cycle', *sapeda* 'bike'). In other varieties, *-an* is often part of the circumfix *bə(r)- -an*, which express reciprocity and/or diffuse action, as in the Salako examples *basamakàtn* 'to be close to one another' (← *samak* 'nearby') and *baʔamparàtn* 'to be spread out all over, of many things' (← *baʔampar* 'to be spread out', *ampar* 'to spread out').

29.3.2.6 The adversative affixes

There are two adversative affixes in Malayic varieties, a suffix and a circumfix. In Jakarta Malay and Salako, the suffix *-an* expresses that one is suffering from a bodily

affliction, e.g., Jakarta Malay *panoan* ‘suffer from a skin disease’ (← *pano* ‘skin disease’). In Besemah, the suffix *-an* is productive and has a broader adversative meaning in such examples as *getahan* ‘get sap all over oneself’ (← *getah* ‘sap’) and *kutuan* ‘be afflicted with lice’ (← *kutu* ‘lice’). In other varieties, the adversative circumfix, *kə- -an* (or its cognates) has the broader meaning and is used more often than *-an*, e.g., Banjar *kamalaman* ‘overtaken by night’ (← *malam* ‘night’). Salako differentiates between derivations with *-AN* referring to a state or tendency and derivations with *ka- -AN* referring to being affected momentarily by the condition expressed by the root, e.g., *saŋehan* ‘suffer from asthma’ and *kasaŋehan* ‘have an asthma attack’. Finally, in Kerinci, the adversative is marginal and expressed only by a prefix *k(a)-*, e.g., *k-uǰʌn* ‘ADVS-rain.OB’ (get caught in the rain). Mualang and Ternate Malay only express adversity with a periphrastic passive construction (see §29.4.1).

29.3.2.7 A subjunctive suffix

Salako is the only variety still spoken to have a subjunctive marker *-à?*, as in (6). It is a reflex of the PMP subjunctive marker *-a and has a cognate (*-a*) in Old Malay. It is suffixed to predicates denoting intention or purpose, approaching events, conceivable danger and so on.

Salako

(6)	*Aku*	*dah*	*bai?*	*ba-lawakŋ-à’*	*kau!*
	1SG	already	not.want	INTR-marry-SBJV	2SG

‘I don’t want to marry you anymore!’ (Adelaar 2005: 52)

29.3.3 Initial gemination in Kelantan

The aforementioned prefixes verbal and nominal prefixes in Kelantan only have a restricted distribution; *bɣ-* 'INTR', *pɣ-* 'CAUS' and *tɣ-* 'NVOL' typically occur before vowel-initial stems, i.e., *bɣ-ae* 'contain water' (← *ae* 'water'), *pɣ-ilɛ* 'make disappear' (←*ilɛ* 'disappear'), and *tɣ-iŋaʔ* 'to miss' (← *iŋaʔ* 'think'). Allomorphs *b-*, *p-* and *t-* appear before stems with certain initial consonants, and the allomorphic alternation is conditioned by the relative sonority between the initial consonant of the prefix and that of the stem. For instance, *b-* and *p-* are found before stems with initial liquids (which rank higher in the sonority hierarchy than the initial stops in prefixes), as in *b-ɣasɔ* 'feel' (← *ɣasɔ* 'feel'), and *p-lumaʔ* 'crush' (← *lumaʔ* 'crushed'), and *t-* is also found before stems with an initial voiced stop, *e.g., t-baka* 'burn (accidently)' (← *baka* 'burn'). NN_1- and NN_2- only occur before stems with initial vowels and voiceless obstruents, in the latter cases triggering the substitution of obstruents by homorganic nasals, e.g., *ɲɲakoʔ* 'hanger' (← NN_1-*sakoʔ* 'NMLS-hang'), *ŋŋakaʔ* 'lift' (← NN_2-*akaʔ* 'AV-lift'), and *mmaŋge* 'call' (← NN_2-*paŋge* 'AV-call').

In other environments, the functions of all these prefixes are replaced by the gemination of stem-initial consonant, as in (7).

Kelantan

(7) a. *jalɛ* 'road' *vs.* *jjale* 'walk' (← *j-jalɛ* 'INTR-road')

b. *siyaʔ* 'finished' vs. *ssiyaʔ* 'finish' (←*s-siyaʔ* 'CAUS-finished')

c. *kəjuʔ* 'startle' vs. *kkəjuʔ* 'be startled' (← *k-kəjuʔ* 'NVOL-startle')

d. *bilɛ* 'count' vs. *bbilɛ* 'count' (← *b-bilɛ* 'AV-count')

e. *basoh* 'wash' vs. *bbasoh muloʔ* 'dessert' (← *b-basoh muloʔ* 'NMLS-wash

mouth’)

Historically these geminated segments resulted from the phonological reduction of original prefixes (Wu 2019). Initial geminates with similar morphological functions and a similar history are also found in Ulu Terengganu and Coastal Terengganu.

29.3.4 Kerinci and Jambi Ulu phrasal alternations

In many Kerinci varieties, especially those spoken near Sungai Penuh and to the south, most lexical items exhibit two morphological forms differing in the phonological form of the root-final syllable rime. The two forms are referred to as *absolute* and *oblique* by Prentice and Usman (1978), which is exemplified in Table 29.7.

Table 29.7: Kerinci absolute and oblique forms[a]

Absolute		Oblique	
umah	‘house’	*um͡əoh*	‘the/his/her house’
kant͡aɛ	‘friend’	*kantɨy*	‘the/his/her friend’
tid͡əo	‘sleep’	*tidɨw*	‘put to sleep’
mand͡aɛ	‘bathe’	*mandɨy*	‘bathe someone’
maka	‘eat’	*makən*	‘eat it’
		makən rutɨy	‘eat bread’

[a] Mckinnon 2011.

The oblique form has multiple functions. For a limited set of roots, it acts as derivational morphology, e.g., with the same functions as the nominalizer *-an and verbal suffix *-An that were lost historically, or marking sundry lexico-semantic oppositions enumerated in Steinhauer & Usman (1978), *inter alia*. For a much larger set of roots, the distribution of absolute/oblique forms is morphosyntactic, with oblique forms surfacing within specific structures and the absolute appearing elsewhere as a default form. The following is a simplified discussion of these forms based on Mckinnon (2011).

When the alternating root is a noun, it occurs in the oblique form in the following environments: (i) when followed by an attributive adjective (8a), a nominal possessor (8b), or a demonstrative (8c), or (ii) when a third person possessive pronoun *=ɲəh* is encliticized to root (e.g., *umə͡oh=ɲəh* 'the/his/her house') or even unrealized but understood (e.g., *umə͡oh* 'the/his/her house'). Absolute forms occur elsewhere (e.g., followed by relative clauses and adjunct modifiers).

