VERBAL INFLECTION IN SABAH MURUT

0. INTRODUCTION

0.1. Clarification

The language under discussion here is not to be confused with a different language of the same name (also known as Lun Daya), most of whose speakers are found in Sarawak and Indonesian Borneo.

The forms quoted in this article are all from the Timugon dialect, which is spoken in the region round Tenom (Interior Residency, Sabah).

0.2. Verbal Categories

All verbs in Murut can be described with reference to four verbal categories: *a.* Mode, which indicates the nature of the action; *b.* Focus, which describes the relationship between the action and the subject of the clause; *c.* Type, which indicates the transitivity or otherwise of the action; *d.* Aspect, which describes the relationship between the time of the action and the time of speaking.* The following table illustrates the four categories and their members:

MODE	FOCUS	TYPE	ASPECT
1. Definite	1. Active	1. Intransitive	1. Atemporal
2. Causative	2. Benefactive	2. Trans.Static	2. Temp.Future
3. Indefinite	3. Passive	3. Trans.Dynamic	3. Temp.Past
4. Petitive	4. Instrumentive		
5. Desiderative	5. Associative		

TABLE I

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* For a more detailed discussion of the semantic functions of the four categories and their members, see the writer's article, "Form and Function in the Verbs of Sabah Murut", to be published in the next issue of *Oceanic Linguistics*. Part of this article has been found, in the light of subsequent research, to contain some inaccuracies.

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0.3. Numerical Notation

The numbers in Table I can be used to set up a four-digit code, in which the first digit determines the mode, the second digit the focus, the third digit the type, and the fourth digit the aspect of the verb. When one of the categories is already identified or irrelevant, it is represented by a dash (-). This system provides a convenient means of describing both the distribution of a given allomorph and the position of a given form in the verbal system.

Thus the statement:

"Active focus allomorph ^{a}{-um-} occurs in environment $1-1_3^2$" indicates that the distribution of the Active focus allomorph ^{a}{-um-} is restricted to the Definite mode, Intransitive type, Temporal (Past and Future) aspects of the verb.

Likewise, the statement:

· "Atemporal aspect allomorph ^{a}{-?} occurs in environment $-_3^2--$ (except 33--)", indicates that the Atemporal aspect allomorph ^{a}{-?} occurs throughout the Benefactive and Passive focuses of the verb, except in the Indefinite mode, Passive focus, where it does not occur.

A particular verbal form can be described thus:

"/pantuduŋon/ : 2322 /-tuduŋ/"

indicating that the form /pantuduŋon/ "will be caused to sit" is the Causative mode, Passive focus, Transitive Static type, Temporal Future aspect of the verb-stem /-tuduŋ/ "sit".

0.4. Signs and Abbreviations

The following are the signs and abbreviations used in this article:

M-, N-, ŋ - replace the first consonant of the stem to which they are prefixed (as opposed to m-, n-, ŋ-, which do not). Thus:

/-patoy/ + M- = /matoy/
/-patoy/ + m- = /*-mpatoy/

R- indicates reduplication (i.e. of the first vowel of

the stem and any preceding consonant). Thus:

/mambilin/ (stem: /-bilin/) + R- = /mambibilin/

/mamilin/ (stem: /-bilin/) + R- = /mamimilin/

V- = /o/, where the first vowel of the stem is /o/; otherwise V- = /a/.

≠   indicates zero morphemes.

{ }   enclose morphemes.

ª{ }   enclose allomorphs.

ᵃᵛ{ }   enclose allomorphic variants.

/ /   enclose phonemes.

__   indicates the item under discussion.

*   denotes hypothetical or impossible forms.

0.5. Stem-changes

Under certain conditions, the presence of inflectional morphemes brings about various changes in the phonemic shape of the verb-stem. These changes are outlined here, the morphemes being represented in their appropriate phonemic form (except in f.).

a. Final /-ʔ/ is elided in the presence of any suffix:

/-insisiʔ/ + /na-/ + /-an/ = /nainsisian/

/-balaʔ/ + /-i/ + /-n/ = /balain/

b. Stems ending in /-aa(ʔ)/ add /-n/ in the presence of any suffix (see *a.*).

