

# THE LINGUISTIC SITUATION IN NORTHERN BORNEO<sup>1</sup>

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## 0. INTRODUCTION

In this article I shall (a) discuss the major problem confronting research-workers in Borneo, namely that of ethnic and linguistic nomenclature, (b) summarize the linguistic research so far carried out in northern Borneo and (c) present a provisional classification of the indigenous languages of the area.<sup>2</sup> The last part of the article consists of an annotated bibliography of linguistic sources.<sup>3</sup>

All the indigenous languages of northern Borneo appear to belong to one family, which G.N. Appell (1968b) has named IDA'AN, and which covers the whole of Sabah, extending over the borders of the state into neighbouring areas of Brunei, Sarawak and Indonesian Borneo. To the south and west are found such languages as Lun Daye (known in Sarawak as "Murut"), Kelabit, Kayan, Kenyah and Malay, all of which belong to the Western Indonesian branch of the Austronesian language phylum. The IDA'AN family, which forms part of the Northern Indonesian branch (i.e., Dyen's "Philippine hesion")<sup>4</sup> has its closest links not, as one might expect, with languages in adjacent areas of the Philippines, but with Ivatan,<sup>5</sup> spoken on the Batanes Is. (north of Luzon), and with Yami,<sup>6</sup> spoken on the island of Botel Tobago (off the coast of Taiwan).

## 1. NOMENCLATURE

The major difficulty facing the research-worker in Sabah, and indeed in the rest of Borneo, is the unreliability of the nomenclature traditionally applied to the people of the area. From the time of the earliest European contact to the present, administrators, missionaries, and scholars have failed to perceive the ethnic and linguistic divisions recognized by the native peoples themselves, or at best have gained but a hazy impression of their nature.<sup>7</sup> It is worthwhile, therefore, to discuss the various factors contributing to the confusion and to attempt a clarification of the picture. In the ensuing discussion, traditional ethnic and linguistic labels are enclosed in quotation marks, while recommended language/dialect names are in HEAVY TYPE.

In all the literature dealing with the area, the people of Sabah are divided into two main "races" ("Murut" and "Dusun") and a host of smaller "tribes" ("Bisaya", "Tagol", "Rungus", "Orang Sungai", etc.), some of which are considered to be subdivisions of "Murut" or "Dusun", while others are regarded as separate entities. There are many causes leading to the present-day uncertainty concerning the correct terminology for the ethnolinguistic groups of Sabah, of which five major ones are outlined here.

1. A name of foreign origin (i.e., foreign to the people to whom it is given) is applied indiscriminately to quite divergent groups. A case in point is "Murut", a word meaning *hill(-people)*, which has been borrowed from an unidentified non-IDA'AN language and is applied to two culturally and linguistically distinct groups: (a) the speakers of the MURUT-group languages of the MURUTIC subfamily (IDA'AN languages), and (b) the speakers of the non-IDA'AN language here referred to as "Lun Daye", who are concentrated in the north-east corner of Indonesian Borneo, with smaller numbers in adjoining districts of Sarawak and Sabah. Apart from the extensive phonological and structural dissimilarities between the languages of the two groups, some indication of their lexical divergence is seen in the fact that the highest cognacy percentage scored by Lun Daye with any MURUT language is 37% (with OKOLOD), while the lowest is 32% (with the SUMAMBUQ dialect of HIGHLAND MURUT).

2. A genuine local name for a particular ethnic grouping is misused and applied outside its original referent. This is exemplified by "Kadazan", originally the term for the people of the Penampang-Papar area and their language (the KADAZAN dialect of the COASTAL DUSUN language). Because this dialect was the first to be used by missionaries as a medium of education, it has gained prestige value and semi-official status, and the term is now applied indiscriminately to all speakers of the DUSUN-group languages.

3. An ethnic group is often called different names by its various neighbours, none of which need coincide with the name by which the people concerned call themselves. This phenomenon is best illustrated in a matrix like the one below, which shows the names which four groups (TIMUGON, NABAY, MINANSUT and MENINDAQ)<sup>8</sup> apply to each other, and the names by which they are known in the European literature.

	Timugon	Nabay	Minansut	Menindaq
Timugon	TIMUGON	rabay	kuliow	kuliow
Nabay	timugon	NABAY	kuriow	tidong
Minansut	? timugon	nebée	MINANSUT	kuiyow, menindal
Menindaq	? timugon	ganaq	ganaq	MENINDAQ
European	Temogun, Tenom-Murut	Nabai, Dabai, Keningau- Murut	Kwijau, Keningau- Dusun	Kwijau

4. It sometimes happens that a group has no name for itself other than that of the village where it lives, the village invariably being sited on the confluence of a river and a tributary, and taking its name from the tributary. Appell (in a private communication) suspected that this situation was common in the remoter parts of the Interior Residency, a suspicion which was confirmed by my own fieldwork in the area in the period December 1967 - January 1968. He suggests as a possible reason for this lack of ethnic names "the fact that such villages are so isolated that it was not necessary to develop any kind of *we-they* distinction and label this with names." It is of interest to note, however, that despite this isolation, such groups do recognize the existence of larger ethnic groupings in surrounding areas, and have names for them. Thus, the people of Tomani, who call themselves simply that (i.e., 'ulun nu tumaniq'), have the names 'okolor', 'paluan' and 'sandiwar' for the OKOLOD, PALUAN and TIMUGON populations respectively.

5. Finally, the reaction of the people themselves to the extraneous names applied to them often complicates the issue even further. In many areas people are now accustomed to calling themselves "Murut", "Dusun" and so on, because government officers and others in authority have long ignored the local distinctions and expected people to place themselves in one of the traditional inaccurate categories. As a result, it appears that in some communities the autonym is actually being forgotten. For example, when I first asked my MINANSUT informant, a young

schoolteacher, for the name of his group, his initial reply was "Keningau Dusun". When I questioned this, he replied "Kadazan", but then rejected this in favour of "Kwijau". I already knew that in MINANSUT the phoneme /j/ occurred mostly in foreign words, so that it seemed unlikely that "Kwijau" could be the correct name. Finally, when I asked him what his tribe was called in the old days, he answered "Oh, you mean 'Minansut'!" The authenticity of this name was later confirmed by older members of the group.

Although the factors described above constitute one of the greatest difficulties for research-workers in northern Borneo, failure on the part of most investigators to take them into account, or even to realize their existence, has only added to the difficulties. The censuses of North Borneo, for instance, are quite useless for the purpose of calculating the number of speakers of a given language, for not only do they make no distinction between (say) TIMUGON and NABAY or even between HIGHLAND MURUT and LOWLAND MURUT, but they also fail to distinguish between speakers of the MURUT-group languages of the IDA'AN family and speakers of the non-IDA'AN Lun Daye language already mentioned. All are classed simply as "Murut". Moreover, there are instances where communities have registered themselves as "Murut" in one census and "Dusun" in the next, since both terms are equally meaningless to them.<sup>9</sup>

## 2. RESEARCH TO DATE

Although there has been sporadic European contact with Borneo from mediaeval times, it was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that the first wordlist of any IDA'AN language appeared. (St. John (1862)). In the following twenty years other wordlists were published by Crespigny (1872), Swettenham (1880), Aernout (1885), Montano (1885) and Hamer (1889). In 1896 Roth's classic work on the natives of British Borneo appeared, containing reprints of all the significant contributions made to knowledge of the region up to that date. The first serious attempt to describe an IDA'AN language was Beech's *The Tidong dialects of Borneo*, which appeared in 1908 and is still the only description available for any language in the eastern half of Sabah. This was followed five years later by Sidney H. Ray's *The languages of Borneo*, which comprised an extensive bibliography and comparative lists of about 220 words in over 100 languages/dialects, of which nineteen belong to the IDA'AN family. Some of the lists were compiled by Ray himself during his short stay in Borneo, while the remainder were obtained from MSS in his possession and from works already published.

Linguistic and anthropological interest in northern Borneo increased rapidly in the 1920's, though it was still the preserve of amateurs.

In 1922 Baboneau's extensive Murut vocabulary appeared: some thirty pages in length, it is still the most comprehensive collection of words available for any language of the MURUT-group. It was followed in 1924 by Gossens' grammatical summary and vocabulary of the dialect of Papar, in 1926 by the first of Staal's anthropological and linguistic articles on the Putatan Dusun, and in 1927 by the first of Woolley's publications on the Murut. The year 1929 saw the appearance of Rutter's *The pagans of North Borneo*, the first and only extensive description of the indigenous peoples of Sabah. Rutter was the first to attempt a definitive classification of the tribes, and divided them into 7 groups of 'Hill Muruts', 2 groups of 'Muruts of the Plains', the 'Kuijaus', 6 groups of 'Inland Dusuns' and 9 groups of 'Coast Dusuns'. In an appendix, he gives lists of 186 words in 13 dialects. Unfortunately, however, like all the investigators before him and most of those after him, he did not take sufficient cognizance of the significant, locally-recognized groupings, and in many areas his classification needs considerable revision.

The next significant contribution to linguistic research in the area was not made until 1958, when Cense and Uhlenbeck published their study on the languages of Borneo, superseding that of Ray (1913). In the first part of their work, the authors review the situation in the whole of Borneo and give as much indication of language-distribution as could be deduced from the evidence available at the time. The second part of their work, an indispensable bibliography of all publications on the area of linguistic interest, contains 323 items, compared with Ray's 276.

In the same year (1958), Fr. Antonissen brought out his grammar and dictionary of KADAZAN. This valuable publication, representing many years of work by the author, remains the most comprehensive treatment of any IDA'AN language yet published. His sketch of the grammar has thrown much light on structural aspects of this and other languages which had previously been unexplained, but is, in many respects, regrettably 'traditional': KADAZAN is endowed with genders, pluperfects, subjunctives and other appurtenances considered necessary to a fully-fledged language.

Also, in 1958, Tom Harrisson, who had undertaken considerable research into various ethnic groups in Sarawak, published an article in which he cleared up much of the confusion surrounding the fragmented tribes inhabiting part of the 5th Division of Sarawak and the up-river areas of Brunei, many of whom speak IDA'AN languages. Unfortunately, his classification was not accompanied by any language material, so that the subgrouping of this section of the IDA'AN family must still be based on inadequate wordlists.

In 1960 there appeared the first of many anthropological articles on the Dusun of the Tambunan area by Thomas Rhys Williams, most of which contain items of vocabulary from the dialects concerned. Their usefulness to the linguist, however, is limited by the inaccuracy, inconsistency and needless complexity of the various methods employed by the author in writing the language. On page 19 of *The Dusun* for example, there are three spellings of the same word in as many lines: 'ApAgEn', 'ApAgun' and 'ApagEn', all of which can be more accurately and conveniently represented as 'apagen'.

G.N. Appell began his anthropological investigations among the Rungus Dusun in 1959, under the auspices of the Department of Anthropology and Sociology in the Australian National University, and his first publication on the subject appeared in 1963. He is the first investigator to fully realize the nature of the problems outlined in the previous section of this paper and he has made a valuable contribution towards an 'emic' classification of languages and ethnic groups in the north of Sabah.

Shirley Lees and Beatrice Clayre, of the Borneo Evangelical Mission, published articles on DUSUN languages in 1964 and 1966 respectively, marking the entry of trained linguists into the field for the first time. Clayre's article, which is discussed in Appell (1968b), consists of a comparison of nine DUSUN speech-forms. Both writers have since produced other valuable material, Lees on the SUMAMBUQ dialect of HIGHLAND MURUT (1966), and Clayre on a dialect of INLAND DUSUN spoken in the Ranau area (1967).

