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THE MURUT LANGUAGES OF SABAH

by

D.J. Prentice



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Canberra  
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*Canberra*

*October, 1970*

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 GENERAL BACKGROUND

The best general description of Sabah is probably Tregonning's *North Borneo* [1961], although *Threatened Paradise* by Cyril Alliston [1966] is a very readable account, and one which devotes considerable space to description of the Murut tribes and the country they inhabit. Rutter [1929], however, remains the classic (and virtually the sole) detailed work on the indigenous<sup>1</sup> peoples of the state. For scholarly descriptions of the history and geography of the area, the reader is referred to Tregonning [1965] and Lee Yong Leng [1965] respectively. Much useful information is also contained in the Annual Reports for the Colony of North Borneo (1946-1962) and Sabah (1963).

##### 1.1.1 PROBLEMS OF NOMENCLATURE

Although two-thirds of Sabah is linguistically unknown, there is sufficient information of the type 'Language A is very similar to Language B' to make it certain that the indigenous languages of the area all belong to one family known as 'Ida'an' or 'Idahan',<sup>2</sup> which has about 250,000 speakers. The Idahan family in turn forms part of the larger 'Philippines hesion' (see Dyen [1965]) in the Austronesian language phylum. As may be seen from the map in Chapter 10, it covers the whole

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<sup>1</sup>The term 'indigenous' (as used here) excludes the languages of such ethnic groups as the Malays, Sama (or "Bajau"), Tausug (or "Suluk"), etc., whose cultural centres lie outside the area.

<sup>2</sup>This name, which was originally applied by the Bajau to the coastal Dusun tribes and later to a variety of indigenous groups, and which has long fallen into desuetude, was suggested by G.N. Appell [1968b].

of the modern state of Sabah (apart from a small area in the extreme south) and overlaps into the neighbouring territories of Sarawak, Brunei and Kalimantan (Indonesian Borneo). It is bounded on the south and south-west by Malay, Kelabit, Lun Daya and other languages.

A tentative subgrouping of the known languages of the Idahan family has been attempted elsewhere (Prentice [1970]), and will receive only a cursory description below.

First, however, it is necessary to point out that the terminology traditionally applied to the ethnic and linguistic groups of Sabah (and, indeed, most of Borneo), has caused and still causes much confusion. The names used by the people themselves rarely designate any unit larger than the (endogamous) tribe, and in many areas the largest named unit is the village or longhouse. Early administrators had to deal with larger entities and therefore adopted quasi-geographical terms already in use among the non-indigenous groups living along the coast. These names, such as 'Murut', 'Dusun', 'Orang Sungei', etc. (which mean nothing more than 'hill-people', 'garden-people', 'river-people'), took no cognisance of the groupings significant to the people themselves and thus a single term was often applied to groups which were culturally, linguistically and even physically quite distinct from each other. The terms have now become so firmly established that an attempt to exclude them from the linguistic nomenclature of the region would meet considerable resistance from many quarters, not least from the groups to which they are applied. As it happens, some of them lend themselves to convenient use as labels for a particular level in the subgroupings (see below, 1.1.2).

The problems arising from this situation have been described at some length in Prentice [1970] and only one notorious example, the use of the term 'Murut', need concern us here.

In Sabah, the name 'Murut' refers to a number of ethnic groups in the south-west quarter of the state, which have distinct, though closely-related, languages and cultures, and one of which speaks the language described in the following chapters. For the sake of clarity, we will term these groups 'Murut A'. In Sarawak and Kalimantan, however, the same word refers to a completely different set of closely-related ethnic groups, most of which live in the latter territory, with smaller numbers in the former. These will be called 'Murut B'. In Sarawak, 'Murut A' is known as 'Tagol' (sometimes spelt 'Tagal' or 'Tagul'), while in Sabah 'Murut B' is called 'Lun Daya' or 'Lun Daye'. Needless to say, these terms too are used with a different meaning in each area. 'Tagol', which is the name of a minor river in the Pensiangan district, is used in Sabah synonymously with 'Sumambuq' (the term preferred by this writer) to designate those members of 'Murut A' who inhabit the remote mountainous area of the Interior Residency, who speak variants of the same

dialect, and who have no name for themselves other than that of their own village or the river on which it stands. In Sarawak, 'Lun Daya' (which means 'upstream people') is restricted to a relatively unimportant group within 'Murut B'.

The Sabah usage is the one adopted here, that is, 'Murut A' and 'Murut B' will be referred to as 'Murut' and 'Lun Daya' respectively. Where no autonym exists for the linguistic unit being described, an artificial term (usually a geographical reference) has been created. It need hardly be emphasised that in many cases these and other labels (or their referents) will be liable to revision as future research brings more information to light.

### 1.1.2 SUBGROUPINGS

The known languages of the Idahan family are at present divided into three subfamilies: Paitanic, Dusunic and Murutic. The Paitanic subfamily is merely a convenient grouping for three languages on the north-east coast of Sabah which cannot be accommodated elsewhere. The Dusunic and Murutic subfamilies are each subdivided into 'language-groups', which comprise languages more closely related to each other than to other members of the same subfamily. Since, with some exceptions, the language-groups are roughly co-terminous with certain of the traditional ethnic and linguistic labels mentioned earlier, those labels are used as designations for the language-groups. Thus the Dusunic subfamily consists of the 'Dusun' languages and the 'Bisaya' languages, while the Murutic subfamily includes the 'Murut' languages and the 'Tidong' languages.

The Murut languages are: Lowland Murut, Highland Murut, Okolod Murut and Salalir Murut. Others will probably be added when research is undertaken in the south-east of Sabah and in Kalimantan, which areas it was not possible for the author to visit.

The Lowland Murut language has three dialects (Timugon, Nabay and Baukan), each of which is spoken by a distinct, clearly-marked, locally-recognised group bearing the same name. Of these, Timugon, which is by far the most important, has been further subdivided into four variants or subdialects, namely Kapagalan, Poros, Bintaq and Bukow. The first two are spoken in the Tenom Plain, while the others are found on the other (coastal) side of the Crocker Range. The data presented and analysed in the following chapters were collected from the Poros subdialect.

### 1.1.3 POPULATION

The 1960 census of North Borneo (see Jones [1962]) stated that the Colony's population included 22,138 'Muruts'. For reasons already

explained, this figure can be taken only as a rough guide to the number of Murut-speakers. It certainly includes an unknown number of 'Lun Daya' Muruts (perhaps about 2000), and it probably excludes speakers of Murut languages living in the Beaufort and Keningau areas who often class themselves as 'Bisaya' and 'Dusun' respectively. Moreover, it does not, of course, include Muruts living on the other side of the Sarawak and Indonesian borders. Allowing for all these factors, and for natural increase in the population since the census, the number of speakers of the Murut languages can be roughly estimated at 35,000. A breakdown of this figure can be hazarded as follows:

Lowland Murut:	?10,000	(Tumugon: ?6,000
		{Nabay: ?3,000
		(Baukan: ?1,000
Highland Murut:	?20,000	(Paluan: ?6,000
		{Sumambuq: ?11,000
		(Alumbis: ?3,000
Okolod Murut:	?2,000	
Salalir Murut:	?	

#### 1.1.4 THE TIMUGON

The following remarks refer specifically to the Poros subtribe of Timugon, but some of them are equally applicable to many other Murut groups.

##### 1.1.4.1. Livelihood

The people are traditionally subsistence farmers practising a slash-and-burn type of agriculture. Their staple food was sago, hill-rice and (since about the sixteenth century) cassava, all of which could also be fermented to produce an alcoholic drink known in Sabah as 'tapai' and in Sarawak as 'borak' or 'tuak'. The diet was supplemented by fish, birds, wild animals (especially deer and wild pig), and a variety of vegetables and fruits. Their only domestic animals seem to have been the pig, the domestic fowl and the dog (the latter used for hunting). The water-buffalo was introduced before European contact, probably at the same time as the introduction of wet-rice cultivation, but was never used as a beast of burden.

Great changes have, however, taken place over the past half-century. Most Timugon Muruts are now cash-farmers, operating small rubber-estates (usually under 20 acres) and selling the dried rubber in bales to the Chinese shopkeepers in the nearby township of Tenom. Many men



nowadays join the Police Force or the Border Scouts, while younger men who have had some formal education become clerks, public servants and teachers.

The change to a cash-economy has, as usual, proved a mixed blessing. While it enables people to survive a bad rice-harvest without too much difficulty, and while it has brought such commodities as penicillin and zinc-roofing within their reach, it has also caused the disappearance of such arts as the weaving of hats, mats and baskets, since all these articles are readily obtainable in the shops.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the availability of cheap tinned foods from the same source has led to the large-scale abandonment, not only of the traditional hunting and fishing activities, but also of the traditional methods of preserving emergency stocks of food (i.e. by fermenting meat or fish with rice, or by roasting and smoking pork, venison, game, etc.). The resulting unbalanced diet has produced a greater incidence of diet-deficiency diseases than formerly. More importantly, those households which are now dependent on shop-foods are often placed in considerable distress when the cash-income fails through (e.g.) illness or a fall in the price of rubber.

#### 1.1.4.2 Religion

Despite (or perhaps because of) their familiarity with modern civilisation, many Timugon Muruts have retained their traditional religious beliefs, though the number of conversions to Roman Catholicism is increasing. Conversions to other Christian denominations are very rare. Some Timugons have entered Islam in order to marry Muslim girls.

A Timugon sees the world as being populated by a complicated but ordered hierarchy of spirits (*riwato*), who are ruled over by a supreme spirit known as *i aki Kapuunoq* (literally, '*Grandfather Origin*'), who lives in the sky. Human beings, domestic animals and the rice-plant all possess a soul (*ambiluo*) which, in the case of humans, journeys at death to an afterworld known as *nabalu* (i.e. Mount Kinabalu (13,455 ft.), which is over 80 miles north-west of the Timugon area). Man is unique in having another soul (*saliguor*), which controls his fate. The *saliguor* remains on earth after death and brings good or bad fortune to surviving friends and relatives of the deceased.

Virtually the only specialised occupation class in traditional Timugon society is that of the female *babalian* or '*priestesses*' who act as intermediaries between man and the spirits and combine the functions

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<sup>1</sup>In 1968, the author knew of only two old ladies in the whole Timugon area who retained more than a rudimentary knowledge of the names and designs of the numerous basketwork patterns.

of priest and physician. Among the Highland Murut tribes, any woman who has a knowledge of the ceremonies and procedures involved may act as a *babalian*. It is among the Lowland Muruts (including the Timugons), however, that the institution has reached its highest degree of development. Here, its membership is restricted to specialists arranged in three ranks or orders, who hand down their art to young girls of the same tribe, preferably to their own daughters. A novice has to go through several years of study and observation before being admitted to the lowest order, when she is able to perform simple ceremonies such as *kangkab* to remove minor ailments. Major rituals, such as *rawak* (exorcisation of persons or houses) which lasts for three days and nights and involves communication with the spirit during a self-induced trance, can only be performed by *babalian* of the highest order (*tingkaayo*).

All the ceremonies are accompanied by incantations, which have to be learned by heart. The incantations are arranged in couplets, of which the first line is couched in the poetic style normally used in songs and to some extent in folktales. The second line conveys the same message as the first, but is couched in a completely different idiom known as *tabalian*, which seems to be an archaic and metonymic form of the language. The following couplet will suffice as an example:

1. *matipamatir aku ra riwato ra makasukuq ra giti,*
2. *matipamatuk aku lambungaw nakasulok gitu.*

The literal meaning of the two lines is 1. '*I wish to eject the spirit that has arrived here*', 2. '*I wish to peck at the lambungaw-fish that has come up this tributary*'. The most noticeable features are the phonetic similarity between the two lines and the lack of relation markers (see 3.0.2 and 7.1.2) in the *tabalian* line. It is hoped to undertake a detailed study of this interesting phenomenon in the future.

## 1.2 LINGUISTIC BACKGROUND

### 1.2.1 RESEARCH TO DATE

The indigenous languages of Sabah received no attention from modern linguistic scholarship until the early 1960s, when linguistically trained missionaries of the Borneo Evangelical Mission began to analyse some speech-forms of the area, with a view to choosing those best suited for translation of the scriptures. Before then, the only information on any language of the Murut group consisted of short wordlists collected by early administrators, explorers and missionaries, of which the most extensive was Baboneau's vocabulary of Nabay [1922].

The first results of the research carried out by the members of the

B.E.M. appeared in 1964 in a paper by Shirley Lees<sup>1</sup> which discussed various phonological problems encountered in some dialects of Inland Dusun. This was followed two years later by another paper by the same author (Lees [1966]) describing similar problems in some dialects of Highland Murut. Apart from the present writer's publications, this paper remains the only modern treatment of any aspect of Murut linguistics. Mrs Lees and her colleagues in the B.E.M. have continued to make valuable contributions to our linguistic knowledge of the area.

The present writer carried out research in the field during the periods September 1965 - March 1966 and March 1967 - March 1968. The first period was spent in acquiring a familiarity with the area and the linguistic units within it, and in a depth-study of Timugon. In 1966-1967 some of the results of this research were written up for publication in three articles (Prentice [1965, 1969b,c]), one of which has been incorporated into this work as Chapter 2. The second period of fieldwork was devoted to a continuation of the depth-study of Timugon and to a survey of other Murut languages and dialects, while some neighbouring non-Murut languages were also investigated. The results of these investigations are embodied in this work and in Prentice [1970].

### 1.2.2 TERMINOLOGY

The terminology employed in the following chapters is that used by the majority of recent technical publications on 'Philippine' language, and thus differs somewhat from that employed in the first three articles cited above. The most important changes are listed below:

- a) the three aspects of the verb (see 5.2.0.1) have been renamed 'Future Temporal', 'Past Temporal' and 'Atemporal' (formerly 'imperfect', 'perfect' and 'imperative' respectively);
- b) the former 'active', 'passive' and 'benefactive' focuses are now termed 'Subject', 'Object' and 'Referent' focuses respectively (see 3.0.2);
- c) the tagmemes formerly called 'subject' and 'agent' are now called 'topic' and 'subject' respectively.

### 1.2.3 METHOD

Eliciting of material was originally carried out through the medium of colloquial Sabah Malay (see Prentice [1969a]), in which all Timugon

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<sup>1</sup>Lees, Shirley P., "Apparent and real differences in Dusun linguistics", *Sarawak Museum Journal*, vol.11, Nos. 23/24.

men and most women are fairly fluent. As the writer became more familiar with the language, however, monolingual testing was used more and more often, Malay being resorted to only in cases of difficulty.

The use of Timugon or Sumambuq (a dialect of Highland Murut) was deliberately avoided during the survey of other speech-forms, lest it should influence the informant's replies. Malay was used instead, except in one case where no Malay-speaking informant could be found. Both Malay and English were used in two cases where the informants had a good knowledge of the latter.

Material was obtained by direct eliciting of noun-lists and short sentences grouped in semantic domains (e.g. house-building, parts of the body, kinship terms, etc.). Such groupings made it easier for the informants to volunteer further information, which was always encouraged.

Textual material was obtained either a) by presenting the informant sentence by sentence with an imaginary (but plausible) dialogue for translation (situational testing); b) by asking him to relate a folk-tale, or a piece of village gossip, or his reminiscences about (say) the Japanese occupation; or c) by recording a spontaneous conversation (preferably with only two participants). Wherever possible, such texts were later transcribed and analysed with the help of another informant.

#### 1.2.4 PRESENTATION

As may be seen from the table of contents, this work is divided into ten chapters, of which this chapter forms the first. Chapters 2-9 are devoted to the analysis of Timugon, while outline studies of other Murut speech-forms are presented in chapter 10. Chapter 2 was originally published as an article in *Pacific Linguistics* (Prentice [1969c]), and certain changes have been made to it to accommodate it in this work.

The analysis and presentation of Timugon clause- and phrase-contructions set out in chapters 3-4 and 6-8 were inspired by and owe much to Reid's *An Ivatan Syntax* [1966].

The writer has endeavoured to adhere to the principles of tagmemic analysis expounded by Longacre [1964] and Pike [1963, 1967], though an occasional timid foray into the field of transformations has been made when this results in a more elegant description.

#### 1.2.5 SIGNS AND ABBREVIATIONS

The following is a list of the various signs and abbreviations used in this work. Some abbreviations which occur only sporadically are explained as they arise.

A	associate
a	actor
ADC	atemporal declarative clause (class)
Adj	adjunct
Adv	adverb
AF, af	associate focus
Aff	affinity
AIC	atemporal imperative clause (class)
ANC	atemporal narrative clause (class)
Ap	appositive
AT	atemporal (aspect)
At	attributive
Ax	axis
Be	beneficiary
C	clause
c	complement
Caus.	causative (mode)
CNn	common noun phrase
cnn	common noun
Co	conjunction
d	direction
Dm	demonstrative phrase
dm	demonstrative
Dt	determiner
E-Adv	exclamatory adverb
e.o.	each other
ex	existential (stem class)
ExC	existential clause
F-Adv	frequentative adverb
FT, ft	future temporal (aspect)
g	goal
H	head
I	instrument
i	initiator
I-Adv	intensive adverb
id	identificational
IdC	identificational clause
IF, if	instrument focus
IndPn	indefinite pronoun phrase
indpn	indefinite pronoun
IntPn	interrogative pronoun phrase
intpn	interrogative pronoun

Intrans.	intransitive (mode)
Intrans.Desid.	intransitive desiderative (mode)
ip	imperfect participle (stem class)
IPC	imperfect participial clause
m	means
Ma	manner
Mod	modifier
NC	nominal clause (class)
Neg	negative
nfp	non-focus participle (stem class)
NFPC	non-focus participial clause
Nn	noun phrase
nn	noun
O	object
OF, of	object focus
P	predicate
Pet.	petitive (mode)
Pn	pronoun phrase
pn	pronoun
PNn	personal noun phrase
pnn	personal noun
Po	possessive
pp	perfect participle (stem class)
PPC	perfect participial clause
PPn	personal pronoun phrase
ppn	personal pronoun
PT, pt	past temporal (aspect)
pv	primary verb (stem class)
PVC	primary verbal clause
Qt	quotative
QtC	quotative clause
R	referent
Re	relator
Recip.	reciprocal (mode)
RF, rf	referent focus
Rn	reason
S	subject
SF, sf	subject focus
Si	site
SubC	subordinate clause (class)
sv	secondary verb (stem class)
SVC	secondary verbal clause

T	topic
T-Adv	temporal adverb
Th	theme
ThC	thematic clause (class)
Tm	time
Trans.	transitive (mode)
Trans.Dyn.	transitive dynamic (mode)
Trans.Stat.	transitive static (mode)
T/X	topic is in portmanteau relationship with X; topic cum X
V	Vocative
+X	X must be present
-X	X must not be present
±X	X may be present
+(±X±Y)	either X or Y must be present, and both may be present
+(±X¬Y)	either X or Y must be present, but not both
±(±X¬Y)	either X or Y may be present, or neither, but not both
±(+X±Y)	both X and Y are optional, but Y may not be present without X
X → Y	X is to be read as Y; X becomes Y; X gives Y
X ← Y	X is derived from Y
X : Y	X is expounded or manifested by Y
X = Y	X equals Y; X is Y; X represents Y
X // Y	X occurs in environment Y
// +X___	in the environment 'preceded by X'
// ___+X	in the environment 'followed by X'
*X	X is a hypothetical or ungrammatical form
∅	zero morpheme
/X/	X is a phoneme
{X}	X is a morpheme
<sup>a</sup> {X}	X is an allomorph
[X]	X is a hypermorpheme

<sup>a</sup> [X]	X is a hyperallomorph
[X]	X is <i>a.</i> a phone; <i>b.</i> a higher level syntagmeme embedded in a lower level syntagmeme <i>c.</i> (in stem-citations) an optional item
<X>	X is a (sub)class of exponents.

*Note:* In textual examples, the punctuation marks indicate intonational contours, as follows:

,	sentence-medial
.	sentence-final (declarative)
!	sentence-final (exclamatory)
?	sentence-final (interrogative)



## CHAPTER 2

### PHONOLOGY

#### 2.1 TERMINOLOGY

The definitions of various terms used in this and subsequent chapters are given here.

A *phonemic syllable* consists of a vowel and any consonant preceding it within the word, together with any consonant following it which precedes either a word-boundary or another consonant.

A *free morpheme* is a stressed, usually disyllabic morpheme which can be uttered in isolation.

A *bound morpheme* or *affix* is an unstressed, usually monosyllabic morpheme which cannot be uttered in isolation and is always attached to a free morpheme.

Intermediate between free morphemes and affixes are *clitics*, unstressed, usually monosyllabic morphemes which cannot be uttered in isolation, but which, for different phonological or syntactical reasons, cannot be considered as affixes.

A *word* is an utterance consisting of one free morpheme and any affixes attached to it.

A *phrase* is an utterance bounded by two phrase-junctures or higher-ranking terminals, containing a single strong stress.

A *clause* consists of a phrase or a group of phrases which is preceded and followed either by silence or by a clause-terminal.

An *utterance* is a word, phrase or clause followed and preceded by silence.

An *affix-boundary* is that between an affix and a free morpheme.

A *word-boundary* is that between two words or a word and a clitic.

A *phrase-boundary* is that between two phrases.

#### 2.2 NON-SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

The non-segmental phonemes of the Timugon dialect of Lowland Murut

consist of one phrase-juncture /+/, four clause-terminals /↓ ↘ ↗ → /, and three pitches /1 2 3/.

### 2.2.1 STRESS

Stress appears to be non-phonemic in Timugon, as its occurrence is always, with very few exceptions (see 2.3.3.3), predictable from the word- and phrase-structure. No minimal pairs have been found in which differences in stress are not accompanied by phonemic differences. Thus, in the pair: /taŋkuŋ/ [t̄=áŋk̄=ŋ] 'a stringed musical instrument' and /taŋkuuŋ/ [t̄=áŋk̄=ú:ŋ] 'hunchback', the difference in stress-position is accompanied by a phonemic distinction in vowel-quantity. Likewise the difference in degree of stress in the pair in 2.2.1.2 is accompanied by a phonemic distinction in juncture.

The three recognisable degrees of stress are distributed as follows:

#### 2.2.1.1 Strong stress

Strong stress (marked by ') occurs on the penultimate syllable of the word (see also 2.3.4.1.2):

/mamát/ [mámát'=ŷy] 'will kill' /potoyon/ [p'=ŷt'=ŷyö'n] 'will be killed'

#### 2.2.1.2 Weak stress

Weak stress (marked by `) -

(1) occurs on the first syllable of the word when it is separated from the strong stress by two or more syllables:

/pamamagambad/ [p'=ámámáǵámb=aʃ] 'camera'

(2) replaces strong stress in a word which is subordinate to another within a phrase:

/mapulak abuk/ [máp=úlak=á'buk°] '(the) white-haired (one)'

/mapulak abuk/ [máp=úlak=+á'buk°] '(the) hair is white'

#### 2.2.1.3 Unstress

Any syllable not covered in 2.2.1.1 and 2.2.1.2 carries no stress and is unmarked.

### 2.2.2 PHRASE-JUNCTURE

Between every pair of phrases within the clause there occurs a phonemic phrase-juncture /+/, which is manifested as a slight pause in the flow of speech.

### 2.2.3 CLAUSE-TERMINALS

Clause-terminals are manifested as a change in the volume and pitch of the voice on the last syllable of the clause, followed by a pause in the flow of speech or by a cessation of speech. There appear to be four clause-terminals in Timugon:

/ ↓ / *dropping*: a rapid lowering of pitch and sudden decrease in volume.

/ ↘ / *sliding*: a gradual lowering of pitch and decrease in volume.

/ ↗ / *rising*: a rapid rise in pitch and sudden decrease in volume.

/ → / *level*: a sustention of pitch and gradual decrease in volume.

#### EXAMPLES:

/aku ↓/ 'me!' the normal form of the pronoun indicating 'speaker' when spoken in isolation.

/aku ↘/ 'me!' used when repeating something that has not been heard.

/aku ↗/ 'me?' used in asking questions in the absence of an interrogative morpheme.

/aku →/ 'me...' indicates that the utterance is incomplete, as in the introduction of the topic of a forthcoming statement, or in enumeration.

### 2.2.4 PITCH

There are three phonemic pitch-levels in Timugon. Pitch /2/ is the pitch of the normal speaking voice and is called 'mid'. It is used as the standard for determining the other pitches: pitch /1/ which is lower, and pitch /3/ which is higher.

### 2.3 SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

The segmental phonemes of the Timugon dialect are nineteen in number, comprising thirteen consonants /p t k ʔ b d g m n ŋ s j l/, two semi-consonants /y w/, and four vowels /i u o a/. Table I illustrates the segmental phoneme inventory.

(Table I overleaf.)

			CONTOIDS				VOCOIDS		
			<i>Bi-labial</i>	<i>Al-veolar</i>	<i>Velar</i>	<i>Glottal</i>	<i>Front</i>	<i>Central</i>	<i>Back</i>
CONSONANTS	<i>Stop</i>	vl.	p	t	k	ʔ			
		vd.	b	d	g				
	<i>Nasal</i>	vd.	m	n	ŋ				
	<i>Fricative</i>	vl.		s					
	<i>Affricate</i>	vd.		j					
	<i>Lateral</i>	vd.		l					
SEMI-CONSONANTS		vd.					y		w
VOWELS	<i>High</i>						i		u
	<i>Non-high</i>	<i>Mid</i>						o	
		<i>Low</i>						a	

TABLE I

### 2.3.1 PHONEMES AND ALLOPHONES

The following lists give -

- (1) the phoneme, enclosed in solidi (/ /);
- (2) its allophone or allophones, enclosed in brackets ([ ]);
- (3) a phonetic description of the allophone(s);
- (4) a statement of the distribution of the allophones if there are more than one; and
- (5) illustrative examples.

#### 2.3.1.1 Consonants

/p/ [p<sup>̄</sup>] voiceless bilabial unaspirated stop (released); before vowels and clause-initially; /pa<sup>̄</sup>la<sup>̄</sup>d/ [p<sup>̄</sup>á<sup>̄</sup>la<sup>̄</sup>ʃ] 'palm of the hand', /ma<sup>̄</sup>ŋa<sup>̄</sup>la<sup>̄</sup>p aku/ [mā<sup>̄</sup>ŋā<sup>̄</sup>la<sup>̄</sup>p<sup>̄</sup>à<sup>̄</sup>k<sup>̄</sup>u] 'I will take'.

[p<sup>°</sup>] voiceless bilabial unaspirated stop (unreleased); before consonants and clause-finally; /ma<sup>̄</sup>ŋa<sup>̄</sup>la<sup>̄</sup>p takaw/ [mā<sup>̄</sup>ŋā<sup>̄</sup>la<sup>̄</sup>p<sup>°</sup>t<sup>̄</sup>à<sup>̄</sup>k<sup>̄</sup>ā<sup>̄</sup>w] 'we will take'.

/t/ [t<sup>̄</sup>] voiceless alveolar unaspirated stop (released); before vowels and clause-initially; /a<sup>̄</sup>ta<sup>̄</sup>n/ [á<sup>̄</sup>t<sup>̄</sup>an] 'what?'; /ma<sup>̄</sup>la<sup>̄</sup>at ilo/ [mā<sup>̄</sup>lá<sup>̄</sup>:t<sup>̄</sup>ì<sup>̄</sup>lò] 'they are bad'.

- [t°] voiceless alveolar unaspirated stop (unreleased); before consonants and clause-finally; /malaat dalam-ti/ [má|á:t°+d°á|ant°i] 'the road is bad'.
- /k/ [k̄] voiceless velar unaspirated stop (released); before vowels and clause-initially; /aku/ [ák̄u] 'I'; /nampalakak i tunu/ [namp°á|ák̄ak̄+it°únu] 'Tunu burst out laughing'.
- [k°] voiceless velar unaspirated stop (unreleased); before consonants and clause-finally; /nampalakak duandu?-i/ [namp°á|ák̄ak°+d°úánd°u?i] 'the woman burst out laughing'.
- /b/ [b̄] voiced bilabial unaspirated stop; after consonants (except /d, g, ?/) and clause-initially; /mambala?/ [mamb°á|á?] 'will inform', /mapisok baloy-ti/ [máp°í|sok°+b°á|öyt°i] 'the house is cramped'.
- [b] voiced bilabial fricative; after vowels, semi-consonants and /d, g, ?/, and clause-finally; /nakabala?/ [nák°á|á|á?] 'has informed', /mapisok toojo baloy-ti/ [máp°í|sok°+t°ó:|ó-+b°á|öyt°i] 'the house is really cramped'.
- /d/ [d̄] voiced alveolar unaspirated stop; after consonants (except /b, g, ?/) and clause-initially; /anak di tunu/ [ának°+d̄it°únu] 'Tunu's child', /indagu/ [ind°á|ḡu] 'speak!'.
- [ʔ] voiced alveolar flap; after vowels, semi-consonants and /b, g, ?/, and clause-finally; /ama? di tunu/ [ámá?+ʔit°únu] 'Tunu's father', /maṅudad/ [máṅú|ʔaʔ] 'will scrub'.
- /g/ [ḡ] voiced velar unaspirated stop; after consonants (except /b, d, ?/) and clause-initially; /lumongo?/ [lumóṅg°ó?] 'will cease', /molondom giti/ [mó|ló'nd°ó+m+ḡit°i] 'it's dark here'.
- [g] voiced velar fricative; after vowels, semi-consonants and /b, d, ?/, and clause-finally; /abag/ [áb°ag] 'loincloth', /moonsoy giti/ [mó' :nsöy+ḡit°i] 'it's good here'.
- /ʔ/ [ʔ] voiceless glottal unaspirated stop; /inumo? gitio/ [inúmó?+ḡit°í|ó] 'drink this!'.
- /m/ [m] voiced bilabial nasal; /moṅoy/ [móṅöy] 'will go', /maṅinum/ [máṅín|U m] 'will drink', /ama?/ [ámá?] 'father'.
- /n/ [n] voiced alveolar nasal; /natok/ [nát°ok°] 'raw sago'; /ina?/ [íná?] 'mother', /inumon/ [inúmó'n] 'will be drunk'.

- /ŋ/ [ŋ] voiced velar nasal; /apat ŋaulun/ [áp<sup>̄</sup>at<sup>̄</sup>ŋáũlũ<sup>̄</sup>n] 'four people', /buŋaŋaŋ/ [b<sup>̄</sup>uŋáŋaŋ] 'dumb'.
- /s/ [s] voiceless alveolar grooved fricative; /soday/ [sóřöy] 'remain', /maasa?/ [má:sá?] 'wet', /moonos/ [mó:nó's] 'musty, stale'.
- /j/ [j] voiced alveopalatal grooved affricate; /majajow/ [májájow] 'will be disturbed'.
- /l/ [l] voiced alveolar lateral; /lumata?/ [lumát<sup>̄</sup>á?] 'will split', /baloy/ [b<sup>̄</sup>álöy] 'house', /kakabil/ [k<sup>̄</sup>ák<sup>̄</sup>ábil] 'paddle'.

*Note:* When one of the phonemes /b, d, g/ occurs adjacent to an identical phoneme, either on both sides of a morpheme- or word-boundary, or because of elision of an intervening vowel (see 2.3.4.2.2), both phonemes may be pronounced as a prolonged or doubled stop, i.e. as [b: or bb], [d: or dd] and [g: or gg] respectively. For example, /maŋudad da sulig/ 'will scrub the floor' may be pronounced [màŋúřař + řásúli<sup>̄</sup>g] or [màŋúřad+dasúli<sup>̄</sup>g] /gitio didun/ 'this is yours' may be pronounced [g<sup>̄</sup>ít<sup>̄</sup>řířũ<sup>̄</sup>n] or [g<sup>̄</sup>ít<sup>̄</sup>řó+d<sup>̄</sup>ũ<sup>̄</sup>n]; /magagabu?/ 'will fight each other (three or more people)' may be pronounced [màgàgábu?] or [màg<sup>̄</sup>ábu?].

### 2.3.1.2 Semi-consonants

- /y/ [y] voiced high front unrounded consonantal vocoid; /yawo/ [yáwó] 'impervious to pain', /magambayoy/ [màgamb<sup>̄</sup>áyöy] 'bullock'.
- /w/ [w] voiced high back rounded consonantal vocoid; /moowow/ [mó:wow] 'smelly'.

### 2.3.1.3 Vowels

- /i/ [i<sup>̄</sup>] voiced lower-high front centralised unrounded vocoid; in closed syllables, before velar consonants and /?/; /iŋgonom/ [i<sup>̄</sup>ŋg<sup>̄</sup>ónó'm] 'six times', /palig/ [p<sup>̄</sup>álI<sup>̄</sup>g] 'poison for blowpipe-darts'.
- [Y] voiced high front unrounded non-syllabic vocoid; for distribution see 2.3.4.1.2; /manio!/ [mànříó!i] 'clear', /pai?/ [p<sup>̄</sup>ář?] 'don't'; /gitio/ [g<sup>̄</sup>ít<sup>̄</sup>řó] 'this'.
- [i] voiced high front unrounded vocoid; occurs in any situation not covered above; /igondo?/ [igó<sup>̄</sup>nd<sup>̄</sup>ó?] 'once', /palit/ [p<sup>̄</sup>álit<sup>̄</sup>] 'substitute'.

- /u/ [ʊ̣] voiced lower-high back centralised rounded vocoid; before bilabial and alveolar consonants in closed syllables; /maguyum/ [máǵúyʊ̣m] 'will look for', /maalud/ [má:|ʊ̣ʔ] 'far, distant'.
- [ũ] voiced high back rounded non-syllabic vocoid; for distribution see 2.3.4.1.2; /maduol/ [máʔụ̃ʔ] 'painful', /pauʔ/ [p̣ʔụ̃ʔ] 'wild mango'.
- [u] voiced high back rounded vocoid; occurs in any situation not covered above; /uyumoʔ/ [uyúmʔ] 'look for (it)!', /talʊʔ/ [ṭʔá|ʊʔ] 'egg'.
- /o/ [o] voiced higher-mid back rounded vocoid; before /w/ in closed syllables; /bolow/ [ḅʔó|ow] 'blind man'.
- [ö] voiced lower-mid front rounded vocoid; before /y/ in closed syllables; /baloy/ [ḅʔá|öy] 'house'.
- [ɔ] voiced lower-mid back rounded vocoid; before velar consonants in closed syllables; /limog/ [lí|moǵ] 'dew', /koŋkoŋ/ [ḳʔóŋḳʔoŋ] 'tautness'.
- [ɔ̣] voiced lower-mid central fronted half-rounded vocoid; before bilabial and alveolar consonants in closed syllables; /onom/ [óṇó|m] 'six', /maduol/ [máʔụ̃ʔ] 'painful'.
- [ɔ̣] voiced lower-mid central half-rounded vocoid; occurs in any situation not covered above; /limo/ [lí|mo] 'five', /kologoʔ/ [ḳʔó|ɔ̣ʔ] 'chop (it) up!'.
- /a/ [a] voiced low front unrounded vocoid; before bilabial and alveolar consonants in closed syllables; /maŋandoy/ [máŋándöy] 'will work', /ingalan/ [I'ŋǵá|lan] 'name'.
- [ɑ] voiced low back unrounded vocoid; before velar consonants in closed syllables; /abag/ [áb|aǵ] 'loincloth'; /maŋkayaŋ/ [maŋḳʔáyaŋ] 'will carry in both hands'.
- [á] voiced low central unrounded vocoid; occurs in any situation not covered above; /nakabalaʔ/ [náḳʔáb|á|áʔ] 'has informed'.
- [æ] voiced higher-low front unrounded vocoid; in free variation with [á] before /i/ and /y/; /daiti/ [ḍʔá|ĩ|ṭʔi] or [ḍʔá|ĩ|ṭʔi] 'just now'; /baŋkay/ [ḅʔáŋḳʔæy] or [ḅʔáŋḳʔáy] 'corpse'.
- [ɔ̣] voiced higher-low back half-rounded vowel; in free variation with [á] before /u/ and /w/; /pauʔ/ [p̣ʔụ̃ʔ] or

[p̄<sup>á</sup>ũʔ] 'wild mango', /magalaw/ [m̄agá|ɔw] or [m̄agá|áw]  
'will commit adultery'.

### 2.3.2 MINIMAL PAIRS

The phonemic status of various suspicious segments is confirmed by the following minimal pairs:

/p/ vs /b/	/bolos/ 'voice' and /polos/ 'end, destination'.
/t/ vs /d/	/titiʔ/ 'breast' and /didiʔ/ 'act of boiling'.
/k/ vs /g/	/kolok/ 'cough(n.)' and /golok/ 'shout(n.)' and /kolog/ 'act of chopping wood'.
/m/ vs /n/ vs /ŋ/	/mamiliʔ/ 'will choose', /maniliʔ/ 'will winnow' and /maŋiliʔ/ 'will try, taste'.
/d/ vs /j/	/midaʔ/ 'will borrow' and /mijaʔ/ 'table'; /napandak/ 'broken (limb)' and /napanjak/ 'trodden on'.
/d/ vs /l/	/daŋaʔ/ 'act of falling backwards' and /laŋaʔ/ 'flying lemur'; /modondom/ 'early' and /molondom/ 'dark'.
/s/ vs /j/	/sosokon/ 'will be stalked' and /jojokon/ 'will be pushed down'.
/ʔ/ vs /k/	/ataʔ/ 'vagina' and /atak/ 'hammer'.
/-v/ vs /-vʔ/	/bulu/ 'feather, body-hair' and /buluʔ/ 'bamboo'.
/o/ vs /a/	/takow/ 'act of stealing', /takaw/ 'first person plural inclusive pronoun (possessive and un- emphatic subject)' and /tokow/ 'complex pronoun combining second person singular (subject) and first person singular (possessive)'.
/o/ vs /u/	/koŋkoŋ/ 'tautness' and /kuŋkuŋ/ 'skin'.

/i/ vs /y/ and /u/ vs /w/: no strictly minimal pairs have yet been found for these phonemes. The following non-minimal pairs have, however, been discovered: for /u/ vs /w/, /kauot/ [k̄áũ<sup>ˈ</sup>t̄<sup>ˈ</sup>o] 'married (woman)' and /baŋkawot/ [b̄<sup>ˈ</sup>aŋk̄<sup>ˈ</sup>áw<sup>ˈ</sup>o<sup>ˈ</sup>t̄<sup>ˈ</sup>o] 'fruit-bat'; for /i/ vs /y/, /kadui/ [k̄<sup>ˈ</sup>á<sup>ˈ</sup>ũ<sup>ˈ</sup>ĩ] 'porcupine' and /kanuy/ [k̄<sup>ˈ</sup>á<sup>ˈ</sup>nu<sup>ˈ</sup>y] 'eagle, hawk', /nakaiyaŋ/ [n̄<sup>ˈ</sup>á<sup>ˈ</sup>ĩ<sup>ˈ</sup>áŋ] 'has weeded' and /nakayaŋ/ [n̄<sup>ˈ</sup>á<sup>ˈ</sup>yaŋ] 'held in both hands'. If, as the writer thinks, stress is non-phonemic in Timugon, the last pair of words is in fact a minimal pair. Even in the absence of minimal pairs, however, the syllable and morpheme-structure



of the language demands that /i/ and /y/, /u/ and /w/ be treated as distinct phonemes (see 2.3.3 following).

### 2.3.3 STRUCTURE

#### 2.3.3.1 Syllable structure

As stated in 2.1, a phonemic syllable consists of a vowel (V) and any consonant (C) preceding it within the word, together with any consonant following it which precedes either a word-boundary or another consonant. Thus, two adjacent consonants always belong to separate syllables. The potential syllable structures are therefore:

- V     /a-maʔ/ 'father', /ba-a/ 'embers', /i-o/ 'third person pronoun singular (subject)'
- VC    /da-iŋ/ 'betel-vine', /iŋ-ga-ad/ 'approach!'
- CV    /ba-tu/ 'stone', /ka-lo/ 'no, not'
- CVC   /baŋ-kay/ 'corpse', /pom-pod/ 'point, tip'.

#### 2.3.3.2 Morpheme structure

With the exception of certain particles, all free morphemes contain two phonemic syllables or are derivable from a disyllabic form. It should be noted that phonemic syllables are not always commensurate with phonetic syllables. When two vowels are adjacent (whether within the morpheme or separated by a morphological boundary), they usually constitute a single phonetic syllable, having a single peak of sonority and pronounced with a single breath-pulse. This phenomenon is described in full in 2.3.4.1.2. The structure of Timugon free morphemes can be summarised as (C)V([N]C)V(C), in which V = vowel, C = consonant or semi-consonant, and N = homorganic nasal consonant. This formula produces the following twelve structures, of which VCVC and CVCVC are the most common:

- VV     /io/ 'third person pronoun singular (subject)', /ai/ 'eh?, pardon?'
- VVC    /uat/ 'vein', /aak/ 'act of pulling by the hand'
- CVV    /duo/ 'two', /paa/ 'thigh'
- VCV    /aku/ 'first person pronoun singular (subject)', /iti/ 'this'
- VNCV   /ampu/ 'leopard-cat', /onto/ 'smell of burnt rice'
- CVVC   /kiŋ/ 'edge', /puok/ 'owl'
- VVCV   /aduʔ/ 'grandmother', /ilon/ 'look!'

CVCV	/talu/ 'three', /tawa/ 'I don't know'
VNCVC	/ambay/ 'mistress, concubine', /ompon/ 'obstruction'
CVNCV	/punsu/ 'anthill', /lumbu/ 'coconut-shell vessel'
CVCVC	/sulig/ 'floor', /busak/ 'flower'
CVNCVC	/baŋkay/ 'corpse', /pompod/ 'point, tip'

### 2.3.3.3 Irregularities

#### 2.3.3.3.1 Irregular stress

A few words, particularly those ending in /-aCa?/, are stressed on the last syllable: /kagá?/ 'very', /madadá?/ 'dislike', and /masagá?/ 'wish' (but cf. /paláka?/ 'leprosy', /babáda?/ 'shadow' and /mamága?/ 'will squeeze').

#### 2.3.3.3.2 Irregular structure

The only morphemes which have three or more syllables and contain no derivational affixes are loan-words such as /kodojo/ 'work' (from Malay kerja) and /basikal/ 'bicycle' (from English bicycle).

## 2.3.4 STRUCTURAL LIMITATIONS

### 2.3.4.1 Vowels

#### 2.3.4.1.1 Single vowels

Single vowels may occur in any position in morphemes, words and phrases, subject to the following restrictions:

1. /o/ may only occur in non-ultimate syllables of morphemes and words if /o/ also occurs in all following syllables (see 5.0).
2. If /o/ occurs in the last two syllables of a word, /a/ may not occur in preceding syllables of the word unless another vowel intervenes (see 5.0).

#### 2.3.4.1.2 Clusters of two vowels

Two-vowel sequences are of the following structure-types:

1. Two identical vowels /ii uu oo aa/;
2. High + non-high /io ia uo ua/;
3. Low + high /ai au/;
4. Mid + high /oi ou/;
5. High + high /iu ui/;
6. Non-high + non-high /oa ao/.

The distributional possibilities of a given two-vowel cluster depend on whether the vowels are -

(a) in the same morpheme and, if so, whether they are in initial, medial or final position; or

(b) in different morphemes and, if so, whether the intervening boundary is an affix-, word- or phrase-boundary (see 2.1).

Table II illustrates the distribution of each two-vowel cluster on the basis of these criteria.

VOWEL CLUSTER	IN SAME MORPHEME			IN DIFFERENT MORPHEMES		
	<i>Initial</i>	<i>Medial</i>	<i>Final</i>	<i>Affix- boundary</i>	<i>Word- boundary</i>	<i>Phrase- boundary</i>
ii	+	+	+	+	+	+
uu	+	+	+	(+)	+	+
oo	+	+	+	+	+	+
aa	+	+	+	+	+	+
io	+	+	+	+	+	+
ia	+	+	+	+	+	+
uo	+	+	+	+	+	+
ua	+	+	+	+	+	+
ai	+	+	+	+	+	+
au	+	+	+	+	+	+
oi					+	+
ou					+	+
iu		+	(+)	+	+	+
ui		+	+	+	+	+
oa						+
ao						+

TABLE II

+ indicates that the cluster occurs in that position, (+) indicates that the cluster can probably occur in that position though no example of such an occurrence has been found, and a blank indicates that the cluster may not occur in that position. It will be seen from Table II that clusters of types 1, 2 and 3 may occur in any position, type 5 clusters in any position except initially in the same morpheme, type 4 clusters only when the vowels are in different words and type 6 clusters only when the vowels are in different phrases.

2.3.4.1.2.1 A type 1 cluster is manifested phonetically as a single lengthened vowel. If one of the members of the cluster is stressed (i.e. is the penultimate vowel of a word), the stress is carried by the resulting long vowel: /uud/ [ú:ř] 'source', /buuk/ [b<sup>u</sup>:k°] 'rotten egg', /buu/ [b<sup>u</sup>:] 'box-turtle', /du ulun/ [d<sup>u</sup>:lU<sup>n</sup>] 'person (possessive)', /da andu?/ [d<sup>a</sup>:nd<sup>u</sup>?] 'wife (object)', /da ambawan/ [d<sup>a</sup>:mb<sup>a</sup>ʷaŋ] 'onion (object)'.

2.3.4.1.2.2 Except when it occurs in word-final position, a type 2 cluster is realised as a rising diphthong (i.e. one in which stress is strongest at the end). If the first vowel is in stressed position, the stress is transferred to the second vowel: /uok/ [ú<sup>o</sup>k°] 'exhortation to spirits', /iow/ [í<sup>o</sup>w] 'yes', /maduol/ [māřú<sup>o</sup>l] 'painful', /piasaw/ [p<sup>i</sup>ásáw] 'coconut', /balion/ [b<sup>a</sup>l<sup>i</sup>ó<sup>n</sup>] 'will be bought', /aku ak/ [ák<sup>u</sup>ák°] 'I alone', /i aki/ [í<sup>a</sup>k<sup>i</sup>] 'Grandfather'. The realisation of a type 2 cluster in word-final position depends on its structure:

/-ua/ the one example known forms a rising diphthong, /kua/ [k<sup>u</sup>á] 'why?'.

/-ia/ the two known examples are alike in forming a rising diphthong, but differ in the placing of the word-stress: /kia/ [k<sup>i</sup>á] 'interrogative particle'; /alia/ [á<sup>i</sup>á] 'probably, possibly'.

/-io/ all the known examples occur in morphemes of three or more syllables. The cluster is realised as a rising diphthong but the word-stress is carried by the ante-penultimate syllable, as in /alia/ above: /ginio/ [g<sup>i</sup>ní<sup>o</sup>] 'that (pronoun)'; /lumbio/ [lú<sup>m</sup>b<sup>i</sup>ó] 'sago-palm'; /manampio/ [mānámp<sup>i</sup>ó] 'there is a drought'.

/-uo/ the cluster is realised as two distinct phonetic syllables: /kaduo/ [k<sup>a</sup>řú<sup>o</sup>] 'second', /tuo/ [t<sup>u</sup>ó] 'tuba-poison', /ambiuo/ [amb<sup>i</sup>ilú<sup>o</sup>] 'soul'.

One word, however, is known which does not conform: /kukuo/ 'snake', which is pronounced [k<sup>u</sup>uk<sup>u</sup>ó].

2.3.4.1.2.3 A type 3 cluster is always realised as a falling diphthong (i.e. one in which stress is strongest at the beginning). If the second member of the cluster is in a stressed position, the stress is transferred to the first member. /ait/ [á<sup>i</sup>t°] 'rattan carrying-frame', /baug/ [b<sup>a</sup>ú<sup>g</sup>] 'swiftness (of current)', /ai/ [á<sup>i</sup>] 'eh?, pardon?', /kaganai/ [k<sup>a</sup>gāná<sup>i</sup>] 'nevertheless', /naumpalan/ [nāūmp<sup>a</sup>lāŋ] 'widowed', /da ulun/ [d<sup>a</sup>ú<sup>l</sup>U<sup>n</sup>] 'person (object)'.

2.3.4.1.2.4 A type 4 cluster is always realised as two phonetic syllables: /logo-i/ [lógó:ɨ] 'the price', /sumindalayo ilo/ [sùmindá:láyó:iló] 'they will go upstream', /maayo ulun/ [má:yó:úlún] 'giant', /maayo ulun-no/ [má:yó:úlúnno] 'that person is big'.

2.3.4.1.2.5 A type 5 cluster is realised as a rising diphthong, except when it occurs in word-final position, in which case both vowels are syllabic: /gigiul/ [gígí:úl] 'wooden spatula', /i upus/ [íúp:ús] 'Orphan', /susuit/ [susúit°] 'bird', /du ingalan/ [dú:ngálan] 'name (possessive)', /kuis-kuis/ [kúiskúis] 'suffering from diarrhoea', /nansui/ [nansúi] 'slanting from the vertical', /kui/ [kú:í] 'cake'. (No instances of /-iu/ have been found in word-final position.)

2.3.4.1.2.6 A type 6 cluster can only occur when the two vowels are in different phrases, thus: /pinatoy no antit-i/ [pínát:õynó+ánt:it°i] 'he killed the frog', /kua onoy da giu?/ [kúá+õny+řágíú?] 'why are you going there?'. When /a/ and /o/ occur in adjacent positions within the phrase, the first vowel is assimilated to the second, thus: /da odow/ [dá:ó:fow] 'day (object)', /sala? ka okow/ [sálá?+ká:kó:w] 'not you', /io ak/ [í:d:k°] 'he alone', /nakakito aku/ [nákák:it°á:k°u] 'I have seen', /lambaan no akay/ [lambá:nná:káy] 'he will hit us'.

### 2.3.4.1.3 Clusters of three or more vowels

Such clusters are comparatively rare in Timugon. Because of the structure of Timugon morphemes, a three-vowel cluster may occur only in the presence of a morpheme-boundary. The number of potential three-vowel combinations is 34, of which 29 have been actually attested. They include /aaa/ in /mapaaak/ [mápá:d:k°] 'will cause to lead by the hand', /aau/ in /maaug/ [má:úg] 'fast-flowing', /uaa/ in /kaduaan/ [ká:áúá:n] 'for two days', /uoo/ in /piduoon/ [pí:íúó:n] 'will be cut in half', /iaa/ in /pipiaasug/ [pí:ipíá:sug] 'snack; quick meal', and /auu/ in /nauudan/ [náú:řan] 'in flood, from rain which has fallen in the headwaters'.

Clusters of four or more vowels do not occur.

### 2.3.4.2 Semi-consonants

/y/ and /w/ may not occur adjacent to /i/ and /u/ respectively in the same morpheme.

### 2.3.4.3 Consonants

#### 2.3.4.3.1 Single consonants

All single consonants, except /ʔ/, may occur initially and medially in morphemes and words. All consonants, except /j/, may occur finally in morphemes and words.

#### 2.3.4.3.2 Consonant clusters

In morphemes and words, consonant clusters occur only medially, and are restricted to combinations of homorganic nasal and consonant, i.e. /-mp- -mb- -nt- -nd- -ŋk- -ŋg- -ns- -nj-/. Only one such cluster may occur in any one word. Any two consonants may occur adjacently if separated by a word boundary. In sequences such as  $C_1V_2C_1V_2$  (and occasionally in sequences such as  $C_1V_2C_1V_3$ ), the first vowel is frequently elided, resulting in a lengthened consonant: /magabuʔ/ [mãgãbuʔ] 'will fight each other (two people)' and /magagabuʔ/ [mãg:ãbuʔ] 'will fight each other (three or more people)'; /nakito/ [nãk:it=õ] 'was seen' and /nakakito/ [nãk:it=õ] 'has seen'. (See note at the end of 2.3.1.1.)

## 2.4 SPORADIC SEGMENTS

### 2.4.1 EXTRASYSTEMATIC PHONEMES

These are significant sounds which fall outside the normal phonemic system of the language. In Timugon such sounds are restricted to (a) emotional exclamations, such as /[p<sup>ʰ</sup>t<sup>̄</sup>úi]/, which expresses disgust; /[wʂéh]/, denoting indignation; /[ãqeqé:]/, indicating astonishment; and (b) calls to animals, such as /[ŋě:ʔ]/ 'come here!' (to buffaloes); /[k<sup>̄</sup>řřř...]/ 'come here!' (to hens); /[hãyõw]/ 'shoo!' (to buffaloes). In the preceding examples, [p<sup>ʰ</sup>] represents a voiceless bilabial affricate, [w] represents lip-rounding and [q] represents a voiced retroflex alveolar stop.

### 2.4.2 PHONEMES IN LOAN-WORDS

The Timugon Muruts, by virtue of their proximity to the Padas Gorge, which provides the only access route to the coast through the Crocker Range, have had more contact with the Malay-speaking peoples of the coast than other sections of the Murut race, and in fact were under the suzerainty of the Malay-speaking Sultanate of Brunei until late in the 19th century. Moreover, Malay now has considerable prestige as the national language of the country, and it is therefore not surprising that the vocabulary of Timugon should include a large number of borrowings from that language. The only other important source of loanwords is English.

In most instances such borrowings present no phonological difficulties, partly because, in the case of Malay, the phoneme inventory of the source-

language is very similar to that of Timugon, and partly because Timugon itself has a high degree of adaptability in absorbing loanwords and fitting them into the phonemic and morphemic systems of the language. Thus the word /sikuul/ 'school (as an institution)' has produced the following derivatives: /sikuulan/ 'school (building)', /sumikuul/ 'go to school' and /pasikuulon/ 'will be sent to school'.

The only loanwords that present problems are those which contain the segments [d] or [r]. The problem arises because in both Malay and English [d] and [r] are phonemically distinct, whereas in Timugon they are submembers of the phoneme /d/. In cases where the word has been completely assimilated, the segment is pronounced as if it were the phoneme /d/: /badil/ [b<sup>̄</sup>áʔil] 'cannon', from Malay *bedil*. More often the situation is unstable and two pronunciations are commonly found: /kaday/ 'shop', from Malay *kedai* is sometimes pronounced [k<sup>̄</sup>áʔáy] and sometimes [k<sup>̄</sup>ád<sup>̄</sup>áy]. At the present time the latter form is becoming more usual, presumably because more Murut-speakers are becoming familiar with Malay and are attempting to give the word its "proper" pronunciation. Sometimes a loanword is not assimilated and retains its foreign pronunciation: /bidan/ 'midwife', from Malay *bidan*, is always pronounced [b<sup>̄</sup>íd<sup>̄</sup>an]. If such words as these enter the language in such numbers that they come into conflict with the /d/ phoneme, then separate phonemes /d/ and /r/ will have to be set up. This step is unnecessary at present, however, because the number of such words is insignificant and none of them forms a minimal pair with an already existing Murut word.

#### 2.4.3 SEGMENTS OF UNCERTAIN PHONEMIC STATUS

There are about half a dozen words on the basis of which a case for setting up a phoneme /ñ/ could be made. The six examples known to the writer are:

1. The stem [l<sup>̄</sup>óñó] and its derivatives [lum<sup>̄</sup>óñó] 'will die down (fire)' and [m<sup>̄</sup>ól<sup>̄</sup>óñó] 'smouldering';
2. [m<sup>̄</sup>úñuk<sup>̄</sup>] 'end, tip';
3. [mát<sup>̄</sup>áñak<sup>̄</sup>] 'bright red';
4. [mát<sup>̄</sup>áñ<sup>̄</sup>um] 'salty';
5. [t<sup>̄</sup>amp<sup>̄</sup>úñak<sup>̄</sup>] 'a kind of knot';
6. The stem [ñáñ] 'cry of a cat' and its derivative [mamp<sup>̄</sup>áñáñ] 'will mew'.

At first these words were analysed as containing a sequence /\*n!-/ , as: /\*lonio muniuk mataniak matanium tampuniak niaw/. However, on this basis, 2, 3, 4, and 5 violated the stress-pattern described in 2.3.4.1.2.2, according to which one would expect the final syllable to be stressed (/\*lonio/ and /\*niaw/ had precedents in /ginio/ [g<sup>̄</sup>íníó]

and /piaw/ [p<sup>h</sup>ĩáw] respectively); 1 and 2 violated the morpheme-structure pattern described in 2.3.3.2 (there exist derivative affixes /ta- taN- pu-/ which would account for 3, 4 and 5, but no affixes /\* lo- mu- o -uk/ to account for 1 and 2); and 1 violated the limitations on the occurrence of /o/ described in 2.3.4.1.1, according to which a sequence /\* -o-i-o-/ is impossible within a morpheme or word. Of the words containing a possible /ñ/, this left only /\*niaw/ where its occurrence was not indicated by pressure of the structure of the language. However, an informant who is literate in Malay insisted that in this word, as in the others, ny was an acceptable written representation of the sound under discussion, whereas ni was not. As ny is used in Malay orthography as a digraph to represent the phoneme /ñ/, it can be assumed that a similar phoneme is present in the examples quoted. While the writer is of the opinion that /ñ/ constitutes a phoneme in this dialect of Murut, the following facts militate against such an interpretation:

1. The phoneme is extremely rare;
2. It does not fit symmetrically into the phonemic system of the language; and
3. There are no minimal pairs which can confirm its phonemic status.

## 2.5 PRACTICAL ORTHOGRAPHY

In selecting the practical orthography which is used in most of this work, various considerations, such as the pressure of Malay, and the nature of already existing orthographies, have been taken into account. The only systematically designed orthography for any Murut language is that recommended by Shirley P. Lees of the Borneo Evangelical Mission for the "Tagal dialect" of Highland Murut (see Lees [1966]), which is now used by the Mission in all their publications in that language.

Owing to the fact that most literate Muruts are literate in Malay only, there is considerable resistance against accepting 'd' as a representation of the phoneme /d/, which (as stated in chapter 10) is realised as [ʃ] in most environments in all Murut languages except Okolod Murut and the Nabay and Baukan dialects of Lowland Murut (where it is always realised as [d]). The position is further complicated by the existence in the two last-named dialects of a separate phoneme /r/. A similar problem is posed by /g/, the manifestation of which varies from dialect to dialect, ranging from [g] through [g̃] and [x] to [h].

In her article, which discusses these problems in some detail, Lees opts for 'r' and 'h' as representations of /d/ and /g/ respectively, except where they form a cluster with a nasal consonant in a medial -NC- sequence. While accepting Lees' recommendation with respect to /d/, the present writer feels that 'g' is a more useful representation of /g/,



since it has wider acceptance than 'h', even among speakers of Highland Murut.

The following modifications are therefore incorporated in the orthography used here:

/d/ is written as 'r', except (a) word-medially when it forms a -NC-cluster with a nasal consonant; and (b) in those loan-words where it is pronounced [d]. Thus: /udad/ 'urar', /didun/ 'rirun', /badil/ 'baril', /dagu/ 'ragu'; /indagu/ 'indagu', /modondom/ 'morondom'; /bidan/ 'bidan', /kaday/ 'kaday' or 'karay'.

/ʔ/ is written as 'q'. Thus: /duanduʔ/ 'ruanduq', /inumoʔ/ 'inumoq', /ataʔ/ 'ataq'.

/ŋ/ is written as 'ng'. Thus: /buŋaŋaŋ/ 'bungangang', /daŋaʔ/ 'rangaq', /baŋkay/ 'bangkay'.

/ɲ/ (where it is attested) is written as 'ny'. Thus: /moloño/ 'molonyo', /muñuk/ 'munyuk', /tampuñak/ 'tampunyak'.

## CHAPTER 3

### BASIC VERBAL CLAUSES

#### 3.0 INTRODUCTION

In the discussion that follows, it is assumed that the reader has some familiarity with such concepts as 'topic' and 'focus', as used in present-day writings on Philippine linguistics.

##### 3.0.1 CLAUSE CLASSES

The two main clause classes in Timugon Murut are 1) the Basic clause class (described in this and the following chapter) and its derivatives and 2) the Nominal clause class. No direct transformational relationship is thought to exist between these two classes, though they are parallel in many respects. Because of this close parallelism, Nominal clauses are not described in the same detail as Basic clauses, but are discussed together with the derived clauses in chapter 8. All clauses are further classified as verbal, participial, existential or identificational, according as their Predicate tagmemes are manifested by verbs, participles, existential stems or nominal constructions respectively. The verbal clauses of the Basic class are described in this chapter, the non-verbal clauses in the next.

Table III (page 31) shows the various classes and types of Timugon clauses.

##### 3.0.2 FOCUS

The mechanism of 'focus', by means of which one of the tagmemes in the clause (the 'topic') is highlighted by being more closely linked to the Predicate than are the other tagmemes, plays an important part in all verbal clauses in Timugon Murut, as in other languages of the 'Philippine' type. Pike [1964] describes how -

...deep structural changes reflect particular ties either between subject and predicate, or between object and predicate, or between predicate and - say - a referent of [*sic*] some other element in the sentence. This tie reflects something about the attitude of the speaker (who is uttering the sentence) towards the components of the sentence. That is, he can especially direct his attention (in a manner called focus - indicating the topic of the statement) towards the subject, or toward the relationship of the subject to the predicate (something like active sentences do in English), or toward the relation between object and predicate (such as the subject-predicate relation of the passive in English). In some Philippine languages there are four such focus possibilities in clause types.

TABLE III

The clause types and clause classes of Timugon Murut

CLAUSE TYPES				CLAUSE CLASSES		DERIVED CLAUSES								
						ATEMPORAL CLAUSES					Subordinate	Nominal		
						Imperative	Narrative	Declarative	Basic	Thematic				
													Imperative	Narrative
VERBAL	PRIMARY	Non-Trans.	Intransitive	PVC1 (a)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
				PVC2	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
				PVC3	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
		Trans.	Dynamic	Reciprocal	PVC4	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
				Static	PVC5	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
				PVC6	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
	SECONDARY	Instrumental	Instrumental	PVC7	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
				PVC8	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
				PVC9	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
				PVC10	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
				PVC11	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
				PVC12	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
NON-VERBAL	PARTICIPIAL	Perfect	Active	SVC1	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
			Passive	SVC2	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
			Referential	SVC3	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
		Imperfect	SVC4	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
			PPC1	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
	EXISTENTIAL	Non-focus	Non-focus	PPC2	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
				PPC3	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
				IPC1	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
				NFPC1	+								+	+
				NFPC2									+	+
IDENTIFICATIONAL	IDENTIFICATIONAL	IDENTIFICATIONAL	ExC1	+	+						+	+		
			ExC2	+	+							+	+	
			IdC1 (b)	+	+							+	+	
				IdC2	+	+								

(a) clause subtype PVC1A does not occur in the Nominal clause class.

(b) clause subtype IdC1B does not occur in the Nominal clause class.

Five focuses are posited for Timugon verbal clauses: Subject, Object, Referent, Associate and Instrument. These are named after the tagmeme which they highlight, that is, the tagmeme which becomes Topic of the clause. Thus, when the verb is inflected for Subject focus, the Subject tagmeme is Topic; when it is inflected for Object focus, the Object tagmeme is Topic, and so on.<sup>1</sup> Verbs inflected for Associate and Instrument focus, however, are restricted in that they can occur only in Nominal clauses. Associate and Instrument tagmemes may, of course, occur in Basic clauses and their derivatives, but may not be focused as Topic in such clauses (see Table IV).

Apart from the verbal inflection for focus mentioned above, the relationships between the Predicate and the other tagmemes of the clause are also indicated by a series of particles, usually termed 'relation markers' or 'case-markers', which precede the tagmeme, forming with it a relator-axis phrase. In some languages, the series can be quite extensive, as the markers give information not only about the relation of the tagmeme concerned to the Predicate, but also about the nature of the axis following it. Thus in Ivatan, a language spoken in the Batan Islands, approximately half-way between Luzon and Taiwan, the 14 relation-markers indicate whether the item following them is a common noun or a proper noun, and, if a proper noun, whether it is singular or plural, and living or deceased (see Reid [1966]). The common noun relation-markers in Ivatan are *qo* for any tagmeme in portmanteau relationship with Topic, *so* for Object, *no* for Subject and Associate, and *do* for other tagmemes. In Maranao (see McKaughan [1958]), spoken on the island of Mindanao, they are *so* for Topic, *o* for Subject, *sa* for Object, and *ko* for Referent and Instrument. The Timugon series, however, is much less precise, as Topic is indicated by absence of relation-marker, Subject by *ru*, and all other nuclear tagmemes (Object, Referent, Associate and Instrument), as well as the peripheral tagmemes Manner, Time, Site, Reason, Affinity, and Beneficiary, by *ra* (known as the Oblique relation-marker).<sup>2</sup> The restricted nature of the Timugon series meant that in many cases the only method of ascertaining the tagmemic identity of a particular item was by focus-transformation.

Since simple focus-transformation alone could not be used to identify

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<sup>1</sup>Topic does not exist as a separate tagmeme in verbal clauses: it is always combined with another tagmeme (such as Subject, Object, etc.) in a portmanteau relationship.

<sup>2</sup>The Timugon relation markers for personal nouns are *i* for Topic and *ri* for any tagmeme not combined with Topic. When a tagmeme is manifested by a pronoun, the focus-relationship is indicated by changes in the pronoun itself (see 7.1.2, Table VIII).

Instrument and Associate tagmemes (these focuses occurring only in Nominal clauses), the most reliable method was to elicit forms in which the element in question appeared as the Predicate of an Identificational clause (see 4.3), the Topic of which was manifested by an embedded Nominal clause (see 8.3).

Thus if the Subject-focus clause:

|namatoy|i Amat|ra kukuo-i|ra tataun.

*killed Amat snake stick*

*'Amat (focussed item) killed the snake with a stick.'*

is transformed to the Object-focus equivalent:

|pinatoy|ri Amat|kukuo-i|ra tataun.

*'Amat killed the snake (focussed item) with a stick.'*

the verbal inflection reveals that kukuo-i is Object, but tataun remains unidentified. Instead, a series of Identificational clauses is elicited as follows (the embedded Nominal clauses are enclosed in brackets [ ]):

|i Amat|[namatoy ra kukuo-i ra tataun].

*'The one who killed the snake with a stick was Amat.'*

|kukuo-i|[pinatoy ri Amat ra tataun].

*'What Amat killed with a stick was the snake.'*

|tataun|[pinamamatoy ri Amat ra kukuo-i].

*'What Amat killed the snake with was a stick.'*

The verbal inflections in the above three sentences show unequivocally that Amat, kukuo-i and tataun are manifesting Subject, Object and Instrument tagmemes respectively.

### 3.0.3 PROBLEMS OF VERB STEM CLASSIFICATION

In the early stages of the writer's research (see Prentice [1965, 1969b]<sup>1</sup>), verb-classes were set up on the basis of the Subject focus inflection found with a given verb, since all stems (with the exception of a few which are irregular or defective) are inflectable for Subject focus in one of seven ways. This method, while it had the advantage of providing an obvious and unequivocal criterion for each of the seven classes it created, was found to be unsatisfactory as a basis for a syntactical classification, as it included in one class verbs which were syntactically quite different, such as mamainawo (< painawo) *'will breathe'* (intransitive) and mamatoy (< patoy) *'will kill'* (transitive), and separated into different classes verbs such as tumuun (< tuun)

<sup>1</sup>For changes of terminology adopted since these two articles were written, see 1.2.2.

'will go down' (intransitive) and magaloy (< aloy) 'will go up' (intransitive), which syntactically were identical.

The next step was to arrange verb stems into classes according to their potential inflection for each of the focuses, on the assumption that this was the factor determining the syntactic nature of the verb. Thus class 1 consisted of stems inflectable only for Subject focus, class 2 of stems inflectable for Subject and Object focus, and so on. However, since all stems were inflectable for Subject focus, and since Associate and Instrument focus verbs did not occur in Basic clauses, this method yielded only four classes and thus suffered even more from the disadvantages inherent in the previous method. It grouped into one class, for example, the verbs mansang (< ansang) 'will quarrel' (intransitive), mamilat (< pilat) 'will injure' (transitive) and mapaakan (< akan) 'will cause to eat' (causative), all of which were inflectable for Subject and Referent focus and therefore had the same potential for focus-transformation. They did not, however, share the same potential for clause-expansion. With mansang, for instance, the Referent tagmeme was optional, whereas with mamilat and mapaakan it was obligatory; an Instrument tagmeme could occur with mamilat, but not with mansang; an Associate tagmeme could occur with mapaakan, but not with mamilat, and so on.

### 3.0.4 SITUATIONAL ROLES VERSUS GRAMMATICAL ROLES

Further examination showed that these differences were related to differences in the real-life situation portrayed by each verb. In his *Grammar Discovery Procedures*, Longacre [1964] says:

In essence, the clause posits a situation in miniature. ...Predication clauses, in particular, have a tagmeme expressing the PLOT (normally manifested by some verb-like structure), one or more tagmemes expressing DRAMATIS PERSONAE (e.g., actor, goal, indirect object), and other tagmemes contributing PROPS, SCENERY, and LOCAL COLOR (e.g., instrument, location, manner, and time).

Pike [1964] describes how, in Philippine languages, an item in an utterance can change its grammatical function in several ways and yet retain the same relationship to the real-world situation. Among the examples which he cites of an analogous phenomenon in English are the following:

- A. 'John killed the tiger.'
- B. 'The tiger was killed by John.'
- C. 'Bill caused John to kill the tiger.'

In all three sentences 'John' is the actor (the one who performs the action), and 'the tiger' is the goal (the one who undergoes the action), while in the third sentence 'Bill' is the causer (the one who

causes the action to take place). Although these situational (otherwise known as 'real-life' or 'participant' or 'dramatis personae') functions remain constant throughout, the grammatical functions vary from sentence to sentence. Thus 'John' (the actor) fills the grammatical slots of Subject in A., Agent in B., and Object in C., and 'the tiger' (the goal) fills the grammatical slots of Object in A., Subject in B., and second Object in C., while 'Bill' (the causer) fills the grammatical slot of Subject in C. Other transformations of C., such as 'Bill caused the tiger to be killed by John', will produce further re-arrangements of grammatical *vis-à-vis* situational roles.

### 3.0.5 ESTABLISHMENT OF VERB STEM CLASSES

In Timugon it is the verb stem itself which dictates what situational roles, and therefore what tagmemes, must or may accompany it in the clause. To use the three Timugon verbs already mentioned as examples, *mansang* demands an obligatory 'actor' (one who quarrels) and an optional 'direction' (one who is quarrelled with), which are represented by Subject and Referent respectively; *mamilat* demands an obligatory 'actor' (one who injures), likewise represented by Subject, an obligatory 'goal' (one who is injured), represented by Referent, and an optional 'means' (that with which the injuring is done), represented by Instrument; while *mapaakan* demands an obligatory 'initiator' (one who causes or allows the action), represented by Subject, an obligatory 'goal' (the thing eaten), represented by Referent, and an optional 'actor' (one who eats) represented by Associate.

In Timugon, therefore, the set of situational roles demanded or permitted by a given verb forms the primary criterion in determining its stem class membership. That is, two verbs are considered to belong to different stem-classes if they do not share the same set of situational roles (i.e. if they do not have the same potential for clause-expansion). A secondary criterion consists of the correlation between situational and grammatical roles. That is, even if two verbs share the same set of situational roles, they are considered to belong to different classes if one or more of those roles are represented by different grammatical tagmemes (i.e. if they have a different potential for focus-transformation). Two verbs which are alike in both the above respects but which have a difference in inflection are deemed to belong to different sub-classes of the same verb stem class.

The total number of situational roles found in Timugon verbal syntagmemes is nine. They are: 1. 'initiator', the person who causes, orders, allows or requests the action to be carried out; 2. 'actor', the person who performs the action; 3. 'goal', the person or thing that

undergoes the action directly; 4. 'direction', the person or thing towards which or away from which the action is directed; 5. 'means', the thing by means of which the action is carried out; 6. 'time', the time when or the occasion on which the action takes place; 7. 'site', the place where the action is carried out; 8. 'reason', the reason or purpose for which the action is carried out; and 9. 'affinity', the factor with respect to which or concerning which the action is performed. The last four roles, however, occur optionally in every clause-type and are always represented by an Associate tagmeme. They are therefore considered peripheral and are included with the peripheral tagmemes in 3.0.6.

Table IV illustrating the verb stem classes of Timugon, shows how complex are the interrelationships among the three factors of verbal inflection, grammatical roles and situational roles. The first column on the left gives the verb stem class notation. The next five columns show which situational roles are pertinent to which stem class, whether they are obligatory or optional, and by which grammatical functions (if any) they are expressed. The last three columns show how the stem is inflected for Subject, Object and Referent focus respectively. The table shows, for example, that primary verbs require an obligatory actor, while secondary verbs require an obligatory initiator, both of which are expressed by a Subject tagmeme. It also shows that Intransitive verbs (pv1-4) require absence of a goal, whereas with Transitive Dynamic verbs (pv7-10) its presence is obligatory.<sup>1</sup>

The verbal clause syntagmemes, which will be discussed shortly, are distinguished by and named after the stem class of the verb manifesting the Predicate tagmeme. Thus Primary Verbal Clause type 8 (PVC8) is a clause whose Predicate is manifested by a verb of the primary verb stem class 8 (pv8). Each clause-type embraces one or more constructions linked by a focus-transformation relationship. No transformational relationship, however, exists between different clause types.

In the description that follows, each tagmemic slot is allotted a capital letter (S, O, R, A, I) indicating its grammatical function. To this is added a subscript letter (i, a, g, d, m) indicating its situational role. Thus O<sub>a</sub> and O<sub>g</sub> represent Object-as-actor and Object-as-goal respectively. When a tagmeme is combined in portmanteau fashion with the Topic tagmeme, the relationship is indicated by T/... Thus T/O<sub>g</sub> represents Topic cum Object-as-goal. This notation is in line with that adopted by members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in

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<sup>1</sup>For an explanation of the symbols and abbreviations used, see this section and chapter 1; for a description of the morphophonemic rules governing verbal inflection, see 5.2.1.