Kerinci, noun roots in oblique form

(8) a. *umə͡oh gdɨ* [Attributive adjective]
house.OB big.AB
'a big house'

b. *umə͡oh kanta͡e* [Nominal possessor]
house.OB friend.AB
'a friend's house'

c. *kantɨy (ŋən tiŋga͡e) ita͡oh* [Demonstrative]
friend.OB REL tall.AB that
'that (tall) friend' (Mckinnon 2011: 242-244)

When the alternating root is a verb, the oblique form occurs in AV and UV constructions when it is followed by non-subject P arguments (in AV) or non-subject A arguments (in UV), as in (9), whether these arguments are overt or unrealized but understood. Absolute forms occur elsewhere (e.g., intransitive verbs, imperatives with *di-* UV prefix, or when followed by non-verbal complements or adjuncts).

Kerinci, verb roots

(9) a. *ka ndə͡oʔ makən nasa͡e minɨn lah* [Non-subject P (overt or understood)]
1SG FUT AV.eat.OB rice.AB now just
'I am going to eat rice now.' (Mckinnon 2011: 202)

b. kakɨy ɲəh *di-gigɨt hah* [Non-subject A (overt or understood)]
leg.OB 3 UV-bite.OB person.AB
'His leg was bitten by someone.' (Mckinnon 2011: 222)

When the root is an adjective, the oblique form occurs when it is followed by a nominal possessor or it occurs in an emphatic or comparative construction. See McKinnon (2011) and Mckinnon et al. (2011) for a unified morphosyntactic analysis that argues for a single morphophonological rule, deriving all oblique forms from corresponding absolute forms.

Until recently, Kerinci alternations were seen as a sui generis morphological phenomenon in Malayic, but recent work shows closely related phenomena in varieties spoken well outside of Kerinci. Steinhauer (2002) posits that the Kerinci alternation

derives historically from phrasal phonological alternations, with the absolute and oblique forms corresponding to historical phrase-final and phrase-medial forms, respectively. Mckinnon et al. (2018) and Yanti et al. (2019) draw on evidence from other varieties in the region to argue that the absolute/oblique alternation comprises the remnant of two merged processes.

The first process is a pattern of phrasal allophony found in geographically non-contiguous regions of Jambi. The conditioning environment for phrasal allophony varies considerably across dialects (see §29.2.2.2); however, Jambi Malay varieties spoken in Jangkat, Jernih Sarolangun and Gunung Masurai all show roughly the same pattern, outlined in abridged form in Table 29.8. (See Yanti et al. 2019 for a thorough discussion of these phenomena).

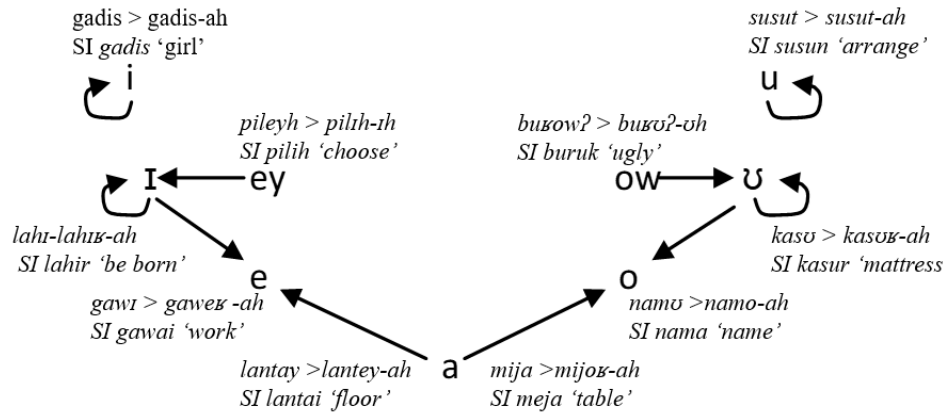
Table 29.8: Phrasal allophony

	Phrase-medial	Phrase-final
Verb	Followed by NP argument (P in AV, A in UV)	Elsewhere (e.g., phrase-finally, followed by adjunct)
Noun	Followed by adjacent attributive adjective, nominal possessor, demonstrative	Elsewhere (e.g., phrase-finally, followed by PP or numeral-classifier modifier)

The second process involves final syllable morphological ablaut forms reflecting the third person clitic pronoun and the verbal suffix *-An. Jernih Sarolangun and Jangkat varieties, for example, exhibit separate morphophonological processes affecting root-

final syllables, which is exemplified by the third person clitic pronoun *=ah*. In Jangkat, this alternation results in (i) vowel shifts wherein the vowel in the clitic *-ah* assimilates to the final vowel in roots ending with glottal codas /ʔ/ and /h/ and [-ah] elsewhere (see Figure 2), (ii) metathesis of final nasal-glottal sequences derived historically from the obstruent stop series, e.g., *sɲo(ʔ)mah* 'his/her silence' (← *sɲamʔ* 'silent' + *-ah*, cf. Standard Indonesian *senyap*), and (iii) an alternation whereby underlying *ʁ* surfaces, e.g., *ancʊʁah* 'destruction' (← *ancʊ* 'destroy' + *-ah,* cf. Standard Indonesian *hancur*), *mijoʁah* 'his/her table' (← *mija* 'table' + *-ah*, cf. Standard Indonesian *meja*).[10]

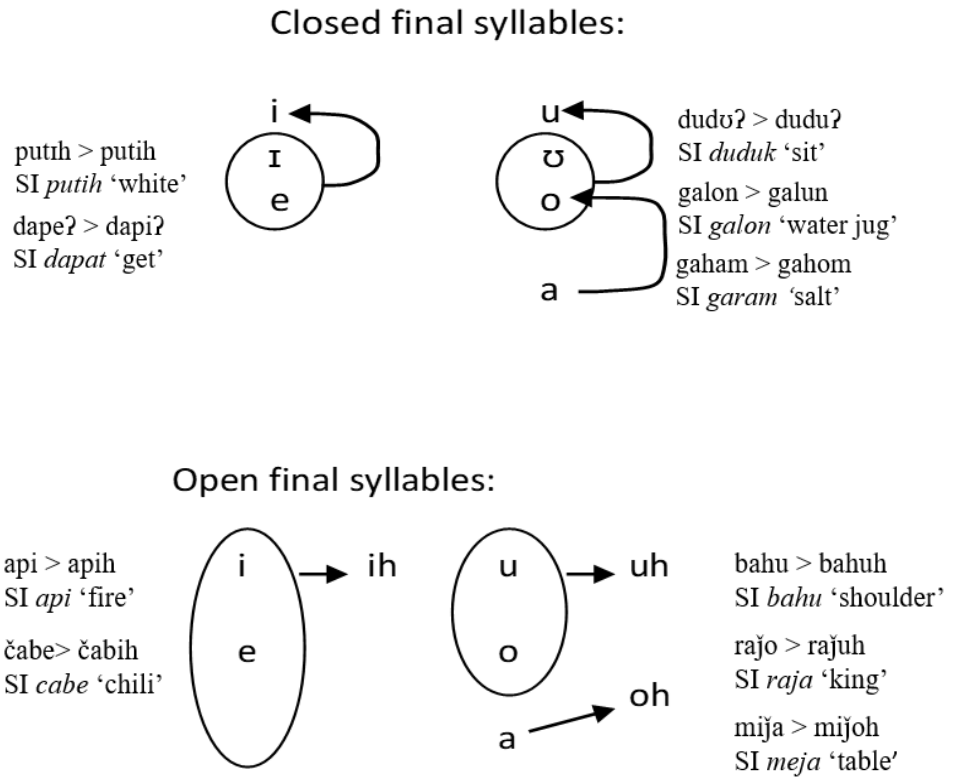
Figure 2: Jangkat vowel changes triggered by cliticization of the third person *-ah*[11]



Mckinnon et al. (2015) discusses these and related phenomena in several Sumatran varieties, wherein the functions of an apparent verbal suffix *-An and the third person enclitic are reflected as a chain shift in vowels (see Figure 3).