The present writer undertook research into various MURUT dialects in the periods September 1965 - February 1966 and March 1967 - March 1968. The results of this research - a grammar of the TIMUGON dialect and outline studies of other dialects - have been incorporated in a thesis recently submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the A.N.U. (Prentice (1969d)).

By far the greatest part of Sabah remains linguistically unknown; only in a few circumscribed areas can the identity, distribution and interrelationships of the local speech-forms be stated with any certainty. Elsewhere, the only information available is that provided by the various antiquated and inadequate wordlists on which much of this article is perforce based. Far more basic research in the field is needed before a more definitive classification than the one presented here can be attempted.

### 3. METHOD OF CLASSIFICATION

A 250-item wordlist, which was recently published in Series A of this journal (Prentice (1969a)), was used as a basis for cognacy percentage counts which were performed by the A.N.U.'s computer on 64 lists of IDA'AN languages and on 9 lists of non-IDA'AN languages. Of the 64 IDA'AN lists, 18 were compiled during my fieldwork in the area, one (of the RUNGUS subdialect of MARUDU DUSUN) was kindly made available by G.N. Appell,<sup>10</sup> and the remainder were culled from published sources. When the results were obtained, the 64 IDA'AN lists were whittled down to the 24 whose percentage counts are shown in Table I. All lists where the number of words compared with other lists averaged less than 75 were discarded. When two lists exhibited cognacy counts of 85% or more with each other, and providing that the difference between their cognacy counts with other lists did not regularly exceed 5%, they were deemed to represent the same dialect or closely related subdialects, and only the larger list was retained.

The results were then converted into the tree-diagram shown in Table II.<sup>11</sup> This process consisted of averaging out the percentages, beginning with the two lists showing the highest percentage of shared vocabulary (which were then treated as one list), and continuing until all lists or groups of lists had been connected.<sup>12</sup>

It will be seen from Table II that the traditional categories "Dusun", "Murut", "Bisaya" and "Tidong" lend themselves to use as convenient labels for a level of classification immediately below 'subfamily', which is here called 'language-group', that is, a group of languages within a subfamily which show closer relationships with each other than with other languages of the same subfamily. Appell (1968b) recommends that a binomial terminology be employed for the identification of ethnic entities in Sabah. The system can be adopted here for the languages of those entities. The first name is that of the language or dialect concerned, while the second is that of the language-group to which it belongs. Thus MARUDU can be referred to as "the MARUDU dialect of COASTAL DUSUN" or simply as "MARUDU DUSUN".

Each level of classification is given a code, i.e., Roman numerals for subfamilies, Arabic numerals for language-groups, capital letters for languages and small letters for dialects. Subdialects (sd.) are unmarked. Thus, the TIMUGON dialect (a) of the LOWLAND MURUT language (D) in the MURUT-group (2) of the MURUTIC subfamily (I) is represented by the code I2Da, under which representation it will be found on Map 1.

TABLE I

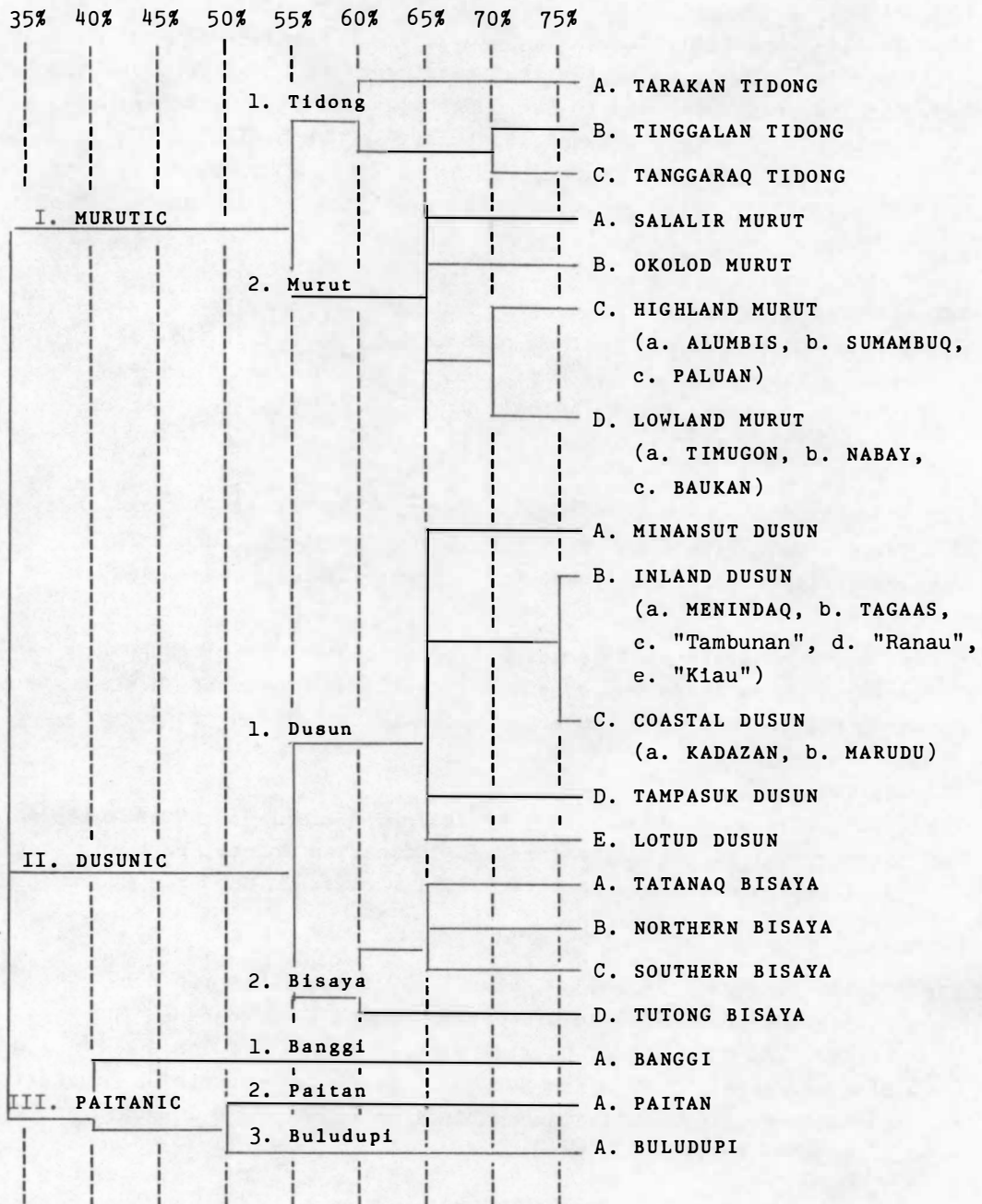
## Number of words compared

1. Tarakan	IIA	x	191	112	102	201	205	213	214	214	213	209	214	214	113	210	110	112	213	120	126	110	185	209	76
2. Tinggalan	IIb	61	x	110	108	207	212	220	221	221	220	216	221	221	111	218	111	111	221	126	128	117	191	216	82
3. Tangaraq	IIc	60	72	x	66	114	115	119	119	119	119	117	119	117	118	115	116	119	78	86	76	107	118	56	
4. Salalir	I2A	53	60	62	x	100	105	108	109	109	109	105	109	109	66	107	65	66	109	58	66	58	97	107	42
5. Okolod	I2B	54	72	62	62	x	233	236	236	236	235	233	236	236	116	232	115	117	235	126	129	114	196	231	78
6. Alumbis	I2Ca	54	73	64	72	76	x	241	241	241	240	238	241	241	116	237	116	118	240	126	130	115	199	236	79
7. Sumambuq	I2Cb	47	62	51	68	67	76	x	250	250	249	246	250	250	120	246	119	121	249	131	137	121	207	244	83
8. Paluan	I2Cc	54	67	61	64	65	73	72	x	251	250	246	251	251	120	247	119	121	250	131	137	121	208	245	83
9. Timugon	I2Da	58	65	61	61	67	69	65	71	x	250	246	251	251	120	247	119	121	250	131	137	121	208	245	83
10. Nabay	I2Db	58	65	59	56	62	63	58	69	77	x	245	250	250	120	246	119	121	249	131	137	121	207	244	83
11. Baukan	I2Dc	57	64	60	57	63	64	61	71	76	80	x	246	246	118	242	117	119	245	130	136	120	205	242	82
12. Minansut	IIIA	52	55	52	48	55	52	51	55	63	66	63	x	251	120	247	119	121	250	131	137	121	208	245	83
13. Menindaq	IIIBa	48	50	48	39	47	45	45	46	53	52	50	70	x	120	247	119	121	250	131	137	121	208	245	83
14. Tambunan	IIIBc	49	52	51	42	52	49	47	51	58	58	57	72	77	x	119	116	118	119	80	88	77	109	119	57
15. Kadazan	IIICa	48	50	48	37	47	44	42	44	52	50	50	62	75	80	x	118	120	246	130	136	120	205	241	83
16. Tampasuk	IIID	47	51	50	37	48	42	41	46	53	52	54	62	68	73	71	x	118	119	79	85	76	109	118	57
17. Lotud	IIIE	49	47	46	38	50	44	44	46	54	52	52	62	65	75	74	73	x	120	79	87	77	110	120	57
18. N. Bisaya	II2Ba	50	50	48	44	51	48	45	48	57	54	52	52	55	60	59	61	60	x	131	136	121	207	244	83
19. S. Bisaya	II2Ca	38	45	53	36	44	42	36	41	48	45	42	53	57	58	58	62	62	60	x	88	81	113	129	58
20. Kadayan	II2Cb	53	56	55	53	51	51	46	49	55	53	53	59	66	65	66	69	66	66	82	x	116	125	134	76
21. Tutong	II2D	49	49	43	41	47	45	40	43	50	47	48	50	57	57	58	54	52	56	57	65	x	110	118	73
22. Banggi	III3A	39	35	36	34	35	35	32	33	38	36	34	39	40	42	42	40	45	41	38	48	43	x	202	75
23. Paitan	III1A	39	40	44	32	40	40	38	41	46	45	43	45	45	44	47	46	42	45	38	45	46	39	x	82
24. Buludupi	III2A	42	44	48	36	46	42	36	40	45	47	46	40	39	46	43	47	47	47	33	45	40	51	51	x
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24

Percentage of shared cognates



TABLE II



## 4. CLASSIFICATION

I MURUTIC subfamily.

II TIDONG-group.

IIA TARAKAN language ("Tidoeng", "Tidong"). *Distribution*: according to Beech (1908), along the east coast from south of Tarakan Is. (in Indonesian Borneo) to Lahad Datu (in Sabah). *Dialects*: uncertain. *Source*: "Tarakan" vocabulary in Beech (1908). *Other data*: "Táràkàn" list in Genderen Stort (1916); "Tidoeng" list in Hamer (1889); "Tidoeng" list in Aernout (1885). *See also*: Sather (1967).

IIb TINGGALAN language ("Tidoeng", "Tidong", "Sembakoeng"). *Distribution*: along middle reaches of Sambakung R. and tributaries (in Indonesian Borneo). *Dialects*: uncertain. *Source*: "Sěmbàkoeng" list in Genderen Stort (1916). *Other data*: "Tidoeng" list op.cit. (evidently a different subdialect).

IIc TANGGARAQ language ("Tengara", "Tenggarah"). *Distribution*: headwaters of Kinabatangan R. (i.e., Labau, Melikop, Pinunga Rs.). *Dialects*: uncertain. *Source*: "Tengara" list in Rutter (1929). *Other data*: none.