TABLE IV  
Basic verbal clauses of Timugon Murut

Stem- class No.	SITUATIONAL ROLES					INFLECTION		
	i	a	g	d	m	Subject f.	Object f.	Referent f.
pv1	-	+S	-	-	-	-um-, mag1-, mag2-, mang-, mati-	---	---
pv1A	-	+(a)	-	-	-	-um-, ?mag1-, mag2-, mang-	---	---
pv2	-	+S	-	±A	-	-um-, mag1-, ?mag2-, mang-	---	---
pv3	-	+S	-	±O	-	-um-, ?mag1-, mag2-	-on	---
pv4	-	+S	-	±R	-	-um-, mag1-, mag2-	---	-in
pv5	-	+S	+(±(a)	±(a)	-	mag1-	---	---
pv6	-	+S	±O <sup>(b)</sup>	±A <sup>(b)</sup>	-	mag2-	---	---
pv7	-	+S	+O	±A	±I	mag2-, mang-	-on	---
pv7A	-	+S	+O	-	-	mapa-	-on	---
pv7B	-	+S	+O	-	-	maki-	ki--on	---
pv8	-	+S	+(±O	±R)	±I	mag2-, mang-	-on	-in
pv8A	-	+S	+O	±R <sup>(c)</sup>	±I	mag2-, mang-	-on	-in
pv9	-	+S	+(a)	+R	±I	mag2-, mang-	---	-in
pv10	-	+S	+R	±A	±I	mag2-, mang-	---	-in
pv10A	-	+S	+R	±R	±I	mag2-, mang-	---	-in
pv11	-	+S	-	±A	+O	mapa-	pa--on	---
pv12	-	+S	-	±A	+R	?mapa-	---	paG--in
sv1	+S	+O	-	±A	-	mapa-	pa--on, paG--on	---
sv1A	+S	+O	±(+A	±A)	±I <sup>(d)</sup>	mapa-	pa--on, paG--on	---
sv2	+S	±A	+R	±R	±I <sup>(d)</sup>	mapa-	---	pa--in
sv3	+S	±A	+O	±R	±I <sup>(d)</sup>	maki-	(pa)ki--on	(pa)ki--in
sv4	+S	±A	+(a)	±R	-	maki-	---	(pa)ki--in

(a) Situational roles not expressed by isolable tagmemes; see 3.0.7 and description of pertinent clause-type.

(b) Tagmemes not focusable as Topic (other than Associate and Instrument).

(c) Tagmeme occurring only as Topic.

(d) These verbs are not inflectable for Instrument focus.

their publications on Philippine languages.

The meaning of a stem is cited throughout in the form of a sentence frame into which are inserted the symbols for the tagmemes occurring with that stem. Thus:

sangit(pv4) 'S is angry [with R]'  
 lambaq(pv7) 'S beats O [with I]'  
 inaa(sv1) 'S causes O to wait [for A]'

In cases where it is necessary to indicate the meaning of an inflected form out of context, this is done by adding 'T/-' to the tagmeme which is signalled as Topic by the inflection, and altering the tense of the translation to correspond with that of the cited form. Thus:

sumangit(pv4) 'T/S will be angry [with R]'  
 sinangitan(pv4) 'S was angry with T/R'.

It is unnecessary to append the symbols for the situational roles as these are implicit in the stem class membership of the verb. They are, moreover, indicated by the structure of the frame. Tagmemes representing optional situational roles are enclosed in square brackets [ ]. Where a tagmeme has a restricted reference, its nature is indicated in curved brackets ( ). The symbol / separates alternative referents and stem-meanings.

iit(pv9) 'S(insect) bites R'  
 tinduk(pv7) 'S(snake/hen) bites/pecks O'

This method of citation is particularly convenient in the numerous cases where one stem is a member of several stem classes, each with a different set of co-occurring tagmemes, and often accompanied by semantic and inflectional changes. The stem *bayaq*, for instance, belongs to the following 8 stem classes (to illustrate differences in inflection, the Subject focus form of the verb is shown in brackets):

(pv1) 'S wishes to go also' (matibayaq)  
 (pv2) 'S goes also [with A]' or 'S goes [by way of A]' (mayaq)  
 (pv4) 'S goes [along R(path)]' (mayaq)  
 (pv5) 'S & S go with e.o.' (mabayaq)  
 (pv7) 'S follows/accompanies O' (mamayaq)  
 (pv9) 'S includes [I] with R' (mamayaq)  
 (sv1) 'S causes O & O to go with e.o.' (mapabayaq)  
 (sv2) 'S causes [A] to follow/accompany R' (mapabayaq)

### 3.0.6 NUCLEAR VERSUS PERIPHERAL

In Timugon, a nuclear tagmeme is one which expresses one of the optional or obligatory situational roles inherent in a given stem class, and which cannot therefore occur indifferently in all clause types. A peripheral tagmeme, on the other hand, (A) does not express a

situational role, (B) is always optional, and (C) can occur freely with every clause type. Exceptions to this rule are Time (Tm), Site (Si), Reason (Rn) and Affinity (Aff), which, as already mentioned (3.0.5), are in reality situational roles expressed by the nuclear Associate tagmeme. Nevertheless they fulfil conditions (B) and (C) for peripheral tagmemes, and are therefore regarded as such.

The periphery of a Timugon clause consists of:

±Th<sup>2</sup> ±Adj ±Neg ±Mod<sup>3</sup> ±Qt ±Be ±Ma ±Tm<sup>2</sup> ±Si<sup>2</sup> ±Rn ±Aff

The abbreviations are explained in chapter 1. The superscript numerals indicate the number of times a tagmeme may occur in a single clause. In certain environments there are restrictions on the co-occurrence of peripheral tagmemes and on the order of their occurrence in the clause, both relative to each other and relative to various nuclear tagmemes. These restrictions will be discussed as they arise.

### 3.0.7 OBLIGATORY VERSUS OPTIONAL

An item described as obligatory in a particular environment need not necessarily have overt expression in that environment. A verb of stem class pvlA, for instance, demands an obligatory actor, as do all other primary verbs. This role of actor, however, is not conveyed by an isolable tagmeme: it is incorporated in the verb stem itself.<sup>1</sup>

Similarly some grammatical functions (tagmemes) are frequently omitted in normal speech under the following circumstances:

A. A tagmeme is often omitted when its identity is already known to both speaker and hearer, e.g. from previous reference in the discourse. In the examples which follow, the omitted tagmemes are enclosed in curved brackets ( ) in the literal and free translations.

|mangalap |aku |ra tias |am|mananom.  
|Psf:take/ft|T/S:I|O seedling|Co|Psf:plant/ft (T/S) (O)  
'I will take a seedling and (I) will plant (it).'

|ibiton |mu |rarapuq-ti |ra|muliq.  
|Pof:carry/ft|S:thou|T/O:jar the|Co|Psf:go-home/ft (T/S)  
'You must take the jar with you when (you) go home.'

B. Any non-Topic tagmeme can be omitted when it refers to an unknown or indefinite person or thing.

|inansakan |kow |no |kia|ra giuq.  
|Prf:cook/pt|T/R:thou|Mod|Mod|Si there (S) (O)  
'Did (anyone) cook (anything) for you over there?'

<sup>1</sup>Table IV shows other instances of this phenomenon: see the relevant clause type for detailed description.

|nantakow |ilo |ramon.  
 |Psf:steal/pt|T/S:they|R:we(ex) (O)  
 'They stole (things) from us.'

C. Any Subject tagmeme (whether Topic or not) can be omitted when it refers to a general or impersonal actor (or initiator). The second person pronoun singular can also be used with the same 'impersonal' meaning (cf. the English usage of 'one' and 'you').

|bilag |mambaal |(kow) |ra baloy,  
 |Adj:when|Psf:make/ft|(T/S:thou)|O house  
 'When (one) is building a house...'<sup>1</sup>

|alapon |(mu) |langgut-no,  
 |Psf:take/ft|(S:thou)|T/O:coconut-shell the  
 '(You) take the coconut-shell...'

Since all Topic tagmemes are obligatory to the clause, even a tagmeme described as optional has obligatory status when it is focused as Topic, though it may be omitted in the circumstances described above (A. and C.).

Theoretically, it would be possible for a clause to contain a maximal sequence of nine non-Topic, non-Subject tagmemes (including peripheral ones) manifested as relator-axis noun-phrases, in which the axis would be expounded by a common noun, and the relator by the relation-marker *ra* (i.e. Oblique noun-phrases, see 3.0.2). In practice, however, no more than three such noun-phrases are admitted in normal speech, and even this number is permitted only if one of the phrases has a demonstrative as its axis. In fact, this constraint rarely impedes communication, since additional tagmemes can be introduced into the utterance through the omission of certain tagmemes (see above), the use of personal pronouns, and the removal of certain tagmemes to pre-Predicate position (see chapter 6).

### 3.0.8 ARRANGEMENT<sup>2</sup>

The description of each clause-type contains:

A. a statement of the situational roles pertinent to the stem class expounding the Predicate of the clause (and therefore pertinent to the clause itself), followed by a statement of the tagmemes (grammatical roles) which convey the situational roles, and a description of the

<sup>1</sup>Cf. also the English construction 'When building a house...'.  


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<sup>2</sup>The arrangement adopted here is based on that employed by Reid in his *Ivatan Syntax* [1966].

inflections occurring with the stem;

- B. a list of stems representative of the relevant stem class, with meanings cited in the manner described in 3.0.5;
- C. a paradigm of the syntagmeme as a tagmemic formula;
- D. a citation paradigm of the syntagmeme, illustrating transformation for focus (where this exists), with free and word-for-word translations; and
- E. a number of unelicited examples selected from the texts,<sup>1</sup> also with free and word-for-word translations.

The limits of the Timugon clause-level tagmemes are indicated by placing the relevant sections of the Timugon examples between vertical bars. In the free translations the Topic of the Timugon clause is shown enclosed in a box, thus: the man.

In the word-for-word translations, the tense of a Predicate in the Temporal aspect (see 5.2.0.1) is indicated by '/ft' (Future Temporal) or '/pt' (Past Temporal) following the translation. Thus '*stop/ft*' and '*stop/pt*' represent '*will stop*' and '*stopped*' respectively. Absence of such indication signifies that the Predicate is in the Atemporal aspect.

Where the grammatical function of a tagmeme is not overtly signalled by a relation-marker, the tagmeme symbol is connected to the literal translation by a colon (:). Thus,

risilo	ruandug	ra ruandug
O:they	T/S:woman	O woman

### 3.1 PRIMARY VERBAL CLAUSES

In primary verbal clauses the Predicate tagmeme is expounded by a primary verb, i.e. one which demands an obligatory 'actor', which is always expressed by the Subject tagmeme (except in pvlA, q.v.). There are twelve clause types in this class (PVCl-12), corresponding to the twelve stem classes of verbs manifesting Predicate (pvl-12). With some primary verbal clauses, the Predicate can be inflected in as many as five different ways. These differences of inflection are regarded as constituting etic sub-types within the clause-type.

#### 3.1.1 PRIMARY VERBAL CLAUSE TYPE 1 (INTRANSITIVE)

##### DESCRIPTION:

Predicate is expounded by a verb of stem class pvl, which denies the

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<sup>1</sup>Wherever possible, Basic clause constructions have been chosen as examples; it has, however, been necessary on occasion to employ clause constructions which are derived from Basic clauses (such as Atemporal and Subordinate).

presence of any other situational role than that of obligatory 'actor', conveyed by the Subject tagmeme.

pvl verbs are found with the following Subject focus affixes: a. -um-; b1. mag1-; b2. mag2-; c. mang-; or d. mati-.<sup>1</sup>

REPRESENTATIVE STEMS:

a. with -um- (5.2.1.1.1)

bigor	'S <i>is standing</i> '
gaal	'S <i>opens his mouth</i> '
gayo	'S <i>grows bigger</i> '
iluluyaq	'S <i>lies down</i> '
ikokoolong	'S <i>dozes</i> '
korom	'S <i>closes his eyes</i> '
patoy	'S <i>dies</i> '
tuuq	'S <i>grows</i> '

b. with mag- (5.2.1.1.2)

apon	'S <i>goes fishing with rod-and-line</i> '
bilor	'S <i>stretches himself</i> '
inupi	'S <i>dreams</i> '
tuo	'S <i>commits suicide by eating tuba-posion</i> '

b1. with mag1- (5.2.1.1.2.1)

gayo	'S( <i>river</i> ) <i>rises</i> '
luoy	'S( <i>buffalo</i> ) <i>wallows</i> '
rilik	'S <i>clears undergrowth</i> '
riuq	'S <i>bathes</i> '

b2. with mag2- (5.2.1.1.2.2)

guluq	'S( <i>pig</i> ) <i>grunts</i> '
jawot	'S <i>goes for a stroll</i> '
luaq	'S <i>vomits</i> '
ngungul	'S( <i>insect</i> ) <i>buzzes</i> '

c. with mang- (5.2.1.1.3)

bilaw	'S <i>glitters</i> '
impusuog	'S <i>daydreams</i> '
kulintangan	'S <i>plays the tube-zither</i> '
painawo	'S <i>breathes</i> '

d. with mati- (5.2.1.1.4)

bayaq	'S <i>wishes to go also</i> '
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<sup>1</sup>As will be explained later (see 5.2.1.1.2), mag1- and mag2- are homophonous in most environments. In the lists of representative stems, those stems occurring with an ambiguous mag- affix are listed under b., followed by those occurring with unambiguous mag1- and mag2- under b1. and b2. respectively.

koolong	'S is sleepy'
luaq	'S is nauseated'
sabu	'S desires to urinate'

## TAGMEMIC NOTATION PARADIGM OF PVCl:

1a-d. PVCl<sub>sf</sub> → +Ppvl<sub>-um-</sub> +T/S<sub>a</sub>  
 magl-  
 mag2-  
 mang-  
 mati-

## CITATION PARADIGM OF PVCl:

- 1a. |miluluyaq |lalaing-no.  
 |Psf:lie-down/ft|T/S:child the  
 'The child will lie down.'
- 1b. |maginupi |lalaing-no.  
 |Psf:dream/ft|T/S:child the  
 'The child will dream.'
- 1b1. |mariuq |lalaing-no.  
 |Psf:bathe/ft|T/S:child the  
 'The child will bathe.'
- 1b2. |mampaluaq |lalaing-no.  
 |Psf:vomit/ft|T/S:child the  
 'The child will vomit.'
- 1c. |mangulintangan |lalaing-no.  
 |Psf:tube-zither/ft|T/S:child the  
 'The child will play the tube-zither.'
- 1d. |matikoolong |lalaing-no.  
 |Psf:wish-sleep/ft|T/S:child the  
 'The child will be sleepy.'

## EXAMPLES FROM TEXT:

|minatoy |ra [matakiq] |matuo mindali.  
 |Psf:die/pt|Ma [Psf:soon/ft]|T/S:parent Po:you-the(pl.)  
 'Your parents died an early death.'

|kalo|bo |naginupi |aku |ra rondon-i.  
 |Neg |Mod|Psf:dream/pt|T/S:I|Tm night the  
 'I didn't have any dreams last night.'

|bilaq |pana|manggayo |timug-no,  
 |Adj:when|Mod |Psf:rise/ft|T/S:water the  
 'Even when **the river** rises...'

|buayoy-i |kunuq|nampalulaq.  
 |Th:man the|Qt |Psf:hunt/pt  
 'As for the man, they say, **(he)** was out hunting.'

|mamainawo |io |ra [masaran].  
 |Psf:breathe/ft|T/S:he|Ma [Psf:wheezing/ft]  
 '**He** breathes wheezingly.'

|matibaabayaq |aku |raan|ra [akaw mongoy ra tonom].  
 |Psf:wish-follow/ft|T/S:I|Mod |Tm [T/S:you Psf:go/ft A Tenom]  
 '**I** would like to come too when you go to Tenom.'

With some pvl stems (which are treated here as members of a subclass pvlA) the obligatory 'actor' is not overtly expressed, since it is incorporated in the verb stem itself. These verbs, which are all meteorological in nature, fill the Predicate slot in the clause subtype PVClA, and are inflected with -um-, mag2- or mang- (no unambiguous instances of mag1- are known). Janette Forster [1964] mentions a similar clause type in Dibabawon (spoken in the eastern half of Mindanao), in which the topic is "included in the assertion of the comment". She elaborates:

Since...the topic cannot be isolated as a constituent tagmeme, clauses in this category are probably minor types. An example of this is nig-qudan 'rained' = 'it rained', which requires a topic with the relation of subject-as-actor, but in fact the actor is included reflexively in the form of the comment (i.e., 'rain rained', compare udan 'rain').

#### REPRESENTATIVE STEMS:

- a. with -um- (5.2.1.1.1)
  - rasam 'there is rain'
- b. with mag- (5.2.1.1.2)
  - angin 'there is wind'
  - kawanan 'there is prolonged or heavy rain'
- b2. with mag2- (5.2.1.1.2.2)
  - ganit 'there is lightning'
- c. with mang- (5.2.1.1.3)
  - tampio 'there is a drought'
  - timpalak 'there is a thunderclap'
  - tingkalur 'there is rolling thunder'



## TAGMEMIC NOTATION PARADIGM OF PVCLA:

1a-c. PVCLA<sub>Sf</sub> + Ppv1A<sub>-um-</sub>  
 mag2-  
 mang-

## EXAMPLES FROM TEXT:

|kalo|kia|rminasam |ra ralayo.  
 |Neg |Mod|Psf:rain/pt|Si upstream  
 'Didn't it rain upriver?'

|manampio |bo |lair|ra gitio.  
 |Psf:drought/ft|Mod|Mod |Tm this  
 'Perhaps there will be a drought now.'

## 3.1.2 PRIMARY VERBAL CLAUSE TYPE 2 (INTRANSITIVE)

## DESCRIPTION:

Predicate is expounded by a verb of stem class pv2. The constituent situational roles are an obligatory 'actor' and an optional 'direction' (conveyed by Subject and Associate respectively).

The Subject focus is marked by -um-, mag1- or mang-, -um- being the most common. There are no unambiguous occurrences of mag2-.

## REPRESENTATIVE STEMS:

## a. with -um- (5.2.1.1.1)

bayaq 'S goes [with A]' or 'S goes [by way of A]'  
 igigilaq 'S learns [about A]'  
 ingkual 'S comes/goes out [of A]'  
 linjong 'S sinks [into A(mud, etc.)]'  
 ratong 'S comes/arrives [to/at A]'  
 ruliq 'S returns [to A]'  
 subol 'S comes/goes in [-to A]'  
 tuun 'S comes/goes down [to A]'

## b. with mag- (5.2.1.1.2)

aloy 'S comes/goes up [to A]'  
 iruq 'S flees [to/from A]'  
 kaus 'S takes offence [at A]'  
 saruy 'S swims [to A]'

## b1. with mag1- (5.2.1.1.2.1)

gulu 'S goes ahead [of A]'  
 rayus 'S goes straight on [to A]'

## c. with mang- (5.2.1.1.3)

imuag 'S marvels [at A]'

ulir 'S is in mourning [for A]'

## TAGMEMIC NOTATION PARADIGM OF PVC2:

1a-c. PVC2<sub>Sf</sub> → +Ppv<sub>-um-</sub> +T/S<sub>a</sub> ±A<sub>d</sub>  
 magl-  
 mang-

## CITATION PARADIGM OF PVC2:

- 1a. |mayaq |ruanduq-no |ra anak nano.  
 |Psf:follow/ft|T/S:woman the|A child Po:she-the  
 ' The woman will go with her child.'
- 1b. |mangkaus |ruanduq-no |ra anak nano.  
 |Psf:take-offence/ft|T/S:woman the|A child Po:she-the  
 ' The woman will be offended with her child.'
- 1bl. |magulu |ruanduq-no |ra anak nano.  
 |Psf:go-ahead/ft|T/S:woman the|A child Po:she-the  
 ' The woman will go ahead of her child.'
- 1c. |mangulir |ruanduq-no |ra anak nano.  
 |Psf:mourn/ft|T/S:woman the|A child Po:she-the  
 ' The woman will wear mourning for her child.'

## EXAMPLES FROM TEXT:

|rondom-ti |kunuq|siminubol |ralaa-i |ra tunturing.  
 |Tm:night the|Qt |Psf:enter/ft|T/S:maid the|A rice-bin  
 'At night, they say, the girl used to climb into a ricebin.'

|nansaruy |akay |no |ra sungoy nu poros.  
 |Psf:swim/pt|T/S:we(ex)|Mod|Si river Po Padas  
 ' We swam in the Padas river.'

|susuab |marayus |akay |kia|bagu  
 |Tm:morning|Psf:go-straight/ft|T/S:we(ex)|Mod|Mod  
 |ra intok nu urang-tuaq simit.  
 |A place Po headman Ap:Simit  
 'Are we going straight on to Orang Tua Simit's place tomorrow?'

|nangimuag |aku |toojo.  
 |Psf:marvel/pt|T/S:I|Adj:properly  
 ' I was really amazed.'

## 3.1.3 PRIMARY VERBAL CLAUSE TYPE 3 (INTRANSITIVE)

## DESCRIPTION:

Predicate is expounded by a verb of stem class pv3. The constituent roles, as with pv2 verbs, are an obligatory 'actor' and an optional

'direction'. In this case, however, 'direction' is conveyed not by the Associate but by the Object tagmeme, and PVC3 therefore consists of a Subject focus construction and an Object focus construction.

Again, -um- is the commonest Subject focus affix, but nine verbs are known which take an ambiguous mag- prefix and four which take mag2-. Object focus inflection is always -on (see 5.2.1.2.1).

REPRESENTATIVE STEMS:

a. with -um- (5.2.1.1.1)

gabug	'S fights [with O]'
gagayaq	'S believes [O]'
gogot	'S works hard [for O]'
kubayaw	'S makes friends [with O]'
miting	'S holds a meeting [about O]'
ongoy	'S goes [for O]'
rondom	'S sets out early [for O]'
taam	'S replies [to O]'

b. with mag- (5.2.1.1.2)

angku	'S makes a false claim [for O]'
korojo	'S works [on O]'
kuli	'S plays [with O]'
simbul	'S runs [for O]'

b2. with mag2- (5.2.1.1.2.2)

lukiat	'S returns [for O]'
luog	'S fishes [in O(still water)]'
luoy	'S(buffalo) wallows [in O]'
rongog	'S listens [to O]'

TAGMEMIC NOTATION PARADIGM OF PVC3:

1a-b. PVC3<sub>sf</sub> + Ppv3<sub>-um-</sub> + T/S<sub>a</sub> ±O<sub>d</sub>

mag2-

2. PVC3<sub>of</sub> + Ppv3<sub>-on</sub> + S<sub>a</sub> + T/O<sub>d</sub>

CITATION PARADIGM OF PVC3:

- 1a. |kumubayaw |lalaing-rati |ri kasuab.  
 |Psf:make-friends/ft|T/S:child the(pl)|O Kasuab  
 'The children will make friends with Kasuab.'
2. |kubayawon |i kasuab |ru lalaing-rati.  
 |Pof:make-friends/ft|T/O Kasuab|S child the(pl)  
 'The children will make friends with Kasuab.'

- 1b. |mangkuli |lalaing-rati |ri kasuab.  
|Psf:play/ft|T/S:child the(pl)|O Kasuab  
'*The children* will play with Kasuab.'
2. |kulion |i kasuab |ru lalaing-rati.  
|Pof:play/ft|T/O Kasuab|S child the(pl)  
'The children will play with *Kasuab*.'
- 1b2. |momporongog |lalaing-rati |ri kasuab.  
|Psf:listen/ft|T/S:child the(pl)|O Kasuab  
'*The children* will listen to Kasuab.'
2. |rongogon |i kasuab |ru lalaing-rati.  
|Pof:listen/ft|T/O Kasuab|S child the(pl)  
'The children will listen to *Kasuab*.'

## EXAMPLES FROM TEXT:

|amon|kalo|miniting |kaw |ra giuq ra tumantalik,  
|if |Neg |Psf:meeting/pt|T/S:you|Si there At Tumantalik  
'If *you* hadn't held a meeting over there at Tumantalik...'

|magangku |kow |ayuk|ra karabaw-no.  
|Psf:claim-falsely/ft|T/S:thou|Mod |O buffalo the  
'*You*'re just saying the buffalo's yours (it isn't really).'

|mampaluog |ganilo |ra lanaw.  
|Psf:fish/ft|T/S:those|O wet-rice-field  
'*Those people* are going fishing in the rice-field.'

|inongoy |nilo |noyo|surat-i |ra raraiq.  
|Pof:go/pt|S:they|Mod |T/O:letter the|Tm yesterday  
'They came for *the letter* yesterday.'

|korojoon |ku |poyo|baloy kuno.  
|Pof:work/ft|S:I|Mod |T/O:house Po:I-the  
'I'm just going to do some work on *my house*.'

|lukiaton |ak |ri jinuin|sigup muli.  
|Pof:return/ft|Mod|S Jinuin |T/O:tobacco Po:thou-the  
'Jinuin will go back for *your tobacco*.'

## 3.1.4 PRIMARY VERBAL CLAUSE TYPE 4 (INTRANSITIVE)

## DESCRIPTION:

Predicate is expounded by a verb of stem class pv4, which has as its constituent roles an obligatory 'actor' and an optional 'direction'. It differs from both pv2 and pv3, however, in that 'direction' is expressed by the Referent tagmeme. PVC3 therefore has a Subject focus and a

Referent focus construction.

The commonest Subject focus affixes found with verbs of this class are -um- and an ambiguous mag- prefix. One stem has been recorded with the mag1- prefix and three with mag2-. Referent focus inflection is always -in (see 5.2.1.3.1).

REPRESENTATIVE STEMS:

a. with -um- (5.2.1.1.1)

ansang	'S quarrels [with R]'
ayan	'S dwells [in R]'
gabaq	'S(tree) falls [on R]'
lambay	'S travels [with R(luggage)]'
longgoq	'S stops [R(action)]'
sabu	'S urinates [on R]'
sangit	'S is angry [with R]'
talikur	'S turns his back [on R]'

b. with mag- (5.2.1.1.2)

amut	'S(bird) sits [on R(eggs)]'
bayal	'S holds a funeral feast [for R(deceased)]'
bolong	'S sleeps [in/near R]'
inaa	'S waits [for R]'
sigo	'S spies [on R]'
tangiq	'S weeps [for R]'
tunung	'S tells a story [to R]'
turung	'S sits down [on R]'

b1. with mag1- (5.2.1.1.2.1)

ralang	'S sits [near R(fire)]'
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b2. with mag2- (5.2.1.1.2.2)

golok	'S shouts [at R]'
lakak	'S guffaws [at R]'
laub	'S falls forward [onto R]'

TAGMEMIC NOTATION PARADIGM OF PVC4:

1a-b. PVC4<sub>sf</sub> → +Ppv4<sub>-um-</sub> +T/S<sub>a</sub> ±R<sub>d</sub>  
                 mag1-  
                 mag2-

3. PVC4<sub>rf</sub> → +Ppv4<sub>-in</sub> +S<sub>a</sub> +T/R<sub>d</sub>

CITATION PARADIGM OF PVC4:

1a. |sumangit |i sitibon |ra anak nali.  
 |Psf:angry/ft|T/S Stephen|R child Po:he-the  
 ' Stephen will be angry with his son.'

3. |sangitin |ri sitibon|anak nali.  
|Prf:angry/ft|S Stephen |T/R:child Po:he-the  
'Stephen will be angry with his son.'
- 1b. |maginaa |i sitibon |ra anak nali.  
|Psf:wait/ft|T/S Stephen|R child Po:he-the  
'Stephen will wait for his son.'
3. |inaanin |ri sitibon|anak nali.  
|Prf:wait/ft|S Stephen |T/R:child Po:he-the  
'Stephen will wait for his son.'
- 1b1. |mandalang |i sitibon |ra apuy-no.  
|Psf:sit/ft|T/S Stephen|R fire the  
'Stephen will sit near the fire.'
3. |ralangin |ri sitibon|apuy-no.  
|Prf:sit/ft|S Stephen |T/R:fire the  
'Stephen will sit near the fire.'
- 1b2. |mompogolok |i sitibon |ra anak nali.  
|Psf:shout/ft|T/S Stephen|R child Po:he-the  
'Stephen will shout at his son.'
3. |galakin |ri sitibon|anak nali.  
|Prf:shout/ft|S Stephen |T/R:child Po:he-the  
'Stephen will shout at his son.'

## EXAMPLES FROM TEXT:

|limo ngambilor|akay |no |minayan |ra baloy raitio.  
|Tm:five years |T/S:we(ex)|Mod|Psf: dwell/pt|R house At:this  
'We have lived in this house for five years.'

|maginaa |aku |ra lalaupon ru binaiq.  
|Psf:wait/ft|T/S:I|Si river-crossing Po Binai  
'I 'll wait at the Binai crossing.'

|amon|kalo|nampalakak |ilo |ra bauy-i|ra gili,  
|if |Neg |Psf:guffaw/pt|T/S:they|R pig the|Tm that  
'If they hadn't guffawed at the pig that time...'

|sangitin |kow |ri amaq.  
|Prf:angry/ft|T/R:thou|S Father  
'Father will be angry with you.'

|balangin |nilo |luogon-no |ra [io tuoon].  
|Prf:sleep/ft|S:they|T/R:pond the|Tm [T/O:it Pof:tuba-poison/ft]  
'They sleep near the pond when it is being fished with tuba-poison.'

## 3.1.5 PRIMARY VERBAL CLAUSE TYPE 5 (RECIPROCAL)

## DESCRIPTION:

Predicate is expounded by a verb of stem class pv5. Verbs of this class demand as obligatory situational roles an 'actor' and either a 'goal' or a 'direction' (but not both). However, since these verbs are reciprocal, the 'actor' is simultaneously the 'goal' (or 'direction') of the action as well, and vice versa. The two situational roles are both expressed by the Subject tagmeme, which accordingly must always be dual or plural. PVC5 therefore consists of a single Subject focus construction.

The Subject focus prefix for all pv5 verbs is mag1-. When more than two persons or things are involved in the action of the verb, the latter is obligatorily inflected by the morpheme {R-} (manifested as reduplication of the first vowel of the stem and any consonant preceding it), which indicates plurality (as opposed to duality) of Topic.<sup>1</sup>

## REPRESENTATIVE STEMS:

## 1b1. with mag1- (5.2.1.1.2.1)

anduaq	'S & S marry each other (e.o.)'
bayaq	'S & S go with e.o.'
gabuaq	'S & S fight with e.o.'
kubayaw	'S & S are friends with e.o.'
latok	'S & S mix with e.o.'
rogop	'S & S assist e.o.'
sangor	'S & S quarrel with e.o.'
tobok	'S & S stab e.o.'

## TAGMEMIC NOTATION PARADIGM OF PVC5:

1b1. PVC5<sub>Sf</sub> → +Ppv5<sub>mag1-</sub> +T/S<sub>a</sub>

## CITATION PARADIGM OF PVC5:

- 1b1. |magabuq |ruo ngaulun-no.  
|Psf:fight/ft|T/S:two persons-the  
' The two men will fight each other.'
- 1b1. |magagabuq |talu ngaulun-no.  
|Psf:fight/ft|T/S:three persons-the  
' The three men will fight each other.'

<sup>1</sup>As noted elsewhere (5.1.1.12), any verb which takes the Subject focus prefix mag- (whether mag1- or mag2-) can be optionally inflected with {R-}, given the same environment of a plural Topic. Only with pv5 verbs is the inflection obligatory.

## EXAMPLES FROM TEXT:

|mangkubayaw |akay ri simit.

|Psf:be-friends/ft|T/S:we(ex) At Simit

'*Simit and I are friends.*'

|lumbio-ti |kunuq,|nansangor |ilo ra bilor.

|Th:sagopalm the|Qt |Psf:quarrel/pt|T/S:they At rice

'As for the sagopalm, they say, *he and the riceplant* quarrelled.'

|nararatok |noyo|langkang am lunggaw am sinsilogon.

|Psf:mix/pt|Mod |T/S:langkang Co lunggaw Co sinsilogon

'*Langkang and lunggaw and sinsilogon* (different types of earthenware jars) were all mixed up.'

## 3.1.6 PRIMARY VERBAL CLAUSE TYPE 6 (TRANSITIVE STATIC)

## DESCRIPTION:

Predicate is manifested by a verb of stem class pv6. The constituent situational roles of this class are an obligatory 'actor' (conveyed by a Subject tagmeme) and an optional 'goal' and/or 'direction'. Every stem in this class is also a member of one of the Transitive Dynamic stem classes (pv7-10), most of which have an obligatory 'goal' (expressed by Object or Referent) and an optional 'direction' (expressed by Referent or Associate) as two of their constituent roles. With pv6 verbs, however, tagmemes conveying these roles are not focusable as Topic, and their grammatical functions are thus ambiguous. Any tagmeme having the role of 'goal' is therefore arbitrarily allotted the status of Object. Likewise any tagmeme occurring as 'direction' is considered to be an Associate. The situational role of 'means' is not found with verbs of this class.

The semantic difference between a Transitive Static verb and the corresponding Transitive Dynamic verb is usually slight.<sup>1</sup> Generally, a Static verb denotes a diffuse, continuing action, in which such factors as the time and the 'goal' or 'direction' of the action are irrelevant and are expressed only epexegetically. The action of a Dynamic verb, on the other hand, is intensive and punctiliar and has explicit reference to those factors.

With a few exceptions (described below), pv6 verbs all take the Subject focus inflection mag2-.

<sup>1</sup>A possible alternative analysis would consider Transitive Static clauses as etic variants of the Subject focus constructions of the appropriate Transitive Dynamic clause types. Such an analysis, however, apart from being more cumbersome, would encounter the difficulty that the majority of Dynamic verbs do not have a corresponding Static form.



## REPRESENTATIVE STEMS

Each stem is accompanied by the stem class number of its corresponding Transitive Dynamic verb.

## b2. with mag2- (5.2.1.1.2.2)

alus (pv8)	'S sweeps [O from A]'
buli (pv10)	'S puts [O] away [in A]'
ibit (pv7)	'S carries [O to A]'
kabul (pv10)	'S fans [O(rice)]'
kumos (pv7)	'S harvests [O]'
lobong (pv7)	'S buries [O in A]'
tiup (pv7)	'S sucks [O]'
tutu (pv7)	'S pounds [O]'

## TAGMEMIC NOTATION PARADIGM OF PVC6:

1b2. PVC6<sub>sf</sub> → +Ppv6<sub>mag2-</sub> +T/S<sub>a</sub> ±O<sub>g</sub> ±A<sub>d</sub>

## CITATION PARADIGM OF PVC6:

1b2. |magalus |ralaa-ti |(ra ginsamol)|(ra sulig).  
 |Psf:sweep/ft|T/S:maid the|(O rubbish) |(A' floor)  
 'The girl is sweeping (rubbish) (off the floor).'

## EXAMPLES FROM TEXT:

|nagibit |io |ra kinandoy.

|Psf:carry/pt|T/S:he|O parang

'He was carrying a parang.'

|mantutu |poyo|i inaq min.

|Psf:pound/ft|Mod |T/S Mother Po:you

'Your mother is still pounding (something).'

|mangkumos |ilo ri sanggaw.

|Psf:harvest/ft|T/S:they At Sanggau

'He and Sanggau are harvesting.'

A small number of pv6 verbs, including akan 'S eats [O]', inum 'S drinks [O]' and kandoy 'S works [on O]', are irregularly inflected. These verbs take mang- in all environments, but may alternatively take mag- with a dual Subject and mag- +{R-}<sup>1</sup> with a plural Subject, thus:

|manginum |io |(ra inasi).

|Psf:drink/ft|T/S:he|(O ricebeer)

'He is drinking (ricebeer).'

<sup>1</sup>It is assumed that mag- here represents mag2-, though no unambiguous examples have been found.

|maginum ) |ilo |(ra inasi).  
 |manginum)  
 |Psf:drink/ft|T/S:they|(O ricebeer)  
 'They are (both) drinking (ricebeer).'

|magiginum) |ilo |(ra inasi).  
 |manginum )  
 |Psf:drink/ft|T/S:they|(O ricebeer)  
 'They are (all) drinking (ricebeer).'

#### EXAMPLES FROM TEXT:

|mangandoy |kow |kia|ra suab.  
 |Psf:work/ft|T/S:thou|Mod|Tm morning  
 'Are you working tomorrow?'

|gili |kunuq|nagagakan |ilo sambaloy.  
 |Tm:that|Qt |Psf:eat/pt|T/S:they Ap:one-house  
 'At that time, it is said, the whole household was eating.'

#### 3.1.7 PRIMARY VERBAL CLAUSE TYPE 7 (TRANSITIVE DYNAMIC)

##### DESCRIPTION:

This clause type, in which Predicate is manifested by a pv7 verb, is by far the most important in Timugon. A rough count has shown that the pv7 stem class has a recorded membership of over 1500 (compared with about 400 for pvl and 41 for pv3), and as this number includes some of the commonest verbs in the language, its representation in the texts is proportionately greater. Apart from the obligatory Subject-as-actor, the constituent roles of this stem class are an obligatory 'goal', an optional 'direction' and an optional 'means', which are expressed by Object, Associate and Instrument tagmemes respectively. PVC7 consists of a Subject focus and an Object focus construction.

The Subject focus inflection is mag2- or mang-, the latter being more common than the former. Object focus inflection is always -on (see 5.2.1.2.1).

##### REPRESENTATIVE STEMS:

###### b2. with mag2- (5.2.1.1.2.2)

asaq	'S sharpens/files O(knife/teeth) [with I]'
karaq	'S remembers/thinks about O'
lapaq	'S cuts O(carass) into joints [with I]'
piaw	'S summons O [to A]'
riuq	'S bathes O(child, etc.)'
singot	'S(insect) stings O'
tuug	'S dries O in the sun'

uyum	'S looks for O'
c. with mang-	(5.2.1.1.3)
ali	'S(husband) divorces O(wife)'
buni	'S hides O [in A]'
ilaq	'S teaches/advises O [about A]'
inum	'S drinks O'
lambaq	'S beats O [with I]'
putung	'S taps O(rubber)'
simpar	'S(crocodile) seizes O'
turuq	'S aims at O [with I]'

## TAGMEMIC NOTATION PARADIGM OF PVC7:

1b-c. PVC7<sub>sf</sub> + +Ppv7<sub>mag2-</sub> +T/S<sub>a</sub> +O<sub>g</sub> ±A<sub>d</sub> ±I<sub>m</sub>  
 mang-

2. PVC7<sub>of</sub> + +Ppv7<sub>-on</sub> +S<sub>a</sub> +T/O<sub>g</sub> ±A<sub>d</sub> ±I<sub>m</sub>

## CITATION PARADIGM OF PVC7:

1b2. |magasaq |i pariri-ti |ra kinandoy nano |ra batu.  
 |Psf:sharpen/ft|T/S Pariri the|O parang Po:he-the|I stone  
 'Pariri will sharpen his parang with a whetstone.'

2. |asaan |ri pariri-ti|kinandoy nano |ra batu.  
 |Pof:sharpen/ft|S Pariri the|T/O:parang Po:he-the|I stone  
 'Pariri will sharpen his parang with a whetstone.'

1c. |mangilaq |i pariri-ti |ra lalaing-rati |ra adat takaw.  
 |Psf:teach/ft|T/S Pariri the|O child the(pl)|A custom Po:we(in)  
 'Pariri will teach the children about our customs.'

2. |ilaan |ri pariri-ti|lalaing-rati |ra adat takaw.  
 |Pof:teach/ft|S Pariri the|T/O:child the(pl)|A custom Po:we(in)  
 'Pariri will teach the children about our customs.'

## EXAMPLES FROM TEXT:

|aku-ti, |maguyum |aku |ra rangan kurali.  
 |Th:I the|Psf:seek/ft|T/S:I|O friend Po:I-the(pl)  
 'As for me, I'm looking for my friends.'

|galing-i, |namutung |akay |ra gataq|ra giuq ra sapung.  
 |Tm:before the|Psf:tap/pt|T/S:we(ex)|O rubber|Si there At Sapong  
 'In the olden days, we used to tap rubber over there at Sapong.'

|linambaq |may |noyo|kukuo-i |ra tataun.  
 |Pof:beat/pt|S:we(ex)|Mod |T/O:snake the|I wood  
 'We beat the snake with a stick.'

|karaaq |min |rakiq|bilin kuli ra kasut.  
 |Pof:remember|S:you|Be:I |T/O:message Po:I-the At shoe  
 'Remember my message about shoes for me.'

|siningot |kow |no |kia|ru baluub.  
 |Pof:sting/pt|T/O:thou|Mod|Mod|S wasp  
 'Have you been stung by a wasp?'

Stem class pv7 also includes a number of stems derived by means of the prefix ka- from Participles, particularly those with an adjectival function (see 4.1.1.2). All these stems have the meaning 'S causes/ allows O to become X' or 'S makes O X', where 'X' is the meaning of the original stem. The derived stems are considered to form a subclass pv7A, filling the Predicate slot in clause subtype PVC7A. The situational roles of 'direction' and 'means' are not found with pv7A verbs.

The inflections are mapa- for Subject focus and -on for Object focus (see 5.2.1.1.5 and 5.2.1.2.1 respectively).

#### REPRESENTATIVE STEMS:

kaawar	'S lengthens O'
kaayag	'S keeps O alive'
kalarom	'S sharpens O'
kalibok	'S accelerates O(action)'
katatoy	'S allows O to die'
kasawat	'S makes O higher'
kauliq	'S makes O plentiful'
koborok	'S decreases O'

#### TAGMEMIC NOTATION PARADIGM OF PVC7A:

1. PVC7A<sub>sf</sub> → +Ppv7A<sub>mapa-</sub> +T/S<sub>a</sub> +O<sub>g</sub>
2. PVC7A<sub>of</sub> → +Ppv7A<sub>-on</sub> +S<sub>a</sub> +T/O<sub>g</sub>

#### CITATION PARADIGM OF PVC7A:

1. |mapakalarom |i baidol |ra pinsil-no.  
 |Psf:make-sharp/ft|T/S Baidol|O pencil the  
 ' Baidol is sharpening the pencil.'
2. |koloromon |ri baidol|pinsil-no.  
 |Pof:make-sharp/ft|S Baidol |T/O:pencil the  
 'Baidol is sharpening the pencil.'

#### EXAMPLES FROM TEXT:

|napakaayag |aku |ak |bo |ra ulun rainio!  
 |Psf:make-alive/pt|T/S:I|Mod|Mod|O person At:that  
 ' I was simply providing a living for that fellow!' (resentfully)

|kaawaron |takaw |apar-ti.  
 |Psf:make-long/ft|S:we(in)|T/O:platform the  
 'We will lengthen the platform.'

|kaulioq |min |ramon |bilor-no |ra sambilaran.  
 |Pof:make-plentiful|S:you|Be:we(ex)|T/O:rice the|Tm another-year  
 'Make the rice plentiful for us next year.' (harvest-prayer to the  
 rice-souls)

Another subclass, pv7B, consists of verbs derived from noun-stems denoting kinship terms, social titles, and occasionally personal names or nicknames. These verbs, which manifest the Predicate tagmeme in clause subtype PVC7B, all have the meaning 'S calls O "X"', where "X" is the meaning of the noun-stem. Tagmemes with the roles of 'direction' and 'means' are not found.

The inflections are maki- for Subject focus and ki--on for Object focus (see 5.2.1.1.6 and 5.2.1.2.4 respectively).

#### REPRESENTATIVE STEMS:

aki 'S calls O "grandfather"'  
 amaq 'S calls O "father"'  
 ampak 'S calls O "Ampak" (= "Baldy")'  
 langoq 'S calls O "brother-in-law" (i.e. sister's husband)'  
 saluoy 'S calls O "brother-in-law" (i.e. wife's sister's  
 husband)'  
 tuan 'S calls O "tuan"'

#### TAGMEMIC NOTATION PARADIGM OF PVC7B:

1. PVC7B<sub>Sf</sub> → +Ppv7B<sub>maki-</sub> +T/S<sub>a</sub> +O<sub>g</sub>
2. PVC7B<sub>Of</sub> → +Ppv7B<sub>ki--on</sub> +S<sub>a</sub> +T/O<sub>g</sub>

#### CITATION PARADIGM OF PVC7B:

1. |makiamaq |i lausi |ri jimin.  
 |Psf:call-"father"/ft|T/S Lauseh|O Jimin  
 ' Lauseh calls Jimin "father".'
2. |kiamaan |ri lausi|i jimin.  
 |Pof:call-"father"/ft|S Lauseh|T/O Jimin  
 'Lauseh calls Jimin "father".'

#### EXAMPLES FROM TEXT:

|salalu |io |makiaki |rakiq.  
 |Adj:always|T/S:he|Psf:call-"grandfather"/ft|O:I  
 ' He always calls me "grandfather".'

|paiq|aku |kituanoq.  
 |Neg |T/O:I|Pof:call-"tuan"  
 'Don't call me "Tuan".'

### 3.1.8 PRIMARY VERBAL CLAUSE TYPE 8 (TRANSITIVE DYNAMIC)

#### DESCRIPTION:

Predicate is manifested by a verb of stem class pv8. The constituent roles of this stem class are an obligatory 'actor', an optional 'goal', an optional 'direction' and an optional 'means', which are expressed by Subject, Object, Referent and Instrument tagmemes respectively. PVC8 therefore consists of Subject focus, Object focus and Referent focus constructions. Although both 'goal' and 'direction' are optional, one of them must always be present. The nuclear Referent-as-direction tagmeme is often translatable into English by means of an indirect object or a benefactive construction, and must be distinguished from the peripheral Beneficiary tagmeme, which expresses the person at whose request the action is performed, or the person in place of whom somebody else performs the action. Compare the two sentences:

|ansakiq |min |i joon |ra kaluuq.  
 |Prf:cook|S:you|T/R John|O rice  
 'Cook John some rice.' or 'Cook some rice for John.'

and

|ansakiq |min |rakiq|i joon |ra kaluuq.  
 |Prf:cook|S:you|Be:I |T/R John|O rice  
 'Cook John some rice for me.' or 'Cook some rice for John for me.'

in which *i joon* fills the nuclear Referent-as-direction slot and *rakiq* the peripheral Beneficiary slot.

The inflections are *mag2-* or *mang-* for Subject focus, *-on* for Object focus and *-in* for Referent focus (see 5.2.1.1.2.2, 5.2.1.1.3, 5.2.1.2.1 and 5.2.1.3.1 respectively).

#### REPRESENTATIVE STEMS:

##### b2. with mag2-

baal	'S makes O for R [with I]'
gaaw	'S snatches O from R'
luat	'S sets up O(jar of ricebeer) for R(guest)'
rawak	'S exorcizes O(spirit) from R(house/person)'
taan	'S sets up O(trap) in R'
tanom	'S plants O in R'
tauq	'S saves O for R'
uot	'S(man's father) marries O(woman) to R(man)'

- c. with mang-
- anjaw 'S chases away O(animal) from R'  
 ansak 'S cooks O for R'  
 iruq 'S removes O from R [with I]'  
 lompör 'S cuts O(end) off R(rope, etc.) [with I]'  
 rakop 'S catches O for R [with I]'  
 simbaal 'S makes up O(gossip) about R'  
 tatang 'S leaves O for R'  
 tuluq 'S points out O to R'

## TAGMEMIC NOTATION PARADIGM OF PVC8:

- 1b-c. PVC8<sub>sf</sub> + Ppv8<sub>mag2-</sub> +T/S<sub>a</sub> + (±O<sub>g</sub> ±R<sub>d</sub>) ±I<sub>m</sub>  
 mang-
2. PVC8<sub>of</sub> + Ppv8<sub>-on</sub> +S<sub>a</sub> +T/O<sub>g</sub> ±R<sub>d</sub> ±I<sub>m</sub>
3. PVC8<sub>rf</sub> + Ppv8<sub>-in</sub> +S<sub>a</sub> ±O<sub>g</sub> +T/R<sub>d</sub> ±I<sub>m</sub>

## CITATION PARADIGM OF PVC8:

- 1b2. |mantauq |ruanduq-no |ra umas-ti |ra ralaki nano.  
 |Psf:save/ft|T/S:woman the|O flesh the|R husband Po:she-the  
 'The woman will save the meat for her husband.'
2. |towoön |ru ruanduq-no|umas-ti |ra ralaki nano.  
 |Pof:save/ft|S woman the |T/O:flesh the|R husband Po:she-the  
 'The woman will save the meat for her husband.'
3. |tawain |ru ruanduq-no|ralaki nano |ra umas-ti.  
 |Prf:save/ft|S woman the |T/R:husband Po:she-the|O flesh the  
 'The woman will save the meat for her husband.'
- 1c. |mamarakop |aku |ra manuk-rati |ra jimin|ra tingkawaq.  
 |Psf:catch/ft|T/S:I|O fowl the(pl)|R Jimin |I noose  
 'I will catch the hens for Jimin with a noose.'
2. |rokopon |ku |manuk-rati |ri jimin|ra tingkawaq.  
 |Pof:catch/ft|S:I|T/O:fowl the(pl)|R Jimin |I noose  
 'I will catch the hens for Jimin with a noose.'
3. |rakapin |ku |i jimin |ra manuk-rati |ra tingkawaq.  
 |Prf:catch/ft|S:I|T/R Jimin|O fowl the(pl)|I noose  
 'I will catch the hens for Jimin with a noose.'

## EXAMPLES FROM TEXT:

|mampaluat |takaw |ruo ngampuun ra inasi.  
 |Psf:set-up/ft|T/S:we(in)|O:two jars At ricebeer  
 'We will set up two jars of ricebeer.'

|rinakop |noyo|ru pulis|ulun [malaat]-rali.  
|Pof:catch/pt|Mod |S police|T/S:person At:[Pp:bad/ft] the(pl)  
'The police have caught the guerrillas.'

|baalin |ku |ra angkap|kinandoy kutu.  
|Prf:make/ft|S:I|O sheath |T/R:parang Po:I-the  
'I'm going to make a sheath for my parang.'

|tuluiq |rakiq|i simit-no |ra ralan.  
|Prf:point-out|Be:I |T/R Simit the|O path  
'Show Simit the way for me.'

|lampariq |salindu mutu.  
|Prf:cut-end-off|T/R:fingernail Po:thou-the  
'Cut your fingernails.'

A few pv8 verbs are known in which the Referent-as-direction tagmeme is obligatorily absent in the Subject and Object focus constructions, and occurs only in the Referent focus construction, where of course it is Topic of the clause, and therefore obligatorily present. These verbs are regarded as belonging to a verb stem subclass pv8A, and the set of constructions in which they participate as Predicate is labelled clause subtype PVC8A.

Other clause-level tagmemes in PVC8A are the same as those in PVC8, except that Object-as-goal is now optional only in the Referent focus construction: elsewhere it is obligatory. The inflection of pv8A verbs is likewise the same.

#### REPRESENTATIVE STEMS:

b2. with mag2- (5.2.1.1.2.2)

bali 'S buys O for R'

c. with mang- (5.2.1.1.3)

alap 'S takes/fetches O for R'

ukal 'S scoops out O(rice) for R'

untob 'S counts out O to/for R'

#### TAGMEMIC NOTATION PARADIGM OF PVC8A:

1b-c. PVC8A<sub>sf</sub> + Ppv8A<sub>mag2-</sub> +T/S<sub>a</sub> +O<sub>g</sub> ±I<sub>m</sub>  
mang-

2. PVC8A<sub>of</sub> + Ppv8A<sub>-on</sub> +S<sub>a</sub> +T/O<sub>g</sub> ±I<sub>m</sub>

3. PVC8A<sub>rf</sub> + Ppv8A<sub>-in</sub> +S<sub>a</sub> ±O<sub>g</sub> +T/R<sub>d</sub> ±I<sub>m</sub>



## CITATION PARADIGM OF PVC8A:

- 1b2. |mambali |aku |ra kasut-no|ra ruit kutu.  
 |Psf:buy/ft|T/S:I|O shoe the |I money Po:I-the  
 'I will buy the shoes with my money.'
2. |balion |ku |kasut-no |ra ruit kutu.  
 |Pof:buy/ft|S:I|T/O:shoe the|I money Po:I-the  
 'I will buy the shoes with my money.'
3. |baliin |ku |i suntat |ra kasut-no|ra ruit kutu.  
 |Prf:buy/ft|S:I|T/R Suntat|O shoe the |I money Po:I-the  
 'I will buy the shoes for Suntat with my money.'

## EXAMPLES FROM TEXT:

- |pambali|koon|rakiq|ra konoon-no.  
 |Psf:buy|Mod |Be:I |O clothes the  
 'Buy the clothes for (i.e. instead of) me.'
- |alapon |ku |sinapang nali |ra maiq-i.  
 |Pof:take/ft|S:I|T/O:rifle Po:he-the|Tm evening the  
 'I would have taken his rifle yesterday.'
- |ukaliq |tokow |po |ra kaluuq.  
 |Prf:scoop-out|S:I + T/R:thou|Mod|O rice  
 'Let me scoop you out some more rice.'

## 3.1.9 PRIMARY VERBAL CLAUSE TYPE 9 (TRANSITIVE DYNAMIC)

## DESCRIPTION:

Predicate is manifested by a verb of stem class pv9, which has the following constituent roles: 'actor', 'goal' and 'direction', which are all obligatory, and 'means', which is optional. As with pv8 verbs, 'direction' and 'means' are conveyed by Referent and Instrument tagmemes respectively. 'Goal', however, is not overtly expressed by any tagmeme. With some verbs it is incorporated in the stem. Thus *inggulu* 'S be-heads R' is derived from the root *ulu* 'head' and a derivative prefix *iN-*, meaning 'remove X', where 'X' is the root. In this case, then, the 'goal' (i.e. 'head') is expressed in the stem. Other stems of this type are *bilin*, *binsaluy*, *gajiq* and *laro*. In other verbs, the role of 'goal' is combined with that of 'means', and is represented by the Instrument tagmeme. Thus with *ias* 'S splashes [I] onto R' or 'S splashes R [with I]', the Instrument is simultaneously interpretable either as 'goal' (that which is splashed onto R) or as 'means' (that with which R is splashed). Many stems of this type, such as *balaq*, *latok*, *rilit* and *tauk*, are also members of stem class pv11 (q.v., 3.1.11), in which the role of 'means' is obligatory and is represented by an Object tagmeme.

pv9 stems are inflected with mag2- or mang- for Subject focus and -in for Referent focus (see 5.2.1.1.2.2, 5.2.1.1.3 and 5.2.1.3.1).

REPRESENTATIVE STEMS:

b2. with mag2-

balaq	'S informs R [about I]'
bilin	'S gives a message to R'
kuot	'S asks a question of/about R'
gajiq	'S pays wages to R'
laro	'S adds pepper to R'
rilit	'S winds [I] round R' or 'S enwinds R [with I]'
riwaw	'S beats death-gong for R(deceased)'
tamos	'S crams [I] into R' or 'S crams R [with I]'

c. with mang-

angob	'S puts [I(door, etc.)] into R(gap, doorway)' or 'S closes R [with I]'
binsaluy	'S cools R(face, etc.) [with I]'
ias	'S splashes [I] onto R' or 'S splashes R [with I]'
inggulu	'S beheads R [with I]'
latok	'S mixes [I] into R' or 'S mixes R [with I]'
rinding	'S builds wall onto R'
suang	'S puts [I] into R(vessel)' or 'S fills R [with I]'
tauk	'S sprinkles [I] onto R' or 'S sprinkles R [with I]'

TAGMEMIC NOTATION PARADIGM OF PVC9:

1b-c. PVC9<sub>sf</sub> + Ppv9<sub>mag2-</sub> +T/S<sub>a</sub> +R<sub>d</sub> ±I<sub>m</sub>  
mang-

3. PVC9<sub>rf</sub> + Ppv9<sub>-in</sub> +S<sub>a</sub> +T/R<sub>d</sub> ±I<sub>m</sub>

CITATION PARADIGM OF PVC9:

1b2. |mamparilit |rangan kuno |ra tanggulan-ti|ra owoy.  
|Psf:wind/ft|T/S:friend Po:I-the|R spear the |I rattan  
' My friend will wind rattan round the spear.'

3. |rilitin |ru rangan kuno |tanggulan-ti |ra owoy.  
|Prf:wind/ft|S friend Po:I-the|T/R:spear the|I rattan  
'My friend will wind rattan round the spear.'

1c. |manauk |ruanduq-no |ra lamur-ti|ra tapay.  
|Psf:sprinkle/ft|T/S:woman the|R rice the |I yeast  
'The woman will sprinkle the rice with yeast.'

3. |tauKin |ru ruanduq-no|lamur-ti |ra tapay.  
|Prf:sprinkle/ft|S woman the |T/R:rice the|I yeast  
'The woman will sprinkle the rice with yeast.'

## EXAMPLES FROM TEXT:

|kalo|nambalaq |aku |ra ulun ra bokon.

|Neg |Psf:inform/pt|T/S:I|R person At other

'I didn't tell anybody else.'

|namarinding|i jimin |ra baloy maino.

|Psf:wall/pt|T/S Jimin|R house Po:we(ex)-the

'Jimin was building a wall onto our house.'

|balaiq |rakiq|i amay |ra abar.

|Prf:inform|Be:I |T/R Dad|I news

'Tell Dad the news for me.'

|linaraan |mu |ni |kia|akanon raitio.

|Prf:pepper/pt|S:thou|Mod|Mod|T/R:food At:this

'Have you put pepper in this food?'

## 3.1.10 PRIMARY VERBAL CLAUSE TYPE 10 (TRANSITIVE DYNAMIC)

## DESCRIPTION:

Predicate is expounded by a verb of stem class pv10, which has the following constituent roles: an obligatory 'actor' (expressed by Subject), an obligatory 'goal' (expressed by Referent), an optional 'direction' (expressed by Associate) and an optional 'means' (expressed by Instrument).

PVC10 consists of a Subject focus construction, inflected with mag2- or mang-, and a Referent focus construction, inflected with -in (see 5.2.1.1.2.2, 5.2.1.1.3 and 5.2.1.3.1 respectively).

## REPRESENTATIVE STEMS:

## b2. with mag2-

alig	'S gives R [to A] in exchange [for I]'
ibaq	'S carries R on his back'
iraq	'S borrows R [from A]'
juul	'S pushes R(task/heavy object) forward [to A]'
lilian	'S forgets/ignores R'
paang	'S blows up R(fire) [with I]'
rapit	'S escorts R [to A(half-way)]'
tilaq	'S licks R'

## c. with mang-

abuq	'S disembowels R [with I]'
ator	'S takes/escorts R [to A]'
buli	'S puts R away [in A]'
iit	'S(insect) bites R'
lasaq	'S extinguishes R(fire/light) [with I]'

pilat 'S injures R [with I]'  
 tulis 'S writes R(letter) [to A]'  
 tutuy 'S passes R [to A]'

## TAGMEMIC NOTATION PARADIGM OF PVC10:

1b-c. PVC10<sub>sf</sub> → +Ppv10<sub>mag2-</sub> +T/S<sub>a</sub> +R<sub>g</sub> ±A<sub>d</sub> ±I<sub>m</sub>  
 mang-  
 PVC10<sub>rf</sub> → +Ppv10<sub>-in</sub> +S<sub>a</sub> +T/R<sub>g</sub> ±A<sub>d</sub> ±I<sub>m</sub>

## CITATION PARADIGM OF PVC10:

- 1b2. |magiraq |i barigil |rirun |ra sapuk-ti.  
 |Psf:borrow/ft|T/S Barigil|A:thou|R blowpipe the  
 'Barigil will borrow the blowpipe from you.'
3. |irain |ri barigil|rirun |sapuk-ti.  
 |Prf:borrow/ft|S Barigil |A:thou|T/R:blowpipe the  
 'Barigil will borrow the blowpipe from you.'
- 1c. |manulis |i sumail |ra surat-ti |ra kamaman nano.  
 |Psf:write/ft|T/S Ismail|R letter the|A uncle Po:he-the  
 'Ismail will write the letter to his uncle.'
3. |tulisin |ri sumail|surat-ti |ra kamaman nano.  
 |Prf:write/ft|S Ismail |T/R:letter the|A uncle Po:he-the  
 'Ismail will write the letter to his uncle.'

## EXAMPLES FROM TEXT:

|timbunus-ti,|mantilaq |io |ra ulun [makatinaiq].  
 |Th:comet the|Psf:lick/ft|T/S:he|R person At:[Pp:pregnant/ft]  
 'As for (the spirit of) the comet, he licks (i.e. terrorizes)  
 pregnant women.'

|mangator |akay |no |ra [marualan]-ti |ra rumasakit.  
 |Psf:escort/ft|T/S:we(ex)|Mod|R [Pp:ill/ft] the|A hospital  
 'We are taking the sick man to hospital.'

|lilianin |mu |ni |kia|ulun ra giuq ra ilagur.  
 |Prf:forget/ft|S:thou|Mod|Mod|T/R:person At there At Lagut  
 'Are you forgetting the people over there at Lagut?'

|iniitan |aku |ru namuk |ra rondom-i.  
 |Prf:bite/pt|T/R:I|S mosquito|Tm night the  
 'I was bitten by mosquitoes last night.'

Some pv10 stems differ from those described above in that the situational role of 'direction' is conveyed not by the Associate, but by the Referent tagmeme. Such stems constitute a verb stem subclass pv10A,



3. |irain |kow |ri barigil|ra sapuk-ti.  
|Prf:borrow/ft|T/R:thou|S Barigil |R blowpipe the  
'Barigil will borrow the blowpipe for you.'
- 1c. |manulis |i sumail |ra surat-ti |ra kamaman nano.  
|Psf:write/ft|T/S Ismail|R letter the|R uncle Po:he-the  
'Ismail will write the letter to his uncle.'
3. |tulisin |ri sumail|surat-ti |ra kamaman nano.  
|Prf:write/ft|S Ismail |T/R:letter the|R uncle Po:he-the  
'Ismail will write the letter to his uncle.'
3. |tulisin |ri sumail|ra surat-ti |kamaman nano.  
|Prf:write/ft|S Ismail |R letter the|T/R:uncle Po:he-the  
'Ismail will write the letter to his uncle.'

#### EXAMPLES FROM TEXT:

|nangamar |io |ra tutuan|ra anduq nali.  
|Psf:carve/pt|T/S:he|R mortar |R wife Po:he-the  
'He was carving out a mortar for his wife.'

|kaliin |ku |poyo|i langoq |ra mundok.  
|Prf:dig/ft|S:I|Mod |T/R Brother-in-law|R tapioca  
'I'll just dig up some tapioca for Brother-in-law.'

|siki tiq |aku |ra sigup.  
|Prf:light|T/R:I|R tobacco  
'Light me a cigarette.'

|sinikitan |nilo |noyo|karatas rainio.  
|Prf:light/pt|S:they|Mod |T/R:paper At:that  
'They've set fire to that paper.'

#### 3.1.11 PRIMARY VERBAL CLAUSE TYPE 11 (TRANSITIVE INSTRUMENTAL)

##### DESCRIPTION:

Predicate is manifested by a verb of stem class pv11. Many stems which are members of a Transitive Dynamic stem class (pv7-10), and which have an optional 'means' (represented by Instrument) as one of their constituent roles, are also members of this stem class. With pv11 stems, however, the role of 'means' is obligatory and is represented not by an Instrument but by an Object tagmeme. Other constituent roles of this stem class are an obligatory 'actor' (expressed by Subject) and an optional 'direction' (expressed by Associate).

It will be noted that, despite the Transitive nature of pv11 verbs, the situational role of 'goal' is not conveyed by any of the tagmemes

of the clause.<sup>1</sup> Although no completely satisfactory explanation of this contradiction has been found, the situation seems analogous to that prevailing with some verbs of the pv9 stem class (q.v., 3.1.9), in which the role of 'goal' is combined with that of 'means'. In this case, however, either the Object-as-means or the Associate-as-direction tagmeme can be interpreted as having a 'goal'-like role, and this is often reflected by the possibility of two or more translations in English. Thus PVC11 clauses with the verb *bali* as Predicate can be variously rendered 'S *buys* [A] *with* O', in which the English direct object corresponds to the Timugon Associate, and 'S *uses* O *to buy* [A]' or 'S *spends* O [on A]', in which it corresponds to the Timugon Object. Note also that the Associate-as-direction in a PVC11 clause is often the same as an Object- or Referent-as-goal in a Transitive Dynamic clause.

pv11 verbs are inflected with *mapa-* for Subject focus and *pa--on* for Object focus (see 5.2.1.1.5 and 5.2.1.2.2 respectively).

#### REPRESENTATIVE STEMS:

(Stems which are also members of a Transitive Dynamic stem class are accompanied by the number of that stem class.)

<i>abot</i>	'S <i>uses</i> O <i>as a</i> <i>belt</i> '
<i>balaq</i> (pv9)	'S <i>tells</i> O [to A]' or 'S <i>tells</i> [A] <i>about</i> O'
<i>bali</i> (pv7)	'S <i>uses</i> O <i>to buy</i> [A]' or 'S <i>spends</i> O [on A]' or 'S <i>buys</i> [A] <i>with</i> O'
<i>bobol</i> (pv7)	'S <i>throws</i> O [at A]' or 'S <i>pelts</i> [A] <i>with</i> O'
<i>iraq</i> (pv10)	'S <i>lends</i> O [to A]'
<i>kirim</i> (pv9)	'S <i>sends</i> O [to A]'
<i>lambaq</i> (pv7)	'S <i>beats</i> O [on A]' or 'S <i>beats</i> [A] <i>with</i> O'
<i>rilit</i> (pv9)	'S <i>winds</i> O [round A]' or 'S <i>enwinds</i> [A] <i>with</i> O'
<i>suang</i> (pv9)	'S <i>puts</i> O [into A]' or 'S <i>fills</i> [A] <i>with</i> O'
<i>taak</i> (pv8,10)	'S <i>gives</i> O [to A]' or 'S <i>presents</i> [A] <i>with</i> O'
<i>tauk</i> (pv9)	'S <i>sprinkles</i> O [on A]' or 'S <i>sprinkles</i> [A] <i>with</i> O'
<i>turuq</i> (pv7)	'S <i>aims</i> O [at A]' or 'S <i>aims</i> [at A] <i>with</i> O'

#### TAGMEMIC NOTATION PARADIGM OF PVC11:

1. PVC11<sub>Sf</sub> → +Ppv11<sub>mapa-</sub> +T/S<sub>a</sub> +O<sub>m</sub> ±A<sub>d</sub>
2. PVC11<sub>Of</sub> → +Ppv11<sub>pa--on</sub> +S<sub>a</sub> +T/O<sub>m</sub> ±A<sub>d</sub>

<sup>1</sup>The following remarks are also applicable to verbs of the pv12 stem class (q.v., below).

## CITATION PARADIGM OF PVC11:

1. |mapakirim |kow |ra surat-ti |ra amaq kuno.  
|Psf:send/ft|T/S:thou|O letter the|A father Po:I-the  
'You must send the letter to my father.'
2. |pakirimon |mu |surat-ti |ra amaq kuno.  
|Pof:send/ft|S:thou|T/O:letter the|A father Po:I-the  
'You must send the letter to my father.'

## EXAMPLES FROM TEXT:

|napalambaq |i kasuab |ri sitibon|ra tataun.  
|Psf:beat/pt|T/S Kasuab|A Stephen |O wood  
'Kasuab hit Stephen with a stick.'

|ragino |bagu|pabalaan |ku |bo |kaadatan may |ri jimin-ti.  
|Tm:that|Mod |Pof:inform/ft|S:I|Mod|T/O:custom Po:we(ex)|A Jimin the  
'And now I will tell Jimin about our customary laws.'

|pataakoq|rakiq|rui-no |ri baidol.  
|Pof:give|Be:I |T/O:money the|A Baidol  
'Give the money to Baidol for me.'

|pooboton |ku |kia|pitol raitio.  
|Pof:belt/ft|S:I|Mod|T/O:string At:this  
'Shall I use this string as a belt?'

|linopot-i, |pinasuang |no |ra balait.  
|Th:rice-~~packet~~ the|Pof:put-in/pt|S:he|A shoulder-basket  
'As for the rice-packets, he put (them) in a shoulder-basket.'

## 3.1.12 PRIMARY VERBAL CLAUSE TYPE 12 (TRANSITIVE INSTRUMENTAL)

## DESCRIPTION:

Predicate is expounded by a verb of stem class pv12, which has the same constituent situational roles as pv11 (q.v., above), except that the obligatory role of 'means' is expressed by a Referent, not by an Object. Only four unequivocal examples of this clause type have been found in the texts. In all of them the Predicate is in the Referent focus, though further investigation will probably show that these verbs can also occur in the Subject focus. The four verb stems found in the examples are also members of one of the Transitive Dynamic verb stem classes. They are:

- |            |   |
|------------|---|
| alig(pv10) | 'S exchanges R [for A]'   |
| ansak(pv7) | 'S cooks with R' or 'S uses R for cooking'                              |
| inuy(pv9)  | 'S alludes [to A] by means of R' or<br>'S uses R as an allusion [to A]' |
| kali(pv10) | 'S digs with R' or 'S uses R for digging'                               |



The Referent focus inflection accompanying verb stems in PVC12 clauses is directly related to the Subject focus inflection accompanying the same stems in the corresponding Transitive Dynamic clauses, since it consists of the Atemporal form of the Dynamic verb, plus the Referent focus suffix *-in*. Thus stems which take the inflections *mag2-* (i.e. *alig* and *kali*) and *mang-* (i.e. *ansak* and *inuy*) in the Transitive Dynamic Subject focus construction take the inflections *pag2--in* and *pang--in* respectively in this construction. For the sake of convenience, these inflections are represented as *paG--in* (see 5.2.1.3.3).

#### TAGMEMIC NOTATION PARADIGM OF PVC12:

3. PVC12<sub>rf</sub> → +Ppvl2<sub>paG--in</sub> +S<sub>a</sub> +T/R<sub>m</sub> ±A<sub>d</sub>

#### EXAMPLES FROM TEXT:

|pagaligin |tokow |ra lalaing nu bokon ra [matandaq].  
 |Prf:exchange/ft|S:I +T/R:thou|A child Po other At [Pp:well-behaved/ft]  
 'I will exchange you for someone else's child who would be better behaved.'

|paiq|min |pangansakiq|pagangan kutu.  
 |Neg |S:you|Prf:cook |T/R:pan Po:I-the  
 'Don't cook with my pan.'

|panginuin |may |raino |tuow-ti  
 |Prf:allude/ft|S:we(ex)|Tm:that|T/R:pheasant the  
 |ra ulun [mangingimuk].  
 |A person At:[Psf:deceive/ft]

'We now use the pheasant to allude to deceitful people.'

|paiq|pangkaliq|sukup ku.  
 |Neg |Prf:dig |T/R:spade Po:I  
 'Don't use my spade for digging.'

### 3.2 SECONDARY VERBAL CLAUSES

In secondary verbal clauses the Predicate tagmeme is expounded by a secondary verb, that is, one which has an obligatory 'initiator' (expressed by Subject) as one of its constituent roles. There are four clause types in this class (SVC1-4), corresponding to the four stem classes of verbs manifesting Predicate (sv1-4). SVC1-2, in which the Subject focus Predicate is inflected by *mapa-*, are Causative, that is the 'initiator' causes, allows or orders the action to take place. SVC3-4, on the other hand, have Subject focus Predicates inflected with *maki-*, and are Petitive, i.e. the 'initiator' asks for the action to

take place.

With few exceptions, all secondary verbs are also members of one or more primary verb stem classes, the numbers of which are indicated in brackets after the stem.

### 3.2.1 SECONDARY VERBAL CLAUSE TYPE 1 (CAUSATIVE)

#### DESCRIPTION:

Predicate is expounded by a verb of stem class sv1. The verbs constituting this stem class are almost all Intransitive or Reciprocal, that is, they are also members of one of the primary verb stem classes pv1-5. Their accompanying situational roles are: an obligatory 'initiator', expressed by Subject; an obligatory 'actor', expressed by Object; and an optional 'direction', expressed by Associate. A noticeable feature of many sv1 verbs is that these situational roles can be reinterpreted in such a way that the clause is analysable as a PVC7 (Transitive) construction (q.v., 3.1.7). Thus the sv1 stem abag 'S causes O to wear a loincloth', in which S is the 'initiator' and O the 'actor', can be reinterpreted with S as the 'actor' and O as the 'goal' ('S dresses O in a loincloth'). This duality of roles enables abag and similar stems to be members of the sv2 stem class (q.v., 3.2.2), which consists of Transitive verbs, with the meaning 'S causes [A] to dress R in a loincloth'. Such verbs will nevertheless be treated here as Causatives, as they are structurally and syntactically indistinguishable from other Causative verbs which do not have this dual interpretation.

The Subject focus inflection for sv1 verbs is mapa- (see 5.2.1.1.5). The inflection for Object focus, however, like that for Referent focus in pv12 verbs above (3.1.12), is directly dependent on the Subject focus inflection taken by the corresponding primary verb. That is, where the primary verb has -um-, the corresponding sv1 verb has pa--on, otherwise it has paG--on (i.e. the Atemporal form of the primary verb, plus the Object focus suffix -on) (see 5.2.1.2.2-3). This is illustrated by the following table V.

TABLE V

*Correlation between Primary and Secondary verbal inflections*

PRIMARY VERB SUBJECT FOCUS		SECONDARY VERB OBJECT FOCUS
-um-	→	pa--on
mag-	→	pag--on
mag1-	→	pag1--on
mag2-	→	pag2--on
mang-	→	pang--on

Note that the reduplicative prefix {R-} is affixed to stems which take the inflections pag--on, pagl--on and pang--on to indicate plurality of Topic, under the same conditions which govern its affixation to primary verbs inflected with mag-, magl- and mag2- (that is, obligatorily with Reciprocal verbs, optionally elsewhere; see 5.1.1.12 and 3.1.5).