[10] *ʁ* in the latter case appears to be a backformation.
[11] Mckinnon et al. (2015) describes a similar pattern in Lempur Kerinci where the third person pronoun assimilates to the final V of glottal-final bases.

Figure 3: Rantau Panjang vowel shifts marking functions associated with the verbal suffix *-An and third person pronoun in other varieties



Yanti et al. (2018) propose that these two processes merged historically in Kerinci varieties. That is, Kerinci oblique forms correspond to the union of phrase-medial phonological forms *and* morphophonological forms appearing in enclitic/suffix environments (see Yanti et al. [2018: 453] for a detailed summary).

29.3.5 Pronouns and pronominal clitics

Allowing for the many replacements of individual pronouns in each of the Malayic languages, as a group these languages retained the original Proto Malayo-Polynesian (PMP) pronoun system rather well, both in structure and in terminology. Many of them have kept the original first, second, and third persons, the singular versus plural as well

as the ‘inclusive’ versus ‘exclusive’ distinctions, which distinguish between first person plural pronouns that include the hearer (*kita* ‘we and you together’) and those that do not (*kami* ‘we but not you’). However, the use of pronouns is also sensitive to politeness, and some basic pronouns are replaced in hierarchically sensitive situations. Historically, the most vulnerable pronoun is the third person plural: the original PMP pronoun *sida was lost everywhere with that meaning except in Ibanic languages (e.g., Mualang and Iban), which have maintained the original *sida?* ‘3PL’. In other Malayic varieties *sida was taken over by other lexical forms or by the third singular pronoun *ia (see also Adelaar and Hajek, chapter 52, this volume).

PMP made seven pronominal distinctions, and many of these were maintained in Malayic languages, which is exemplified with Salako in Table 29.9. In addition to full pronouns, Malayic languages typically have a series of clitic forms that act as either possessive forms (see §29.4.3) or the A argument in UV constructions (see §29.4.1). Not all full pronouns have a corresponding clitic, as Table 9 clearly shows. Vehicular Malay varieties as well as Kelantan and Ulu Terengganu do not have clitic forms.

Table 29.9: Basic pronouns in Salako

	1			2		3
	SG	PL		SG	PL	
		INCL	EXCL			
Free	*aku*, *ku*	*diri?*	*kami*	*Kau*	*kità?*	*ià*, *se*

Possessive	*=ku*	*=tàʔ*	*=(ŋ)u*	*=ne, =e*
A in UV	*ku=*			

One common property not exemplified in Salako is the preponderance of forms that express social stratification. Consider first and second person pronouns in Banjar in Table 29.10.

Table 29.10: Social stratification in Banjar

	First person	Second person
Familiar	*aku*	---
When talking to a younger person	*unda*	*ikam* *nyawa* (Kuala dialect)
When showing respect	*ulun* *sorang* (Kuala dialect) *saurang* (Hulu dialect)	*pian* (< Javanese *sampéan*) *andika* (Kuala dialect)

While first and second person forms more commonly express social stratification, there are some third person polite forms as well (e.g., Standard Indonesian *beliau*, Kerinci *sidu*).

While number is commonly lost in third person, it is also lost in second person in some varieties. In Banjar, for example, second person pronouns in Table 29.10 are number neutral. In addition to neutralizations in number, several varieties, such as

Jakarta Malay, Kelantan, and vehicular Malayic varieties, have lost clusivity distinctions. Lack of number and clusivity is part of a more general areal feature (see Adelaar and Hajek, chapter 52, this volume).

Malayic languages use several strategies for referring to plural referents. In Jakarta Malay, the third person pronoun *diè* (and enclitic form *=ñè*) is used for both singular and plural, but plural is made explicit by adding *padè* after the pronoun. In vehicular Malay varieties the plural is morphologically expressed by a grammaticalized form of *oraŋ 'person, people', e.g., Ternate *toraŋ* 'we' (< *kita + *oraŋ*), *doraŋ* 'they' (< *dia + *oraŋ*). Finally, in Salako, in addition to the general third person pronoun *ià,* other forms used for third person plural include *uràkŋ* 'people' *daŋan* 'people, they (people outside one's family circle)', and *ne? idà?* (reference to the deceased ← *ne?* 'grandma, grandpa', 'older person' + *idà?,* a reflex of PMP *sida).

A number of Malayic varieties make distinctions not present in PMP. Ibanic languages have developed pronouns that express dual number, which have transparent etymologies of a combination of the pronoun and the PM numeral *dua 'two' (e.g., Mualang *kəmua* < *kami + *dua* '1DU.EXCL'). Furthermore, some varieties have developed forms based on gender. Mualang has dedicated second person singular references for male addressees *m'ih* and for female addressees *di?*, and Besemah has a form *dengah* '2SG' that is a familiar form used between a speaker and an addressee of a different gender.

29.4 Syntax

The syntax of Malayic languages has been relatively well-described for a number of varieties. In this section, we describe the basic syntactic structures in Malayic languages, including voice and grammatical relations, word order, and the structure of the NP.

29.4.1 Voice and grammatical relations

Voice systems in Malayic languages fall somewhere on a cline where at one extreme there is a grammaticalized symmetrical voice system with multiple transitive constructions, none of which is clearly the 'basic' one, and at the other extreme a single unmarked transitive construction with a marginal periphrastic passive. In between these two extremes are systems where voice marking appears to be optional, resulting in a widespread use of a bare transitive construction. We treat each of these three groupings in turn.

Malayic languages with a symmetrical voice system are typically described as Indonesian-type languages (see Chen & McDonnell 2019, Kroeger and Riesberg, chapter 47, this volume). They have a two-way opposition between AV and UV, as in the examples from Sarang Lan Malay (South Sumatra) in (10) and (11), respectively. In AV constructions the transitive actor (A) is the subject, while in UV constructions the transitive undergoer (P) is the subject. What makes symmetrical voice different from an (asymmetrical) active-passive voice system, however, is the fact that the non-subject argument is not demoted but maintains its core status. The AV construction is marked with the so-called nasal prefix often represented as *N-* (see §29.3.2.2). The UV

construction that is marked with a prefix has simply been referred to as UV or type one passive. In most varieties it is marked by a UV prefix *di-* or *ni-* and an A argument that immediately follows the verbal predicate, as in (11a). However, Sarang Lan Malay is quite different from other varieties because UV constructions can also be marked by gemination of the initial consonant of the verbal predicate, as in (11b). Sarang Lan Malay examples have been slightly altered for consistency in glossing and presentation.