**Note**: It seems likely that languages spoken on the upper Sibuku R. (Indonesian Borneo) and the so-called "Tawau Murut" on the Kalabakan and Serudong Rs. (Sabah) will prove to belong to the TIDONG-group.

I2 MURUT-group.

I2A SALALIR language ("Sadaliŕ", "Sedaliŕ", "Selaliŕ"). *Distribution*: along river of same name (part in Indonesian Borneo, part in Sabah). *Dialects*: uncertain. *Source*: "Sědálir" list in Genderen Stort (1916). *Other data*: none.

I2B OKOLOD language ("Kolor", "Kolur"). *Distribution*: two non-contiguous areas - a) headwaters of Tengoa R. on Sabah-Sarawak border; and b) south of SALALIR area on Sinapar, Sulon and Simalumung Rs. (Indonesian Borneo). *Dialects*: uncertain. *Source*: author's MS (informant: Timang binti Malud, born in Tengoa area c. 1930). *Other data*: none.

I2C HIGHLAND MURUT language. *Dialects:*

- I2Ca ALUMBIS dialect ("Loembis", "Lumbis"). *Distribution:* along river of same name in Indonesian Borneo, extending northwards into Sabah. *Source:* author's MS (informant: Ketua Kampong Ganjau bin Kaundakan, native of Lumbis). *Other data:* none.
- I2Cb SUMAMBUQ dialect ("Semambu", "Tagal", "Tagul", "Pensiangan Murut"). *Distribution:* over a wide area embracing a) the Mengalong R. upstream from Sindumin, extending over the border into Sarawak; b) the Padas R. and its tributaries from Kemabong southwards to the confluence of the Padas and Saprian Rs.; and c) the Tagal R. and its tributaries. *Sub-dialects:* Although there is a comparatively densely populated area on the southern tributaries of the Tagal R., most of the population lives in scattered, isolated longhouses, often two days' journey on foot or by canoe from their nearest neighbours. These factors make it difficult at present to define the distribution of SUMAMBUQ subdialects with any certainty. However, evidence suggests that a different subdialect is spoken along each major river and that there may even exist minor divergences between each longhouse or group of longhouses. The following subdialects have been isolated with some degree of certainty: 1. TUMANIQ (on the Tomani R. and perhaps also on the upper Padas); 2. MAULIGAN (in the neighbourhood of the village of Meligan and possibly over a much wider area); 3. TAGOL (on the Tagal R.); 4. TOLOKOSON (on the Telekosan R.); and 5. ARUNDUM (on the Rundum R.). *Source:* author's MS of TUMANIQ sd. (informant: Native Chief Rikin, aged about 40, born in Tomani). *Other data:* author's MS of MAULIGAN sd. (informant: Ombow bin Kakayon, aged 21, native of Meligan); author's MS of TAGOL sd. (informant: Kayow bin Antubing, aged about 20, native of Salarom, 3 days upstream from Pensiangan); author's MS of TOLOKOSON sd. (informant: Ketua Kampong Ambung, about 60 years old, native of Katubu); author's MS of unidentified subdialect (informant: Ketua Kampong Ansimat of Kemabong, aged about 55); "Rundum Murut" list in Rutter (1929) (ARUNDUM sd.); "Tagal" list in Ray (1913) (?MAULIGAN sd.); "Pěntjàngàn" list in Genderen Stort (1916) (TAGOL sd.). *See also:* Lees (1964) (?MAULIGAN sd.); Bolang and Harrisson (1949) (ARUNDUM sd.); Clarke (1952) (unidentified sd.); Woolley (1939) (TAGOL sd.); Aho Onsoi... (n.d.) (?MAULIGAN sd.); Buku Manani... (n.d.) (?MAULIGAN sd.);

*Murut Catechism* (1960) (TAGOL sd.); *Pangumangan...* (?1961) (?MAULIGAN sd.).

**Note:** The term "Tagol" (and its variants "Tagal" and "Tagul") is used in Sarawak to identify the speakers of *all* the languages in the MURUT-group, while in Sabah it is commonly used, together with the term "Pensiangan Murut", as a synonym for SUMAMBUQ or even for HIGHLAND MURUT. I have found it preferable to reserve the term TAGOL for the subdialect spoken along the river of the same name, and use the exonym SUMAMBUQ to identify the dialect.

I2Cc PALUAN dialect ("Peluan"). *Subdialects and distribution:*

1. SAPULUT, on Talankai R. and tributaries upstream from Agis; 2. DALIT, on lower reaches of Dalit, Sook and Keramatoi Rs. and surrounding plain; and 3. PALUAN, in hills east of Tenom Plain (i.e., headwaters of Puntii, Dalit and Keramatoi Rs.), in Padas valley between Kemabong and Sogo, and in Crocker Range on Pangi R. *Source:* author's MS of PALUAN sd. (informant: Ketua Kampong Ampatang bin Inggau, c.50 years old, native of Dalit Tengah). *Other data:* author's MS of DALIT sd. (informant: Sgt. Joseph Marantai, aged 36, native of Sook); author's MS of SAPULUT sd. (informant: Kungsi bin Buau, aged over 70, born at Alung Sibalangan on Sepulot R., 3 days upstream from Sepulot); "Peluan Murut" list in Rutter (1929) (PALUAN sd.). *See also:* Lees (1966) (PALUAN sd.); Harrisson (1967) (SAPULUT sd.); *English-Murut Phrase Book* (1964) (DALIT sd.); Clarke (1952) (unidentified sd.); Woolley (1927) (PALUAN sd.).

I2D LOWLAND MURUT language. *Dialects:*

I2Da TIMUGON dialect ("Temogun", "Timogun", "Tenom Murut").

*Subdialects and distribution:* 1. BUKOW, on Bukau R. (coastal side of Crocker Range); 2. BINTAQ, on lower Padas round Beaufort and upstream to Mile 65; 3. KAPAGALAN, on right bank of Pegalan R. round Melalap; and 4. POROS, on both sides of Pegalan R. between Tenom and Lagut (7 miles north), and on right bank of Padas R. between Tenom and Batu-Batu (8 miles south). *Source:* author's MS of POROS sd. (informant: Wakil Ketua Kampong Jimin bin Sanggah, c.48 years old, born at Simpangan). *Other data:* author's MS of KAPAGALAN sd. (informant: James Alim, 22, native of Melalap); author's MS of BINTAQ sd. (informant: Gandul, aged over 70, inhabitant of Luagan); Prentice (1969d) (POROS sd.); "Tenom Murut" list

in Rutter (1929) (POROS sd.); "Murut Padass" list in Crespigny (1872) (BINTAQ sd.). *See also*: Woolley (1953b, 1962) (POROS sd.); Prentice (1965, 1969b, 1969c) (POROS sd.).

I2Db NABAY dialect ("Nabai", "Dabai", "Keningau Murut").

*Distribution*: along Pegalan valley in neighbourhood of Keningau. *Source*: author's MS (informant: Thomas Koroh of Keningau, aged 30, now District Officer at Tenom). *Other data*: Baboneau (1922); "Keningau Murut" list in Rutter (1929). *See also*: Woolley (1953b).

I2Dc BAUKAN dialect ("Bokun", "Bokon", "Bokan", "Bukan", "Ulun-no-Bokan"). *Distribution*: upper Sook valley and tributaries. *Source*: author's MS (informant: Ketua Kampong Lingodow bin Ginadan, c.45, of Tulid). *Other data*: Keith (1936a).

II DUSUNIC subfamily.

III DUSUN-group.

IIIA MINANSUT language. ("Kuijau", "Kwijau", "Keningau Dusun").

*Distribution*: right bank of Pegalan R. between Keningau and Apin-Apin. *Source*: author's MS (informant: Joseph Bubudan, 24, native of Tuntumulod). *Other data*: author's MS (informant: Ledijs Ampasang, 20, also of Tuntumulod, bilingual in MINANSUT and MENINDAQ (q.v.)); "Kuijau" list in Rutter (1929).

IIIB INLAND DUSUN language. *Dialects*: The study of INLAND DUSUN has not yet reached a stage where individual dialects can be isolated. With the exception of MENINDAQ and possibly TAGAAS, therefore, the names used below refer only to geographical groupings, and should not be taken as implying the existence of a single dialect of that name. It is known, for example, that the term "Tambunan Dusun" embraces several ethnolinguistic subgroupings whose interrelationships have yet to be established. Two INLAND DUSUN lists (one of MENINDAQ and one of a "Tambunan" dialect) are represented in Table I.

IIIBa MENINDAQ dialect ("Kuijau", "Kwijau", "Tindal", "Hill Dusun").

*Distribution*: headwaters of right-bank tributaries of Pegalan R., from near Melalap to Apin-Apin. *Source*: author's MS (informant: Ledijs Ampasang, bilingual in MENINDAQ and MINANSUT (q.v.)). *Other data*: none.

III Bb TAGAAS dialect ("Tagas", "Tegas", "Tahgas", "Tegaas", "Tagahas"). *Distribution*: Crocker Range, north of Apin-Apin. *Data*: "Tahgas" list in Staal (1926b).

III Bc "Tambunan" dialects. *Distribution*: Pegalan valley upstream from Apin-Apin, round township of Tambunan. *Source*: "Tambunan Dusun" list in Rutter (1929). *Other data*: "Tambunam" list in Staal (1926b) (evidently a different dialect). *See also*: Woolley (1940, 1953d); Williams (1965 et al.); Clayre (1966).

III Bd "Ranau" dialect(s). *Distribution*: Ranau Plain. *Data*: Woolley (1953d); Clayre (1966, 1967); *Habar det eseneng...* (1959).

III Be "Kiau" dialect(s) ("Bundu", "Bundu Tuhan"). *Distribution*: in the foothills of the Kinabalu massif, around the townships of Kiau and Bundu Tuhan. *Data*: "Kiau Dusun" list in Rutter (1929). *See also*: Clayre (1966); Blair (1966).

IIIC COASTAL DUSUN language. *Dialects*:

III Ca KADAZAN dialect ("Kedazan", "Kadazan", "Penampang Dusun", "Putatan Dusun", "Papar Dusun"). *Subdialects and distribution*:  
 1. PAPAN, on the lower reaches of the river of the same name, and on the coastal plain between Kinarut and Kimanis; 2. PUTATAN, on the lower reaches of the Putatan R. and on the coastal plain between Kinarut and Likas. Other subdialects are known to exist; the people of the Putatan R. upstream from Kasigui and the people of Inanam, for instance, are known to speak a different variety of KADAZAN from either of those documented. *Source*: Antonissen (1958) (PUTATAN sd.). *Other data*: Luering (1897) (PAPAN sd.); Gossens (1924) (PAPAN sd.); "Ida'an" list in St. John (1862) (?PUTATAN sd.); "Putatan" list in Staal (1926b); "Papar" list op.cit.; "Putatan Dusun" list in Rutter (1929); "Papar Dusun" list op.cit. *See also*: Prenger (1894) (PUTATAN sd.); Staal (1923, 1926a, 1927) (mostly PUTATAN sd.); Majusim (1949) (PUTATAN sd.); Woolley (1953c) (PUTATAN and PAPAN sd.); Antonissen (1955, n.d.) (PUTATAN sd.); *Tanong ngaavi...* (1956) (PUTATAN sd.); Clayre (1966) (PUTATAN sd.); Mojolow and Majalang (n.d.) (PUTATAN sd.); Ongkili (1965) (PUTATAN sd.).