#### REPRESENTATIVE STEMS:

(accompanied by number of corresponding primary verb stem class)

##### a. with pa--on

ayan(pv4)	'S causes O to dwell [in A]' or 'S accommodates O [in A]'
gogot(pv3)	'S causes O to work hard [for A]'
ongoy(pv2)	'S causes O to come/go [to A]' or 'S brings/takes/sends O [to A]'
tatang(pv1)	'S causes O to remain' or 'S leaves O'

##### b. with pag--on

abag(pv1)	'S causes O to wear a loincloth' or 'S dresses O in a loincloth'
bolong(pv4)	'S causes O to sleep [in/near A]'
kiwaq(pv3)	'S causes O to climb up [for A]'
saruy(pv2)	'S causes O to swim [to A]'

##### b1. with pagl--on

indagu(pv5)	'S causes O & O to talk to e.o.'
latok(pv5)	'S causes O & O to mix with e.o.' or 'S mixes O & O'
ralang(pv4)	'S causes O to sit [near A(fire)]' or 'S seats O [near A]'
rayus(pv2)	'S causes O to go straight on [to A]' or 'S brings/takes/sends O straight on [to A]'
rilik(pv1)	'S causes O to clear undergrowth'

##### b2. with pag2--on

golok(pv4)	'S causes O to shout [at A]'
lukiak(pv3)	'S causes O to return [for A]' or 'S sends O back [for A]'
lulaq(pv1)	'S causes O to go on hunting trip' or 'S sends/takes O hunting'
rongog(pv3)	'S causes O to listen [to A]'

##### c. with pang--on

imuag(pv2)	'S causes O to marvel/be amazed [at A]' or 'S amazes O [with A]'
kulintangan(pv1)	'S causes O to play the tube-zither'

- tanganduq (pvl) 'S(father) causes O(son) to take a wife' or  
'S marries off O'  
tanggakit (pvl) 'S causes O to go by raft' or 'S sends/takes O  
by raft'

## TAGMEMIC NOTATION PARADIGM OF SVCl:

1. SVCl<sub>sf</sub> + +Psvl<sub>mapa-</sub> +T/S<sub>i</sub> +O<sub>a</sub> ±A<sub>d</sub>  
2a-c. SVCl<sub>of</sub> + +Psvl<sub>pa--on</sub> +S<sub>i</sub> +T/O<sub>a</sub> ±A<sub>d</sub>  
paG--on

## CITATION PARADIGM OF SVCl:

1. |mapatatang |aku |ra buuk-rati.  
|Psf:cause-remain/ft|T/S:I|O book the(pl)  
'I will leave the books.'
- 2a. |patatangon |ku |buuk-rati.  
|Pof:cause-remain/ft|S:I|T/O:book the(pl)  
'I will leave the books.'
1. |mapakiwaq |io |ri alim-no|ra kinawaq.  
|Psf:cause-climb/ft|T/S:he|O Alim the|A fruit  
'He will get Alim to climb for some fruit.'
- 2b. |pangkiwaan |no |i alim-no |ra kinawaq.  
Pof:cause-climb/ft S:he T/O Alim the A fruit  
'He will get Alim to climb for some fruit.'
1. |mapalatok |ulun-no |ra gulaq am kupiq-ti.  
|Psf:cause-mix/ft|T/S:person the|O sugar Co coffee the  
'The man will mix the sugar and the coffee.'
- 2b1. |porotokon |ru ulun-no |gulaq am kupiq-ti.  
|Pof:cause-mix/ft|S person the|T/O:sugar Co coffee the  
'The man will mix the sugar and the coffee.'
1. |mapalulaq |ulun-no |ra sukapu nano.  
|Psf:cause-hunt/ft|T/S:person the|O stepchild Po:he-the  
'The man will send his step-son on a hunting trip.'
- 2b2. |pampalulaan |ru ulun-no |sukapu nano.  
|Pof:cause-hunt/ft|S person the|T/O:step-child Po:he-the  
'The man will send his step-son on a hunting trip.'
1. |mapakulintangan |aku |ri jungaton.  
|Psf:cause-tube-zither/ft|T/S:I|O Jungaton  
'I will get Jungaton to play the tube-zither.'

2c. |pangulintanganon |ku |i jungaton.  
 |Pof:cause-tube-zither/ft|S:I|T/O Jungaton  
 'I will get Jungaton to play the tube-zither.'

EXAMPLES FROM TEXT:

|mopoongoy |aku |risilo|raitī.

|Psf:cause-go/ft|T/S:I|O:they|A:this

'I will tell them to come here.'

|kalo|kia|noporongog |kow |risilo|ra rikuding muli.

|Neg|Mod|Psf:cause-listen/pt|T/S:thou|O:they|A tape-recorder Po:thou-the

'Didn't you let them listen to your tape-recorder?'

|pogogoton |min |anak mindati |ra korojo ru sikuul.

|Pof:cause-work-hard/ft|S:you|T/O:child Po:you-the(pl)|A work Po school

'You must make your children work hard at their studies.'

|pombolongon |ku |ak |poyo|gatilo |ra baloy maiti.

|Pof:cause-sleep/ft|S:I|Mod|Mod|T/O:these|A house Po:we(ex)-the

'I'll put these people up in our house.'

|pinansaruy |io |no |ru rajaq|ra sandaup ru raat.

|Pof:cause-swim/pt|T/O:he|Mod|S king |A one-side Po sea

'The king told him to swim to the other side of the sea.'

|pinananganduq |aku |no |ri amaq.

|Pof:cause-take-wife/pt|T/O:I|Mod|S Father

'Father found me a wife.'

|pagigindaguon |mu |ilo apat ngaulun.

|Pof:cause-talk/ft|S:thou|T/O:they Ap:four persons

'You must get the four of them to discuss it with each other.'

About twenty members of stem class sv1 are exceptional in that they are also members of a Transitive stem class (usually pv7 or pv10), whereas the majority of sv1 verbs, as already stated, are Intransitive or Reciprocal. These verbs constitute a subclass sv1A and fill the Predicate slot in clause subtype SVClA. The situational roles are the same as those found with sv1 verbs, with the addition of an optional 'goal', expressed by the Associate tagmeme, and an optional 'means', expressed by Instrument.<sup>1</sup> The role of 'direction' only occurs if that of 'goal' is also present in the clause.

In most cases the inflection found with sv1A verbs is also the same

<sup>1</sup>There are no known instances of a secondary verb inflected for Instrument focus, even in a Nominal clause (Associate and Instrument focus constructions occur only in Nominal clauses, as stated in 3.0.2).

as that described above for regular *sv1* verbs, that is, *mapa-* for Subject focus and either *pag2--on* or *pang--on* for Object focus (see 5.2.1.1.5 and 5.2.1.2.2-3), depending on whether the Subject focus inflection for the corresponding primary verb was *mag2-* or *mang-* respectively. Since *mag1-* is restricted to Intransitive and Reciprocal primary verbs, which are not represented in stem class *sv1A*, the corresponding secondary verbal inflection *pag1--on* is not found with these stems. For the same reason, one would not expect *pa--on* to occur either. However, a few *sv1A* stems inflected with an irregular *pa--on* do exist, though some of them are also found, albeit infrequently, with the regular *pag2--on* or *pang--on*. The factors underlying these inconsistencies have not been determined.

REPRESENTATIVE STEMS:

a. with irregular *pa--on*

<i>akan</i> (pv7)	'S causes O to eat [A]' or 'S feeds [A] to O'
<i>alap</i> <sup>1</sup> (pv8A)	'S causes O to take/fetch [A] [for A]'
<i>aratiq</i> <sup>1</sup> (pv7)	'S causes O to understand [A]' or 'S explains [A] to O'
<i>inum</i> (pv7)	'S causes O to drink [A]'
<i>kali</i> <sup>2</sup> (pv10A)	'S causes O to dig [A] [for A]'
<i>tangag</i> (pv10)	'S causes O to hold [A] in his mouth'

b2. with *pag2--on*

<i>baal</i> (pv8)	'S causes O to make [A] [for A]'
<i>bali</i> (pv8A)	'S causes O to buy [A] [for A]'
<i>pakay</i> (pv7)	'S causes O to wear [A]' or 'S dresses O [in A]'
<i>tauq</i> (pv8)	'S causes O to keep [A] [for A]'
<i>uyum</i> (pv7)	'S causes O to look for [A]'

c. with *pang--on*

<i>abuq</i> (pv10)	'S causes O to disembowel [A]'
<i>abug</i> (pv7)	'S causes O to soak [A]'
<i>ansak</i> (pv8)	'S causes O to cook [A] [for A]'
<i>ibit</i> (pv8)	'S causes O to bring [A] [for/to A]'
<i>patir</i> (pv10A)	'S causes O to throw [A] away [on/into A]'

TAGMEMIC NOTATION PARADIGM OF *SV1A*:

1.	<i>SV1A</i> <sub>sf</sub>	→	+P <i>sv1A</i> <sub>mapa-</sub>	+T/S <sub>i</sub>	+O <sub>a</sub>	±(+A <sub>g</sub> ±A <sub>d</sub> )	±I <sub>m</sub>
2a-c.	<i>SV1A</i> <sub>of</sub>	→	+P <i>sv1A</i> <sub>pa--on</sub>	+S <sub>i</sub>	+T/O <sub>a</sub>	±(+A <sub>g</sub> ±A <sub>d</sub> )	±I <sub>m</sub>
			<i>paG--on</i>				

<sup>1</sup>Also occurs with regular *pang--on*.

<sup>2</sup>Also occurs with regular *pag2--on*.

## CITATION PARADIGM OF SVC1A:

1. |mapaaratiq |i amay |rakiq|ra tutunungon-ti.  
|Psf:cause-understand/ft|T/S Dad|O:I |A story the  
'Dad will explain the story to me.'
- 2a. |paaration }  
2c. |pangaration } |aku |ri amay|ra tutunungon-ti.  
|Pof:cause-understand/ft|T/O:I|S Dad |A story the  
'Dad will explain the story to me.'
1. |mapabali |aku |rirun |ra sigup |ra ruit kutu.  
|Psf:cause-buy/ft|T/S:I|O:thou|A tobacco|I money Po:I-the  
'I will get you to buy some tobacco with my money.'
- 2b2. |pambalion |tokow |ra sigup |ra ruit kutu.  
|Pof:cause-buy/ft|S:I + T/O:thou|A tobacco|I money Po:I-the  
'I will get you to buy some tobacco with my money.'
1. |mapapatir |kow |risilo|ra agis-ti|ra sungoy.  
|Psf:cause-throw-away/ft|T/S:thou|O:they|A sand the|A river  
'You must make them throw the sand into the river.'
- 2c. |pamatiron |mu |ilo |ra agis-ti|ra sungoy.  
|Pof:cause-throw-away/ft|S:thou|T/O:they|A sand the|A river  
'You must make them throw the sand into the river.'

## EXAMPLES FROM TEXT:

- |kalo|mapainum |akay |ra lalaing[boborok] |ra inasi.  
|Neg |Psf:cause-drink/ft|T/S:we(ex)|O child At:[Pp:small]|A ricebeer  
'We don't let young children drink ricebeer.'
- |paakanon |takaw |raino |tambuluy takarati.  
|Pof:cause-eat/ft|S:we(in)|Tm:that|T/O:guest Po:we(in)-the(pl)  
'We will now feed our guests.'
- |pinampakay |may |noyo|bangkay-no |ra konoon [moonsoy].  
|Pof:cause-wear/pt|S:we(ex)|Mod |T/O:corpse the|A clothes At:[Pp:good/ft]  
'We have dressed the corpse in his best clothes.'
- |pangansakon |takamin |ra taluq|ra lalaing-ti.  
|Pof:cause-cook/ft|S:I + T/O:you|A egg |A child the  
'I'll get you to cook some eggs for the child.'

## 3.2.2 SECONDARY VERBAL CLAUSE TYPE 2 (CAUSATIVE)

## DESCRIPTION:

Predicate is manifested by a verb of stem class sv2, which has as

its constituent situational roles:<sup>1</sup> an obligatory 'initiator' (expressed by Subject), an obligatory 'goal' (expressed by Referent), an optional 'direction' (also expressed by Referent), an optional 'actor' (expressed by Associate), and an optional 'means' (expressed by Instrument<sup>2</sup>). Since both 'goal' and 'direction' are conveyed by a Referent tagmeme, SVC2 has two Referent focus constructions.

Most sv2 verbs are Transitive, but, as already mentioned (3.2.1), a few sv1 verbs like *abag* are also members of sv2. It was noted in the last section that, with *abag*-type verbs, the situational roles of the Subject and Object tagmemes could be viewed in two different ways, i.e. as 'initiator' and 'actor' or as 'actor' and 'goal' respectively. In that instance, the 'initiator'-'actor' interpretation was adopted because of the structural and syntactical identity with other sv1 verbs for which that interpretation was the only possible one. Nevertheless, it is only by virtue of the 'actor'-'goal' interpretation that *abag* and similar stems partake in this clause type as fillers of the Predicate slot. The examples below illustrate the interrelationships between tagmemes in clauses having as Predicate *abag*(pv1), *abag*(sv1) and *abag*(sv2).

- |    |       |     |   |                  |                  |                |
|----|-------|-----|---|------------------|------------------|----------------|
|    | P     |     | S <sub>a</sub>  |                  |                  |                |
| 1. | (pv1) | sf: | magabag i kunsil.                                     |                  |                  |                |
|    |       |     | <i>'Kunsil wears a loincloth.'</i>                    |                  |                  |                |
|    |       |     | P   | S <sub>i/a</sub> | O <sub>a/g</sub> |                |
| 2. | (sv1) | sf: | mapaabag  i alim  ri kunsil.                          |                  |                  |                |
|    |       | of: | pagabagon ri alim i kunsil.                           |                  |                  |                |
|    |       |     | <i>'Alim causes Kunsil to wear a loincloth.'</i>      |                  |                  |                |
|    |       | or  | <i>'Alim dresses Kunsil in a loincloth.'</i>          |                  |                  |                |
|    |       |     | P   | S <sub>i</sub>   | A <sub>a</sub>   | R <sub>g</sub> |
| 3. | (sv2) | sf: | mapaabag aku ri alim ri kunsil.                       |                  |                  |                |
|    |       | rf: | paabagin ku  ri alim i kunsil.                        |                  |                  |                |
|    |       |     | <i>'I cause Alim to dress Kunsil in a loincloth.'</i> |                  |                  |                |

All sv2 stems are inflected with *mapa-* for Subject focus and *pa--in* for Referent focus (see 5.2.1.1.5 and 5.2.1.3.2).

<sup>1</sup>Whether these roles are expressed optionally, obligatorily or not at all depends on their status in the corresponding primary stem-class. Thus, with verbs derived from the pv9 stem-class, 'goal' is obligatorily absent and 'direction' is obligatorily present while in verbs derived from pv8 both are optional, but one must be present (see 3.1.9 and 3.1.8 respectively). Otherwise, their optional-obligatory status is as indicated here.

<sup>2</sup>See footnote 1, p.73.



## REPRESENTATIVE STEMS:

abag(sv1)	'S causes [A] to dress R in a loincloth'
anak(sv1)	'S causes [A] to deliver R(mother) [of R(child)]'
ansak(pv8)	'S causes [A] to cook R [for R]'
inum(pv7)	'S causes [A] to drink R'
kali(pv10A)	'S causes [A] to dig R [for R] [with I]'
lambaq(pv7)	'S causes [A] to beat R [with I]'
tauk(pv9)	'S causes [A] to sprinkle R [with I]'
uyum(pv7)	'S causes [A] to look for R'

## TAGMEMIC NOTATION PARADIGM OF SVC2:

1. SVC2<sub>sf</sub> → +Psv2<sub>mapa-</sub> +T/S<sub>i</sub> +R<sub>g</sub> ±R<sub>d</sub> ±A<sub>a</sub> ±I<sub>m</sub>
3. SVC2<sub>rgf</sub> → +Psv2<sub>pa--in</sub> +S<sub>i</sub> +T/R<sub>g</sub> ±R<sub>d</sub> ±A<sub>a</sub> ±I<sub>m</sub>
3. SVC2<sub>rdf</sub> → +Psv2<sub>pa--in</sub> +S<sub>i</sub> +R<sub>g</sub> +T/R<sub>d</sub> ±A<sub>a</sub> ±I<sub>m</sub>

## CITATION PARADIGM OF SVC2:

1. |mapaansak |aku |ramuyun|ra taluq-ti|ra lalaing-no.  
|Psf:cause-cook/ft|T/S:I|A:you |R egg the |R child the  
'I'll get you to cook the eggs for the child.'
3. |paansakin |ku |ramuyun|taluk-ti |ra lalaing-no.  
|Prf:cause-cook/ft|S:I|A:you |T/R:egg the|R child the  
'I'll get you to cook the eggs for the child.'
3. |paansakin |ku |ramuyun|ra taluq-ti|lalaing-no.  
|Prf:cause-cook/ft|S:I|S:you |R egg the |T/R:child the  
'I'll get you to cook the eggs for the child.'

## EXAMPLES FROM TEXT:

|tantuq |napaanak |ilo |ra mangingilong  
|Adj:certainly|Psf:cause-deliver/pt|T/S:they|A midwife  
|ra anduq nali.  
|R wife Po:he-the  
'Of course, they got the midwives to deliver his wife.'

|kalo|kia|pinakalian |takamin |ra mundok.  
|Neg |Mod|Prf:cause-dig-up/pt|S:I + T/R:you|R tapioca  
'Didn't I have some tapioca dug up for you?'

|pinauyuman |ku |risilo|payung kuli.  
|Prf:cause-look-for/pt|S:I|A:they|T/R:umbrella Po:I-the  
'I made them look for my umbrella.'

A few sv2 stems are atypical in being derived from the Intransitive

stem-classes pv3-4, and therefore are considered to form a subclass (sv2A) of stems which manifest the Predicate tagmeme in clause subtype SVC2A. The constituent roles of these stems consist of an obligatory 'initiator' (expressed by Subject), an obligatory 'direction' (expressed by Referent) and an optional 'actor' (expressed by Associate). The verbs of stem classes pv3-4 have not been adequately tested for potential co-membership of the sv2A subclass, and it is therefore possible that the latter has a larger membership than is indicated by the number of textual examples.

There are no differences in inflection between sv2 verbs and sv2A verbs.

#### REPRESENTATIVE STEMS:

- amut(pv4) 'S causes [A(bird)] to sit on R[eggs]'  
 angku(pv3) 'S causes [A] to make a false claim to R'  
 ansang(pv4) 'S causes [A] to quarrel with R'  
 belong(pv4) 'S causes [A] to sleep in/near R'  
 korojo(pv3) 'S causes [A] to work on R'

#### TAGMEMIC NOTATION PARADIGM OF SVC2A:

1. SVC2A<sub>sf</sub> → +Psv2A<sub>mapa-</sub> +T/S<sub>i</sub> +R<sub>d</sub> ±A<sub>a</sub>
2. SVC2A<sub>rf</sub> → +Psv2A<sub>pa--in</sub> +S<sub>i</sub> +T/R<sub>d</sub> ±A<sub>a</sub>

#### CITATION PARADIGM OF SVC2A:

1. |mapaamut |aku |ra manuk min |ra taluq-rati.  
 |Psf:cause-sit/ft|T/S:I|A fowl Po:you|R egg the(pl)  
 'I will make your hen sit on these eggs.'
2. |paamutin |ku |ra manuk min |taluk-rati.  
 |Prf:cause-sit/ft|S:I|A fowl Po:you|T/R:egg the(pl)  
 'I will make your hen sit on these eggs.'

#### EXAMPLES FROM TEXT:

- |kua |paansangiq |mu |ri santing|anduq kutu!  
 |Adj:why|Prf:cause-quarrel|S:thou|A Santing |T/R:wife Po:I-the  
 'Why did you let Santing quarrel with my wife?'
- |pakarajaiq |parit raitio |ra kuliq.  
 |Prf:cause-work|T/R:ditch At:this|A labourer  
 'Tell the labourers to work on this ditch.'

### 3.2.3 SECONDARY VERBAL CLAUSE TYPE 3 (PETITIVE)

#### DESCRIPTION:

Predicate is manifested by a verb of stem class sv3, which has as

its constituent roles: an 'initiator' (expressed by Subject), an 'actor' (expressed by Associate), a 'goal' (expressed by Object), a 'direction' (expressed by Referent), and a 'means' (expressed by Instrument<sup>1</sup>). The situational role of 'initiator' is obligatory, while 'actor' and 'means' are optional. As with *sv2* verbs (see 3.2.2, footnote 1 p.76), the optional versus obligatory status (as well as the occurrence versus non-occurrence as isolable tagmemes) of the roles 'goal' and 'direction' is governed by the status of those roles in the corresponding primary verb stem class. Even though the primary stem class membership of the *sv3* verb admits the optional or obligatory presence of an Object-as-goal or Referent-as-direction, either of these tagmemes is obligatorily absent if, as frequently occurs, it is identical with the Subject-as-initiator. Such a situation is exemplified by the English sentences '*I ask you to help me*' and '*I ask you to cook me some rice*', where the Timugon equivalents of the tagmemes manifested in English by '*me*' (Object-as-goal and Referent-as-direction) would not be expressed in the clause. For the sake of convenience, these two tagmemes have been described in Table IV and the tagmemic formulae as 'obligatory' and 'optional' respectively.

The inflections found with *sv3* verbs are *maki-* for Subject focus, *paki--on* for Subject focus, and *paki--in* for Referent focus. The sequence *pa-* in the last two forms is optional (see 5.2.1.1.6, 5.2.1.2.4 and 5.2.1.3.4).

#### REPRESENTATIVE STEMS

Each stem is accompanied by the number of the corresponding non-Petitive stem class<sup>2</sup>.

<i>abag(sv1)</i>	'S asks [A] to dress O in a loincloth'
<i>ansak(pv8)</i>	'S asks [A] to cook O [for R]'
<i>balaq(pv9)</i>	'S asks [A] to inform R'
<i>indangan(pv7)</i>	'S asks [A] to help O'
<i>sagow(pv9)</i>	'S asks [A] to draw water for R'
<i>taak(pv8,10)</i>	'S asks [A] to give O [to R]' or 'S asks [A] for O [for R]'
<i>tatang(pv8)</i>	'S asks [A] to leave O [for R]'
<i>toojo(pv7)</i>	'S asks [A] to repair O'

<sup>1</sup>See 3.2.1, footnote 1, p. 73.

<sup>2</sup>No instances have been recorded of Intransitive or Transitive Instrumental verbs occurring in this stem class, though it is suspected that this is due merely to the relative scarcity of Petitive verbs in the texts, and not to any structural limitations.

## TAGMEMIC NOTATION PARADIGM OF SVC3:

1. SVC3<sub>sf</sub> + Psv3<sub>maki-</sub> +T/S<sub>i</sub> +O<sub>g</sub> ±R<sub>d</sub> ±A<sub>a</sub> ±I<sub>m</sub>
2. SVC3<sub>of</sub> + Psv3<sub>(pa)ki--on</sub> +S<sub>i</sub> +T/O<sub>g</sub> ±R<sub>d</sub> ±A<sub>a</sub> ±I<sub>m</sub>
3. SVC3<sub>rf</sub> + Psv3<sub>(pa)ki--in</sub> +S<sub>i</sub> +O<sub>g</sub> +T/R<sub>d</sub> ±A<sub>a</sub> ±I<sub>m</sub>

## CITATION PARADIGM OF SVC3:

1. |nakiansak |ilo |rakiq|ra kaluuq-i|ra rangan nilai.  
|Psf:ask-cook/pt|T/S:they|A:I |O rice the |R friend Po:they-the  
'They asked me to cook the rice for their friends.'
2. |pinakiansak } |nilo |rakiq|kaluuq-i |ra rangan nilai.  
|kiniansak } |Pof:ask-cook/pt|S:they|A:I |T/O:rice the|R friend Po:they-the  
'They asked me to cook the rice for their friends.'
3. |pinakiansakan } |nilo |rakiq|ra kaluuq-i|rangan nilai.  
|kiniansakan } |Prf:ask-cook/pt|S:they|A:I |O rice the |T/R:friend Po:they-the  
'They asked me to cook the rice for their friends.'

## EXAMPLES FROM TEXT:

- |makiabag |kow |ri amay.  
|Psf:ask-loincloth/ft|T/S:thou|A Dad  
'You must ask Dad to dress (you) in a loincloth.'
- |makibaal |aku |raan|ri inaq |ra lalaput |ka,  
|Psf:ask-make/ft|T/S:I|Mod |A Mother|O toy-blowpipe|Co  
'I would have asked Mother to make a toy-blowpipe (for me), but...'
- |sanggilan|kaw |pakiindangan|risilo.  
|Adj:when |T/S:you|Psf:ask-help|A:they  
'When did you ask them to help (you)?'
- |kitaakon |ku |ak |ruo ngambutul ra minyagas.  
|Pof:ask-give/ft|S:I|Mod|T/O:two bottles At kerosene  
'I'll just ask for two bottles of kerosene.'
- |pakitatangiq |aku |ra saluir |ra suab-no.  
|Prf:ask-leave|T/R:I|O fishtrap|Tm morning the  
'Ask for a fishtrap to be left behind for me in the morning.'

## 3.2.4 SECONDARY VERBAL CLAUSE TYPE 4 (PETITIVE)

## DESCRIPTION:

Predicate is expounded by a verb of stem class sv4, which has the following constituent roles: an 'initiator' and a 'goal', which are

obligatory, and an 'actor' and a 'direction', which are optional. As with sv3 verbs, the roles of 'initiator', 'actor' and 'direction' are conveyed by the grammatical tagmemes Subject, Associate and Referent<sup>1</sup> respectively. The role of 'goal', however, is incorporated in the verb stem (which is always a common noun) and not expressed by any grammatical tagmeme. All sv4 verbs have the meaning 'S asks [A] for X [for R]' or 'S demands X [from A] [for R]', where 'X' is the meaning of the noun forming the stem. It is assumed that this clause type is based on some such underlying construction as 'S asks [A] to give O(='X') [to R]' (compare the sv3 verb *makitaak* in the last section).

sv4 verbs are inflected in the same way as sv3 verbs, that is, with *maki-* for Subject focus and *(pa)ki--in* for Referent focus (see 5.2.1.1.6 and 5.2.1.3.4).

#### REPRESENTATIVE STEMS:

<i>abag</i>	'S asks [A] for a loincloth [for R]'
<i>imulo</i>	'S asks [A] for bride-price'
<i>kinawaq</i>	'S asks [A] for fruit [for R]'
<i>luuton</i>	'S asks [A] for firewood [for R]'
<i>sansam</i>	'S asks [A] for vegetables [for R]'
<i>sigup</i>	'S asks [A] for tobacco [for R]'

#### TAGMEMIC NOTATION PARADIGM OF SVC4:

1. SVC4<sub>sf</sub> → +Psv4<sub>maki-</sub> +T/S<sub>i</sub> ±R<sub>d</sub> ±A<sub>a</sub>
3. SVC4<sub>rf</sub> → +Psv4<sub>(pa)ki--in</sub> +S<sub>i</sub> +T/R<sub>d</sub> ±A<sub>a</sub>

#### CITATION PARADIGM OF SVC4:

1. |makisansam |aku |ra ralaa-rati |ramuyun.  
|Psf:ask-vegetables/ft|T/S:I|A maid the(pl)|R:you  
'I will ask the girls for vegetables for you.'
3. |kisansamin } |takamin |ra ralaa-rati.  
|pakisansamin }  
|Prf:ask-vegetables/ft|S:I + T/R:you|A maid the(pl)  
'I will ask the girls for vegetables for you.'

#### EXAMPLES FROM TEXTS:

|nakiimulo |amaq nu ruanduq-i  
|Psf:ask-bride-price/pt|T/S:father Po woman the

<sup>1</sup>As in SVC3 constructions, the Referent-as-direction tagmeme is not expressed if it is identical with the Subject-as-initiator.

|ra baluq ngaatus ngaringgit.

|Aff *eight hundreds dollars*

'*The woman's father* asked for a bride-price of \$800.'

|kisigupiq |min |poyo|tambuluy takarati.

|Prf:ask-tobacco|S:you|Mod |T/R:guest Po:we(in)-the(pl)

'Ask for some more tobacco for *our guests*.'

Note that the Subject focus constructions of SVC3 and SVC4 are often homophonous. Thus the sentence

|makiabag |aku |rirun.

|Psf:ask-loincloth/ft|T/S:I|A:thou

can be regarded either as a SVC3 clause meaning '*I* ask you to dress me in a loincloth' or as a SVC4 clause meaning '*I* ask you for a loincloth'. Their underlying structures are, however, quite different: in the first case, the Subject-as-initiator (*aku*) is identical with the Object-as-goal, whereas in the second case, it is identical with the Referent-as-direction. Nevertheless, formal homophony remains even when these tagmemes ( $O_g$  or  $R_d$ ) are not identical with the Subject-as-initiator and are therefore expressed in the clause. The sentence *makiabag aku rirun ra lalaing* is translatable as '*I* ask you to dress the child in a loincloth' (i.e. a SVC3 clause, in which *lalaing* 'child' is Object-as-goal), or as '*I* ask you for a loincloth for the child' (i.e. a SVC4 clause, in which *lalaing* is Referent-as-direction). In this case, of course, the two clauses have a different potential for focus transformation, since the first can be transformed only for Object focus, and the second only for Referent focus.

## CHAPTER 4

### BASIC NON-VERBAL CLAUSES

#### 4.0 INTRODUCTION

The non-verbal clauses are divided into Participial, Existential and Identificational clauses according to the exponents of their Predicates. Table VI illustrates the Basic non-verbal clause types of Timugon. The left-hand column shows the stem classes, the centre column shows the tagmemes which are optionally or obligatorily present in a clause whose Predicate is manifested by that stem class, and the right-hand column shows the inflectional morphemes (if any) which are affixed to the Predicate.

#### 4.1 PARTICIPIAL CLAUSES

These are characterised by a Predicate tagmeme which is manifested by a participle, and a Subject tagmeme which always has the situational role of 'complement', that is, the item described by the Predicate (though it may simultaneously have other roles). They are divided into perfect, imperfect and non-focus participial clauses.

##### 4.1.1 PERFECT PARTICIPIAL CLAUSES

Perfect participles are divided into Active, Passive and Referential participles which comprise the three stem classes ppl-3, and which fill the Predicate slots in the three perfect participial clause types PPC1-3.

There are two subclasses of perfect participles: A) basic - i.e. those which exist solely as participles and are not derivable from any other form; and B) derived - that is, those which are transformationally derivable from primary verbs. Any Subject, Object or Referent focus construction of a PVC clause may be transformed to an Active, Passive or Referential PPC clause respectively. The Topic of the verbal clause

TABLE VI

Basic non-verbal clause types of Timugon Murut

Stem-class No.	CLAUSE-LEVEL TAGMEMES	INFLECTION		
		<i>sing.</i>	<i>dual</i>	<i>plur.</i>
pp1A	+P +T/S <sub>C</sub>	maka-		
pp1B	+P +T/S <sub>C</sub> (<T/S) ±...	maka-, maka(paG)-		
pp2A	+P +T/S <sub>C</sub>	ma-, ma*- , -on*, Ø-		
pp2B	+P +T/S <sub>C</sub> (<T/O) ±S <sub>a</sub> ±...	ma-		
pp3A	+P +T/S <sub>C</sub>	ma--an, ka--an		
pp3B	+P +T/S <sub>C</sub> (<T/R) ±S <sub>a</sub> ±...	ma--an		
iplA	+P +T/S <sub>C</sub>	Z-	si-(+Z-)	sa-+Z-
iplB		pari-	si-	sangiri-
iplC		pa-	si-	sangi-
iplD		R-	si-	pasa-
nfpl	+P +S <sub>a</sub>	Ø-(+Z-)		
nfpl2	+P +S <sub>a</sub> ±...	kaka-, ka-+Z-		
ex1	+P +T/S <sub>C</sub>			
ex2	+P ±T/S <sub>po/si</sub>	maka*-		
idlA	+P +T/S <sub>C</sub>			
idlB	+P +T/S <sub>C</sub>			
id2	+P +T/S <sub>C</sub>			



becomes the Subject-as-complement of the participial clause, while the Subject-as-actor and all other tagmemes in the clause retain their identity but lose their obligatory status (if any), becoming optional in the participial clause. Despite the resulting possibility of the presence of such tagmemes as Object, Referent and Instrument accompanying a derived perfect participle, all perfect particles occur in two focuses only: Subject and Associate, the latter being found only in Nominal clauses, where the focused item is usually one of the peripheral tagmemes Tm, Si, Rn, or Af (see 3.0.2 and 3.0.5-6).

The derived perfect participial clauses should logically be discussed in the section on clause derivations (q.v. chapter 8 below). However, because of their great morphological and syntactical similarities with the basic clauses (from which they are often indistinguishable in the absence of the optional tagmemes noted above), the two clause subtypes (basic and derived) will be described in that order under each clause-type.

All perfect participles denote an accidental action or a completed action or the state resulting from such an action, while participles in the Future Temporal aspect may also indicate a potential event or one that is liable to occur. Perfect participles are also commonly used in the first parts of sentences like '*When A has happened, B will happen.*', and '*When A had happened, B happened.*', to indicate that action 'A' is completed before action 'B' occurs.

#### 4.1.1.1 Perfect participial clause type 1 (Active)

##### 4.1.1.1.1 Basic clauses (subtype A)

###### DESCRIPTION:

Predicate is manifested by a participle of stem class pplA, which has as its only constituent role an obligatory 'complement', expressed by Subject.

All pplA stems are inflected with maka- (see 5.2.2.1.1).

###### REPRESENTATIVE STEMS:

asiq	'S is sorry/sympathetic'
gauk	'S is intoxicating'
kurit	'S smiles/laughs'
layaw	'S loses his way'
rorot	'S falls fast asleep'
tigog	'S jumps/is startled'
tinaiq	'S is pregnant'
usoso	'S is noisy'

## TAGMEMIC NOTATION PARADIGM OF PPCLa(basic):

1. PPCLa<sub>Sf</sub> + +PpplA<sub>maka-</sub> +T/S<sub>C</sub>

## CITATION PARADIGM OF PPCLa(basic):

1. |makalayaw |lalaing-no.  
|Psf:lost/ft|T/S:child the  
'The child will get lost.'
1. |nakalayaw |lalaing-no.  
|Psf:lost/pt|T/S:child the  
'The child is lost.'

## EXAMPLES FROM TEXT:

|aku sangulun, |makaasiq |aku |ra ulun ra ganilo.  
|Th:I Ap:one-person|Psf:sorry/ft|T/S:I|Aff person At those  
'I myself, I 'm sorry for those people.'

|nokororot |pi |ngai-ngaiq ru ulun ru baloy,  
|Psf:fast-asleep/pt|Mod|T/S:all Po person Po house  
'When everybody in the house was fast asleep...'

|makausoso |toojo |kuli miniti.  
|Psf:noisy/ft|Adj:properly|T/S:playing Po:you-the  
'Your games are very noisy.'

|paiq|kaw |pakakurit!  
|Neg |T/S:you|Psf:laugh  
'Don't laugh!'

## 4.1.1.1.2 Derived clauses (subtype B)

## DESCRIPTION:

Predicate is expounded by a participle of stem class pplB derived from a Subject focus primary verb. No instances are known of a pplB participle derived from a Transitive Instrumental verb (pv11-12), though it is assumed that such a derivation is possible. As already stated above, the Topic of the verbal clause becomes the Subject-as-complement of the participial clause (thus remaining Topic). Since the Topic of a Subject focus PVC construction is always the Subject-as-actor, this tagmeme does not occur in the Active participial clause, whereas it may do so in the Passive and Referential clauses. Any other non-Topic tagmemes optionally or obligatorily present in the verbal clause are optionally present also in the participial clause. This fact is indicated in the tagmemic formula as follows: ±...

The inflection of derived ppl forms differs in several respects from that of the basic forms. Where the underlying verb takes -um-, the

participle takes *maka-* (see 5.2.2.1.1). Otherwise the *maka-* prefix is added either to the stem or to the Atemporal form of the underlying verb, so that the inflection for these participles is either *maka-* or *makapaG-* (symbolised in the formula as *maka(paG)-*; see 5.2.2.1.2). The two allomorphs are not in completely free variation, however. Participles derived from Reciprocal verbs (pv5), for instance, are found only with *makapaG-*. Although many participles occur with either allomorph, others, for reasons yet to be determined, are found with only one of the allomorphs. There seems, moreover, to be a semantic distinction between the two forms, in that the *makapaG-* forms never have the meaning of accidental action. This is exemplified by the sentences below:

|kalo|nakabali |aku |ra konoon.  
|Neg |Psf:buy/pt|T/S:I|O clothes  
'I haven't bought any clothes (although I intended to).'

|kalo|nakapambali|aku |ra konoon.  
|Neg |Psf:buy/pt |T/S:I|O clothes  
'I (purposefully) haven't bought any clothes.'

|nakaalap |ilo |ra sigup.  
|Psf:take/pt|T/S:they|O tobacco  
'They have obtained/received some tobacco.'

|nakapangalap|ilo |ra sigup.  
|Psf:take/pt |T/S:they|O tobacco  
'They have taken/fetched some tobacco.'

#### REPRESENTATIVE STEMS:

(the stem class number of the underlying verb is given in brackets)

##### a. with *maka-*

alok(pv7)	'S smells/perceives (by smell) [O]'
alap(pv8A)	'S obtains/receives [O] [for R]'
ansak(pv8)	'S cooks [O] [for R]'
inum(pv7)	'S drinks [O]'
ongoy(pv2/3)	'S goes [to A]/[for O]'
rongog(pv3)	'S hears [O]'
siab(pv1)	'S flies'
taam(pv3)	'S replies [to O]'

##### b. with *makapaG-*

alap(pv8A)	'S takes/fetches [O] [for R]'
alok(pv10)	'S smells/sniffs at [R]'
bayaq(pv5)	'S & S go with e.o.'
bolong(pv4)	'S sleeps [at/near R]'
kuot(pv9)	'S asks a question [of/about R]'

rongog(pv3)	'S listens [to O]'
taak(pv8)	'S gives [O] [to R]'
umaq(pv5)	'S & S meet e.o.'

## TAGMEMIC NOTATION PARADIGM OF PPC1B (derived):

1. PPC1B<sub>sf</sub> + PpplB<sub>maka-</sub> +T/S<sub>c</sub> ±...  
maka(paG)-

## CITATION PARADIGM OF PPC1B (derived):

- 1a. |mokoongoy|ilo |ra kumabung.  
|Psf:go/ft|T/S:they|A Kemabong  
'They can go to Kemabong.'
- 1a. |nokoongoy|ilo |ra kumabung.  
|Psf:go/pt|T/S:they|A Kemabong  
'They have been to Kemabong.'
- 1a. |mokorongog|aku |ra susuit.  
|Psf:hear/ft|T/S:I|O bird  
'I (can) hear a bird.'
- 1a. |nokorongog|aku |ra susuit.  
|Psf:hear/pt|T/S:I|O bird  
'I heard a bird.'
- 1b. |mokopomporongog|aku |ra rikuding.  
|Psf:listen/pt |T/S:I|O tape-recorder  
'I can listen to the tape-recorder.'
- 1b. |nokopomporongog|aku |ra rikuding.  
|Psf:listen/pt |T/S:I|O tape-recorder  
'I have listened to the tape-recorder.'
- 1b. |mokopombolong|akay |ra giuq.  
|Psf:sleep/ft |T/S:we(ex)|R there  
'We can sleep over there.'
- 1b. |nokopombolong|akay |ra giuq.  
|Psf:sleep/pt |T/S:we(ex)|R there  
'We have slept over there.'

## EXAMPLES FROM TEXT:

|kalo|bo |makaalok |arung ru ukuq-no.  
|Neg |Mod|Psf:smell/ft|T/S:nose Po dog the  
'The dog's nose will lose its sense of smell.'

|talu ngambulan|kalo|makainum |io |ra inasi.  
|Tm:three moons|Neg |Psf:drink/ft|T/S:he|O ricebeer  
'For three months he cannot drink ricebeer.'

|nakasiab |ambiluo nano.  
 |Psf:fly/pt|T/S:soul Po:he-the  
 'His soul took flight (i.e. he narrowly escaped death.)'  
 |nakapababayaq |takaw |alia.  
 |Psf:go-with-e.o./pt|T/S:we(in)|Mod  
 'I'm sure we went together.'  
 |nakapangkuot|kaw |no |kia|ra ulun-ti ngai-ngaiq ra  
 |Psf:ask/pt |T/S:you|Mod|Mod|R person the Ap:all At  
 [minayan ra tumantalik-no].  
 [Psf:dwel/pt R Tumantalik the]  
 'Have you asked all the people who live at Tumantalik?'  
 |makapagumaq |akay ri kasuab,  
 |Psf:meet-e.o./ft|T/S:we(ex) At Kasuab  
 'When Kasuab and I meet each other...'

A single instance (shown below) has been recorded of a pplB participle derived from a secondary verb, namely the sv4 verb *luuton* 'S asks for firewood'. It seems likely that further research will yield other examples of participles (at least of Active participles) derived from secondary verbs. The example recorded is:

|makapakiluuton |ralaa-rano,  
 |Psf:ask-firewood/ft|T/S:maid the(pl)  
 'When the girls have asked for firewood...'

#### 4.1.1.2 Perfect participial clause type 2 (Passive)

##### 4.1.1.2.1 Basic clauses (subtype A)

###### DESCRIPTION:

Predicate is manifested by a participle of stem class pp2A, which has as its only constituent role an obligatory 'complement', expressed by Subject.

There are four types of inflection found with pp2A stems. A large number are inflected with ma- (see 5.2.2.1.3), but the great majority take ma\*- (see 5.2.2.1.4), which has no form for the Past Temporal aspect.<sup>1</sup> There are about a dozen stems recorded with -on\* (see 5.2.2.1.5), and rather more that take no inflection at all, the stem remaining unchanged in all environments.<sup>2</sup> Among the latter group, where the lack of

<sup>1</sup>Stems inflected with ma- or ma\*- (whether basic or derived) may also take the prefix nga- which indicates totality or universality of Topic. Thus maruol 'aching' versus mangaruol 'all aching/aching all over' (from ruol(pp2) 'S aches/is painful').

<sup>2</sup>These stems do not occur in the Associate focus.

inflection is symbolised by Ø-, there are several stems which show evidence of further possible inflection patterns, such as -um--an in *tumulisan* 'S(fruit, etc.) hangs down in long lines' (cf. *tulis* 'writing') and *lumarungan* 'S sprouts up everywhere' (cf. *larung* 'sprout'). It is not possible at this stage to tell whether the morphemes present in these forms are inflectional or derivational in nature.

REPRESENTATIVE STEMS:

a. with ma-

aguy	'S is tired'
asug	'S is full/satiated'
buoy	'S(period of time) is long/S(person) is a long time'
lintangaq	'S is half-done'
manang	'S wins/is successful'
panday	'S knows/is able/is clever'
ratuq	'S falls from a height'
sukor	'S is grown up'

b. with ma\*-

ayo	'S is big'
lasuq	'S is hot'
maar	'S is near'
onsoy	'S is good/fine'
ruol	'S aches/is painful'
sagaq	'S likes/wants/is willing'
suang	'S is many/numerous'
uyuq	'S is shy/embarrassed'

c. with -on\*

alor	'S has pins-and-needles'
lusconiq	'S has ringworm'
paas	'S is thirsty'
pasisang	'S(rice) is infested with stinkbugs'
rasang	'S sweats'
tampio	'S is drought-stricken'
ulapung	'S is mouldy'
ulor	'S is worm-infested'

d. with Ø-

bagu	'S is new/fresh/different'
baguon	'S is (brand-)new'
boborok <sup>1</sup>	'S is small'

<sup>1</sup> boborok differs from the other stems in this group in that it has an inflected form (*koborok*) for the Atemporal aspect.

iisan	'S is stupid'
lair	'S is old/former'
lairon	'S is old/worn out/disused'
lawasan	'S is leaky'
salaq	'S is wrong/different/other'
yawo	'S is impervious to pain'

## TAGMEMIC NOTATION PARADIGM OF PPC2A (basic):

1. PPC2A<sub>sf</sub> → +Ppp2A<sub>ma-</sub> +T/S<sub>c</sub>  
 ma\*-  
 -on\*  
 Ø-

## CITATION PARADIGM OF PPC2A (basic):

- 1a. |maaguy |lalaing-ti |ra maagu-no.  
 |Psf:tired/ft|T/S:child the|Tm soon the  
 'The child will be tired soon.'
- 1a. |naaguy |lalaing-ti |raino.  
 |Psf:tired/pt|T/S:child the|Tm:that  
 'The child is tired now.'
- 1a. |naaguy |lalaing-ti |ra gili.  
 |Psf:tired/pt|T/S:child the|Tm that  
 'The child was tired then.'
- 1b. |mauyug |lalaing-ti |ra maagu-no.  
 |Psf:shy/ft|T/S:child the|Tm soon the  
 'The child will be shy soon.'
- 1b. |mauyug |lalaing-ti |raino.  
 |Psf:shy/ft|T/S:child the|Tm:that  
 'The child is shy now.'
- 1b. |mauyug |lalaing-ti |ra gili.  
 |Psf:shy/ft|T/S:child the|Tm that  
 'The child was shy then.'
- 1c. |paason |lalaing-ti |ra maagu-no.  
 |Psf:thirsty/ft|T/S:child the|Tm soon the  
 'The child will be thirsty soon.'
- 1c. |pinaason |lalaing-ti |raino.  
 |Psf:thirsty/pt|T/S:child the|Tm:that  
 'The child is thirsty now.'
- 1c. |pinaason |lalaing-ti |ra gili.  
 |Psf:thirsty/pt|T/S:child the|Tm that  
 'The child was thirsty then.'

- 1d. |iisan |lalaing-ti |ra maagu-no.  
|Psf:stupid|T/S:child the|Tm soon the  
'*The child* will be stupid soon.'
- 1d. |iisan |lalaing-ti |raino.  
|Psf:stupid|T/S:child the|Tm:that  
'*The child* is stupid now.'
- 1d. |iisan |lalaing-ti |ra gili.  
|Psf:stupid|T/S:child the|Tm that  
'*The child* was stupid then.'

## EXAMPLES FROM TEXT:

- |mamaar |ra baloy |umo-no,  
|Psf:near/ft|Aff house|T/S:dry-ricefield the  
'If *the ricefield* is near the house...'
- |mangaruol |inan kutu |ra baloy kuno.  
|Psf:all-painful/ft|T/S:body Po:I-the|Rn house Po:I-the  
'*My body* is aching all over because of (building) my house.'
- |masuang |nga|tutunungon may |ra galing-i.  
|Psf:many/ft|Mod|T/S:story Po:we(ex)|Tm before the  
'*Our stories* were many in the old days (i.e. we used to have many...).'
- |kalo|napanday |ilo |ra tatapis ra maruol kuli.  
|Neg |Psf:able/pt|T/S:they|Aff remedy At illness Po:I-the  
'*They* didn't know the remedy for my illness.'
- |nabuoy |noyo|kagaq |i simit |ra kaday.  
|Psf:long-time/pt|Mod |Adj:very|T/S Simit|Si shop  
'*Simit* was a very long time at the shops.'
- |tinampioon |toojo |bilor-i.  
|Psf:drought-stricken/pt|Adj:really|T/S:rice the  
'*The rice* was badly affected by drought.'
- |salaq |kunuq|kaluuq nilai.  
|Psf:different|Qt |T/S:rice Po:they-the  
'*Their rice*, it is said, was different.'
- |lair |ni |lair|gambar raitio.  
|Psf:old|Mod|Mod |T/S:picture At:this  
'Perhaps *this picture* is an old one.'

## 4.1.1.2.2 Derived clauses (subtype B)

## DESCRIPTION:

Predicate is manifested by a participle of stem class pp2B derived



from an Object focus primary verb. The Topic cum Object of the verbal clause becomes the Subject-as-complement of the participial clause. An optional Subject-as-actor may also be present in the participial clause, as may any other non-Topic tagmeme in the underlying verbal clause.

All derived pp2 participles are inflected with ma- (see 5.2.2.1.3).

#### REPRESENTATIVE STEMS:

(the stem class number of the underlying verb is given in brackets)

akan (pv7)	'S is eaten [by S]'
bali (pv8A)	'S is bought [by S]'
iruq (pv8)	'S is removed [by S] [from R]'
kaiq (pv7)	'S is finished/used up [by S]'
ragu (pv3)	'S is talked about [by S]'
solob (pv7)	'S is burnt down [by S]'
sukuq (pv3)	'S is arrived at [by S]'
uot (pv8)	'S(woman) is married [by S(man's father)] [to R]'

#### TAGMEMIC NOTATION PARADIGM OF PPC2B (derived):

1. PPC2B<sub>Sf</sub> → +Ppp2B<sub>ma-</sub> +T/S<sub>C</sub> ±S<sub>a</sub> ±...

#### CITATION PARADIGM OF PPC2B (derived):

1. |maakan |kinawaq-no.  
|Psf:eaten/ft|T/S:fruit the  
'The fruit will be eaten/can be eaten/is edible.'
1. |naakan |kinawaq-no.  
|Psf:eaten/pt|T/S:fruit the  
'The fruit has been eaten.'
1. |maakan |ku |kinawaq-no.  
|Psf:eaten/ft|S:I|T/S:fruit the  
'I can/will eat the fruit.'
1. |naakan |ku |kinawaq-no.  
|Psf:eaten/pt|S:I|T/S:fruit the  
'I have eaten the fruit.'

#### EXAMPLES FROM TEXT:

|kalo|poyo|maragu |gili.  
|Neg |Mod |Psf:talked-about/ft|T/S:that  
'That affair can't be discussed yet.'

|kalo|makaiq |korojo muno,  
|Neg |Psf:finished/ft|T/S:work Po:thou-the  
'If your work doesn't get finished...'

|masukuq                    |kia|ru timug|baloy miniti.  
 |Psf:arrived-at/ft|Mod|S water |T/S:house Po:you-the  
 'Does the (flood-)water reach your house ?'

|nauot                    |noyo|anak ri kaluon            |ra sambulan-i.  
 |Psf:married/pt|Mod |T/S:child Po Kaluon|Tm one-moon the  
 'Kaluon's daughter got married last month.'

#### 4.1.1.3 Perfect participial clause type 3 (Referential)

##### 4.1.1.3.1 Basic clauses (subtype A)

###### DESCRIPTION:

Predicate is expounded by a participle of stem class pp3A which has as its only constituent situational role an obligatory 'complement', expressed by Subject.

Most basic pp3 stems are inflected with ma--an,<sup>1</sup> though a few take ka--an (see 5.2.2.1.6-7).

All these participles have the meaning 'S is affected by X', where 'X' is the stem. Many of them have a direct (though not a transformational) relationship with both basic and derived Passive participles. Compare, for instance, the following pairs of PPC2 and PPC3 clauses:

- A. |naabaq                    |tataun-no            |ra tatanom ku. (PPC2A)  
 |Psf:fallen/pt|T/S:tree the|Aff crop Po:I  
 'The tree has fallen with respect to (i.e. onto) my crops.'
- |naabaan                    |tatanom ku            |ra tataun-no. (PPC3A)  
 |Psf:fallen/pt|T/S:crop Po:I|Aff tree the  
 'My crops have been fallen on with respect to (i.e. by) the tree.'
- B. |nakaiq                    |ruit ku. (PPC2B)  
 |Psf:finished/pt|T/S:money Po:I  
 'My money is finished.'
- |nakayaan                    |aku |ra ruit. (PPC3A)  
 |Psf:finished/pt|T/S:I|Aff money  
 'I am finished with respect to money (i.e. I have none left).'

In both cases the obligatory nuclear Topic tagmeme of the PPC2 clause corresponds to an optional peripheral Affinity tagmeme in the PPC3 clause, while the obligatory nuclear Topic tagmeme of the Referential clause is represented in the Passive clause by an optional peripheral tagmeme such as Site or Affinity (as in the first instance above), or

<sup>1</sup>Referential participles inflected with ma--an, like Passive participles inflected with ma- or ma\*- , may take the prefix nga- indicating totality of Topic (see 4.1.1.2.1, footnote 1, p.89).

even by a phrase-level Possessive tagmeme (as in the second case).

#### REPRESENTATIVE STEMS:

In citing the meanings of the following stems, an exception is made to the general rule of not including peripheral tagmemes in the citation, since in many cases it is difficult to convey the meaning without also indicating the part played by the peripheral Affinity (Aff) tagmeme.

##### a. with ma--an

alur	'S is affected by distance [of Aff]' (i.e. 'S has a long way to go [for Aff]')
itil	'S is affected by hunger' (i.e. 'S is hungry')
laus	'S is affected by faintness' (i.e. 'S faints')
maiq	'S is affected by evening' (i.e. 'S is benighted')
pait	'S is affected by bitterness [of Aff]' (i.e. '[Aff] tastes bitter to S')
onsoy	'S is affected by goodness [of Aff]' (i.e. 'S is pleased/happy [with Aff]')
rasam	'S is affected by rain' (i.e. 'S gets rained on')
ruol	'S is affected by pain [in Aff(part of body)]' (i.e. 'S is ill [in Aff]')

##### b. with ka--an

amis	'S is affected by sweetness [of Aff(food)]' (i.e. 'S likes/enjoys [Aff]')
agat	'S is affected by weight [of Aff]' (i.e. 'S is weighed down [with Aff]')
indarapat	'S is affected by non-achievement [of Aff]' (i.e. 'S is disappointed [in Aff]')

#### TAGMEMIC NOTATION PARADIGM OF PPC3A (basic):

1. PPC3A<sub>sf</sub> +Ppp3A<sub>ma--an</sub> +T/S<sub>C</sub>  
ka--an

#### CITATION PARADIGM OF PPC3A (basic):

- 1a. |malausn |lalaing-no.  
|Psf:faint/ft|T/S:child the  
' The child will faint.'
- 1a. |nalausn |lalaing-no.  
|Psf:faint/pt|T/S:child the  
' The child has fainted.'
- 1a. |maaluran |lalaing-no |ra luuton.  
|Psf:distant/ft|T/S:child the|Aff firewood  
' The child will have to go a long way for firewood.'

- 1a. |naaluran |lalaing-no |ra luuton.  
 |Psf:distant/pt|T/S:child the|Aff firewood  
 ' The child had a long way to go for firewood.'
- 1b. |kaagatan |lalaing-no |ra luuton.  
 |Psf:heavy/ft|T/S:child the|Aff firewood  
 ' The child will be weighed down with firewood.'
- 1b. |naagatan |lalaing-no |ra luuton.  
 |Psf:heavy/pt|T/S:child the|Aff firewood  
 ' The child is weighed down with firewood.'

## EXAMPLES FROM TEXT:

- |narasaman |akay |ra suab-i.  
 |Psf:rain/pt|T/S:we(ex)|Tm morning the  
 ' We got rained on this morning.'
- |nangaitilan |anak kurati.  
 |Psf:hungry/pt|T/S:child Po:I-the(pl)  
 ' My children are all hungry.'
- |i inaq miniti |am|narualan |poyo|ra talingo.  
 |Th Mother Po:you-the|Co|Psf:ill/pt|Mod |Aff ear  
 'As for your mother, (she) has got ear-ache again.'
- |kaamisan |kow |raitio.  
 |Psf:sweet/ft|T/S:thou|Aff:this  
 ' You will like this.'

A small number of basic Referential participles, all of which are inflected with ka--an, have the numerals from 'two' to 'ten' inclusive as their stems. All have the meaning 'S(period of time) is X units long' or 'S(person) spends X units of time', where 'X' is the number conveyed by the stem. The units of time are optionally expressed by the peripheral Affinity tagmeme, though they are usually given overt expression in the clause only when they refer to units other than days, or when their identity is not plain from the context.

## EXAMPLES FROM TEXT:

- |kaaparan |aku |ra giuq.  
 |Psf:ten/ft|T/S:I|Si there  
 ' I 'll be there for ten days.'
- |nabaluan |noyo|raino |ra bilor|tinuo nano.  
 |Psf:eight/pt|Mod |Tm:that|Aff year|T/S:age Po:he-the  
 ' His age is now eight years.'

4.1.1.3.2 *Derived clauses (subtype B)*

## DESCRIPTION:

Predicate is manifested by a participle of stem class pp3B derived from a Referent focus primary verb. The Topic cum Referent of the verbal clause becomes the Topic cum Subject-as-complement of the participial clause. An optional Subject-as-actor may also be transferred from the underlying verbal clause, as may any other non-Topic tagmeme.

All derived Referential participles are inflected with *ma--an* (see 5.2.2.1.6).

## REPRESENTATIVE STEMS:

amut(pv4)	'S(eggs) are sat on [by S(bird)]'
baal(pv8)	'S has [O] made for him [by S]'
bali(pv8A)	'S has [O] bought for him [by S]'
lilian(pv10)	'S is forgotten [by S]'
pintor(pv9)	'S is left/bequeathed [with I] [by S]'
suru(pv10)	'S is burnt off [by S]'
tarisuq(pv4)	'S is sneezed on [by S]'
tauq(pv9)	'S is sprinkled [with I] [by S]'

## TAGMEMIC NOTATION PARADIGM OF PPC3B (derived):

1. PPC3B<sub>sf</sub> → +Ppp3B<sub>ma--an</sub> +T/S<sub>c</sub> ±S<sub>a</sub> ±...

## CITATION PARADIGM OF PPC3B (derived):

- 1a. |masuruan |tataun-no.  
|Psf:burnt-off/ft|T/S:tree the  
'The tree will be burnt off.'
- 1a. |nasuruan |tataun-no.  
|Psf:burnt-off/pt|T/S:tree the  
'The trees have been burnt off.'
- 1a. |masuruan |ru ulun |tataun-no.  
|Psf:burnt-off/ft|S person|T/S:tree-the  
'People will burn off the trees.'
- 1a. |nasuruan |ru ulun |tataun-no.  
|Psf:burnt-off/pt|S person|T/S:tree the  
'People have burnt off the trees.'

## EXAMPLES FROM TEXT:

|nabaalan |tokow |no |ra kinandoy.  
|Psf:made/pt|S:I + T/S:thou|Mod|O parang  
'I've made you a parang.'

|buoy-buoy |malilianan |mu |bagu|bokon-no.  
 |Tm:long-time|Psf:forgotten/ft|S:thou|Mod |T/S:other the  
 'Eventually you forget the others.'

|mataukan |ra ruuq nu limaw|papait-no,  
 |Psf:sprinkled/ft|I juice PO lime |T/S:fish the  
 'When the fish has been sprinkled with lime-juice...'

|lalaing-rano am anduq-no, |napintaran |ilo |ru ralaki-i |ra agung.  
 |Th:child the(pl) Co wife the|Psf:left |T/S:they|S husband the|I gong  
 'As for the wife and the children, they were left some gongs by the  
 husband.'

#### 4.1.2 IMPERFECT PARTICIPIAL CLAUSES

Unlike verbs and perfect participles, imperfect participles are not inflectable for focus or aspect, though they are obligatorily inflected to indicate the number of the Topic (i.e. whether it is singular, dual or plural).

There is only one imperfect participle stem class (ipl), which fills the Predicate slot in the only imperfect participial clause type (IPC1).

##### 4.1.2.1 Imperfect participial clause type 1

###### DESCRIPTION:

Predicate is expounded by a participle of stem class ipl, which is divided into four subclasses (iplA-D), each with different inflection and each denoting a different mode of action. The four clause subtypes whose Predicates they expound (IPC1A-D) are alike in consisting of an obligatory Predicate and an obligatory Topic cum Subject-as-complement.

As mentioned above, the Predicate is inflected differently according to whether the Topic is singular, dual or plural. All imperfect participles (with the possible exception of those belonging to subclass iplA, q.v. below) are inflected with si- for a dual Topic. With singular and plural Topics, the inflection varies with the subclass.

Subclass iplA consists of participles in the Continuative mode, that is, those which denote a prolonged or gradual action which is carried on without interruption. The inflections are Z- (see 5.1.1.15) for a singular Topic and sa-+Z- for a plural Topic. The inflection accompanying a dual Topic is not certain. Since all imperfect participles take the affix si- for duality of Topic, only context can determine the mode of the participle. The texts contain only two unequivocal examples of Continuative participles with dual Topic, of which one is inflected with si- and the other with si-+Z-. Until further investigation yields more data, the inflection in question will be represented as si-(+Z-).

Subclass *iplB* consists of participles in the Stationary mode, which denotes complete lack of motion over a long period. The inflections are *pari-*, *si-*, and *sangiri-* for singular, dual and plural Topics respectively.

Participles in subclass *iplC* are in the Momentary mode and represent an abrupt, instantaneous action which occurs only once. Most stems in this subclass are onomatopoeic sound- and action-words, which are usually trisyllabic in nature, the first syllable having the form *ku-*, and the second usually beginning with one of the alveolar consonants *t-*, *r-* (=/*d*/), *l-* or *j-*. The inflections are *pa-*, *si-* and *sangi-* for singular, dual and plural Topics respectively.

The last subclass, *iplD*, is formed of participles in the Repetitive mode, which, as the title implies, represents an action repeated one or more times. As with subclass *iplC* above, many of the stems are onomatopoeic in nature. The inflections are *R-* (see 5.1.1.12), *si-* and *pasa-*, for singular, dual and plural Topics respectively.

#### REPRESENTATIVE STEMS:

##### a. Continuative (*iplA*)

<i>buong</i>	'S is mumbling/muttering'
<i>gaar</i>	'S is coming nearer'
<i>gayo</i>	'S is getting bigger'
<i>kimpoq</i>	'S is limping (from deformity)'
<i>ragu</i>	'S is chattering'
<i>uyum</i>	'S is searching and searching'

##### b. Stationary (*iplB*)

<i>bujuk</i>	'S is lying in a heap'
<i>gaal</i>	'S is gaping'
<i>kooy</i>	'S is (sitting/standing/etc.) like this (+ gesture)'
<i>sangut</i>	'S is hanging'
<i>turung</i>	'S is sitting'
<i>tutuy</i>	'S(hill, etc.) is looming'

##### c. Momentary (*iplC*)

<i>bangis</i>	'S(large object) whizzes past'
<i>kulingob</i>	'S(door) slams'
<i>kurilop</i>	'S(lightning) flashes'
<i>kutupus</i>	'S(gun) bangs/explodes'
<i>ngansil</i>	'S(snake) hisses'
<i>talanyak</i>	'S gleams/flashs bright red'

##### d. Repetitive (*iplD*)

<i>kioy</i>	'S limps, putting weight on heel (because of wound)'
<i>kuliriw</i>	'S(water) trickles'

kurikuq	'S(crockery) clatters/rattles'
kurit	'S laughs'
kutupus	'S(gun) bangs/explodes'
tangiq	'S cries/weeps'

## TAGMEMIC NOTATION PARADIGM OF IPC1:

IPC1 → +Pipl<sub>Z-</sub> +T/S<sub>C</sub>  
 pari-  
 pa-  
 R-

## CITATION PARADIGM OF IPC1:

## a. Continuative (IPC1A)

|kimpo-kimpoq|ulun-no.  
 |P:limping |T/S:person the  
 'The man is limping.'  
 |sikimpoq |ulun-rano.  
 |P:limping |T/S:person the(pl)  
 '(Both) the men are limping.'  
 |sakimpo-kimpoq|ulun-rano.  
 |P:limping |T/S:person the(pl)  
 '(All) the men are limping.'

## b. Stationary (IPC1B)

|pariturung|ulun-no.  
 |P:sitting |T/S:person the  
 'The man is just sitting there.'  
 |siturung |ulun-rano.  
 |P:sitting |T/S:person the(pl)  
 '(Both) the men are just sitting there.'  
 |sangiriturung|ulun-rano.  
 |P:sitting |T/S:person the(pl)  
 '(All) the men are just sitting there.'

## c. Momentary (IPC1C)

|pakutupus|sinapang-no.  
 |P:bang |T/S:gun the  
 'The gun fired (once).'  
 |sikutupus|sinapang-rano.  
 |P:bang |T/S:gun the(pl)  
 '(Both) the guns fired (once, in unison).'



|sangikutupus|sinapang-rano.  
 |P:bang |T/S:gun the(pl)  
 ' (All) the guns fired (once, in unison).'

## d. Repetitive (IPC1D)

|kukutupus|sinapang-no.  
 |P:bang |T/S:gun the  
 ' The gun fired (repeatedly).'

|sikutupus|sinapang-rano.  
 |P:bang |T/S:gun the(pl)  
 ' (Both) the guns fired (repeatedly, at different times).'

|pasakutupus|sinapang-rano.  
 |P:bang |T/S:gun the(pl)  
 ' (All) the guns fired (repeatedly, at different times).'

## EXAMPLES FROM TEXT:

|gaar-gaar |am|gayo-gayo |kapal-i.  
 |P:getting-nearer|Co|P:getting-bigger|T/S:aeroplane the  
 ' The aeroplane came nearer and nearer and got bigger and bigger (i.e. grew in size as it approached).'

|saraaragu |ak |ruandug-rati!  
 |P:chattering|Mod|T/S:woman the(pl)  
 ' Women just chatter away!'

|paritutuy|ak |bulur-i |ra sandaup.  
 |P:looming|Mod|T/S:hill the|Si one-side  
 ' The hill was looming up on the other side.'

|sangiribujuk |ak |ra giuq  
 |P:lying-in-heap|Mod|Si there  
 |bangkay nu ulun [minatoy ra sasar].  
 |T/S:body Po person At:[Psf:die/pt Rn smallpox]  
 ' The bodies of the people who had died from smallpox were just lying in heaps over there.'

|sangitalanyak |bo |bandiraq-no |ra giuq.  
 |P:flash-bright-red|Mod|T/S:flag the|Si there  
 ' The flags flashed bright red over there.'

|buayoy nu [masundu]-rati, |pasakurit|kunuq.  
 |Th:man Po [Psf:divine/ft] the(pl)|P:laugh |Qt  
 'As for the men of the divine people, (they) laughed and laughed, it is said.'

### 4.1.3 NON-FOCUS PARTICIPIAL CLAUSES

There are two non-focus participial clause types (NFPC1-2), each with a different stem class of participles (nfpl-2) expounding the Predicate tagmeme. As the name implies, non-focus participles do not focus on any tagmeme - in other words there is no Topic in the clause whose Predicate they manifest. A Subject-as-actor tagmeme is, however, present in both clause types (obligatorily with NFPC1, optionally with NFPC2), while other tagmemes such as Object-as-goal are optionally present in NFPC2 clauses, which are derived from verbal or perfect participial constructions.

Participles in class nfpl are commonly used in stories to denote an action in the narrative past, while nfp2 forms refer to actions in the immediate past. Since the latter occur only in Nominal clauses, further discussion will be reserved for the appropriate section (8.3).

#### 4.1.3.1 Non-focus participial clause type 1

##### DESCRIPTION:

Predicate is expounded by a participle of stem class nfpl, which has as its only constituent role an obligatory 'actor', expressed by a non-Topic Subject tagmeme. nfpl participles are similar in function to imperfect participles in subclasses C and D (q.v. above), that is, they are mostly onomatopoeic words describing an abrupt single or repeated action.

Except for an optional prefixation of Z- (see 5.1.1.15) to indicate a repeated action, nfpl stems are not inflected. This situation is represented by  $\emptyset$ -(+Z-).

##### REPRESENTATIVE STEMS:

ngolor	'S( <i>insect</i> ) buzzes'
pambanyow	'S raves/talks nonsense'
puul	'S sets off'
tulungguy	'S( <i>plural</i> ) all set off in a crowd'

##### TAGMEMIC NOTATION PARADIGM OF NFPC1:

NFPC1 +Pnfpl $\emptyset$ -(+Z-) +S<sub>a</sub>

##### CITATION PARADIGM OF NFPC1:

|ngolor|nu namuk.  
 |P:buzz|S mosquito  
 'The mosquito buzzed.'

|ngoongolor|nu namuk.  
 |P:buzz |S mosquito  
 'The mosquito(es) buzzed and buzzed.'

## EXAMPLES FROM TEXT:

|kua!|pambanyow |ru lalaing rainio!

|why |P:talk-nonsense|S child At:that

'Why! That child's talking nonsense!'

|puul |kunuq|nu buayoy-i.

|P:set-off|Qt |S man the

'Off went the man, they say.'

|tulungguy |bo |kunuq|nu [mamagun ra ganaq-ti].

|P:set-off-in-crowd|Mod|Qt |S [Psf:live Si below the]

'Then, it is said, the people who live down here all set off in a crowd.'

## 4.2 EXISTENTIAL CLAUSES

Existential clauses describe the existence (or the non-existence) of one item (the 'complement'), and optionally its possession or non-possession by another item (the 'possessor'). Two existential clause types (ExCl-2) are set up on the basis of the differing relationships between the two items (i.e. the situational roles) in the clause and between them and the Predicate.

## 4.2.1 EXISTENTIAL CLAUSE TYPE 1

## DESCRIPTION:

Predicate is manifested by one of the four members of existential stem class ex1:

adaq 'there is S' or 'S exists'

kalio 'there is not S present' or 'S is absent'

kolondoq (or koondoq in colloquial speech) 'there is not S' or  
'S does not exist'

mokoondoq<sup>1</sup> 'there is S' or 'S exists'

The constituent situational roles are an obligatory 'complement', which is expressed by the Topic cum Subject, and an optional 'possessor', which is conveyed by a phrase-level Possessive tagmeme within the Topic cum Subject. These clauses (apart from those having kalio as Predicate) all have the meaning 'there is (not) (an) X', or, with the phrase-level Possessive tagmeme, 'there is (not) (an) X of Y' (i.e., 'Y has (not) (an) X'), where 'X' is the 'complement' and 'Y' the 'possessor'.

## TAGMEMIC NOTATION PARADIGM OF ExCl:

ExCl → +Pex1 +T/S<sub>c</sub>

<sup>1</sup>mokoondoq is rarely used, having been almost completely replaced by adaq, a loanword from the Malay ada.

## CITATION PARADIGM OF ExCl:

|adaq }  
|mokoondoq } |ubat.

|P:there-is|T/S:medicine

'There is medicine.'

|adaq }  
|mokoondoq } |ubat maiti.

|P:there-is|T/S:medicine Po:we(ex)-the

'There is our medicine.' (i.e. 'We have some medicine.')

|koondoq }  
|kolondoq } |ubat.

|P:there-is-not|T/S:medicine

'There is no medicine.'

|koondoq }  
|kolondoq } |ubat maiti.

|P:there-is-not|T/S:medicine Po:we(ex)-the

'There is not our medicine.' (i.e. 'We have no medicine.')

|kalio |ubat-i.

|P:absent|T/S:medicine the

'The medicine isn't here.'

|kalio |ubat maiti.

|P:absent|T/S:medicine Po:we(ex)

'Our medicine isn't here.'

## EXAMPLES FROM TEXT:

|gatilo ri juay-ti, |adaq |ni |ayuk|kabun nilo  
|Th:these At Juay the|P:there-is|Mod|Mod |T/S:garden Po:they  
|ra pipit |ka,  
|Si valley|Co

'As for Juay and these (people), there is also their garden (i.e. they also have a garden) in the valley but...'

|adaq |ni |bo |[nambalaq rakiq ra[poongoyon kow]].  
|P:there-is|Mod|Mod|T/S:[Psf:tell/pt R:I I:[Pof:cause-go/ft T/O:thou]]  
'But there was (someone who) told me that you were being sent for.'

|bilaa|pi |bagu|maamatutuo-rati |kalio,  
|when |Mod|Mod |T/S:parent the(pl)|P:absent  
'When the parents are absent (i.e. deceased)...'

|galing-i |kunuq,|tikus-ti, |kolondoq |ataq.  
|Tm:before the|Qt |Th:rat the|P:there-is-not|T/S:vulva  
'In the old days, they say, as for the rat, (she) had no vulva.'

|koondoq .|kia|[minongoy ra tuunon] |ra lalaing kaw.  
 |P:there-is-not|Mod|T/S:[Psf:go/pt A riverbank]|Aff child Ap:you  
 'Is there not [one who] has gone to the riverbank of you children?'  
 (i.e. 'Have any of you children gone to the riverbank?')

|koondoq |bo |[raguon ku] ra bokon.  
 |P:there-is-not|Mod|T/S:[Pof:speak/ft S:I] At other  
 'There is no [other (thing which) I shall say].' (i.e. 'I have nothing  
 else to say.')

#### 4.2.2 EXISTENTIAL CLAUSE TYPE 2

##### DESCRIPTION:

The constituent roles in this clause type are the same as those in ExC1 clauses (above), namely an obligatory 'complement' and an optional 'possessor'. In this case, however, the 'possessor' is conveyed by the Topic cum Subject tagmeme, while the 'complement', whether it be a noun, a noun phrase, or a Nominal clause, is inflected with the prefix *maka\**- (which has no Past Temporal or Atemporal form) and becomes the Predicate. Where the 'complement' is represented by a noun phrase or Nominal clause, *maka\**- is prefixed to the head-word, which may be separated from the rest of the phrase or clause by any of the clause-level tagmemes which occur in immediate post-Predicate position (such as Modifier, or Topic, when expounded by a pronoun; see chapter 6 on clause exponents). In citations and examples below, the morphemes representing the 'complement' are enclosed in square brackets [], which are normally reserved for embedded clauses.

The noun phrase representing 'complement' in ExC2 clauses differs from the corresponding noun phrase in ExC1 clauses in that it may not include a Possessive tagmeme (unless it is a classifying possessive, as in *puun nu piasaw* 'trunk of coconut', i.e. 'coconut-tree'), since such a tagmeme is automatically attracted into the Topic cum Subject slot. The peripheral Site tagmeme is likewise frequently attracted into the same slot in the absence of a 'possessor' (see citations and examples below).

The Negative tagmeme does not occur in this clause type: an ExC1 construction with *kolondoq* (or *koondoq*) as Predicate is used instead.

##### TAGMEMIC NOTATION PARADIGM OF ExC2:

ExC2 → +Pex2 *maka\**- ±T/S po/si

##### CITATION PARADIGM OF ExC2:

|maka[ubat] |(ra patiq-no).  
 |P:there-is-[medicine]| Si box the  
 'There is medicine (in the box).'

|maka[ubat] . |aku.  
 |P:there-is-[medicine]|T/S:I  
 ' I have some medicine.'

|maka[ubat] |patiq-no.  
 |P:there-is-[medicine]|T/S:box the  
 ' The box has medicine in it.'

|maka[puun nu piasaw] |(ra tuunon-no).  
 |P:there-is-[trunk PO coconut]|Si riverbank the  
 'There are coconut-trees (on the riverbank).'

|maka[puun {aku }nu piasaw].<sup>1</sup>  
 |P:there-is-[trunk{T/S:I}PO coconut]  
 ' I have some coconut-trees.'

|maka[puun nu piasaw] |tuunon-no.  
 |P:there-is-[trunk PO coconut]|T/S:riverbank the  
 ' The riverbank has coconut-trees (along it).'

#### EXAMPLES FROM TEXT:

|maka[bakat] |tambung nano.  
 |P:there-is-[root]|T/S:bottom PO:he-the  
 ' His backside has got roots.' (i.e. 'He's idle.')

|maka[kinandoy] |io |ra maiq-i,  
 |P:there-is-[parang]|T/S:he|Tm evening the  
 'If he had had a parang yesterday...'

|maka[pambabali {kow |kia}ra raging].  
 |P:there-is-[Pif:buy/ft{T/S:thou|Mod}O meat]  
 'Have you got anything to buy meat with?'

|maka[mangulintangan] |baloy-no.  
 |P:there-is-[Psf:play-tube-zither/ft]|T/S:house the  
 'There is someone playing the tube-zither in the house.'

|maka[luaton riso] |ra inasi.  
 |P:there-is-[Pof:set-up/ft R:he]|Aff ricebeer  
 'There is some ricebeer to set up for him.'