/-inaa/ + /-i/ + /-n/ = /inaanin/

/-ilalaaʔ/ + /-o/ + /-n/ = /ilalaanon/

c. Any /o/ in the verb-stem becomes /a/ in the presence of suffixes /-i/ and /-an/.

/-oŋoy/ + /-an/ = /aŋayan/

/-tanok/ + /-i/ + /-n/ = /tanakin/

d. Any /a/ preceding /o/ in the verb-stem becomes /o/ in the presence of suffix /-o/.

/-tanok/ + /-o/ + /-n/ = /tonokon/

e. Stems beginning with /d-, g-, j-, l-, m-, n-, ŋ-/ cannot be directly inflected for type (i.e. by means of the

morphemes {n-} or {N-}; see **1.32-33**). Instead they are expanded by means of euphonic prefix /pV-/. The expanded stem is then inflected in the same way as other stems beginning with /p-/.

/-diu?/ + ^{a}{n-} + /ma-/ = /mampadiu?/ (not /*mandiu?/)

/-gambad/ + ^{a}{N-} + /ma-/ = /mamagambad/ (not /*maŋambad/)

/-diu?/ + ^{a}{pVn-} + /ka-/ + /ma-/ = /makapampadiu?/

/-gambad/ + ^{a}{pVN-} + /ka-/ + /ma-/ = /makapamagambad/

0.6. Distributional Limitations

a. Aspect 1 (Atemporal) morphemes cannot occur in environment $-\frac{4}{5}--$.

b. Type 1 (Intransitive) morphemes cannot occur in environment 14--.

c. Type 2 and 3 (Transitive Static and Dynamic) morphemes cannot occur in environments $-\frac{2}{3}--$ (except in $2\frac{2}{3}--$), -4-- (except in 14--), -5-- (except in $\frac{1}{4}5--$), or in environment 21--.

e. Focus 2 and 3 (Benefactive and Passive) morphemes have not been found in environment 5---.

1. VERBAL INFLECTION

1.1. Mode

1.11. Mode 1 (Definite), marked by {≠}, can be described as the normal mode of the verb, representing a simple action. {=} has one allomorph, ^{a}{≠}.

^{a}{≠} occurs throughout.

/oŋoy da giu?/ (go da that-place) "Go over there"
(/≠-oŋoy/: 1111 /-oŋoy/ "go")

/maŋakan aku da puti/ (will-eat I da banana) "I shall eat a banana" (/ma-≠-ŋ-akan/: 1132 /-akan/ "eat")

1.12. Mode 2 (Causative), marked by {pV-}[1], indicates that

someone causes or permits the action to happen. $\{pV-\}^1$ has one allomorph, $^a\{pV-\}^1$.

$^a\{pV-\}^1$ occurs throughout.

/mopooŋoy aku da ulun da giu?/ (will-cause-to-go I da person da that-place) "I'll send someone over there" (/mo-po-oŋoy/: 2112 /-oŋoy/ "go")

/pantuduŋo? io/ (be-caused-to-sit he) "Make him sit down" (/pa-n-tuduŋ-o-?/: 2321 /-tuduŋ/ "sit")

1.13. Mode 3 (Indefinite), marked by $\{kV-\}$, is so called because its use is obligatory in cases where the performer of the action is unknown or unexpressed. It has several functions, of which the most important are *a.* indicating that the action is potential (i.e. can happen) and *b.* indicating that the action is accidental. $\{kV-\}$ has two morphologically conditioned allomorphs, $^a\{\not=\} \sim {}^a\{kV-\}$.

$^a\{\not=\}$ occurs in environments $-\frac{\underset{3}{\overset{2}{1}}\overset{2}{3}}{}$ and -513.

$^a\{kV-\}$ occurs elsewhere.

/mokooŋoy kow kia/ (can-go you(sing.) interrogative) "Can you go?" (/mo-ko-oŋoy/: 3112 /-oŋoy/ "go")

/kalo maibit ku/ (not can-be-lifted by-me) "I can't lift (it)" (/ma-/-ibit/: 3312 /-ibit/ "lift")

1.14. Mode 4 (Petitive), marked by $\{ki-\}$, indicates that someone asks for something to be done. $\{ki-\}$ has one allomorph, ^{a}

$^a\{ki-\}$ occurs throughout.