**Note:** The daily newspaper 'The Sabah Times' carried a page of international and local news in the PUTATAN sd. of KADAZAN until 1967, when the Kadazan page was replaced by a weekly publication called 'The Kadazan Times'. This is the only newspaper printed wholly in an IDA'AN language.

IIIcB MARUDU dialect ('Rungus'). *Subdialects and distribution:*

1. NULU, on northern tip of Kudat Peninsula; 2. GONSOMON, to the south of Kudat Harbour; 3. RUNGUS, on central part of Kudat Peninsula and also round mouth of Bengkoka R. Appell (1967, 1968b) has isolated a further 12 ethnic and linguistic groups in this area, the linguistic affinities of which are still unknown. *Data:* Appell's MS list of the RUNGUS sd. (now published in Appell (1968b)), which was obtained from informants living in the Matunggong R. basin, and which scored 79.1% and 79.3% with the PUTATAN and PAPAR sd. of KADAZAN respectively; Appell and Appell (1961) (RUNGUS sd.); "Rungus" list in Staal (1926b) (probably RUNGUS sd.); "Marudu Dusun" list in Rutter (1929) (sd. unknown - it scores 66.7% with the RUNGUS sd. and an average of 55% with other DUSUN lists). *See also:* Clayre (1966), who discusses two dialects, "Rungus" and "Bengkoka", which share 90% of vocabulary. She does not, however, give any clear indication of where they are spoken, and Appell is unable to relate them to any of the groups known to him.

IIID TAMPASUK language ("Tempasok", "Tampassuk"). *Distribution:*

along river of same name, and northwards towards Marudu Bay.

*Dialects:* Rutter states that there are several clear subdivisions, including Kadamayan and Sayap. Evans also mentions Tombulion and Kahung Sarayo. *Source:* "Tempasuk Dusun" list in Rutter (1929).

*Other data:* "Tampassuk" list in Swettenham (1880). *See also:* Evans (1954 et al.).

IIIE LOTUD language ("Tuaran Dusun"). *Distribution:* along Tuaran R.

and tributaries. *Dialects:* uncertain. *Source:* "Tuaran Dusun" list in Rutter (1929). *Other data:* "Tuaran" list in Staal (1926b).

*See also:* Woolley (1953a); Clayre (1966).

## II2 BISAYA-group.

II2A TATANAQ language ("Bundu"). *Distribution*: Klias Peninsula, north of Klias R. *Dialects*: uncertain. *Data*: "Bundu" list in Staal (1926b). This list was inadvertently omitted from the data processed by the computer. A rough manual count shows TATANAQ to share the following cognacy percentages with its immediate neighbours: with the PAPAR sd. of KADAZAN, 57%; with NORTHERN BISAYA, 63%; and with TIMUGON, 50%.

II2B NORTHERN BISAYA language. *Distribution*: Klias Peninsula, south of Klias R. *Dialects*: uncertain. *Source*: author's MS (informant: Usol bin Sukor, aged c.64, of Gadong). *Other data*: author's MS (informant: Musa bin Tari, aged 21, of Gimba Gramma); "Bisaya" list in Crespigny (1872). *See also*: Harrisson (1956, 1962).

II2C SOUTHERN BISAYA language. *Distribution*: south of Weston (Sabah) in a narrow strip round the shore of Brunei Bay (with a break in the Lawas-Trusan area of Sarawak, where the Lun Daye language area projects to the north), on the headwaters of the Limbang R. in Sarawak, and on the headwaters of the Tutong and Belait Rs. in Brunei. *Dialects*: There are many names in use to describe the speakers of this language ("Kedayan", "Bukit", "Belait", "Bisaya", "Bekiau", "Dusun", etc.), but it is not possible to relate these names to dialects or even to the wordlists bearing them.<sup>13</sup> *Source*: Two source-lists, which appear to represent different dialects, were used. They are: a) "Bisaya" list in St. John (1862), and b) "Kedayan" list in Ray (1913). *Other data*: "Bekiau" list in Ray (1913) (same dialect as b); "Dusun" list in Araneta and Bernad (1960) (same dialect as a); "Dali Dusun" list in Crespigny (1872) (? same dialect as a); "Bisaya" list in Arenata and Bernad (1960) (same dialect as a); "Bisaya" list in Ray (1913) - this list is actually compounded from five different sources: one list collected by Ray himself, two lists collected by his colleagues, and the "Bisaya" source-list from St. John (1862) already mentioned, all of which represent the same dialect, together with the "Bisaya" list published by Crespigny (1872), which represents NORTHERN BISAYA (q.v. above). *See also*: *Kitab injil...* (1938); Harrisson (1956, 1962).

II2D TUTONG language. *Distribution*: upper reaches of river of same name. *Dialects*: uncertain. *Source*: "Tutong 1" list in Ray (1913). *Other data*: "Tutong" list in Araneta and Bernad (1960).



III PAITANIC subfamily.

IIII PAITAN-group.

IIIIA PAITAN language. *Distribution:* along river of same name in north-eastern Sabah. *Dialects:* uncertain. *Source:* author's MS (informant: Ranglan bin Garay, aged about 30, of the village of Kinabatangan). *Other data:* none.

*Note:* Ranglan mentioned the Maliaw, Sinasak and Sagandum groups as being the nearest neighbours to Paitan. He also mentioned Tombonuo, Sonsogon, Rungus, Lingkabaw and Sandaayo as being more distant neighbours, all of which, with the exception of the last, are shown on Appell's map (1967). It is possible that the last-named represents the so-called 'Sun Dyak' group occasionally referred to in early censuses of the region. I was unable to obtain a more accurate geographical location for the groups mentioned above, nor was I able to find out anything about their languages, except that Maliaw was "very similar" to PAITAN.

IIII2 BULUDUPI-group.

IIII2A BULUDUPI language. *Distribution:* certainly on Segaliud R. near Sandakan, and probably over a wider area. *Dialects:* uncertain. *Source:* "Buludupi" list in Montano (1885). *Other data:* "Bûlûd Ôpie" list in Swettenham (1880).

*Note:* The two lists have only 50% of shared vocabulary. This may mean that they represent different languages, but as neither list is of an adequate length, it is difficult to say.

IIII3 BANGGI-group.

IIII3A BANGGI language. *Distribution:* on island of same name and adjacent islands north of Kudat. *Dialects:* uncertain. *Source:* "Banggi" list in Schneeberger (1937). *Other data:* none.

*Note:* BANGGI is the most aberrant member of the IDA'AN family. Its highest percentage of shared vocabulary with any IDA'AN language is 51% (with BULUDUPI), while its score with the RUNGUS sd. of MARUDU DUSUN, one of its nearest neighbours, is 41.5%. Appell quoted a figure of less than 28% for this relationship. I suspect that the lowness of this percentage is due to the unusual sound changes which take place in BANGGI and which tend to mask the identity of cognates. It is possible that further research will result in BANGGI being set up as a separate subfamily, or even being linked to one of the language groupings in the southern Philippines.

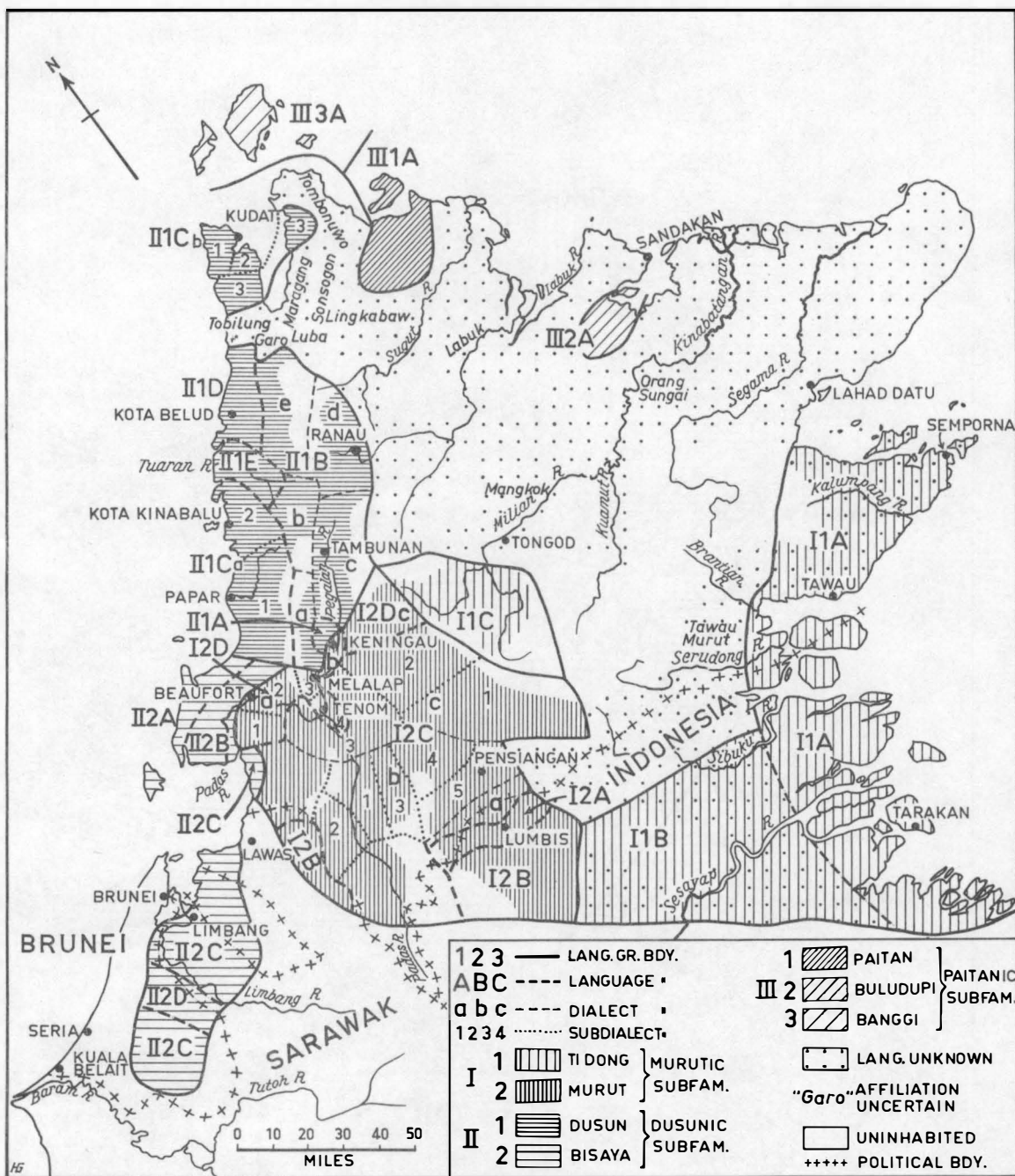
## 5. MAPS

Map 1 shows the distribution of IDA'AN speech-forms as far as it can be ascertained from evidence available at the present time.