Sarang Lan Malay

(10) *Uwɔŋ* *itu* *ɲ-jompot-i* *anaʔ=ɛ* *di* *səkola.*
man that AV-pick.up-APPL child=3 LOC school
'The man picked up his child at school.' (Cole et al. 2008: 1524)

Sarang Lan Malay

(11) a. *di-tanəm=ɛ* *padi.*
UV-plant=3 rice
'He planted rice.'

b. *bbəli=ɛ* *ruma* *joni*
UV.buy=3 house Joni
'He bought Joni's house.' (Cole et al. 2008: 1525)

One notable exception to this general pattern of verbal marking is Salako, wherein the AV prefix *N-* may be combined with the UV proclitic *di=* or *i=*. When Salako *N-* occurs in

a UV construction, it marks completed actions, but in AV constructions, there is no such restriction (Adelaar 2005: 57-61).

For many of these Malayic varieties, there is a second UV construction that lacks any UV prefix and the non-subject A argument is immediately adjacent to the verbal predicate, as in (12) below. This construction has been referred to as a type of UV construction (i.e., the *pro-V* or bare UV construction) or a third voice category (e.g., type two passive, or Object Voice). The A argument is often considered a clitic pronoun, even though in many cases the pronoun is not in a reduced form.

Sarang Lan Malay

(12)	*buku ini*	*la*	*aku*	*bəli*	*di*	*siŋapura*
	book this	PFV	1SG	UV.buy	LOC	Singapore

'I bought this book in Singapore.' (Cole et al. 2008: 1525)

In some symmetrical voice systems, the position of the A argument is restricted depending on the person. This restriction is well known in standard varieties, but occurs in other Malayic languages as well. For example, in Besemah and Sarolangun Malay (Cole et al. 2008), spoken in Jambi, first and second person A arguments occur before the verb, while third person arguments occur after the verb. In other Malayic languages no such restrictions occur. In Salako, A arguments in UV constructions always occur before the verb despite the person of A, and in Mualang, A arguments occur immediately before or after the verb without any restriction on person (see §29.4.2 for examples).

In addition to the UV construction(s), most Malayic languages with a symmetrical voice system also have what looks to be a passive construction, which is fairly typical for languages with the so-called Indonesian-type voice system (Kroeger and Riesberg, chapter 47, this volume).

Sarang Lan Malay

(13) a. *padi di-tanəm.*
rice UV-plant
'Rice was planted.'

b. *padi di-tanəm ɔlɛ uwɔŋ itu.*
rice UV-plant by man that
'Rice was planted (by that man).'

In many of these languages it has proven difficult to determine which constructions are passives and which are UV (see Chen & McDonnell 2019). In prototypical passive constructions (see e.g., Shibatani 1985), the A argument is demoted by either being omitted or occurring in an oblique-marked phrase, as in (13). However, based on evidence from reflexive binding, Arka & Manning ([1998] 2008) in an influential paper using data from Standard Indonesian propose that a lexical A is oblique whether or not it occurs in an oblique-marked phrase. That is, for Arka & Manning, constructions in Standard Indonesian with the structure of (14) are all considered passive constructions, while those with the structure of (11) and (12) are not.

Sarang Lan Malay

(14) a. *padi di-tanəm uwɔŋ itu.*

rice UV-plant man that

'Rice was planted (by that man).'

b. *padi ttanəm uwɔŋ itu.*

rice UV.plant man that

'Rice was planted (by that man).'

In Standard Indonesian examples with the same structure as those in (14), a subject antecedent does not bind the lexical A, but in Standard Indonesian examples with the same structure as those in (12), it does bind the pronominal A argument. While many studies of Malayic languages have followed Arka & Manning's lead (e.g., Aldridge 2008; Cole et al. 2008), Kroeger (2014) shows quite convincingly that this binding property is not a grammatical restriction in Standard Malay but a pragmatic one, thus calling into question Arka & Manning's distinction between passive and UV constructions. For Kroeger, the lack of distinction demonstrates that all UV constructions with the prefix *di-* in Standard Indonesian are true passives.

Chen & McDonnell (2019), however, propose an alternative analysis where passive constructions are those where A is unrealized or marked by a preposition, as in (13). UV constructions, on the other hand, are transitive constructions whether or not the A argument is a pronominal or lexical argument, as in (11), (12), and (14). While the majority of these types of Malayic languages allow for a passive construction to either omit the actor (e.g., agentless passive) or express A in a by-phrase, there are Malayic

languages where these options are not available. For example, Salako appears to only have an agentless passive (see below), while the Tanjung Pauh Kerinci does not allow agents to be expressed in an oblique phrase. In fact, Yanti et al. (2019) argue that the A argument in all UV constructions is obligatory as in (15).

Kerinci

(15) a. *Kakɨy* *ɲəh* *di-gigɨt* *hah/alɨy*
leg.OB 3 UV-bite.OB person.AB/Ali.
'His leg was bitten by someone/Ali.'

b. **kakɨy* *ɲəh* *di-gigɨt.*
leg.OB 3 UV-bite.OB
'His leg was bitten.' (Yanti et al. 2019: 35)

They state that while the example in (15b) is technically acceptable without an overt A argument, it must reference a third person argument, and thus should be considered an instance of 'pro-drop'. No such requirement is found in Besemah or even Standard Indonesian. In these languages, the unexpressed A in passives could be interpreted as any person (see McKinnon et al. 2011).

One area where Malayic varieties with symmetrical voice systems vary is in the marking of A arguments in UV constructions. For most, the A argument that is adjacent to the verb in UV constructions is unmarked. However, in Salako, A arguments may be marked by the preposition *di*, as in (16).

Salako

(16) a. *Rajà uràkŋ ŋ-unak-iʔ*

king person TR-wake.up-LOC

'they woke up the king.'

b. *Ià di kayo tatak: anàʔ ukàʔ karana ià kabà*

3 by enemy chop not wounded because 3 invulnerable

'the enemy tried to cut him to pieces but he was not wounded because he was invulnerable.' (Adelaar 2005: 77)

In (16a), A occurs before the verbal predicate and is unmarked, but in (16b), the A argument *kayo* 'enemy' is marked by the preposition *di.* This marking appears to be completely optional. However, when the verb is marked by the passive proclitic *di=*, this A argument is never expressed. Thus, it appears that Salako has a UV construction, where A occurs immediately before the verb and an agentless passive construction marked by the proclitic *di=.* The fact that the A argument appears to be a core argument but nonetheless can be marked by the preposition *di* raises several questions about its status as a core argument.