/makibali aku diso da sigup/ (will-ask-to-buy I him da tobacco) "I'll ask him to buy some cigarettes" (/ma-ki-bali/: 4112 /-bali/ "buy")

/ati pakitulisan mu daki?/ (which-place? asking-to-write-association by-you(sing.) me) "Where do you want me to write (it)?" (/pa-ki-tulis-an/: 4512 /-tulis/ "write")

1.15. Mode 5 (Desiderative), marked by $\{ti-\}$, indicates that someone has a desire to do something. $\{ti-\}$ has one allomorph, ^{a}

[a]{ti-} occurs throughout.

/matiakan aku/ (will-desire-to-eat I) "I'll be hungry"
(/ma-ti-akan/: 5112 /-akan/ "eat")

/atan patibayaan no/ (what? desiring-to-accompany-asso-
ciation by-him) "What does he desire to accompany him
(to the after-life)?", i.e. "What is going to be buried
with him?" (/pa-ti-baya-an/: 5512 /-baya?/ "follow,
accompany")

1.2. Focus

1.21. Focus 1 (Active), marked by {≠}, indicates that the
subject of the clause performs the action. {≠} has two
morphologically conditioned allomorphs, [a]{-um-} ~ [a]{≠}.

[a]{-um-} occurs in environment 1-1$\frac{2}{3}$, and has three phono-
logically conditioned variants, [av]{M-}[1] ~ [av]{m-}[1] ~ [av]{-um-/
-im-}.

[av]{M-}[1] occurs with stems beginning with /b-, p-/.

[av]{m-}[1] occurs with stems beginning with /a-, i-, o-,
u-/.

[av]{-um-/-im-} occurs elsewhere. (/-im-/ occurs in en-
vironment 1-13, i.e. in the presence of the Aspect 3 (Temp-
oral Past) allomorph [a]{-in-}, while /-um-/ occurs elsewhere.
The factor governing the distribution of these two variants
seems to be both phonological and morphological.

[a]{≠} occurs elsewhere.
/matoy kow/ (will-die you(sing.)) "You will die"
(/Matoy/: 1112 /-patoy/ "die"

/moŋoy aku/ (will-go I) "I shall go" (/m-oŋoy/: 1112
/-oŋoy/ "go")

/sumubol io/ (will-enter he) "He will come in" (/s-um-
ubol/: 1112 /-subol/ "enter")

/siminubol io/ (entered he) "He came in" (/s-im-in-ubol/:
1113 /-subol/ "enter")

/subol/ (enter) "Come in" (/≠-subol/: 1111 /-subol/ "enter")

/maŋakan akay/ (will-eat we-(exclusive)) "We shall eat" (/ma-ŋ-≠-akan/: 1132 /-akan/ "eat")

1.22. Focus 2 (Benefactive), marked by {-i}, indicates that the subject of the clause benefits from or is indirectly affected by the action of the verb. {-i} has two morphologically conditioned allomorphs, a{-an}[1] and a{-i}.

a{-an}[1] occurs in environments ---3 and 3--2.

a{-i} occurs elsewhere.

/balii? aku da konoon/ (be-bought I da clothes) "Buy me some clothes" (/bali-i-?/: 1211 /-bali/)

/binalian ku io da konoon/ (was-bought by-me he da clothes) "I bought him some clothes" (/b-in-ali-an/: 1213 /-bali/ "buy")

1.23. Focus 3 (Passive), marked by {-o}, indicates that the subject of the clause directly undergoes the action of the verb. {-o} has two morphologically conditioned allomorphs, a{≠} ~ a{-o}.

a{≠} occurs in environments ---3 and 3--$\frac{1}{2}$.

a{-o} occurs elsewhere, and has two phonologically conditioned variants, av{-a} ~ av{-o}.

av{-a} occurs with stems ending in /-a(?)/.

av{-o} occurs elsewhere.