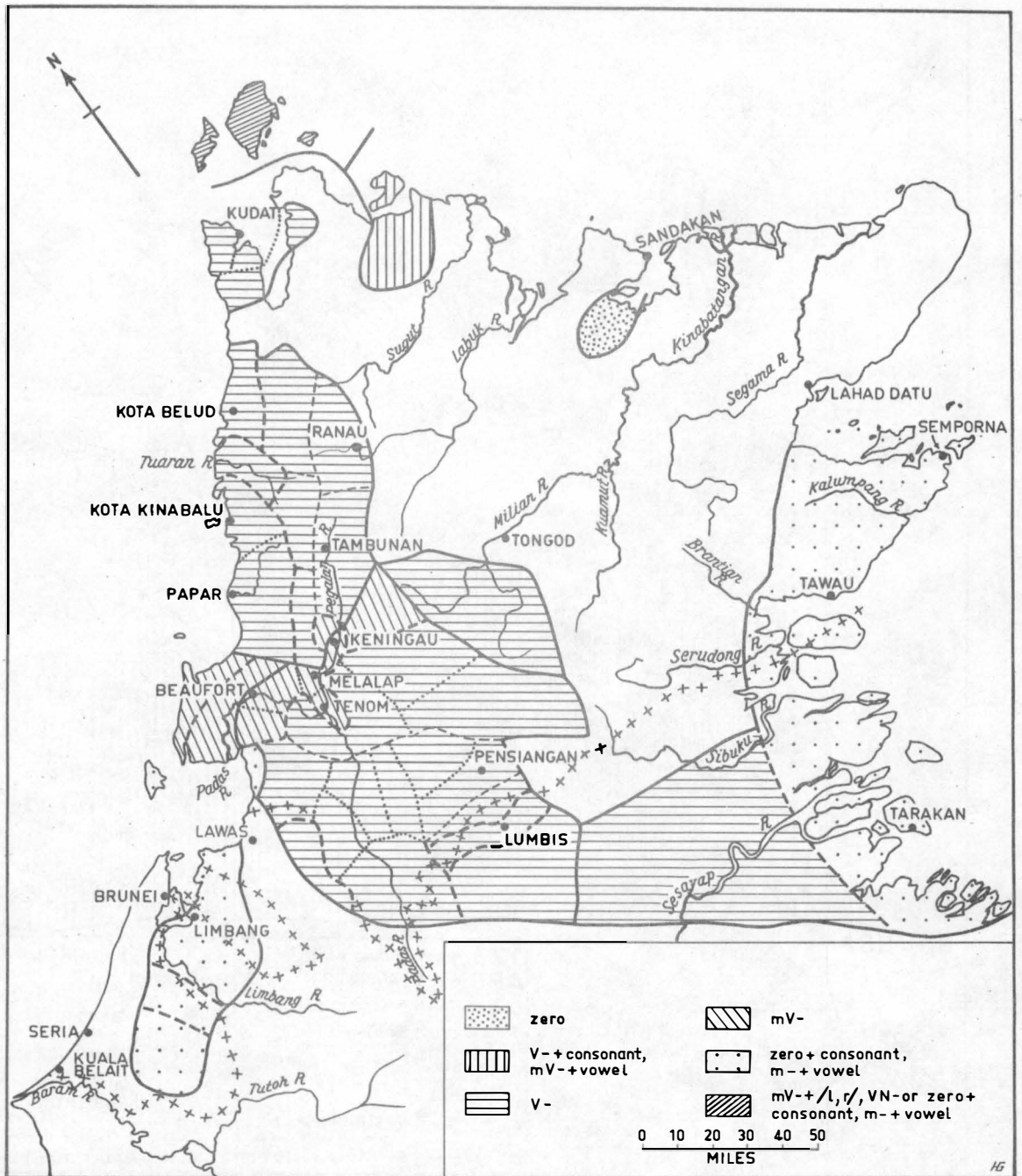
Maps 2 and 3 illustrate the affixes employed to mark the future temporal aspects of passive participles and subject-focus verbs respectively.

Map 4 shows the realization of the phoneme /d/ in word-medial intervocalic positions.

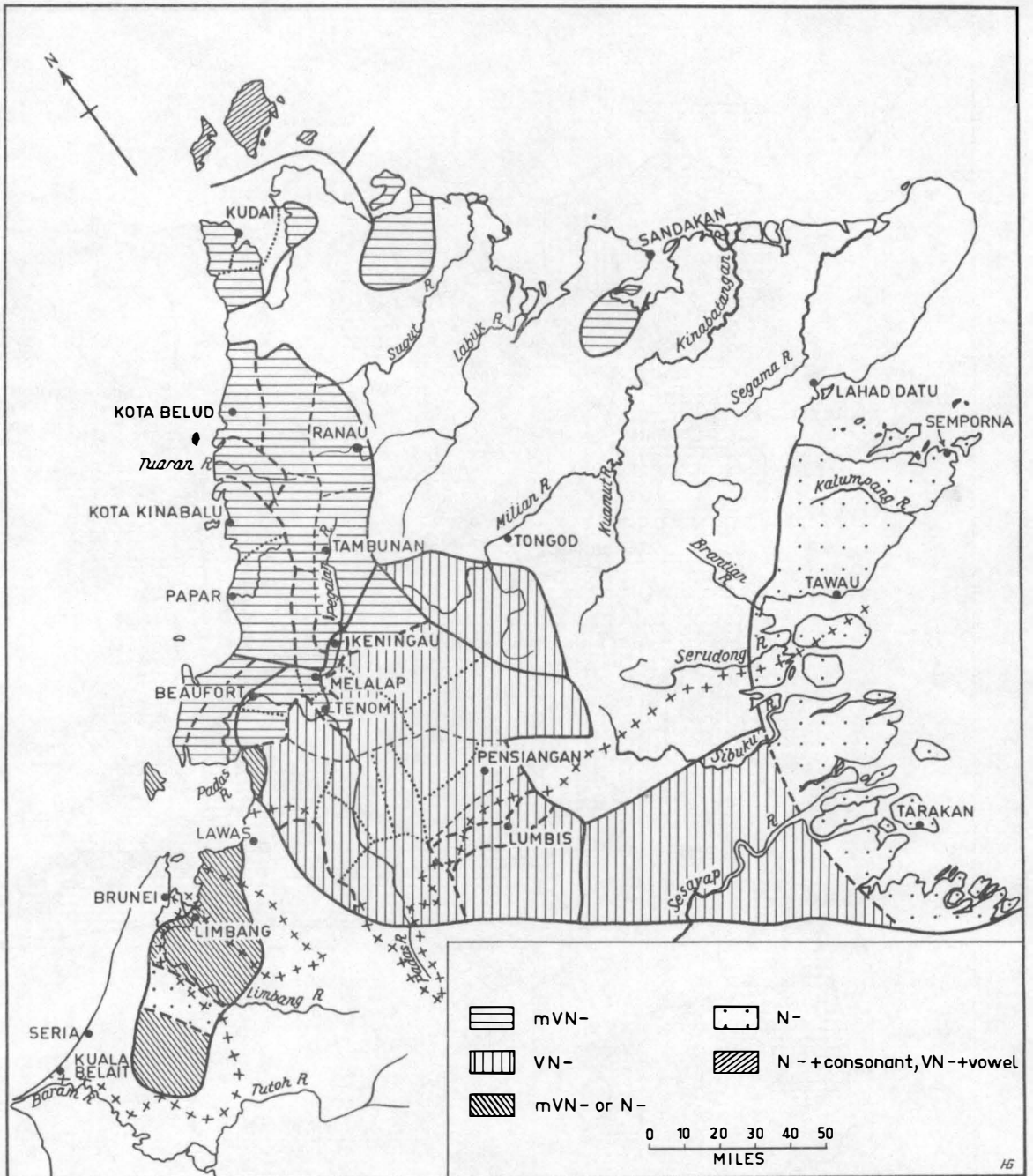
Maps 5, 6 and 7 show the distribution of glosses for *house*, *long* and *fish* respectively, which are given in their tentatively reconstructed Proto-IDA'AN forms.