For the varieties that fall on the far end of the symmetrical voice end of the cline, it is important to note that the unprefixed (or bare) transitive verbal predicates have a P subject. The only exceptions include a closed class of verbs. In Besemah, for example, these include *ghulih* 'get', *keruan* 'know', *endak/dindak* 'want/not want', *galak* 'want',

ade ‘have’ and *jadi* ‘become’, which are transitive verbal predicates that do not take voice-marking *and* do not have the structure of the bare UV construction.

In other Malayic languages, voice-marking on transitive verbal predicates appears to be optional. That is, varieties with these types of systems have an AV, UV, and a bare construction, as in the examples in (17) from Mudung Darat dialect of Jambi Malay. For some, this bare construction is analysed as a subset of AV constructions; the AV prefix is ‘dropped’ (see e.g., Cole et al. 2008).[12] Others, beginning with Gil (2002), refer to such a system as Sundic-type voice. Under this analysis, bare constructions are neutral (i.e., neither A nor P is the subject), and even apparent AV and UV constructions are analysed as generalized active and passive markers because A and P arguments are not considered to be the subject.

Mudung Darat

(17) a. *Mariana* *neŋoʔ* *pilem* *ktun*
M. AV.look film cartoon
‘Mariana watches a cartoon movie.’

b. *Mariana* *teŋoʔ* *pilem* *ktun*
M. look film cartoon
‘Mariana watches a cartoon movie.’

c. *pilem* *ktun* *di-teŋoʔ* *mariana*
film cartoon UV-look M.
‘The cartoon movie was seen by Mariana.’ (Cole et al. 2008: 1537-1538)

[12] Cole et al. (2008) use active and passive to describe these constructions instead of AV and UV, so they consider this bare construction to be active.

Another feature of these languages is that the UV constructions are limited to the UV construction marked by *di-*. They do not have the bare UV (or *pasif semu*) construction with pronominal A argument. This is the case in Mudung Darat in (17) above (Cole et al. 2008). Finally, languages appear to differ in how frequent bare constructions are in discourse. Yanti et al. (to appear), for example, find that the *N-* prefix in AV construction is not strictly obligatory, but is strongly preferred and far more frequent in discourse. Crouch (2020), on the other hand, finds that these bare constructions are frequent in Colloquial Minangkabau.

Treatment of such Malayic languages has varied. Many descriptions have assumed (often implicitly) that these voice systems are impoverished varieties of the symmetrical voice systems described above (Ross 2002). Explicit arguments for this position propose that these varieties arise due to language contact (McWhorter 2007). Gil (2015a) and others have pointed out that the assumption that colloquial varieties with Sundic-type voice systems are impoverished forms of standard varieties with a Indonesian-type voice is unwarranted. In recent work (Gil 2015a, 2020a), he argues that these Sundic-type voice systems are more widespread than previously thought, and that it is likely that they have developed from Sundic-type to Indonesian-type. He further argues that the descriptions of Malayic languages as having Indonesian-type voice is likely due to an overrepresentation of elicited data, which by the nature of the activity is heavily influenced by Standard Indonesian. Leaving aside the diachronic explanations, it is important to note that there are Malayic languages that have a symmetrical voice system other than Standard Indonesian and Standard Malaysian. For example,

McDonnell (2016b), which is largely based upon a corpus of everyday conversations, has shown that Besemah has a symmetrical voice system.

There are a number of Malayic languages without a grammaticalized voice system, including Ternate Malay (Litamahuputty 2012:116), Ambon (Minde 1997: 323-326), among vehicular Malay varieties. These languages lack a morphologically-marked passive like we saw in other Malayic languages above.[13] They typically have one or more periphrastic passives, such as an adversative passive or get passive construction, which are also common in both vehicular and non-vehicular Malayic languages, even those that mark voice alternations morphologically. Consider an example of the periphrastic get passive in Ternate Malay in (18).

Ternate Malay, periphrastic passive

(18) *padahal selama hidup kita tara parna dapa holo*
whereas as.long.as live 1SG NEG ever get sting
deng ofu bagitu macang.
with bee like.that kind
'whereas as long as I've lived I've never been stung by bees in such a way.'
(Litamahuputty 2012: 116)

[13] Languages that lack a grammaticalized voice system may have additional passive-like constructions expressed by the non-volitional prefix. In some cases, the subject in these clauses is the undergoer, but in other cases it is not (see §29.3.2.4).

In this example, *dapa* ‘get’ precedes the verb *holo* ‘sting’ and the single undergoer argument *kita* 1SG is the subject. A is then optionally expressed in prepositional phrase *deng ofu* ‘by bees’ after the verb.

In addition to the periphrastic passive, some varieties have an apparent passive construction that is marked by word order and oblique marking on A. In Coastal Terengganu Malay, transitive clauses typically have AVP word order (see §29.4.2), but in the example in (19), P *ikaŋ* ‘fish’ appears before the verb *makaŋ* ‘eat’ while A *di kuciŋ* ‘by the cat’ is marked by a preposition and occurs after the verb. This structure, on the surface, appears to be quite similar to passive constructions in the languages of eastern Indonesia described by Arka & Kosmas (2005).

Coastal Terengganu Malay, passive

(19)	*abih*	*ikaŋ*	*hɔʔ*	*bəli*	*p=pasɔ*	*taʔdi*	*makaŋ*	*di*	*kuciŋ.*
	finish	fish	REL	buy	LOC=market	just.now	eat	A	cat

‘The fish I bought at the market was eaten by the cat.’ (Wu fieldnotes)

29.4.2 Word order

By and large, Malayic languages are head-initial. With few exceptions, they have prepositions, modifiers generally follow the head noun, and standard negators precede the verb. While word order within the clause is typically described as verb medial, there is considerable variation, which also depends upon where the Malayic variety falls on the cline of voice systems discussed above. In the vast majority of these languages, the non-subject argument is relatively constrained, occurring adjacent to the verb and forming a constituent with it. We refer to this constituent as the *predicate complex*.

The majority of symmetrical voice languages have two word order patterns: a subject-initial order where the subject occurs before the predicate (or predicate complex) and subject-final order where the subject occurs after an intransitive predicate or in the case of transitive clauses the predicate complex. Consider the examples from Mualang in (20) and (21) below.

Mualang, subject-initial order

(20) a. *Kita' datay kitu'.*
2PL come here
'You all came here.' (Tjia 2007: 218)

b. *Apay Aluy N-iga' jabaw.*
father A AV-look.for bamboo.shoots
'Aluy's father was looking for bamboo shoots.' (Tjia 2007: 147)

c. *Tajaw nya' Aji Melayu temu da sabar bubu ia.*
k.o.jar that haji M find LOC fence k.o.fishtrap 3SG
'That jar Haji Melayu found at the fence leading to his fishtrap.' (Tjia 2007: 147)

Mualang, subject-final order

(21) a. *"Datay kita' kitu'!" Datay sida' ia' jara'.*
come 2PL here come 3PL that so.it.is
'Come here you all!" (And) come they did.'

b. *Agi' N-pulah jimut sida'.*
still AV-make k.o.snack 3PL

‘They ARE still making snacks / Still making snacks, they are.’

c. *Ka’ ku’ ting’i’ rumah tu’.*
FUT 1SG heighten house this
‘I’m going to raise this house/MAKE this house higher.’ (Tjia 2007: 218)

In (20), in intransitive, AV and UV constructions, the subject occurs before the predicate complex, while in (21) the subject in the same constructions occur after the predicate complex. In varieties with a symmetrical voice system, the non-subject P argument in AV constructions follows the verb, as in (20a) and (21a). However, Malayic languages vary in regards to the position of non-subject A arguments in UV constructions. For example, in Salako, the non-subject A arguments must occur before the verb, while in Mualang they can either occur before the verb, as in (20c) and (21c), or immediately following the verb, as in (22). See Tjia (2007: 154-156) for discussion of possible word order patterns in Mualang.