#### 4.3 IDENTIFICATIONAL CLAUSES

Identificational clauses are characterised by a Predicate which is

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<sup>1</sup>In this and other examples braces { } are used to indicate that one or more tagmemes are embedded in a discontinuous tagmeme. In this case aku is embedded within maka[puun nu piasaw].

manifested by a substantival construction such as a pronoun, a noun or (rarely) a Nominal clause. They are divided into two clause types on the basis of different exponents of Predicate. The Negative tagmeme may not occur in either type, though it may occur as a constituent tagmeme in an embedded Nominal clause manifesting Topic or Predicate. In both clause types, the situational role of 'complement' is expressed by the Topic cum Subject.

#### 4.3.1 IDENTIFICATIONAL CLAUSE TYPE 1

##### DESCRIPTION:

Predicate is manifested by a phrase having as its head-word A) a personal pronoun of series 1 (see 7.2.2.3), B) a demonstrative pronoun of series 1, 3, or 4 (see 7.2.2.2), or C) a noun (i.e. a common noun or a personal noun or a numeral). Instances of Nominal clauses expounding the Predicates of IdCl clauses are very rare in the texts, and the factors controlling their occurrence or non-occurrence with this function are not known.

IdCl clauses can be divided into two subtypes: those in which Topic is manifested by a verbal, participial, existential or identificational Nominal clause (subtype B), and those in which Topic is manifested by a phrase having as its head a personal or demonstrative pronoun, a personal or common noun, or a numeral (subtype A). Clauses of subtype A are simple, unemphatic statements of the nature 'X is Y' (where 'X' is the Topic and 'Y' the Predicate), while subtype B clauses, in which emphasis is placed upon the exponent of the Predicate, have the meaning '*the (one who) is X is Y*' (usually rendered in English by reversing Topic and Predicate: '*it is Y who is X*' or '*Y (not someone else) is X*').

The two subtypes are distinguished also by differing exponence of Predicate. The Predicate of an IdClB clause may be manifested by any of the phrases A-C listed above. With two exceptions, the Predicate of an IdClA clause, on the other hand, may not be manifested by a personal or demonstrative pronoun, or by a temporal demonstrative. The exceptions are: A) a personal pronoun may fill the Predicate slot if a demonstrative pronoun fills the Topic slot; and B) two of the demonstrative pronouns (gitio '*this*' and ginio '*that*') may occur as Predicate with the meaning '*here/there is X*' (where 'X' = Topic). A further difference between subtypes A and B (namely, that they have distinct Theme-transforms) will be discussed in 8.4.

##### TAGMEMIC NOTATION PARADIGM OF IdCl:

IdCl → +Pidl +T/S<sub>c</sub>

## CITATION PARADIGM OF IdClA:

|okow |ginio.

|P:thou|T/S:that

'That is you (on a photograph, e.g.).'

|gitio |babalian-no.

|P:this|T/S:priestess the

'Here is the priestess.'

|giuq |babalian-no.

|P:there|T/S:priestess the

'The priestess is there.'

|i bunging|babalian-no.

|P:Bunging|T/S:priestess the

'The priestess is Bunging.'

|ruanduq|babalian-no.

|P:woman|T/S:priestess the

'The priestess is a woman.'

|rondoq|babalian-no.

|P:one |T/S:priestess the

'The priestess is one.' (i.e. 'There is one priestess.')

## EXAMPLES FROM TEXT:

|tibagan |nail

|P:barkcloth|Mod

'(it) is barkcloth!'

|lalaing|kaw {ak |bo }ngaiq |ragino.

|P:child|T/S:you{Mod|Mod}At:all|Tm:that

'You are all children now.'

|ruo ngoopor ngaringgit|logo nali.

|P:two tens dollars |T/S:price Po:it-the

'Its price was twenty dollars.'

|muayaq-ti, |ulun {ra galing-i }ra bansaq may.

|Th:spirit |P:person{Tm before the}At race Po:we(ex)

'As for the muayaq-spirit, (he) was formerly a human being of our race.'

## CITATION PARADIGM OF IdClB:

|okow |[moonsoy].

|P:thou|T/S:[Psf:good/ft]

'(That which) is good is you.' (i.e. 'YOU are good.')



|gitio |[moonsoy].  
 |P: *this* |T/S: [Psf:good/ft]  
 ' (That which) is good is this.' (i.e. 'THIS is good.')

|giuq |[moonsoy].  
 |P: *there* |T/S: [Psf:good/ft]  
 ' (That which) is good is there.' (i.e. 'THAT is a good place.')

|raino |[moonsoy].  
 |P: *now* |T/S: [Psf:good/ft]  
 ' (That which) is good is now.' (i.e. 'NOW is a good time.')

|i bunging |[moonsoy].  
 |P: *Bunging* |T/S: [Psf:good/ft]  
 ' (That which) is good is Bunging.' (i.e. 'BUNGING is good.')

|babalian-no |[moonsoy].  
 |P: *priestess the* |T/S: [Psf:good/ft]  
 ' (That which) is good is the priestess.' (i.e. 'THE PRIESTESS is good.')

|talu ngaulun-no |[moonsoy].  
 |P: *three persons the* |T/S: [Psf:good/ft]  
 ' (That which) is good is the three people.' (i.e. 'THE THREE PEOPLE are good.')

#### EXAMPLES FROM TEXT:

|io |no |gabuy|[namatoy ra using-i].  
 |P: *he* |Mod|Mod |T/S: [Psf:kill/pt O cat the]  
 'It was definitely he (who) killed the cat.'

|gili |[nakayaan ru ruit kuli].  
 |P: *that* |T/S: [Paf:finish/pt S money Po:I-the]  
 'That is (what) my money was used up on.'

|i barigil|[rangan kuli].  
 |P: *Barigil* |T/S: [P:companion Po:I-the]  
 'It was Barigil (who) was with me.'

|onom ngaulun |ak |[kalo minatong]-i.  
 |P: *six persons* |Mod|T/S: [Neg Psf:come/pt] the  
 'There were only six people (who) didn't come.'

#### 4.3.2 IDENTIFICATIONAL CLAUSE TYPE 2

##### DESCRIPTION:

Predicate is manifested by a phrase having as its head-word one of the following interrogative pronouns:

atan	'what?'
ati	'which (one)?/which place?/where?'
atok	'which one?'
kulaq	'how many?/how much?/what price?'
osoy	'who?'
sanggilan <sup>1</sup>	'when?/what time?'

The commonest exponent of Topic is a Nominal clause, although any substantival construction except a locative or temporal demonstrative phrase may manifest Topic (except in those clauses which have *sanggilan* as Predicate: see footnote on this page).

TAGMEMIC NOTATION PARADIGM OF IdC2:

IdC2 → +Pid2 +T/S<sub>c</sub>

CITATION PARADIGM OF IdC2:

|atan |gitio.

|P:what|T/S:this

'What is this ?'

|osoy |gitio.

|P:who|T/S:this

'Who is this ?'

|kulaq |gitio.

|P:how-much|T/S:this

'How much is this (in quantity/price)?'

|ati |baloy-no.

|P:where|T/S:house the

'Where is the house ?'

|atok |baloy-no.

|P:which|T/S:house

'Which is the house ?'

|sanggilan|[ratangan mu]-tu.

|P:when |T/S:[Paf:come/ft S:thou]-the

'When is the (time when) you will come ?' (i.e. 'When are you coming?')

EXAMPLES FROM TEXT:

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<sup>1</sup>sanggilan is used in IdC2 constructions only to ask questions about the future: it occurs only with a Topic manifested by a verbal or participial Nominal clause in Associate focus and Future Temporal aspect. For its use in other environments see 6.1.2.

|atan |guat|tupo|korojo min ra buoy-ti.

|P:what|Mod |Mod |T/S:work Po:you At length-of-time the  
'What, then, has been your job all this time ?'

|ati |[pampalabangan nilo ra ulun [tinobok]-no].

|P:where|T/S:[Paf:bury/ft S:they O person At:[Pof:stab/pt]the]

'Where is (the place where) they will bury the man (who) was stabbed ?'  
(i.e. 'Where will they bury...?')

|ati ra kinandoy |[naputul]-i.

|P:which At parang|T/S:[Psf:broken/pt] the

'Which parang is the (one which) is broken ?'

|atok-ti |[maasaq]-ti.

|P:which the|T/S:[Psf:wet/ft] the

'Which one is the (one which) is wet ?' (i.e. 'Which is the wet one?')

|kulaq {kaw }ngaulun.

|P:how-much{T/S:you}persons

'How many people are you ?' (i.e. 'How many of you are there?')

|soy |nuaq|tatangan ra bauy raitio.

|P:who|Mod |T/S:owner At pig At:this

'I wonder who is the owner of this pig ?'

|soy. ra sinapang|[pinaninimbak mu ra basing].

|P:who At gun |T/S:[Pif:shoot/pt S:thou O pig]

'Whose shotgun was (the one that) you shot wild pigs with ?'

## CHAPTER 5

### MORPHOLOGY

#### 5.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will deal only with the bound morphemes of Timugon Murut, i.e. derivational and inflectional affixes. Throughout this chapter, the forms quoted are written phonemically instead of in the practical orthography, in order to simplify description of the affixes and the morphophonemic rules governing them.

The following general morphophonemic rules are applicable throughout:

A. In prefixes, the symbol /a/ is realised as /o/ when the vowel in the following syllable is /o/, and as /a/ elsewhere (see 2.3.4.1.1).

EXAMPLES:

/boloŋ/ + /maN-/ → /momboloŋ/ 'T/S will sleep'

/bilin/ + /maN-/ → /mambilin/ 'T/S will give a message to R'

B. In suffixes, the symbol /o/ is realised as /o/, except when it is immediately preceded by /a/ (with no intervening consonant), in which case it is assimilated to /a/ (see 2.3.4.1.1).

EXAMPLES:

/baal/ + /-on/ → /baalon/ 'S will make T/O [for R]'

/asaʔ/ + /-on/ → /asaan/ 'S will sharpen T/O'

C. In prefixes, /N-/ and /N̄-/ represent (respectively) homorganic prenasalisation and nasalisation of the initial consonant of the root<sup>1</sup> to which they are affixed. The homorganic nasal consonants are: /m-/ with /p, b/; /n-/ with /t, d, s, j/; and /ŋ-/ with /k, g/. /N-/ never occurs with roots containing a -NC- cluster (see 2.3.4.3.2). In the

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<sup>1</sup>The term 'root' will be used here to mean not only the root proper (i.e. the actual or hypothetical disyllabic form which is present in all words except particles), but also any stem to which a bound morpheme is added.

presence of N-, an initial /l-/ of a root changes to /d-/.

EXAMPLES:

- /buli/ + /maN-/ → /mambuli/ 'T/S will keep [R]'  
 /buli/ + /maN̄-/ → /mamuli/ 'T/S will keep R'  
 /tutu/ + /maN-/ → /mantutu/ 'T/S will pound [O]'  
 /tutu/ + /maN̄-/ → /manutu/ 'T/S will pound O'  
 /kabul/ + /maN-/ → /maṅkabul/ 'T/S will fan [R(rice)]'  
 /kabul/ + /maN̄-/ → /maṅabul/ 'T/S will fan R(rice)'  
 /tumbuk/ + /maN-/ → /matumbuk/ 'T/S will thump e.o.'  
 /tumbuk/ + /maN̄-/ → /manumbuk/ 'T/S will thump O'  
 /luoy/ + /maN-/ → /manduoy/ 'T/S(buffalo) will wallow'

D. As explained in 2.3.4.3.1, /ʔ/ occurs only word-finally: it therefore disappears in the presence of a suffix or a reiterated stem (see 5.1.1.15).

EXAMPLES:

- /diuʔ/ + /-on/ → /diuon/ 'S will bathe T/O'  
 /ṅaiʔ/ + /Z-/ → /ṅai-ṅaiʔ/ 'all'

E. Any /o/ in the root is assimilated to /a/ in the presence of the suffixes /-an/, -in/, while with roots which have /o/ in the last syllable, any /a/ vowels in immediately preceding syllables are assimilated to /o/ in the presence of the suffix /-on/ (see 2.3.4.1.1).

EXAMPLES:

- /sikodondoʔ/ + /-in/ → /sikadandain/ 'S will lift T/R above his head  
 with one hand'  
 /soṅodow/ + /-an/ → /saṅadawan/ 'another day'  
 /panakod/ + /-on/ → /ponokodon/ 'S will live with T/O(woman)'  
 /tanom/ + /-in/ → /tanamin/ 'S will plant O in T/R'  
 /tanom/ + /-on/ → /tonomon/ 'S will plant T/O [in R]'

F. Final /-y/ of a stem is lost in the presence of the suffixes /-in/ and /-iʔ/ (see 2.3.4.2).

- /iloy/ + /-in/ → /ilain/ 'S will look at T/R'  
 /imumuy/ + /-iʔ/ → /imumuiʔ/ 'ask T/R for confirmation'

G. An epenthetic /-n-/ is always inserted between a stem ending in /-Caa(?)/ and a suffix.

- /inaa/ + /-in/ → /inaanin/ 'S will wait for T/R'  
 /ilalaaʔ/ + /-on/ → /ilalaanon/ 'S will frighten T/O'

The epenthesis also occurs (optionally or obligatorily) with a few stems ending in the sequences /-Co(?)/ or /-Ca(?)/.

- /kodojo/ + /-on/ → /kodojoon/ or /kodojonon/ 'S will work on T/O'  
 /umbayaʔ/ + /-in/ → /umbayanin/ 'S will visit T/R on the  
 way'



exists in the Nabay and Baukan dialects of Lowland Murut as a free stem meaning 'evening' (cf. Timugon /mai?/ 'evening'). The affixes, however, are ambiguous: they could be either {luN-} + {pa-} or {puN-} + {-al-}, all of which occur with other stems.

In some cases neither the root nor the derivational morphemes can be isolated. The stem /balibudan/ 'cucumber', for example, can be interpreted in four ways:

root: /\*budan/, affixes: {li-} + {ba-}; or

root: /\*budan/, affixes: {-al-} + {bi-}; or

root: /\*bibud/, affixes: {-al-} + {-an}; or

root: /\*libud/, affixes: {ba-} + {-an}.

None of the supposed roots has been recorded elsewhere.

Sometimes the semantic relationship between a root and a stem apparently derived from it is so obscure that, until evidence to the contrary is obtained, the stem must be assumed to be derived from a different (but homophonous) hypothetical root. A case in point is /linsasabu/ 'a species of wild ginger (*Costus speciosus*)', which was analysed as consisting of a root /\*sabu/ (homophonous with /sabu/ 'S urinates'), and affixes {R-} + {liN-} (a combination commonly found in names of plants and insects). The link did not emerge until it was learned that the flowers of *Costus speciosus* are said to harbour tiny mites which attack the genitals and cause enuresis.

### 5.1.1 PREFIXES

All the derivational prefixes except {R-} and {Z-} (see below, 5.1.1.12-15), are of the structure (C)V(N)-, in which 'C' represents any consonant except /ʔ, j/, 'V' represents /a, i, u/, and 'N' (as elsewhere) represents homorganic prenasalisation. The brackets ( ) denote optional presence.

Of a total of 963 occurrences of derivational prefixes (not including {R-} and {Z-}) which were analysed, 813 could be identified with certainty, but 338 of these occurred with an unknown root. In Table VII (below), which illustrates the prefixes so far recorded, the vertical axis represents the initial consonant of the prefix, and the horizontal axis shows the vowel and the presence or absence of N-. Two numbers are given for each morpheme, in the form of a fraction: the lower half of this fraction is the total number of definitely attested occurrences of the morpheme, while the upper half is the number of occurrences with an identified root. The presence of an asterisk indicates that the prefix is also found as an inflectional morpheme. A blank space signifies that no unambiguous instances of that prefix are known.

It was at first assumed that the presence or absence of N- in a

prefix constituted merely a phonologically and morphologically conditioned allomorphic variation. Thus, in the case of {taN-} (q.v., below), it was thought that the occurrence of <sup>a</sup>{taN-} was restricted to those stems not containing a -NC- cluster, while <sup>a</sup>{ta-} could occur in any phonological environment. However, it was found that, at least in this case and possibly in others, the two 'allomorphs' could be shown to have different meanings as well as a distinct, though overlapping, distribution. Other similar pairs will therefore be treated as separate morphemes except where the evidence demands otherwise.

TABLE VII

*The derivational prefixes of Timugon Murut*

INITIAL CONSONANT	VOWEL					
	-a-		-i-		-u-	
	- N-	+ N-	- N-	+ N-	- N-	+ N-
∅	$\frac{0}{3}$	$\frac{10}{26}$	$\frac{3}{5}$	$\frac{65}{87}$	$\frac{2}{3}$	$\frac{2}{11}$
b-	$\frac{7}{14}$	$\frac{1}{7}$	$\frac{0}{3}$	$\frac{2}{4}$	$\frac{2}{14}$	$\frac{1}{5}$
d-	* $\frac{6}{6}$		* $\frac{1}{3}$	$\frac{0}{1}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	
g-		$\frac{1}{1}$		$\frac{1}{1}$		
k-	* $\frac{19}{27}$	$\frac{1}{5}$	* $\frac{2}{4}$	$\frac{0}{1}$	$\frac{3}{21}$	
l-	$\frac{0}{3}$	$\frac{1}{20}$	$\frac{2}{5}$	$\frac{5}{18}$	$\frac{0}{2}$	$\frac{5}{6}$
m-	* $\frac{7}{10}$	* $\frac{4}{7}$			$\frac{0}{1}$	
n-	* $\frac{1}{1}$					
ŋ-	$\frac{27}{27}$	$\frac{29}{29}$				
p-	* $\frac{6}{16}$	* $\frac{4}{28}$	$\frac{11}{17}$		$\frac{3}{9}$	$\frac{2}{2}$
s-	$\frac{35}{43}$	$\frac{63}{69}$	$\frac{8}{11}$	$\frac{9}{25}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{5}{6}$
t-	$\frac{46}{62}$	$\frac{52}{77}$	* $\frac{6}{15}$	$\frac{9}{25}$	$\frac{0}{10}$	$\frac{6}{13}$





/kulinjob/ 'S is bleary-eyed' presumably + /linjob/ 'sunken' + {ku-}.

#### 5.1.1.4 {liN-}

Like {aN-}, {liN-} frequently occurs, with or without {R-}, in names of plants and animals. It has two allomorphs: <sup>a</sup>{li- ~ liN-}.

<sup>a</sup>{li-} occurs with roots beginning with a vowel or a nasal consonant, roots containing a sequence -NC-, and occasionally in other environments.

<sup>a</sup>{liN-} occurs elsewhere.

#### EXAMPLES:

/liŋaŋait/ 'scorpion' + hypothetical /\*ŋait/ (cf. /kait/ 'hook')<sup>1</sup>  
+ {R-} + {liN-}.

/limpata?/ 'water-leech' + /pata?/ 'river-bed' + {liN-}.

/liŋkuo/ 'intestinal worm' + /\*kuo/ (attested in /kukuo/ 'snake')  
+ {liN-}.

/linsasabu/ 'Costus speciosus' + /sabu/ 'S urinates' + {R-} + {liN-}  
(see 3.1 above).

#### 3.1.1.5 {ŋaN-}

{ŋaN-} has two allomorphs: <sup>a</sup>{ŋa- ~ ŋaN-}.

<sup>a</sup>{ŋa-} occurs with all roots beginning with a vowel or a nasal consonant, all roots containing a sequence -NC-, all roots which are loanwords from other languages, and occasionally in other environments.

<sup>a</sup>{ŋaN-} occurs elsewhere.

This morpheme forms the plurals of the various classes of metrical nouns (MNn), which are described in 7.2.3.2. The singulars are formed from {saN-} (q.v., 5.1.1.8).

#### EXAMPLES:

/ŋoodow/ 'days' + /odow/ 'day' + {ŋaN-}.

/ŋogogŋom/ 'fistfuls' + /gogŋom/ 'fist' + {ŋaN-}.

/ŋataun/ 'years' + /taun/ 'year' (loanword from Malay tahun 'year')  
+ {ŋaN-}.

/ŋantaun/ 'MNn for long cylindrical things (snakes, blowpipes, houseposts, etc.)' + /\*taun/ (attested in other dialects and in /tataun/ 'tree, wood, stick', /taunan/ 'stem, stalk', etc.)  
+ {ŋaN-}.

/ŋondopo/ 'fathoms' + /lopo/ 'S stretches out his arms' + {ŋaN-}.

#### 5.1.1.6 {pi-}

<sup>1</sup>Note that /kait/ cannot be the root, since /kait/ + {R-} + {liN-} would yield /\*liŋkakait/.

{pi-}, which has one allomorph, <sup>a</sup>{pi-}, is attached to numerals to form stems meaning 'S divides O into X'. It also forms fractional numerals with the meaning 'an Xth' or ' $\frac{1}{X}$ ', from which metrical nouns are formed by the affixation of {saN-} (see 5.1.1.8) and {ηaN-} (see 5.1.1.5).

EXAMPLES:

/piapat/ 'S quarters O' + /apat/ 'four' + {pi-}  
 /pilimo/ 'S divides O into five' + /limo/ 'five' + {pi-}  
 /sampiduo/ 'one half' + /duo/ 'two' + {pi-} + {saN-}.  
 /ηampiapat/ 'quarters' + /apat/ 'four' + {pi-} + {ηaN-}.

5.1.1.7 {pu-}

{pu-}, which has one allomorph, <sup>a</sup>{pu-}, is attached to nouns to form verbs meaning 'S produces X'.

EXAMPLES:

/pudaa?/ 'S(wound, etc.) bleeds' + /\*daa?/ (attested in other dialects and in /dadaa?/ 'blood') + {pu-}.  
 /punana?/ 'S festers, suppurates' + /nana?/ 'pus' + {pu-}.

5.1.1.8 {saN-}

The morpheme {saN-} consists of the following allomorphs: <sup>a</sup>{saŋ- ~ sa- ~ saN-}.

<sup>a</sup>{saŋ-} occurs with roots beginning with a vowel.

<sup>a</sup>{sa-} occurs with roots beginning with a nasal consonant, roots containing a sequence -NC-, roots which are loanwords from other languages, and as a morphologically conditioned variant of <sup>a</sup>{saN-} in other environments.

<sup>a</sup>{saN-} occurs elsewhere.

{saN-} forms the singulars of the various classes of metrical nouns. The plurals are formed with {ηaN-} (q.v. 5.1.1.5). There is a separate morpheme, {sa-}, whose meaning is obscure.

EXAMPLES:

(see 5.1.1.5 for the meaning of the roots)

/soŋodow/ 'one day' + /odow/ + {saN-}  
 /soŋoŋom/ 'one fistful' + /goŋgom/ + {saN-}.  
 /sataun/ 'one year' + /taun/ + {saN-}.  
 /santaun/ 'MNn: one long cylindrical thing' + /\*taun/ + {saN-}.  
 /sondopo/ 'one fathom' + /lopo/ + {saN-}.

5.1.1.9 {siN-}

{siN-}, which has the meaning 'pretence' or 'similarity', has two morphologically conditioned allomorphs, <sup>a</sup>{si- ~ siN-}. <sup>a</sup>{siN-}, how-

ever, is also phonologically conditioned, since it may not occur with roots which contain a sequence of -NC-. {siN-}, with or without {R-}, is often found in the names of plants and insects.

EXAMPLES:

/sibubuu/ 'ladybird (Coccinellidae)' + /buu/ 'box-turtle (Cuora amboinensis)' + {R-} + {si-}.

/sibunil/ 'S hides' + /bunil/ 'S conceals O' + {siN-}.

/simbaal/ 'S makes up O(false tale) [about R]' + /baal/ 'S makes O [for R]' + {siN-}.

5.1.1.10 {ta-}

{ta-}, which has one allomorph, <sup>a</sup>{ta-}, is homophonous with one of the allomorphs of {taN-} (q.v. 5.1.1.11), but differs from it in distribution and meaning. The meaning of {ta-} is difficult to define: in many instances it denotes a completed action, especially one which is involuntary (cf. its more productive Malay cognate *ter-*, which has the same meaning), but there are numerous cases where this meaning cannot be inferred.

EXAMPLES:

/takimpo?/ 'a cripple' + /kimpo?/ 'S limps' + {ta-}.

/talasa?/ 'flakes of soot or charred material' + /lasa?/ 'S extinguishes R' + {ta-}.

/tapuna?/ 'S replaces O(fallen plant) in soil / S re-marries after death of wife' + /puna?/ 'S repairs R' + {ta-}.

/tauyu?/ 'S embarrasses O' + /uyu?/ 'shame' + {ta-}.

5.1.1.11 {taN-}

The morpheme {taN-} has the following allomorphs: <sup>a</sup>{taŋ- ~ ta- ~ taN-}.

<sup>a</sup>{taŋ-} occurs with roots beginning with a vowel.

<sup>a</sup>{ta-} occurs with roots beginning with a nasal consonant, with roots containing a sequence -NC-, and with a few roots beginning with /l-/.

<sup>a</sup>{taN-} occurs elsewhere.

{taN-} is affixed to nouns to form verb stems with one of the following related meanings: 'S produces X' or 'S uses/wears/carries X' or 'S acts like X/treats O like X'.

EXAMPLES:

/tapumput/ 'S comes into bud' + /pumput/ 'bud' + {taN-}.

/tamputa?/ 'S foams at the mouth' + /puta?/ 'foam' + {taN-}

/tambasikol/ 'S rides a bicycle' + /basikol/ 'bicycle' + {taN-}.

/tansapuk/ 'S carries a blowpipe' + /sapuk/ 'blowpipe' + {taN-}.

/taŋama?/ 'S treats O like a father' + /ama?/ 'father' + {taN-}.

/talalaiŋ/ 'S behaves childishly' + /lalaiŋ/ 'child' + {taN-}.

#### 5.1.1.12 {R-}

{R-} is one of the commonest derivational morphemes in Timugon: there are 187 examples of it in the texts, of which 108 occur with identifiable roots. It occurs with less frequency as an inflectional morpheme having a variety of functions (see 5.2.1.5.1 and 4.1.2.1).

{R-} has three phonologically and morphologically conditioned allomorphs: <sup>a</sup>{R- ~ (RX- = -R-)}.

<sup>a</sup>{R-} occurs with roots beginning with a consonant, and is manifested as reduplication of the initial CV- of the root, thus:

/bulud/ + {R-} → /bubulud/

<sup>a</sup>{RX-} occurs with roots whose initial phoneme is a vowel and is realised as a) the addition of a prothetic consonant (symbolised as X) to the root, and b) reduplication of the prothetic consonant and the initial vowel. The consonant added to the root is usually /g-/, though there are a few instances with /l-/.

/aŋkup/ + {R-} → /gagaŋkup/

<sup>a</sup>{-R-}, which likewise occurs with roots beginning with a vowel, is manifested as reduplication of the first consonant in the root and the vowel following it. When the consonant concerned is part of a medial -NC- sequence, the nasal consonant is not reduplicated.

/ulampoy/ + {R-} → /ulalampoy/

/indimo/ + {R-} → /indidimo/

These rules can be summarised as follows:

$$C_1V_1\dots + {}^a\{R-\} \rightarrow C_1V_1C_1V_1\dots$$

$$V_1(N)C_1V_2\dots + {}^a\{RX-\} \rightarrow XV_1XV_1(N)C_1V_2\dots$$

$$V_1(N)C_1V_2\dots + {}^a\{-R-\} \rightarrow V_1(N)C_1V_2C_1V_2\dots$$

When affixed to nominal roots, {R-} forms diminutives; when affixed to verbal roots, it forms noun stems with an instrumental meaning. In conjunction with numerals it indicates approximation.

#### EXAMPLES:

/bubulud/ 'ridges in which tuberous crops are planted' + /bulud/ 'hill' + {R-}.

/lalapatan/ 'penis (facetious)' + /lopot/ 'S wraps up O' + {R-} + {-an}.

/tutulu?/ 'index-finger' + /tulu?/ 'S points at O' + {R-}.

/giginsilot/ 'toothpick' + /insilot/ 'S removes O from crevice' + {R-}.

/lilimo/ 'about five' + /limo/ 'five' + {R-}.

/indidimo/ 'about five times' + /indimo/ 'five times' + {R-}.

{R-} may also be affixed to words already containing one or more

inflectional morphemes to indicate a frequent or habitual action. When one of the inflectional morphemes is a prefix, the <sup>a</sup>{R-} allomorph is manifested as reduplication of the first vowel of the stem and the consonant immediately preceding it, whether that consonant is part of the stem or part of the prefix (see the first example below). The other allomorphs retain the distribution described above.

EXAMPLES:

- /maŋila?/ (stem: /ila?/) 'T/S will teach' + {R-} → /maŋiŋila?/ 'T/S teaches frequently' or 'T/S is a teacher'
- /ompodon/ (stem: /ompod/) 'S will flatter T/O' + {R-} → /ompopodon/ 'S always flatters T/O'
- /bayain/ (stem: /baya?/) 'S will follow T/R(path)' + {R-} → /babayain/ 'S usually follows T/R'
- /abalan/ (stem: /abol/) 'S(buffalo) bathes in T/A' + {R-} → /ababalan/ 'S often bathes in T/A'

With Perfect Participles (4.1.1) and verbs inflected with [mag1-] or [mag2] (5.2.1.1.2 and 3.1.1-10), {R-} may be optionally affixed to indicate plurality of Subject. With a Reciprocal verb (3.1.5) having a plural Subject, the presence of {R-} is obligatory.

EXAMPLES:

- /malumpus/ (stem: /lumpus/) 'T/S(sing. or plur.) is sad' + {R-} → /malulumpus/ 'T/S(plur.) are sad'
- /padiuan/ (stem: /diu?/) 'S(sing. or plur.) will bathe in T/A' + {R-} → /padidiuan/ 'S(plur.) will bathe in T/A'
- /magansaŋ/ (stem: /ansaŋ/) 'T/S(two people) will quarrel with e.o.' + {R-} → /magagansaŋ/ 'T/S(many people) will quarrel with e.o.'

It has already been noted that {R-} often occurs optionally in conjunction with other derivational morphemes, with no accompanying semantic change (see 5.1.1.1, 5.1.1.4 and 5.1.1.9). {R-} enters into two combinations, however, namely with {ta-} and {i-}, which differ significantly from the others, both in structure and in meaning. {ta-} and {i-} are distinct from {ta-} and {taN-} (5.1.1.10-11) and {iN-} (5.1.1.2) respectively, though some of their allomorphs are homophonous. Moreover, both {ta-} and {i-} occur only in combination with {R-}, never alone or with other derivational morphemes. For these reasons, the two combinations are regarded as morpheme complexes functioning as single morphemes and are symbolised as {R-+ta-} and {R-+i-} respectively. They are described in 5.1.1.13-14 below. (See 5.2.0.2-3 for a discussion of a similar situation among the inflectional morphemes.)

5.1.1.13 {R-+ta-}

{R-+ta-} has the following phonologically and morphologically conditioned allomorphs: <sup>a</sup>{RX-+ta- ~ R-+(ta- ∞ taN-)}.

<sup>a</sup>{R-+ta-} occurs with roots beginning with a vowel and is realised as the addition of a prothetic consonant (in this case, always /l-/) to the root, reduplication of that consonant and the initial vowel of the root, and prefixation of /ta-/. Thus:

/onom/ + {R-+ta-} → /tololonom/

<sup>a</sup>{R-+(ta- ∞ taN-)} occurs with roots beginning with a consonant, the only phonological restriction being that <sup>a</sup>{R-+taN-} may not occur with roots containing a medial -NC- cluster. It is manifested as reduplication of the initial CV- of the root and prefixation of /ta-/ or /taN-/. Thus:

/kilon/ + {R-+ta-} → /taŋkikilon/

/pila?/ + {R-+ta-} → /tapipila?/

When affixed to numerals, {R-+ta-} forms verb stems meaning 'S does something X at a time'; when affixed to other roots, it forms uninflectable participles of stem class pp2 (see 4.1.1.2.1) meaning 'S is X-shaped'.

EXAMPLES:

/tololonom/ 'S does something six at a time' + /onom/ 'six' + {R-+ta-}.

/tododondo?/ 'S does something one at a time' + /dondo?/ 'one' + {R-+ta-}.

/taŋkikilon/ 'S is tortuous/meandering' + /kilon/ 'bend/twist' + {R-+ta-}.

/tapipila?/ 'S is round/circular/flat' + /pila?/ 'breadth' + {R-+ta-}.

/talilinsuk/ 'S is angular' + /linsuk/ 'corner' + {R-+ta-}.

5.1.1.14 {R-+i-}

The morpheme {R-+i-} has the following allomorphs, which are both phonologically and morphologically conditioned: <sup>a</sup>{R-+i- ~ (i-+)RX-+i-}. They are distributed as follows:

<sup>a</sup>{R-+i-} occurs with roots beginning with a consonant and is realised as reduplication of the initial CV- of the root and prefixing of /i-/, thus:

/baŋkay/ + {R-+i-} → /ibabaŋkay/

<sup>a</sup>{i-+RX-+i-} and <sup>a</sup>{RX-+i-} both occur with roots beginning with a vowel, with the restriction that the former may not occur with roots whose initial phoneme is /i-/. <sup>a</sup>{i-+RX-+i-} is manifested by the prefixing of /i-/ to the root, together with the addition of a prothetic consonant (in this case always /g-/), both of which are reduplicated, and the prefixing of a second /i-/ to the resulting form, thus:

/ansip/ + {R-+i-} → /igigi ansip/

<sup>a</sup>{RX-+i-} is realised in similar fashion, but without the initial

prefixing of /i-/: in other words, the prothetic /g-/ is attached directly to the stem, which is then reduplicated and prefixed with /i-/ as above. Thus:

/abas/ + {R-+i-} → /igagabas/  
/ila?/ + {R-+i-} → /igigila?/

{R-+i-}, which occurs in 60 examples in the texts (all but 9 of them with identified roots), forms verb stems with a diminutive, deprecatory or reflexive meaning.

EXAMPLES:

/ibabaŋkay/ 'S plays possum' + /baŋkay/ 'corpse' + {R-+i-}.  
/igigiansip/ 'S dances between two poles which are moved rhythmically together and apart' + /ansip/ 'S nips/pinches O' + {R-+i-}.  
/igagabas/ 'S (swimmer) floats' + /abas/ 'S is adrift' + {R-+i-}.  
/igigila?/ 'S learns' + /ila?/ 'S teaches O' + {R-+i-}.  
/ilolongo?/ 'S stops for a short time' + /longo?/ 'S ceases' + {R-+i-}.  
/idadalaa/ 'S (girl) enters puberty/starts growing up' + /dalaa/ 'young woman' + {R-+i-}.

5.1.1.15 {Z-}

{Z-} has two allomorphs, <sup>a</sup>{Z-} and <sup>a</sup>{L-}, which in most contexts are in free alternation. <sup>a</sup>{Z-} is realised as reiteration of the whole stem, whereas <sup>a</sup>{L-}, which does not occur with stems beginning with a vowel, is manifested as reduplication of the initial CV- of the stem, with simultaneous doubling of the reduplicated vowel. Final /?/ is always lost from the reiterated stem.

/matutuo/ + {Z-} → /matutuo-matutuo/ or /maamatutuo/  
/osoy/ + {Z-} → /osoy-osoy/  
/kinawa?/ + {Z-} → /kinawa-kinawa?/ or /kiikinawa?/

The meaning of {Z-} varies according to the type of stem to which it is affixed.

A. With noun stems it means '*miscellaneous/various X's*'.

/matutuo/ 'parent' + {Z-} → /maamatutuo/ 'parents (generally)'  
/klnawa?/ 'fruit' + {Z-} → /kiikinawa?/ '(various) fruits'

B. With verbal stems, besides acting as an inflectional affix marking iplA participles (4.1.2.1), it also forms members of stem class pp2A (Perfect Participles, 4.1.1.2.1) which are inflected with [ma\*-] to mean '*S is a habitual X-er*'.

/abaw/ 'S tells a lie' + {Z-} → /abaw-abaw/ → /maabaw-abaw/ 'T/S is a liar'  
/kuli/ 'S plays' + {Z-} → /kuli-kuli/ or /kuukuli/ → /makuli-kuli/ or /makuukuli/ 'T/S is playful/mischievous'



C. When affixed to numerals, {Z-} has the meaning 'all X'.  
 /duo/ 'two' + {Z-} → /duo-duo/ or /duuduo/ 'both'  
 /talu/ 'three' + {Z-} → /talu-talu/ or /taatalu/ 'all three'

D. Indefinite pronouns are formed by affixing {Z-} to the interrogative pronouns.  
 /osoy/ 'who?' + {Z-} → /osoy-osoy/ 'whoever/anyone'  
 /kula?/ 'how much?' + {Z-} → /kula-kula?/ or /kuukula?/ 'however much/  
 any amount'.

Like {R-}, {Z-} may be affixed to a form already containing one or more inflectional morphemes. The two allomorphs seem to have the same distribution as with uninflected stems, except that <sup>a</sup>{L-} has not been recorded with forms containing an inflectional infix. When the initial consonant of the stem has been replaced by another consonant (usually a homorganic nasal) under the influence of a prefix such as [maŋ-] (5.2.1.1.3), the replacing consonant participates with the remainder of the stem in the process of reiteration and/or reduplication + doubling of the first vowel.

{Z-} has two contrary meanings: with most verbs it indicates an intensification of the action (e.g. 'tear up' versus 'tear to shreds'), while with other verbs and participles it indicates diminution of the action or the quality (e.g. 'hot' versus 'warm').

EXAMPLES:

/minatoy/ (stem: /patoy/) 'T/S died/is dead' + {Z-} → /minatoy-natoy/  
 'T/S(plur.) are all dead/exterminated'

/bininsaŋ/ (stem: /binsaŋ/) 'S tore up T/O' + {Z-} → /bininsaŋ-binsaŋ/  
 'S tore T/O to shreds'.

Other forms of the same verb with {Z-} are /binsaŋ-binsaŋon/  
 or /biibinsaŋon/ (from /binsaŋon/, Object focus, Future  
 Temporal aspect) and /maminsaŋ-minsaŋ/ or /mamiminsaŋ/  
 (from /maminsaŋ/, Subject focus, Future Temporal aspect).

/malasu?/ (stem: /lasu?/) 'T/S is hot' + {Z-} → /malasu-lasu?/ or  
 /malaalasu?/ 'T/S is warm'.

/maitom/ (stem: /itom/) 'T/S is black' + {Z-} → /maitom-itom/  
 'T/S is blackish'.

### 5.1.2 INFIXES

There are four derivational infixes in Timugon Murut: {-al-, -ul-, -um-, -in-}, of which the last two are also inflectional morphemes. All are monomorphic and all are infixes to the root between the initial consonant (if any) and the following vowel.<sup>1</sup> Derivational infixes are

<sup>1</sup>This statement does not apply to {-in-} as an inflectional morpheme (see e.g. 5.2.1.2.2-4).

much less common than prefixes; there are only 94 definite examples in the texts, distributed as follows:

{-al-}: 23 examples (16 with known roots)  
 {-ul-}: 22 examples (20 with known roots)  
 {-um-} 9 examples (5 with known roots)  
 {-in-} 40 examples (25 with known roots)

It is difficult to adduce any definite meanings for the first three morphemes, except that many stems containing {-ul-} are diminutives. The principal meaning of {-in-} as an inflectional morpheme is 'Past Temporal aspect, Object focus' (see 5.2.1.2.1), and reflections of this function can be seen in some of the examples. It also forms noun stems with the meaning '*something resembling X*', such forms being especially common in the names of basketwork patterns, ornaments and parts of the house.

EXAMPLES:

/talantab/ 'S cuts O(*grass*)' + /tantab/ 'sickle' + {-al-}.  
 /alawit/ 'S & S(*words/music*) are similar to e.o.' + /awit/ 'a person whose name is similar to one's own' + {-al-}.  
 /kulayus/ 'S beckons furtively' + /kayus/ 'S claws/scratches O' + {-ul-}.  
 /sulimpad/ 'S(*fish*) seizes O(*bait*)' + /simpad/ 'S(*crocodile*) seizes O' + {-ul-}.  
 /kadumaat/ 'haunted place' + /\*daat/ 'omen/evil' (attested in other dialects) + {-um-} + {ka-}.  
 /kinandoy/ 'parang, machete' + /kandoy/ 'S works [on O]' + {-in-}.  
 /liniagu/ 'lowest level of floor' + /liagu/ 'deep pool in river' + {-in-}.  
 /linopot/ 'packet of cooked rice for journey' + /lopot/ 'S wraps up O' + {-in-}.  
 /sinilow/ 'turmeric (*Curcuma longa*)' + /silow/ 'S is yellow' + {-in-}.  
 /minamoto/ 'basketwork pattern resembling rows of eyes' + /mato/ 'eye' + {R-} + {-in-}.

### 5.1.3 SUFFIXES

Although there are only two derivational suffixes in Timugon, they occur quite frequently in the texts. The two suffixes are {-an} and {-on}, both of which are monomorphic, and both of which occur also as inflectional morphemes. There are 91 examples of {-an} and 56 examples of {-on}, of which 56 and 28 respectively are affixed to identified roots.

As with the infixes above, it is not easy to ascribe definite meanings to these morphemes. As an inflectional morpheme (see 5.2.1.2.1),

{-on} has the meaning 'Future Temporal aspect, Object focus', which can be seen also in some of the examples below (e.g. /akanon/). There are many cases (such as /tuunon/), however, where, like {-an}, it has a locative function (which is also one of the functions performed by {-an} in its role as an inflectional morpheme indicating 'Associate focus'; see 5.2.1.4).

EXAMPLES:

/tutuan/ 'mortar' + /tutu/ 'S pounds O' + {-an}.

/ikuan/ 'free-tailed bat (*Tadarida plicatus*)' + /iku?/ 'tail' + {-an}.

/kabilan/ 'side (of body)' + /kabil/ 'S paddles' + {-an}.

/laŋkaban/ 'scaly anteater (*Manis javanica*)' + /laŋkab/ 'S flakes off' + {-an}.

/akanon/ 'food' + /akan/ 'S eats O' + {-on}.

/tuunon/ 'riverside, bathing-place' + /tuun/ 'S goes down' + {-on}.

/tuadon/ 'root of tongue' + /tuad/ 'S tips backwards' + {-on}.

/sidaŋon/ 'east' + /sidaŋ/ 'S(sun) rises' + {-on}.

## 5.2 INFLECTIONAL MORPHEMES

### 5.2.0 INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

#### 5.2.0.1 Inflectional categories

Most inflectional affixes of Timugon Murut are of three types: a) those which signal the mode of the Predicate (i.e. whether it is verbal or non-verbal, Primary or Secondary, Transitive or Intransitive, Causative or Petitive, and so on); b) those which signal the focus of the Predicate (Subject, Object, Referent, Associate or Instrument); and c) those which signal the aspect of the Predicate (Future Temporal, Past Temporal or Atemporal). The categories of mode and focus are described in chapters 3 and 4.

The category of aspect relates the action of the Predicate to the time of speaking, and, in some contexts, indicates whether or not the action is complete. Generally speaking, the Future Temporal aspect (FT) denotes an action which has not begun, or a habitual action (past, present, or future), or an action which takes place in an unspecified time slot. The Past Temporal aspect (PT) describes an action which occurred in the past, or a habitual action which used to occur but no longer does so. With the Atemporal aspect (AT), which occurs most frequently in imperatives and in narration, the time slot is either irrelevant or understood. Further tense-aspect gradations are conveyed by the use of Perfect Participles (see 4.1.1) or the Modifier /noyo ~ no/ (see 6.1.2).

### 5.2.0.2 Relationship between categories and markers

A problem arises in the description of Timugon inflected forms, in that in many cases a one-to-one correspondence between morpheme and category does not exist. Since only one category (Intransitive mode) is regularly unmarked, the anomalies are only partially explicable in terms of zero morphemes. Internal reconstruction of the inflected forms has indicated the probability that the original inflection pattern, at least in the Subject, Associate and Instrument focuses, was a highly regular one. This pattern seems to have consisted of the successive addition to the stem of morphemes marking mode, focus and aspect to form the Atemporal, Future Temporal and Past Temporal forms respectively, in such a way that only in the Past Temporal aspect was every category overtly marked.

The examples given below are the reconstructed forms of the three aspects of the verb /tataŋ/ 'leave behind' in the Causative mode and Subject focus, together with their modern reflexes.

AT: STEM + {\*pəpə-} 'Caus. mode' → /\*pəpətataŋ/ → /papatataŋ/.

FT: STEM + {\*pəpə-} + {\*-um-} 'Subj. focus' → /\*puməpətataŋ/ → /mapatataŋ/.

PT: STEM + {\*pəpə-} + {\*-um-} + {\*-in-} 'PT aspect' → /\*puminəpətataŋ/ → /napatataŋ/.

In the modern language the pattern has been obscured by various changes which have caused a redistribution of morphemes and the re-allocation of certain phoneme sequences to different morphemes. It is these processes that have resulted in the numerous lacunae in the present inflection pattern, which must somehow be accounted for in synchronic fashion.

The problem is illustrated by the pair /napatataŋ/ 'Caus. mode, Subj. focus, PT aspect of /tataŋ/' and /pinatataŋ/ 'Caus. mode, Obj. focus, PT aspect of /tataŋ/'. Both are sequences of a stem (/tataŋ/), a morpheme marking Causative mode ({pa-}), and a morpheme marking Past Temporal aspect ({na-} and {-in-} respectively). The only functional contrast between them is that of focus, which is precisely the category unmarked (or marked by zero) in both forms.

In dealing with a similar problem in Ilianen Manobo (Mindanao), Shand [1964] rejects the use of zero morphemes as a solution, because of the difficulty in "attributing the meaning contrast to zero when an overt difference between the two forms actually exists". Instead, in situations where the overt markers do not represent all the categories involved, she gives morphemic status to the whole cluster of stem + inflectional morphemes: "in these cases the cluster is the morphemic unit which as a whole signals the categories present".

### 5.2.0.3 Hypermorphemes

A method similar to Shand's is employed here. All clusters of inflectional morphemes (including those which have a one-to-one correspondence between formative and category) are set up as separate morphemic entities. These complex morphemes, henceforth referred to as 'hypermorphemes' and indicated thus: [mapa-], signal all three categories, even though they may consist only of the marker for one or two of them. Thus [mapa-] is a hypermorpheme denoting (among other things) 'Causative mode; Subject focus; Future Temporal aspect' and consisting of the morphemes {ma-} 'FT aspect' and {pa-} 'Caus. mode'.

### 5.2.0.4 Arrangement

The hypermorphemes are grouped categorially: verbal inflections are discussed in 5.2.1 and non-verbal inflections in 5.2.2. The verbal inflections are further subgrouped according to focus: those hypermorphemes accompanying Subject focus verbs are described first, followed by those found with Object focus verbs, and so on. Within the focus-group the hypermorphemes are arranged in the order in which they were encountered in chapter 3.

The Future Temporal aspects are taken as the base forms from which the other aspects are derived by a series of transformations of morphemes or hypermorphemes, each transformation rule being distinguished by a number. Although this may not be historically accurate (see 5.2.0.2), it is nevertheless the most convenient method, firstly because it often results in a simpler description and secondly because many verbs (e.g. all verbs in the Associate and Instrument focuses) have no Atemporal form. Moreover the use of the Future Temporal aspect or its equivalent in this way is a convention followed in most descriptions of Philippine languages (see McKaughan [1958], Newell [1964] and Reid [1966]).

The Future Temporal form of the hypermorpheme is described firstly in terms of the three categories which it signals and the stem classes with which it occurs, secondly in terms of its constituent morphemes and thirdly in terms of its allomorphs and their distribution. This is followed by a statement of the aspect transformations and a description of any irregular formations. In citing the meaning of a hypermorpheme, the designations of the mode, focus and aspect will be given in that order, separated by semicolons. Thus [mapa-] is cited as 'Caus.; SF; FT'.

The following cover-symbols should be noted:

[mag-] or {g-} are used as symbols for [mag1-] and [mag2-] or {g1-} and {g2-} respectively in the frequent cases where an identification

cannot be made because of the homophony of the two forms.

{G-} is used as a symbol for {g1-}, {g2-} and {η-}.

### 5.2.1 VERBAL INFLECTIONS

Following is a categorially arranged list of all the morphemes which make up the hypermorphemes found with Timugon verbs. Where a morpheme has two or more morphologically conditioned allomorphs, these are shown in brackets. Note that the terms used for the mode-markers are not exclusive, since most of them occur also in other modes than the ones whose names they bear.

#### Mode-markers:

Intransitive	unmarked
Intransitive desiderative	{ti-}
Reciprocal	{g1-} ( <sup>a</sup> {g1- ~ pag1-})
Transitive Static	{g2-} ( <sup>a</sup> {g2- ~ pag2-})
Transitive Dynamic	{η-} ( <sup>a</sup> {η- ~ paη-})
Causative	{pa-}
Petitive	{ki-} ( <sup>a</sup> {ki- ~ paki-})

#### Focus-markers:

Subject	{-um-}
Object	{-o}
Referent	{-i} ( <sup>a</sup> {-i ~ -an})
Associate	{-an}
Instrument	{R-}

#### Aspect-markers:

Future Temporal	{ma-} ( <sup>a</sup> {ma- ~ -n ~ pa-})
Past Temporal	{na-} ( <sup>a</sup> {na- ~ -in-})
Atemporal	{pa-} ( <sup>a</sup> {pa- ~ -?}).

#### 5.2.1.1 Subject focus inflections

##### 5.2.1.1.1 [-um-]

The hypermorpheme [-um-] 'Intrans.; SF; FT' consists of the single morpheme {-um-} 'S focus'. It occurs only with Intransitive verbs (stem classes *pv1-4*; see 3.1.1-4) and is realised by the infixing of the sequence /-um-/ immediately before the first vowel of the stem.

/tuun/ 'S goes down' + [-um-] → /tumuun/

/gayo/ 'S grows bigger' + [-um-] → /gumayo/

With stems whose initial phoneme is a vowel or a bilabial consonant, the initial (C)V- sequence of the inflected form is lost.

/oŋoy/ 'S goes' + [-um-] → /moŋoy/

/patoy/ 'S dies' + [-um-] → /matoy/

/bigod/ 'S stands' + [-um-] → /migod/

/mitiq/ 'S holds a meeting' + [-um-] → /mitiq/

The Past Temporal aspect is formed by replacing [-um-] with [-imin-] 'Intrans.; SF; PT', a hypermorpheme consisting of {-um-} and {-in-} 'PT aspect' (with the vowel of {-um-} assimilated to that of {-in-}).

Aspect transform rule PT1:

STEM + [-um-] → STEM + [-imin-]

/tumuun/ → /timinuun/

/gumayo/ → /giminayo/

Stems beginning with a vowel or a bilabial consonant lose the initial (C)V- sequence of the inflected form, as above.

/moŋoy/ → /minoy/

/matoy/ → /minatoy/

/migod/ → /minigod/

/mitiq/ → /minitiq/

The Atemporal aspect is the same in form as the stem, and is regarded as being derived from the Future Temporal form by deletion of [-um-].

Aspect transform rule AT1:

STEM + [-um-] → STEM

/tumuun/ → /tuun/

/gumayo/ → /gayo/

/moŋoy/ → /oy/

/matoy/ → /patoy/

/migod/ → /bigod/

/mitiq/ → /mitiq/

One stem, /datoŋ/ 'S comes', is irregularly inflected: its Future and Past Temporal forms are /matoŋ/ and /minatoŋ/ respectively, whereas the regular forms would be /\*dumatoŋ/ and /\*diminatoŋ/.

#### 5.2.1.1.2 [-mag-]

The symbol [-mag-] represents two distinct hypermorphemes, [-mag1-] and [-mag2-], which are, however, homophonous in most phonological environments and which have an overlapping distribution. Any stem inflected with either of these two affixes may optionally be further inflected with {R-} (see 5.1.1.12) to indicate plurality of topic.

##### 5.2.1.1.2.1 [-mag1-]

The hypermorpheme [-mag1-] 'Recip.; SF; FT' consists of two morphemes: {ma-} 'FT aspect' and {g1-} 'Recip. mode', and occurs not only with Reciprocal verbs (stem class pv5; see 3.1.5) but also with Intransitive

verbs (stems classes pvl-4; see 3.1.1-4). It has three phonologically conditioned allomorphs: <sup>a</sup>mag- ~ ma- ~ maN-.

<sup>a</sup>mag- occurs obligatorily with all stems whose initial phoneme is a vowel.

/andu?/ 'S & S marry e.o.' + magl- → /magandu?/

<sup>a</sup>ma- occurs with stems containing a sequence -NC- and stems beginning with a nasal consonant. It is also found as a variant of <sup>a</sup>maN-.

/tumbuk/ 'S & S thump e.o.' + magl- → /matumbuk/

/ŋuŋul/ 'S buzzes' + magl- → /maŋuŋul/

<sup>a</sup>maN-, which occurs with all other stems, has two morphologically conditioned variants: <sup>a</sup>maN- ∞ ma-. Some verb stems may take both variants, but most are restricted to one or the other.

/dulug/ 'S & S sleep with e.o.' + magl- → /mandulug/ or /madulug/

/diu?/ 'S bathes' + magl- → /madiu?/

/baya?/ 'S & S go with e.o.' + magl- → /mabaya?/

/gayo/ 'S(river) rises' + magl- → /mangayo/

/tobok/ 'S & S stab e.o.' + magl- → /montobok/

An initial /l-/ of a stem always becomes /d-/ in the presence of magl-, even when this is represented by an allomorph <sup>a</sup>ma- (/l-/ normally changes to /d-/ only when it is immediately preceded by /N-/).

/limpod/ 'S dresses up' + magl- → /madimpod/

/latok/ 'S & S mix with e.o.' + magl- → /madatok/

/luoy/ 'S(buffalo) wallows' + magl- → /manduoy/

The Past Temporal aspect is formed by substituting {na-} 'PT aspect' for {ma-}.

Aspect transform rule PT2:

STEM ± X + {ma-} → STEM ± X + {na-}

where X = any or no other morpheme.

/magandu?/ → /nagandu?/

/matumbuk/ → /natumbuk/

/maŋuŋul/ → /naŋuŋul/

/mandulug/ → /nandulug/

/madulug/ → /nadulug/

/madiu?/ → /nadiu?/

/mabaya?/ → /nabaya?/

/mangayo/ → /nangayo/

/montobok/ → /nontobok/

/madimpod/ → /nadimpod/

/madatok/ → /nadatok/

/manduoy/ → /nanduoy/

The Atemporal aspect is formed by replacing {ma-} with {pa-} 'AT aspect'.



Aspect transform rule AT2:

STEM ± X + {ma-} → STEM ± X + {pa-}

where X = any or no other morpheme.

/magandu?/ → /pagandu?/

/matumbuk/ → /patumbuk/

/maŋuŋul/ → /paŋuŋul/

/mandulug/ → /pandulug/

/madulug/ → /padulug/

/madiu?/ → /padiu?/

/mabaya?/ → /pabaya?/

/mangayo/ → /pangayo/

/montobok/ → /pontobok/

/madimpod/ → /padimpod/

/madatok/ → /padatok/

/manduoy/ → /panduoy/

#### 5.2.1.1.2.2 [mag2-]

The hypermorpheme [mag2-] 'Trans. Stat.; SF; FT', which consists of two morphemes ({ma-} 'FT aspect' and {g2-} 'Trans. Stat. mode'), occurs not only with Transitive Static verbs (stem class pv6; see 3.1.6) but also with Intransitive verbs (stem classes pv1-4; see 3.1.1-4) and Transitive Dynamic verbs (stem classes pv7-10 except pv7A-B; see 3.1.7-10). It has three phonologically defined allomorphs: <sup>a</sup>[mag- ~ mampa- ~ maN-].

<sup>a</sup>[mag-] occurs with all stems beginning with a vowel.

/asa?/ 'S sharpens O' + [mag2-] → /magasa?/

<sup>a</sup>[mampa-] occurs with stems beginning with /d-, g-, j-, l-/ or a nasal consonant and not containing a medial -NC- sequence.

/diu?/ 'S bathes O' + [mag2-] → /mampadiu?/

/ŋaa?/ 'S (buffalo) bleats' + [mag2-] → /mampaŋaa?/

/latok/ 'S mixes O [with R]' + [mag2-] → /mampalatok/

<sup>a</sup>[maN-] occurs with all other stems not containing a medial -NC- sequence.

/tutu/ 'S pounds [O]' + [mag2-] → /mantutu/

No instances have been recorded of [mag2-] occurring with stems of the shape CVNCV(C). It is suspected that such stems are absorbed into the [magi-] group if they are Intransitive and into the [maŋ-] group if they are Transitive.

The Past Temporal aspect is formed by rule PT2 (see 5.2.1.1.2.1 above).

/magasa?/ → /nagasa?/

/mampadiu?/ → /nampadiu?/

/mampaŋaa?/ + /nampaŋaa?/  
 /mampalatok/ + /nampalatok/  
 /mantutu/ + /nantutu/

The Atemporal aspect is formed by rule AT2 (see 5.2.1.1.2.1 above).

/magasa?/ + /pagasa?/  
 /mampadiu?/ + /pampadiu?/  
 /mampaŋaa?/ + /pampaŋaa?/  
 /mampalatok/ + /pampalatok/  
 /mantutu/ + /pantutu/

#### 5.2.1.1.3 [maŋ-]

The hypermorpheme [maŋ-] 'Trans. Dyn.; SF; FT' consists of the morphemes {ma-} 'FT aspect' and {ŋ-} 'Trans. Dyn. mode' and occurs with Transitive Dynamic verbs (stem classes pv7-10 except pv7A-B; see 3.1.7-10) and with some verbs of the Intransitive stem class pvl (see 3.1.1). It has three phonologically conditioned allomorphs: <sup>a</sup>[maŋ- ~ mama- ~ maN̄-].

[maŋ-] occurs with all stems beginning with a vowel.

/andu?/ 'S(*man*) marries O' + [maŋ-] + /maŋandu?/

<sup>a</sup>[mama-] occurs with stems beginning with /d-, g-, j-, l-/ or a nasal consonant.

/lopot/ 'S wraps up O' + [maŋ-] + /momolopot/

<sup>a</sup>[maN̄-] occurs elsewhere.

/baya?/ 'S follows O' + [maŋ-] + /mamaya?/

/tutu/ 'S pounds O' + [maŋ-] + /manutu/

The Past Temporal and Atemporal aspects are formed by rules PT2 and AT2 respectively (see 5.2.1.1.2.1).

/maŋandu?/ + /naŋandu?/, /paŋandu?/  
 /momolopot/ + /nomolopot/, /pomolopot/  
 /mamaya?/ + /namaya?/, /pamaya?/  
 /manutu/ + /nanutu/, /panutu/

#### 5.2.1.1.4 [mati-]

[mati-] 'Intrans. Desid.; SF; FT' is a hypermorpheme made up of {ma-} 'FT aspect' and {ti-} 'Desiderative mode'. It occurs with a small number of stems which could be set up as a separate Desiderative class, co-ordinate with Intransitive, Transitive, Causative and Petitve verbs. They have, however, been included in the Intransitive stem class pvl (see 3.1.1), because of their syntactic identity with the members of that stem class.

/kooloŋ/ 'S is sleepy' + [mati-] + /matikooloŋ/

/lua?/ 'S is nauseated' + [mati-] → /matilua?/

The Past Temporal and Atemporal aspects are formed by rules PT2 and AT2 respectively (see 5.2.1.1.2.1).

/matikooloŋ/ → /natikooloŋ/, /patikooloŋ/  
/matilua?/ → /natilua?/, /patilua?/

#### 5.2.1.1.5 [mapa-]

[mapa-] 'Caus.; SF; FT' is a hypermorpheme consisting of {ma-} 'FT aspect' and {pa-} 'Caus. mode'. It occurs with all members of the Causative stem classes sv1-2 (see 3.2.1-2), all members of the Transitive Instrumental stem classes pv11-12 (see 3.1.11-12), and stems belonging to the Transitive Dynamic subclass pv7A (see 3.1.7).

/oŋoy/ 'S causes O to go' + [mapa-] → /mopoŋoy/  
/lamba?/ 'S causes [A] to beat R' + [mapa-] → /mapalamba?/  
/tudu?/ 'S aims [at A] with O' + [mapa-] → /mapatudu?  
/kaladom/ 'S sharpens O' + [mapa-] → /mapakaladom/

The Past Temporal and Atemporal aspects are formed by rules PT2 and AT2 respectively.

/mopoŋoy/ → /nopoŋoy/, /popoŋoy/  
/mapalamba?/ → /napalamba?/, /papalamba?/  
/mapatudu?/ → /napatudu?/, /papatudu?  
/mapakaladom/ → /napakaladom/, /papakaladom/

#### 5.2.1.1.6 [maki-]

The hypermorpheme [maki-] 'Pet.; SF; FT', which consists of the two morphemes {ma-} 'FT aspect' and {ki-} 'Pet. mode', occurs with stems belonging to the Petitive stem classes sv3-4 (see 3.2.3-4) and the Transitive Dynamic subclass pv7B (see 3.1.7).

/indaŋan/ 'S asks [A] to help [O]' + [maki-] → /makiindaŋan/  
/luuton/ 'S asks [A] for firewood' + [maki-] → /makiluuton/  
/ama?/ 'S calls O "father"' + [maki-] → /makiama?/

The Past Temporal and Atemporal aspects are formed by rules PT2 and AT2 respectively.

/makiindaŋan/ → /nakiindaŋan/, /pakiindaŋan/  
/makiluuton/ → /nakiluuton/, /pakiluuton/  
/makiama?/ → /nakiamama?/, /pakiamama?/

### 5.2.1.2 Object focus inflections

#### 5.2.1.2.1 [-on]

The hypermorpheme [-on] 'Primary; OF; FT' is made up of two morphemes: {-o} 'O focus' and {-n} 'FT aspect'. It occurs with stems

belonging to the following stem classes and subclasses: pv3 (see 3.1.3), pv7 and 7A (see 3.1.7), and pv8 and 8A (see 3.1.8).

/oŋoy/ 'S goes [for O]' + [-on] → /oŋoyon/  
 /patoy/ 'S kills O' + [-on] → /potoyon/  
 /kaladom/ 'S sharpens O' + [-on] → /kolodomon/  
 /ilaʔ/ 'S teaches O' + [-on] → /ilaan/  
 /baal/ 'S makes O for R' + [-on] → /baalon/

The Past Temporal aspect is formed by replacing [-on] with the hypermorpheme [-in-] 'Primary; OF; PT' which consists of the single morpheme {-in-} 'PT aspect'.

Aspect transform rule PT3:

STEM ± X + {-o} + {-n} → STEM ± X + {-in-}

where X = any or no other morpheme.

/oŋoyon/ → /inoŋoy/  
 /potoyon/ → /pinatoy/  
 /kolodomon/ → /kinaladom/  
 /ilaan/ → /inilaʔ/  
 /baalon/ → /binaal/

The Atemporal aspect is formed by replacing {-n} with the morpheme {-ʔ} 'AT aspect'.

Aspect transform rule AT3:

STEM ± X + Y + {-n} → STEM ± X + Y + {-ʔ}

where Y = a focus-marking morpheme, and X = any or no other morpheme.

/oŋoyon/ → /oŋoyoʔ/  
 /potoyon/ → /potoyoʔ/  
 /kolodomon/ → /kolodomoʔ/  
 /ilaan/ → /ilaaʔ/  
 /baalon/ → /baaloʔ/

#### 5.2.1.2.2 [-pa--on]

The hypermorpheme [-pa--on] 'Caus.; OF; FT' has three constituent morphemes: {-pa-} 'Caus. mode', {-o} 'O focus', and {-n} 'FT aspect'. It occurs with all those members of the Causative stem class sv1 (see 3.2.1) which are derived from Primary verbs inflected with [-um-], and (irregularly) with a few which are derived from other Primary verbs.

/oŋoy/ 'S causes O to go' + [-pa--on] → /poŋoyon/  
 /akan/ 'S causes O to eat [A]' + [-pa--on] → /paakanon/

The Past Temporal and Atemporal aspects are formed by rules PT3 and AT3 respectively (see 5.2.1.2.1).

/poŋoyon/ → /pinoŋoy/, /poŋoyoʔ/

/paakanon/ → /pinaakan/, /paakano?/

### 3.2.1.2.3 []paG--on[]

The hypermorpheme []paG--on[] occurs with those members of the Causative stem class sv1 (see 3.2.1) which are derived from a Primary verb inflected with []maG-[] . It has the same constituent morphemes as []pa--on[] (above), with the addition of one of the mode-markers {g1-, g2-, η-} transferred from the Primary verb, the Future Temporal form of which is shown in brackets after each example below.

/andu?/        'S causes O & O to marry e.o.' + []paG--on[] → /paganduon/  
                   (/magandu?/)

/latok/        'S causes O & O to mix with e.o.' + []paG--on[] →  
                   /podotokon/ (/madatok/)

/lula?/        'S causes O to go hunting' + []paG--on[] → /pampalulaan/  
                   (/mampalula?/)

/saduy/        'S causes O to swim' + []paG--on[] → /pansaduyon/  
                   (/mansaduy/)

/kulintangan/ 'S causes O to play the tube-zither' + []paG--on[] →  
                   /paḡulintanganon/ (/maḡulintangan/)

The Past Temporal and Atemporal aspects are formed by rules PT3 and AT3 respectively.

/paganduon/     → /pinagandu?/, /paganduo?/  
 /podotokon/     → /pinadatok/, /podotoko?/  
 /pampalulaan/ → /pinampalula?/, /pampalulaa?/  
 /pansaduyon/   → /pinansaduy/, /pansaduyo?/  
 /paḡulintanganon/ → /pinagaḡulintangan/, /paḡulintangan?/

### 5.2.1.2.4 [(pa)ki--on[]

The hypermorpheme [(pa)ki--on[] 'Pet.; OF; FT' has three constituent morphemes: {ki-} 'Pet. mode', {-o} 'O focus', and {-n} 'FT aspect'. It occurs with verbs of the Petitive stem class sv3 (see 3.2.3) and the Transitive Dynamic subclass pv7B (see 3.1.7). Except in the last-named environment, the two allomorphs of {ki-} (<sup>a</sup>{ki-} and <sup>a</sup>{paki-}) are in free variation; pv7B verbs are never found with the <sup>a</sup>{paki-} allomorph.

/ama?/        'S calls O "father"' + [(pa)ki--on[] → /kiamaan/  
 /indangan/    'S asks [A] to help O' + [(pa)ki--on[] → /pakiindanganon/ or  
                   /kiindanganon/  
 /taak/        'S asks [A] to give O [to R]' + [(pa)ki--on[] → /pakitaakon/  
                   or /kitaakon/

The Past Temporal and Atemporal aspects are formed by rules PT3 and AT3 respectively.

/kiamaan/ → /kiniama?/, /kiamaa?/  
 /pakiindaganon/ → /pinakiindagan/, /pakiindagano?/  
 /kiindaganon/ → /kiniindagan/, /kiindagano?/  
 /pakitaakon/ → /pinakitaak/, /pakitaako?/  
 /kitaakon/ → /kinitaak/, /kitaako?/

### 5.2.1.3 Referent focus inflections

#### 5.2.1.3.1 [-in]

The hypermorpheme [-in] 'Primary; RF; FT' is made up of two morphemes: {-i} 'R focus' and {-n} 'FT aspect'. It occurs with stems belonging to the following stem classes and subclasses: **pv4** (see 3.1.4), and **pv8**, **8A**, **9**, **10**, **10A** (see 3.1.8-10).

/taŋi?/ 'S weeps [for R]' + [-in] → /taŋiin/  
 /baal/ 'S makes O for R' + [-in] → /baalin/  
 /ingulu/ 'S beheads R' + [-in] → /inguluin/  
 /atod/ 'S escorts R' + [-in] → /atadin/

The Past Temporal aspect is formed by replacing [-in] with [-in--an] 'Primary; RF; PT', a hypermorpheme consisting of {-in-} 'PT aspect' and {-an} 'R focus'.

Aspect transform rule **PT4**:

STEM ± X + {-i} + {-n} → STEM ± X + {-in-} + {-an}

where X = any or no other morpheme.

/taŋiin/ → /tinaŋian/  
 /baalin/ → /binaalan/  
 /inguluin/ → /ininguluan/  
 /atadin/ → /inatadan/

The Atemporal aspect is formed by rule **AT3** (see 5.2.1.2.1 above).

/taŋiin/ → /taŋii?/  
 /baalin/ → /baali?/  
 /inguluin/ → /ingului?/  
 /atadin/ → /atadi?/

#### 5.2.1.3.2 [pa--in]

[pa--in] 'Caus.; RF; FT' consists of three morphemes: {pa-} 'Caus. mode', {-i} 'R focus', and {-n} 'FT aspect'. It occurs with stems belonging to the Causative stem class **sv2** (see 3.2.2).

/lamba?/ 'S causes [A] to beat R' + [pa--in] → /palambain/  
 /kodojo/ 'S causes [A] to work on R' + [pa--in] → /pakadajain/

The Past Temporal and Atemporal aspects are formed by rules **PT4** and **AT3** respectively.

/palambain/ → /pinalambaan/, /palambai?/  
 /pakadajain/ → /pinakadajaan/, /pakadajai?/

#### 5.2.1.3.3 []paG--in[]

This hypermorpheme occurs with the members of the Transitive Instrumental stem class pvl2 (see 3.1.12), of which only four instances are recorded. They are all relatable to Transitive Dynamic verbs, the mode-markers of which are incorporated into []paG--in[]. Otherwise it contains the same morphemes as []pa--in[] above.

/alig/ 'S exchanges R [for A]' + []paG--in[] → /pagaligin/ (/magalig/)  
 /inuy/ 'S uses R as an allusion [to A]' + []paG--in[] → /paŋinuin/  
 (/maŋinuy/)

The Past Temporal and Atemporal aspects are formed by rules PT4 and AT3 respectively.

/pagaligin/ → /pinagaligan/, /pagaligi?/  
 /paŋinuin/ → /pinaŋinuyan/, /paŋinui?/

#### 5.2.1.3.4 [](pa)ki--in[]

The three constituent morphemes of [](pa)ki--in[] 'Pet.; RF; FT' are {ki-} 'Pet. mode', {-i} 'R focus', and {-n} 'FT aspect'. It occurs with stems belonging to the Petitve stem classes sv3-4 (see 3.2.3-4). The two allomorphs of {ki-}, <sup>a</sup>{ki-} and <sup>a</sup>{paki-}, are in free variation throughout.

/taak/ 'S asks [A] to give O to R' + [](pa)ki--in[] → /pakitaakin/ or  
 /kitaakin/  
 /sansam/ 'S asks [A] for vegetables for R' + [](pa)ki--in[] →  
 /pakisansamin/ or /kisansamin/

The Past Temporal and Atemporal aspects are formed from rules PT4 and AT3 respectively.

/pakitaakin/ → /pinakitaakan/, /pakitaaki?/  
 /kitaakin/ → /kinitaakan/, /kitaaki?/  
 /pakisansamin/ → /pinakisansaman/, /pakisansami?/  
 /kisansamin/ → /kinisansaman/, /kisansami?/

#### 5.2.1.4 Associate focus inflections

Associate focus verbs occur only in Nominal clauses (see chapter 8), and therefore have no Atemporal forms.

##### 5.2.1.4.1 []-an[]

[]-an[] 'Intrans.; AF; FT' is a hypermorpheme consisting of the single morpheme {-an} 'A focus'. It occurs with all verbs which are inflected

with [-um-] in the Subject focus (see 5.2.1.1.1).

/tuun/ 'S goes down' + [-an] → /tuunan/

/oŋoy/ 'S goes' + [-an] → /aŋayan/

/patoy/ 'S dies' + [-an] → /patayan/

The Past Temporal aspect is formed by the addition of {-in-} 'PT aspect' to the Future Temporal forms. This results in a hypermorpheme [-in--an] 'Intrans.; AF; PT' which is homophonous with [-in--an] 'Primary; RF; PT' (see 5.2.1.3.1).

Aspect transform rule PT5:

STEM + X → STEM + X + {-in-}

where X = any other morpheme or morphemes.

/tuunan/ → /tinuunan/

/aŋayan/ → /inaŋayan/

/patayan/ → /pinatayan/

#### 5.2.1.4.2 [-paG--an]

The hypermorpheme [-paG--an] 'Recip., Trans. Stat., or Trans. Dyn.; AF; FT' occurs with verbs which are inflected with [mag1-, mag2-, maŋ-] in the Subject focus (see 5.2.1.1.2-3), and consists of three morphemes: {pa-} 'FT aspect', {-an} 'A focus', and the appropriate mode-marker ({g1-} 'Recip. mode' {g2-} 'Trans. Stat. mode' or {ŋ-} 'Trans. Dyn. mode').

/andu?/ 'S & S marry e.o.' + [-paG--an] → /paganduan/

/latok/ 'S & S mix with e.o.' + [-paG--an] → /padatakan/

/lula?/ 'S goes hunting' + [-paG--an] → /pampalulaan/

/saduy/ 'S swims' + [-paG--an] → /pansaduyan/

/kulintangan/ 'S plays the tube-zither' + [-paG--an] → /paŋulintanganan/

/lopot/ 'S wraps up O' + [-paG--an] → /pamalapatan/

The Past Temporal aspect is formed by substituting {na-} 'PT aspect' for {pa-}.

Aspect transform rule PT6:

STEM + X + {pa-} → STEM + X + {na-}

where X = any other morpheme or morphemes.

/paganduan/ → /naganduan/

/padatakan/ → /nadatakan/

/pampalulaan/ → /nampalulaan/

/pansaduyan/ → /nansaduyan/

/paŋulintanganan/ → /naŋulintanganan/

/pamalapatan/ → /namalapatan/



## 5.2.1.4.3 [papa--an]

The hypermorpheme [papa--an] 'Caus.; AF; FT', which occurs with all verbs inflected with [mapa-] in the Subject focus (see 5.2.1.1.5), consists of three morphemes: {pa-} 'FT aspect', {pa-} 'Caus. mode', and {-an} 'A focus'.