/balio? daki? konoon/ (be-bought me clothes) "Buy me some clothes" (/bali-o-?/: 1311 /-bali/ "buy")

/binali ku diso konoon/ (was-bought by-me him clothes) "I bought him some clothes" (/b-in-ali-≠/: 1313 /-bali/ "buy")

/bayaa?/ (be-accompanied) "Go with (him)" (/baya-a-?/: 1311 /-baya?/ "follow, accompany")

1.24. Focus 4 (Instrumentive), marked by {R-}, indicates that the subject of the clause is the means employed to

bring the action about. {R-} has one allomorph, ^a{

a

/koondo? <u>pambabali</u> ku da konoon/ (nothing buying-instru-
ment by-me da clothes) "I've nothing to buy clothes with"
(/pam-<u>ba</u>-bali/: 1422 /-bali/ "buy")

/kadatas <u>pinomomolopot</u> ku da konoon/ (paper wrapping-
instrument by-me da clothes) "I wrapped up the clothes in
paper" (/p-in-o-<u>Mo</u>-Molopot/: 1433 /-lopot/ "wrap up")

1.25. Focus 5 (Associative), marked by {-an}², indicates
that the subject of the clause is the time, place, reason or
other factor associated with the action of the verb.

{-an}² has one allomorph, ^a{

^a{

/tonom <u>patayan</u> ku/ (Tenom dying-association by-me) "I
shall die in Tenom" (/patay-<u>an</u>/: 1512 /-patoy/ "die")

/ati <u>naganakan</u> diso/ (which-place? giving-birth-associa-
tion him), "Where was he born?" (/na-g-anak-<u>an</u>/: 1523
/-anak/ "give birth")

1.3. Type

1.31. Type 1 (Intransitive) verbs, marked by {≠}, are those
which may not have a direct object, and which, for that
reason, may not be represented in Focus 3 (Passive). Never-
theless, all verbs in Focuses 2 and 3 (Benefactive and
Passive) are described, on purely inflectional grounds, as
belonging to Type 1, since inflection for Type does not
occur in those Focuses (with one exception; see **0.6.**c.).

Thus, in Focus 1, the stem /-tataŋ/ "remain" produces a
Type 1 form /tumataŋ/ "will remain" (/t-um-ataŋ/ : 1112
/-tataŋ/) and a Type 3 form (see **1.33.**) /manataŋ/ "will
leave behind" (/ma-Nataŋ/ : 1132 /-tataŋ/). In Focus 3,
however, there exists only the Type 1 form /tataŋon/ "will
be left behind" (/tataŋ-o-n/ : 1312 /-tataŋ/).

{≠} has one allomorph, ^a{

a

/<u>timinobok</u> io/ (stabbed-self he) "He stabbed himself"
(/≠-t-im-in-obok/: 1113 /-tobok/ "stab")

/t̲i̲n̲o̲b̲o̲k̲ io du ulun/ (was-stabbed he du person) "Someone stabbed him" (/∤-t-in-obok/: 1313 /-tobok/ "stab")

1.32. Type 2 (Transitive Static) verbs, marked by {n-}, are those which may or may not have a direct object, or which indicate that the action is performed reciprocally among two or more persons. {n-} has two morphologically conditioned allomorphs, ^{a}{pVn-} ~ ^{a}{n-}.

^{a}{pVn-} occurs in environments $\frac{3}{5}$--- and 14--, and has four phonologically conditioned variants, ^{av}{pVŋ-} ~ ^{av}{pVn-} ~ ^{av}{pVm-} ~ ^{av}{pVg-}.

^{a}{n-} occurs elsewhere and has four phonologically conditioned variants, ^{av}{ŋ-} ~ ^{av}{n-} ~ ^{av}{m-}^{2} ~ ^{av}{g-}.

The four variants of each allomorph have a parallel distribution, as follows:

^{av}{(pV)ŋ-} occurs with stems beginning with /k-/.

^{av}{(pV)n-} occurs with stems beginning with /s-, t-/.

^{av}{(pV)m-} occurs with stems beginning with /b-, p-/ including expanded stems).

^{av}{(pV)g-} occurs with stems beginning with /a-, i-, o-, u-/.