Mualang

(22) *Kayit sida’ antu. Mati antu tu’.*
hook 3PL ghost die ghost this
‘They hooked the ghosts. The ghosts died.’ (Tjia 2007: 155)

In other varieties this position is based upon the person of the non-subject A argument. In Besemah, for example, first and second person occur before the verb but third

person arguments occur after the verb (see McDonnell 2016b: 116-121). In many cases, some portion of these pronominal forms are reduced.

Non-subject A arguments in Brunei Malay show the same restrictions and similar clitic forms as Besemah and Standard Indonesian. However, unlike any other Malayic varieties, Brunei Malay also has clitic S and A subject arguments that occur in intransitive or AV constructions, respectively (Clynes 2001: 23). These forms appear to be second position clitics that encliticize to the first word in the clause whether it be a negative particle (23a), an auxiliary verb (23b), or a main verb (23c).

Brunei Malay

(23) a. *inda=ku* *pacaya*
NEG=1SG believe
'I don't believe (it).'

b. *mau=ku* *ba-karaja* *lagi* *bah.*
like=1SG INTR-work again PART
'I want to work again.'

c. *mam-bali=ku* *kain* *ampat* *mitar* *kan* *anak=ku.*
AV-buy=1SG cloth four meter to child=1SG
'I bought four meters of cloth for my child.' (Clynes 2001: 23)

For Malayic languages where the voice-marking on transitive verbal predicates is optional, word order has been described to be extremely flexible. Gil and others refer to such systems as Sundic-type voice (see e.g., Gil 2005 for Riau Indonesian, Conners et

al. 2015 for Jakarta Indonesian, and Crouch 2020 for Colloquial Minangkabau). For example, Conners et al. (2015) show the flexibility of word order in Jakarta Indonesian. For intransitive verbs, SV and VS are attested in their corpus, and for transitive verbs (e.g., *suka* 'like') all six orders are attested in their corpus: AVP, VPA, VAP, PVA, APV, and PAV. However, when looking at two transitive verbs *beli* 'buy' and *makan* 'eat', they found that the vast majority of clauses were AVP order (Conners et al. 2015: 952-953).

In Malayic languages that lack voice marking, such as Kelantan and Ulu Terengganu, word order is typically subject-initial (i.e., SV or AVP), but some varieties have been described to be extremely flexible. In Ternate Malay, for example, the typical word order is SV or AVP, as in (24), but Litamahuputty (2012: 116) states that there are alternative orders to draw attention to other elements in the clause. The examples in (25) demonstrate orders where the verb (a) or the P argument (b) are highlighted in the initial position.

Ternate Malay

(24) a. *de* *pe* *kaki* *sake.*
3SG POSS leg painful
'his feet hurt.' (Litamahuputty 2012: 205)

b. *dong* *kase* *bengkok* *itu* *triplek* *bagini*
3PL CAUS bent that plywood like.this
'they bent the plywood like this' (Litamahuputty 2012: 209)

Ternate Malay

(25) a. *gaga* *bufet.*

stylish cupboard

'the cupboard was stylish.' (Litamahuputty 2012: 197)

b. *peda* *kita* *pegang.*

machete 1SG hold

'I was holding the machete.' (Litamahuputty 2012: 200)

29.4.3 Noun phrase structure

Noun phrases (NP) in Malayic varieties display a relatively uniform structure. Most elements in a NP follow the head noun, including attributive modifiers, possessors and demonstratives. Quantifiers, numerals and classifiers, on the other hand, generally precede the head noun. The typical constituent order in a NP can be schematized in (26), illustrated by Besemah in (27):

(26) Quantifier/numeral – classifier - noun - modifier - possessor - demonstrative

Besemah

(27) *due* *ikuk* *kucing* *kecik=ku* *tu* *be-laghi*

two CLF cat small=1SG that MID-run

'My two small cats ran away.' (McDonnell 2016b: 99)

While numeral classifiers are not ubiquitous in Austronesian languages, they are prevalent throughout Malayic varieties, Standard Indonesian being one variety that makes the most extensive use of classifiers. The exact number of classifiers in Standard Indonesian is not clear; Sneddon (2010) list 18 classifiers which are relatively

common, but only three would be considered frequent: *orang* (for humans), *ekor* (for animals) and *buah* (for inanimate objects). Most other varieties have a small number of common classifiers, but the conceptual categorization of nouns can differ. For instance, Salako has one classifier *ekoʔ* for all animate beings including human and animals, and Kelantan differentiates fruits and small objects (*bute*) from big objects (*buwɔh*). Classifiers are usually not strictly obligatory. Numerals can directly precede the head nouns in many varieties, as shown in Besemah *se-dusun* ‘one village’ and *se-mubil* ‘one car’. When classifiers do occur, they almost always follow numerals. An exception is found for the classifier for human beings in Besemah, which exhibits the alternation between a free form *ughang* and a proclitic form *gha=* with the free form following the numeral and the proclitic form preceding the numeral, e.g., *due ughang* vs. *gha=due* ‘two people’. Variation is also attested for the position of numeral + classifier, which may appear before or after the head noun, as can be seen from the following Kelantan examples.

Kelantan

(28) a. *s-kilɔ satɛ maʔnɔ [ppaʔ bute] ɲɲɔ*
one-kilo coconut.milk meaning four CLF coconut
‘One kilo coconut milk means four coconuts.’

b. *diyɔ buwi=lah buwɔhpɛ [tigɔ bute]*
3 give=EMPH fruit pear three CLF
‘He gave away three pears.’ (Wu fieldnotes)

Attributive modifiers usually occur immediately after the head noun. In many varieties, there is preference for a single modifier, with additional modifiers placed in relative clauses.

Possessors can be either nominal or pronominal. Nominal possessors are typically unmarked, and pronominal possessors often appear as enclitics. A few varieties such as Kelantan and Ulu Terengganu lack clitic pronouns altogether, and there is no distinction between possessive pronouns and personal pronouns (see §29.3.5).