MAP 1. THE IDA'AN LANGUAGE FAMILY

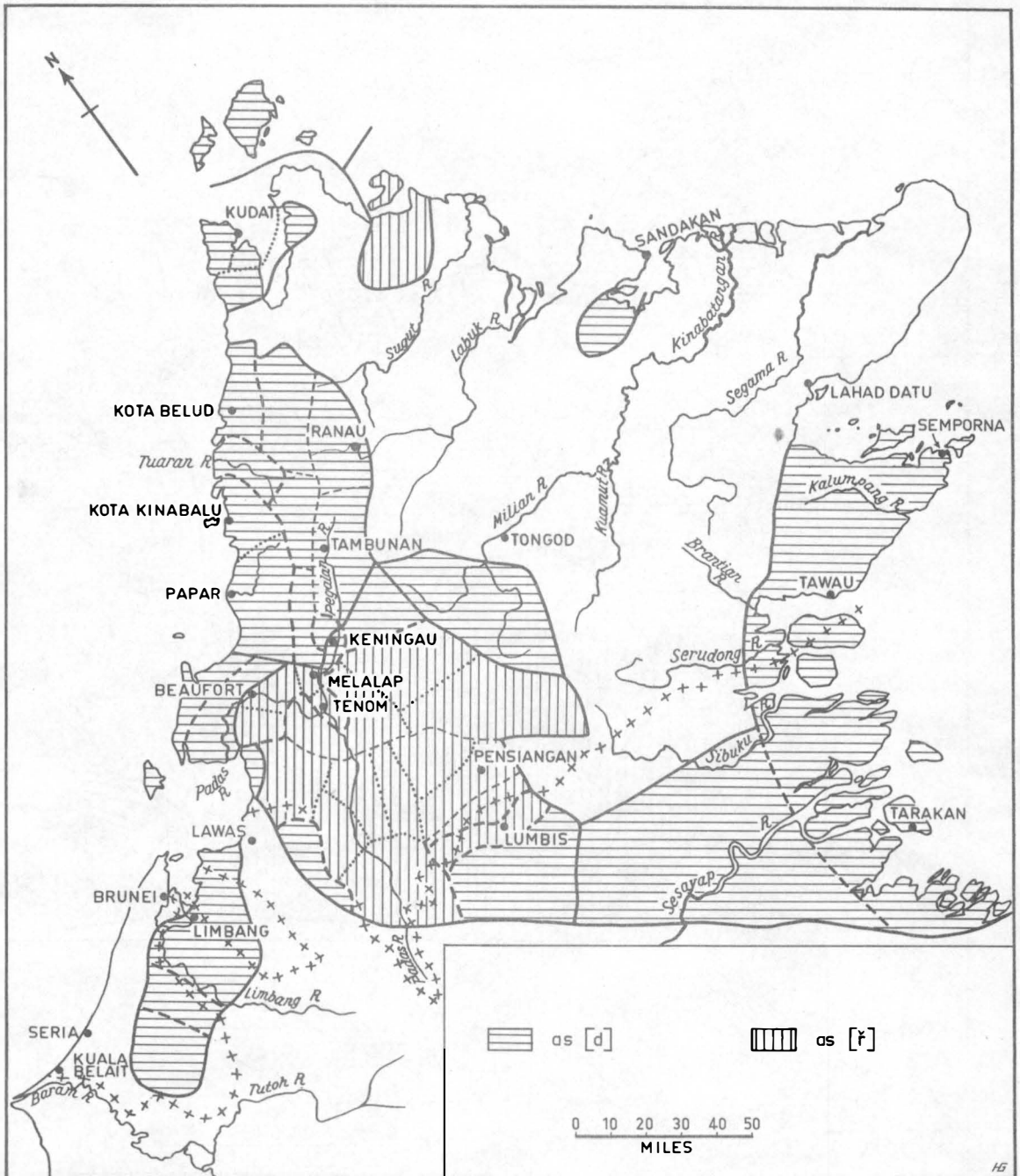


MAP 2. AFFIXES MARKING FUTURE TEMPORAL ASPECT OF PASSIVE PARTICLES



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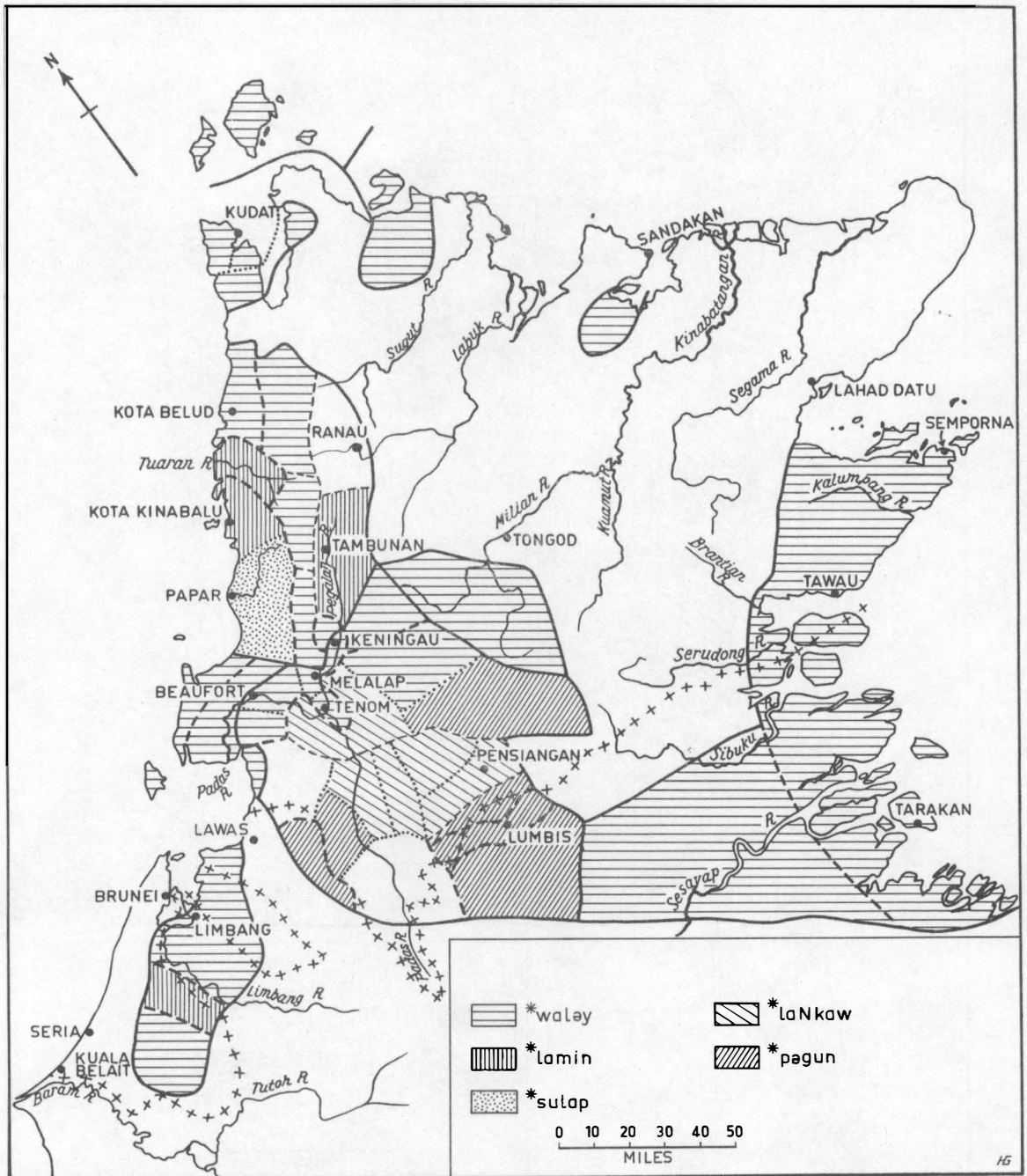
MAP 3. AFFIXES MARKING FUTURE TEMPORAL ASPECT OF SUBJECT-FOCUS VERBS



DEPARTMENT OF HUMAN GEOGRAPHY, A.N.U.

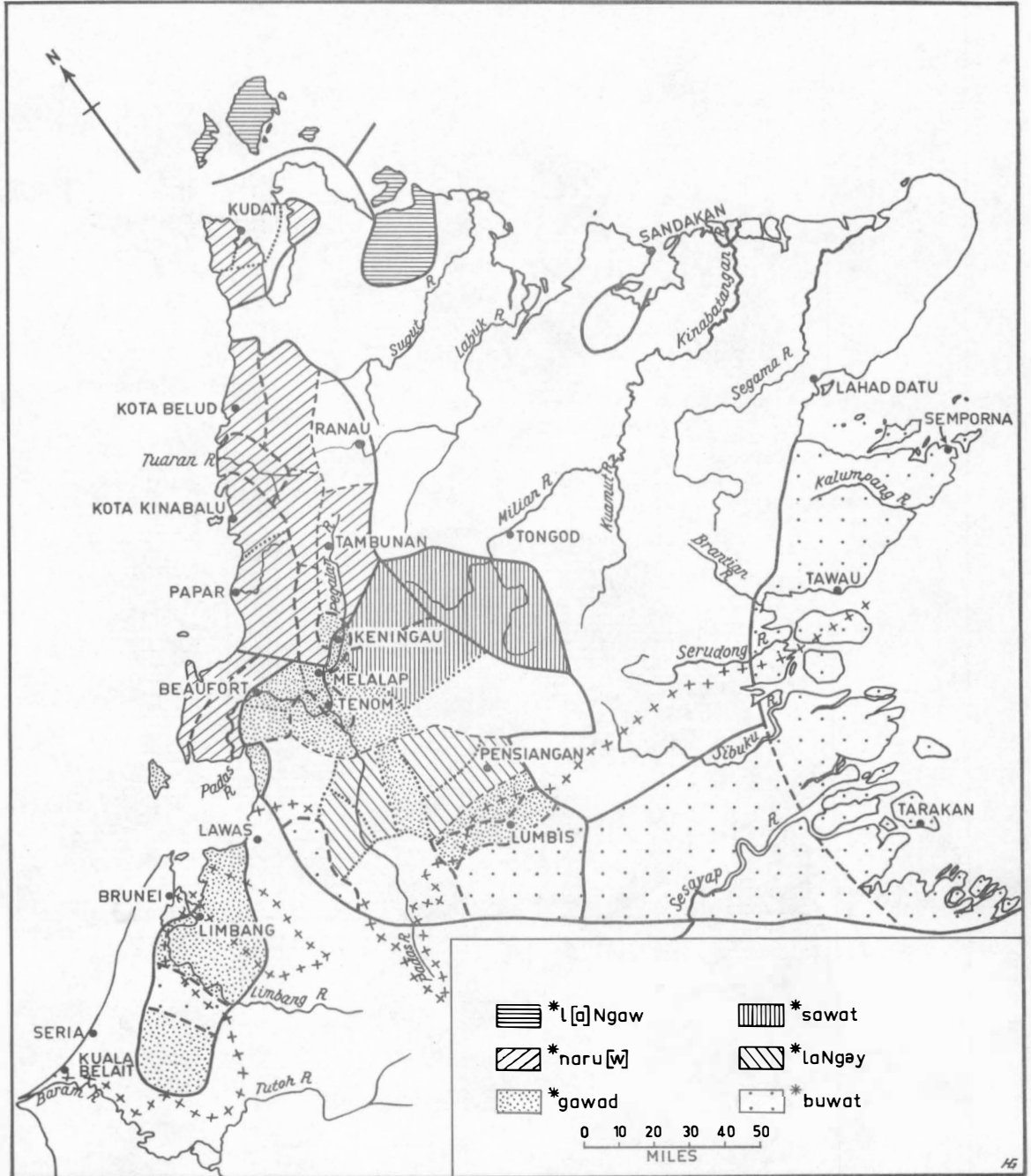
MAP 4. REALIZATION OF /d/ IN INTERVOCALIC POSITION





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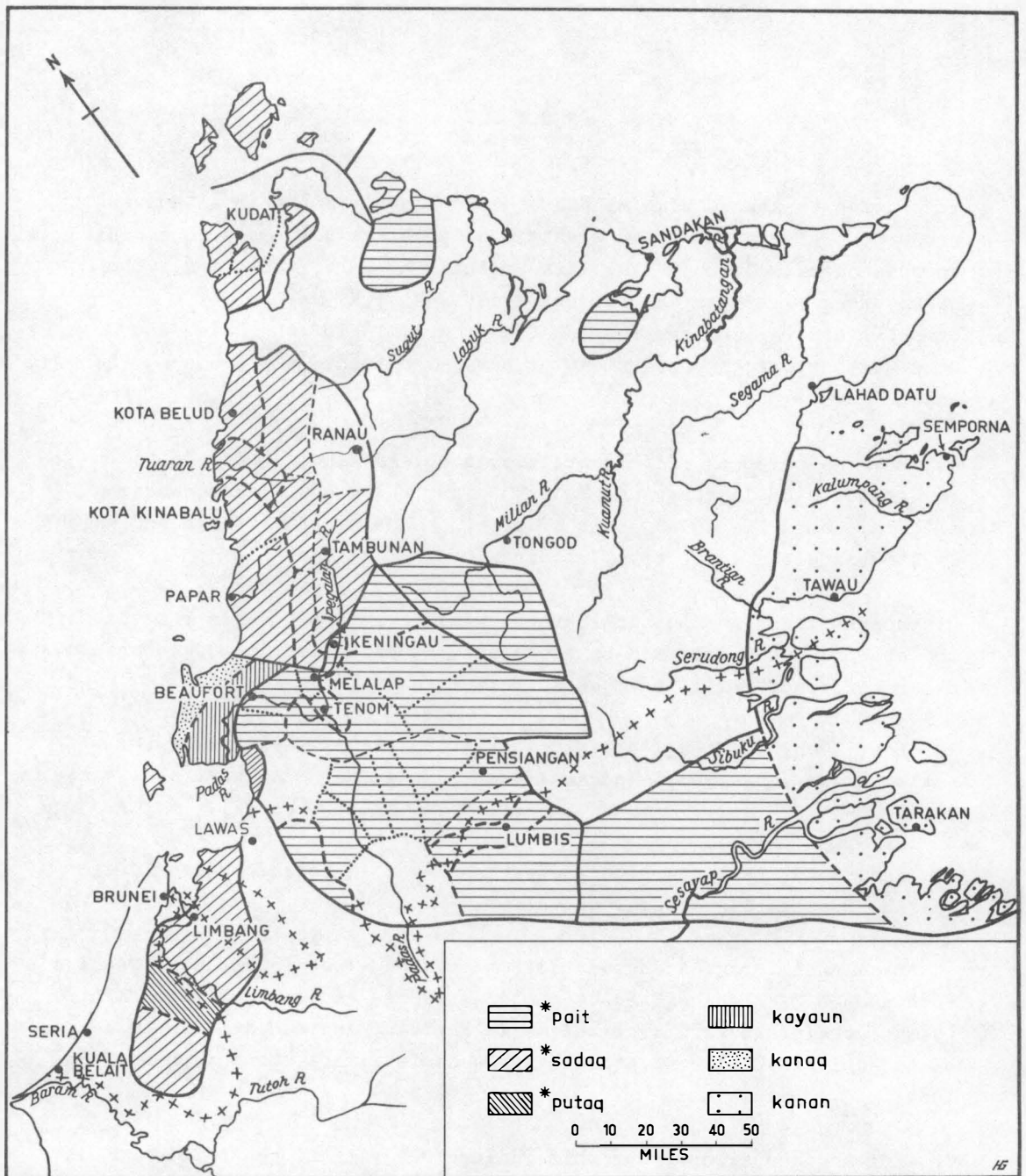
MAP 5. WORDS FOR "HOUSE"



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MAP 6. WORDS FOR "LONG"





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MAP 7. WORDS FOR "FISH"

## N O T E S

1. I wish to acknowledge my debt to the Australian National University whose scholarship and field grants made possible the research embodied in this paper. I would also like to thank my wife, who did all the donkey-work of preparing the data-sheets, Miss K. Mather, of the Computer Centre, who carried out the programming of the data, and Mr Hans Gunther, of the Department of Human Geography, who produced the maps.
2. For the purposes of this article, the term "indigenous" is taken to exclude such languages as Malay, Bajau, Suluk and Ilanun, whose original homes lie in adjacent areas of the Malay Archipelago and which fall outside the scope of my research.
3. Works listed in the bibliography will be referred to in the text by the author's name followed by the date of publication in square brackets. Other references will be cited in full in notes.
4. See: Dyen, Isidore, 'A lexicostatistical classification of the Austronesian languages.' *International Journal of American Linguistics*, Memoir 19, 1965.
5. See: Reid, Lawrence A., 'An Ivatan syntax.' *Oceanic Linguistics*, Special Publication No.2, 1966.
6. See: Asai, Erin, *Study of the Yami language: an Indonesian language spoken on Botel Tobago Island*. Leiden, 1936. and: Ferrell, Raleigh, *Taiwan aboriginal groups: problems in cultural and linguistic classification*. Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, Monograph No.17, 1969.
7. For a discussion of how this failure has vitiated much research in the area, see Appell (1967, 1968a, 1968b).