/oŋoy/ 'S causes O to go' + [papa--an] → /papaŋayan/  
 /lamba?/ 'S causes [A] to beat R' + [papa--an] → /papalambaan/  
 /tudu?/ 'S aims [at A] with O' + [papa--an] → /papatuduan/  
 /kaladom/ 'S sharpens O' + [papa--an] → /papakaladaman/

The Past Temporal aspect is formed by rule PT6 (above).

/papaŋayan/ → /napaŋayan/  
 /papalambaan/ → /napalambaan/  
 /papatuduan/ → /napatuduan/  
 /papakaladaman/ → /napakaladaman/

## 5.2.1.4.4 [paki--an]

[paki--an] 'Pet.; AF; FT' is a hypermorpheme made up of {pa-} 'FT aspect', {ki-} 'Pet. mode', and {-an} 'A focus'. It occurs with all stems which are inflected with [maki-] in the Subject focus (5.2.1.1.6).

/indaŋan/ 'S asks [A] to help [O]' + [paki--an] → /pakiindaŋanan/  
 /luuton/ 'S asks [A] for firewood' + [paki--an] → /pakiluutanan/  
 /ama?/ 'S calls O "father"' + [paki--an] → /pakiamaan/

The Past Temporal aspect is formed by rule PT6.

/pakiindaŋanan/ → /nakiindaŋanan/  
 /pakiluutanan/ → /nakiluutanan/  
 /pakiamaan/ → /nakiamaan/

## 5.2.1.5 Instrument focus inflections

The only stems inflectable for Instrument focus are those belonging to the Transitive Dynamic stem classes pv7-10 (see 3.1.7-10). Since verbs in this focus occur only in Nominal clauses, they have no Atemporal forms.

## 5.2.1.5.1 [paG--+R-]

The hypermorpheme [paG--+R-] 'Trans. Stat. or Trans. Dyn.; IF; FT' consists of two morphemes: {pag2-} 'Trans. Stat. mode' or {paŋ-} 'Trans. Dyn. mode', and {R-} 'I focus'. The mode-marker is always the same as that found with the stem in the Subject focus (which is shown in brackets after the examples below). {R-} is manifested as reduplication of the first vowel of the stem and the consonant immediately preceding it. However, when {paG-} is represented by the <sup>a</sup>{pampa-} and

<sup>a</sup>{pama-} allomorphs of {g2} and {η-} respectively, it is the final -CV of the prefix which is reduplicated.

- /idu?/ 'S removes O from R [with I]' + [paG-+R-] → /paŋiŋidu?/  
 (/maŋidu?/)
- /lamba?/ 'S beats O [with I]' + [paG-+R-] → /pamamalamba?/  
 (/mamalamba?/)
- /ball/ 'S buys O for R [with I]' + [paG-+R-] → /pambabali/  
 (/mambali/)
- /juul/ 'S pushes R forward [with I]' + [paG-+R-] → /pampapajuul/  
 (/mampajuul/)

The Past Temporal aspect is formed by rule PT5 (see 5.2.1.4.1).

- /paŋiŋidu?/ → /pinanŋiŋidu?/  
 /pamamalamba?/ → /pinamamalamba?/  
 /pambabali/ → /pinambabali/  
 /pampapajuul/ → /pinampapajuul/

## 5.2.2 PERFECT PARTICIPIAL INFLECTIONS

Perfect Participles (PP) occur in the Subject and Associate focuses. With Subject focus participles another category, 'voice', is present, which parallels in many respects the function of 'focus' with verbs (see 4.1.1). Subject focus PP's occurring in the Active, Passive and Referential voices are symbolised as ActPP, PassPP, and RefPP respectively.

### 5.2.2.1 Subject focus inflections

#### 5.2.2.1.1 [maka-]

[maka-] 'ActPP; SF; FT' is a hypermorpheme consisting of the morphemes {ma-} 'FT aspect' and {ka-} 'PP mode'. It occurs with both basic and derived participles of stem class pplA-B (see 4.1.1.1).

- /asi?/ 'S is sorry' + [maka-] → /makaasi?/  
 /tinai?/ 'S is pregnant' + [maka-] → /makatinai?/  
 /alok/ 'S smells [O]' + [maka-] → /makaalok/  
 /doŋog/ 'S hears [O]' + [maka-] → /mokodoŋog/

The Past Temporal and Atemporal aspects are formed by rules PT2 and AT2 respectively (see 5.2.1.1.2.1).

- /makaasi?/ → /nakaasi?/, /pakaasi?/  
 /makatinai?/ → /nakatinai?/, /pakatinai?/  
 /makaalok/ → /nakaalok/, /pakaalok/  
 /mokodoŋog/ → /nokodoŋog/, /pokodoŋog/

## 5.2.2.1.2 []makapaG-[]

[]makapaG-[] occurs with those participles of stem class pplB which are derived from primary verbs inflected with []mag1-, mag2-, maᅇ-[] in the Subject focus. It is made up of the same morphemes as []maka-[] above, with the addition of the appropriate mode-marker ({pag1-, pag2-, paᅇ-}) transferred from the primary verb, and has the same meaning as []maka-[], namely 'ActPP; SF; FT'.

/andu?/        'S & S marry e.o.' + []makapaG-[] + /makapagandu?/  
 (/magandu?/)

/latok/        'S & S mix with e.o.' + []makapaG-[] + /makapadatok/  
 (/madatok/)

/lula?/        'S goes hunting' + []makapaG-[] + /makapampalula?/  
 (/mampalula?/)

/saduy/        'S swims' + []makapaG-[] + /makapansaduy/ (/mansaduy/)

/kulintangan/ 'S plays the tube-zither' + []makapaG-[] + /makapaᅇulintangan/  
 (/maᅇulintangan/)

/lopot/        'S wraps up O' + []makapaG-[] + /mokopomolopot/ (/momolopot/)

The Past Temporal and Atemporal aspects are formed by rules PT2 and AT2 respectively (see 5.2.1.1.2.1).

/makapagandu?/        + /nakapagandu?/, /pakapagandu?/  
 /makapadatok/        + /nakapadatok/, /pakapadatok/  
 /makapampalula?/    + /nakapampalula?/, /pakapampalula?/  
 /makapansaduy/       + /nakapansaduy/, /pakapansaduy/  
 /makapaᅇulintangan/ + /nakapaᅇulintangan/, /pakapaᅇulintangan/  
 /mokopomolopot/    + /nokopomolopot/, /pokopomolopot/

## 5.2.2.1.3 []ma-[]

[]ma-[] 'PassPP; SF; FT' is a hypermorpheme consisting of the single morpheme {ma-} 'FT aspect'. It occurs with both basic and derived members of participial stem class pp2 (see 4.1.1.2).

/aguy/        'S is tired' + []ma-[] + /maaguy/  
 /panday/     'S knows/is able' + []ma-[] + /mapanday/  
 /bali/        'S is bought [by S]' + []ma-[] + /mabali/  
 /lopot/       'S is wrapped up [by S]' + []ma-[] + /molopot/

The Past Temporal aspect is formed by rule PT2 (see 5.2.1.1.2.1).

/maaguy/        + /naaguy/  
 /mapanday/     + /napanday/  
 /mabali/        + /nabali/  
 /molopot/       + /nolopot/

The Atemporal aspect is formed by replacing []ma-[] with the hypermorpheme []ka-[] 'PassPP; SF; AT', which consists of the single morpheme

{ka-} 'PP mode'.

Aspect transform rule AT4:

STEM + [ma-] → STEM + [ka-]

/maaguy/ → /kaaguy/

/mapanday/ → /kapanday/

/mabali/ → /kabali/

/molopot/ → /kolopot/

#### 5.2.2.1.4 [ma\*-]

The hypermorpheme [ma\*-] differs from [ma-] (above) only in two respects: a) it occurs only with basic Perfect Participles (stem class pp2A, 4.1.1.2.1); and b) it possesses no Past Temporal form.

/lasu?/ 'S is hot' + [ma\*-] → /malasu?/

/onsoy/ 'S is good' + [ma\*-] → /moonsoy/

The Atemporal aspect is formed by rule AT4 (above).

/malasu?/ → /kalasu?/

/moonsoy/ → /koonsoy/

#### 5.2.2.1.5 [-on\*]

The hypermorpheme [-on\*] 'PassPP; SF; FT' has the same meaning as [ma-] and [ma\*-] above, but appears to be made up of the same morphemes as [-on] (q.v. 5.2.1.2.1), with which, except in the Past Temporal aspect, it is always homophonous. It occurs with only a dozen stems, which are all members of stem class pp2A (see 4.1.1.2.1).

/tampio/ 'S is drought-stricken' + [-on\*] → /tampioon/

/ulapun/ 'S is mouldy' + [-on\*] → /ulapunon/

/dasan/ 'S sweats' + [-on\*] → /dasanon/

The Past Temporal aspect is formed by rule PT5 (see 5.2.1.4.1). The resulting combination of two contradictory aspect-markers ([-in-] 'PT' and [-n] 'FT') in the same word can only be accounted for if it is assumed that the hypermorpheme [-on\*] is no longer felt to incorporate the aspect-marking morpheme [-n].

/tampioon/ → /tinampioon/

/ulapunon/ → /inulapunon/

/dasanon/ → /dinasanon/

The Atemporal aspect is formed by rule AT3 (see 5.2.1.2.1).

/tampioon/ → /tampioo?/

/ulapunon/ → /ulapuno?/

/dasanon/ → /dasano?/

## 5.2.2.1.6 [ma--an]

The hypermorpheme [ma--an] 'RefPP; SF; FT' consists of two morphemes: {ma-} 'FT aspect' and {-an} 'Ref. voice'. It occurs with both basic and derived members of participial stem class pp3 (see 4.1.1.3).

/duol/ 'S is ill' + [ma--an] + /madualan/  
 /onsoy/ 'S is pleased' + [ma--an] + /maansayan/  
 /lillian/ 'S is forgotten [by S]' + [ma--an] + /malilianan/  
 /bali/ 'S is bought something [by S]' + [ma--an] + /mabalian/

The Past Temporal aspect is formed by rule PT2 (see 5.2.1.1.2.1).

/madualan/ + /nadualan/  
 /maansayan/ + /naansayan/  
 /malilianan/ + /nalilianan/  
 /mabalian/ + /nabalian/

The Atemporal aspect is formed by replacing [ma--an] with the hypermorpheme [ka--i?] 'RefPP; SF; AT', which is composed of three morphemes: {ka-} 'PP mode', {-i} 'Ref. voice', and {-?} 'AT aspect'.

Aspect transform rule AT5:

STEM + [ma--an] → STEM + [ka--i?]

/madualan/ + /kaduali?/  
 /maansayan/ + /kaansai?/  
 /malilianan/ + /kalilianai?/  
 /mabalian/ + /kabalii?/

## 5.2.2.1.7 [ka--an]

The hypermorpheme [ka--an] 'RefPP; SF; FT', which consists of the two morphemes {ka-} 'PP mode' and {-an} 'Ref. voice', occurs with a restricted number of pp3A stems (basic Referential Perfect Participles) and can be regarded as a variant of [ma--an], with which it is identical in the Past Temporal and Atemporal aspects.

/agat/ 'S is weighed down' + [ka--an] + /kaagatan/  
 /indadapat/ 'S is disappointed' + [ka--an] + /kaindadapatan/

The Past Temporal aspect is formed by replacing {ka-} with {na-} 'PT aspect'.

Aspect transform rule PT7:

STEM + {ka-} + {-an} → STEM + {na-} + {-an}

/kaagatan/ + /naagatan/  
 /kaindadapatan/ + /naindadapatan/

The Atemporal aspect is formed by replacing [ka--an] with [ka--i?] (q.v. above).

Aspect transform rule AT6:

STEM + {ka-} + {-an} → STEM + {ka-} + {-i} + {-?}

/kaagatan/ → /kaagati?/

/kaindadapatan/ → /kaindadapati?/

### 5.2.2.2 Associate focus inflections

The three categories of 'voice' found in the Subject focus Perfect Participles (Active, Passive, and Referential) are not marked in the Associate focus, for which there is accordingly only a single form.

#### 5.2.2.2.1 [ka--an]

[ka--an] 'PP; AF; FT' is a hypermorpheme consisting of {ka-} 'PP mode' and {-an} 'A focus'. It occurs with all Perfect Participle stems except those inflected with [makapaG-] and [-on\*] in the Subject focus (see 5.2.2.1.2 and 5.2.2.1.5 respectively). The Subject focus inflections are shown in brackets. Like all Associate focus forms, [ka--an] has no Atemporal aspect.

/asi?/ 'S is sorry' + [ka--an] → /kaasian/ ([maka-])

/donog/ 'S hears O' + [ka--an] → /kadanagan/ ([maka-])

/aguy/ 'S is tired' + [ka--an] → /kaaguyan/ ([ma-])

/bali/ 'S is bought [by S]' + [ka--an] → /kabalian/ ([ma-])

/onsoy/ 'S is good' + [ka--an] → /kaansayan/ ([ma\*-])

/onsoy/ 'S is pleased' + [ka--an] → /kaansayan/ ([ma--an])

/bali/ 'S is bought something [by S]' + [ka--an] → /kabalian/  
([ma--an])

/indadapat/ 'S is disappointed' + [ka--an] → /kaindadapatan/ ([ka--an])

The Past Temporal aspect is formed by rule PT7 (above).

/kaasian/ → /naasian/

/kada agan/ → /nada agan/

/kaaguyan/ → /naaguyan/

/kabalian/ (both voices) → /nabalian/

/kaansayan/ (both voices) → /naansayan/

/kaindadapatan/ → /naindadapatan/

### 5.2.3 OTHER NON-VERBAL INFLECTIONS

Of the remaining inflectional morphemes (i.e. those occurring with members of the stem classes ipl, nfpl-2, and ex2), {R-} and {Z-} have already been discussed in full in the section dealing with derivational morphemes (see 5.1.1.12-15), while the others are all monomorphic and undergo no aspect transformations. They therefore need no other description than that which they receive in the appropriate section of chapter 4.

## CHAPTER 6

### CLAUSE EXPONENTS AND ORDERINGS

#### 6.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter (and the following) attempts to apply the procedures for generating grammatical sequences from tagmemic formulae which were advocated by Longacre [1964] and tested by Reid [1966], with some modifications, in his work on Ivatan.

Since a tagmemic formula does not represent a particular clause (or any other construction), but rather summarises all the possible constructions which can be formed from it, it is first necessary to select a particular reading of the formula. Longacre [1964] described this operation as follows:

- "(1) All symbols following plus signs are retained.
- (2) A given  $\pm$  sign is read as either plus or minus; the symbol following it is retained only if it has been read as plus.
- (3) Superscript <sup>2</sup> permits us to read a symbol either once or twice in a given reading. Superscript <sup>n</sup> permits us to read a symbol as many times as desired in a given reading.
- (4) The signs and superscripts are removed; the reading of a formula contains only symbols for tagmemes."

The string of tagmeme symbols now represents not all of the possible constructions derivable from the formula, but only some of them. Since many tagmemes have more than one possible manifestation, however, it is necessary to perform an exponence operation, by which one of the possible manifestations is selected for each tagmeme. The tagmeme symbols are therefore replaced by exponential labels, which themselves represent lower level tagmemic formulae.

The next stage is a permutation operation, by which certain tagmemes are re-arranged in an order different from that supplied by the reading. This operation must take place here, since it is often dependent on the selection (by the previous procedure) of a particular exponent of a tagmeme. Each possible permutation of a string of tagmemes must therefore be described with reference to the exponents of those tagmemes.

The final procedure, a particular ordering having been selected, consists of the replacement of the exponential labels by the tagmemic formulae which they represent. The whole cycle of four operations can now be repeated on each of the formulae thus obtained.

The first part of this chapter, therefore, states all the possible exponents of nuclear and peripheral clause-level tagmemes (in that order) in the form of exponential labels. The second part describes the allowable permutations which those tagmemes may undergo, with reference to their manifestations. Each permutation rule is accompanied by illustrative examples, which consist of the selection of a particular reading of a tagmemic formula, a statement of the tagmemes' exponents, and a listing of the various sequences obtainable from the permutation rule. The next chapter carries out the final operation of the cycle, namely the replacement of the exponential symbols by phrase-level tagmemic formulae, which are then subjected to further reading, exponence and permutation operations.

## 6.1 CLAUSE EXPONENTS

### 6.1.1 NUCLEAR TAGMEMES

Topic, Subject, Object, Referent and Associate are all expoundable by a noun phrase (Nn), a pronoun phrase (Pn) or a demonstrative phrase (Dm). The subclass of demonstrative phrase found as exponent varies with each tagmeme: Topic may be expounded by Dm1 or Dm3<sup>1</sup>, Subject only by Dm1, Object and Referent by Dm1, Dm2 or Dm3, and Associate by Dm1, Dm2, Dm3 or Dm4. The manifestation of Instrument is restricted to common noun phrases (Cnn) and Dm1. The exponence of Predicate tagmemes has already been described in the sections on the appropriate clause types (see chapters 3 and 4).

The symbols Nn, Pn and Dm all represent Relator-Axis phrases, whose internal structure and (in the case of some peripheral tagmemes) Axis-fillers vary according to the function of the tagmeme which they are expounding. It is therefore necessary to attach some indication of this function to the symbols for Predicate and to all symbols which represent a Relator-Axis structure (but not to others). Thus a subscript 'p' is added to the exponential symbols for Predicate, 't' to those for Topic, 's' to those for Subject, and 'o' (oblique) to those for all other tagmemes (nuclear and peripheral) except Time, Reason, Manner and Theme, which are subscripted with 'tm', 'rn', 'ma' and 'th' respectively.

The exponence of Timugon nuclear tagmemes is summarised below:

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<sup>1</sup>Dm1, Dm2, Dm3, Dm4 represent demonstrative phrases whose head word is a demonstrative of series 1, 2, 3, 4 respectively. See Table X.



Ppv	: pv
Psv	: sv
Ppp	: pp
Pip	: ip
Pnfp	: nfp
Pex	: ex
Pex1	: <adaq>
Pex2	: maka[Nn <sub>p</sub> ]
Pid	: Nn
Pid1	: Nn <sub>p</sub> , Pn <sub>p</sub> , Dml <sub>p</sub>
Pid2	: IntPn <sub>p</sub>
T	: Nn <sub>t</sub> , Pn <sub>t</sub> , Dml <sub>3t</sub>
S	: Nn <sub>s</sub> , Pn <sub>s</sub> , Dml <sub>s</sub>
O,R	: Nn <sub>o</sub> , Pn <sub>o</sub> , Dml-3 <sub>o</sub>
A	: Nn <sub>o</sub> , Pn <sub>o</sub> , Dml-4 <sub>o</sub>
I	: CNn <sub>o</sub> , Dml <sub>o</sub>

### 6.1.2 PERIPHERAL TAGMEMES

Site, Reason, Affinity and Theme, like the nuclear tagmemes described above, can be expounded by Nn, Pn or Dm. With these tagmemes also, the subclasses of Dm by which they are expounded are not identical: Site and Affinity may be manifested by Dml-4, Reason by Dml or Dm2, and Theme by Dml, Dm3 or Dm4. Time is expounded only by CNn or Dml-4, and Beneficiary only by Pn or a personal noun phrase (PnN).

The Manner tagmeme is expounded by a Nn whose Axis is filled by a Nominal clause having a participle of stem class pp2 as its Predicate (N-PPC2).

Adjunct is expounded by four classes of adverb, as follows:

1. Intensive adverbs (I-Adv) include kagaq '*very, too*', koborok '*slightly*' and toojo ~ toojooq '*really, properly*' (toojooq occurs with Predicates in the Object or Referent focus, while toojo occurs elsewhere). These adverbs are restricted to post-Predicate position.

2. Frequentative adverbs (F-Adv), include igondoq '*once*' (and its negative counterpart kalo igondoq '*never*'), induo '*twice*', intalu '*three times*', etc., which may occur either in post-Predicate position in a Basic clause or (more usually) in pre-Predicate position in an Atemporal-Declarative clause (see 8.1.3). Also to be included in this subclass is the interrogative adverb ingkulaq '*how many times?*', which is found only

in the latter environment.

3. Temporal adverbs (T-Adv) are further divisible into three subclasses. The first subclass includes adverbs like *galing* and *pagulu*, both meaning '*firstly, beforehand*', which always occur in post-Predicate position. The second subclass consists of adverbs such as *ari-ari* and *salalu*, both meaning '*always, often, usually*', and *baruq* and *bagu*, both meaning '*then, only then, only now*'. These adverbs occur only in pre-Predicate position and are usually accompanied by changes in the ordering of certain other tagmemes, which are described in 6.2.5. The third subclass consists of adverbs which refer to the past, such as *bagu* '*only just*', *lair* '*a long time ago*' and *sakali* '*immediately afterwards*'. Its members occur only in Atemporal-Declarative clauses (q.v. 8.1.3), and only in pre-Predicate position. To this subclass may be added the interrogative adverb *sanggalan* '*when (in the past)?*', which is subject to the same restrictions.<sup>1</sup>

4. Exclamatory adverbs (E-Adv) are represented by the single word *kua* '*why!*', which occurs only in Atemporal-Declarative clauses.

The exponents of Negative and Quotative are the single words *kalo* '*no, not*' (which is optionally reducible to *kaa*) and *kunuq* '*they say, it is said*' respectively.<sup>2</sup>

The Modifier tagmeme (which may occur up to three times in one clause) is manifested by a class of clitic particles containing about twenty members, which can be arranged in eight ranks. The most important are listed below.

Rank 1 contains one member:

a. (*noyo* ~ *ni*) = *no* '*perfective; now, already*' signals '*completed action*' with a Predicate in the Past Temporal aspect, and '*started action*' with a Predicate in the Future Temporal aspect. *no* occurs when Topic is manifested by *Pn*, while *noyo* and its reduced form *ni* occur elsewhere.

|*muliq* |*noyo*|*i jimin*.

|*Psf:go-home/ft*|*Mod* |*T/S Jimin*

'*Jimin*'s going home already.' (i.e. he is setting off or is on his way)

|*minongoy* |*io* |*no* |*ra kaday*.

|*Psf:go/pt*|*T/S:he*|*Mod*|*A shop*

'*He* has gone to the shop.' or '*He* went to the shop.'

<sup>1</sup>As already stated, '*when (in the future)?*' is expressed by an IdC2 clause whose Predicate tagmeme is filled by the interrogative pronoun *sanggalan* (see 4.3.2).

<sup>2</sup>Quotative tagmeme signals reported speech: direct speech is signalled by the minor Quotative clause type (q.v. 8.6.1).

Rank 2 contains one member:

a. ayuk ~ ak 'only, merely, just; nevertheless'.

| talu | ayuk | anak may.

| P:three | Mod | T/S:child Po:we(ex)

'**Our children** are only three.' (i.e. 'We have only three children.')

| manturung | aku | ak | ra giti.

| Psf:sit/ft | T/S:I | Mod | Si this

'**I** 'll just sit here.'

| minongoy | io | ak | ra kaday.

| Psf:go/pt | T/S:he | Mod | A shop

'**He** 's only gone to the shop.'

Rank 3 contains one member:

a. (poyo ~ pi) ∞ po 'still, yet; more, again; if'. The allomorphs of poyo have a distribution parallel with those of noyo, that is, po occurs when Topic is manifested by Pn, poyo and pi occur elsewhere.

| manturung | poyo | ulun-no | ra kurisiq.

| Psf:sit/ft | Mod | T/S:person the | Si chair

'**The man** is still sitting on the chair.' or (with sentence-medial intonation) 'If **the man** sits on the chair...'

| minongoy | io | po | ra kaday.

| Psf:go/pt | T/S:he | Mod | A shop

'**He** 's gone to the shop again.' or (with sentence-medial intonation)

'If **he** had gone to the shop...'

Rank 4 contains two members:

a. ga 'polite request or command; please' is used mostly in Atemporal Imperative clauses.

| alapiq | aku | ga | ra mangingilong.

| Prf:take | T/R:I | Mod | O midwife

'Please fetch **me** a midwife.'

b. nga 'explanatory; because, you see'.

| minongoy | io | nga | ra kaday.

| Psf:go/pt | T/S:he | Mod | A shop

'**He** 's gone to the shop, you see.'

Rank 5 contains one member:

a. bagu ~ bo 'subsequent action; afterwards, then; now'. This is the only Modifier whose order, relative to the other Modifiers, is not fixed. It has been accorded this ranking because its statistically most frequent position is between Modifiers of ranks 4 and 6.

|minongoy |io |bo |ra kaday.

|Psf:go/pt|T/S:he|Mod|A shop

'Then he went to the shop.' or 'Now he's gone to the shop.'  
(having done something else)

Rank 6 contains six members:

a. *kia* ~ *ki* 'simple yes-no interrogation'.

|minongoy |io |kia|ra kaday.

|Psf:go/pt|T/S:he|Mod|A shop

'Has he gone to the shop?'

b. *guat* 'interrogation prompted by previous statement; so, then'.

|minongoy |io |guat|ra kaday.

|Psf:go/pt|T/S:he|Mod|A shop

'Has he gone to the shop, then?' or 'So he's gone to the shop,  
has he?'

c. *lair* 'possibility, contingency; perhaps, if by any chance'.

|minongoy |io |lair|ra kaday.

|Psf:go/pt|T/S:he|Mod|A shop

'Perhaps he's gone to the shop.' or (with sentence-medial intonation) 'If by any chance he's gone to the shop...'

d. *alia* 'polite assertion; probability; I think...'

|minongoy |io |alia|ra kaday.

|Psf:go/pt|T/S:he|Mod|A shop

'I think he's gone to the shop.'

e. *gabuy* 'emphatic contradiction'.

|minongoy |lo |gabuy|ra kaday.

|Psf:go/pt|T/S:he|Mod|A shop

'He HAS gone to the shop!' (even though you say he hasn't)

f. *raan* 'frustrative; if only'.

|minongoy |io |raan|ra kaday.

|Psf:go/pt|T/S:he|Mod|A shop

'He would have liked to go to the shop.' (but he couldn't) or 'If only he'd gone to the shop!' (but he didn't)

Rank 7 contains two members:

a. *nuaq* 'contemplative; I wonder...'

|minongoy |io |nuaq|ra kaday.

|Psf:go/pt|T/S:he|Mod|A shop

'Did he go to the shop, I wonder?'

b. *pana* 'comparative; thus, likewise; (even) though'.

|minongoy |io |pana|ra kaday.

|Psf:go/pt|T/S:he|Mod |A shop

'**He** also went to the shop.' (as well as doing something else) or  
(with sentence-medial intonation) 'Even if **he** had gone to the shop...'

Rank 8 contains two members:

a. tupo 'statement known to both speaker and hearer; of course, indeed, as you know'.

|minongoy |io |tupo|ra kaday.

|Psf:go/pt|T/S:he|Mod |A shop

'**He** went to the shop, of course.'

b. nai 'emphasis, surprise'.

|minongoy |io |nai|ra kaday.

|Psf:go/pt|T/S:he|Mod|A shop

'**He**'s GONE to the shop!'

Ranks 1 and 3 are mutually exclusive, while Modifiers of rank 7 do not co-occur with those of ranks 1, 4 or 5. Certain combinations of Modifiers have meanings which are not deducible from their component units. Thus noyo + ayuk (usually reduced to ni ayuk) either signals 'moderation', as in

|malasuq |ni |ayuk|timug-ti.

|Psf:hot/ft|Mod|Mod |T/S:water the

'**The water** is quite hot.'

or has the meaning 'also, likewise, too', as in

|napaas |aku |ra pamarisaan |am|napaas |ni |ayuk|i jinuin.

|Psf:passed/pt|T/S:I|Aff examination|Co|Psf:passed/pt|Mod|Mod |T/S Jinuin

'**I** passed the examinations and **Jinuin** passed too.'

The exponents of Timugon peripheral tagmemes are therefore summarised as follows:

Si, Aff	: Nn <sub>o</sub> , Pn <sub>o</sub> , Dml-4 <sub>o</sub>
Th	: Nn <sub>th</sub> , Pn <sub>th</sub> , Dml,3,4 <sub>th</sub>
Rn	: Nn <sub>rn</sub> , Pn <sub>rn</sub> , Dml,2 <sub>rn</sub>
Tm	: CNn <sub>tm</sub> , Dml-4 <sub>tm</sub>
Be	: PNn <sub>o</sub> , Pn <sub>o</sub>
Ma	: Nn <sub>ma</sub>
Adj	: I-Adv, F-Adv, T-Adv, E-Adv
Neg	: kalo
Qt	: kunuq
Mod	: <noyo>

## 6.2 TAGMEME ORDERING

The only tagmemes that occur before the Predicate are Theme, Negative and some manifestations of Adjunct and Time.

Modifier and Quotative occur in that order immediately after the Predicate and may be separated from it only by Subject and Topic (in that order) when these are expounded by a clitic Pronoun. Under these conditions, the tagmemes Subject, Topic and Modifier often act as a unit, since in certain permutations they are removed *en bloc* to a new position but at the same time retain the same positions relative to each other. Where it is convenient to describe them as a unit, they are referred to as 'the post-Predicate clitics'.

Subject and Topic expounded by Nn or Dm, Adjunct occurring after the Predicate, and all other tagmemes not mentioned above, are freely permutable with each other, though certain orderings are more frequent than others. Thus T and S tend to occur in the positions closest to the Predicate, while Tm, Si, Rn and Aff usually occur at the end of the clause. The further these tagmemes are removed from these positions, the more emphasis they receive. The length of the sequence expounding a given tagmeme also has some influence on its position in the clause, in that shorter sequences tend to occur before longer ones. As will be seen later, this tendency may even lead to a lengthy pronoun phrase manifesting Topic or Subject being treated as a noun phrase, and being removed from its normal place among the post-Predicate clitics to a position in the body of the clause.

These and other tagmeme orderings are summarised below by a series of optional and obligatory permutations. Examples are of necessity limited to rules operating on two or three tagmemes, since the permutations resulting from four or more tagmemes are too numerous for convenient listing.

### 6.2.1 RULE 1 (FREE PERMUTATION)

Rule 1, which is optional, states which tagmemes may be freely permuted and under what conditions.

+X +Y → +Y +X

where X, Y = 1. O,R,A,I, Si, Tm, Rn, Aff, Be, Ma

or 2. Adj : I-Adv

or 3. Adj : F-Adv, T-Adv //+P \_\_\_\_

or 4. S, T : Nn, Dm

#### EXAMPLE A

Reading of PVC8<sub>sf</sub> (3.1.8):

+Ppv8<sub>mag2-</sub> +T/S<sub>a</sub> +O<sub>g</sub> +R<sub>d</sub>

Exponence:

Ppv8<sub>mag2-</sub> : pv8<sub>mag2-</sub>

T/S<sub>a</sub> : Nn<sub>t</sub>

O<sub>g</sub> : Nn<sub>o</sub>

R<sub>d</sub> : Nn<sub>r</sub>

Possible orderings:

1. +P +T +O +R : |mantauq |ruanduq-no |ra umas-ti|ra ralaki.  
|Psf:save/ft|T/S:woman the|O meat the|R husband
2. +P +T +R +O : |mantauq |ruanduq-no |ra ralaki|ra umas-ti.  
|Psf:save/ft|T/S:woman the|R husband|O meat the
3. +P +O +R +T : |mantauq |ra umas-ti|ra ralaki|ruanduq-no.  
|Psf:save/ft|O meat the|R husband|T/S:woman the
4. +P +O +T +R : |mantauq |ra umas-ti|ruanduq-no |ra ralaki.  
|Psf:save/ft|O meat the|T/S:woman the|R husband
5. +P +R +O +T : |mantauq |ra ralaki|ra umas-ti|ruanduq-no.  
|Psf:save/ft|R husband|O meat the|T/S:woman the
6. +P +R +T +O : |mantauq |ra ralaki|ruanduq-no |ra umas-ti.  
|Psf:save/ft|R husband|T/S:woman the|O meat the  
' The woman will save the meat for (her) husband.'

EXAMPLE B

Reading of PVC11<sub>of</sub> (3.1.11):

+Ppv11<sub>pa--on</sub> +S<sub>a</sub> +T/O<sub>m</sub> +A<sub>d</sub>

Exponence:

Ppv11<sub>pa--on</sub> : pv11<sub>pa--on</sub>

S<sub>a</sub> : Nn<sub>s</sub>

T/O<sub>m</sub> : Dml<sub>t</sub>

A<sub>d</sub> : Pn<sub>a</sub>

Possible orderings:

1. +P +S +T +A : |pinakirim |ri amay|gitio |rakiq.  
|Pof:send/pt|S Dad |T/O:this|A:I
2. +P +S +A +T : |pinakirim |ri amay|rakiq|gitio.  
|Pof:send/pt|S Dad |A:I |T/O:this
3. +P +A +S +T : |pinakirim |rakiq|ri amay|gitio.  
|Pof:send/pt|A:I |S Dad |T/O:this

4. +P +A +T +S : |pinakirim |rakiq|gitio |ri amay.  
|Pof:send/pt|A:I |T/O:this|S Dad
5. +P +T +S +A : |pinakirim |gitio |ri amay|rakiq.  
|Pof:send/pt|T/O:this|S Dad |A:I
6. +P +T +A +S : |pinakirim |gitio |rakiq|ri amay.  
|Pof:send/pt|T/O:this|A:I |S Dad  
'Dad sent this to me.'

## EXAMPLE C

Reading of PPC2A<sub>Sf</sub> (4.1.1.2.1):

+Ppp2A<sub>ma\*-</sub> +T/S<sub>C</sub> +Tm +Adj

Exponence:

Ppp2A<sub>ma\*-</sub> : pp2A<sub>ma\*-</sub>

T/S<sub>C</sub> : Nn<sub>t</sub>

Tm : Dm<sup>4</sup><sub>tm</sub>

Adj : I-Adv

Possible orderings:

1. +P +T +Tm +Adj : |malasuq |timug-ti |raino |kagaq.  
|Psf:hot/ft|T/S:water the|Tm:now|Adj:too
2. +P +T +Adj +Tm : |malasuq |timug-ti |kagaq |raino.  
|Psf:hot/ft|T/S:water the|Adj:too|Tm:now
3. +P +Adj +T +Tm : |malasuq |kagaq |timug-ti |raino.  
|Psf:hot/ft|Adj:too|T/S:water the|Tm:now
4. +P +Adj +Tm +T : |malasuq |kagaq |raino |timug-ti.  
|Psf:hot/ft|Adj:too|Tm:now|T/S:water the
5. +P +Tm +T +Adj : |malasuq |raino |timug-ti |kagaq.  
|Psf:hot/ft|Tm:now|T/S:water the|Adj:too
6. +P +Tm +Adj +T : |malasuq |raino |kagaq |timug-ti.  
|Psf:hot/ft|Tm:now|Adj:too|T/S:water the  
'The water is too hot now.'

The only restriction on rule 1 (apart from those stated in the formula) concerns pairs of tagmemes which are not overtly distinguished by different relation-markers and not readily distinguishable from the context. In such a case, the factor which decides the relative order of the two ambiguous tagmemes seems to be their situational roles, which always remain in the following order: 'initiator' - 'actor' - 'goal' -



'direction' - 'means', although they may be separated from one another by one or more intervening tagmemes. Thus in a  $SVC2_{sf}$  construction (see 3.2.2),  $A_a$  will always precede  $R_g$ :

|napalambaq | i ambung |ra ruanduq|ra lalaing.  
|Psf:cause-beat/pt|T/S Ambung|A woman |R child  
'Ambung caused the woman to hit the child.'

The Topic cum Subject, i ambung, may be permuted to a position before or after ra lalaing, but any other permutation of the tagmemes will result in a change of meaning:

|napalambaq | i ambung |ra lalaing|ra ruanduq.  
|Psf:cause-beat/pt|T/S Ambung|A child |R woman  
'Ambung caused the child to hit the woman.'

However, when the function of the two tagmemes is unambiguous, the restriction on other permutations is removed:

|napalambaq | i ambung |ra ruanduq|ra ukuq.  
|Psf:caused-beat/pt|T/S Ambung|A woman |R dog  
|napalambaq | i ambung |ra ukuq|ra ruanduq.  
|Psf:caused-beat/pt|T/S Ambung|R dog |A woman  
'Ambung caused the woman to hit the dog.'

### 6.2.2 RULE 2 (SUBJECT AND/OR TOPIC EXPOUNDED BY Pn)

As already stated above, Subject and Topic tagmemes must occur immediately after the Predicate when they are manifested by Pn. This is summarised in Rule 2, which is obligatory.

+P +S ±Y +T ±Z → +P +S +T ±Y ±Z

where 1. S,T : Pn

and 2. Y,Z = any other tagmeme or tagmemes.

#### EXAMPLE A

Reading of  $PVC8_{sf}$  (3.1.8):

+Ppv8<sub>mag2-</sub> +T/S<sub>a</sub> +O<sub>g</sub> +R<sub>d</sub>

Exponence:

Ppv8<sub>mag2-</sub> : pv8<sub>mag2-</sub>

T/S<sub>a</sub> : Pn<sub>t</sub>

O<sub>g</sub> : Nn<sub>o</sub>

R<sub>d</sub> : Nn<sub>r</sub>

Possible orderings:

1. +P +T +O +R : |mantauq |io |ra umas-ti|ra ralaki.  
|Psf:save/ft|T/S:she|O meat the|R husband
2. +P +T +R +O : |mantauq |io |ra ralaki|ra umas-ti.  
|Psf:save/ft|T/S:she|R husband|O meat the  
'She will save the meat for (her) husband.'

## EXAMPLE B

Reading of PVC8<sub>rf</sub> (3.1.8):

+Ppv8<sub>-in</sub> +S<sub>a</sub> +O<sub>g</sub> +T/R<sub>d</sub> +Tm

Exponence:

Ppv8<sub>-in</sub> : pv8<sub>-in</sub>

S<sub>a</sub> : Pn<sub>s</sub>

O<sub>g</sub> : Dml<sub>o</sub>

T/R<sub>d</sub> : Pn<sub>t</sub>

Tm : Nn<sub>tm</sub>

Possible orderings:

1. +P +S +T +O +Tm : |tawain |mu |aku |ra gitio|ra suab-no.  
|Prf:save/ft|S:thou|T/R:I|O this |Tm morning the
2. +P +S +T +Tm +O : |tawain |mu |aku |ra suab-no |ra gitio.  
|Prf:save/ft|S:thou|T/R:I|Tm morning the|O this  
'You must save this for me tomorrow.'

## EXAMPLE C

Reading of PVC7<sub>of</sub> (3.1.7):

+Ppv7<sub>-on</sub> +S<sub>a</sub> +T/O<sub>g</sub>

Exponence:

Ppv7<sub>-on</sub> : pv7<sub>-on</sub>

S<sub>a</sub> : Nn<sub>s</sub>

T/O<sub>g</sub> : Pn<sub>t</sub>

Obligatory ordering:

1. +P +T +S : |lambaan |kow |ri amay.  
|Pof:beat/ft|T/O:thou|S Dad  
'Dad will beat you.'

## 6.2.3 RULE 3 (MODIFIER AND QUOTATIVE)

Rule 3, which is obligatory, states that the Modifier and Quotative

tagmemes occur immediately following the Predicate, and can be separated from it only by Subject and/or Topic expounded by Pn.

+P ±X ±Y +Mod +Qt → +P ±X +Mod +Qt ±Y

where 1. X = S, T : Pn

and 2. Y = any other tagmeme or tagmemes.

#### EXAMPLE A

Reading of PPC2A<sub>Sf</sub> (4.1.1.2.1):

+Ppp2A<sub>ma\*-</sub> +T/S<sub>C</sub> +Mod1 +Mod2 +Qt

Exponence:

Ppp2A<sub>ma\*-</sub> : pp2A<sub>ma\*-</sub>

T/S<sub>C</sub> : Nn<sub>t</sub>

Mod1 : ni

Mod2 : bo

Qt : kunuq

Obligatory ordering:

1. +P +Mod1 +Mod2 +Qt +T : |moonsoy |ni |bo |kunuq|maruol-i.  
|Psf:good/ft|Mod|Mod|Qt |T/S:illness the  
'Then, they say, the illness was better.'

#### EXAMPLE B

Reading of PVC3<sub>Of</sub> (3.1.3):

+Ppv3<sub>-on</sub> +S<sub>a</sub> +T/O<sub>d</sub> +Mod

Exponence:

Ppv3<sub>-on</sub> : pv3<sub>-on</sub>

S<sub>a</sub> : Pn<sub>s</sub>

T/O<sub>d</sub> : Nn<sub>t</sub>

Mod : poyo

Obligatory ordering:

1. +P +S +Mod +T : |korojoon |ku |poyo|baloy kuno.  
|Pof:work/ft|S:I|Mod |T/O:house Po:I-the  
'I'll just do some work on my house.'

#### 6.2.4 RULE 4 (NEGATIVE)

Rule 4, which is obligatory, states that the Negative tagmeme always precedes the Predicate and that any Modifier or Quotative tagmemes are attracted to a position immediately following the Negative.

+P +X ±Mod ±Qt ±Y +Neg → +Neg ±Mod ±Qt +P +X ±Y

where 1. X = S,T

and 2. Y = any other tagmeme or tagmemes.

#### EXAMPLE A

Reading of PPC2A<sub>Sf</sub> (4.1.1.2.1):

+Ppp2A<sub>ma\*-</sub> +T/S<sub>C</sub> +Mod1 +Mod2 +Qt +Neg

Exponence:

Ppp2A<sub>ma\*-</sub> : pp2A<sub>ma\*-</sub>

T/S<sub>C</sub> : Nn<sub>t</sub>

Mod1 : ni

Mod2 : bo

Qt : kunuq

Neg : kalo

Obligatory ordering:

1. +Neg +Mod1 +Mod2 +Qt +P +T : |kalo|ni |bo |kunuq  
|Neg |Mod|Mod|Qt

|moonsoy |maruol-i.

|Psf:good/ft|T/S:illness the

'Then, they say, the illness wasn't  
better.'

#### EXAMPLE B

Reading of PVC3<sub>Of</sub> (3.1.3):

+Ppv3<sub>-on</sub> +S<sub>a</sub> +T/O<sub>d</sub> +Mod +Neg

Exponence:

Ppv3<sub>-on</sub> : pv3<sub>-on</sub>

S<sub>a</sub> : Pn<sub>s</sub>

T/O<sub>d</sub> : Nn<sub>t</sub>

Mod : poyo

Neg : kalo

Obligatory ordering:

1. +Neg +Mod +P +S +T : |kalo|poyo|korojoon |ku |baloy kuno.

|Neg |Mod |Pof:work/ft|S:I|T/S:house Po:I-the

'I won't do any work on my house just yet.'

#### 6.2.5 RULES 5A AND 5B (ADJUNCT EXPOUNDED BY T-Adv)

Clauses containing an Adjunct expounded by one of the Temporal

Adverbs *ari-ari*, *salalu*, *bagu* or *baruq* are ordered either according to rule 5A or (more usually) according to rule 5B. Rule 5A states that the Adjunct occurs before the Predicate, to which it may be linked by a conjunction *am*, with no changes in the ordering of other tagmemes. Rule 5B states that the Adjunct occurs before the Predicate and attracts the post-Predicate clitics (see 6.2) to a position between it and the Predicate.

+P ±X ±Y +Adj → either +(Adj ±Co) +P ±X ±Y (5A)

or +Adj ±X +P ±Y (5B)

where 1. Adj : T-Adv (*ari-ari*, *salalu*, *bagu*, *baruq*)

and 2. Co : *am*

and 3. X = any or all of the post-Predicate clitics

and 4. Y = any other tagmeme or tagmemes except Neg.

#### EXAMPLE A

Reading of PVC2<sub>sf</sub> (3.1.2):

+Ppv2<sub>um-</sub> +T/S<sub>a</sub> +A<sub>d</sub> +Adj

Exponence:

Ppv2<sub>um-</sub> : pv2<sub>um-</sub>

T/S<sub>a</sub> : Pn<sub>t</sub>

A<sub>d</sub> : Nn<sub>a</sub>

Adj : T-Adv (*ari-ari*)

Possible orderings:

1. +(Adj ±Co) +P +T +A : |ari-ari | (am) |mongoy |ilo |ra kumabung.  
|Adj:always| (Co) |Psf:go/ft|T/S:they|A Kemabong

2. +Adj +T +P +A : |ari-ari |ilo |mongoy |ra kumabung.  
|Adj:always|T/S:they|Psf:go/ft|A Kemabong

' They are always going to Kemabong.'

#### EXAMPLE B

Reading of PVC8<sub>of</sub> (3.1.8):

+Ppv8<sub>on</sub> +S<sub>a</sub> +T/O<sub>g</sub> +Mod +Adj

Exponence:

Ppv8<sub>on</sub> : pv8<sub>on</sub>

S<sub>a</sub> : Pn<sub>s</sub>

T/O<sub>g</sub> : Nn<sub>t</sub>

Mod : *kia*

Adj : T-Adv (*bagu*)

Possible orderings:

1.  $+(+Adj \pm Co) +P +S +Mod +T$  : |bagu | (am) |alapon |mu |kia  
 |Adj:then| (Co) |Pof:take/ft|S:thou|Mod  
 |gajiq mutu.  
 |T/O:wage Po:thou-the.
2.  $+Adj +S +Mod +P +T$  : |bagu |mu |kia|alapon  
 |Adj:then|S:thou|Mod|Pof:take/ft  
 |gajiq mutu.  
 |T/O:wage Po:thou-the  
 'Is it only then that you collect  
your wage ?'

#### 6.2.6 RULES 6A AND 6B (ADJUNCT AND NEGATIVE)

Rules 6A and 6B, which are deemed to operate on clauses produced by rule 4 above, state the ordering of tagmemes in clauses which contain both an Adjunct expounded by a Temporal Adverb and a Negative tagmeme. As in rules 5A and 5B above, Adj always occurs at the beginning of the clause, and either causes no change in the ordering of the other tagmemes (in which case it is optionally linked to them by am) (rule 6A), or causes the post-Predicate clitics to be attracted into a position immediately following it (rule 6B).

- $+Neg \pm Mod \pm Qt +P \pm X \pm Y +Adj \rightarrow$   
 either  $+(+Adj \pm Co) +Neg \pm Mod \pm Qt +P \pm X \pm Y$  (6A)  
 or  $+Adj \pm X \pm Mod \pm Qt +Neg +P \pm Y$  (6B)  
 where 1. Adj : T-Adv (ari-ari, salalu, bagu, baruq)  
 2. Co : am  
 3. X = S, T : Pn  
 4. Y = any other tagmeme or tagmemes.

#### EXAMPLE A

Reading of PPC3B<sub>Sf</sub> (4.1.1.3.2):

$+Ppp3B_{ma--an} +T/S_C +S_a +Neg +T-Adv$

Exponence:

$Ppp3B_{ma--an}$  :  $pp3B_{ma--an}$   
 T/S<sub>C</sub> : Nn<sub>t</sub>  
 S<sub>a</sub> : Pn<sub>s</sub>  
 Neg : kalo  
 Adj : T-Adv (baruq)

Possible orderings:

1.  $+(+Adj \pm Co) +Neg +P +S +T$  : |baruq | (am)|kalo|malilianan  
 |Adj:then| (Co)|Neg |Psf:forgotten/ft  
 |mu |bokon-no.  
 |S:thou|T/S:other the
2.  $+Adj +S +Neg +P +T$  : |baruq |mu |kalo|malilianan  
 |Adj:then|A:thou|Neg |Psf:forgotten/ft  
 |bokon-no.  
 |T/S:other the  
 'Then you won't forget the others.'

EXAMPLE B

Reading of PPC2A<sub>Sf</sub> (4.1.1.2.1):

+Ppp2A<sub>ma\*-</sub> +T/S<sub>C</sub> +Aff +Neg +Mod +Adj

Exponence:

Ppp2A<sub>ma\*-</sub> : pp2A<sub>ma\*-</sub>

T/S<sub>C</sub> : Pn<sub>t</sub>

Aff : Nn<sub>aff</sub>

Neg : kalo

Mod : ayuk

Adj : T-Adv (bagu)

Possible orderings:

1.  $+(+Adj \pm Co) +Neg +Mod +P +T +Aff$  : |bagu | (am)|kalo|ayuk  
 |Adj:then| (Co)|Neg |Mod  
 |malaaq |aku |ra paluq.  
 |Psf:afraid/ft|T/S:I|Aff rapids
2.  $+Adj +T +Mod +Neg +P +Aff$  : |bagu |aku |ayuk|kalo  
 |Adj:then|T/S:I|Mod |Neg  
 |malaaq |ra paluq.  
 |Psf:afraid/ft|Aff rapids  
 'It's only now that I 'm not so  
 afraid of the rapids.'

The orderings accompanying Adjuncts expounded by other adverbs which occur only in Atemporal clauses will be discussed in 8.1.3. Apparent instances of the Time tagmeme occurring in pre-Predicate position are in fact products of a Theme-transformation and will be described with other Thematic clauses in 8.4.

## CHAPTER 7

### PHRASE CONSTRUCTIONS

#### 7.0 INTRODUCTION

As we saw in the last chapter, various clause-level tagmemes are manifested by **Nn**, **Pn**, or **Dm**, all of which are labels representing Relator-Axis constructions. The Axis (**Ax**) slot is filled respectively by a noun, pronoun, or demonstrative, which may also function as the Head to one or more embedded phrases. The Relator (**Re**) slot is filled by one of the six relation-marking particles (**rm**) shown in Table VIII. As stated in 3.0.2, the selection of relation-markers is governed by two factors: a) the exponent of the following Axis; and b) the grammatical function of the tagmeme which the Relator-Axis phrase is expounding.

#### 7.1 NON-EMBEDDED PHRASES

##### 7.1.1 FORMULAE

There are two types of Relator-Axis phrases in Timugon. In the first type, which manifests **Nn**, **Dm1**, and **Dm3**, the Relator and the Axis have separate exponents, whereas in the second type, which manifests **Pn**, **Dm2**, and **Dm4**, they are combined in portmanteau fashion.

In the first type, restraints are placed upon the exponence of Relator by the subclass of the exponent of the Axis slot. Thus, when Axis is manifested by a personal noun, only a personal relation marker may occur; when Axis is manifested by a common noun or any other substantival construction, a common relation marker occurs. This semantic concordance can be indicated in the construction formulae by the addition of a superscript <sup>x</sup> to the symbols for the constituent tagmemes. The tagmemic formulae represented by **Nn**, **Pn**, and **Dm** are therefore written as follows:

**Nn**, **Dm1**, **Dm3** → +Re<sup>x</sup> +Ax<sup>x</sup>

**Pn**, **Dm2**, **Dm4** → +Re/Ax



Since the grammatical function of the clause-level tagmeme determines not only which relation marker fills the Relator slot in the first type, but also which Pronoun subclass manifests the portmanteau Relator/Axis slot in the second, it is necessary to carry over the function label of the clause-level tagmeme as a subscript to the construction symbols Nn, Pn, and Dm. Thus the exponence formula for the Subject-as-actor ( $S_a$ ) tagmeme reads:

$$S_a : Nn_s, Pn_s, Dm_s$$

The subscript  $s$  indicates that only the subclass of subject relation markers may fill the Relator slot, and that only the subclass of subject pronouns (i.e. series 3, see Table XI below) may fill the combined Relator/Axis slot. These restraints are also indicated in the tagmemic formulae for  $Nn_s$ ,  $Pn_s$  and  $Dm_s$ , as shown below:

$$\begin{aligned} Nn_s, Dm_s &\rightarrow +Re_s^x \quad +Ax^x \\ Pn_s &\rightarrow +Re/Ax_s \end{aligned}$$

### 7.1.2 EXPONENCE

As already mentioned, the Relator tagmeme is expounded by one of a series of relation markers, the Axis tagmeme by an embedded Nn, Dm1, or Dm3 phrase, and the combined Relator/Axis portmanteau tagmeme by an embedded Pn, Dm2, or Dm4 phrase. This statement of exponence is summarised below:

$$\begin{aligned} Re &: rm_{t,s,o,th,ma} \\ Ax &: eNn, eDm1, eDm3 \\ Re/Ax &: ePn, eDm2, eDm4 \end{aligned}$$

The relation markers are shown in Table VIII below, together with their functions as constituents in non-embedded Relator-Axis phrases. In the case of the common  $rm_s$  marker,  $ru$  and  $nu$  are in free alternation.

TABLE VIII

*Timugon relation markers*

	t, th	s	o, tm, rn, ma
<i>common</i>	∅	ru ~ nu	ra
<i>personal</i>	i	ri	ri

## 7.2 EMBEDDED PHRASES

The analysis of embedded phrase constructions is far from complete, and there remain many problems which cannot be solved at this stage. What follows, therefore, is to be taken not as a definitive statement but merely as a tentative description of the major embedded phrase types.

### 7.2.1 FORMULAE

The formulae for the embedded phrase constructions represented by the exponential symbols of **Ax** and **Re/Ax** are set out below. The abbreviations are explained in 1.2.5.

$$eNn \rightarrow +H_{nn} \pm Po^2 \pm Dt \pm At^2 \pm Ap^2 \pm Co$$

$$eDm \rightarrow +H_{dm} \pm At \pm Ap^2 \pm Co$$

$$ePn \rightarrow +H_{pn} \pm At \pm Ap^2 \pm Co$$

Tagmemes to which a superscript <sup>2</sup> is attached may occur twice at the same level of embedding, providing that the two phrases concerned are of different types.<sup>1</sup> Other rules exist which place restraints on the co-occurrence, ordering and exponence of various tagmemes:  $H_{nn}$ , for instance, may not occur alone when it is expounding the Axis of a clause-level Topic tagmeme (unless it is manifested by a personal noun). Such rules will be described in the appropriate section.

All the optional tagmemes listed above (except **Dt**) are themselves Relator-Axis constructions and can therefore act as simultaneous Head words to other phrases embedded on a lower level. Multi-layered embedding, often of great complexity, is consequently a characteristic feature of Timugon phrase structure.

### 7.2.2 EXPONENCE OF HEAD TAGMEMES

#### 7.2.2.1 Exponence of $H_{nn}$

$H_{nn}$  is expounded by a member of one of the many noun subclasses. These include: personal nouns (**pnn**), common nouns (**cnn**), Nominal clauses (**NC**), Subordinate clauses (**SubC**)<sup>2</sup>, indefinite pronouns (**indpn**), and numerals (**num**). Numerals are described separately in 7.2.3 below.

<sup>1</sup>This is not true, however, of descriptive Attributive phrases (q.v. 7.2.6.2).

<sup>2</sup>Subordinate clauses occur only as exponents of clause-level Time and Reason tagmemes, and of phrase-level specifying Attributive tagmemes (see 7.2.6.5).

7.2.2.2 Exponence of H<sub>dm</sub>

H<sub>dm</sub> is manifested by one of the four syntactically defined subclasses of demonstratives (dml-4). On another dimension, the demonstratives can be divided into five categories A-E, each of which expresses a differing degree of spatial or temporal proximity to the speaker. The five categories, illustrated by their dml forms, are listed below in Table IX.

TABLE IX  
*Timugon demonstrative categories*

CATEGORY	PLACE	TIME
A. <gitio> 'this'	<i>here</i>	<i>present; unspecified</i>
B. <ginio> 'that'	<i>there (near)</i>	<i>future</i>
C. <gili> 'that'	<i>there (distant)</i>	<i>past</i>
D. <gitii> 'this'	<i>just here</i>	<i>immediate past</i>
E. <ginli> 'that'	<i>just there</i>	<i>immediate past</i>

Table X following shows the complete array of Demonstratives. The subclass of Determiners (Dt) is also included, since they have reference to the same five categories of time and place as the Demonstratives and since there are formal parallelisms between them. The two classes are, however, functionally distinct, as will be seen shortly.

TABLE X  
*Timugon demonstrative subclasses and determiners*

		A	B	C	D	E
Dml	<i>sg.</i>	gitio	ginio	gili	gitii	ginii
	<i>pl.</i>	giati gatilo	giani ganilo	giali galilo	giatii -	gianii -
Dm2		raitio	rainio	-	raitii	rainii
Dm3		giti p	gino t	gili t giuq p	- -	- -
Dm4		raiti	raino t ragino t	-	raitii	rainii t
Dt	<i>free</i>	iti	ino	ili	-	-
	<i>sg.</i>	-ti	-no	-i	-tii	-nii
	<i>pl.</i>	-rati	-rano	-rali	-ratii	-ranii

It will be noted that the members of subclass Dm1 have a singular and a plural form, and that in categories A, B, and C there are two plural forms. No semantic or other distinction between the two plural forms has been found.

It appears that historically all demonstratives referred to both time and place, and this is still the case in the style of language used in relating folktales (see the texts in 9.1 and 9.2). In the modern colloquial language, however, certain members of the subclasses Dm3 and Dm4 are restricted to either a spatial reference (those marked 'p' in Table X), or to a temporal reference (those marked 't').

As can be seen from Table X, members of subclasses Dm2 and Dm4 are derivable from Dm1 and Dm3 forms respectively with the addition of the oblique relation marker *ra*. Compare the two following sentences:

|mangalap |aku |ra gitio.

|Psf:take/ft|T/S:I|O this

|mangalap |aku |raitio.

|Psf:take/ft|T/S:I|O:this

'I will take this one.'

Nevertheless, Dm4 forms often occur with an independent *ra*, particularly when they are expounding the Time tagmeme:

|nakito |ku |io |ra gitii.

|Psf:seen/pt|S:I|T/S:he|Tm just-now

|nakito |ku |io |raitii.

|Psf:seen/pt|S:I|T/S:he|Tm:just-now

|nakito |ku |io |ra raitii.

|Psf:seen/pt|S:I|T/S:he|Tm just-now

'I saw him just now.'

### 7.2.2.3 Exponence of H<sub>pn</sub>

H<sub>pn</sub> is expounded by one of the four subclasses of personal pronouns, the choice of subclass being governed by the grammatical function of the clause-level tagmeme, as indicated by the function label carried over from that tagmeme (see 7.1.1).

The eight pronouns display the following categories of person and number:

- 1 - 'I'
- 2 - 'you(sing.)' (translated as 'thou' in the word-for-word translations)
- 3 - 'he', 'she' or 'it'
- 12 - 'we two (inclusive)' (i.e. 'you(sing.) and I')

- 122 - 'we all (inclusive)' (i.e. 'you(plur.) and I')  
 13(3) - 'we (exclusive)' (i.e. 'he and I' or 'they and I')  
 22 - 'you(plur.)'  
 33 - 'they'

Table XI below illustrates the four subclasses of personal pronouns and the functions of the clause-level tagmemes which they manifest.

TABLE XI  
*Timugon pronoun subclasses*

	1	2	3	4
	Th	T	S	O
1	aku	aku	ku	rakiq
2	okow	kow	mu	rirun
3	io	io	no	riso
12	ito	to	to	rito
122	itakaw	takaw	takaw	ritakaw
13(3)	akay	akay	may	ramon
22	akaw	kaw	min	ramuyun
33	ilo	ilo	nilo	risilo

Series 2 and 3 are unstressed, clitic pronouns which, when manifesting clause-level tagmemes, always occur immediately adjacent to the Predicate (see 6.2). Series 1 and 4, on the other hand, are free, stressed pronouns which may be separated from the Predicate by any number of tagmemes.

Optional morphophonemic rules reduce  $pn_2$  kow and kaw to ko and ka respectively, particularly when they are followed by a Modifier.

A sequence of  $pn_3$  ku and  $pn_2$  kow or kaw is replaced by the portmanteau morpheme tokow or takamin respectively, as shown in the examples below.

potoyon  ku  io.	potoyon  ku  ilo.
Pof:kill/ft S:I T/O:he	Pof:kill/ft S:I T/O:they
'I will kill <u>him</u> .'	'I will kill <u>them</u> .'
potoyon  tokow.	potoyon  takamin.
Pof:kill/ft S:I + T/O:thou	Pof:kill/ft S:I + T/O:you
'I will kill <u>you(sing.)</u> .'	'I will kill <u>you(plur.)</u> .'

This replacement occurs even when ku represents a Possessive tagmeme embedded in the noun phrase exponent of an Identificational predicate:

|kamaman ku |io.  
|P:uncle Po:I|T/S:he  
'**He** is my uncle.'

|kamaman tokow.  
|P:uncle Po:I + T/S:thou  
'**You** are my uncle.'

|kamaman ku |ilo.  
|P:uncle Po:I|T/S:they  
'**They** are my uncles.'

|kamaman takamin.  
|P:uncle Po:I + T/S:you  
'**You** are my uncles.'

Members of series 1 and 4 may, in certain circumstances, behave in the same way as common nouns. In other words, they may fill the Axis slot in a Relator-Axis phrase in which the two constituents are manifested separately, the Relator slot being filled by one of the common relation-markers. Moreover, as the Head of an embedded phrase, they may be accompanied on the same level of embedding by a Determiner tagmeme, which normally occurs only in noun phrases. They may not, however, be accompanied by a Possessive tagmeme. Three such phrase types are described below.

A) Any pronoun of series 2,3 and 4, whether manifesting a clause-level or a phrase-level tagmeme, may be replaced by the corresponding series 1 pronoun, particularly when it is simultaneously acting as Head to one or more embedded phrases. When the pronoun concerned is expounding a clause-level Subject or Topic tagmeme, it is removed from its normal position immediately adjacent to the Predicate to a position in the body of the clause.

EXAMPLE A (clause-level Topic)

|mangindangan|kaw {ga |tupo}angkaakaq-ti |ra inaq min.  
|Psf:help/ft |T/S:you{Mod|Mod }Ap:siblings the|O mother Po:you  
|mangindangan|ga |tupo|akaw angkaakaq-ti |ra inaq min.  
|Psf:help/ft |Mod|Mod |T/S:you Ap:siblings the|O mother Po:you  
'**You brothers** should really be helping your mother.'

EXAMPLE B (clause-level Subject)

|indanganon |takaw |kia|i ampatang-no.  
|Pof:help/ft|S:we(in)|Mod|T/O Ampatang the  
|indanganon |kia|i ampatang-no |nu itakaw-ti.  
|Pof:help/ft|Mod|T/O Ampatang the|S we(in) the  
'Shall we help **Ampatang**?'

EXAMPLE C (clause-level Associate)

|mapakirim |aku |ra surat|ramuyun mansawo-ti.  
|Psf:send/ft|T/S:I|O letter|A:you Ap:married-couple the

|mapakirim |aku |ra surat|ra akaw mansawo-ti.  
 |Psf:send/ft|T/S:I|O letter|A you Ap:married-couple the  
 'I 'll send you and your wife a letter.'

EXAMPLE D (phrase-level Possessive)

guang [ku [sangulun]]  
 H:heart Po:[H:I Ap:[H:one-person]]  
 guang nu [aku [sangulun]]  
 H:heart Po [H:I Ap:[H:one-person]]  
 'my personal opinion'

B) Series 1 pronouns are also used as nouns meaning 'X's place', where 'X' is the pronoun concerned. Such phrases are mostly found as exponents of clause-level Site and Associate tagmemes.

|patatangoq |lalaing-no |ra akay.  
 |Pof:cause-remain|T/O:child the|Si we(ex)  
 'Leave the child at our place.'

C) Members of series 4 function also as possessive pronouns (meaning 'mine', 'yours', etc.). In this case, the relation-marker ra is frequently omitted.

EXAMPLE A (clause-level Object)

|mangalap |aku |ra rirun-no.  
 |Psf:take/ft|T/S:I|O thine the  
 |mangalap |aku |rirun-no.  
 |Psf:take/ft|T/S:I|O:thine the  
 'I 'll take yours.'

EXAMPLE B (clause-level Topic)

|alapon |ku |rirun-no.  
 |Pof:take/ft|S:I|T/O:thine the  
 'I'll take yours.'

EXAMPLE C (phrase-level Possessive)

gondoq nu [rakiq -ti]  
 H:replica Po [H:mine Dt]  
 'a replica of mine'

Since the distribution of such pronoun phrases as those just described corresponds closely to that of noun phrases, they are considered in the following sections to be included in the exponential symbol Nn, except

where otherwise stated.

### 7.2.3 NUMERAL PHRASES

Since noun phrases having numerals as Heads differ in many respects from other noun-phrases, they will receive special attention here.

The oblique relation marker *ra* is optional before numeral phrases and is obligatorily omitted when the phrase consists only of a number unaccompanied by other phrase-level tagmemes. The prefix *ka-* may be affixed, without change of meaning, to any number, except one which forms the Head of a noun phrase manifesting phrase-level Possessive tagmeme or clause-level Subject or Topic tagmeme. The *ka-* forms may not be preceded by *ra*.

$H_{nn}$ , when expounded by a numeral phrase, is the only Head tagmeme that has an internal phrase structure of its own. Numeral phrases are of two types, viz. Num1, which consists of an obligatory Number (No) and an optional Metrical noun (MNn), and Num2, in which these two slots are combined in an obligatory portmanteau unit (No/MNn).

Num1 → +No      ±MNn  
 Num2 → +No/MNn

#### 7.2.3.1 Numbers

Timugon numbers are arranged into six ranks on structural and distributional grounds. Ranks 1 to 3 consist of Simple numbers, Ranks 4 and 5 of Complex numbers and Rank 6 of Co-ordinate numbers. Ranks 1 to 4 have a restricted membership, while the members of Ranks 5 and 6 are theoretically infinite.

Rank 1 consists of the single form *saa* or *saaq* '*one (in series)*', which is used only in counting. It may not be followed by MNn, it may not fill the Head slot of any phrase-level tagmeme, and it may not be used to form Complex numbers of Rank 5.

Rank 2 also contains only one member: *rondoq* '*one (alone); the other (of two)*', which may fill the Head slot of a phrase-level tagmeme. It may not, however, be accompanied by MNn, nor may it be used to form numbers of Rank 5.

Rank 3 contains the following eight members:

<i>ruo</i>	'two'	<i>onom</i>	'six'
<i>talū</i>	'three'	<i>tuluq</i>	'seven'
<i>apat</i>	'four'	<i>baluq</i>	'eight'
<i>limo</i>	'five'	<i>siam</i>	'nine'

Also to be included in Rank 3 is the interrogative pronoun *kulaq* '*how much?/how many?*'. Members of this and the following ranks may all fill the Head slots of phrase-level tagmemes, be accompanied by MNn, and be



used to form numbers of Rank 5.

Rank 4 consists of the following higher numbers:<sup>1</sup>

mopor 'ten' (ka- form: koopor)  
 matus 'one hundred' (ka- form: kaatus)  
 saribu 'one thousand'  
 sajutaq 'one million'

A Rank 5 number is formed from any member of Ranks 3 to 6 followed by one of the four 'group numbers' shown below:<sup>1</sup>

ngoopor 'tens'                      ngaribu 'thousands'  
 ngaatus 'hundreds'                ngajutaq 'millions'

The following examples illustrate the formation of Rank 5 numerals:

EXAMPLE A (from Rank 3)

- a) |ruo|ngoopor                      'twenty'  
    |two|tens
- b) |limo|ngaatus                     'five hundred'  
    |five|hundreds

EXAMPLE B (from Rank 4)

- a) |mopor |ngaribu                    'ten thousand'  
    |one-ten|thousands
- b) |matus        |ngaribu             'one hundred thousand'  
    |one-hundred|thousands

EXAMPLE C (from Rank 5)

- a) |ruo ngoopor|ngaribu                'twenty thousand'  
    |two tens |thousands
- b) |mopor ngaribu        |ngajutaq             'ten thousand million'  
    |one-ten thousands|millions

EXAMPLE D (from Rank 6)

- a) |mopor am talu    |ngaribu             'thirteen thousand'  
    |one-ten Co three|thousand
- b) |matus ruo ngoopor am talu        |ngaribu             'one hundred and twenty-three thousand'  
    |one-hundred two tens Co three|thousands

Members of Rank 6 are known as Co-ordinate numbers. They consist of a string of two or more numbers from Ranks 1 to 5 arranged in decreasing size, with the restriction that the string may contain only

---

<sup>1</sup>The 'group numbers' of Rank 5 and the four members of Rank 4 are in fact special instances of MNn and No/MNn respectively (see 7.2.3.2 and 7.2.3.3).

one member of Ranks 1 to 3, which, if present, must be the last number in the string. The last number is linked to the preceding one by the co-ordinate relation-marker *am*, which is obligatory before a number of Ranks 1 to 3, but optional elsewhere.

EXAMPLE A (Rank 4 + Rank 1)

- a) |mopor |am|saa  
|one-ten|Co|one *'eleven (in series)'*
- b) |matus |am|saa  
|one-hundred|Co|one *'one hundred and one (in series)'*

EXAMPLE B (Rank 4 + Rank 2)

- a) |mopor |am|rondoq  
|one-ten|Co|one *'eleven (only)'*
- b) |matus |am|rondoq  
|one-hundred|Co|one *'one hundred and one (only)'*

EXAMPLE C (Rank 4 + Rank 3)

- a) |mopor |am|ruo  
|one-ten|Co|two *'twelve'*
- b) |matus |am|ruo  
|one-hundred|Co|two *'one hundred and two'*

EXAMPLE D (Rank 4 + Rank 4)

- a) |matus |(am)|mopor  
|one-hundred|(Co)|one-ten *'one hundred and ten'*
- b) |saribu |(am)|matus  
|one-thousand|(Co)|one-hundred *'one thousand one hundred'*

EXAMPLE E (Rank 5 + Rank 1/2/3/4/5)

- a) |ruo ngoopor|am|saa  
|two tens |Co|one *'twenty-one (in series)'*
- b) |talun gaatus |am|rondoq  
|three hundreds|Co|one *'three hundred and one (only)'*
- c) |apat ngaribu |am|limo  
|four thousands|Co|five *'four thousand and five'*
- d) |limo ngaribu |(am)|mopor  
|five thousands|(Co)|one-ten *'five thousand and ten'*
- e) |limo ngaribu |(am)|siam gaatus  
|five thousands|(Co)|nine hundreds *'five thousand nine hundred'*

EXAMPLE F (Rank 4 + Rank 5 + Rank 4 + Rank 3)

|saribu |siam ngaatus |mopor |am|baluq  
 |one-thousand|nine hundreds|one-ten|Co|eight  
 'one thousand nine hundred and eighteen'

### 7.2.3.2 Metrical nouns

Metrical nouns are formed from noun-stems by the addition of the prefix { $\eta$ aN-} (see 5.1.1.5). They occur only in numeral phrases, following numbers of Ranks 3 to 6, and can be divided into four subclasses.

Subclass 1 consists of the four 'group numerals' already described above, which form numbers of Rank 5.

Subclass 2 consists of words for units of time, distance, money, etc. Heads expounded by a numeral phrase containing a MNn of this subclass may not be followed by an item Attributive (At-it) phrase (see 7.2.6.3). Members of this subclass include the following:

ngoorow	'days'	ngambaloy	'households'
ngorondom	'nights'	ngatutuluq	'fingers'
ngambulan	'months'	ngampagun	'villages'
ngambatu	'miles'	ngaringgit	'dollars'

#### EXAMPLES:

- a) talu      ngoorow  
 No:three MNn:days      'three days'
- b) limo      ngatutuluq  
 No:five MNn:fingers      'five fingers'
- c) ruo ngaatus ngaribu      ngaringgit  
 No:two hundreds thousands MNn:dollars  
 'two hundred thousand dollars'

Subclass 3 consists of words for units of weight and capacity, which may be followed by a higher-level At-it phrase stating the substance being measured. Any noun denoting a container can form a metrical noun of this subclass with the meaning 'X container-fuls' ('X' being a number). Subclass 3 forms include:

nganggilin	'gallons'	ngamupug	'piles'
ngampuun	'jarfuls'	ngatutuluq	'finger-lengths'
ngaakom	'fistfuls'	ngambalait	'basketfuls'
ngakati	'catties'	ngaibaq	'loads'

#### EXAMPLES:

- a) [onom      nganggilin] ra [binjin]  
 H:[No:six MNn:gallons] At [H:petrol]  
 'six gallons of petrol'

- b) [ruo ngampuun] ra [inasi]  
 H: [No:two MNn:jarfuls] At [H:ricebeer]  
 'two jars of ricebeer'
- c) [limo ngatutuluq] ra [pitol]  
 H: [No:five MNn:fingers] At [H:string]  
 'five finger-lengths of string'

Subclass 4 embraces those words whose equivalents in other languages are known variously as 'numeral coefficients', 'auxiliary nouns' or 'classifiers', and which categorise the objects being counted, usually by their shape and size. The following eight forms are known in Timugon:

ngaulun	'persons': for human beings and spirits;
ngainan	'bodies': for living things and large fruits;
ngantaun	'sticks': for long, cylindrical things such as blowpipes, house-posts, snakes, eels;
ngaunor	'kernels': for small (especially round) things, such as fish, insects, small fruits, eggs, nails, grains of rice; <sup>1</sup>
ngampilaq	'breadths': for thin flat things, e.g. doors, letters, cloths, mats, winnowing trays, shallow gongs, locally-made hats;
ngauat	'sinews': for long, thin, thread-like things, e.g. hairs, blades of grass, thin worms;
ngandapak	'?pieces': for deep, open vessels such as cooking-pots, bowls, deep gongs;
ngampuun	'trunks': for trees and earthenware jars.

EXAMPLES:

- a) [apat ngaulun] ra [malayu]  
 H: [No:four MNn:persons] At [H:Malay] 'four Malays'
- b) [tuluq ngainan] ra [karabaw]  
 H: [No:seven MNn:bodies] At [H:buffalo] 'seven buffaloes'
- c) [ruo ngampuun] ra [sampaq]  
 H: [No:two MNn:trunks] At [H:sampaq] 'two sampaq-jars'

### 7.2.3.3 Combined numbers and metrical nouns

The fillers of the portmanteau No/MNn slot fall into the same subclasses as the metrical nouns just described, and can be regarded as their singular counterparts, since they consist of the number 'one'

<sup>1</sup>Many members of this group are also found with ngainan.

combined with a metrical noun. With the exception of two of the group numerals forming subclass 1 (*mopor* and *matus*; see 7.2.3.1), this combination is signalled by the addition of the prefix {*saN-*} to the stem of the metrical noun (see 5.1.1.8).