/p̲a̲n̲t̲u̲d̲u̲ŋ/ (sit) "Sit down" (/pa-n̲-tuduŋ/: 1121 "sit")

/n̲a̲g̲u̲m̲a̲? ilo da ulun/ (met they da person) "They met someone" (/na-g̲-uma?/: 1123

/n̲a̲g̲u̲m̲a̲? ilo/ (met they) "They met (each other)"

/kalo n̲a̲k̲a̲p̲a̲n̲t̲u̲d̲u̲ŋ aku/ (not could-sit I) "I couldn't sit down" (/na-ka-p̲a̲n̲-tuduŋ/: 3123 /-tuduŋ/ "sit")

/p̲a̲n̲t̲u̲d̲u̲ŋo?/ (be-caused-to-sit) "Make (him) sit down" (/pa-n̲-tuduŋ-o-?/: 2321 /-tuduŋ/ "sit")

1.33. Type 3 (Transitive Dynamic) verbs, marked by {N-}, are those which must have a direct object, though this need

not be expressed in the clause. {N-} has two morphologically conditioned allomorphs, ^{a}{pVN-} ~ ^{a}{N-}

^{a}{pVN-} occurs in environments $\frac{3}{5}$--- and 14--, and has four phonologically conditioned variants, ^{av}{pVŋ-} ~ ^{av}{pVN-} ~ ^{av}{pVM-} ~ ^{av}{pVŋ̣-}.

^{a}{N-} occurs elsewhere and has four phonologically conditioned variants, ^{av}{ŋ-} ~ ^{av}{N-} ~ ^{av}{M-}[2] ~ ^{av}{ŋ̣-}.

The four variants of each allomorph have a parallel distribution as follows:

^{av}{(pV)ŋ-} occurs with stems beginning with /k-/.

^{av}{(pV)N-} occurs with stems beginning with /s-, t-/.

^{av}{(pV)M-} occurs with stems beginning with /b-, p-/'(including expanded stems).

^{av}{(pV)ŋ̣-} occurs with stems beginning with /a-, i-, o-, u-/.

/maŋalap aku da tias am mananom/ (will-take I da seedling and will-plant) "I'll take the seedling and plant (it)" (/ma-ŋ-alap/: 1132 /-alap/ "take"; /ma-Nanom/: 1132 /-tanom/ "plant")

/pai? pamalamba? da uku? no/ (don't beat da dog that) "Don't beat that dog" (/pa-Malamba?/: 1131 "beat")

/atan pinomomolopot mu da konoon/ (what? wrapping-instrument by-you da clothes) "What did you wrap the clothes in?" (/p-in-o-Mo-Molopot/: 1433 /-lopot/ "wrap")

1.4. Aspect

1.41. Aspect 1 (Atemporal), marked by {pV-}[2], gives no indication of the time-relationship between the utterance and the action of the verb; it is used mainly in giving commands, narrating stories and in certain types of verbal constructions. {pV-}[2] has three morphologically conditioned allomorphs, ^{a}{ɟ} ~ ^{a}{-?} ~ ^{a}{pV-}[2]

$^a\{\not\!\!\!\;/\}$ occurs in environments 111-

$^a\{-?\}$ occurs in environment $-\frac{2}{3}--$ (except 331-

$^a\{pV-\}^2$ occurs elsewhere.

/pai? poyo <u>uli?</u>, <u>pantuduŋ</u> ak/ (don't yet go-home, sit only) "Don't go home yet, sit down" (/$\not\!\!\!\;/$-uli?/: 11 /-uli?/ "go home"); /<u>pa</u>-n-tuduŋ/: 1121

/<u>pampalula</u>? aku, <u>pokoowot</u> aku da basiŋ am <u>timbako</u>?/ (hunt I, come-across I da wild-pig and be-shot) "I went hunting, came across a wild pig and shot it" (/<u>pa</u>-m-palula?/: 1121 /-lula?/ "hunt"; /<u>po</u>-ko-owot/: 3111 /-owot/ "come across"; /timbak-o-?/: 1311

/moŋoy aku <u>pambali</u> da sigup/ (will-go I buy da tobacco) "I'm going to buy some cigarettes" (/<u>pa</u>-m-bali/: 11 /-bali/ "buy")

/saŋgilan kow po<u>ŋomo</u>t da bilod/ (what-time? you(sing.)-reap da growing-rice) "When did you harvest (your) rice?" (/<u>po</u>-ŋ-omot/: 11

1.42. Aspect 2 (Temporal Future), marked by {mV-}, denotes actions which occur habitually, or which are unstarted at the time of speaking. {mV-} has four morphologically conditioned allomorphs, $^a\{\not\!\!\!\;/\}$ ~ $^a\{pV-\}^3$ ~ $^a\{-n\}$ ~ $^a\{mV-\}$.