8. The 'q' in the spelling of such names as MENINDAQ represents a glottal stop.

9. See: Jones, L.W., *The population of Borneo*. London, 1966.

10. This list has now been published in Appell (1968b).

11. It should be emphasized that Table II does not purport to show time-depths or even necessarily genetic relationships: it is intended merely as a guide to the degree of lexical relationship between speech-forms.

12. I am indebted to Dr. D.C. Laycock, of the Department of Linguistics, A.N.U., for suggesting this method. Any inaccuracies in its application are, however, my own responsibility.

13. I have recently heard that Dr. Roger Peranio, of the State University of New York (Stoney Brook), has made a linguistic survey of this area, the results of which will greatly increase our knowledge of these speech-forms.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

In the bibliography that follows, I have included any publication that has reference to languages of the IDA'AN family. The works included thus range from large-scale grammars and dictionaries like Antonissen's to non-linguistic articles which nevertheless contain items of lexical interest. Where a publication has been reviewed in Cense and Uhlenbeck (1958), I have given the number under which it will be found in that bibliography. In the words of its two compilers, "the long list of literature rather serves to demonstrate the poverty than the abundance of truly linguistic data."

The following abbreviations have been used:

- C. and U. Cense and Uhlenbeck (1958).  
JMBRAS Journal of the Malayan ('Malaysian' after 1963)  
Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.  
JRAI Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute.  
JSBRAS Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic  
Society.  
PRGS Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society.  
SMJ Sarawak Museum Journal.  
SSJ Sabah Society Journal.  
TITLV Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde.  
VBG Verhandelingen van het (Koninklijk) Bataviaasch  
Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.

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Reproduced in Ray (1913).

Aho onsoi sinuratan ri Markus. Rahu Tahol. Sidang Injil Borneo,  
 n.d. Lawas, Sarawak.  
 Gospel of St. Mark in SUMAMBUQ MURUT (? MAULIGAN sd.).

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1955 *Koimaan ngaavi do Tuan Jezus*. Singapore.  
 183 in C. and U. Life of Christ in PUTATAN sd. of KADAZAN DUSUN.

1958 *Kadazan-English and English-Kadazan dictionary*. Canberra.  
 Contains: sketch grammar of PUTATAN sd. of KADAZAN DUSUN  
 (p.11-39); English-Kadazan dictionary (p.41-112); Kadazan-  
 English dictionary (p.113-274).

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 Singapore.  
 184 in C. and U. Prayerbook in PUTATAN sd. of KADAZAN DUSUN.

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1965 *The nature of social groupings among the Rungus Dusun  
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 A.N.U., Canberra.

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 some recent publications'. *Oceania* 37.3. p.178-85.

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 and related problems'. *Oceanic Linguistics* 7.1. p.1-15.

Contains: further discussion of ethnolinguistic names, with  
 particular reference to Dusun groups; a review of Clayre's  
 work (Clayre (1966)); and a 200-word list in RUNGUS sd. of  
 MARUDU DUSUN.

**APPELL, G.N. AND LAURA W.R. APPELL**

1961 *A provisional field dictionary of the Rungus Dusun language of North Borneo.* Mimeographed.

A dictionary of the RUNGUS sd. of MARUDU DUSUN.

**ARANETA, F. AND M.A. BERNAD**

1960 "'Bisayans" of Borneo and the "Tagalogs" and "Visayans" of the Philippines'. SMJ 9.15/16.

An attempt to connect some languages of Borneo with certain Philippine languages known by the same or similar names. Contains vocabularies of 80 words in Ilongo, Tagalog, Cebuano, "Kedazan", "Dusun" (a dialect of SOUTHERN BISAYA, diverging slightly from St. John's "Bisaya" list), "Tutong" (TUTONG BISAYA), "Bisaya" (the same dialect of SOUTHERN BISAYA as represented in St. John's list), "Belait" and "Kedayan". The author's informants for "Kedazan" were two schoolboys, one of whom was a native of Keningau and therefore probably not a KADAZAN speaker at all; moreover, this list contains many words peculiar to MARUDU DUSUN. The "Belait" list is from a non-IDA'AN language, while the "Kedayan" list is in fact Brunei Malay.

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1922 'A Murut vocabulary'. JSBRAS 86. p.343-75.

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1908 *The Tidong dialects of Borneo.* Oxford.

198 in *C. and U.* Contains a grammar and dictionary of "Tarakan" (TARAKAN TIDONG) and "Bolongan", both of which the author regards as dialects of "Tidong". Although "Bolongan" shares 47% of cognates with "Tarakan", it is probably not an IDA'AN language. The percentage is possibly inflated by borrowings due to the geographical proximity of the two languages, as Bolongan scores an average of only 34% with other IDA'AN languages. Part reproduced in Ray (1913).

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Buku manani rahu Tahol. di-keluarkan oleh Sidang Injil Borneo, bekerja n.d. sama dengan Borneo Evangelical Mission.

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 (both TINGGALAN TIDONG), "Tárakàn" (TARAKAN TIDONG),  
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 27 in *C. and U.* Contains a vocabulary of "Tidoeng" (TARAKAN  
 TIDONG) which is compared with the five other languages of the  
 area, including one known as "Siang" or "Dusun", which however  
 is not an IDA'AN language. Part reproduced in Ray (1913).

HARRISSON, T. (see also Bolang, A. and T. Harrisson)

- 1958 'Some origins and attitudes of Brunei Tutong-Belait-Dusun,  
 North Borneo "Dusun" and Sarawak "Bisayan", Meting and  
 other peoples'. SMJ 8. p.293-321.  
 1962 '"Bisaya" in North Borneo and elsewhere', SSJ 2. p.6-13.  
 1967 'Ethnological notes on the Muruts of the Sapulut river,  
 Sabah'. JMBRAS 40.1. p.111-29.

Contains some words in SAPULUT sd. of PALUAN MURUT, and discussion of problems of ethnic and linguistic terminology in the area.

**Katekismus. Jesselton.**

1950

Roman Catholic catechism in unidentified language of DUSUN-group.

**KEITH, H.G.**

1936a 'Some Ulun-no-Bokan (Murut) words from North Borneo'.  
JMBRAS 14.3. p.314-22.

167 in *C. and U.* A list of names of animals, birds, etc. in  
BAUKAN MURUT.

1936b 'Ulun-no-Bokan (Murut) folklore'. JMBRAS 14.3. p.323-6.

1936c 'A few Ulun-no-Bokan (Murut) taboos'. JMBRAS 14.3.  
p.327-9.

1936d 'Some Ulun-no-Bokan (Murut) charms'. JMBRAS 14.3. p.330.

1951 'A preliminary list of North Borneo plant names'. *North  
Borneo Forest Records*, No.2. (2nd ed.).

A very useful list of all indigenous botanical names collected by the Forestry Department, usually with an indication of the language/dialect concerned, where this is known. 1st edition appeared in 1937.

**Kitab injil yang senurat S. Markus.**

1938 London. (inside: St. Mark in Bisaya (Sarawak) (Tentative edition)).

150 in *C. and U.* St. Mark's gospel in (presumably) SOUTHERN BISAYA. According to *C. and U.*, heavily influenced by Malay.

**LAMPÉ, FR.**

1956 *Tanong ngaavi tongotopot do Testamentum Haid.* Singapore.

185 in *C. and U.* Stories from the Old Testament in PUTATAN sd. of KADAZAN DUSUN.

**LEES, SHIRLEY P.**

1964 'Apparent and real differences in Dusun linguistics'.  
SMJ 11.23/24.

Discussion of phonology of INLAND DUSUN dialects.

1966 'Murut orthography'. SSJ 3.2. p.90-8.

Discussion of phonology of SUMAMBUQ MURUT (? MAULIGAN sd.) and PALUAN MURUT (PALUAN sd.) and suggested orthography for "Tagal" (i.e., HIGHLAND MURUT).

LUERING, H.L.E.

1897 'A vocabulary of the Dusun language of Kimanis'.

JSBRAS 30. p.1-29.

173 In C. and U. Extensive vocabulary in KADAZAN DUSUN (? same sd. as PAPAR). Used by Ray (1913).

MAJUSIM BIN MAJINAL, EDMUND

1949 'Some notes on the Dusun language'. SMJ 5.1. p.125-9.

178 In C. and U. Brief notes on morphology of PUTATAN sd. of KADAZAN DUSUN by a native speaker.

MOJOLOU, MICHAEL AND SAMUEL MAJALANG

n.d. *The Story of Daniel (Kadazan)*. Borneo Literature Bureau, Kuching.

One of a series of translations of the biblical episode in various Bornean languages. This one is in the PUTATAN sd. of KADAZAN DUSUN.

MONTANO, J.

1885 'Rapport à M. le Ministre de l'Instruction Publique sur une mission aux îles Philippines et en Malaisie'. *Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires*, 3<sup>me</sup> sér., t.XI. p.271-479.

195 In C. and U. Contains a vocabulary of BULUDUPI. Used in Ray (1913).

Murut catechism.

1960 R.C. Mission, Keningau. (2nd and revised ed.).

Translation of catechism into SUMAMBUQ MURUT by a KADAZAN speaker. Many mistakes and Kadazanisms.

NEEDHAM, R.

1955 'A note on ethnic classification in Borneo'. JMBRAS 28.1. p.167-71.

ONGKILI, JAMES P.

1965 *Susuzan Totopot do Sabah (History of Sabah)*. Borneo Literature Bureau, Kuching.

A brief history of the state in the PUTATAN sd. of KADAZAN DUSUN. Apparently the first book to be written in an IDA'AN language by a native-speaker.

## Pangumangan nu Tahan Yesus.

- 1961 Scripture Gift Mission, London. (inside: Tagal: Parables 780/61).

Christ's parables translated into SUMAMBUQ MURUT.

## PRENGER, J.

- 1894 'The Dusuns of Borneo and their riddles'. *Actes du dixième Congrès International des Orientalistes*, (Session de Genève), 4<sup>e</sup> partie, section V. p.19-52.