EXAMPLE A (Subclass 2)

- a) *songorow*  
No/MNn:one-day 'one day'
- b) *satutulug*  
No/MNn:one-finger 'one finger'
- c) *saringgit*  
No/MNn:one-dollar 'one dollar'

EXAMPLE B (Subclass 3)

- a) [*sanggilin*] ra [*binjin*]  
H:[No/MNn:one-gallon] At [H:petrol]  
'one gallon of petrol'
- b) [*sampuun*] ra [*inasi*]  
H:[No/MNn:one-jarful] At [H:ricebeer]  
'one jar of ricebeer'
- c) [*satutulug*] ra [*pitoll*]  
H:[No/MNn:one-finger] At [H:string]  
'one finger-length of string'

EXAMPLE C (Subclass 4)

- a) [*sangulun*] ra [*malayu*]  
H:[No/MNn:one-person] At [H:Malay] 'one Malay'
- b) [*sanginan*] ra [*karabaw*]  
H:[No/MNn:one-body] At [H:buffalo] 'one buffalo'
- c) [*sampuun*] ra [*sampaq*]  
H:[No/MNn:one-trunk] At [H:sampaq] 'one sampaq-jar'

#### 7.2.4 POSSESSIVE PHRASES

There are three types of Possessive (Po) phrases in Timugon, all of which are Relator-Axis in structure, the Relator and Axis either having separate manifestation (in the case of noun phrases), or being combined in dual function (in the case of pronoun phrases). In all three types, Relator is manifested by the same relation-markers which signal clause-level Subject tagmeme (see Table VIII). Similarly, the same series of pronouns manifests clause-level Subject and phrase-level Possessive (see Table XI).

## 7.2.4.1 Genitive possessive phrases

## DISTRIBUTION

A genitive Possessive (Po-gen) tagmeme occurs only with a Head manifested by a common noun, a personalised kinship term, or a numeral phrase containing a metrical noun. It may not occur in a noun phrase incorporated into the Predicate of an ExC2 clause. Instead, it is attracted into the clause-level Topic cum Subject-as-possessor slot (see 4.2.2).

## INTERNAL STRUCTURE

Po-gen is expounded by an embedded Nn, Dm1, Dm3 or Pn phrase, which all have the same internal structures as those shown in the formulae in 7.2.1 above. Where the embedding Head is manifested by a personalised kinship term, however, Po-gen may be expounded only by a Pn phrase.

## EXPONENCE AND READING RULES

$$\begin{array}{l}
 H \\
 \\
 Po\text{-gen} \\
 \\
 (Nn, Dm1, Dm3)_{po\text{-gen}} \\
 Pn_{po\text{-gen}} \\
 Re_{po} \\
 Ax_{gen} \\
 Re/Ax_{po\text{-gen}} \\
 eNn_{gen} \\
 e(Dm1, Dm3)_{gen} \\
 ePn_{po\text{-gen}} \\
 H_{nn_{gen}} \\
 H_{dm_{gen}} \\
 H_{pn_{po\text{-gen}}}
 \end{array}
 \begin{array}{l}
 : \left. \begin{array}{l}
 cnn \\
 pnn(kin) \\
 num \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l}
 +No \quad +MNn \\
 +No/MNn
 \end{array} \right\}
 \end{array} \right\} \\
 \\
 : \left\{ \begin{array}{l}
 Pn_{po\text{-gen}} \\
 (Nn, Dm1, Dm3)_{po\text{-gen}} // H : cnn, num
 \end{array} \right\} \\
 \\
 \rightarrow +Re_{po}^x +Ax_{gen}^x \\
 \rightarrow +Re/Ax_{po\text{-gen}} \\
 : rm_{po} \\
 : e(Nn, Dm1, Dm3)_{gen} \\
 : ePn_{po\text{-gen}} \\
 \rightarrow +H_{nn_{gen}} \pm Po^2 \pm Dt \pm At^2 \pm Ap^2 \pm Co \\
 \rightarrow +H_{dm_{gen}} \pm At \pm Ap^2 \pm Co \\
 \rightarrow +H_{pn_{po\text{-gen}}} \pm At \pm Ap^2 \pm Co \\
 : pnn, cnn, NC, indpn, num, \dots \\
 : dm1, dm3 \\
 : pn_{po\text{-gen}}
 \end{array}$$

In the examples supplied in this and the following sections, square brackets [ ] are used to signal embedded structures. The symbols for all tagmemes on the same level as the one under consideration are underlined. The examples are arranged a) according to the exponence of the Head of the embedded phrase and b) according to the number of layers of embedding. All examples are considered to be exponents of a clause-level Topic.

EXAMPLE A (Single embedded Po-gen noun phrase)

<u>H</u>	:	<table style="border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">cnn</td> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">→</td> <td>baloy (a-e)</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">num</td> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">→</td> <td>[ruo ngainan] (f)</td> </tr> </table>	cnn	→	baloy (a-e)	num	→	[ruo ngainan] (f)									
cnn	→	baloy (a-e)															
num	→	[ruo ngainan] (f)															
<u>Po-gen</u>	:	Nn <sub>po-gen</sub> → +Re <sub>po</sub> +Ax <sub>gen</sub>															
Re <sub>po</sub>	:	rm <sub>po</sub> → ri (a,f) / ru (b,c,d,e)															
Ax <sub>gen</sub>	:	eNn <sub>gen</sub> → +H <sub>nn<sub>gen</sub></sub>															
H <sub>nn<sub>gen</sub></sub>	:	<table style="border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">pnn</td> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">→</td> <td>jimin (a,f)</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">cnn</td> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">→</td> <td>ruanduq (b)</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">N-PVCl<sub>sf</sub></td> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">→</td> <td>[minatoy] (c)</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">indpn</td> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">→</td> <td>osoy-osoy (d)</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">num</td> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">→</td> <td>[ruo ngaulun] (e)</td> </tr> </table>	pnn	→	jimin (a,f)	cnn	→	ruanduq (b)	N-PVCl <sub>sf</sub>	→	[minatoy] (c)	indpn	→	osoy-osoy (d)	num	→	[ruo ngaulun] (e)
pnn	→	jimin (a,f)															
cnn	→	ruanduq (b)															
N-PVCl <sub>sf</sub>	→	[minatoy] (c)															
indpn	→	osoy-osoy (d)															
num	→	[ruo ngaulun] (e)															

- a) baloy ri [jimin]  
H:house Po [H:Jimin] *'Jimin's house'*
- b) baloy ru [ruanduq]  
H:house Po [H:woman] *'a woman's house'*
- c) baloy ru [[minatoy]]  
H:house Po [H:[Psf:die/pt]] *'a dead person's house'*
- d) baloy ru [osoy-osoy]  
H:house Po [H:whoever] *'anyone's house'*
- e) baloy ru [[ruo ngaulun]]  
H:house Po [H:[No:two MNn:persons]] *'two people's house'*
- f) [ruo ngainan] ri [jimin]  
H:[No:two MNn:bodies] Po [H:Jimin] *'Jimin's two (animals, e.g.)'*

EXAMPLE B (Single embedded Po-gen demonstrative phrase)

<u>H</u>	:	cnn → baloy						
<u>Po-gen</u>	:	(Dm1,Dm3) <sub>po-gen</sub> → +Re <sub>po</sub> +Ax <sub>gen</sub>						
Re <sub>po</sub>	:	rm <sub>po</sub> → ru						
Ax <sub>gen</sub>	:	e(Dm1,Dm3) <sub>gen</sub> → +H <sub>dm<sub>gen</sub></sub>						
H <sub>dm<sub>gen</sub></sub>	:	<table style="border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">{dm1</td> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">→</td> <td>gitio (a)</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">dm3</td> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">→</td> <td>giti (b)</td> </tr> </table>	{dm1	→	gitio (a)	dm3	→	giti (b)
{dm1	→	gitio (a)						
dm3	→	giti (b)						

- a) baloy ru [gitio]  
H:house Po [H:this] 'this one's house'
- b) baloy ru [giti]  
H:house Po [H:here] 'house(s) of (i.e. in) this place'

## EXAMPLE C (Single embedded Po-gen pronoun phrase)

<u>H</u>	:	{	cnn	→	baloy (a)	}
		{	pnn(kin)	→	i amaq (b)	}
<u>Po-gen</u>	:	Pn <sub>po-gen</sub>	→	+Re/Ax <sub>po-gen</sub>		
Re/Ax <sub>po-gen</sub>	:	ePn <sub>po-gen</sub>	→	+H <sub>pn<sub>po-gen</sub></sub>		
H <sub>pn<sub>po-gen</sub></sub>	:	pn <sub>po-gen</sub>	→	min		

- a) baloy [min]  
H:house Po:[H:you] 'your house'
- b) i amaq [min]  
T H:Father Po:[H:you] 'your Father'

## EXAMPLE D (Double embedded Po-gen phrases)

<u>H</u>	:	cnn	→	lomow
<u>Po-gen</u>	:	Nn <sub>po-gen</sub>	→	+Re <sub>po</sub> +Ax <sub>gen</sub>
Re <sub>po</sub>	:	rm <sub>po</sub>	→	ru
Ax <sub>gen</sub>	:	eNn <sub>gen</sub>	→	+H <sub>nn<sub>gen</sub></sub> +Po-gen +Dt
H <sub>nn<sub>gen</sub></sub>	:	cnn	→	mato
Po-gen	:	Pn <sub>po-gen</sub>	→	+Re/Ax <sub>po-gen</sub>
Re/Ax <sub>po-gen</sub>	:	ePn <sub>po-gen</sub>	→	+H <sub>pn<sub>po-gen</sub></sub>
H <sub>pn<sub>po-gen</sub></sub>	:	pn <sub>po-gen</sub>	→	no
Dt	:	dt	→	-no

lomow ru [mato [na-] -no]  
H:tear Po [H:eye Po:[H:he] Dt] 'the tears of his eyes'

## EXAMPLE E (Triple embedded Po-gen phrases)

<u>H</u>	:	cnn	→	taap
<u>Po-gen</u>	:	Nn <sub>po-gen</sub>	→	+Re <sub>po</sub> +Ax <sub>gen</sub>
Re <sub>po</sub>	:	rm <sub>po</sub>	→	ru
Ax <sub>gen</sub>	:	eNn <sub>gen</sub>	→	+H <sub>nn<sub>gen</sub></sub> +Po-gen



H <sub>nn</sub> gen	: cnn	→ lobong
Po-gen	: Nn <sub>po-gen</sub>	→ +Re <sub>po</sub> +Ax <sub>gen</sub>
Re <sub>po</sub>	: rm <sub>po</sub>	→ ri
Ax <sub>gen</sub>	: eNn <sub>gen</sub>	→ +H <sub>nn</sub> gen +Po-gen +Dt
H <sub>nn</sub> gen	: pnn(kin)	→ amaq
Po-gen	: Pn <sub>po-gen</sub>	→ +Re/Ax <sub>po-gen</sub>
Re/Ax <sub>po-gen</sub>	: ePn <sub>po-gen</sub>	→ +H <sub>pn</sub> po-gen
H <sub>pn</sub> po-gen	: pn <sub>po-gen</sub>	→ min
Dt	: dt	→ -i

taap nu [lobong ri [amaq [min-] -i]]  
 H:roof Po [H:grave Po [H:Father Po:[H:you] Dt]]  
 'the roof of your Father's grave'

#### 7.2.4.2 Classifying possessive phrases

##### DISTRIBUTION

A classifying Possessive (Po-cla) tagmeme occurs only with a Head manifested by a common noun or a Nominal clause, and may be followed by a Po-gen phrase. Unlike Po-gen, however, Po-cla may occur in a noun phrase incorporated into the Predicate of an ExC2 clause.

##### INTERNAL STRUCTURE

The structure of the Axis of a Po-cla phrase is simply +H ±Dt; no other tagmemes may occur. Head can be manifested only by a common noun or (rarely) a Nominal clause.

##### EXPONENCE AND READING RULES

<u>H</u>	: cnn, NC
<u>Po-cla</u>	: Nn <sub>po-cla</sub>
Nn <sub>po-cla</sub>	→ +Re <sub>po</sub> <sup>x</sup> +Ax <sub>cla</sub> <sup>x</sup>
Re <sub>po</sub>	: rm <sub>po</sub>
Ax <sub>cla</sub>	: eNn <sub>cla</sub>
eNn <sub>cla</sub>	→ +H <sub>nn</sub> cla ±Dt
H <sub>nn</sub> cla	: cnn, NC

## EXAMPLE A (Single embedded Po-cla noun phrase)

<u>H</u>	:	{	cnn	→	kawaq (a) / ulun (c)	}
		{	N-PVC10 <sub>rf</sub>	→	[tinunuan] (b)	}
<u>Po-cla</u>	:	Nn <sub>po-cla</sub>	→	+Re <sub>po</sub> +Ax <sub>cla</sub>		
Re <sub>po</sub>	:	rm <sub>po</sub>	→	ru		
Ax <sub>cla</sub>	:	eNn <sub>cla</sub>	→	+H <sub>nn<sub>cla</sub></sub>		
<u>H<sub>nn<sub>cla</sub></sub></u>	:	{	cnn	→	lampun (a) / buburit (b)	}
		{	N-PPC2A <sub>sf</sub>	→	[masundu] (c)	}

- a) kawaq nu [lampun]  
H: *fruit* Po [H: *durian*] 'durian fruit'
- b) [tinunuan] ru [buburit]  
H: [Prf: *roast/pt*] Po [H: *maize*] 'roasted maize'
- c) ulun nu [[masundu]]  
H: *person* Po [H: [Psf: *divine/ft*]] 'a divine being'

## EXAMPLE B (Single embedded Po-cla noun phrase, followed by single embedded Po-gen pronoun phrase and Determiner)

<u>H</u>	:	cnn	→	puun
<u>Po-cla</u>	:	Nn <sub>po-cla</sub>	→	+Re <sub>po</sub> +Ax <sub>cla</sub>
Re <sub>po</sub>	:	rm <sub>po</sub>	→	ru
Ax <sub>cla</sub>	:	eNn <sub>cla</sub>	→	+H <sub>nn<sub>cla</sub></sub>
<u>H<sub>nn<sub>cla</sub></sub></u>	:	cnn	→	piasaw
<u>Po-gen</u>	:	Pn <sub>po-gen</sub>	→	+Re/Ax <sub>po-gen</sub>
Re/Ax <sub>po-gen</sub>	:	ePn <sub>po-gen</sub>	→	+H <sub>pn<sub>po-gen</sub></sub>
<u>H<sub>pn<sub>po-gen</sub></sub></u>	:	pn <sub>po-gen</sub>	→	ku
<u>Dt</u>	:	dt	→	-rati

puun nu [piasaw] [ku-] -rati  
H: *trunk* Po [H: *coconut*] Po: [H: *I*] Dt 'my coconut trees'

## 7.2.4.3 Subject possessive phrases

## DISTRIBUTION

The Subject Possessive (Po-sub) tagmeme occurs only after a Head expounded by a common noun, which must be a verb stem. It may be followed only by an oblique Attributive tagmeme (see below 7.2.6.6).

Phrases containing a Po-sub tagmeme can often be rendered in English by gerundial expressions such as '*my writing (the letter)*'.

#### INTERNAL STRUCTURE

The exponence and phrase-structure of the Po-sub tagmeme are the same as those of the Po-gen tagmeme described above. The exponence and reading rules will therefore not be repeated here.

#### EXAMPLE A (Single embedded Po-sub noun phrase)

<u>H</u>	: cnn	→ ansak
<u>Po-sub</u>	: Nn <sub>po-sub</sub>	→ +Re <sub>po</sub> +Ax <sub>sub</sub>
Re <sub>po</sub>	: rm <sub>po</sub>	→ ri (a) / ru (b)
Ax <sub>sub</sub>	: eNn <sub>sub</sub>	→ +H <sub>nn<sub>sub</sub></sub>
H <sub>nn<sub>sub</sub></sub>	: { pnn	→ jimin (a) }
	: { cnn	→ ruanduq (b) }

- a) ansak ri [jimin]  
H:cooking Po [H:jimin] '*Jimin's cooking*'
- b) ansak ru [ruanduq]  
H:cooking Po [H:woman] '*a woman's cooking*'

#### EXAMPLE B (Single embedded Po-sub pronoun phrase)

<u>H</u>	: cnn	→ ansak
<u>Po-sub</u>	: Pn <sub>po-sub</sub>	→ +Re/Ax <sub>po-sub</sub>
Re/Ax <sub>po-sub</sub>	: ePn <sub>po-sub</sub>	→ +H <sub>pn<sub>po-sub</sub></sub>
H <sub>pn<sub>po-sub</sub></sub>	: pn <sub>po-sub</sub>	→ nilo

ansak [nilo]  
H:cooking Po:[H:they] '*their cooking*'

#### 7.2.5 DETERMINERS

The class of determiners is shown above in Table X (p.167). In Timugon (but not in all dialects), the free determiners are used only in songs and very formal speech, though their use is preferred on the few occasions when letters are written in Timugon. The plural determiners are optional. A Determiner tagmeme can be separated from its Head only by one or more of the following: a) a descriptive Attributive tagmeme; b) a classifying Possessive tagmeme; or c) a subject or genitive Possessive tagmeme expounded by a pronoun phrase. In apparent exceptions to this statement, the Determiner is in fact attributive to an embedded Head, and not to the Head of the embedding phrase.

This situation is formalised by the following permutation rule.

OBLIGATORY PERMUTATION:

+H +Po +Dt +At +X → +H +Po +At +Dt +X

where 1. At = At<sub>des</sub> : a single-word sequence

$$2. Po = \left\{ \begin{array}{l} Po_{cla} \\ Po_{sub}, Po_{gen} : Pn \end{array} \right\}$$

3. X = any or no other tagmemes

When a possessive pronoun is followed by a determiner, certain morphophonemic changes may operate on one element or both, as shown in Table XII below. The possessive pronouns are arranged vertically, the determiners horizontally. The -tii and -nii series are not included, partly because they occur only rarely in conjunction with possessive pronouns, and partly because their forms can be deduced from the other series.

TABLE XII

*Timugon possessive pronouns and determiners*

	-ti -rati	-no -rano	-i -rali
ku	kutu kurati	kuno kurano	kuli kurali
mu	mutu murati	muno murano	muli murali
no	nati narati	nano narano	nali narali
to	tati tarati	tano tarano	tali tarali
takaw	takaiti takarati	takaino takarano	takai takarali
may	maiti marati	maino marano	maili marali
min	miniti mindati	minino mindano	mini mindali
nilo	nilaiti nilarati	nilaino nilarano	nilai nilarali

EXAMPLE A (Determiner following Head)

H : cnn → bauy

Dt : dt → -ti (a), -rati (b)

a) bauy -ti  
H: pig Dt 'the pig(s)'

b) bauy -rati  
H: pig Dt 'the pigs'

## EXAMPLE B (Determiner following Po-gen pronoun phrase)

H : cnn + bauy  
Po-gen : Pn<sub>po-gen...</sub> + min (see 7.2.4.1,c)  
Dt : dt + -ti (a), -rati (b)

- a) bauy [min-] -iti  
 H:pig Po:[H:you] Dt 'your pig(s)'  
 b) bauy [min-] -dati  
 H:pig Po:[H:you] Dt 'your pigs'

## EXAMPLE C (Determiner in embedded Po-gen noun phrase)

H : cnn + bauy  
 Po-gen : Nn<sub>po-gen</sub> + Re<sub>po</sub> + Ax<sub>gen</sub>  
 Re<sub>po</sub> : rm<sub>po</sub> + ri (a) / ru (b,c,d,e,f,g)  
 Ax<sub>gen</sub> : eNn<sub>gen</sub> + H<sub>nn<sub>gen</sub></sub> +Dt

H<sub>nn<sub>gen</sub></sub> :  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{pnn} \quad + \text{jimin (a)} \\ \text{cnn} \quad + \text{ruanduq (b,c)} \\ \text{N-PVCl}_{\text{sf}} \quad + \text{[minatoy] (d,e)} \\ \text{num} \quad + \text{onom ngaulun (f,g)} \end{array} \right\}$

Dt : dt + -ti (a,b,d,f) / -rati (c,e,g)

- a) bauy ri [jimin -ti]  
 H:pig Po [H:Jimin Dt] 'Jimin's pig(s)'  
 b) bauy ru [ruanduq -ti]  
 H:pig Po [H:woman Dt] 'the woman's/women's pig(s)'  
 c) bauy ru [ruanduq -rati]  
 H:pig Po [H:woman Dt] 'the women's pig(s)'  
 d) bauy ru [[minatoy] -ti]  
 H:pig Po [H:[Psf:die/pt] Dt] 'the dead person's/people's pig(s)'  
 e) bauy ru [[minatoy] -rati]  
 H:pig Po [H:[Psf:die/pt] Dt] 'the dead people's pig(s)'  
 f) bauy ru [[onom ngaulun] -ti]  
 H:pig Po [H:[No:six MNn:persons] Dt]  
 g) bauy ru [[onom ngaulun] -rati]  
 H:pig Po [H:[No:six MNn:persons] Dt] } 'the six people's pig(s)'

Note: A Determiner does not occur with a Head expounded by an indefinite pronoun (osoy-osoy, etc.). For an example of a Determiner following a descriptive Attributive phrase, see 7.2.6.2.

## 7.2.6 ATTRIBUTIVE PHRASES

Eight types of Attributive phrases have been isolated in Timugon, all of them analysable as Relator-Axis structures. In all types, Relator is expounded by the oblique relation-marker *ra*.

## 7.2.6.1 Demonstrative attributive phrases

## DISTRIBUTION

A demonstrative Attributive (At-dem) tagmeme occurs only after  $H_{nn}$ , which can be manifested by a common noun, a Nominal clause, or a numeral. It may not co-occur with any tagmeme except a loose Appositive tagmeme (see 7.2.7.1).

## INTERNAL STRUCTURE

The Axis of an At-dem phrase consists solely of an obligatory Head, which is manifested by *dml* or *dm2*; no other tagmemes may be present.

## EXPONENCE AND READING RULES

<u>H</u>	: cnn, NC, num
<u>At-dem</u>	: Dml <sub>at-dem</sub> , Dm2 <sub>at-dem</sub>
Dml <sub>at-dem</sub>	→ +Re <sub>at</sub> <sup>x</sup> +Ax <sub>dem</sub> <sup>x</sup>
Dem2 <sub>at-dem</sub>	→ +Re/Ax <sub>at-dem</sub>
Re <sub>at</sub>	: rm <sub>at</sub>
Ax <sub>dem</sub>	: eDml <sub>dem</sub>
Re/Ax <sub>at-dem</sub>	: eDm2 <sub>at-dem</sub>
eDml <sub>dem</sub>	→ +H <sub>dml<sub>dem</sub></sub>
eDm2 <sub>at-dem</sub>	→ +H <sub>dm2<sub>at-dem</sub></sub>
H <sub>dml<sub>dem</sub></sub>	: dml
H <sub>dm2<sub>at-dem</sub></sub>	: dm2

## EXAMPLE A (Single embedded At-dem Dml phrase)

<u>H</u>	: cnn	→ baloy
<u>At-dem</u>	: Dml <sub>at-dem</sub>	→ +Re <sub>at</sub> +Ax <sub>dem</sub>
Re <sub>at</sub>	: rm <sub>at</sub>	→ ra
Ax <sub>dem</sub>	: eDml <sub>dem</sub>	→ +H <sub>dml<sub>dem</sub></sub>
H <sub>dml<sub>dem</sub></sub>	: dml	→ gitio (a) / ginio (b) / gili (c) / gatilo (d)

- a) baloy ra [gitio]  
H:house At [H:this] 'this house'
- b) baloy ra [ginio]  
H:house At [H:that] 'that house'
- c) baloy ra [gili]  
H:house At [H:that] 'that house'
- d) baloy ra [gatilol]  
H:house At [H:these] 'these houses'

EXAMPLE B (Single embedded At-dem Dm2 phrase)

H : cnn → baloy  
At-dem : Dm2<sub>at-dem</sub> → +Re/Ax<sub>at-dem</sub>  
 Re/Ax<sub>at-dem</sub> : eDm2<sub>at-dem</sub> → +H<sub>dm2<sub>at-dem</sub></sub>  
 H<sub>dm2<sub>at-dem</sub></sub> : dm2 → raitio (a) / rainio (b)

- a) baloy [raitio]  
H:house At:[H:this] 'this house'
- b) baloy [rainio]  
H:house At:[H:that] 'that house'

EXAMPLE C (Single embedded At-dem Dml phrase within single embedded Po-gen noun phrase)

H : cnn → ragu  
 Po-gen : Nn<sub>po-gen</sub> → +Re<sub>po</sub> +Ax<sub>gen</sub>  
 Re<sub>po</sub> : rm<sub>po</sub> → ru  
 Ax<sub>gen</sub> : eNn<sub>gen</sub> → +H<sub>nn<sub>gen</sub></sub> +At-dem  
 H<sub>nn<sub>gen</sub></sub> : cnn → ulun  
At-dem : Dml<sub>at-dem</sub> → +Re<sub>at</sub> +Ax<sub>dem</sub>  
 Re<sub>at</sub> : rm<sub>at</sub> → ra  
 Ax<sub>dem</sub> : eDml<sub>dem</sub> → +H<sub>dml<sub>dem</sub></sub>  
 H<sub>dml<sub>dem</sub></sub> : dml → ganilo

ragu ru [ulun ra [ganilo]]  
 H:speech Po [H:person At [H:those]]  
 'the language of those people'

## 7.2.6.2 Descriptive attributive phrases

## DISTRIBUTION

A descriptive Attributive (At-des) tagmeme does not occur with a Head manifested by a pronoun or a demonstrative. It may occur either in the normal position for Attributive phrases, that is, following Possessive and Determiner, as shown in 7.2.1, or immediately following the Head. Choice of order is governed by two factors: a) the focus of attention; and b) the length of the sequence manifesting At-des.

In the first instance, where the order is

+H ±Po ±Dt +At-des,

attention is focused on the Head, the At-des phrase merely adding incidental information. This construction is analogous to the so-called 'defining' relative clause in English, as in *'the land which is flooded'*.<sup>1</sup> In the second case, where At-des immediately follows the Head, the focus of attention is on the Attributive, or on the Head and Attributive as a unit (cf. the English modifier-head construction: *'the flooded land'*).

## INTERNAL STRUCTURE

The At-des tagmeme is expounded by a noun phrase whose Axis is filled by a common noun or a Nominal clause, the latter being more frequent than the former. The Relator slot is filled by the relation-marker *ra*, which, however, is frequently omitted when the At-des tagmeme immediately follows the Head of the embedding phrase.

The fillers of At-des in the immediate post-Head position are restricted to single-word sequences. Thus, the only Nominal clauses that may manifest At-des in this position are those that consist simply of a Predicate. Conversely, there are some Nominal clauses which occur only in this position, namely those whose Predicates are filled by some of the uninflected members of the pp2A stem class (see 4.1.1.2.1). The commonest of these are *bagu* 'new/fresh', *lair* 'old/former', and *galing* 'earlier/former/first'. Such forms are never preceded by *ra*.

At-des may occur twice at the same level of embedding, providing one of the tagmemes is permuted to immediate post-Head position. When an At-des phrase contains a Determiner tagmeme, and the Head is expounded by a Nominal clause containing a Subject pronoun, the Determiner may attach itself to the pronoun in the way described in 7.2.5 (see Table XII), even when this results in a discontinuous Head tagmeme. No

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<sup>1</sup>It is not, however, comparable with the 'non-defining' relative clause seen in the sentence *'The land, which is flooded, is no longer usable'*, which would be expressed by two sentences in Timugon: *'The land is flooded. It is no longer usable'*.



instances have been recorded of Attributive or Appositive tagmemes occurring within an embedded At-des phrase.

#### EXPONENCE AND READING RULES

$\underline{H}$  : nn  
 $\underline{At-des}$  :  $Nn_{at-des}$   
 $Nn_{at-des}$  →  $\pm Re_{at}^x + Ax_{des}^x$   
 $Re_{at}$  :  $rm_{at}$   
 $Ax_{des}$  :  $eNn_{des}$   
 $eNn_{des}$  →  $+H_{nn_{des}} \pm Dt \pm Co$   
 $H_{nn_{des}}$  :  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} NC_w // -Re_{at} \text{---} \\ NC_y, cnn // \pm Re_{at} \text{---} \end{array} \right\}$   
 where  $NC_w$  = NC with P : <bagu>  
 and  $NC_y$  = any other NC

#### PERMUTATION RULE

$+H +X +At-des +Y$  →  $+H +At-des +X +Y$   
 where X,Y = any or no other tagmemes

#### PERMUTATION RULE OPTIONAL IF:

$At_{des}$  :  $Nn_{at-des}$   
 $Nn_{at-des}$  →  $+Re_{at}^x + Ax_{des}^x$   
 $Ax_{des}$  :  $eNn_{des}$   
 $eNn_{des}$  →  $+H_{nn_{des}}$   
 $H_{nn_{des}}$  :  $cnn, NC$   
 where NC consists simply of +P

#### PERMUTATION RULE OBLIGATORY IF:

$At-des$  :  $Nn_{at-des}$   
 $Nn_{at-des}$  →  $-Re_{at} + Ax_{des}$

#### EXAMPLE A (Single embedded At-des phrase)

$\underline{H}$  :  $cnn$  → manuk  
 $\underline{At-des}$  :  $Nn_{at-des}$  →  $+Re_{at} + Ax_{des}$   
 $Re_{at}$  :  $rm_{at}$  → ra  
 $Ax_{des}$  :  $eNn_{des}$  →  $+H_{nn_{des}}$

(continued overleaf)

$$H_{nn_{des}} : \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{cnn} \rightarrow \text{lisong (a)} \\ \text{N-PPC2A}_{sf} \rightarrow [\text{molomok}] \text{ (b)} \\ \text{N-PVC8}_{of} \rightarrow [\text{tinakow ra maiq-i}] \text{ (c)} \end{array} \right\}$$

- a) manuk ra [lisong]  
 H:hen At [H:black-fowl]  
 'black hens' or 'hens which are black'
- b) manuk ra [[molomok]]  
 H:hen At [H:[Psf:fat/ft]]  
 'fat hens' or 'hens which are fat'
- c) manuk ra [[tinakow ra maiq-i]]  
 H:hen At [H:[Pof:steal/pt Tm evening the]]  
 'hens which were stolen last night'

EXAMPLE B (as above, but with Relator omitted)

$$\begin{array}{l} \underline{H} : \text{cnn} \rightarrow \text{manuk} \\ \underline{\text{At-des}} : \text{Nn}_{at-des} \rightarrow +\text{Ax}_{des} \\ \underline{\text{Ax}_{des}} : \text{eNn}_{des} \rightarrow +\text{H}_{nn_{des}} \end{array}$$

$$H_{nn_{des}} : \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{cnn} \rightarrow \text{lisong (a)} \\ \text{N-PPC2A}_{sf} \rightarrow [\text{molomok}] \text{ (b)} \\ \text{N-PVC8}_{of} \rightarrow [\text{tinakow ra maiq-i}] \text{ (c)} \\ \text{N-PPC2A}_{sf} \rightarrow [\text{bagu}] \text{ (d)} \end{array} \right\}$$

- a) manuk [lisong]  
 H:hen At:[H:black-fowl] 'black hens'
- b) manuk [[molomok]]  
 H:hen At:[H:[Psf:fat/ft]] 'fat hens'
- c) manuk [[tinakow ra maiq-i]]  
 H:hen At:[H:[Pof:steal/pt Tm evening the]]  
 'hens which were stolen last night'
- d) manuk [[bagu]]  
 H:hen At:[H:[Psf:new]] 'new hens'

EXAMPLE C (Single embedded At-des phrase, following Possessive and Determiner tagmemes)

$$\begin{array}{l} \underline{H} : \text{cnn} \rightarrow \text{manuk} \\ \underline{\text{Po-gen}} : \text{Pn}_{po-gen} \rightarrow +\text{Re/Ax}_{po-gen} \\ \underline{\text{Re/Ax}_{po-gen}} : \text{ePn}_{po-gen} \rightarrow +\text{H}_{pn_{po-gen}} \end{array}$$

$H_{pn_{po-gen}}$	:	$pn_{po-gen}$	→	ku
<u>Dt</u>	:	dt	→	-i
<u>At-des</u>	:	$Nn_{at-des}$	→	+Re <sub>at</sub> +Ax <sub>des</sub>
Re <sub>at</sub>	:	rm <sub>at</sub>	→	ra
Ax <sub>des</sub>	:	eNn <sub>des</sub>	→	+H <sub>nn<sub>des</sub></sub>
$H_{nndes}$	:	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{cnn} \rightarrow \text{lisong (a)} \\ \text{N-PPC2A}_{sf} \rightarrow \text{[molomok] (b)} \\ \text{N-PVC8}_{of} \rightarrow \text{[tinakow ra maiq-i] (c)} \end{array} \right\}$		

- a) manuk [ku-] -li ra [lisong]  
H:hen Po:[H:I] Dt At [H:black-fowl]  
'my hens which are black' 'my black hens'
- b) manuk [ku-] -li ra [[molomok]]  
H:hen Po:[H:I] Dt At [H:[Psf:fat/ft]]  
'my hens which are fat' 'my fat hens'
- c) manuk [ku-] -li ra [[tinakow ra maiq-i]]  
H:hen Po:[H:I] Dt At [H:[Pof:steal/pt Tm evening the]]  
'my hens which were stolen last night'

EXAMPLE D (as above, but with At-des permuted to immediate post-Head position)

<u>H</u>	:	cnn	→	manuk
<u>At-des</u>	:	$Nn_{at-des}$	→	+Ax <sub>des</sub>
Ax <sub>des</sub>	:	eNn <sub>des</sub>	→	+H <sub>nn<sub>des</sub></sub>
$H_{nndes}$	:	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{cnn} \rightarrow \text{lisong (a)} \\ \text{N-PPC2A}_{sf} \rightarrow \text{[molomok] (b) / [bagu] (c)} \end{array} \right\}$		
<u>Po-gen</u>	:	$Pn_{po-gen}$	→	ku
<u>Dt</u>	:	dt	→	-i

- a) manuk [lisong] [ku-] -li  
H:hen At:[H:black-fowl] Po:[H:I] Dt  
'my black hens'
- b) manuk [[molomok]] [ku-] -li  
H:hen At:[H:[Psf:fat/ft]] Po:[H:I] Dt  
'my fat hens'
- c) manuk [[bagu]] [ku-] -li  
H:hen At:[H:[Psf:new]] Po:[H:I] Dt  
'my new hens'

## MISCELLANEOUS EXAMPLES (reading and exponence rules not given)

- a) (At-des phrase in post-Head position, followed by Po-gen noun phrase containing two At-des phrases embedded at the same level)

pabukat [ruanduq] nu [ungkuyon [[mamulok]] ra  
 H:relative At:[H:woman] Po [H:man Atl:[H:[Psf:young/ft]] At2  
 [[kalo poyo nauatan] -ti]]  
 [H:[Neg Mod Psf:married/pt] Dt]]

*'the female relatives of the young man who is not yet married'*

- b) (At-des phrase, followed by Po-gen pronoun phrase, Determiner, and second At-des phrase)

apol [toojo] [na-] -li ra [[masalag]]  
 H:chaff At:[H:real] Po:[H:it] Dt At2 [H:[Psf:coarse/ft]]

*'its real chaff which is coarse'*

- c) (At-des phrase consisting of Head and Determiner, with Head expounded by Nominal clause)

kulintangan [[pinakirim ku rirun] -i]  
 H:tube-zither At:[H:[Pof:send/pt S:I A:thou] Dt] OR:  
 kulintangan [[pinakirim ku-] -li [rirun]]  
 H:tube-zither At:[H:[Pof:send/pt S:I] Dt [A:thou]]

*'the tube-zither which I sent you'*

## 7.2.6.3 Item attributive phrases

## DISTRIBUTION

An item Attributive (At-it) tagmeme may occur following a Head manifested by a common noun, a Nominal clause, or a numeral, of which the last is most common. It does not co-occur with Possessive or Appositive tagmemes embedded on the same level as itself, though it may co-occur with an Attributive of a different type.

## INTERNAL STRUCTURE

As with all other Attributive phrases, the Relator slot of an At-it phrase is filled by the marker *ra*. When the embedding Head is expounded by a common noun or a Nominal clause, the marker is obligatory. When the embedding Head is expounded by a numeral, however, the status of the marker varies in the following ways:

- a) when the numeral phrase consists simply of a *ka*- number (see 7.2.3), the marker is obligatorily present;
- b) when the numeral phrase contains a number (No) and a metrical noun

(MNn), whether they have separate or portmanteau exponence, the marker is optionally present;

c) when the numeral phrase consists solely of an ordinary number (i.e. not a ka- form), or when the numeral itself is already preceded by ra, the marker is obligatorily absent.

The Axis of an At-it phrase may contain any of the phrase-level tagmemes shown in the formula in 7.2.1, with the apparent exception of Appositive, which has not been observed in this type of phrase. The Head tagmeme is always manifested by a common noun.

#### EXPONENCE AND READING RULES

H : cnn, NC, num

At-it : Nn<sub>at-it</sub>

$$Nn_{at-it} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} +Re_{at} x +Ax_{it} x // \underline{H} : \left\{ \begin{array}{l} cnn \\ NC \\ num \rightarrow +No : <katalu> \end{array} \right\} \\ +Re_{at} x +Ax_{it} x // \underline{H} : num \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} +No +Mn \\ +No/MN \end{array} \right\} \\ +Ax_{it} // \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{H} : num +No : <talu> \\ +ra +H : num + \_ \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right\}$$

Re<sub>at</sub> : rm<sub>at</sub>

Ax<sub>it</sub> : eNn<sub>it</sub>

eNn<sub>it</sub> → +H<sub>nn<sub>it</sub></sub> ±Po ±Dt ±At ±Co

H<sub>nn<sub>it</sub></sub> : cnn

#### EXAMPLE A (Single embedded At-it phrase after non-numeral Head)

H :  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} cnn \rightarrow \text{kinawaq (a)} \\ N\text{-PPC2B}_{sf} \rightarrow [\text{nosolob}] \text{ (b)} \end{array} \right\}$

At-it : Nn<sub>at-it</sub> → +Re<sub>at</sub> +Ax<sub>it</sub>

Re<sub>at</sub> : rm<sub>at</sub> → ra

Ax<sub>it</sub> : eNn<sub>it</sub> → +H<sub>nn<sub>it</sub></sub>

H<sub>nn<sub>it</sub></sub> : cnn → lampun (a) / baloy (b)

a) klnawaq ra [lampun]

H:fruit At [H:durian]

'fruit such as durian' or 'durian fruit'

b) [nosolob] ra [baloy]

H:[Psf:burnt-down/pt] At [H:house]

'something burnt down, namely a house' or 'a burnt-out house'

EXAMPLE B (Single embedded At-it phrase after a numeral Head, regarded as manifesting clause-level Object tagmeme in a clause such as:

|mambali |aku |[Object] 'I will buy [ ]'  
|Psf:buy/ft|T/S:I|

O : Nn<sub>o</sub> → { +Re<sub>o</sub> + Ax }  
          +Ax

Re<sub>o</sub> : rm<sub>o</sub> → ra (g,h)

Ax : eNn<sub>o</sub> → +H<sub>nn<sub>o</sub></sub> +At-it

H<sub>nn<sub>o</sub></sub> : num → { +No }  
          +No +MnN

No : no → { talu (a,b,c,g,h) }  
          katalu (d,e,f)

MnN : mnn → ngainan (b,c,e,f,h)

At-it : Nn<sub>at-it</sub> → { +Re<sub>at</sub> +Ax<sub>it</sub> }  
          +Ax<sub>it</sub>

Re<sub>at</sub> : rm<sub>at</sub> → ra (c,d,f)

Ax<sub>it</sub> : eNn<sub>it</sub> → +H<sub>nn<sub>it</sub></sub>

H<sub>nn<sub>it</sub></sub> : cnn → karabaw

- a) [[talu] [karabaw]]  
O:[H:[No:three] At:[H:buffalo]]
- b) [[talu ngainan] [karabaw]]  
O:[H:[No:three MnN:bodies] At:[H:buffalo]]
- c) [[talu ngainan ra [karabaw]]  
O:[H:[No:three MnN:bodies] At [H:buffalo]]
- d) [[katalu ra [karabaw]]  
O:[H:[No:three] At [H:buffalo]]
- e) [[katalu ngainan] [karabaw]]  
O:[H:[No:three MnN:bodies] At:[H:buffalo]]
- f) [[katalu ngainan ra [karabaw]]  
O:[H:[No:three MnN:bodies] At [H:buffalo]]
- g) ra [[talu] [karabaw]]  
O [H:[No:three] At:[H:buffalo]]
- h) ra [[talu ngainan] [karabaw]]  
O [H:[No:three MnN:bodies] At:[H:buffalo]]
- 'three buffaloes'

## MISCELLANEOUS EXAMPLES (Exponence and reading rules not given)

a) (Single embedded At-it noun phrase containing Determiner)

paatiq ra [asano -ti]

H:party At [H:USNO Dt]

'the USNO (political) party'

b) (Single embedded At-it noun phrase containing Po-cla noun phrase)

[apat ngainan] ra [anak ru [ukuq -i]]

H:[No:four MNn:bodies] At [H:child Po [H:dog Dt]]

'the four puppies'

c) (Single embedded At-it phrase containing At-dem phrase)

[ruo] [tataun [raitio]]

H:[No:two] At:[H:tree At:[H:this]]

'these two trees'

## 7.2.6.4 Orientation attributive phrases

## DISTRIBUTION

An orientation Attributive (At-or) tagmeme may occur with a Head manifested by a noun or pronoun. It may not, however, occur with a Head manifested by a Nominal clause. Apparent exceptions to this rule are in reality instances of clause-level Associate, Time or Site tagmemes within the embedded clause. There appear to be no restrictions on the co-occurrence of At-or with other tagmemes on the same level.

## INTERNAL STRUCTURE

The embedded Head of an At-or phrase, which is always expounded by dm3, dm4 or a common noun, may be accompanied by any of the phrase-level tagmemes shown in 7.2.1. When the Head is expounded by dm4, it is obligatorily preceded by the relation-marker ra, even though dm4 forms already consist of a portmanteau Relator/Axis unit.

## EXPONENCE AND READING RULES

<u>H</u>	: pn, nn
<u>At-or</u>	: Nn <sub>at-or</sub> , Dm3 <sub>at-or</sub> , Dm4 <sub>at-or</sub>
Nn <sub>at-or</sub> } Dm3 <sub>at-or</sub> }	→ +Re <sub>at</sub> <sup>x</sup> +Ax <sub>or</sub> <sup>x</sup>
Dm4 <sub>at-or</sub>	→ +Re <sub>at</sub> +Re/Ax <sub>at-or</sub>
Re <sub>at</sub>	: rm <sub>at</sub>
Ax <sub>or</sub>	: eNn <sub>or</sub> , eDm3 <sub>or</sub>
Re/Ax <sub>at-or</sub>	: eDm4 <sub>at-or</sub>

(continued overleaf)

$eNn_{or} \rightarrow +H_{nn_{or}} \pm \dots$   
 $eDm3_{or} \rightarrow +H_{dm3_{or}} \pm \dots$   
 $eDm4_{at-or} \rightarrow +H_{dm4_{at-or}} \pm \dots$   
 $H_{nn_{or}} : cnn$   
 $H_{dm3_{or}} : dm3$   
 $H_{dm4_{at-or}} : dm4$

## EXAMPLE A (Single embedded At-or noun phrase)

$\underline{H} : \left\{ \begin{array}{l} pn \rightarrow akay (a) \\ cnn \rightarrow lalaing (b) \end{array} \right\}$   
 $\underline{At-or} : Nn_{at-or} \rightarrow +Re_{at} +Ax_{or}$   
 $Re_{at} : rm_{at} \rightarrow ra$   
 $Ax_{or} : eNn_{or} \rightarrow +H_{nn_{or}}$   
 $H_{nn_{or}} : cnn \rightarrow baloy$

- a) akay ra [baloy]  
 H:we(ex) At [H:house] 'we in the house'
- b) lalaing ra [baloy]  
 H:child At [H:house] 'child(ren) in the house'

## EXAMPLE B (Single embedded At-or dm3 phrase)

$\underline{H} : cnn \rightarrow adat$   
 $\underline{At-or} : Dm3_{at-or} \rightarrow +Re_{at} +Ax_{or}$   
 $Re_{at} : rm_{at} \rightarrow ra$   
 $Ax_{or} : eDm3_{or} \rightarrow +H_{dm3_{or}}$   
 $H_{dm3_{or}} : dm3 \rightarrow gili (a) / giuq (b)$

- a) adat ra [gili]  
 H:custom At [H:that] 'the custom at that time'
- b) adat ra [giuq]  
 H:custom At [H:there] 'the custom at that place'

## EXAMPLE C (Single embedded At-or dm4 phrase)

$\underline{H} : cnn \rightarrow lulupot$   
 $\underline{At-or} : Dm4_{at-or} \rightarrow +Re_{at} +Re/Ax_{at-or}$



$Re_{at} : rm_{at} \rightarrow ra$   
 $Re/Ax_{at-or} : eDm4_{at-or} \rightarrow +H_{dm4}_{at-or}$   
 $H_{dm4}_{at-or} : dm4 \rightarrow raiti (a) / raitii (b)$

- a) lulupot ra [raitii]  
 H:song At [H:this]  
*'a song of this place, a local song' or 'a song of this time, a modern song'*
- b) lulupot ra [raitii]  
 H:song At [H:just-now]  
*'the song just now'*

#### MISCELLANEOUS EXAMPLES (Exponence and reading rules not shown)

- a) (Single embedded At-or noun phrase following At-des phrase)  
 jaam [[kalimo]] ra [suab -ti]  
 H:hour At:[H:[Psf:fifth]] At [H:morning Dt]  
*'five o'clock in the morning'*
- b) (Single embedded At-or phrase, followed by At-dem phrase)  
 raraq ra [tanaq] [raitio]  
 H:blood At [H:earth] At:[H:this]  
*'this blood on the ground'*
- c) (Embedded At-or phrase, containing an embedded Po-gen phrase)  
 ulun ra [tanaq nu [tulus -i]]  
 H:person At [H:middle Po [H:longhouse Dt]]  
*'a man in the middle of the longhouse'*

#### 7.2.6.5 Specifying Attributive phrases

##### DISTRIBUTION

The specifying Attributive (At-spe) tagmeme occurs only following a Head manifested by a dm3 or dm4 demonstrative. No other same-level tagmemes have been found to co-occur with it.

##### INTERNAL STRUCTURE

The Head tagmeme of an embedded At-spe phrase may be expounded either by a noun or by a pronoun (in which case the Relator and Axis slots are, as usual, combined). The four noun subclasses which have been recorded as exponents of the Head are pnn, cnn, NC and SubC. Apart from the restrictions already outlined in 7.2.1, no restraints appear to exist on the expansion of an At-spe phrase by optional tagmemes.

## EXPONENCE AND READING RULES

<u>H</u>	: dm3, dm4
<u>At-spe</u>	: Nn <sub>at-spe</sub> , Pn <sub>at-spe</sub>
Nn <sub>at-spe</sub>	→ +Re <sub>at</sub> <sup>x</sup> +Ax <sub>spe</sub> <sup>x</sup>
Pn <sub>at-spe</sub>	→ +Re/Ax <sub>at-spe</sub>
Re <sub>at</sub>	: rm <sub>at</sub>
Ax <sub>spe</sub>	: eNn <sub>spe</sub>
Re/Ax <sub>at-spe</sub>	: ePn <sub>at-spe</sub>
eNn <sub>spe</sub>	→ +H <sub>nn<sub>spe</sub></sub> ±...
ePn <sub>at-spe</sub>	→ +H <sub>pn<sub>at-spe</sub></sub> ±...
H <sub>nn<sub>spe</sub></sub>	: pnn, cnn, NC, SubC
H <sub>pn<sub>at-spe</sub></sub>	: pn <sub>at-spe</sub>

## EXAMPLE A (Embedded At-spe pronoun phrase)

<u>H</u>	: dm3	→ giti
<u>At-spe</u>	: Pn <sub>at-spe</sub>	→ +Re/Ax <sub>at-spe</sub>
Re/Ax <sub>at-spe</sub>	: ePn <sub>at-spe</sub>	→ +H <sub>pn<sub>at-spe</sub></sub>
H <sub>pn<sub>at-spe</sub></sub>	: pn <sub>at-spe</sub>	→ rakiq

giti [rakiq]

H:here At:[H:I]

'here with me' or 'here at my place'

## EXAMPLE B (Embedded At-spe noun phrase)

<u>H</u>	: { dm3 dm4	→ giuq (a,b,c,d) / gili (e) → raitii (f)
<u>At-spe</u>	: Nn <sub>at-spe</sub>	→ +Re <sub>at</sub> +Ax <sub>spe</sub>
Re <sub>at</sub>	: rm <sub>at</sub>	→ ri (a) / ra (b,c,d,e,f)
Ax <sub>spe</sub>	: eNn <sub>spe</sub>	→ +H <sub>nn<sub>spe</sub></sub>
H <sub>nn<sub>spe</sub></sub>	: { pnn cnn N-PPC2A <sub>sf</sub> N-PVC8 <sub>af</sub> Sub-PPC1B <sub>sf</sub>	→ jimin (a) → baloy (b) / tamu (e) → [masundu] (c) → [nambaalan nilo ra baloy-i] (d) → [okow nakasukuq raiti] (f)

- a) giuq ri [jimin]  
H:there At [H:Jimin]  
'there at Jimin's place'
- b) giuq ra [baloy]  
H:there At [H:house]  
'there at the house'
- c) giuq ra [[masundu]]  
H:there At [H:[Psf:divine/ft]]  
'there at the place of the divine ones'
- d) giuq ra [[nambaalan nilo ra baloy-i]]  
H:there At [H:[Paf:make/pt S:they O house the]]  
'there at the (place where) they built the house'
- e) gili ra [tamu]  
H:then At [H:annual-fair]  
'then during the fair'
- f) raitii ra [[okow nakasukuq raiti]]  
H:just-now At [H:[T/S:thou Psf:arrived/pt A:here]]  
'just now when you arrived here'

#### MISCELLANEOUS EXAMPLES (Exponence and reading rules not shown)

- a) (At-spe noun phrase embedded in At-or dm3 phrase, which is preceded by a double embedded Po-gen phrase)  
lobong nu [amaq [nila-] -i] ra [giuq ra [intabuan]]  
H:grave Po [H:father Po[H:they] Dt] At [H:there At [H:Entabuan]]  
'their father's grave over there at Entabuan'
- b) (At-spe noun phrase embedded within an At-or dm3 phrase, and containing a Po-gen noun phrase (which itself contains a close Appositive phrase) and an At-or noun phrase)  
akay ra [giti ra [pagun nu [murut [timugon -ti]]  
H:we(ex) At [H:here At [H:village Po [H:Murut Ap:[H:Timugon Dt]]  
ra [tonom]]]  
At [H:Tenom]]]  
'we here in the villages of the Timugon Muruts in Tenom (district)'

#### 7.2.6.6 Oblique attributive phrases

##### DISTRIBUTION

An oblique Attributive (At-ob) tagmeme occurs only with a Head expounded by a common noun, which must be either a verb stem or the noun

tatangan 'owner'. The only tagmemes with which it may co-occur are subject Possessive (see 7.2.4.3 above) and Determiner.

#### INTERNAL STRUCTURE

The embedded Head of an At-ob phrase may be manifested by pn, dm, or nn. There are no restrictions on the potential expansion of the phrase, except for those dictated by the choice of exponent of the Head.

#### EXPONENCE AND READING RULES

<u>H</u>	:	cnn
<u>At-ob</u>	:	(Nn,Dm1,Dm2,Pn) <sub>at-ob</sub>
(Nn,Dm1) <sub>at-ob</sub>	→	+Re <sub>at</sub> <sup>x</sup> +Ax <sub>ob</sub> <sup>x</sup>
(Dm2,Pn) <sub>at-ob</sub>	→	+Re/Ax <sub>at-ob</sub>
Re <sub>at</sub>	:	rm <sub>at</sub>
Ax <sub>ob</sub>	:	e(Nn,Dm1) <sub>ob</sub>
Re/Ax <sub>at-ob</sub>	:	e(Dm2,Pn) <sub>ob</sub>
eNn <sub>ob</sub>	→	+H <sub>nn<sub>ob</sub></sub> ±...
eDm1 <sub>ob</sub>	→	+H <sub>dml<sub>ob</sub></sub> ±...
eDm2 <sub>at-ob</sub>	→	+H <sub>dm2<sub>at-ob</sub></sub> ±...
ePn <sub>at-ob</sub>	→	+H <sub>pn<sub>at-ob</sub></sub> ±...
H <sub>nn<sub>ob</sub></sub>	:	pnn, cnn, ...
H <sub>dml<sub>ob</sub></sub>	:	dml
H <sub>dm2<sub>at-ob</sub></sub>	:	dm2
H <sub>pn<sub>at-ob</sub></sub>	:	pn <sub>at-ob</sub>

#### EXAMPLE A (Single embedded At-ob phrase)

<u>H</u>	:	cnn	→	ilaq (a-e) / tatangan (f-h)
<u>At-ob</u>	:	$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Nn}_{at-ob} \\ \text{Dm1}_{at-ob} \end{array} \right\} \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Dm2}_{at-ob} \\ \text{Pn}_{at-ob} \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right]$	→	+Re <sub>at</sub> +Ax <sub>ob</sub>
Re <sub>at</sub>	:	rm <sub>at</sub>	→	ri (a) / ra (b,c,f,g,h)
Ax <sub>ob</sub>	:	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{eNn}_{ob} \\ \text{eDm1}_{ob} \end{array} \right\}$	→	+H <sub>nn<sub>ob</sub></sub> / +H <sub>dml<sub>ob</sub></sub>

Re/Ax <sub>at-ob</sub>	:	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} eDm2_{at-ob} \rightarrow +H_{dm2_{at-ob}} \\ ePn_{at-ob} \rightarrow +H_{pn_{at-ob}} \end{array} \right\}$
H <sub>nn<sub>ob</sub></sub>	:	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} pnn \rightarrow jimin (a) \\ cnn \rightarrow ruanduq (b) / umo (f) \end{array} \right\}$
H <sub>dml<sub>ob</sub></sub>	:	dml → gitio (c,g)
H <sub>dm2<sub>at-ob</sub></sub>	:	dm2 → raitio (d,h)
H <sub>pn<sub>at-ob</sub></sub>	:	pn <sub>at-ob</sub> → ramuyun (e)

- a) ilaq ri [jimin]  
H:teaching At [H:Jimin] 'advice (given) to Jimin'
- b) ilaq ra [ruanduq]  
H:teaching At [H:woman] 'advice (given) to the woman'
- c) ilaq ra [gitio]  
H:teaching At [H:this] 'advice (given) to this one'
- d) ilaq [raitio]  
H:teaching At:[H:this] 'advice (given) to this one'
- e) ilaq [ramuyun]  
H:teaching At:[H:you] 'advice (given) to you'
- f) tatangan ra [umo]  
H:owner At [H:field] 'the owner of the field'
- g) tatangan ra [gitio]  
H:owner At [H:this] 'the owner of this'
- h) tatangan [raitio]  
H:owner At:[H:this] 'the owner of this'

MISCELLANEOUS EXAMPLES (Exponence and reading rules not shown)

- a) (Single embedded At-ob noun phrase containing Dt)  
patir ra [ruit -ti]  
H:throwing-away At [H:money Dt]  
'the spending of money'
- b) (Single embedded At-ob noun phrase containing an At-dem phrase and following a Po-sub pronoun phrase)  
tulis [ku] ra [surat [raitio]]  
H:writing Po:[H:I] At [H:letter At:[H:this]]  
'my writing this letter'

c) (Single embedded At-ob pronoun phrase following a Po-sub noun phrase)

janjiq nu [parintaq -i] [ramon]  
 H:promising Po [H:government Dt] At:[H:we(ex)]  
 'the promise of the government to us'

d) (Single embedded At-ob noun phrase containing an At-des phrase, and following a Po-sub pronoun phrase)

iruq [takaw] ra [kapal [[nomboom ritakaw] -i]]  
 H:fleeing Po:[H:we(in)] At [H:plane At:[H:[Psf:bomb/pt O:we(in)] Dt]]  
 'our flight from the planes that were bombing us'

### 7.2.6.7 Comitative attributive phrases

#### DISTRIBUTION

The comitative Attributive (At-com) tagmeme occurs only following a Head manifested by a plural pronoun or demonstrative. The demonstrative exponents are limited to the dml subclass, since no other subclass includes plural forms. Only the Appositive tagmeme has been found to co-occur with At-com on the same level of embedding.

#### INTERNAL STRUCTURE

The embedded Head of an At-com phrase may be expounded by a personal noun or a common noun, and may be followed by Determiner and Appositive tagmemes. It is assumed that Possessive and Attributive tagmemes may also be present, though the texts contain no examples of their occurrence in this phrase type.

#### EXPONENCE AND READING RULES

H : dml, pn  
At-com : Nn<sub>at-com</sub>  
 Nn<sub>at-com</sub> → +Re<sub>at</sub><sup>x</sup> +Ax<sub>com</sub><sup>x</sup>  
 Re<sub>at</sub> : rm<sub>at</sub>  
 Ax<sub>com</sub> : eNn<sub>com</sub>  
 eNn<sub>com</sub> → +H<sub>nn<sub>com</sub></sub> ±...  
 H<sub>nn<sub>com</sub></sub> : pnn, cnn

#### EXAMPLE A (Single embedded At-com noun phrase)

H : { dml + ganilo (a,b)  
 pn + akay (c,d) }  
At-com : Nn<sub>at-com</sub> → +Re<sub>at</sub> +Ax<sub>com</sub>  
 Re<sub>at</sub> : rm<sub>at</sub> → ri (a,c) / ra (b,d)

$$Ax_{COM} : eNn_{COM} \rightarrow +H_{nn_{COM}}$$

$$H_{nn_{COM}} : \left\{ \begin{array}{l} pnn \quad \rightarrow \text{jimin (a,c)} \\ cnn \quad \rightarrow \text{babalian (b,d)} \end{array} \right\}$$

- a) ganilo ri [jimin]  
 H:those At [H:Jimin]  
 'Jimin and that person' or (less commonly) 'Jimin and those people'
- b) ganilo ra [babalian]  
 H:those At [H:priestess]  
 'the priestess and that person' or 'the priestess and those people'
- c) akay ri [jimin]  
 H:we(ex) At [H:Jimin]  
 'Jimin and I' or 'we and Jimin'
- d) akay ra [babalian]  
 H:we(ex) At [H:priestess]  
 'the priestess and I' or 'we and the priestess'

MISCELLANEOUS EXAMPLES (Exponence and reading rules not shown)

- a) (Single embedded At-com noun phrase)  
 ilo ra [bilor]  
 H:they At [H:rice]  
 'it and the riceplant'
- b) (Single embedded At-com noun phrase, following close Appositive phrase)  
 akaw [[ruo]] ri [mairi]  
 H:you Ap:[H:[No:two]] At [H:Mary]  
 'you two, you and Mary'
- c) (Single embedded At-com noun phrase, containing Po-gen and Determiner, and following a double embedded close Appositive phrase)  
 ilo [[talu] [sangkaakaq]] ri [amaq [ku-] -li]  
 H:they Ap:[H:[No:three] Ap:[H:siblings]] At [H:father Po:[H:I] Dt]  
 'the three of them, my father and his brothers'

Note: When the embedding Head is a pronoun expounding a phrase level Possessive or a clause-level Subject or Topic tagmeme, it may be separated from the At-com phrase by the Determiner or any of the post-Predicate clitics respectively, as seen in the examples below.

- a) |baloy | [ma-                    {-iti} ri [jinuin]]  
 |H:house|Po:[H:we(ex)]{ Dt } At [H:Jinuin]]  
 'the house of Jinuin and me'
- b) |namatoy | [akay                    {no } ri [jinuin]] |ra kukuo-i.  
 |Psf:kill/pt|T/S:[H:we(ex)] {Mod} At [H:Jinuin]]|O snake the  
 ' Jinuin and I killed the snake.'
- c) |pinatoy | [may                    {noyo} ri [jinuin]] |kukuo-i.  
 |Pof:kill/pt|S:[H:we(ex)] {Mod } At [H:Jinuin]]|T/O:snake the  
 'Jinuin and I killed the snake.'

When both Topic and Subject are manifested by a pronoun, occasional ambiguity arises, since it is not always obvious to which of the pronouns the At-com phrase is attributive:

- d) |inumaq | [may                    {ka |no } ri [jinuin]].  
 |Pof:meet/pt|S:[H:we(ex)] {T/O:you|Mod} At [H:Jinuin]]  
 'Jinuin and I met you.'
- e) |inumaq | may | [ka                    {no } ri [jinuin]].  
 |Pof:meet/pt|S:we(ex)|T/O:[H:you {Mod} At [H:Jinuin]]  
 'We met you and Jinuin.'

#### 7.2.6.8 Emphatic possessive attributive phrases

##### DISTRIBUTION

The emphatic possessive Attributive (At-empo) tagmeme occurs only in a noun, pronoun or demonstrative phrase manifesting an identificational predicate. The Head to which it is attributive may be expounded by a) any of the noun subclasses (except SubC), b) a demonstrative of subclass dml, c) a pronoun of subclass pnl, or d) an interrogative pronoun. The At-empo tagmeme may be accompanied on the same level by Possessive, Determiner, Appositive and other Attributive tagmemes.

##### INTERNAL STRUCTURE

The Head of an embedded At-empo phrase is expoundable only by a common noun. It may not be accompanied by a Possessive tagmeme (unless it is a classifying Possessive).

##### EXPONENCE AND READING RULES

- H : nn, dml, pnl, intpn  
At-empo : Nn<sub>at-empo</sub>  
 Nn<sub>at-empo</sub> → +Re<sub>at</sub><sup>x</sup> +Ax<sub>empo</sub><sup>x</sup>  
 Re<sub>at</sub> : r<sub>m</sub><sub>at</sub>  
 Ax<sub>empo</sub> : eNn<sub>empo</sub>



eNn<sub>empo</sub> → +H<sub>nn</sub><sub>empo</sub> ±...  
 H<sub>nn</sub><sub>empo</sub> : cnn

EXAMPLE A (Single embedded At-empo noun phrase)

H	:	pnn	→	i jimin (a)	}
		cnn	→	ruanduq (b)	
		N-PVCl <sub>sf</sub>	→	[minatoy] (c)	
		indpn	→	osoy-osoy (d)	
		num	→	[ruo ngaulun] (e)	
		dml	→	gitio (f)	
		pnl	→	akaw (g)	
		intpn	→	osoy (h)	

At-empo : Nn<sub>at-empo</sub> → +Re<sub>at</sub> +Ax<sub>empo</sub>  
 Re<sub>at</sub> : rm<sub>at</sub> → ra  
 Ax<sub>empo</sub> : eNn<sub>empo</sub> → +H<sub>nn</sub><sub>empo</sub>  
 H<sub>nn</sub><sub>empo</sub> : cnn → baloy

- a) i jimin ra [baloy]  
 H:*Jimin* At [H:house] '*JIMIN'S house*'
- b) ruanduq ra [baloy]  
 H:*woman* At [H:house] '*a WOMAN's house*'
- c) [minatoy] ra [baloy]  
 H:[Psf:*die/pt*] At [H:house] '*a DEAD PERSON's house*'
- d) osoy-osoy ra [baloy]  
 H:*whoever* At [H:house] '*ANYBODY's house*'
- e) [ruo ngaulun] ra [baloy]  
 H:[No:*two MNn:persons*] At [H:house] '*TWO PEOPLE's house*'
- f) gitio ra [baloy]  
 H:*this* At [H:house] '*THIS ONE's house*'
- g) akaw ra [baloy]  
 H:*you* At [H:house] '*YOUR house*'
- h) osoy ra [baloy]  
 H:*who* At [H:house] '*whose house?*'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Since an interrogative pronoun cannot manifest the head of an ordinary genitive Possessive phrase (see 7.2.4.1), this construction is the only way of questioning possession (i.e. of saying "*whose...*"). It is therefore not necessarily emphatic in nature.

## MISCELLANEOUS EXAMPLES (Exponence and reading rules not shown)

- a) (Single embedded At-empo numeral phrase containing an At-it noun phrase)

akay ra [[ruo ngainan] ra [karabaw]]  
 H:we(ex) At [H:[No:two MNn:bodies] At [H:buffalo]]  
 'OUR two buffaloes'

- b) (Single embedded At-empo phrase, following Po-gen, Dt and close Appositive tagmemes)

boborok [ku-] -rano [[ruo ngaulun] -no]  
 H:younger-sibling Po:[H:I] Dt Ap:[H:[No:two MNn:persons] Dt]  
 ra [bauy]  
 At [H:pig]  
 'MY TWO YOUNGER BROTHERS' pigs'

## 7.2.7 APPOSITIVE PHRASES

Two types of Appositive phrases, loose Appositive (Ap-loo) and close Appositive (Ap-clo), have been postulated for Timugon. Both are regarded in the present analysis as being of Relator-Axis structure, the Relator slot being filled by the same relation-marker that marks a clause-level Topic tagmeme, even though this results in the Relator having zero manifestation in most cases.

## 7.2.7.1 Loose appositive phrases

## DISTRIBUTION

A loose Appositive (Ap-loo) tagmeme occurs after all other phrase-level tagmemes and is separated from them and the Head by a pause in the flow of speech. The Head which it modifies may not be manifested by an indefinite pronoun. Otherwise, no restrictions have been found to exist either on the exponence of the embedding Head or on the co-occurrence of Ap-loo with other same-level tagmemes.

## INTERNAL STRUCTURE

The Head of an embedded Ap-loo phrase may not be expounded by a demonstrative or an indefinite pronoun. There are several examples in the text of Head being manifested by a personal pronoun (always of series pn1), but there appear to exist restrictions on such a manifestation, which have not been determined. Any of the phrase level tagmemes, including Ap-loo, may occur in an embedded Ap-loo phrase.

## EXPONENCE AND READING RULES

H : nn, dm, pn

<u>Ap-100</u>	: Nn <sub>ap-100</sub> , Pn <sub>ap-100</sub>
Nn <sub>ap-100</sub>	+ Re <sub>ap</sub> <sup>x</sup> + Ax <sub>100</sub> <sup>x</sup>
Pn <sub>ap-100</sub>	+ Re/Ax <sub>ap-100</sub>
Re <sub>ap</sub>	: rm <sub>ap</sub>
Ax <sub>100</sub>	: eNn <sub>100</sub>
Re/Ax <sub>ap-100</sub>	: ePn <sub>ap-100</sub>
eNn <sub>100</sub>	+ H <sub>nn100</sub> ±...
ePn <sub>ap-100</sub>	+ H <sub>pn<sub>ap-100</sub></sub> ±...
H <sub>nn100</sub>	: pnn, cnn, NC, num
H <sub>pn<sub>ap-100</sub></sub>	: pn <sub>ap-100</sub>

## EXAMPLE A (Single embedded Ap-100 noun phrase)

<u>H</u>	: dml	gili
<u>Ap-100</u>	: Nn <sub>ap-100</sub>	+ Re <sub>ap</sub> + Ax <sub>100</sub>
Re <sub>ap</sub>	: rm <sub>ap</sub>	i (a) / Ø (b,c,d)
Ax <sub>100</sub>	: eNn <sub>100</sub>	+ H <sub>nn100</sub> + Dt
H <sub>nn100</sub>	: {	{
	{ pnn	→ salindoy (a)
	{ cnn	→ babalian (b)
	{ N-PVC10 <sub>rf</sub>	→ [pinatiran mu raitii] (c)
	{ num	→ [saringgit] (d)
	}	}
Dt	: dt	→ -i

- a) gili, i [salindoy -i]  
 H:that Ap [H:Salindoy Dt]  
 'that one, Salindoy'
- b) gili, [babalian -i]  
 H:that Ap:[H:priestess Dt]  
 'that one, the priestess'
- c) gili, [[pinatiran mu-] -li [raitii]]  
 H:that Ap:[H:[Prf:throw-away/pt S:thou] Dt [Tm:just-now]]  
 'that one, the one you threw away just now'
- d) gili, [[saringgit] -i]  
 H:that Ap:[H:[No/MNn:one-dollar] Dt]  
 'that one, the dollar'

## EXAMPLE B (Single embedded Ap-loo pronoun phrase)

H : N-PPC2A<sub>Sf</sub> → [masundu]  
Ap-loo : Pn<sub>ap-loo</sub> → +Re/Ax<sub>ap-loo</sub>  
 Re/Ax<sub>ap-loo</sub> : ePn<sub>ap-loo</sub> → +H<sub>pn</sub><sub>ap-loo</sub>  
 H<sub>pn</sub><sub>ap-loo</sub> : pn<sub>ap-loo</sub> → akay

[masundu], [akay]  
 H: [Psf:divine/ft] Ap: [H:we(ex)] 'the divine ones, us'

## EXAMPLE C (Double embedded Ap-loo noun phrase)

H : pn → aku  
Ap-loo : Nn<sub>ap-loo</sub> → +Re<sub>ap</sub> +Ax<sub>loo</sub>  
 Re<sub>ap</sub> : rm<sub>ap</sub> → i  
 Ax<sub>loo</sub> : eNn<sub>loo</sub> → +H<sub>nn</sub><sub>loo</sub> +Ap-loo  
 H<sub>nn</sub><sub>loo</sub> : pnn → jawani  
 Ap-loo : Nn<sub>ap-loo</sub> → +Re<sub>ap</sub> +Ax<sub>loo</sub>  
 Re<sub>ap</sub> : rm<sub>ap</sub> → ∅  
 Ax<sub>loo</sub> : eNn<sub>loo</sub> → +H<sub>nn</sub><sub>loo</sub> +Po-gen +Dt  
 H<sub>nn</sub><sub>loo</sub> : cnn → pabukat  
 Po-gen : Pn<sub>po-gen</sub> → min  
 Dt : dt → -ti

aku, i [jawani, [pabukat [min-] -iti]]  
 H:I Ap [H:Jawani Ap:[H:kinsman Po:[H:you] Dt]]  
 'I, Jawani, your kinsman'

## MISCELLANEOUS EXAMPLES (Exponence and reading rules not shown)

- a) (At-dem phrase, followed by an Ap-loo phrase containing a Po-gen phrase, in which a second Ap-loo phrase is embedded)

ulun [raitio], [pabukat ri [andangi,  
 H:person At:[H:this] Ap:[H:kinsman Po [H:Andangi  
 [[sinimpar mu-] -li]]]  
 Ap:[H:[Pof:seize/pt S:thou] Dt]]]

'this man, the kinsman of Andangi, the one whom you seized'

- b) (A Po-gen and an Ap-loo phrase on the same level, the former containing a further sequence of Po-gen and Ap-loo)

pagun nu [langoq [ku-] -tu, i [raunsin]],  
 H:*village* PO [H:*br.-in-law* PO:[H:I] Dt Ap [H:*Raunsin*]]  
 [mandalom bagu]  
 Ap:[H:*Mendalum Baru*]

'the village of my brother-in-law, Raunsin, Mendalum Baru'

*Note:* It should be mentioned here that a phrase construction similar to the one just described occurs in conjunction with the 'aphatic' stem *anu*. This stem, which can be translated as 'whats-it', 'thingummyjig', etc., replaces an item which the speaker has momentarily forgotten and is used in much the same way as 'er...' in English, to avoid an interruption in the flow of speech while the item is recalled. It is also used to refer to something which the speaker does not wish to mention by name, either because a taboo prevents him from doing so, or because he wants a third party to remain in ignorance of its identity.

The morpheme *anu* may replace a personal, common, or metrical noun, or a verb stem.<sup>1</sup> It does not however, substitute for a demonstrative, a personal pronoun, an indefinite pronoun or a numeral. When replacing a noun, it is preceded by the appropriate personal or common relation marker, and is accompanied by all the modifying phrase-level tagmemes

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<sup>1</sup>When *anu* substitutes for a verb (or participle) stem, it may take any of the inflectional affixes. In contrast with the English 'er...', therefore, it offers several clues as to the nature of the omitted verb, as shown in the examples below:

- a) *anuon* ku ridiw-ti, potoyon.  
 Pof:*whats-it/ft* S:I T/O:*radio* the Pof:*kill/ft*  
 'I'll *whats-it* the radio, switch it off.'
- b) *manu* akay no raino.  
 Psf:*whats-it/ft* T/S:*we(ex)* Mod Tm:*now*  
 '[We] 're *whats-it-ing* now.' (The polite way of telling the host that one is going home, with *manu* substituting for *muliq* (pv2) 'T/S will go home'.)

It is interesting to note that when *anu* is replacing such verbs as *pasangin* (pv10) 'S will switch T/R on', where the Referent has the situational role of 'goal', the aphatic verb takes the form *anuon* (Object focus), not *anuin* (Referent focus). When the Referent represents 'direction', however, *anuin* is the regular form:

- c) *anuon* ku ridiw-ti, pasangin.  
 Pof:*whats-it/ft* S:I T/O:*radio* the Pof:*switch-on/ft*  
 'I'll *whats-it* the radio, switch it on.'
- d) *anuin* tokow ra sigup, baliin.  
 Pof:*whats-it/ft* S:I + T/R:*thou* O *tobacco* Pof:*buy/ft*  
 'I'll *whats-it* you some tobacco, buy you some.'

This would seem to indicate a) that the factor governing the choice of focus for the stem *anu* is not the focus of the verb which it is replacing, but the situational role of the Topic tagmeme, and b) that in the mind of the speaker, Object is the normal (and Referent the irregular) grammatical function of 'goal'. However, such suppositions cannot be confirmed without further testing of the features described above.

which would have accompanied the intended word. If the latter is then expressed, it fills the Ap-loo slot, being preceded by the Appositive relation-marker, and separated from anu and the other tagmemes (if any) by a pause. The modifying tagmemes are not usually repeated in the resulting Ap-loo phrase.

#### EXAMPLES

- a) i anu, i [salindoy]  
 T H:whats-it Ap [H:Salindoy]  
 'what's-his-name, Salindoy'
- b) bauy ri [anu, i [salindoy]]  
 H:pig Po [H:whats-it Ap [H:Salindoy]]  
 'what's-his-name's pigs, Salindoy's'
- c) pagun [min-] -i, [anu, [ustirilian]]  
 H:village Po:[H:you] Dt Ap:[H:whats-it Ap:[H:Australia]]  
 'your village, whats-it, Australia'
- d) anu [mu-] -li, [buyung]  
 H:whats-it Po:[H:thou] Dt Ap:[H:basket]  
 'your whats-it, your basket'
- e) [talun ngaanu] ra [inasi], [ngampuun]  
 H:[No:three MNn:whats-its] At [H:ricebeer] Ap:[H:jars]  
 'three whats-its of ricebeer, jars'

#### 7.2.7.2 Close appositive phrases

##### DISTRIBUTION

An obligatory permutation removes the Ap-clo tagmeme to a position immediately following the Possessive and Determiner and preceding the Attributive and loose Appositive tagmemes. The embedding Head may be manifested by a common noun, numeral or pronoun.