Most Malayic varieties only make a two-way distinction in the demonstrative pronouns, e.g., Standard Indonesian *ini* 'this' and *itu* 'that', Besemah *tini* 'this' and *titu* 'that' (also shortened clitic forms *=ni* and *=tu*), Kelantan *ni* 'this' and *tu* 'that'. Iban makes a three-way distinction, as in *tuʔ* 'this', *ɲaʔ* 'that' and *ɲin* 'yonder', which reflects a more conservative system that can be traced back to PM (Adelaar 1992: 127). A still more elaborate four-way distinction is found in Salako *ɲian, aŋ=ɲian* 'this (proximal)', *koà, aŋ=koà* 'that (medial)', *naʔan, an=naʔan* 'that, yonder (distant)' and *naʔun* 'yonder (distant+)'.[14]

29.5 TAM and Negation

29.5.1 TAM markers

Tense, aspect, and mood (TAM) markers are expressed in various ways in Malayic languages. Most commonly, they are made up of a closed class and optionally

[14] There is nevertheless a mismatch in the demonstrative adverbs, which lack the medial category.

expressed as auxiliary verbs, adverbs, or particles. In only a few cases is TAM expressed as an affix. In Malayic languages, TAM is expressed as auxiliary verbs that precede the verbs they modify, although the Mudung Darat dialect of Jambi Malay also allows post-verbal TAM markers (see the discussion of post-verbal negation below). Consider examples from Besemah, which show a future tense marker in (28a), a completive aspect marker in (28b), and an inferential mood marker in (28c).

Besemah

(28) a. *misal=nye kampung kerbai ka m-(p)eghut-i ikan tu.*
example=3 group woman FUT AV-gut-LOC fish that
'for example (when) a group will gut fish.' (McDonnell 2016b: 103)

b. *Sate udim makan=nye, lemak aku.*
after COMPL AV.eat=3 pleasant 1SG
'After (I) finished eating it, I felt satisfied.' (McDonnell 2016b: 101-102)

c. *Cengki ade jeme kecelakaan*
INFR exist people accident
'there must have been people who got in accidents.' (McDonnell 2016b: 105)

In addition to these TAM markers Besemah has other tense (i.e., *empai* 'REC.PST' and *nak* 'FUT'), aspect (i.e., *dang* 'IPFV', *la* 'already', *masih, gi*= 'still', *belum* 'not yet', *ade* 'ever', *kelah* 'never'), and modal (i.e., *pacak* 'can', *endak* 'want, need', *galak* 'want', *bulih* 'may') markers. In recent years, aspectual forms expressing notions 'already', 'still', 'not

yet', and 'no longer' have been analysed as an expression of phasal polarity (see Veselinova, Vander Klok and Asplund, chapter 51, this volume).

Tense is commonly described as being expressed by adverbs that occur in various places in the clause. For example, in Ternate Malay, the recent past adverb *tadi* 'earlier' occurs at the beginning of the clause (i.e., before the subject) or immediately after the subject and before the verb, respectively in the examples in (29). The remote past adverb *dulu* 'before' and the distant future adverb *nanti* 'later' also occur in the same positions (Litamahuputty 2012: 233-237).

Ternate Malay

(29) a. *Ya* *Allah* *ampong,* *tadi* *kita* *tau,* *jang* *angka suda.*
EXCLAM Allah mercy earlier 1SG know don't lift.up COMPL
'goodness gracious, if I had realised this before, I wouldn't have carried this.'

b. *Kita* *me* *tadi* *karja* *paya* *skali.*
1SG PART earlier work troublesome very
'I did a lousy job today.' (Litamahuputty 2012: 235)

Many Malayic languages have a wide variety of adverbs (or adverbial phrases) that express tense, see e.g., Mualang examples in Tjia (2007: 193). In other Malayic languages, tense can be expressed by the combination of a particle and a demonstrative. The particle e*mbak* in Besemah can mean 'like, as' when followed by an NP or a distal demonstrative *itu* 'that', but when it is followed by a proximal demonstrative *embak ini*, it means 'now'. Finally, some tense markers act as auxiliary

verbs, immediately preceding the verb. This is the case of the recent past marker *empai* in Besemah or *baru* in Standard Indonesian.

Affixes that express tense, aspect, or mood are extremely limited. Salako and Old Malay express subjunctive mood with the suffix *-à? and -a respectively*, see §29.3.2.7. The nasal prefix *N-* in Salako also displays aspectual and modal properties. This prefix attaches to verbs to express AV, but unlike other Malayic languages, it also attaches to UV constructions in which case, it marks that the action of the verb as complete, as in (30). The completive meaning in this example is not present in AV constructions. Furthermore, in UV constructions the prefix *N-* cannot co-occur with the subjunctive suffix *-à?*.

Salako

(30) *Uma-e* *akà?* *di=ŋa-rumput.*
field-3.POSS done UV=TR-weed
'Her field was already weeded.' (Adelaar 2005: 57)

5.2 Negation

In accordance with what generally applies to languages in the western fringes of the MPSEA region, Malayic languages typically have five kinds of negators, examples from Mualang and Besemah are presented in Table 29.11.

Table 29.11: Types of negators in Malayic languages

	Mualang	Besemah
Standard 'no, not'	*naday* (long form), *nday* (short form)	*dide* (long form)*, dik* (short form)
Prohibitive 'don't'	*naŋ*	*jangah, jangan*
Contrastive	*ukay*	*bukane, bukan, kane*, *kan*
'Aspectual' 'not yet'	*bədaw*	*belum, lum*
Negative existential 'there is not'	*nisiʔ, naday*	---

Standard negation in Malayic languages is typically expressed as a preverbal particle and typically has long and short forms. In Besemah, the long and short forms are generally interchangeable except that the long form can occur on its own (e.g., when answering a yes-no question) whereas the short form cannot. In Kelantan, it does not appear to be an issue of long or short, but the form *dɔʔ* is used on its own whereas *tɔʔ* negates a verbal predicate.

The contrastive negator (also known as a nominal negator) in Malayic languages typically contradicts or provides an alternative, which is implied in the Standard Indonesian example in (31).

Standard Indonesian

(31) *bukan* *di* *sini* *(mungkin* *di* *pantai=lah)*
NEG LOC here maybe LOC beach=EMPH
'not here ([but] maybe at the beach!)' (Novi Djenar, p.c.)

In other cases, this same negator is used to negate predicate nominals as in (32).

Standard Indonesian

(32) *dia* *bukan orang* *jahat.*
3SG NEG person bad
'he's not a bad person' (Novi Djenar, p.c.)

Kerinci has two forms: *sidʲiʔ* (absolute) and *sidʲiw?* (oblique). The absolute form functions as a contrastive negator, much like the Standard Indonesian *bukan*; whereas the oblique form exhibits a distribution similar to the standard negator.

Prohibitive negators occur at the beginning of imperative clauses and are commonly followed by a UV construction, as in (33). In Besemah, the UV prefix *di-* is also commonly used, despite the fact that *di-* is restricted to third person A arguments.