179 in *C. and U.* I have not seen this publication. According to *C. and U.*, it contains 100 riddles and their translations which were recorded at Inabong, and which will therefore probably be in the PUTATAN sd. of KADAZAN DUSUN. They are preceded by remarks on Dusun dialects and morphology.

## PRENTICE, D.J.

- 1965 'Form and function in the verbs of Sabah Murut: a preliminary analysis'. *Oceanic Linguistics* 4. p.127-56.
- 1969a 'A word list for use in Borneo' in 'Papers in Borneo Linguistics No.1'. *Pacific Linguistics*, Series A, No.20. p.1-8.
- 1969b 'Verbal inflection in Sabah Murut' in 'Papers in Borneo Linguistics No.1'. *Pacific Linguistics*, Series A, No.20. p.9-22.
- 1969c 'Phonemes of Sabah Murut' in 'Papers in Borneo Linguistics No.1'. *Pacific Linguistics*, Series A, No.20. p.23-41.
- 1969d *The Murut languages of Sabah*. Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. A.N.U.  
Detailed grammar of TIMUGON MURUT and outline studies of other languages and dialects of the MURUT-group.

## RAY, SIDNEY H.

- 1913 'The languages of Borneo'. *SMJ* 1.4. p.1-196.  
2 in *C. and U.* Incorporates 19 wordlists of IDA'AN languages, as follows: 1. "Tutong I" (TUTONG BISAYA), 152 words from Ray's own MS; 2. "Tarakan" (TARAKAN TIDONG) from Beech (1908); 3. "Sesayap" (TARAKAN TIDONG) from Hamer (1889); 4. "Sibuku" (TARAKAN TIDONG) from Aernout (1885); 5. "Padas" (BINTAQ sd. of TIMUGON MURUT) from "Murut Padass" list in Crespligny (1872); 6. "Kadayan" (SOUTHERN BISAYA dialect b.), 184 words from Ray's own MS; 7. "Beklau" (SOUTHERN BISAYA dialect b.), 181 words from Ray's own MS; 8. "Bisaya" (SOUTHERN BISAYA dialect a.), 150 words from Ray's own MS; 9. "Bisaya" (SOUTHERN BISAYA dialect

a.), 97 words from a list collected by T. Kirkpatrick-Caldecot; 10. "Bisaya" (SOUTHERN BISAYA dialect a.), 62 words from a list collected by W.R. Barry-Gifford; 11. "Bisaya" (SOUTHERN BISAYA dialect a.) from "Bisaya" list in St. John (1862); 12. "Bisaya" (NORTHERN BISAYA) from "Bisaya" list in Crespigny (1872); 13. "Tagal" (MAULIGAN sd. of SUMAMBUQ MURUT), 146 words from a list collected by W.R. Clement; 14. "Dalit" (SOUTHERN BISAYA dialect a.) from "Dali Dusun" list in Crespigny (1872); 15. "Kadasan" (? PAPAR sd. of KADAZAN DUSUN) from Luering (1897); 16. "Tampasuk" (TAMPASUK DUSUN) from "Dusun of Tampasuk" list in Swettenham (1880); 17. "Ida'an" (? KADAZAN DUSUN) from "Ida'an" list in St. John (1862); 18. "Buludupi" (? BULUDUPI) from "Bûlûd Ôpie" list in Swettenham (1880); 19. "Buludupi" (BULUDUPI) from Montano (1885).

**ROTH, H. LING**

1896 *The natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo.* London. (reprinted 1968).

1 in C. and U. Contains reprints of St. John (1862), Crespigny (1872) and Swettenham (1880).

**RUTTER, OWEN**

1929 *The pagans of North Borneo.* London.

164 in C. and U. Contains: classification of ethnic groups on p.34 ff; texts of songs in PALUAN sd. of PALUAN MURUT, collected by Woolley (two of them published in Woolley (1927)), on p.276-9; and the following wordlists (mostly 186 items) on p.262-75; 1. "Marudu Dusun" (unidentified); 2. "Tempasuk Dusun" (TAMPASUK DUSUN); 3. "Tuaran Dusun" (LOTUD DUSUN); 4. "Klrau Dusun" (a "Klrau" dialect of INLAND DUSUN); 5. "Putatan Dusun" (PUTATAN sd. of KADAZAN DUSUN); 6. "Papar Dusun" (PAPAR sd. of KADAZAN DUSUN); 7. "Tambunan Dusun" (a "Tambunan" dialect of INLAND DUSUN); 8. "Kuljau" (MINANSUT DUSUN); 9. "Keningau Murut" (NABAY MURUT); 10. "Peluan Murut" (PALUAN sd. of PALUAN MURUT); 11. "Tenom Murut" (TIMUGON MURUT); 12. "Rundum Murut" (ARUNDUM sd. of SUMAMBUQ MURUT), used in Bolang and Harrisson (1949); and 13. "Tenggara" (TANGGARAQ TIDONG).

**ST. JOHN, SPENSER**

1862 *Life in the forests of the Far East.* London. (1st ed.).

42 in C. and U. Lists of 90 words in "Ida'an" (? KADAZAN DUSUN) and "Bisaya" (SOUTHERN BISAYA dialect a.) on p.407-16 (omitted from 2nd edition), reprinted in Roth (1896) and used in Ray (1913).

**SATHER, CLIFFORD**

1967 'A problem in northern Borneo language classification: The linguistic status of "Tidong"'. Unpublished MS.

Discusses relationship between TIDONG languages and MURUT languages.

## SCHNEEBERGER, W.F.

- 1937 'A short vocabulary of the Banggi and Bajau language'.  
 JMBRAS 15.3. p.145-64.  
 172 in *C. and U.* About 800 words in BANGGI.

## STAAL, J.

- 1923 'The Dusuns of North Borneo'. *Anthropos* 18/19 (1923/24)  
 and 20 (1925). p.120-38 and 929-51.  
 170 in *C. and U.* Contains numerous words, mainly in PUTATAN sd.  
 of KADAZAN DUSUN.
- 1926a 'Dusun drinking- and love-songs'. *Anthropos* 21. p.182-91.  
 180 in *C. and U.* Texts of songs in PUTATAN sd. of KADAZAN DUSUN  
 with translations.
- 1926b 'The Dusun language'. *Anthropos* 21. p.938-51.  
 174 in *C. and U.* Notes on morphology of KADAZAN DUSUN, followed  
 by lists of 207 words in "Tuaran" (LOTUD DUSUN), "Putatan"  
 (PUTATAN sd. of KADAZAN DUSUN), "Papar" (PAPAR sd. of KADAZAN  
 DUSUN), "Bundu" (TATANAQ BISAYA), "Tambunan" (a "Tambunan"  
 dialect of INLAND DUSUN), "Tahgas" (TAGAAS DUSUN) and "Rungus"  
 (RUNGUS sd. of MARUDU DUSUN). *C. and U.* describe this article  
 as containing an "English-Tuaran-Putatan-Papar vocabulary",  
 which appears on the left-hand page; the other four lists appear  
 on the right-hand page and seem to have been overlooked.
- 1927 'A heathen Dusun prayer'. *Anthropos* 22. p.197-201.  
 181 in *C. and U.* Text in KADAZAN DUSUN with translation.

## SWETTENHAM, F.A.

- 1880 'Comparative vocabulary of the dialects of some of the  
 wild tribes inhabiting the Malayan Peninsula, Borneo,  
 etc.'. JSBRAS 5. p.125-56.  
 43 in *C. and U.* Includes lists of "Dusun of Tampassuk"  
 (TAMPASUK DUSUN) and "Bôlûd Ôple" (? BULUDUPI) collected by  
 W.H. Treacher. Reproduced in Roth (1896) and used in Ray (1913).

## VOEGELIN, C.F. AND F.M. VOEGELIN

- 1964 'Languages of the world: Indo-Pacific fascicle one'.  
*Anthropological Linguistics* 6.4.
- 1966 'Languages of the world: Indo-Pacific fascicle four'.  
*Anthropological Linguistics* 7.2.

## WILLIAMS, THOMAS RHYS

- 1960a 'A survey of native peoples of North Borneo'.  
*Sociologus* 10. p.170-4.
- 1960b 'A Tambunan Dusun origin myth'. *JMBRAS* 33.1. p.95-103.  
Also published in *Journal of American Folklore* 74. 1961.  
p.68-73.
- 1961 'Ethno-historical relationships and patterns of customary  
behaviour among North Borneo native peoples'. *Sociologus*  
11. p.51-63.
- 1962 'Tambunan Dusun social structure'. *Sociologus* 12. p.141-57.
- 1963 'The form and function of Tambunan Dusun riddles'.  
*Journal of American Folklore* 76. p.95-110 and 141-81.
- 1965 *The Dusun: a North Borneo society*. Case studies in  
cultural anthropology. New York.
- Most of Williams' publications contain items of lexical  
interest in one or more dialects of the Tambunan area, which  
are not, however, differentiated.

## WOOLLEY, G.C.

- 1927 'Two Murut pantuns from the Dalit district, Keningau,  
British North Borneo'. *JMBRAS* 5.2. p.366-9.  
169 in *C. and U. Texts in PALUAN sd. of PALUAN MURUT with  
translation*. Reproduced in Rutter (1929).
- 1929 'Some notes on Murut basket work and patterns'. *JMBRAS*  
7.2. p.291-315.  
166 in *C. and U.* Contains names of patterns in various dialects.
- 1932 'Murut basketwork I.' and 'Murut basketwork II.'  
*JMBRAS* 10.1. p.23-8.  
166 in *C. and U.* Contains names of patterns in various dialects.
- 1936 'Some Murut hunting customs'. *JMBRAS* 14.3. p.307-13.  
Contains some words in the TAGOL sd. of SUMAMBUQ MURUT.
- 1940 *A Dusun vocabulary in the dialect of the district of  
Tambunan, North Borneo*. Sandakan.

175 in *C. and U.* I was unable to refer to this. Presumably one of the "Tambunan" dialects of INLAND DUSUN.

1953a 'Tuaran adat: some customs of the Dusuns of Tuaran, West Coast Residency, North Borneo'. *Native Affairs Bulletin* No.2. Govt. Printer, Jesselton. (reprinted).  
Contains a few lexical items in LOTUD DUSUN.

1953b 'Murut adat: customs regulating inheritance amongst the Nabal tribe of Keningau and the Timogun tribe of Tenom'. *Native Affairs Bulletin* No.3. Govt. Printer, Jesselton. (reprinted).  
Some words in NABAY MURUT and TIMUGON MURUT.

1953c 'Dusun adat: customs regulating inheritance amongst the Dusun tribes in the coastal plains of Putatan and Papar'. *Native Affairs Bulletin* No.4. Govt. Printer, Jesselton. (reprinted).  
Some terms in KADAZAN DUSUN.

1953d 'Dusun adat: some customs of the Dusuns of Tambunan and Ranau, West Coast Residency, North Borneo'. *Native Affairs Bulletin* No.5. Govt. Printer, Jesselton. (reprinted).  
Some terms in unidentified "Tambunan" and "Ranau" dialects of INLAND DUSUN.

1953e 'Kwijau adat: customs regulating inheritance amongst the Kwijau tribe of the interior'. *Native Affairs Bulletin* No.6. Govt. Printer, Jesselton. (reprinted).  
I have not seen this publication, which presumably refers to speakers of either MINANSUT DUSUN or MENINDAQ DUSUN.

1962 'The Timoguns: a Murut tribe of the interior, North Borneo'. *Native Affairs Bulletin* No.1. Govt. Printer, Jesselton. (reprinted).  
Many terms in the POROS sd. of TIMUGON MURUT.