##### INTERNAL STRUCTURE

The only tagmemes observed to occur in an embedded close Appositive phrase are Dt and Ap-clo. When the embedding Head is expounded by a numeral or a common noun of the quantitative subclass (see below), the Head of the Ap-clo phrase is manifested by a common noun of a) the kinship group subclass ( $cnn_{kg}$ ) (e.g. maginaq 'mother and child', sangang-ainaq 'mother and children' or b) the ethnic group subclass ( $cnn_{eg}$ ) (e.g. murut, timugon, poros). When the embedding Head is expounded by a common noun of any other subclass than quantitative, the Head of the Ap-clo phrase is manifested by a) a numeral (of either the talu or katalu type) or b) a common noun of the quantitative subclass ( $cnn_{qu}$ ) of which the two most important members are ngaiq (or ngaingaiq) 'all' and koborok

'some, few, little'. When the embedding Head is manifested by a pronoun, any of the above exponents may appear.

#### OBLIGATORY PERMUTATION

+H ±X ±Dt ±Y +Ap-clo → +H ±X ±Dt +Ap-clo ±Y

where X,Y = any other tagmemes

#### EXPONENCE AND READING RULES

$\underline{H}$  : cnn, num, pn  
 $\underline{Ap-clo}$  :  $Nn_{ap-clo}$   
 $Nn_{ap-clo}$  → + $Re_{ap}^x$  + $Ax_{clo}^x$   
 $Re_{ap}$  :  $rm_{ap}$   
 $Ax_{clo}$  :  $eNn_{clo}$   
 $eNn_{clo}$  → + $H_{nn_{clo}}$  ±Dt ±Ap-clo  
 $H_{nn_{clo}}$  :  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{cnn}_{kg}, \text{cnn}_{eg} // \underline{H} : \text{cnn}_{qu}, \text{num}, \text{pn} \\ \text{cnn}_{qu}, \text{num} // \underline{H} : \text{cnn}, \text{pn} \end{array} \right\}$

EXAMPLE A (Single embedded Ap-clo phrase modifying a common noun Head)

$\underline{H}$  :  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{cnn}_{qu} \rightarrow \text{ngai-ngaiq (a)} \\ \text{cnn}_{kg} \rightarrow \text{sangkaakaq (b)} \\ \text{cnn} \rightarrow \text{bagas (c,d,e)} \end{array} \right\}$   
 $\underline{Ap-clo}$  :  $Nn_{ap-clo}$  → + $Re_{ap}$  + $Ax_{clo}$   
 $Re_{ap}$  :  $rm_{ap}$  → ∅  
 $Ax_{clo}$  :  $eNn_{clo}$  → + $H_{nn_{clo}}$   
 $H_{nn_{clo}}$  :  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{cnn}_{kg} \rightarrow \text{sangkaakaq (a)} \\ \text{cnn}_{qu} \rightarrow \text{ngai-ngaiq (b,c) / koborok (d)} \\ \text{num} \rightarrow [\text{ruo ngagantang}] \text{ (e)} \end{array} \right\}$

- a) ngai-ngaiq [sangkaakaq]  
 H:all Ap:[H:siblings] 'all (the) brothers'
- b) sangkaakaq [ngai-ngaiq]  
 H:siblings Ap:[H:all] 'all (the) brothers'
- c) bagas [ngai-ngaiq]  
 H:rice Ap:[H:all] 'all (the) rice'
- d) bagas [koborok]  
 H:rice Ap:[H:little] 'a little rice'
- e) bagas [[ruo ngagantang]]  
 H:rice Ap:[H:[No:two MNn:gantangs]] 'two gantangs of rice'

EXAMPLE B (Single embedded Ap-clo phrase modifying a numeral Head)

<u>H</u>	: num	→ [ruo] (a) / [apat] (b) / [apat ngaulun] (c)
<u>Ap-clo</u>	: Nn <sub>ap-clo</sub>	→ +Re <sub>ap</sub> +Ax <sub>clo</sub>
Re <sub>ap</sub>	: rm <sub>ap</sub>	→ ∅
Ax <sub>clo</sub>	: eNn <sub>clo</sub>	→ +H <sub>nn<sub>clo</sub></sub>
H <sub>nn<sub>clo</sub></sub>	: cnn <sub>kg</sub>	→ magakaq (a) / sangkaakaq (b) / sangangainaq (c)

- a) [ruo] [magakaq]  
 H:[No:two] Ap:[H:two-siblings]  
 'two brothers', 'two sisters' or 'a brother and a sister'
- b) [apat] [sangkaakaq]  
 H:[No:four] Ap:[H:siblings]  
 'four brothers', 'four sisters' or 'four brothers and sisters'
- c) [apat ngaulun] [sangangainaq]  
 H:[No:four MNn:persons] Ap:[H:mother-and-children]  
 'a mother and her three children'

EXAMPLE C (Single embedded Ap-clo phrase modifying a pronoun Head)

<u>H</u>	: pn	→ akay
<u>Ap-clo</u>	: Nn <sub>ap-clo</sub>	→ +Re <sub>ap</sub> +Ax <sub>clo</sub>
Re <sub>ap</sub>	: rm <sub>ap</sub>	→ ∅
Ax <sub>clo</sub>	: eNn <sub>clo</sub>	→ +H <sub>nn<sub>clo</sub></sub>
H <sub>nn<sub>clo</sub></sub>	: {	→ mansawo (a) / sangama-amaq (b) → timugon (c) → ngai-ngaiq (d) → [talun] (e) / [talun ngaulun] (f)
	cnn <sub>kg</sub>	
	cnn <sub>eg</sub>	
	cnn <sub>qu</sub>	
	num	

- a) akay [mansawo]  
 H:we(ex) Ap:[H:husband-and-wife]  
 'my wife and I' or 'my husband and I'
- b) akay [sangama-amaq]  
 H:we(ex) Ap:[H:father-and-children]  
 'my children and I' or 'we and our father'
- c) akay [timugon]  
 H:we(ex) Ap:[H:Timugon] 'we Timugons'
- d) akay [ngai-ngaiq]  
 H:we(ex) Ap:[H:all] 'we all'



- e) akay [[talu]]  
 H:we(ex) Ap:[H:[No:three]] 'we three'
- f) akay [[talu ngaulun]]  
 H:we(ex) Ap:[H:[No:three MNn:persons]] 'we three'

MISCELLANEOUS EXAMPLES (Exponence and reading rules not shown)

- a) (Single embedded Ap-clo phrase preceded by Dt)  
 ruandug -rati [ngaiq]  
 H:woman Dt Ap:[H:all]  
 'all the women'
- b) (Single embedded Ap-clo phrase followed by At-com phrase)  
 akay [[ruo]] ri [mairi]  
 H:we(ex) Ap:[H:[No:two]] At [H:Mary]  
 'we two, Mary and I'
- c) (Double embedded Ap-clo phrase followed by At-com phrase)  
 akay [[talu ngaulun] [sangkaakaq]] ri [lawas]  
 H:we(ex) Ap:[H:[No:three MNn:persons] Ap:[H:siblings]] At [H:Lawas]  
 'we two and our brother Lawas'
- d) (Single embedded Ap-clo phrase preceded by Po-gen and Dt, and followed by At-empo)  
 boborok [ku-] -rano [[ruo ngaulun] -no]  
 H:younger-sibling Po:[H:I] Dt Ap:[H:[No:two MNn:persons] Dt]  
 ra [bauy]  
 Dt [H:pig]  
 'my two younger brothers' pigs'
- e) (Double embedded Ap-clo phrase within double embedded Po-gen phrase)  
 logo nu [kuliliamos [min [ngai-ngaiq [sabuubukat]]]]  
 H:value Po [H:chattels Po:[H:you Ap:[H:all Ap:[H:kinsmen]]]]  
 'the value of the property of all you kinsmen'

Note 1. A pronoun may be separated from the phrase-level Ap-clo tagmeme of which it is the Head in the manner described at the end of 7.2.6.7, with the same possibility of ambiguous sequences:

- a) surat [min- {-i} [mansawo]]  
 H:letter Po:[H:you { Dt} Ap:[H:husband-and-wife]]  
 'you and your wife's letter'
- b) ragu [min-] {-i} [ngai-ngaiq]]  
 H:speech Po:[H:you { Dt} Ap:[H:all]]  
 'the speech of you all (i.e. what you all said)'

- c) ragu [min-] -i [ngai-ngaiq]  
 H:speech Po:[H:you] Dt Ap:[H:all]  
 'all your speech (i.e. all that you said)'
- d) |kirimiq |min |[akay [[ruo]]] |ra ruit.  
 |Prf:send|S:you|T/R:[H:we(ex) Ap:[H:[No:two]]]|O money  
 'Send us two some money.'
- e) |kirimiq |[min {akay } [[ruo]]] |ra ruit.  
 |Prf:send|S:[H:you {T/R:we(ex)} Ap:[H:[No:two]]]|O money  
 'You two send us some money.'

Note 2. Personal nouns enter into another Ap-clo construction, similar to the one described above. The Head with which they are in apposition must be either a personalised kinship term or one of a small subclass of common nouns, consisting of social designations such as *urang-tuaq* 'headman' and *tuan* 'mister'. The personal relation-marker disappears, and the personal noun is permuted to a position immediately following the Head. A Possessive tagmeme may not be present in the embedded Ap-clo phrase.

- a) i aliq [jungaton]  
 T H:younger-sibling Ap:[H:Jungaton]  
 'Younger Brother Jungaton'
- b) i aki [kumanday] -i  
 T H:grandfather Ap:[H:Kumanday] Dt  
 'Grandfather Kumanday'
- c) urang-tuaq [simit] -i  
 H:headman Ap:[H:Simit] Dt  
 'Orang Tua Simit'
- d) tuan [tirimin]  
 H:mister Ap:[H:Tremaine]  
 'Mr Tremaine'

#### 7.2.8 CO-ORDINATE PHRASES

##### DISTRIBUTION AND INTERNAL STRUCTURE

Co-ordinate (Co) phrases, which are not limited as to the type of Head with which they may occur, are considered here to be of Relator-Axis structure, with the Axis being expounded by an embedded phrase which itself contains an optional Co-ordinate tagmeme. This allows a theoretically infinite number of embeddings of Co phrases. The Relator tagmeme is of optional status, though if it is present in the first occurrence of Co, it must be present in every subsequent occurrence.

Otherwise, it may occur only in the final embedded Co phrase. When the embedded Head of a Co phrase is manifested by a personal noun, the personal relation-marker *i* must always be present, whether or not it is preceded by the co-ordinate relation-marker. The latter is expanded by one of two morphemes: *am* 'and' and *ataw* 'or'.

## EXPONENCE AND READING RULES

$\underline{H}$	:	$nn, dm, pn$
$\underline{Co}$	:	$(Nn, Dm, Pn)_{Co}$
$(Nn, Dm, Pn)_{Co}$	$\rightarrow$	$\pm Re_{Co} \pm Ax_{Co}$
$Re_{Co}$	:	$rm_{Co}$
$Ax_{Co}$	:	$e(Nn, Dm, Pn)_{Co}$
$eNn_{Co}$	$\rightarrow$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} +i +H_{nn_{Co}} \pm \dots \pm Co // H_{nn_{Co}} : pnn \\ +H_{nn_{Co}} \pm \dots \pm Co // elsewhere \end{array} \right\}$
$eDm_{Co}$	$\rightarrow$	$+H_{dm_{Co}} \pm \dots \pm Co$
$ePn_{Co}$	$\rightarrow$	$+H_{pn_{Co}} \pm \dots \pm Co$
$H_{nn_{Co}}$	:	$pnn, cnn, NC, \dots$
$H_{dm_{Co}}$	:	$dml, dm3$
$H_{pn_{Co}}$	:	$pn1$

## EXAMPLES

a) (Clause-level Referent tagmeme containing double embedded Co personal noun phrase)

nambalaq aku ...

Psf:*tell*/pt T/S:I

...|ri [jinuin, [i sitibon, [i kasuab]]],  
 |R [H:Jinuin Co [H Stephen Co [H Kasuab]]]  
 ...|ri [jinuin, [i sitibon am [i kasuab]]].  
 |R [H:Jinuin Co [H Stephen Co [H Kasuab]]]  
 ...|ri [jinuin am [i sitibon am [i kasuab]]].  
 |R [H:Jinuin Co [H Stephen Co [H Kasuab]]]

'I told Jinuin, Stephen and Kasuab.'

b) (Triple embedded Co common noun phrase)

bagas, [mundok, [puti, [kasilaq]]]  
 H:rice Co:[H:cassava Co:[H:banana Co:[H:sweet-potato]]]  
 bagas, [mundok, [puti ataw [kasilaq]]]  
 H:rice Co:[H:cassava Co:[H:banana Co H:sweet-potato]]]  
 bagas ataw [mundok ataw [puti ataw [kasilaq]]]  
 H:rice Co [H:cassava Co [H:banana Co [H:sweet-potato]]]  
 'rice, cassava, banana or sweet potato'

## c) (Miscellaneous)

- 1) ulun [[minatoy] am [riwato]  
 H:person At:[H:[Psf:die/pt]] Co [H:spirit]  
 'dead people and spirits'
- 2) ulun [[minatoy] am [[maayag]]]  
 H:person At:[H:[Psf:die/pt]] Co [H:[Psf:living/ft]]]  
 'dead and living people'
- 3) jaam [ku-] -tu am [sarual [na-] -no]  
 H:watch Po:[H:I] Dt Co [H:trousers Po:[H:he] Dt]  
 'my watch and his trousers'
- 4) giti ra [bintong, [tumantalik am [mandalom]]]  
 H:here At [H:Bintong Co:[H:Tumantalik Co [H:Mendalum]]]  
 'here in Bintong, Tumantalik and Mendalum'
- 5) i jinuin am [ito am [i amaq [min]]]  
 T H:Jinuin Co [H:we-two Co [H:Father Po:[H:you]]]  
 'Jinuin and us two and your Father'

## CHAPTER 8

### NON-BASIC CLAUSES

#### 8.1 ATEMPORAL CLAUSES

Atemporal clauses are those in which the Predicate is manifested by a verb or participle in the Atemporal aspect. Three subclasses of Atemporal clause have been set up, viz.: 1) Atemporal Imperative (AI) clauses, derived from Basic clauses having Predicates in the FT aspect; 2) Atemporal Narrative (AN) clauses, derived from Basic clauses having PT Predicates; and 3) Atemporal Declarative (AD) clauses, which are derived from Basic clauses having either FT or PT Predicates, but where the conditioning factor is the presence of certain adverbs.

Atemporal Predicates also occur in some conjoined clauses (see 8.5).

##### 8.1.1 ATEMPORAL IMPERATIVE CLAUSES

In clauses of this subclass, which are used to express commands, the morphemes marking Future Temporal aspect are replaced by the appropriate Atemporal morphemes, and the Negative tagmeme *kalo* is replaced by *pa iq*. The Subject tagmeme, whether it is in portmanteau function with Topic or not, is obligatorily omitted if it is expounded by a second person singular pronoun (i.e. *kow* or *mu*).

C → AIC

1. FT → AT

2. *kalo* → *pa iq*

3. (T/)S → ∅ // (T/)S : *kow*, *mu*

In the presence of *pa iq*, an obligatory permutation removes pronoun Subject and Topic tagmemes to pre-Predicate position.

+Neg ±Mod +P +S +T ±X → +Neg ±S +T +Mod +P ±X

where S,T : Pn

and X = any other tagmeme

## EXAMPLES

- a) |mugar |kow.  
|Psf:go/ft|T/S:thou 'You will go.'
- |ugar.  
|Psf:go 'Go.'
- b) |kalo|mugar |kow.  
|Neg |Psf:go/ft|T/S:thou 'You will not go.'
- |paiq|ugar.  
|Neg |Psf:go 'Don't go.'
- c) |mugar |kaw.  
|Psf:go/ft|T/S:you 'You will go.'
- |ugar |kaw.  
|Psf:go|T/S:you 'Go.'
- d) |kalo|mugar |kaw.  
|Neg |Psf:go/ft|T/S:you 'You will not go.'
- |paiq|kaw |ugar.  
|Neg |T/S:you|Psf:go 'Don't go.'
- e) |inumon |takaw |gitio.  
|Pof:drink/ft|S:we(in)|T/O:this 'We will drink this.'
- |inumoq |takaw |gitio.  
|Pof:drink|S:we(in)|T/O:this 'Let us drink this.'
- f) |kalo|inumon |takaw |gitio.  
|Neg |Pof:drink/ft|S:we(in)|T/O:this  
'We will not drink this.'
- |paiq|takaw |inumoq |gitio.  
|Neg |S:we(in)|Pof:drink|T/O:this  
'Let us not drink this.'
- g) |tuluin |tokow |ra ralan.  
|Prf:show/ft|S:I + T/R:thou|O way  
'I'll show you the way.'
- |tuluiq |tokow |ra ralan.  
|Prf:show|S:I + T/S:thou|O way  
'Let me show you the way.'

- h) |kalo|bo |kuritin |min |aku.  
 |Neg |Mod|Prf:laugh/ft|S:you|T/R:I  
 'You won't laugh at me again.'
- |paiq|min |aku |bo |kuritiq.  
 |Neg |S:you|T/R:I|Mod|Prf:laugh  
 'Don't laugh at me again.'
- i) |kalo|maimamang |kaw |rakiq.  
 |Neg |Psf:worried/ft|T/S:you|Aff:I  
 'You will not worry about me.'
- |paiq|kaw |kaimamang |rakiq.  
 |Neg |T/S:you|Psf:worried|Aff:I  
 'Don't worry about me.'
- j) |kalo|jawot-jawot|kow.  
 |Neg |P:wandering|T/S:thou  
 'You will not wander about.'
- |paiq|jawot-jawot.  
 |Neg |P:wandering  
 'Don't wander about.'

### 8.1.2 ATEMPORAL NARRATIVE CLAUSES

As the name implies, AN clauses are used in telling stories or relating a series of incidents, where the time reference is irrelevant or understood. They are derived from Basic constructions having Past Temporal Predicates and have the same structure as AI clauses above, except that *kow* and *mu* are not omitted.

C → ANC

1. PT → AT
2. kalo → paiq

The same obligatory permutation takes place in the presence of *paiq*.

#### EXAMPLES

- a) |liminukiat |ilo |bo |ra intabuan.  
 |Psf:return/pt|T/S:they|Mod|A Entabuan  
 'Then they went back to Entabuan.'
- |lukiat |ilo |bo |ra intabuan.  
 |Psf:return|T/S:they|Mod|A Entabuan  
 'Then they went back to Entabuan.'

- b) |binalaan |aku |ru ulun-i.  
 |Prf:tell/pt|T/R:I|S person the  
 'The man told me.'
- + |balaiq |aku |ru ulun-i.  
 |Prf:tell|T/R:I|S person the  
 'The man told me.'
- c) |nakasukuq |kow |ra baloy|am|rinasam |bo.  
 |Psf:arrived/pt|T/S:thou|A house |Co|Psf:rain/pt|Mod  
 'You arived at the house and then (it) rained.'
- + |pakasukuq |kow |ra baloy|am|rasam |bo.  
 |Psf:arrived|T/S:thou|A house |Co|Psf:rain|Mod  
 'You arrived at the house and then (it) rained.'

### 8.1.3 ATEMPORAL DECLARATIVE CLAUSES

AD clauses are derived from Basic constructions (usually those with PT Predicates) by the addition of an Adjunct tagmeme to pre-Predicate position. Adjunct may be expounded by the exclamatory adverb (E-Adv) *kua* 'why?', by one of the frequentative adverbs (F-Adv) such as *ingkulaq* 'how many times?' and *induo* 'twice', or by a temporal adverb (T-Adv) of subclass 3, e.g. *sanggilan* 'when (in the past)?' and *bagu* 'only just/just now' (see 6.1.2). The word-order of an AD clause depends on the exponence of the Adjunct tagmeme and the presence or absence of a Negative tagmeme in the Basic clause.

C → ADC

1. +P ±X → +Adj +P ±X

where X = any tagmeme or tagmemes except Adj

2. PT, FT → AT

When the Basic clause contains no Negative tagmeme, and Adj is manifested by *kua*, the remaining tagmemes occur in the same order as in a Basic clause (see 6.2.1-3).

#### EXAMPLES

- a) |mantangiq |kow. + kua  
 |Psf:cry/ft|T/S:thou  
 'You are crying.'
- + |kua |pantangiq|kow.  
 |Adj:why|Psf:cry |T/S:thou  
 'Why are you crying?'



- b) |linambaq |kow |ri mairi. + kua  
 |Pof:hit/pt|T/O:thou|S Mary  
 'Mary hit you.'
- |kua |lambaaq|kow |ri mairi.  
 |Adj:why|Pof:hit|T/O:thou|S Mary  
 'Why did Mary hit you?'

When Adj is manifested by anything other than kua, an obligatory permutation removes the post-Predicate clitics to a position between Adj and the Predicate.

+Adj +P ±X ±Y → +Adj ±X +P ±Y

where 1. Adj : F-Adv, T-Adv

2. X = any or all of the post-Predicate clitics

3. Y = any other tagmeme or tagmemes except Neg

#### EXAMPLES

- a) |minatoy |ni |kia|i amaq mini. + lair  
 |Psf:die/pt|Mod|Mod|T/S Father Po:you-the  
 'Did your Father die?'
- |lair |ni |kia|patoy |i amaq mini.  
 |Adj:long-time|Mod|Mod|Psf:die|T/S Father Po:you-the  
 Did your Father die a long time ago?'
- b) |linobong |may |noyo|[minatoy]-i. + lair  
 |Pof:bury/pt|S:we(ex)|Mod |T/O:[Psf:die/pt] the  
 'We buried the dead man.'
- |lair |may |noyo|lobongoq|[minatoy]-i.  
 |Adj:long-time|S:we(ex)|Mod |Pof:bury|T/O:[Psf:die/pt] the  
 'We buried the dead man a long time ago.'
- c) |nakito |min |aku. + sanggilan  
 |Psf:seen/pt|S:you|T/S:I  
 'You saw me.'
- |sanggilan|min |aku |kakito.  
 |Adj:when |S:you|T/S:I|Psf:seen  
 'When did you see me?'
- d) |narualan |aku. + induo  
 |Psf:ill/pt|T/S:I  
 'I was ill.'
- |induo |aku |karualiq.  
 |Adj:twice|T/S:I|Psf:ill  
 'I was ill twice.'

A second, optional permutation allows a Topic tagmeme expounded by Nn or Dm to be removed to a position immediately preceding the Predicate.

+Adj ±X +P +T ±Y → +Adj ±X +T +P ±Y

where 1. X = any post-Predicate clitic except Pn<sub>t</sub>

2. T : Nn<sub>t</sub>, Dm<sub>t</sub>

3. Y = any other tagmeme or tagmemes except Neg

#### EXAMPLES

- a) |naguyum |noyo|parintaq-ti |ra urang-tuaq. + lair  
 |Psf:seek/pt|Mod |T/S:government the|O headman  
 'The government was looking for a headman.'
- |lair |noyo|parintaq-ti |paguyum |ra urang-tuaq.  
 |Adj:long-time|Mod |T/S:government the|Psf:seek O headman  
 'The government has been looking for a headman for a long time.'
- b) |naganak |karabaw raitio. + ingkulaq  
 |Psf:give-birth/pt|T/S:buffalo At:this  
 'This buffalo has calved.'
- |ingkulaq |karabaw raitio |paganak.  
 |Adj:how-many-times|T/S:buffalo At:this|Psf:give-birth  
 'How many times has this buffalo calved?'
- c) |norongog |ku |ginio. + bagu  
 |Psf:heard/pt|S:I|T/S:that  
 'I have heard that.'
- |bagu |ku |ak |ginio |korongog.  
 |Adj:just|S:I|Mod|T/S:that|Psf:heard  
 'I have only just heard that.'

The only AD constructions that are derivable from Basic clauses incorporating a Negative tagmeme are those where Adjunct is manifested by kua 'why?' or igondoq 'once'.

In the first case, kua is placed immediately before the Negative, which changes to paiq, with the consequent re-arrangement of tagmemes described in 8.1.1. The sequence kua paiq is frequently reduced to kupaiq.

1. +Neg ±Mod +P ±X ±Y → +Adj +Neg ±X ±Mod +P ±Y

where 1. Adj : E-Adv (kua)

2. X = S, T : Pn

3. Y = any other tagmeme or tagmemes

2. PT, FT → AT

3. kalo → paiq

## EXAMPLES

a) |kalo|linambaq |mu |kukuo-i. + kua

|Neg |Pof:hit/pt|S:thou|T/O:snake the  
'You didn't hit the snake.'

→ |ku- |paiq|mu |lambaaq|kukuo-i.

|Adj:why|Neg |S:thou|Pof:hit|T/O:snake the  
'Why didn't you hit the snake?'

b) |kalo|binalaan |aku |ri burut. + kua

|Neg |Prf:tell/pt|T/R:I|S Burut  
'Burut didn't tell me.'

→ |ku- |paiq|aku |balaq |ri burut.

|Adj:why|Neg |T/R:I|Prf:tell|S Burut  
'Why didn't Burut tell me?'

In the second case, the Negative tagmeme *kalo* does not change, and the Adjunct *igondoq* is placed between it and the Predicate. Any Modifiers retain their normal position in a negative clause (that is, immediately following the Negative tagmeme). Pronoun Subject and Topic, however, are permuted to immediate pre-Predicate position, as shown in the formulae below.

1. +Neg ±Mod +P ±X ±Y → +Neg ±Mod +Adj ±X +P ±Y

where 1. Adj : F-Adv (*igondoq*)

2. X = S,T : Pn

3. Y = any other tagmeme or tagmemes

2. PT → AT

## EXAMPLES

a) |kalo|poyo|nokoongoy |aku |ra giuq. + igondoq

|Neg |Mod |Psf:gone/pt|T/S:I|A there  
'I haven't been there yet.'

→ |kalo|poyo|igondoq |aku |pokoongoy|ra giuq.

|Neg |Mod |Adj:once|T/S:I|Psf:gone |A there  
'I 've never been there yet.'

b) |kalo|nai|bo |napakirim |kow |ramon |ra surat. + igondoq

|Neg |Mod|Mod|Psf:send/pt|T/S:thou|A:we(ex)|O letter  
'You didn't send us a letter.'

→ |kalo|nai|bo |igondoq |kow |papakirim|ramon |ra surat.

|Neg |Mod|Mod|Adj:once|T/S:thou|Psf:send |A:we(ex)|O letter  
'You never sent us a letter.'

Any AD clause not containing an interrogative Adjunct or Modifier may

be negated by means of the Defective clause construction *salaq ka*, literally '*it is incorrect that...*' (see 8.6.2 below). Note the semantic distinction conveyed when this construction is used with *igondoq*.

#### EXAMPLES

- a) |salaq|ka|bagu |ku |ak |ginio |korongog.  
 |wrong|Co|Adj:just|S:I|Mod|T/S:that|Psf:heard  
 'I haven't only just heard that.' (I heard it some time ago.)
- b) |salaq|ka|igondoq |aku |pokoongoy|ra giuq.  
 |wrong|Co|Adj:once|T/S:I|Psf:gone |A there  
 'I haven't been there once.' (I've been several times.)
- c) |salaq|ka|kalo|igondoq |aku |pokoongoy|ra giuq.  
 |wrong|Co|Neg |Adj:once|T/S:I|Psf:gone |A there  
 'It's not that I ve never been there.' (I have.)

## 8.2 SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

A Subordinate clause (SubC) is derivable from a Basic verbal, participial or existential clause. It is always embedded in a main clause, usually as the exponent of a clause-level Time tagmeme, though it may also fill other slots such as clause-level Reason and Affinity and phrase-level orientation Attributive (see 7.2.6.4). The Topic tagmeme is removed to the front of the clause, that is, before Negative and Predicate. Topic pronouns of series 2 change to series 1. When Topic is expounded by Nn or Dm, it may retain its normal position, but a concord Topic pronoun (*io* or *ilo*, depending on whether the Topic is singular or plural) must be inserted in the pre-Predicate position. Such a pronoun is obligatorily present even with Predicates such as *rasam (pv1A)* '*there is rain*', which do not normally have a Topic.

The derivation of Subordinate clauses can therefore be summarised as follows:

C → SubC

$$1. \pm\text{Neg } +\text{P } +\text{T } \pm\text{X} \rightarrow \begin{cases} +\text{T } \pm\text{Neg } +\text{P } \pm\text{X} // \text{T} : \text{Pn, Nn} \\ +\text{cT } \pm\text{Neg } +\text{P } \pm\text{T } \pm\text{X} // \text{T} : \text{Nn} \end{cases}$$

where X = any other tagmeme or tagmemes

$$2. \text{Pn}_2 \rightarrow \text{Pn}_1 // \text{T} : \underline{\quad}$$

#### EXAMPLES

In the following examples, the main clause and the base of the Subordinate clause are given first, followed by the resulting combination of main clause and embedded clause.

- a) |kataunan|ak |gitio.  
 |P:jungle|Mod|T/S:this  
 ' **This** was just a jungle.'
- + |minatong |akay.  
 |Psf:come/pt|T/S:we(ex)  
 ' **We** came.'
- |kataunan|ak |gitio |ra [akay minatong] -i.  
 |P:jungle|Mod|T/S:this|Tm [T/S:we(ex) Psf:come/pt] the  
 ' **This** was just a jungle when **we** came.'
- b) |siminangit |i agung.  
 |Psf:angry/pt|T/S Agung  
 ' **Agung** was angry.'
- + |inalap |nilo |tanaq nati.  
 |Pof:take/pt|S:they|T/O:earth Po:he-the  
 'They took **his land**.'
- |siminangit |i agung |ra [tanaq nati inalap nilo].  
 |Psf:angry/pt|T/S Agung|Rn [T/O:earth Po:he-the Pof:take/pt S:they]
- OR: |siminangit |i agung |ra [io inalap nilo  
 |Psf:angry/pt|T/S Agung|Rn [cT/O:it Pof:take/pt S:they  
 tanaq nati].  
 T/O:earth Po:he-the]  
 ' **Agung** was angry because they took **his land**.'
- c) |naasaq |konoon-rali.  
 |Psf:wet/pt|T/S:clothes the  
 ' **The clothes** were wet.'
- + |riminasam.  
 |Psf:rain/pt  
 ' **(It)** rained.'
- |naasaq |konoon-rali |ra [io riminasam].  
 |Psf:wet/pt|T/S:clothes the|Tm [cT/S:it Psf:rain/pt]  
 ' **The clothes** got wet when **it** rained.'

### 8.3 NOMINAL CLAUSES

A Nominal clause (NC) may be derived from any Basic clause (except one containing only Predicate) by the following processes:

- a) One of the non-Predicate nuclear tagmemes (i.e. T, S, O, R, A, I) or one of the tagmemes Site, Time, Reason and Affinity is removed to

pre-Predicate position. When permuted, all pronouns change to the pn1 series, while dm2 demonstratives change to the dml series. Noun exponents take the Topic relation-markers.

b) If the permuted tagmeme is not the Topic of the clause, the Predicate changes its focus to the one that would occur if the tagmeme were Topic. Thus the predicate changes to Associate focus when Associate, Site, Time, Reason or Affinity is permuted, to Instrument focus when Instrument is permuted, to Referent focus when Referent is permuted, and so on.

c) All other tagmemes lose their obligatory status (if any) and become optional.

The Predicate and the remaining non-permuted tagmemes now constitute a Nominal clause. The permuted tagmeme forms either a) the Predicate of an Identificational clause of type IdClB, with the Nominal clause filling the Topic slot, or b) the Head of an embedded phrase, with the Nominal clause manifesting a descriptive Attributive tagmeme.<sup>1</sup>

C → NC

1. +P +X ±Y → +X +P ±Y

where X = T,S,O,R,A,I,Si,Tm,Rn,Aff

Y = any other tagmeme or tagmemes except X

2. rm<sub>x</sub> → rm<sub>t</sub>

3. pn<sub>x</sub> → pn1

4. dml<sub>x</sub> → dm2

5. P → Pxf

#### EXAMPLES

a) Basic clause:

|minongoy |ruanduq-i |ra kaday.  
|Psf:go/pt|T/S:woman the|A shop  
'The woman went to the shop.'

Nominal clauses:

→ 1. |ruanduq-i |[minongoy (ra kaday)].

|P:woman the|T/S:[Psf:go/pt (A shop)]

'(The one who) went to the shop was the woman.' (i.e. THE WOMAN went to the shop)

2. ruanduq -i ra [[minongoy (ra kaday)]]

H:woman Dt At [H:[Psf:go/pt (A shop)]]

'the woman who went to the shop'

<sup>1</sup>This statement is, of course, subject to statements already made concerning restrictions on the exponence of IdClB Predicates (see 4.3.1) and of Head tagmemes modified by At-des phrases (see 7.2.6.2).

→ 1. |kaday | [inangayan (ru ruanduq-i)].  
 |P:shop|T/S:[Paf:go/pt (S woman the)]  
 ' (The place where) the woman went was the shop.' (i.e. the woman went to THE SHOP)

2. kaday ra [[inangayan (ru ruanduq-i)]]  
 H:shop At [H:[Paf:go/pt (S woman the)]]  
 'the shop where the woman went'

b) Basic clauses:

|namalambaq|kow |rakiq|ra tataun.  
 |Psf:hit/pt|T/S:thou|O:I |I stick  
 ' [You] hit me with a stick.'

|linambaq |mu |aku |ra tataun.  
 |Pof:hit/pt|S:thou|T/O:I|I stick  
 'You hit [me] with a stick.'

Nominal clauses:

→ |okow | [namalambaq (rakiq) (ra tataun)].  
 |P:thou|T/S:[Psf:hit/pt (O:I) (I stick)]  
 ' (The one who) hit me with a stick was you.' (i.e. YOU hit me with a stick)

→ |aku| [linambaq (mu) (ra tataun)].  
 |P:I|T/S:[Pof:hit/pt (S:thou) (I stick)]  
 ' (The one whom) you hit with a stick was I.' (i.e. you hit ME with a stick)

→ 1. |tataun | [pinamamalambaq (mu) (rakiq)].  
 |P:stick|T/S:[Pif:hit/pt (S:thou) (O:I)]  
 ' (The thing with which) you hit me was a stick.' (i.e. you hit me with a STICK)

2. tataun ra [[pinamamalambaq (mu) (rakiq)]]  
 H:stick At [H:[Pif:hit/pt (S:thou) (O:I)]]  
 'the stick with which you hit me'

As can be seen from the above examples, a Timugon Nominal clause can be regarded as equivalent to an English relative clause. However, unlike the latter, a Nominal clause may occur independently (that is, without being attributive to a noun head or relative pronoun) as a filler of any clause-level or phrase-level tagmeme slot that includes Nn among its exponents. There exists a relative pronoun *ondoq* in Timugon, which can be translated as 'he who', 'that which', etc., but it occurs only with Nominal clauses that undergo a Theme transformation (see 8.4 below) and is frequently omitted even then.

## EXAMPLES

- a) |uligiq | [nansayat                   rirun] -i.  
|Prf:find|T/R:[Psf:beget/pt O:thou] the  
'Find the (one who) begat you.'
- b) boborok                   nu [[uoton                   taka-]                   -iti]  
H:younger-sibling Po [H:[Pof:marry/ft S:we(in)] Dt]  
'the younger sibling of the (girl whom) we are marrying (to our son)'
- c) |pombolongoq |min | [nagauk]                   -no.  
|Pof:cause-sleep|S:you|T/O:[Psf:drunk/pt] the  
'Put the (one who) is drunk to bed.'
- d) |mapanday |kow |kia|ra [papaulian ra kunsiq].  
|Psf:know/ft|T/S:thou|Mod|Aff [Paf:put/ft O key]  
'Do you know (the place where) the keys are put?'

Mention should be made here of Non-Focus Participial clause type 1 (NFPC1). The Predicate of this clause type consists of a verb stem inflected with the hypermorpheme [kaka-] which is not inflectable for focus or aspect. A NFPC1 clause never contains a Topic tagmeme, and yet often appears to function in the same way as an independent clause. The texts contain sentences such as

|kakabaal |ku |ra baloy kutu.  
|P:just-made|S:I|O house Po:I-the  
'I had just built my house.'

These clauses were at first regarded as irregular Basic clauses. However, they are now analysed as being a special type of embedded Nominal clause manifesting the Predicate of an independent Identificational clause in which the Topic is not overtly expressed. In other words, the above sentence would be literally translated: '(It) was the (time when) I had just built my house'. That there are analogous constructions elsewhere in the language can be seen by comparing the following two sentences:

|bulan [karuo]                   |ra [akaw                   minatong]                   -i.  
|P:moon At:[Psf:second]|Tm [T/S:you Psf:come/pt] the  
'(It) was February when you came.'

|[kakabaal                   ku ra baloy kutu] |ra [akaw                   minatong ] -i.  
|P:[P:just-made S:I O house Po:I-the]|Tm [T/S:you Psf:come/pt] the  
'(It) was the (time when) I had just built my house when you came.'

A Basic clause in which the Predicate consists of an embedded NFPC1 construction can be transformed to a Subordinate clause (manifesting, e.g. a Time tagmeme), in which case a concord Topic pronoun must be present (see 8.2 above).



|minatong |kaw |ra [io [kakabaal ku ra baloy kutu]].  
 |Psf:come/pt|T/S:you|Tm [cT/S:it P:[P:just-made S:I O house Po:I-the]]  
 ' [You] came when [it] was the (time when) I had just built by house.'

#### 8.4 THEMATIC CLAUSES<sup>1</sup>

Certain tagmemes in any independent clause may be transformed to Theme. These tagmemes include Time, Affinity, and all the nuclear tagmemes except Instrument; a phrase-level Possessive tagmeme embedded in the Topic of the clause may also undergo this transformation. The tagmeme being transformed is removed to the front of the clause, to which it is optionally linked by the particle *am*. The relation-markers change to the Theme set (which is identical to the Topic set), while pronouns change to the *pn1* series. Demonstratives of subclass 4 are optionally replaced by the corresponding members of subclass 3. When Theme is expounded by NC, it is optionally preceded by the relative pronoun *ondoq*, to which the NC is regarded as being attributive.

When non-Topic Subject is transformed to Theme, its place in the body of the clause is obligatorily taken by a concord Subject pronoun. Such a concord pronoun also occurs optionally when Topic and Possessive are transformed.

The Theme tagmeme may be accompanied by one or more Modifiers, independently of any Modifier that may occur in post-Predicate position.

C → ThC

1. X → Th // X = TTm, Aff, T, S, O, R, A, Po

2. +P +X ±Y →  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} +Th \pm Mod \pm am +P +cX \pm Y // X = S \\ +Th \pm Mod \pm am +P \pm cX \pm Y // X = T, Po \\ +Th \pm Mod \pm am +P \pm Y // elsewhere \end{array} \right\}$

where Y = any tagmeme or tagmemes except X

3.  $rm_x \rightarrow rm_{th}$

4.  $pn_x \rightarrow pn_{th}(pn1)$

5.  $dm4 \rightarrow dm3$  (optional)

6. NC → ±*ondoq* +NC

<sup>1</sup>It will be seen from the description which follows that Theme is in fact a sentence-level rather than a clause-level tagmeme, since a Timugon sentence can be analysed as containing, among other things, an optional Theme tagmeme and an obligatory Nucleus tagmeme (manifested by a Clause), i.e. S → ±Theme +Nucleus. Although this work is not concerned with structures above the clause-level, the Theme construction is discussed here because of its frequency of occurrence in the corpus, its close transformational relationships with Clause structures and its potential homophony with such structures (see below).

## EXAMPLES

a) (transformed Topic)

|impaiq |takaw |noyo|adat ra ginio.  
 |Prf:abolish|S:we(in)|Mod |T/R:custom At that  
 'Let us abolish that custom.'

→ |adat ra ginio |am|impaiq |takaw |noyo.  
 |Th:custom At that|Co|Prf:abolish|S:we(in)|Mod  
 'As for that custom, let us abolish (it).'

b) (transformed Topic)

|mongoy |kaw |kia|ra tonom.  
 |Psf:go/ft|T/S:you|Mod|A Tenom  
 'Are you going to Tenom?'

→ |akaw, |mongoy |kaw |kia|ra tonom.  
 |Th:you|Psf:go/ft|T/S:you|Mod|A Tenom  
 'As for you, are you going to Tenom?'

c) (transformed Object)

|kalo|mambali |akay |ra akanon.  
 |Neg |Psf:buy/ft|T/S:we(ex)|O food  
 'We don't buy food.'

→ |akanon |am|kalo|mambali |akay.  
 |Th:food|Co|Neg |Psf:buy/ft|T/S:we(ex)  
 'As for food, we don't buy (it).'

d) (transformed Possessive)

|maawar |liog nu sundoyon-ti.  
 |Psf:long/ft|T/S:neck Po sundoyon the  
 'The neck of a sundoyon-jar is long.'

→ |sundoyon-ti |am|maawar |liog.  
 |Th:sundoyon the|Co|Psf:long/ft|T/S:neck  
 'As for the sundoyon-jar, (its) neck is long.'

e) (transformed Subject)

|tinimbak |buayo-i |nu ulun-rati.  
 |Pof:shoot/pt|T/O:crocodile the|S person the(pl)  
 'The men shot the crocodile.'

→ |ulun-rati, |tinimbak |nilo |buayo-i.  
 |Th:person the(pl)|Pof:shoot/pt|S:they|T/O:crocodile the  
 'As for the men, they shot the crocodile.'

f) (transformed Time)

|mongoy |kow. |kia|ramon |ra suab-no.  
 |Psf:go/ft|T/S:thou|Mod|A:we(ex)|Tm morning the  
 'Are you coming to our place tomorrow?'

→ |suab-no |am|mongoy |kow |kia|ramon.  
 |Tm:morning-the|Co|Psf:go/ft|T/S:thou|Mod|A:we(ex)  
 'As for tomorrow, are you coming to our place?'

When the Topic of an IdClB clause (which is always expounded by NC) is transformed to Theme, the resulting sequence is potentially homophonous with a non-identificational Basic clause, given the absence of such optional items as the relative pronoun *ondoq*, the linking particle *am*, and the concord Topic pronoun. Similarly, the Thematic derivation of the same Basic clause is potentially homophonous with the IdClB clause. In the following examples, optional items are enclosed in curved brackets ( ).

a) 1. Basic clause:

|malaaq |ra paluq |i kasuab.  
 |Psf:afraid/ft|Aff rapids|T/S Kasuab  
 ' Kasuab is afraid of the rapids.'

2. ThC derivation of 1:

|i kasuab |(am)|malaaq |(io) |ra paluq.  
 |Th Kasuab|(Co)|Psf:afraid/ft|(T/S:he)|Aff rapids  
 'As for Kasuab, he is afraid of the rapids.'

3. IdC derivation of 1:

|i kasuab|[malaaq ra paluq].  
 |P:Kasuab|T/S:[Psf:afraid/ft Aff rapids]  
 ' (The one who) is afraid of the rapids is Kasuab.' (i.e. KASUAB is afraid of the rapids)

4. ThC derivation of 3:

|(ondoq) [malaaq ra paluq] |(am)|i kasuab.  
 |Th:(he-who At:)|Psf:afraid/ft Aff rapids| |(Co)|P:Kasuab  
 'As for the one who is afraid of the rapids, (it) is Kasuab.'

b) 1. Basic clause:

|babalian |ruanduq-no.  
 |P:priestess|T/S:woman the  
 ' The woman is a priestess.'

2. ThC derivation of 1:

|ruanduq-no |(am)|babalian |(io).  
 |Th:woman the|(Co)|P:priestess|(T/S:she)  
 'As for the woman, she is a priestess.'

## 3. IdC derivation of 1:

|ruanduq-no | [babalian].

|P:woman the|T/S:[P:priestess]

' (The one who) is a priestess is the woman.' (i.e. THE WOMAN is a priestess)

## 4. ThC derivation of 3:

| (ondoq) [babalian] | (am) | ruanduq-no.

|Th:(he-who At:)[P:priestess]|(Co)|P:woman the

'As for the one who is a priestess, (it) is the woman.'

It will be noted that, in the above examples, 1. and 2. are potentially homophonous with 4. and 3. respectively. In cases like example b), where both Predicate and Topic are manifested by noun phrases, the possibilities of homophony are doubled, since the Predicate and Topic can be reversed to form a new Basic clause, viz.:

|ruanduq|babalian-no.

|P:woman|T/S:priestess the

' The priestess is a woman.'

This clause can then undergo the same derivations as the one illustrated in b), producing four more sequences, each of which will be potentially homophonous with one of the sequences already quoted, yet structurally distinct from it.

## 8.5 CONJOINED CLAUSES

As used here, the term 'Conjoined clause' (ConjC) denotes a sequence which has all the structural and distributional qualities of a single main clause, but which contains two (or more) Predicates, one of which is regarded as auxiliary to the other. A Conjoined clause is considered to be derived from two separate Basic clauses which must have identical Topics and Subjects and may also share other identical tagmemes. The derivation involves the deletion of one of each pair of identical tagmemes.

The factors governing the ordering of tagmemes in a Conjoined clause have not been fully established. It is clear, however, that tagmemes originally present in both Basic clauses must be distinguished from those originally present in only one of them. The latter always follow the Predicate which governs them, while the position of the former depends to some extent on their exponence. When Topic and Subject are expounded by a pronoun, they and the other post-Predicate clitics (Modifier and Quotative) always occur immediately following the first Predicate. Topic and Subject tagmemes which are expounded by Nn or Dm, together with any other tagmemes originally present in both Basic

clauses, may occur following either Predicate, though it is more usual for them to follow the second. There are, however, frequent instances in the texts of ConjC clauses in which the second Predicate is removed to the end of the clause, following all other tagmemes.

In the absence of a solution to the problems of ordering described above, the following rules represent merely the orderings which are statistically most frequent. Identity of tagmemes is indicated in the rules by subscript numerals.

C1 + C2 → ConjC

C1 → +P<sub>1</sub> +T<sub>1</sub> +S<sub>1</sub> ±X<sub>1</sub> ±X<sub>2</sub>

C2 → +P<sub>2</sub> +T<sub>1</sub> +S<sub>1</sub> ±X<sub>2</sub> ±X<sub>3</sub>

where X = any other tagmeme except T, S, Mod, Qt, Neg

$$\text{ConjC} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} +P_1 \pm X_1 +P_2 +T +S \pm X_2 \pm X_3 // T, S : \text{Nn, Dm} \\ +P_1 +S +T \pm X_1 +P_2 \pm X_2 \pm X_3 // T, S : \text{Pn} \end{array} \right\}$$

Two types of ConjC can be distinguished: Type 1, those in which the second Predicate is always in the Atemporal aspect; and Type 2, those in which both Predicates are in the Future or Past Temporal aspect. Type 1 is further divided into Type 1A, in which the auxiliary Predicate always fills the first Predicate slot, and Type 1B, in which it may fill either slot. Each of the three types is also distinguished by a different subclass of stems manifesting the auxiliary Predicate.

In the following lists of representative stems taken from each subclass, it will be noticed that Type 1A and 1B stems are mostly verbs, while Type 2 stems are nearly all perfect participles of stem class pp2A. In the English translation of each stem, the verb '*act (on)*' represents the function of the main Predicate with which the auxiliary Predicate co-occurs. Thus inut (pv7) is translated as '*S acts on O slowly*'. If the main Predicate is filled by inum (pv7) '*S drinks O*', the two verbs together are translatable as '*S drinks O slowly*'.

#### REPRESENTATIVE AUXILIARY STEMS

##### a) Type 1A:

bayaq (pv2)	'S acts also [like A]'
inut (pv7)	'S acts on O slowly'
ongoy (pv3)	'S goes and acts [on O]'
ongoy (sv1)	'S causes O to go and act [on A]'
rondoq (pv1)	'S acts alone'
simbul (pv3)	'S runs to act [on O]'
talison (pv7)	'S acts on O instead (of someone else)'
tauli (pv1)	'S acts later'

## b) Type 1B:

induo (pv10)	'S acts on R twice'
kalair (pv7)	'S acts on O beforehand/in readiness'
lambay (pv10)	'S acts on R on his journey'
lingongon (pv7 and pp2B)	'S acts on O completely/all the way'
singon (pv7)	'S acts on O purposely'
sundoy (pv1)	'S acts upstream'
taligamaq (pv10)	'S acts on his own R' or 'S himself acts on R'
tapuliq (pv7)	'S acts on O back again'

## c) Type 2:

buli (pp2A)	'S is allowed to/may/can act'
buyu (iplA)	'S is about to act'
gampan (pv5)	'S & S act at the same time'
kauq (pp2A)	'S dares to act'
maar (pp2A)	'S nearly/almost acts'
panday (pp2A)	'S is able to/knows how to/can act'
salok (pp2A)	'S acts often/always'
songorow (pv1)	'S acts all day'

## EXAMPLES

## a) Type A:

- |                    |      |  |
|--------------------|------|--|
| rumondoq           | aku. |  |
| Psf:alone/ft T/S:I |      | ' <span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 0 2px;">I</span> will act alone.' |

+ |mansaruy |aku.  
|Psf:swim/ft|T/S:I ' I will swim.'

→ |rumondoq |aku |pansaruy.  
|Psf:alone/ft|T/S:I|Psf:swim ' I 'll swim alone.'
- |   |     |        |
|---|-----|--------|
| mayaq   | aku | rirun. |
| Psf:do-also/ft T/S:I A:thou   |     |        |
| ' <span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 0 2px;">I</span> will act like you.' |     |        |

+ |matikoolong |aku.  
|Psf:wish-sleep/ft|T/S:I  
' I will be sleepy.'

→ |mayaq |aku |rirun |patikoolong.  
|Psf:do-also/ft|T/S:I|A:thou|Psf:wish-sleep  
' I will be sleepy like you.'
- |   |     |    |        |
|---|-----|----|--------|
| ongoyon   | kaw | ri | simit. |
| Pof:go/ft T/O:you S Simit   |     |    |        |
| 'Simit will come and do something to <span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 0 2px;">you</span> .' |     |    |        |

- + |tuluin |kaw |ri simit|ra ralan.  
|Prf:show/ft|T/R:you|S Simit |O way  
'Simit will show you the way.'
- |ongoyon |kaw |tuluiq |ri simit|ra ralan.  
|Pof:go/ft |T/O R:you|Prf:show|S Simit |O way  
'Simit will come and show you the way.'

## b) Type 1B:

1. |masundoy |ulun-rati.  
|Psf:go-upstream/ft|T/S:person the(pl)  
'The men will go upstream.'
- + |mangaak |ulun-rati |ra parau.  
|Psf:drag/ft|T/S:person the(pl)|O boat  
'The men will drag the boat.'
- |masundoy |ulun-rati |pangaak |ra parau.  
|Psf:go-upstream/ft|T/S:person the(pl)|Psf:drag|O boat
- OR: |mangaak |ulun-rati |ra parau|pasundoy.  
|Psf:drag/ft|T/S:person the(pl)|O boat |Psf:go-upstream  
'The men will drag the boat upstream.'
2. |siningon |mu |ni |kia|buuk-no.  
|Pof:intend/pt|S:thou|Mod|Mod|T/O:book the  
'Did you do something to the book on purpose?'
- + |pinatiran |mu |ni |kia|buuk-no.  
|Prf:throw-away/pt|S:thou|Mod|Mod|T/R:book the  
'Did you throw the book away?'
- |siningon |mu |ni |kia|buuk-no |patiriq.  
|Pof:intend/pt|S:thou|Mod|Mod|T/R,O:book the|Prf:throw-away
- OR: |pinatiran |mu |ni |kia|buuk-no |singonoq.  
|Prf:throw-away/pt|S:thou|Mod|Mod|T/R,O:book the|Pof:intend  
'Did you throw the book away on purpose?'
3. |nalingongon |noyo|inasi-ti.  
|Psf:done-completely/pt|Mod |T/S:ricebeer the  
'The ricebeer has been done completely.'
- + |nalasakan |noyo|inasi-ti.  
|Psf:drained/pt|Mod |T/S:ricebeer the  
'The ricebeer has been drained.'
- |nalingongon |noyo|kalasakiq |inasi-ti.  
|Psf:done-completely/pt|Mod |Psf:drained|T/S:ricebeer the

OR: |nalasakan |noyo|kalingongon |inasi-ti.  
 |Psf:drained/pt|Mod |Psf:done-completely|T/S:ricebeer the  
 'The ricebeer has been completely drained.'

## c) Type 2:

1. |monsongorow |io.  
 |Psf:all-day/ft|T/S:he  
 'He spends all day.'  
 + |mariuq |io |ra sungoy.  
 |Psf:bathe/ft|T/S:he|Si river  
 'He bathes in the river.'  
 → |monsongorow |io |mariuq |ra sungoy.  
 |Psf:all-day/ft|T/S:he|Psf:bathe/ft|Si river  
 'He spends all day bathing in the river.'
2. |mabuli |korojo muno.  
 |Psf:allowed/ft|T/S:work Po:thou-the  
 'Your work is allowed (to...).'
- + |tatangon |mu |korojo-muno.  
 |Pof:leave/ft|S:thou|T/O:work Po:thou-the  
 'You will leave your work.'
- |mabuli |mu |tatangon |korojo muno.  
 |Psf:allowed/ft|S:thou|Pof:leave/ft|T/S,O:work Po:thou-the  
 'You may leave your work.'
3. |makakauq |lalaing-no.  
 |Psf:dare/ft|T/S:child the  
 'The child is daring.'
- + |mingkual |lalaing-no.  
 |Psf:go-out|T/S:child the  
 'The child will go out.'
- |makakauq |mingkual |lalaing-no.  
 |Psf:dare/ft|Psf:go-out/ft|T/S:child the  
 'The child dares to go out.'

As shown in the following examples, multiple ConjC derivations can be carried out on the same clause by the successive addition of auxiliary Predicates. No instances are recorded of Type 1B auxiliaries partaking in such multiple derivations.

|mantagumo |aku.  
 |Psf:make/clearing/ft|T/S:I  
 'I will make a clearing.'



- + |sumiib |aku |ramuyun.  
|Psf:do-beside|T/S:I|A:you  
'**I** 'll do something beside you.'
- + |sumiib |aku |ramuyun|pantagumo.  
|Psf:do-beside|T/S:I|A:you |Psf:make-clearing  
'**I** 'll make a clearing next to you.'
- + |mongoy |aku.  
|Psf:go/ft|T/S:I  
'**I** 'll go (and...).'
- + |mongoy |aku |siib |ramuyun|pantagumo.  
|Psf:go/ft|T/S:I|Psf:do-beside|A:you |Psf:make-clearing  
'**I** 'll go and make a clearing next to you.'
- + |tumauli |aku.  
|Psf:do-later/ft|T/S:I  
'**I** 'll do something later.'
- + |tumauli |aku |ongoy |siib |ramuyun|pantagumo.  
|Psf:do-later/ft|T/S:I|Psf:go|Psf:do-beside|A:you |Psf:make-clearing  
'**I** 'll go and make a clearing next to you later.'

A ConjC construction may undergo the same transformations as any Basic clause. The following illustrative clauses (in which word-for-word translations are not given) are assumed to be derivations from

|minongoy |kow |pambalaq|rakiq.  
|Psf:go/pt|T/S:thou|Psf:tell|R:I  
'**You** came and told me.'

The clause underlying the AIC derivation is the Future Temporal form of the above example.

AIC	ongoy pambalaq rakiq.	'Come and tell me.'
ANC	ongoy kow pambalaq rakiq.	'You came and told me.'
	{ kua ongoy kow pambalaq rakiq	'Why did you come and tell me?'
	{ sanggilan kow ongoy pambalaq	'When did you come and tell
	{ rakiq.	me?'
SubC	[okow minongoy pambalaq rakiq]	'when/because you came and told me'
NC	okow [minongoy pambalaq rakiq]	'The one who came and told me was you.'
ThC	okow (am) minongoy (kow) pambalaq rakiq	'As for you, you came and told me.'

## 8.6 MINOR CLAUSES

Two minor clause types will be described here. They are Quotative clauses (QtC) and Defective clauses (DefC).

### 8.6.1 QUOTATIVE CLAUSES

Quotative clauses, which signal direct speech, must be distinguished from the clause-level Quotative tagmeme *kunuq*, which signals indirect speech. A QtC construction may follow or precede the utterance being quoted, and consists of an obligatory Quotative Predicate with optional Subject and Associate tagmemes (representing speaker and addressee respectively). Peripheral tagmemes such as Modifier and Time may also be present. The Quotative tagmeme too may occur with a Quotative Predicate, to indicate that the direct speech is itself encased in reported speech (e.g. in a story). It will be noted that QtC never contains a Topic tagmeme, which is assumed to be represented by the utterance being quoted.

When Subject is manifested by Nn or Dm, the Predicate of QtC is expounded by *koon*, the basic meaning of which is '*do thus*'. When unaccompanied by a Subject tagmeme, *koon* is understood to mean '*he/she/it said*'.

#### EXAMPLES

- a) |"iow"|koon |ru ruanduq-i.  
 | yes |P:thus|S woman the  
 '"Yes", said the woman.'
- b) |koon |ru ruanduq-i|am|"iow".  
 |P:thus|S woman the |CO| yes  
 'The woman said "yes".'
- c) |"iow"|koon |kunuq|nu buayoy.  
 | yes |P:thus|Qt |S man  
 '"Yes", said the man, they say.'
- d) |"iow"|koon.  
 | yes |P:thus  
 '"Yes", he said.'

When the Subject is manifested by a pronoun, it and the Predicate are combined in one (phonological) word, made up of a morpheme *ka-*, representing the Predicate, and a *pn3* pronoun, thus: *kaku* '*I said*', *kanilo* '*they said*'. The third person singular form is *kono* '*he/she/it said*'. These forms always follow the utterance being quoted.

#### EXAMPLES

- a) |"iow"|kaku |ni |tupo|rirun.  
| yes |P:thus + S:I|Mod|Mod |A:thou  
'"Yes", I said to you.'
- b) |akay |am|"baloy"|kamay.  
|Th:we(ex)|Co| house |P:thus + S:we(ex)  
'As for us, we say "baloy".'
- c) |"iow"|kamu |ri jinuin|ra maiq-i.  
| yes |P:thus + S:thou|A Jinuin |Tm evening the  
'You said "Yes" to Jinuin yesterday.'

The forms for the second person singular and plural can also be used as imperatives, with kamu being optionally replaced by ka.

- a) |"mararaq |aku" |kamin |riso.  
|Psf:unwilling/ft|T/S:I|P:thus + S:you|A:he  
'"I don't want to", tell him.'
- b) |"iow"|kamu.  
| yes |P:thus + S:thou  
'Say "Yes".'
- c) |"mararaq |aku" |ka.  
|Psf:unwilling/ft |T/S:I|P:thus  
'"I don't want to", say.'

### 8.6.2 DEFECTIVE CLAUSES

The most important type of Defective clause in Timugon (and the only one treated here) consists of a single-word Predicate and a Conjunction by which it is linked to the main clause. The Defective Predicate may be accompanied only by Modifier and Quotative tagmemes. The commonest Defective clauses are:

salaq ka 'it is incorrect that...' (this DefC may be linked with any Basic clause to form an emphatic negative; it is the only way of negating Identificational clauses)

koson ra 'it is as though...'

paiq ru 'it is not as though...'

paiq ka 'it is not as though... not...'

ati  $\left. \begin{matrix} ra \\ ka \end{matrix} \right\}$  'whereas in fact...'

ati nu 'how would it be if...'

sukuq ra 'provided that...' or 'as long as...'

## EXAMPLES

- a) |salaq|ka|babalian |ruandug-no.  
 |wrong|Co|P:priestess|T/S:woman the  
 'The woman isn't a priestess.' (neutral negative)  
 'The woman ISN'T a priestess.' (emphatic negative)  
 'The woman isn't a PRIESTESS.' (contrastive negative)
- b) |salaq|ka|ruandug-no |[babalian].  
 |wrong|Co|P:woman the|T/S:[P:priestess]  
 '(The one who) is a priestess is not the woman.' (i.e. 'it's not the WOMAN who is a priestess')
- c) |salaq|ka|maagat |patiq-no.  
 |wrong|Co|Psf:heavy/ft|T/S:box the  
 'The box isn't HEAVY.'
- d) |paiq|ru|maagat |patiq-no.  
 |Neg |Co|Psf:heavy/ft|T/S:box the  
 'It's not as though the box is heavy.'
- e) |paiq|ka|maagat |patiq-no.  
 |Neg |Co|Psf:heavy/ft|T/S:box the  
 'It's not as though the box isn't heavy.' (i.e. it IS heavy)
- f) |ati |nu|ibiton |takaw |gitio.  
 |which|Co|Pof:carry/ft|S:we(in)|T/O:this  
 'How would it be if we took this one?' OR  
 'How about us taking this one?'
- g) |ati |ka|nambalaq |io |ra rangan.  
 |which|Co|Psf:tell/pt|T/S:he|R friend  
 'Whereas in fact he told his friends (although he had promised not to).'

## CHAPTER 9

### TEXTS

#### 9.0 INTRODUCTION

Three texts have been chosen to illustrate the functioning of the language in a larger context. The first two texts are folktales, while the third is part of a conversation between two people. In order to make the plot easier to follow, the folktales have been edited, that is, most hesitations, interruptions and repetitions have been removed. All such features are retained, however, in the third text.

Each text is preceded by a short commentary and summary of the contents. A number is allotted to each sentence and to each independent clause within the sentence, the two numbers being separated by a decimal point. Embedded clauses are assigned lower case letters a, b, c, etc. Each clause is preceded by a statement of the class and type of the main clause and any embedded clauses. Quotative clauses, and those introducing direct speech, are treated as separate sentences. The Quotative marker *kunuq* '*they say, it is said*' is left untranslated in the first two texts, where it occurs with great frequency.

#### 9.1 TUTUNUNGON RA ROSOB - THE STORY OF THE FLOOD

Many versions of this story were heard, of which two were recorded and transcribed. The version given below was told by Kunsil bin Marali of the village of Mantailang, while the other recorded version was related by Ketua Kampong Katab bin Bauli, the headman of Pantungon village. All the versions differ from each other, but usually only in minor details.

*A great flood covers the earth and destroys mankind, except for one man who climbs up a tall coconut palm (which, in some versions, grows higher and higher as the waters rise) (1-4). When the flood recedes, the man throws down an old coconut on three occasions, to see whether*

*it is safe to descend. The first two coconuts sink into the mud, but the third bounces, and the man climbs down (5-9). When he reaches the ground, there appears a woman covered with ringworm, who, as stated in another version, is a masundu (i.e. a divine being, a relative of Kapuunoq, the supreme spirit). The woman tells him that everyone else was killed in the flood, and advises him to marry her. He does not believe her, and sets off to search for his friends (10-18). While he is away, the woman makes a doll out of clay. She chews a betel-nut and spits the red juice (? symbolic of blood) onto the clay figure, which comes to life as a beautiful young woman. The fact that man was originally made of earth explains why he is mortal (19-21). The man returns without finding any other people, and the woman, having told him to marry the girl, returns home (i.e. to the sky) (22-34).<sup>1</sup> The couple settle down and have children, alternately male and female. As they grow up, their parents take them in pairs to another headland (i.e. the tongue of land between a river and a tributary stream, the traditional site for a Murut longhouse) to found a new settlement. In this way, the world is eventually repopulated (35-end).*

1.1 IdClB (embedded: a. N-PVC3<sub>of</sub>)

|<sup>a</sup>[tunungon                      ku ragino]<sup>a</sup>, |gitio |ayuk.  
 |Th:[Pof:tell-story/ft S:I Tm:now] |P:this|Mod  
 'As for (what) I am going to relate now, (it) is this.

2.1 PPC2A<sub>sf</sub>

|galing-i            |kunuq, [3.1], |masuang            |ulun nu tanaq-ti,  
 |Tm:before the|Qt                            |Psf:many/ft|T/S:person PO earth the  
 In the old days, [3.1], the people of the earth were many,

2.2 AN-PVC2<sub>sf</sub>

|ka|ratong    |kunuq|bo |rosob-i,  
 |Co|Psf:come|Qt    |Mod|T/S:flood the  
 but (when) the flood came,

<sup>1</sup>In one version only, the woman makes several attempts at a clay figure. The first two are too dark and too light, so she throws them away: they become the Malays and the Chinese respectively. The perfect figure is, of course, a Murut. It is suspected that this episode is a later addition to the story. In the version recorded at Pantungon, and in others heard elsewhere, the woman makes the girl exactly like herself and departs before the man returns, so that he thinks the girl is the woman miraculously cured of ringworm.

2.3 AN-PPC2A<sub>sf</sub> (embedded: a. N-PVCl<sub>sf</sub>)

|kaluus |kunuq|bagu|ulun<sup>a</sup>[mamagun-magun ra tanaq-ti]<sup>a</sup>.  
 |Psf:destroyed|Qt |Mod |T/S:person At:[Psf: dwell Si earth-the]  
the people who lived on the earth were destroyed.

## 3.1 QtC (interpolated into 2.1)

|rokoon|ru tuuq-lair-rali,  
 |P:thus|S old-man the(pl)  
 Thus speak the old men.

4.1 IdClB (embedded: a. N-PPC2A<sub>sf</sub>)

|sangulun {ak |kunuq|bo }buayoy-i |<sup>a</sup>[naayag]<sup>a</sup>,  
 |P:one-person{Mod|Qt |Mod}Ap:man the|T/S:[Psf:live/pt]  
(The one who) survived was only one person, the man,

4.2 PVC2<sub>sf</sub>

|ra|nangkiwaq |io |ak |kunuq|ra layow nu piasaw.  
 |Co|Psf:climb/pt|T/S:he|Mod|Qt |A tallness Po coconut  
 because he climbed up a tall coconut-tree.

## 5.1 IdClB (interrupted by 5.2)

|buoy {kunuq}nu timug-i,  
 |Tm:length-of-time{Qt }Po water the  
 During the time of the water...

5.2 PPC3A<sub>sf</sub> (embedded: a. N-PVCl<sub>af</sub>)

|natuluan |kunuq|ra orow|<sup>a</sup>[iniitan na-]no,  
 |Psf:seven/pt|Qt |Aff day|T/S:[Paf:recede/pt S:it]the  
 ... the (time when) it receded was seven days later...

5.1 (resumed) IdClB (embedded: a. Sub-PVCl<sub>sf</sub>; b. N-PPC3A<sub>af</sub>)

|am|buoy {kunuq}nu timug-i <sup>a</sup>[miniit]<sup>a</sup>,  
 |Co|Tm:length-of-time{Qt }Po water the At:[Psf:recede/pt]  
 |piasaw |ayuk|kunuq|<sup>b</sup>[naayagan nu buayoy-i]<sup>b</sup>.  
 |P:coconut|Mod |Qt |T/S:[Paf:live/pt S man the]  
 and during the time of the water (when) (it) was receding,  
(what) the man lived on was only coconuts.

## 5.3 IPC1A

|am|iit-iit |noyo|bo |kunuq|timug-i,  
 |Co|P:receding|Mod |Mod|Qt |T/S:water the  
 And the water gradually receded.

5.4 Conj:AN-PVC10<sub>rf</sub>+PVC9<sub>rf</sub>

|am|kinamiq|no |kunuq|ratuiq |ra laan nu piasaw.  
 |Co|Prf:try|S:he|Qt |Prf:throw-down|I old-fruit Po coconut  
 and he tried throwing an old coconut down into (it).

6.1 PVC1<sub>sf</sub>

|liminobong |poyo|kunuq|ra losok-i.  
 |Psf:bury-self/pt|Mod |Qt |Si mud the  
(It) buried itself in the mud.

7.1 AN-PVC9<sub>rf</sub> (embedded: a. Sub-IdC1A)

|<sup>a</sup>[io |kunuq suabon]<sup>a</sup>,|ratuiq |no |poyo  
 |Tm:[T/S:it Qt P:dawn] |Prf:throw-down|S:he|Mod  
 |ra laan nu piasaw-i,  
 |I old-fruit Po coconut the  
 When it was dawn, he threw an old coconut down into (it) again.

## 7.2 IdC1B

|am|gili |ak |poyo|kunuq,  
 |Co|P:that|Mod|Mod |Qt  
 and (it) was that again (i.e. the same thing happened),

7.3 PVC1<sub>sf</sub>

|lumobong |ra losok-i.  
 |Psf:bury-self/ft|Si mud the  
(it) buries itself in the mud.

8.1 AN-PVC9<sub>rf</sub> (embedded: a. N-PPC2A<sub>sf</sub>)

|<sup>a</sup>[katalu]<sup>a</sup> |ra orow,|ratuiq |no |bo |kunuq|ra gili,  
 |Tm:[Psf:third] At day |Prf:throw-down|S:he|Mod|Qt |I that  
 On the third day, he threw that thing down into (it),



8.2 PVCl<sub>sf</sub>

|kalo|bo |kunuq|liminobong.  
 |Neg |Mod|Qt |Psf:bury-self/pt  
 (it) did not bury itself.

9.1 PVCl<sub>sf</sub>

|timinampul |bo |laan nu piasaw-i,  
 |Psf:bounce/pt|Mod|T/S:old-fruit Po coconut the  
 The old coconut bounced,

9.2 AN-PVC2<sub>sf</sub>

|gili |bo,|tuun |kunuq|bo |buayoy-i.  
 |Tm:then|Mod|Psf:go-down|Qt |Mod|T/S:man the  
 then the man went down.

10.1 NFPC1 (embedded: a. Sub-PPC1B<sub>sf</sub>; b. N-PPC2A<sub>sf</sub>)

|buoy no {ak |kunuq}<sup>a</sup>[nokosonor ra tanaq-ti]<sup>a</sup>,  
 |Tm:length-of-time Po:he{Mod|Qt }At:[Psf:reach/pt A earth the]  
 |pusat |kunuq|nu ruanduq<sup>b</sup>[lusungon]<sup>b</sup>-i.  
 |P:appear|Qt |S woman At:[Psf:have-ringworm/ft]the  
 At this time (when) (he) reached the ground, there suddenly appeared  
 a woman (who) was covered with ringworm.

11.1 AN-PVC3<sub>sf</sub> (embedded: a. N-PPC2A<sub>sf</sub>)

|indagu |kunuq|ruanduq<sup>a</sup>[lusungon]<sup>a</sup>-i.  
 |Psf:speak|Qt |T/S:woman At:[Psf:have-ringworm/ft]the  
 The woman (who) was covered with ringworm spoke.

12.1 PPC2A<sub>sf</sub>

|masagaq |ko |ak,  
 |Psf:willing/ft|T/S:thou|Mod  
 "(If) you are willing,

12.2 AI-PVC7<sub>of</sub>

|am|anduq |aku |ak.  
 |Co|Pof:marry|T/O:I|Mod  
 then marry me.

13.1 PVC7<sub>sf</sub>

|maguyum |ko |pana,  
 |Psf:seek/ft|T/S:thou|Mod  
*Even (if) you look for (them),*

## 13.2 ExC1

|am|kolondoq |bagu|ulun nu tanaq-ti.  
 |Co|P:there-is-not|Mod |T/S:person Po earth the  
*there are no people of the earth.*

14.1 Conj:PPC2B<sub>sf</sub>+PPC2A<sub>sf</sub>

|nakaik |noyo|kaluus |ulun-rali.  
 |Psf:finished/pt|Mod |Psf:destroyed|T/S:person the(pl)  
*The people have all been destroyed."*

15.1 QtC (embedded: a. N-PPC2A<sub>sf</sub>)

|koon |kunuq|nu ruanduq<sup>a</sup>[lusungon]<sup>a</sup>-i.  
 |P:thus|Qt |S woman At:[Psf:have-ringworm/ft]the  
*Thus spoke the woman (who) was covered with ringworm.*

## 16.1 IPC1A

|kalo|kunuq|baya-bayaq |buayoy-i,  
 |Neg |Qt |P:following|T/S:man the  
*The man did not obey,*

16.2 AN-PVC2<sub>sf</sub>

|ugar |io |no |bo |kunuq,  
 |Psf:travel|T/S:he|Mod|Mod|Qt  
*he set off,*

16.3 Conj:AN-PVC3<sub>of</sub>+PVC4<sub>rf</sub> (embedded: a. N-PVC1<sub>sf</sub>)

|ongoyoq|ilaiq |polos nu<sup>a</sup>[mamagun-magun]<sup>a</sup>-ti.  
 |Pof:go |Prf:look|T/O,R:limit Po [Psf: dwell/ft] the  
*(he) went to look at all the inhabitants.*

17.1 PPC2A<sub>sf</sub>

|topot,  
 |Psf:true  
*(It) was true.*

17.2 ExC1 (embedded: a. N-PPC2B<sub>sf</sub>)

|kolondoq |bagu|<sup>a</sup>[najampaq no]<sup>a</sup> ra ulun.  
 |P:there-is-not|Mod |T/S:[Psf:encountered S:he] At person  
 there were no people encountered by him.

18.1 AN-PVC2<sub>sf</sub>

|paruliq |bo |kunuq|buayoy-i |ra intor nali.  
 |Psf:return|Mod|Qt |T/S:man the|A place-from Po:he-the  
 So the man returned to the place he set out from.

19.1 AN-PVC7<sub>sf</sub> (embedded: a. Sub-PVC2<sub>sf</sub>; b. N-PPC2A<sub>sf</sub>)

|<sup>a</sup>[buayoy-no minugar kunuq ra buoy-ti]<sup>a</sup>,  
 |Tm:[T/S:man the Psf:travel/pt Qt Tm:length-of-time the]  
 |ruanduq <sup>b</sup>[lusungon]<sup>b</sup>-ti, |pambaal |kunuq  
 |Th:woman At:[Psf:have-ringworm/ft]the|Psf:make|Qt  
 |ra sinungkalalaing|ra tanaq.  
 |O figure |I earth  
 (While) the man was travelling all this time, as for the woman (who)  
 was covered with ringworm, (she) was making a figure out of earth.