Apparently, since the second person A argument is not overtly realized, it is possible for the verb to be prefixed with *di-.*

Besemah

(33) *radang* *tu,* *jangan* *di-makan.*

potato that NEG.IMP UV-eat

‘(as for) potatoes, don’t eat (them).’ (McDonnell 2018)

Negative existential markers follow the universal trend to become standard negators which then combine again with existential markers (see van der Auwera et al., chapter 50, this volume). There are various other lexicalized negative verbs and modal forms in several varieties. Mualang and Besemah have an extended series of negators, which are historically derived with *ni- and *di-, respectively (Tjia 2007: 240; McDonnell & Tadmor 2015; van der Auwera et al., chapter 50, this volume). For example, this prefix appears in Mualang *nisiʔ*, *naday* and *nday* (possibly also in *naŋ*) mentioned above, and also in Mualang *nikala* ‘never’, *nitaw* ‘not know; can’t; may not’, *nusah* ‘needn’t’ (< *ni + *usah ‘need’), *nupa* ‘not as, not like’ (< *ni + upa ‘as, like’). In Besemah, this prefix is found in *dimak* ‘not pleasant’ (< *di + *lemak* ‘delicious’), *dindak* ‘not want’ (< *di + *hendak ‘want’), *digik* ‘not any longer’ (< *di + *agi* ‘again’).

Several Malayic languages have a post-verbal negative construction. In Besemah, there is a special construction wherein the negator *adak* occurs after the predicate or predicate complex and negates a situation that is more likely, which translates to ‘not even’ in English, as in (34).

Besemah

(34) *Die* *me-lekat* *adak.*

3 AV-stick NEG

‘they (i.e., rice plants) won’t even stick.’ (McDonnell 2018)

In Salako, the negator *anà?* can be used as a negative existential verb meaning ‘not exist’ or ‘not have’ when it occurs after the nominal argument (Adelaar 2005: 40-41). Finally, in Jambi Malay, the standard negator can occur before or after the predicate. This order is also possible for auxiliaries such as TAM markers (see Yanti et al. to appear: Ch. 3).

29.6 Concluding remarks

The previous pages represent the phonological and morpho-syntactic variety that exists within Malayic. While the Malayic languages form a well-defined and close-knit genetic subgroup, they also show an enormous typological diversity even within the context of MPSEA languages in general. Such diversity can be observed at almost all levels of the grammar, and it is often in direct contrast with the relative transparency of corresponding levels in standard forms of Malay. The size of phoneme inventories varies considerably, and some varieties exhibit cross-linguistically very marked features such as preploded nasals, initial geminates and nasal vowels. There is also remarkable variation in the morphological complexity. While many varieties such as Salako and Banjar preserved original affixes to a large extent, vehicular Malay and Northeast Malay

Peninsular varieties have rather reduced morphological inventories. At the level of syntax, voice shows variation, and the systems fall on a cline: on one end, varieties such as Besemah have a grammaticalized symmetrical voice system, and on the other, varieties such as Ternate Malay lack a grammaticalized voice system altogether. Perhaps the most typologically unusual features are manifested in the absolute and oblique distinction in Kerinci and variation in morphophonological processes and phrasal phonology in other varieties in the region.

The typological overview in this chapter was based on the systematic comparison of a group of nine Malayic varieties (Banjar, Jakarta Malay, Mualang, Kelantan, Ulu Terengganu, Besemah, Kerinci, Ternate, and Standard Indonesian) which were selected with an eye on maximal regional and typological representativeness and availability of data. However, in the process of selecting and sourcing these varieties, it also became clear that there are still many other varieties for which there is hardly any material available, and which remain seriously understudied. They include those spoken on Bangka Island (off the coast of Southeast Sumatra), in Aslian Malay areas (on the Malay peninsula) and in southwestern Borneo, to mention a few. Furthermore, some grammars of regional varieties (especially older grammars) are based on what seem to be regional standards, or regional literary varieties, rather than on vernacular speech (compare for instance the grammars of Minangkabau by van der Toorn 1891 and Moussay 1981). There are also varieties that are converging with neighbouring languages or are developing into koine and standard forms, processes that often happen at the cost of a loss of their original structure and flavour. The typological variation that has resulted from sustained contact is closely related to sociolinguistic

issues that have hitherto remained under-researched and need further investigation. More attention needs to be given to these varieties and these neglected aspects in the direct future.

Language families and groups

Aslian

Chamic

Landak Dayak

Malayic

Mon-Khmer

Pidgin Derived Malay

Vehicular Malay

Vernacular Malay

Proto languages

Proto Austronesian

Proto Malayic	PM
Proto Malayo-Polynesian	PMP

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Figures

ISO-language codes

Ambon Malay	abs
Balinese	ban
Bangka Malay	mfb
Banjar Hulu	bjn
Banjar Kuala	bjn
Banjar (Malay)	bjn
Belangin	knx

Besemah	pse
Betawi = Jakarta Malay	
Brunei Malay	kxd
Duano’	dup
Dusun Baru Sarolangun	jax
Gunung Masurai	jax
Indonesian	ind
Jakarta Malay	bew
Jambi Malay	jax
Jambi Malay Mudung Darat dialect	jax
Jambi Ulu	jax
Jangkat Malay	jax
Javanese	jav
Jernih Sarolangun	jax
Kaur	vkk
Kelantan Malay	mfa
Kerinci	kvr
Lempur Kerinci	kvr
Lubuk Kepayang	jax
Minangkabau	min
Mualang	mtd
Padang Minangkabau	min
Palembang Malay	mui

Papuan Malay	pmy
Pondok Tinggi Kerinci	kvr
Salako	knx
Sarang Lan Malay	mui
Sarolangun	jax
South Barisan Malay	pse
Standard Malaysian	zsm
Sungai Penuh	kvr
Tanjung Pauh Kerinci	kvr
Ternate Malay	max
Thai	tha
Urak Lawoi’	urk

Iso-code unknown

Coastal Terengganu Malay	---
Satun Malay	---
Ulu Terengganu Malay	---

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Abbreviations

∅	zero (phoneme or morpheme)
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
A	Actor argument of transitive clause
AB	Absolute (Kerinci lexical alternation)
ADVS	Adversative
a.o.	among others
APPL	Applicative
APRX	Approximative
AV	Actor Voice
C	Consonant
CAUS	Causative
COMPL	Completive
CLF	Classifier
DU	Dual
EMPH	Emphasis

EXCL	Exclusive
EXCLAM	Exclamative
FIN	Final
FUT	Future
IMP	Imperative
IPFV	Imperfective
INCL	Inclusive
INFR	Inferential
INTR	Intransitive
LOC	Locative
MED	Medial
MID	Middle voice
NEG	Negator
NMLS	Nominaliser
NP	Noun Phrase
NVOL	Non-volitional
o.a.	one another
OB	Oblique (Kerinci lexical alternation)
P	Patient
PART	Particle
PFV	Perfective
PDVS	Phonation Driven Vowel Shift
PL	Plural

POSS	Possessive
PST	Past
PREP	Preposition
REC	Recent
REL	Relative
SBJV	Subjunctive
SG	Singular
TAM	Tense-Mood-Aspect
TR	Transitive
UV	Undergoer voice
V	Vowel
-	morpheme boundary
→, ←	synchronic derivation
>, <	diachronic change