$^a\{\not\!\!\!\;/\}$ occurs in environments -4--, 35--, 111-

$^a\{pV-\}^3$ occurs in environment -5-- (except 35-- 15

$^a\{-n\}$ occurs in environment $-\frac{2}{3}--$ (except $3\frac{2}{3}--$).

$^a\{mV-\}$ occurs elsewhere.

/<u>mantunuŋ</u> aku/ (will-tell-story I) "I'll tell (you) a story" (/<u>ma</u>-n-tunuŋ/: 11

/ati a<u>ŋaya</u>n mu/ (which-place? going-association by-you-(sing.)) "Where do you go?" (/$\not\!\!\!\;/$-aŋay-an/: 1512 "go")

/<u>lambaan</u> tokow/ (will-be-beaten you(sing.)-by-me) "I'll hit you" (/lamba-a-<u>n</u>/: 1312 /-lamba?/ "beat")

/saŋgilan paɲamataṇ mu da bilod/ (what-time? reaping-association by-you(sing.) da growing-rice) "When will you harvest (your) rice?" (/pa-ŋ-amat-an/: 1432 /-omot/ "reap")

1.43. Aspect 3 (Temporal Past), marked by {nV-}, denotes actions which used to occur habitually, or which, at the time of speaking, have started. {nV-} has two morphologically conditioned allomorphs, ᵃ{-in-} and ᵃ{nV-}.

ᵃ{-in-} occurs in environments $-\frac{2}{3}\frac{}{4}--$ (except $3\frac{2}{3}\frac{}{4}--$) and $1\frac{1}{5}1-$.

ᵃ{nV-} occurs elsewhere.

/ati pinatayan no/ (which-place? dying-association by-him) "Where did he die?" (/p-in-atay-an/: 1513 /-patoy/ "die")

/tinimbak ku basiŋ/ (was-shot by-me wild-pig) "I shot a wild pig" (/t-in-imbak/: 1313 /-timbak/ "shoot")

/nanimbak aku da basiŋ/ (shot I da wild-pig) "I shot a wild pig" (/na-Nimbak/: 1133 /-timbak/ "shoot")

/ati nanimbakan mu da basiŋ/ (which-place? shooting-association by-you(sing.) da wild-pig) "Where did you use to shoot wild pig?" (/na-Nimbak-an/: 1533 /-timbak/ "shoot")

2. CONCLUSION

Tables II and III following give a diagrammatic representation of the inflectional morphemes of Murut and the orders in which they occur with respect to the verb-stem.

	MOOD	FOCUS	TYPE	ASPECT
1	{≠}	{≠}	{≠}	{pV-}[2]
2	{pV-}[1]	{-i}	{n-}	{mV-}
3	{kV-}	{-o}	{N-}	{nV-}
4	{ki-}	{R-}	–	–
5	{ti-}	{-an}	–	–

TABLE II

		STEM							
	PREFIXES				Initial Consonant	Remaining Segments	SUFFIXES		
			INFIXES						
5	4	3	2	1	1	2	1	2	3
$^a\{pV-\}^1$									
	$^a\{pV-\}^2$		$^a\{n-\} \sim {}^a\{pVn-\}$				$^a\{-i\}$	$^a\{-?\}$	$^a\{-an\}^1$
$^a\{pV-\}^3 \sim {}^a\{mV-\}$	$^a\{kV-\}$	$^a\{R-\}$		$^a\{ki-\}$	$^a\{-in-\}$	$^a\{-um-\}$			
			$^a\{N-\} \sim {}^a\{pVN-\}$				$^a\{-o\}$	$^a\{-n\}$	$^a\{-an\}^2$
$^a\{nV-\}$	$^a\{ti-\}$								
Aspect	*Mode*	*Focus*	*Type*	*Mode*	*Aspect*	*Focus*	*Focus*	*Aspect*	*Focus*

TABLE III