

The suffix *-é* (*/-ipun*) is identical in form to the 3rd person possessive suffix. However, it probably reflects PAn **-ay*⁴, the projective marker in locative and circumstantial voice as reconstructed by Ross (2001) (see Chart I above). In that case, the high register suffix *-ipun* is due to false analogy.

4. Malayic

Malay and most other Malayic varieties go further than Javanese in that neither tense, nor grammatical aspect or mood, are morphologically expressed. Nevertheless, the PAn modal suffix **-a* is still extant in (among others) Old Malay and in Kanayatn (Kendayan), where it expresses conjunctive mood (Adelaar 1992).

However, in the Kanayatn branch of Malayic, some verbal affixes do express grammatical aspect. Transitive verbs have a nasal prefix in AO as well as UO voice; however, in UO voice, completed action is marked by the presence of a nasal prefix, whereas non-completed action is marked by its absence. Compare the following four sentences, of which (1) and (2) show the presence of the nasal prefix in transitive verbs in any AO construction, whereas (3) shows its presence in a clause expressing completed action, and (4) its absence in a clause expressing non-completed action.

- (1) *Ià munuh eņekŋ aņkoà*
 3RD.PERSON N-kill [N-*bunuh*] pig that
 ‘He killed that pig.’ (Actor-oriented)
- (2) *Ià anà? munuh eņekŋ aņkoà*
 3RD.PERSON not N-kill (N-*bunuh*) pig that
 ‘He did not kill that pig.’ (Actor-oriented)
- (3) *Eņekŋ aņkoà dah ià munuh*
 pig that already 3RD.PERSON N-kill [N-*bunuh*]
 ‘He killed that pig.’ (Undergoer-oriented)
- (4) *Eņekŋ aņkoà anà? ià bunuh*
 pig that not 3RD.PERSON kill
 ‘He did not kill that pig.’ (Undergoer-oriented)

While in general, the nasal prefix in Kanayatn is most probably a reflex of the Proto Malayic AO prefix **mAŋ-* (which in turn reflects PAn **maŋ-*), its development into a marker of completed action in UO constructions is unexpected and cannot be explained as a retention from Proto Malayic or PAn. While in western Malayo Polynesian languages nasal prefixation tends to mark Actor-orientation and is associated with low transitivity, completed action is rather associated with high transitivity. The development may be due to contact with Bidayuhic languages, but this remains to be demonstrated. (Moreover, it would not solve the problem of how nasal prefixation came to mark completed action but would only relegate the need for a solution to a different subgroup of Austronesian).

⁴ Adelaar (to appear) and Wolff 1973.