20.1 AN-PVC1<sub>sf</sub> (embedded: a. N-PPC2A<sub>sf</sub>)

|pagintat |bo |kunuq  
 |Psf:chew-betelnut|Mod|Qt  
 |ruanduq <sup>a</sup>[lusungon]<sup>a</sup>-ti |ra kusob,  
 |T/S:woman At:[Psf:have-ringworm/ft] the|Aff betelnut  
The woman (who) had ringworm chewed betelnut,

20.2 AN-PVC9<sub>rf</sub>

|tampusisiq |no |bo,  
 |Psf:spit-out|S:she|Mod  
 she spat it out onto (it),

20.3 AN-PPC2B<sub>sf</sub>

|kasauk |bagu|ra ulun  
 |Psf:become|Mod |Aff person  
(it) became a human being,

20.4 IdClA (embedded: a. N-PVCl<sub>sf</sub>)

|am|ralaa<sup>a</sup>[mantalur]<sup>a</sup> |kunuq|bagu.  
 |Co|P:maid At:[Psf:beautiful/ft]|Qt |Mod  
 and [it] was a maid (who) was beautiful.

21.1 IdClB (embedded: a. SubConj:PPC2A<sub>sf</sub>+PVCl<sub>sf</sub>)

|gitio|ga|bo|ra<sup>a</sup>[itakaw mapanday matoy]<sup>a</sup>-ti,  
 |P:this|Mod|Mod|Rn [T/S:we(in) Psf:know/ft Psf:die/ft] the,  
 [It] is this, then, why [we] are able to die,

21.2 IdClB (embedded: a. N-PVC7<sub>of</sub>)

|ra|tanaq |<sup>a</sup>[binaal ra ulun-ti]<sup>a</sup>.  
 |Co|P:earth|T/S:[Pof:make/pt Aff person the]  
 because [what] was made into the human being was earth.

22.1 AN-PVC2<sub>sf</sub>

|sangkinolor {lair}ra gili,|ratong |no|bo|buayoy-i,  
 |Tm:one-moment{Mod }At that |Psf:come|Mod|Mod|T/S:man the  
 Immediately afterwards, [the man] arrived,

22.2 AN-PVC4<sub>rf</sub>

|ilaiq |no|kunuq|ra giti,  
 |Prf:look|S:he|Qt |Tm this  
 then he looked at [her],

22.3 PPC2A<sub>sf</sub> (embedded: a. N-PVCl<sub>sf</sub>)

|ra|potokolow |kunuq|bo|ralaa<sup>a</sup>[mantalur]<sup>a</sup>-ti.  
 |Co|Psf:spotless|Qt |Mod|T/S:maid At:[Psf:beautiful/ft] the  
 (and saw) that [the maid (who) was beautiful] was unblemished (by  
 ringworm).

23.1 AN-PVC3<sub>sf</sub> (embedded: a. N-PPC2A<sub>sf</sub>)

|indagu |kunuq|bo|ruanduq [lusungon] -ti.  
 |Psf:speak|Qt |Mod|T/S:woman At:[Psf:have-ringworm/ft] the  
 [The woman (who) had ringworm] spoke.

## 24.1 IdC2

|ba, |nian |bagu.  
 |well|P:what|Mod  
 "Well, what (happened) then?"

25.1 ExC2 (embedded: a. N-PPC2B<sub>sf</sub>)

|makaulun {poyo|kia} [najampaq mu]  
 |P:there-is-person{Mod |Mod}At:[Psf:encountered S:thou]  
 |ra buoy nu ugar munii.  
 |Tm length-of-time Po travelling Po:thou-the  
 Were there any people (who) were encountered by you during your travels?"

26.1 QtC (embedded: a. N-PPC2A<sub>sf</sub>)

|koon |kunuq|nu ruandua<sup>a</sup>[lusungon]<sup>a</sup>-ti.  
 |P:thus|Qt |S woman At:[Psf:have-ringworm/ft] the  
 Thus spoke the woman (who) had ringworm.

27.1 AN-PVC3<sub>sf</sub>

|taam |kunuq|buayoy-i,  
 |Psf:reply|Qt |T/S:man the  
The man replied,

28.1 ExC1 (embedded: a. N-PPC2B<sub>sf</sub>)

|kolondoq |bagu|<sup>a</sup>[najampaq ku]<sup>a</sup>.  
 |P:there-is-not|Mod |T/S:[Psf:encountered/pt S:I]  
 "There were no (people who) were encountered by me."

## 29.1 QtC

|koon |kunuq|nu buayoy-i.  
 |P:thus|Qt |S man the  
 Thus spoke the man.

## 30.1 DefC

|kalo|alia|rirun |ra,  
 |Neg |Mod |?:thou|Co  
 "Did (I) not (say so) to you, when

30.2 AN-PVC9<sub>rf</sub>

|balaiq |tokow,  
|Prf:inform|S:I + T/R:thou  
I told you,

30.3 PVC2<sub>sf</sub>

|kalo|nangkirongog |kow |ra ragu kuli.  
|Neg |Psf:pay-attention/pt|T/S:thou|A speech Po:I-the  
You didn't pay attention to my words.

## 31.1 IdClB

|ba, |ginio,|am  
|well|P:that|Co  
Well, (if) (it) is that (i.e. if that's the case), then

31.2 PVC7<sub>of</sub>

|anduon |mu |ak |i aliq-ti.  
|Pof:marry/ft|S:thou|Mod|T/O Younger-Sibling the  
you'll just have to marry Younger Sibling here.

32.1 PVC2<sub>sf</sub>

|muliq |aku |no |bagu.  
|Psf:go-home/ft|T/S:I|Mod|Mod  
I 'm going home now."

33.1 QtC (embedded: a. N-PPC2A<sub>sf</sub>)

|koon |kunuq|nu ruanduq<sup>a</sup>[lusungon]<sup>a</sup>-ti.  
|P:thus|Qt |S woman At:[Psf:have-ringworm/ft] the  
Thus spoke the woman (who) had ringworm.

34.1 AN-PVC2<sub>sf</sub>

|ugar |io |no |bagu.  
|Psf:travel|T/S:she|Mod|Mod  
Then she set off.

35.1 Conj:AN-PVC4<sub>sf</sub>+PVC8<sub>sf</sub> (embedded: a. N-PVCl<sub>af</sub>; b. Sub-PVC8<sub>sf</sub>;  
c. N-PPC2A<sub>sf</sub>)

|gitio |am|mansawo-rati, |pampulaliq|ilo |bagu  
 |Tm:his|Co|Th:husband-and-wife the(pl)|Psf:hasten|T/S:they|Mod  
 |pambaal |ra kalukub ra <sup>a</sup>[inayanan nilo ra buoy  
 |Psf:make|O shelter At [Paf:dwel/pt S:they Tm length-of-time  
<sup>b</sup>[mambaal ra baloy <sup>c</sup>[maayo]<sup>c</sup>]<sup>b</sup>]<sup>a</sup>  
 At:[Psf:make/ft O house At:[Psf:big/ft]]]

At this time, as for the husband and wife, **they** hastened to build a shelter where they would live during the time (that) **(they)** were building a house (which) was big.

### 36.1 AN-PPC2A<sub>sf</sub>

|kabuoy |bagu|kunuq,  
 |Psf:long-time|Mod |Qt  
 (When) **(it)** was some time later,

### 36.2 AN-PVC3<sub>sf</sub>

|paganak |ilo |no |bagu,  
 |Psf:give-birth|T/S:they|Mod|Mod  
**they** had children,

### 36.3 IdC1A

|rondoq unγκuyon am rondoq ruandug|am,  
 |P:one male Co one female |Co  
**(they)** were one female and one male (child), and

### 36.4 Conj:PVC3<sub>of</sub>+PVC10<sub>rf</sub>

|ongoyon |nilo |kunuq|atariq |ra santamunungan.  
 |Pof:go/ft|S:they|Qt |Prf:escort|A another-headland  
 they went and escorted **(them)** (the children) to another headland.

### 37.1 PVC3<sub>sf</sub>

|ba, |maganak |poyo|kunuq|ragino,  
 |well|Psf:give-birth/ft|Mod |Qt |Tm:that  
 Well, **(they)** had more children.

### 37.2 Conj:PVC3<sub>of</sub>+PVC10<sub>rf</sub>

|ongoyon |nilo |kunuq|atariq |ra santamunungan.  
 |Pof:go/ft|S:they|Qt |Prf:escort|A another-headland  
 they went and escorted **(them)** to another headland.





bitten all over (18-20). In the morning he is dead, and the girl admonishes him for not listening to her (21-27). A second man who is out hunting happens upon the house, and the girl repeats her warning to him (28-33). The man heeds the warning and makes a large fishtrap, which he sets up in the doorway of the house (34-35). At night, all the mosquitoes fly into the trap and cannot escape (36-37). The next morning, the man decides against drowning the insects in the river, since their poison would make the water itchy, and burns them instead (38-42). And that is why the present-day mosquitoes are so small: they are the ashes of the old mosquitoes (43).

### 1.1 PPC2A<sub>Sf</sub>

|galing-i |kunuq,|namuk-ti, |maayo |ra tutunungon,  
 |Tm:before the|Qt |Th:mosquito the|Psf:big/ft|Aff story  
 'In the old days, as for the mosquitoes, (they) were big, according  
 to the stories,

### 1.2 Conj:IdClA+PPC2A<sub>Sf</sub>

|koston ra limbukon|kaayo.  
 |P:like At pigeon |Psf:big  
 (they) were like pigeons in bigness.

### 2.1 ExCl

|adaq |kunuq|buayoy-i,  
 |P:there-is|Qt |T/S:man the  
 There was a man,

### 2.2 AN-PVCl<sub>Sf</sub>

|pampalulaq|io |kunuq.  
 |Psf:hunt |T/S:he|Qt  
 (he) was on a hunting trip.

### 3.1 IPClA (reduplicated)

|ugar-ugar |io |kunuq,|ugar-ugar,  
 |P:travelling|T/S:he|Qt |P:travelling  
 (He) walked and walked and walked,

### 3.2 ExCl (embedded: a. N-PPC2B<sub>Sf</sub>)

|koondoq |<sup>a</sup>[moowot]<sup>a</sup>.  
 |P:there-is-not|T/S:[Psf:found/ft]  
 There was not (anything) to be found.

## 4.1 IPC1A

|bujak-bujak|kunuq|baloy patirolos.  
 |P:emerging|Qt |T/S:house At:large-longhouse  
A large longhouse gradually emerged (into sight).

5.1 AN-PVC2<sub>sf</sub>

|pagaloy |io |kunuq|ra gili,  
 |Psf:go-up|T/S:he|Qt |Tm that  
 (When) he went up (into the house) at that time,

## 5.2 ExC1

|koondoq |ulun.  
 |P:there-is-not|T/S:person  
 there were no people.

## 6.1 ExC2

|makaulun |kia|baloy-ti.  
 |P:there-is-person|Mod|T/S:house the  
 "Is there anyone in the house?"

## 7.1 QtC

|koon |kunuq.  
 |P:thus|Qt  
 Thus (he) spoke.

## 8.1 IdC1B

|aku,  
 |P:I  
 "(It) is I,

## 8.2 IdC1A

|rondoq|aku |ak.  
 |P:one |T/S:I|Mod  
I am alone.

9.1 PVCl<sub>sf</sub>

|rangan kurali |am|minatoy |ngai-ngaiq,  
 |Th:companion Po:I-the(pl)|Co|Psf:die/pt|T/S:all  
 As for my companions, all are dead,

9.2 PVC7<sub>Of</sub>

|inakan |ru namuk,  
|Pof:eat/pt|S mosquito  
(they) were eaten by mosquitoes,

9.3 PVC10<sub>rf</sub>

|iniitan |ru namuk-ti.  
|Prf:bite/pt|S mosquito the  
(they) were bitten by the mosquitoes."

## 10.1 QtC

|koon |kunuq|nu rala-i.  
|P:thus|Qt |S maid the  
Thus spoke the young woman.

11.1 PPC2A<sub>Sf</sub>

|ka|moorow |kunuq,  
|Co|Psf:sunny/ft|Qt  
"But (when) (it) is sunny,

## 11.2 ExC1

|koondoq |bo |namuk-rali.  
|P:there-is-not|Mod|T/S:mosquito the(pl)  
there are no mosquitoes.

12.1 PVClA<sub>Sf</sub>

|bilaaq|kunuq|lumondom-galing,  
|when |Qt |Psf:grow-dark-before/ft  
When (it) starts getting dark,

12.2 PVC2<sub>Sf</sub> (embedded: a. N-Conj:IdClA+PPC2A<sub>Sf</sub>)

|baruq |matong |namuk-rali ra<sup>a</sup>[koson ra limbukon kaayo]<sup>a</sup>.  
|Adj:then|Psf:come/ft|T/S:mosquito the(pl) At [P:like At pigeon Psf:big]  
only then will come the mosquitoes that are as big as pigeons.

## 13.1 IdClA

|londom |ni |bo |kunuq|raiti,  
|P:darkness|Mod|Mod|Qt |Tm:this  
(When) (it) is darkness presently,

13.2 AI-PVC2<sub>sf</sub>

|subol |ra tunturing-ti.  
|Psf:go-in|A ricebin the  
get into the ricebin.

14.1 PPC2A<sub>sf</sub>

|kalo|main-main|suang-suang nu namuk-ti.  
|Neg |P:trivial|T/S:quantity Po mosquito the  
The number of mosquitoes is not trivial (i.e. there are thousands of  
them).

15.1 PVCl<sub>sf</sub>

|aku |am|timinutup |aku |ak |ra tunturing-ti.  
|Th:I|Co|Psf:shut-self/pt|T/S:I|Mod|Si ricebin the  
As for me, I just shut myself up in the ricebin."

## 16.1 QtC

|koon |kunuq|nu rala-i.  
|P:thus|Qt |S maid the  
Thus spoke the young woman.

17.1 PVCl<sub>sf</sub>

|kalo-ss. |magigor |tupo-ss|raiti-ss.  
|Neg |Psf:fidget/ft|Mod |Si:here  
"No, (I) 'll just fidget here."

18.1 NFPCl (embedded: a. Sub-PVClA<sub>sf</sub>; b. N-IdClA)

|ba, |<sup>a</sup>[io kunuq lumondom-galing]<sup>a</sup>, |am|ngoongolor|kunuq  
|well|Tm:[T/S:it Qt Psf:grow-dark-before]|Co|P:buzz |Qt  
|nu namuk ra <sup>b</sup>[koston ra limbukon]<sup>b</sup>.  
|S mosquito At [P:like At pigeon]  
Well, when it grew dark, the mosquitoes that were like pigeons  
buzzed and buzzed.

19.1 PPC2A<sub>sf</sub>

|papak |kunuq|baloy |ra namuk.  
|Psf:chock-full|Qt |T/S:house|Aff mosquito  
The house was chock-full of mosquitoes.

20.1 PPC1B<sub>sf</sub>

|ba, |kalo|bo |nakaimbuor |buayoy-i,  
 |well|Neg |Mod|Psf:move/pt|T/S:man the  
 Well, then the man didn't move,

## 20.2 IPC1A (reduplicated)

|gino |bo |kunuq|iit-iit |namuk-rali, |iit-iit.  
 |Tm:that|Mod|Qt |P:biting|T/S:mosquito the(pl)|P:biting  
 so then the mosquitoes bit and bit and bit.

## 21.1 IdC1A (embedded: a. Sub-IdC1A)

|tawang |pi |bo |kunuq|ra<sup>a</sup>[io suabon]<sup>a</sup>,  
 |P:light|Mod|Mod|Qt |Tm [T/S:it P:dawn]  
 (When) (it) was daylight when it dawned,

21.2 PVC1<sub>sf</sub>

|minatoy |ni |bo |kunuq|buayoy-i.  
 |Psf:die/pt|Mod|Mod|Qt |T/S:man the  
the man was dead.

## 22.1 IdC1B

|aa,|gino |nga|rirun,  
 |ah |P:that|Mod|Aff:thou  
 "Ah, so much for you,

22.2 PVC1<sub>sf</sub> (embedded: a. Sub-PVC3<sub>sf</sub>)

|kalo|mangkirongog |kow |ra<sup>a</sup>[aku mindagu]<sup>a</sup>.  
 |Neg |Psf:pay-attention/ft|T/S:thou|Tm [T/S:I Psf:speak/ft]  
you wouldn't pay attention when I spoke.

23.1 PPC2A<sub>sf</sub>

|masuang |namuk-ti |am,  
 |Psf:many/ft|T/S:mosquito the|Co  
 ' The mosquitoes are numerous, and

23.2 PPC2A<sub>sf</sub>

|mangaayo.  
 |Psf:all-big/ft  
(they) are all big.'

## 24.1 QtC

|kaku |ni |tupo|rirun.  
 |P:thus + S:I|Mod|Mod |A:thou  
 Thus I spoke to you."

## 25.1 QtC

koon kunuq nu rala*-i*.  
 P:thus Qt S maid the  
 Thus spoke the maid.

26.1 AN-PPC2A<sub>sf</sub>

|ba, |kabuoy |kunuq|ra gili|am,  
 |well|Psf:long-time|Qt |Tm that|Co  
 Well, (when) (it) was after that, then

## 26.2 IdC2

|atan |pi |bo.  
 |P:what|Mod|Mod  
 what more (could be done)?

27.1 PVCl<sub>sf</sub> (embedded: a. Sub-PVCl0<sub>rf</sub>)

|minatoy |ni |bo |buayoy-i |<sup>a</sup>[iniitan]<sup>a</sup>.  
 |Psf:die/pt|Mod|Mod|T/S:man the|Rn:[Prf:bite/pt]  
The man was dead because (he) had been bitten.

28.1 ExCl (embedded: a. N-PVCl<sub>sf</sub>)

|adaq |pi |kunuq|ra gili|<sup>a</sup>[nampalulaq]<sup>a</sup>.  
 |P:there-is|Mod|Qt |Tm that|T/S:[Psf:hunt/pt]  
 There was at that time another (one who) was hunting.

29.1 AN-PPClB<sub>sf</sub> (embedded: a. N-ExC2)

|pakajanjang|io |po |kunuq  
 |P:come-upon|T/S:he|Mod|Qt  
 |ra intok nu namuk-i, baloy ra <sup>a</sup>[makanamuk ra gili]<sup>a</sup>.  
 |A place Po mosquito the Ap:house At [P:there-is-mosquito Tm that]  
He happened upon the place of the mosquitoes, the house where there  
 were mosquitoes at that time.

30.1 AN-PVC3<sub>sf</sub>

|indagu |kunuq|rait i |ralaa-i,  
 |P:speak|Qt |Tm:this|T/S:maid the  
The woman then spoke (to him),

31.1 PPC3B<sub>sf</sub> (embedded: a. N-PVC1<sub>sf</sub>; b. Sub-PVC10<sub>rf</sub>)

|mainunuran |mu |ak  
 |Psf:imitated/ft|S:thou|Mod  
 |buayoy ra gili<sup>a</sup>[minatoy<sup>b</sup>[iniitan ru namuk]<sup>b</sup>]<sup>a</sup>.  
 |T/S:man At that At:[Psf:die/pt Rn:[Prf:bite/pt S mosquito]]  
 "You will end up like that man who died because (he) was bitten by mosquitoes."

32.1 AI-Conj:PVC2<sub>sf</sub>+PVC2<sub>sf</sub>

|ongoy |subol |ra lunggaw-no.  
 |Psf:go|Psf:go-in|A lunggaw the  
 Go and get into the lunggaw (a large earthenware jar)."

## 33.1 QtC

|koon |kunuq  
 |P:thus|Qt  
 Thus (she) spoke.

34.1 AN-PVC1<sub>sf</sub>

|pangkirongog |kunuq|buayoy-i,  
 |Psf:pay-attention|Qt |T/S:man the  
The man paid attention,

34.2 AN-PVC8<sub>sf</sub>

|pambaal |bo |ra saluir.  
 |Psf:make|Mod|O fishtrap  
 then (he) made a fishtrap.

35.1 AN-PVC8<sub>sf</sub>

|pambaal |ra saluir |buayoy-i,  
 |Psf:make|O fishtrap|T/S:man the  
 (When) the man had made a fishtrap,

35.2 AN-PVC8<sub>rf</sub>

|taaniq |kunuq|kulobon-i.  
 |Prf:set-up|Qt |T/R:doorway the  
 (he) set (it) up in the doorway.

36.1 NFPC1 (embedded: a. Sub-PVCL1<sub>sf</sub>)

|sururubol|kunuq|bagu|nu namuk |ra<sup>a</sup>[io liminondom-galing]<sup>a</sup>.  
 |P:rush-in|Qt |Mod |S mosquito|Tm [T/S:it Psf:grow-dark-before/pt]  
 Then the mosquitoes all swarmed in when it grew dark.

37.1 AN-Conj:PPC2B<sub>sf</sub>+PPC1B<sub>sf</sub> (embedded: a. N-PPC2A<sub>sf</sub>)

|kakaiq |ni |kunuq|pakasubol |ra gili  
 |Psf:finished|Mod|Qt |Psf:gone-in|A that  
 |namuk ra giall <sup>a</sup>[mangaayo]<sup>a</sup>-i.  
 |T/S:mosquito At those At:[Psf:all-big]the  
Those mosquitoes (that) were all huge were finished going into that  
 (fishtrap) (i.e. every single one went in).

## 38.1 IdCLA (embedded: a. Sub-IdCLA)

|tawang |bo |ra [io susuab] ,  
 |P:light|Mod|Tm:[T/S:it P:morning]  
 (When) (it) was light when it was morning,

38.2 AN-PVC4<sub>rf</sub>

|ilaiq |kunuq,  
 |Prf:look-at|Qt  
 (he) looked at (them),

38.3 PVCL<sub>sf</sub>

|gumisosol |ni |bagu|ra saluir |namuk-ti.  
 |Psf:swarm/ft|Mod|Mod |Si fishtrap|T/S:mosquito the  
 (and) the mosquitoes were swarming around in the fishtrap.

39.1 Conj:PVC3<sub>of</sub>+SVCL<sub>of</sub>

|ongoyon |no |raan|paabugoq |ra timug|ka,  
 |Pof:go/ft|S:he|Mod |Pof:cause-soak|A water |Co  
 He was going to plunge (them) into water, but



39.2 PPC2A<sub>Sf</sub>

|maatol |timug.  
 |Psf:itchy/ft|T/S:water  
the water would be itchy.

40.1 Conj:PPC2A<sub>Sf</sub>+PVC7A<sub>Of</sub>

|moonsoy |pi |kaumpoon.  
 |Psf:good/ft|Mod|Pof:allow-fall-in-fire/ft  
 " (They) would be better thrown into the fire."

## 41.1 QtC

|koon |kunuq.  
 |P:thus|Qt  
 Thus (he) spoke.

42.1 AN-PVC7<sub>Of</sub>

|soloboq |nilo |bo |namuk-i.  
 |Pof:burn|S:they|Mod|T/O:mosquito the  
 Then they burnt the mosquitoes.

43.1 IdClB (embedded: a. Sub-PPC2A<sub>Sf</sub>)

|gitio |bo |ra namuk-ti |ra<sup>a</sup> [io boborok]<sup>a</sup>,  
 |P:this|Mod|Aff mosquito the|Rn[T/S:it Psf:small/ft]  
(It) is this, then, with respect to the mosquito that it is small  
 (i.e. this is why the mosquito is small),

## 43.2 IdClA

|kau nali |kunuq|ra tunung. nu tuuq-lair-rali ramon.  
 |P:ash Po:it-the|Qt |Aff story-telling Po old-man the(pl) At:we(ex)  
(it) is its ash, according to the story-telling of the old men to  
 us.'

## 9.3 A CONVERSATION

The following text is an extract from a conversation between two men (here referred to as 'A' and 'B'). It differs most noticeably from the two preceding texts in containing a high proportion of loanwords (mainly from Malay) and in making greater use of the shortened forms of Modifiers such as bagu (bo) and ayuk (ak). Some examples of loanwords are:

kaakadang 'sometimes' (from Malay kadang-kadang) in B6.1;  
 numbur satu 'first, most important' (from Malay nombor satu 'number  
 one') in B8.1 onwards;  
 taim 'time (for doing something)' (from English time) in B26.3;  
 ari-ari 'always' (from Malay hari-hari 'every day' in A46.1.

The author was, of course, present during this conversation, and many remarks, particularly those including the word tuan, are addressed to him.

The letters A and B are prefixed to the sentence-clause number to indicate the speaker.

The extract opens with a description of the sago-palm and its uses (A1-A7). 'B' outlines the most important of its products as being firstly the fronds and the pith (collected for roofing material and food respectively), secondly the wide part of the midrib of the leaf (used for walls), and thirdly the narrow part of the midrib (used for floors) (B8-B13). Moreover, the young leaves harbour sago-palm grubs, which are a delicacy (B14-B16). 'B' is reminded of a story in which the sago-palm and the riceplant had an argument about which was the more useful. The riceplant lost the argument, because it has only one useful product (its grain), though coarse rice-flour can be used as chicken-feed and brooms can be made from the straw (B17-B23). This in turn reminds 'B' of the story about the moon being worsted in a similar dispute with the sun, since man can work when the sun is in the sky, but the only function of the moon is to show that it is bedtime (B24-A27). 'B' tells the story about the sago-palm and the riceplant that he referred to earlier (B28-B40). 'A' remarks that there were many such stories in the old days, but that they are all being forgotten because the ancestors could not commit them to writing and because modern life offers fewer opportunities for story-telling sessions (A41-end).

A1.1 PPC3B<sub>sf</sub>

|malagawan |ni |bo |ragino,  
 |Psf:trampled/ft|Mod|Mod|Tm:now  
 "(When) (it) (the sago-palm) has been trampled now,

A1.2 IdC1B (embedded: a. N-IdC1A; b. N-PVC7<sub>of</sub>)

|ondoq {bo }<sup>a</sup>[natok nano]<sup>a</sup>, |gitio |bo  
 Th:that-which{Mod}At:[P:pith PO:he-the] P:this Mod  
 |<sup>b</sup>[akanon may]<sup>b</sup>.  
 |T/S:[Pof:eat/ft S:we(ex)]

as for that which is its pith, this is (what) we eat."

B2.1 PVC8<sub>of</sub> (embedded: a. N-IdClA)

|indaq,|baalon |bo |ra ambiat ra <sup>a</sup>[koson ra anu natok ru mundok]<sup>a</sup>.  
 |yes |Pof:make/ft|Mod|Aff sago At [P:like At whats-it pith Po cassava  
 "That's right, (it) is made into sago (which) is like whats-it...  
 cassava-pith."

A3.1 PPC2A<sub>sf</sub>

|indaq|tupo,|tapi|io-ti, |maitom |koborok.  
 |yes |Mod |but |Th:he the|Psf:black/ft|Adj:slightly  
 "That's right, but as for it (i.e. the pith of the sago-palm), (it) is  
 a little darker."

B4.1 PPC2A<sub>sf</sub>

|maitom.  
 |Psf:black/ft  
 "(It) is darker."

A5.1 PPC2A<sub>sf</sub>

|anu ru mundok |am|mapulak |tupo.  
 |Th:whats-it Po cassava|Co|Psf:white/ft|Mod  
 "As for the whats-it of cassava, (it) 's white, of course."

B6.1 PPC2A<sub>sf</sub>

|tapi|kaakadang |maliaq.  
 |but |Adj:sometimes|Psf:red/ft  
 "But (it) 's sometimes red."

A7.1 PPC2A<sub>sf</sub>

|iow,|kaakadang |maliaq.  
 |yes |Adj:sometimes|Psf:red/ft  
 "Yes, (it) 's sometimes red."

B8.1 IdClB (embedded: a. N-PPClA<sub>af</sub>; b. N-IdClA)

|tapi,|tuan |<sup>a</sup>[kagunaan ra lumbio-ti]<sup>a</sup>, |aa,  
 |but |V:tuan|Th:[Paf:use/ft O sago-palm the]|er  
 |<sup>b</sup>[numbur satu]<sup>b</sup>, |natok nano.  
 |Th:[P:number one]|P:pith Po:it-the

"But, tuan, as for (that for which) the sago-palm can be used, er, as  
 for (that which) is first, (it) is its pith."

## 89.1 IdClB (interrupted) (embedded: a. N-IdClA)

|<sup>a</sup>[numbur dua]<sup>a</sup>,...

|Th:[P:number two]

*As for (that which) is second,...*

## 810.1 IdClB (embedded: a. N-IdClA)

|raun-no |<sup>a</sup>[numbur satu]<sup>a</sup>,

|P:leaf the|T/S:[P:number one]

*(That which) is first is the leaves,*

## 810.2 IdClB (embedded: a. N-IdClA)

|natok sama raun nano, |ruuruo|<sup>a</sup>[numbur satu]<sup>a</sup>.

|Th:pith Co leaf Po:it-the|P:two |T/S:[P:number one]

*as for its pith and its leaves, (that which) is first is both (of them).*

## 89.1 IdClB (resumed) (embedded: a. N-IdClA)

|<sup>a</sup>[numbur dua]<sup>a</sup>, |aa,|papaq nano.

|Th:[P:number two]|er |P:midrib Po:it-the

*As for (that which) is second, er, (it) is its lower midrib.*811.1 PVC8<sub>of</sub>

|aa,|alapon |ginio, |tuan,

|er |Pof:take/ft|T/O:that|V:tuan

*Er, that is collected, tuan,*811.2 PVC7<sub>of</sub>

|lapakon, |am

|Pof:split/ft|Co

*(it) is split, and*811.3 PVC8<sub>of</sub>

|baalon |ra rinding.

|Pof:make/ft|Aff wall

*(it) is made into walls.*

## 812.1 IdClB (embedded: a. N-IdClA)

|aa,|<sup>a</sup>[numbur tiga]<sup>a</sup>, |luno nano.

|er |Th:[P:number three]|P:midrib Po:it-the

*Er, as for (that which) is third, (it) is its upper midrib.*

## B13.1 ExC1

|kolondoq |sulig,  
 |P:there-is-not|T/S:flooring  
 (If) there is no flooring (i.e. if you have no bamboo to make floors with),

B13.2 Conj:PPC2A<sub>Sf</sub>+PVC8<sub>Of</sub>

|mabuli |alapon |ra sulig.  
 |Psf:permitted/ft|Pof:take/ft|Aff floor  
(it) can be taken (and used) as flooring.

## B14.1 ExC2

|aa,|ginio {pana}untu nano, |tuan,  
 |er |Th:that{Mod }Ap:young-foliage Po:it-the|V:tuan  
 |makaputor.  
 |P: there-is-sago-palm-grub  
 Er, as for that also, its young foliage, tuan, (it) has sago-palm grubs.

## B15.1 QtC

|akay, |'putor' |kamay,  
 |Th:we(ex)|sago-palm-grub|P:thus+S:we(ex)  
 As for us, we say 'putor',

## B15.2 IdC1A

|koston ra giuk.  
 |P:like At maggot  
(It) 's like a maggot.

B16.1 PVC7<sub>Of</sub>

|akanon |may |ginio, |tuan,  
 |Pof:eat/ft|S:we(ex)|T/O:that|V:tuan  
 We eat that, tuan,

B16.2 PPC2A<sub>Sf</sub>

|moonsoy.  
 |Psf:good/ft  
(it) 's good.

B17.1 DefC+PVC5<sub>Sf</sub>

|atan |ra,|lumbio-ti |kunuq,|nansangor  
 |P:what|Co |Th:sago-palm the|Qt |Psf:quarrel-with-e.o.

|ilo ra bilor,  
 |T/S:they At rice

*Which is why, as for the sago-palm, they say, (when) it and the rice-  
plant quarrelled with each other,*

B17.2 PPC2B<sub>Sf</sub>

|maala |bilor.  
 |Psf:lose/ft|T/S:riceplant  
the riceplant lost.

B18.1 IdClA (embedded: a. N-PPClB<sub>af</sub>)

|<sup>a</sup>[kaalaan ru bilor]<sup>a</sup>,|tuan, |io |tupo,|rondoq|ak  
 |Th:[Paf:lose/ft S rice] |V:tuan|Th:it|Mod |P:one |Mod  
 |akanon no,  
 |T/S:food Po:it

*As for (the reason that) the riceplant lost, tuan, as for it, of  
 course, its food is only one (thing) (i.e. it has only one thing  
 that can be used as food),*

## B18.2 IdClA

|bagas.  
 |P:grain  
(it) is grain.

B19.1 PPC2B<sub>Sf</sub>

|apol-apol,|kalo|maalap.  
 |Th:chaff |Neg |Psf:taken/ft  
 As for the chaff, (it) can't be taken (i.e. used).

## B20.1 ExCl

|adaq |pun|ginio, mumuk nano,  
 |P:there-is|Mod|T/S:that Ap:coarse-flour Po:it-the  
 But there is that, its coarse flour,

## 820.1 IdC1A

|upan {ginio }nu manuk.  
 |P:bait{T/S:that}Po chicken  
that is (used as) chicken-feed.

821.1 ExC1 (embedded: a. N-PPC2A<sub>sf</sub>; b. N-PPC2A<sub>sf</sub>)

|apol<sup>a</sup> [toojo]<sup>a</sup> nall {pi }ra<sup>b</sup> [masalag]<sup>b</sup>,  
 |Th:chaff At:[Psf:real] Po:it-the{Mod}At:[Psf:coarse/ft]  
 |kolondoq |bo |guugunaq ra gill,  
 |P:there-is-not|Mod|T/S:use At that  
 As for its real chaff which is coarse, there are no uses for that,

821.2 PVC10<sub>rf</sub>

|patirin |ak.  
 |Prf:throw-away/ft|Mod  
(it) is just thrown away.

822.1 IdC1A (embedded: a. N-PVC2<sub>af</sub>)

|anu nali {pana,}rami, {tuan, }  
 |Th:whats-it Po:it-the{Mod }Ap:straw{V:tuan}  
<sup>a</sup>[takanan ru kawaq ru bilor-i]<sup>a</sup>,|gagalus|ginio.  
 Ap:[Paf:join-on/ft S fruit Po rice the] |P:broom|T/S:that  
 As for its whats-it, also,... straw, tuan, the (place where) the rice-ears join on (to the stalk), that is (used as) a broom.

823.1 PVC5<sub>sf</sub>

|jadi,|mansangor |ilo {ra gitio}lumbio-ti am bilor,  
 |so |Psf:quarrel-with-e.o.|T/S:they{Tm this }Ap:sago-palm the Co rice  
 So, (when) they, the sago-palm and the riceplant quarrelled with each  
 other on this occasion (or, about this matter),

823.2 PPC2B<sub>sf</sub>

|maala |bilor  
 |Psf:lose/ft|T/S:rice  
the riceplant lost.

B24.1 DefC+PVC5<sub>sf</sub>

|atan |ra,|tutunungon ramon ra galing-i, |mansangor  
|P:what|Co |Th:story At:we(ex) Tm before the|Psf:quarrel-with-e.o.

|orow am bulan,  
|T/S:day Co moon

What's more, according to the stories (told) to us in the old days,  
(when) the sun and the moon quarrel with each other,

B24.2 PPC2B<sub>sf</sub>

|maala |bulan.  
|Psf:lose/ft|T/S:moon  
the moon loses.

B25.1 PPC2A<sub>sf</sub>

|ba, |mamanang |tupo|mato nu orow-ti |ra,  
|well|Psf:win/ft|Mod |T/S:eye Po day the|Co  
Well, of course the sun wins, because

B25.2 PVC1<sub>sf</sub>

|bilaq|sumirang |mato nu orow-no,  
|when |Psf:rise/ft|T/S:eye Po day the  
when the sun rises,

B25.3 Conj:PPC2A<sub>sf</sub>+PVC6<sub>sf</sub>

|mabuli |akay |mangandoy.  
|Psf:permitted/ft|T/S:we(ex)|Psf:work/ft  
we can work.

B26.1 PPC2A<sub>sf</sub>

|bilaq|molondom,  
|when |Psf:dark/ft  
When (it) is dark,

B26.2 IdC1B (embedded: a. N-PPC1A<sub>af</sub>)

|ba, |gili |ak |<sup>a</sup>[kagunaan riso]<sup>a</sup>-i |ra,  
|well|P:that|Mod|T/S:[Paf:use/ft O:it] the|Co  
well, the only use for it (the moon) is that, (to show) that



B26.3 ExC2 (embedded: a. Sub-PVC4<sub>sf</sub>)

|makataim ra<sup>a</sup>[mombolong]<sup>a</sup>.  
 |P:there-is-time At [Psf:sleep/ft]  
 it is time for (us) to sleep."

## A27.1 IdC1A

|tapl,|tutunungon ru galing-i|ginio.  
 |but |P:story PO before the |T/S:that  
 "But that 's a story from the old days."

B28.1 IdC1A (embedded: a. Sub-PVC5<sub>sf</sub>)

|ba, |gitio {pana}, lumbio-ti,  
 |well|Th:this{Mod } Ap:sago-palm the  
 ra<sup>a</sup>[ilo nansangor ra bilor]<sup>a</sup>,|tutunungon|ni |ayuk  
 At [T/S:they Psf:quarrelled-with-e.o. At rice] |P:story |Mod|Mod  
 |ginio.  
 |T/S:that

"Well, this also, the sago-palm, when it and the riceplant quarrelled  
 with each other, that 's a story too.

## B29.1 QtC

|koon |kunuq|nu lumbio,  
 |P:thus|Qt |S sago-palm  
 Thus, they say, spoke the sago-palm,

B30.1 IdC2 (embedded: a. N-PPC1B<sub>af</sub>)

|atan |<sup>a</sup>[kagunaan rirun]<sup>a</sup>.  
 |P:what|T/S:[Paf:use/ft O:thou]  
 'What are the uses for you?'

B31.1 QtC (embedded: a. Sub-PVC9<sub>sf</sub>)

|koon |ra<sup>a</sup>[io nangkuot ra bilor]<sup>a</sup>.  
 |P:thus|Tm [T/S:it Psf:ask/pt R rice]  
 Thus (it) spoke when it asked the riceplant.

B32.1 PVC8<sub>of</sub> (embedded: a. N-PPC1B<sub>af</sub>)

|aku, [33.1],|<sup>a</sup>[kagunaan {pi } rakiq]<sup>a</sup>,|aa,|ansakon |aku  
 |Th:I |Th:[Paf:use/ft {Mod} O:I |er |Pof:cook/ft|T/O:I

|ra llnagas,

|Aff rice-gruel

'As for me, [33.1], as for the uses for me, er, [I] am cooked (and made) into rice-gruel,

832.2 PVC7<sub>of</sub>

|akanon |aku.

|Pof:eat/ft|T/O:I

[I] am eaten.'

833.1 QtC (interpolated into 32.1)

|koon |kunuq.

|P:thus|Qt

Thus (it) spoke, they say.

834.1 QtC

|koon |kunuq|ru bilor.

|P:thus|Qt |S rice

Thus spoke the riceplant, they say.

835.1 IdC2 (embedded: a. N-PPClB<sub>af</sub>)

|okow, [36.1],|atan |<sup>a</sup>[kagunaan rirun]<sup>a</sup>.

|Th:thou |P:what|T/S:[Paf:use/ft O:thou]

'As for you, [36.1], what are the uses for you ?'

836.1 QtC (interpolated into 35.1)

|koon |kunuq|ru bilor.

|P:thus|Qt |S rice

Thus spoke the riceplant, they say.

837.1 QtC (embedded: a. Sub-PVC9<sub>sf</sub>)

|koon |ra <sup>a</sup>[io nangkuot ra lumbio]<sup>a</sup>.

|P:thus|Tm [T/S:it Psf:ask/pt R sago-palm]

Thus (it) spoke when it asked the sago-palm.

838.1 IdClA (embedded: a. N-PPClB<sub>af</sub>; b. N-PPC2A<sub>af</sub>)

|<sup>a</sup>[kagunaan {pi } rakiq]<sup>a</sup>,|natok kuno |pun|<sup>b</sup>[kaayagan]<sup>b</sup>,

|Th:[Paf:use/ft {Mod} O:I |Th:pith Po:I-the|Mod|P:[Paf:live/ft]

'As for the uses for me, as for my pith, (it) is (the thing on which) (people) live,

B38.2 PVC1<sub>sf</sub>

|raun kuno |pun,|sumindung |ko- |po |rakiq,  
 |Th:leaf Po:I-the|Mod |Psf:shelter/ft|T/S:thou|Mod|Si:I  
 and as for my leaves, you shelter under me,

B38.3 PPC2B<sub>sf</sub>

|papaq kutu |pun,|maalap |pi |ra rinding,  
 |Th:midrib Po:I-the|Mod |Psf:taken/ft|Mod|Aff wall  
 and as for my lower midrib, (it) is taken (and used) for walls,

B38.4 PPC2B<sub>sf</sub>

|luno kutu |pun,|maalap |pi |ra sulig.  
 |Th:midrib Po:I-the|Mod |Psf:taken/ft|Mod|Aff flooring  
 and as for my upper midrib, (it) is taken (and used) for flooring.'

## B39.1 QtC

|koon |kunuq|nu lumbio-ti.  
 |P:thus|Qt |S sago-palm the  
 Thus spoke the sago-palm, they say.

## B40.1 IdC1B

|gitio |bo |ra,  
 |P:this|Mod|Co  
(It) was this, then, that (i.e. this was why...)

B40.2 PVC4<sub>sf</sub>

|nantangiq |kunuq|bo |bilor-ti,  
 |Psf:weep/pt|Qt |Mod|T/S:rice the  
the riceplant wept, they say,

B40.3 IPC1A (embedded: a. Sub-PVC4<sub>sf</sub>)

|singut-singut|kunuq|ra <sup>a</sup>[io nantangiq]<sup>a</sup>  
 |P:sobbing |Qt |Tm [T/S:it Psf:weep/pt]  
 |ra tutunungon ru tuuq-lair-rali.  
 |Aff story Po old-man the(pl)  
(it) sobbed and sobbed, they say, as it wept, according to the  
 stories of the old men."

A41.1 PPC2A<sub>sf</sub>

|masuang |nga|tutunungon may |ra galing-i, |tuan,  
 |Psf:many/ft|Mod|T/S:story Po:we(ex)|Tm before the|V:tuan  
 " Our stories were many in the old days, you know, tuan,

A41.2 ExCl (embedded: a. N-PVC6<sub>af</sub>)

|tapi...,|tuuq-lair-rali...,|koondoq |nga  
 |but |Th:old-man the(pl)|P:there-is-not|Mod  
 |<sup>a</sup>[nambulian nilo]<sup>a</sup> |ra buuk.  
 |T/S:[Paf:keep/pt S:they]|Aff book

but..., as for the ancestors..., there were no (things in which) they could keep (them), namely books (i.e. they had no books in which to keep them).

A42.1 PPC2A<sub>sf</sub> (embedded: a. N-PPC3B<sub>af</sub>)

|aku,|masuang |<sup>a</sup>[kalilianan ku]<sup>a</sup>|raino |ra tutunungon.  
 |Th:I|Psf:many/ft|T/S:[Paf:forgotten/ft S:I]|Tm:now|Aff story  
 As for me, (those which) I have forgotten, namely stories, are many now.

A43.1 PPC2A<sub>sf</sub>

|aku,|galing-i, |masuang |ni |ayuk,  
 |Th:I|Tm:before the|Psf:many/ft|Mod|Mod  
 As for me, in the old days, (they) were quite numerous.

## A43.2 ExCl

|adaq |ni |ayuk|apat limo ngoopor tutunungon,  
 |P:there-is|Mod|Mod |T/S:four five tens story  
 there were probably forty or fifty stories,

A43.3 PPC3B<sub>sf</sub>

|tapi|malilianan |bagu.  
 |but |Psf:forgotten/ft|Mod  
 but (you) forget (them)."

B44.1 PPC3B<sub>sf</sub>

|malilianan!  
 |Psf:forgotten/ft  
 "(Yes,) (you) forget (them)!"

B45.1 DefC+IdC1B (embedded: a. N-PVC7<sub>af</sub>)

|paiq|ru|ginio |ak |<sup>a</sup>[pangingatan mu]<sup>a</sup>.

|Neg |Co|P:*that*|Mod|T/S:[Paf:*think*/ft S:*thou*]

*It's not as though that alone is (what) you must think about ."*

A46.1 PPC2B<sub>sf</sub>

|ari-ari |ilo |matutun |mu,

|Adj:*always*|T/S:*they*|Psf:*considered*/ft|S:*thou*

*"(If) you think about (them) often,*

A46.2 PPC2B<sub>sf</sub>, replaced by PPC3B<sub>sf</sub>

|baruq |mu |maanu... |kalo|malilianan.

|Adj:*then*|S:*thou*|Psf:*whats-it*/ft|Neg |Psf:*forgotten*/ft

*only then will you whats-it..., not forget (them) ."*

## CHAPTER 10

### OUTLINE STUDIES OF OTHER MURUT LANGUAGES

#### 10.0 INTRODUCTION

As its title implies, the final chapter of this work provides brief descriptions of other speech-forms in the Murut group. The descriptions are of necessity based on the detailed analysis of the Poros sub-dialect of Timugon already presented, except in the few cases where the structure of the speech-form being described does not permit this. The same terminology is used in the outline studies as was used in the Timugon grammar and attention is focused mainly on those features which exhibit differences with Timugon. A particular description is therefore not necessarily the one best suited to the speech-form under review.

The speech-forms are presented in an expanding frame of reference, beginning with the other subdialects of Timugon (10.1), continuing with other dialects of Lowland Murut (10.2), and concluding with other languages of the Murut group (10.3-5).

The introductory section of each outline begins with a list of other names (if any) by which the speech-form is or has been referred to. This is followed by information concerning its geographical location, the informant(s) from whom the material was obtained, and publications which contain data from the speech-form concerned. Place- and river-names are spelt as they appear on the latest maps of the area, and are accompanied on their first occurrence by a phonemicisation in the speech-form of the area, wherever this is possible.

The next section gives an account of the phonology, including an inventory of phonemes and a description of any distributional or allophonic features which differ significantly from the Timugon pattern.

This is followed by a section dealing with the morphology (and syntax) of the speech-form. Under this heading are subsumed descriptions of:

- A. characteristic features of verb-formation, phrase-structure and clause-structure;
- B. subclasses of demonstratives and determiners, arranged according to the same categories as the Timugon forms (q.v. 7.2.2.2, Table X);
- C. pronoun subclasses (cf. 7.2.2.3, Table XI);
- D. interrogative pronouns (cf. 4.3.2);
- E. interrogative adverbs (cf. 6.1.2).

The final section displays sample sentences taken from free and elicited texts. This has not been done for the subdialects of Timugon, however, since the great similarities with the material already presented do not warrant separate treatment. To facilitate comparison, the Timugon versions (written phonemically) of the commonest elicited sentences are given below.

- a) / |ati | [anayan mu-] -no. /  
 |P:where|T/S:[Paf:go/ft S:thou] the  
 'Where is the (place where) you are going?' (i.e. 'Where are you going?')
- b) / |sangilan|ulian mu]. /  
 |P:when |T/S:[Paf:go-home/ft S:thou]  
 'When is (the time when) you are going home?' (i.e. 'When are you going home?')
- c) / |sangilan|kow |suku?. /  
 |Adj:when|T/S:thou|Psf:arrive  
 'When did you arrive?'
- d) / |kua |pantaŋi?|kow. /  
 |Adj:why|Psf:cry |T/S:thou  
 'Why are you crying?'
- e) / |kua |pai?|kow |pambala?|daki?. /  
 |Adj:why|Neg |T/S:thou|Psf:tell|R:I  
 'Why didn't you tell me?'
- f) / |pai?|lambaa?|anak kutu. /  
 |Neg |Pof:hit|T/O:child Po:I-the  
 'Don't hit my child.'
- g) / |dumasam |poyo,|madada? |aku |mugad. /  
 |Psf:rain/ft|Mod |Psf:unwilling/ft|T/S:I|Psf:go/ft  
 '(If) (it) is raining, I don't want to go.'
- h) / |kalo|nakaugad |aku |da mai?-i, |da|nadualan |aku. /  
 |Neg |Psf:gone/pt|T/S:I|Tm evening the|Co|Psf:ill/pt|T/S:I  
 'I didn't go out yesterday, because I was ill.'

The accompanying map shows the geographical location of the Murut group of languages. It should be noted that language boundaries to the east and south are uncertain, since these areas could not be visited. Names of neighbouring language groups within the Ida'an family are shown thus: DUSUN.

## 10.1 SUBDIALECTS OF TIMUGON

As already mentioned in 1.1.2, the Timugon dialect of Lowland Murut can be divided into the following four subdialects:

A. The Poros subdialect, from which the materials presented and analysed in earlier chapters of this work were taken, is spoken in the neighbourhood of the township of Tenom /*tonom*/, i.e. on both sides of the Pegalan /*kapagalan*/ river up to and including the village of Lagut /*ilagud*/ (7 miles north of Tenom), and on the right bank of the Padas /*podos*/ river up to and including the village of Batu-Batu /*batu*/ (7 miles south of Tenom). The principal informant for this subdialect was W.K.K. Jimin bin Sanggah (aged about 50) of Mendalum Lama /*mandalom laid*/, though other inhabitants of this and neighbouring villages acted as informants from time to time. Apart from the author's own articles, the only material published in this subdialect is the 'Tenom Murut' list in Rutter [1929], though scattered lexical items are to be found in Woolley [1953b and 1962].

B. The Kapagalan subdialect is spoken immediately north of the Poros area, in a group of villages within 5 miles radius of Melalap /*malalap*/. The informant was James Alim (aged 22), a native of Melalap. Nothing has been published in this subdialect.

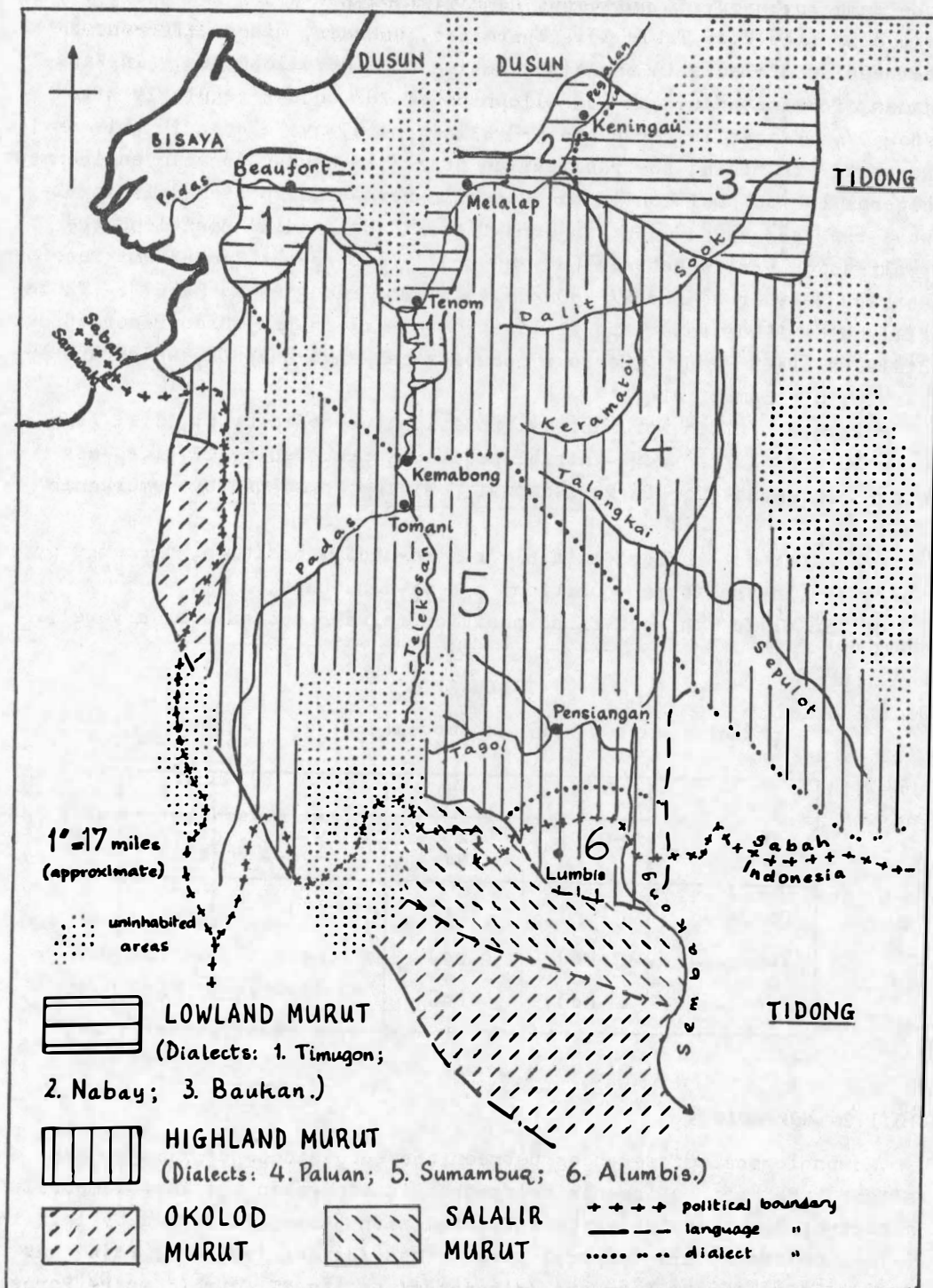
C. The Bintaq subdialect is spoken on the other (i.e. coastal) side of the Crocker Range from Poros and Kapagalan. It is confined mostly to the lowlands in the immediate vicinity of Beaufort /*buput*/, but extends up the Padas Gorge as far as Jimpangah /*gimpaŋo*/. The informant for this subdialect was Gandul (aged over 70), an inhabitant of Luagan /*luogon*/. It appears that the 'Murut Padas' list in Crespigny [1872] is mostly taken from Bintaq, although a number of words from other speech-forms (including even Lun Daya) have somehow been included.

D. The Bukow subdialect lies immediately to the south of the Bintaq area and is spoken on the lower reaches of the Bukau /*bukow*/ river. No first-hand data could be obtained from this subdialect.

### 10.1.1 PHONOLOGY

All three recorded subdialects (Poros, Kapagalan, and Bintaq) share





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the same inventory of phonemes, namely: /p t k ʔ b d g m n ŋ s j l y w i u o a/ (see 2.3 Table I). There are, however, minor differences between subdialects in the distribution of some allophones. In Kapagalan, for instance, the [d] allophone of /d/ occurs regularly after /b g ʔ/, whereas in Poros the [r] allophone always occurs in this environment. In Bintaq the realisation of /d/ in a post-vocalic environment depends on its position in the word: in word-final position it is always realised as [d], but in word-initial and -medial positions the realisation varies between [d] and [r]. Thus /aduŋ/ 'nose' was recorded as [áduŋ], whereas /aduʔ/ 'grandmother' was recorded as [áruʔ]. Table XIII below illustrates the realisation of /d/ in the three recorded subdialects of Timugon. The four phonological environments, which are arranged in columns, are:

- column 1: /d/ in word-initial position, preceded by C1 (i.e. /b g ʔ/);
- column 2: /d/ in word-initial position, preceded by C2 (i.e. any other consonant), or in word-medial position, preceded by homorganic /n/;
- column 3: /d/ in word-initial or word-medial position, preceded by a vowel or (in the former position) a semi-consonant;
- column 4: /d/ in word-final position (always preceded by a vowel).

TABLE XIII

*Realisation of /d/ in subdialects of Timugon*

	1	2	3	4
	-C1 d-	-C2 d- -Nd-	-V d- -Vd-	-Vd
<i>Poros</i>	[r]	[d]	[r]	[r]
<i>Kapagalan</i>	[d]	[d]	[r]	[r]
<i>Bintaq</i>	[d]	[d]	[d] or [r]	[d]

### 10.1.2 MORPHOLOGY

Morphological differences between the subdialects of Timugon are slight, the most noticeable being that in Kapagalan the Past Temporal aspect of Intransitive verbs inflected with [-um-] is formed by infixing {-in-} to the Future Temporal form. Thus /dasam/ 'there is rain' has /dumasam/ as its FT form and /dinumasam/ as its PT form (compare Poros, where the PT aspect is formed by substituting [-imin-] for [-um-]; 5.2.1.1.1). In this respect, Kapagalan is similar to the Nabay dialect,

its neighbour to the north-east (q.v. below).

There are some differences in the distribution of inflectional morphemes, and in vocabulary, as shown below:

1. *'T/S will be thirsty'*  
 Poros: /paason/ + /paas/ (pp2A<sub>-on\*</sub>)  
 Kapagalan: /mampaas/ + /paas/ (pv1<sub>mag-</sub>)  
 Bintaq: /matiinum/ + /inum/ (pv1<sub>mati-</sub>)
  
2. *'T/S will be many'*  
 Poros: /masuan/ + /suan/ (pp2A<sub>ma\*-</sub>)  
 Kapagalan: /maamu?/ + /amu?/ (pp2A<sub>ma\*-</sub>)  
 Bintaq: /mauli?/ + /uli?/ (pp2A<sub>ma\*-</sub>)
  
3. *'parang'*  
 Poros and Kapagalan: /kinandoy/  
 Bintaq: /daŋol/
  
4. *'ricebeer'*  
 Poros and Bintaq: /inasi/  
 Kapagalan: /tinapayan/

## 10.2 DIALECTS OF LOWLAND MURUT

Apart from Timugon, two other dialects of the Lowland Murut language are recognised. These are Nabay and Baukan, neither of which is as important (in terms of number of speakers) as Timugon.

### 10.2.1 THE NABAY DIALECT ('Nabai', 'Dabai', 'Keningau Murut')

The Nabay dialect is spoken along the valley of the Pegalan river and its right-bank tributaries in the vicinity of Keningau /kaniŋaw/. Information on this dialect was obtained from Mr Thomas Koroh, the District Officer at Tenom, who is a native of Keningau. A fairly extensive vocabulary of Nabay was collected (apparently from a subdialect diverging slightly from the one represented here) by Baboneau [1922], while a wordlist of 185 items appears in Rutter [1929].

#### 10.2.1.1 Phonology

The phonemes of Nabay are /p t k ʔ b d g m n ŋ s j l r y w i u o a/, that is, the same as in Timugon, with the addition of /r/.

It is uncertain whether a phoneme /\*ñ/ can be added to the inventory, since only one word (/piñawo/ 'breath, life' and its derivatives) has been found which may contain such a phoneme (see 2.4.3).

/b d g/ are realised as [b d g] in all environments.

/r/ and /l/ both correspond to /l/ in all other Murut speech-forms except the Baukan dialect of Lowland Murut (q.v. below). No instances have been found of /r/ occurring in word-final position, except in loan-words. The following quasi-minimal pairs established the phonemic independence of /r/, /l/ and /d/:

- /radu/ 'plough' versus /lado/ 'pepper'  
 /karindu?/ 'finger' versus /salindu/ 'fingernail'  
 /raŋit/ 'sandfly' versus /daŋan/ 'companion'  
 /turu?/ 'seven' versus /tuduŋ/ 'S sits down'

#### 10.2.1.2 Morphology

The Past Temporal aspect of [-um-] verbs is formed as in the Kapagan subdialect of Timugon, viz. by infixing {-in-} to the Future Temporal form (see 10.1.2).

The Demonstratives of Nabay are comparatively simple, as can be seen from Table XIV. As far as can be ascertained, there is only one subclass and three categories (corresponding to the Timugon categories A-C). Although there are two forms recorded in categories A and B, they appear to be free alternants, and no semantic or other difference could be found between them.

TABLE XIV

*Nabay demonstratives and determiners*

	DEMONSTRATIVES	DETERMINERS	
		<i>free</i>	<i>clitic</i>
A	/tala ~ gitu	itu	-tu
B	nala ~ gino	ino	-no
C	? ~ gila	?	-i/

The Determiners consist of a free series and a clitic series. The free series is used much more frequently than the Timugon equivalents, which are found only in formal speech. No evidence was found of the existence of a plural series of clitic determiners.

The pronouns of Nabay are shown in Table XV (on page 281).

The interrogative pronouns of Nabay are /soy/ 'who?', /atu/ 'which?/ what?/where?', /atok/ 'which one?' and /kuraq/ 'how much? / how many?'. The interrogative adverbs consist of /akia/ 'why?', which demands an Atemporal-Declarative clause (see 8.1.3), and /Inkura?/ 'how many times?'

and /sanggiran/. 'when?', both of which occur in Basic clause constructions when referring to the future and Atemporal-Declarative clauses when referring to the past, always with the permutation of the post-Predicate clitics described in 6.2.5 (rule 5B).

TABLE XV

## Nabay pronoun subclasses

	1	2	3	4
1	/aku	aku	ku	daki?
2	okow	kow	mu	diun
3	io	io	no	diso
12	ito	to	to	dito
122	itakaw	takaw	takaw	ditakaw
13(3)	akay	akay	may	? damon
22	akaw	kaw	muyun	damuyun
33	iro	iro	niro	disiro/

## 10.2.1.3 Examples

- 1) / |atu | [ulian mu]. /  
 |P:where, T/S:[Paf:go/ft S:thou]  
 'Where is (the place where) you are going?' (i.e. 'Where are you going?')
- 2) / |kaando? |kia|naran du susunoy gitu. /  
 |P:there-is-not|Mod|T/S:name PO river At:this  
 'Is there no name of this river?' (i.e. 'Has this river no name?')
- 3) / |akia |kai?|kow |pamara? |disiro|da gariᅇ-i. /  
 |Adj:why|Neg |T/S:thou|Psf:tell|R:they|Tm before the  
 'Why didn't you tell them before?'
- 4) / |akia |pantani?|kow. /  
 |Adj:why|Psf:cry |T/S:thou  
 'Why are you crying?'
- 5) / |kai?|kaduolo?|asu ino. /  
 |Neg |Pof:hurt|T/O:dog the  
 'Don't hurt the dog.'

- 6) / |atu |ŋaran du tala. /  
 |P:what|T/S:name Po this  
 'What is the name of this?'
- 7) / |maansiw |kapiro |baloy muno. /  
 |Psf:good/ft|Adj:really|T/S:house Po:thou-the  
 'Your house is very nice.'
- 8) / |magiloy |aku |da gambar niro. /  
 |Psf:look/ft|T/S:I|R picture Po:they  
 'I 'm looking at their pictures.'

### 10.2.2 THE BAUKAN DIALECT ('Bokan', 'Bokon', 'Boken', 'Ułun-no-Bokan')

Baukan is spoken in a small number of villages in the upper valley of the Sook /suuk/ river and its tributaries. The informant was Lingodow bin Ginadan, aged about 40, the son of the headman of Tulid /tulid/ village. Keith [1936] gives a list of terms dealing with natural history, collected from informants at the villages of Pauh /pau?/ and Tiong /tiun/.

#### 10.2.2.1 Phonology

The phoneme inventory of Baukan consists of /p t k ? b d g m n ŋ s l r y w i u o a/. It will be noted that the inventory is the same as that of Nabay, except that there is no /j/ phoneme. The absence of /j/ may, however, be merely a feature of the subdialect of Tulid (or possibly a recent development), since the word for *Macacus fascicularis* (*the macaque monkey*), which the present writer recorded in Tulid as /dabulow/, is listed in Keith [1936] as 'jabuloh' (i.e. /jabulow/, which is also the Timugon and Nabay form).

No evidence was found of the existence of a phoneme /\*ñ/.

/b d g/ are realised as [b d g] respectively in all environments.

In word-initial or -medial position, /s/ is optionally realised as either a palatal or an alveolar voiceless grooved fricative. Word-finally, it is always articulated in the alveolar region.

The glottal stop /ʔ/ is elided before a clitic pronoun or determiner, as in /ama? ku/ [ámaku] 'my father'.

The most noticeable phonological feature of Baukan is that the sequences /au/ and /ai/ (but not /aw/ and /ay/) are always realised as [ɔ:] and [e:] respectively. Any /a/ in the syllable immediately preceding such a sequence is reduced to [ə] or even (between identical consonants) elided altogether. Thus:

/gai?/ [ge:ʔ] 'evening'

/barain/ [bərə:n] 'S will inform T/R'

/liŋənit/ [liŋəné:t] or [liŋné:t] 'scorpion'  
 /daun/ [dɔ:n] 'leaf'  
 /tataun/ [tətɔ:n] or [ttɔ:n] 'tree; wood'  
 /mapait/ [məpé:t] 'T/S will be bitter'  
 /naitilan/ [né:tilan] 'T/S was hungry'

#### 10.2.2.2 Morphology

The verbal inflections of Baukan are identical to those of Nabay (q.v. 10.2.1.2).

The relation-marker filling the Relator slot of a comitative Attributive phrase is /ta/ (not /da/ as in Timugon; see 7.2.6.7). Thus:

/ akay ta [amaq] /  
 H:we(ex) At [H:father] 'OUR father'  
 / osoy ta [baloy] /  
 H:who At [H:house] 'whose house?'

The functions of the different subclasses of Baukan demonstratives (illustrated in Table XVI below) have not been fully determined. Dm1 and Dm2 correspond to the Timugon Dm1 series, although Dm1 also combines the functions of the Timugon Dm3 series. Baukan Dm3 corresponds to the Timugon Dm2 and Dm4. The three categories A, B, C have the same spatial and locative reference as the corresponding Timugon categories. There appears to be no semantic distinction between the two series in category A.

TABLE XVI

*Baukan demonstratives and determiners*

		A		B	C
Dm1		/gitu	-	gino	gii
Dm2		tolo	-	nolo	lolo
Dm3		daitu	daiti	daino	dii
Dt	<i>free</i>	itu	iti	ino	?
	<i>clitic</i>	-tu	-ti	-no	-i/

The pronouns of Baukan are shown in Table XVII overleaf.

The interrogative pronouns of Baukan are: /osoy/ 'who?', /atu/ 'what?/ where?/which?', /sangilan/ 'when (in the future)?', and /kura?/ 'how much? / how many?'.  
 The interrogative adverbs are /akia/ 'why?', which takes an Atemporal-





- 6) / |pagaron |niro |gariŋ |tuunon niraino. /  
 |Pof:fence/ft|S:they|Adj:before|T/O:riverbank Po:they-the  
 'They used to fence off their riverbank first.'
- 7) / |naingaranan |timug maitu |da suuk, |ka  
 |Psf:named/pt|T/S:river Po:we(ex)-the|Aff Suuk |Co  
 |muligan |ŋaran no kapio. /  
 |P:Muligan|T/S:name Po:it At:real  
 ' Our river is called "Suuk", but its real name is "Muligan".'

### 10.3 THE HIGHLAND MURUT LANGUAGE

Three dialects of Highland Murut (Paluan, Sumambuq and Alumbis) have so far been isolated. Further research, particularly in adjacent areas of Indonesian Borneo, may reveal other dialects and perhaps necessitate a redistribution of the ones already isolated.

There are no distinct ethnic or linguistic names in the Highland Murut area (apart from 'Paluan'), and the people identify themselves only by the name of their village or the major river of the district. However, in official and semi-official areas, the terms 'Tagol', 'Sumambuq' and 'Pensiangan Murut' have long been used indiscriminately to refer to the speakers of Highland Murut. Of these terms, 'Tagol' is the name of a river near the Indonesian border and 'Pensiangan' the name of a government station which stands on it. 'Sumambuq', the origin of which is unknown, is used by the Paluan to designate their southern neighbours.

Further confusion is caused by the fact that these inaccurate labels are gradually being accepted as authentic by the people to whom they are applied. This led to the publication, in 1964, of an eight-page booklet entitled *English-Murut Phrase Book*, which was designed for use by Commonwealth forces operating in the Pensiangan area during 'Confrontation'. Unfortunately, the booklet proved of little value, because the informant, who termed himself a 'Pensiangan Murut', was in fact a speaker of the Dalit subdialect of Paluan (see 10.3.1), whereas the Pensiangan area is inhabited by speakers of the Tagol subdialect of Sumambuq (see 10.3.2). Differences between the two speech-forms are sufficient to seriously impair mutual intelligibility.

The names used in the following descriptions refer only to linguistic entities. The term 'Paluan', for instance, is extended to include the speech-forms of people who would not use the term of themselves. Where there is evidence to show that the same subdialect is spoken along the course of a particular river, the subdialect is known by the name of that river. Otherwise, it is designated by the name of

the village where it was recorded. One subdialect is chosen as representative of each dialect. The other subdialects, with the areas where they are spoken, are listed at the beginning of each description, and thereafter are referred to only where they differ significantly from the representative.

All the dialects of Highland Murut have certain phonological and morphological features in common with each other and in contrast with the dialects of Lowland Murut. The commonest of these features are:

a) the fricativisation of the phonemes /b d g/ in post-vocalic position (which, however, is also found in Timugon);

b) the regular replacement of <sup>a</sup>{ma-} 'FT aspect' (see 5.2.1) by <sup>a</sup>{a-} (as in Paluan /aamis/ 'T/S will be sweet', /oonsoy/ 'T/S will be good' and /antaŋi?/ 'T/S will cry'; compare Timugon /maamis/, /moonsoy/ and /mantaŋi?/);

c) the disappearance of initial /m-/ in the Past Temporal forms of those [-um-] verbs which have a vowel or a bilabial stop as the initial phoneme of the stem. Thus in Paluan:

/patoy/ 'S dies' → /matoy/ (FT), /inatoy/ (PT)

/uli?/ 'S goes home' → /muli?/ (FT), /inuli?/ (PT),

where Timugon would have /matoy/, /minatoy/ and /muli?/, /minuli?/;

d) less frequent use of the Atemporal aspect, which in most dialects is restricted to urgent commands and constructions involving such interrogative adverbs as 'why?', a Basic construction being used elsewhere.

### 10.3.1 THE PALUAN DIALECT ('Peluan', 'Tagol', 'Pensiangan Murut')

The following subdialects of Paluan have been isolated:

a) Paluan proper is spoken in the hills east of the Tenom plain (i.e. along the headwaters of the Punti /punti/, Dalit /dalit/ and Keramatol /kalamatoy/ rivers), in the Padas valley between Kemabong /kumabung/ and Segah /sogo/, and along the Pangi /paŋi?/ river in the Crocker hills. Most of the information on this subdialect (which is chosen as representative of the Paluan dialect) was obtained from K.K. Ampatang bin Ingu (aged about 50), a native of the village of Dalit Tengah /dalit taŋa?/ and now headman of Barong /baduŋ/ village. Rutter [1929] contains transcriptions of four songs and a list of 186 words in this subdialect. The songs are reproduced from Woolley [1927].

b) Dalit is spoken in the lower reaches of the Dalit, Sook and Keramatol rivers and on the surrounding plain. Of all the Highland Murut speech-forms, Dalit is the only one not situated in mountainous country, and the one which bears the closest resemblance to Lowland Murut. The informant for this subdialect was Sgt Joseph Marantai (aged 36) of the Royal Malaysian Police Force, a native of Sook. The only published

material for this subdialect is the *English-Murut Phrase Book* referred to above.

c) Sapulut is spoken on the Talankai /talankay/ river and its tributaries, upstream from Agis /agis/. Most material was obtained from Kungsi bin Buau (aged over 70), who was born at Alung Sibalangan, three days' journey upstream from the government station of Sepulut /sapulut/ on the river of the same name. Further information was obtained from Native Chief Lindung at Sepulut. No material has been published in this subdialect, but some lexical items are to be found in Harrisson [1967].

#### 10.3.1.1 Phonology

The phoneme inventory of the Paluan subdialect is /p t k ? b d g m n ŋ s l y w i u o a/, which, except for the absence of /j/, is identical with that of Timugon. The Dalit and Sapulut subdialects, however, do have a /j/ phoneme.

No evidence was found of the existence of a phoneme /\*ñ/.

All three subdialects differ, both from each other and from the Lowland Murut dialects, in their realisation of the phonemes /b d g/:

a) in Dalit /b/ has a single allophone [b] (voiced bilabial stop); in Paluan and Sapulut it has the allophones [b] and [ɸ] (voiced bilabial fricative);

b) in all three subdialects /d/ has the two allophones [d] (voiced alveolar stop) and [ɾ] (voiced alveolar flap);

c) in Dalit /g/ has a single allophone [g] (voiced velar stop); in Sapulut it has the allophones [g] and [h] (voiceless glottal fricative); in Paluan it has the three allophones [g], [h] and [x] (voiceless velar fricative).

The distribution of the various allophones of /b d g/ in the three subdialects is shown overleaf in Table XVIII. The significant distributional environments which are listed in the left-hand column are:

1) word-initially after pause ( X-); 2) word-initially after C (-C X-); 3) word-initially after V (-V X-); 4) word-initially or -medially after N (-N X- or -NX-); 5) word-medially after V or word-finally before V (-VX- or -X V-); and 6) word-finally before pause or C (-X (C-)). The abbreviations are explained below.

X = /b d g/

C = /p t k b d g s l/

N = /m n ŋ/

V = /i u o a w y ?/

TABLE XVIII

*Allophones of /b d g/ in three subdialects of Paluan*

	PALUAN	SAPULUT	DALIT
X-	[b d g	b d/r h	b d g
-C X-	b/b d/r g/h	b r h	b d g
-V X-	b/b d/r g/h	b r h	b d/r g
-N X- } -NX- }	b d g	b d g	b d g
-VX- } -X V- }	b r h	b r h	b r g
-X (C-)	b r x	b r h	b r g]

### 10.3.1.2 Morphology

The demonstratives and determiners of all three subdialects have a distribution parallel to those of Baukan (q.v. 10.2.2.2). However, as may be seen from Table XIX below, which illustrates the forms in the Paluan subdialect, the Dml series of demonstratives and the clitic series of Determiners have singular and plural forms, as in Timugon. It is suspected that the Timugon categories D and E may exist also in Dalit, since two clitic determiners /-tili/ and /-nili/ (corresponding to Timugon /-tii/ and /-nii/) were found in that subdialect.

TABLE XIX

*Paluan demonstratives and determiners*

		A	B	C	
Dml	sg.	/gitu	gino	gili	
	pl.	giatu gatudo	giano ganodo	giali ?	
Dm2		sodo	nodo	?	
Dm3		daitu	daino	?	
Dt	<i>free</i>	itu	ino	ili	
	<i>clitic</i>	sg.	-tu	-no	-li
		pl.	-datu	-dano	-dali/

The personal pronouns of the Paluan subdialects are shown below in Table XX.

The interrogative pronouns of Paluan vary according to the subdialect. The Paluan subdialect has only two: /atu/ 'who?/what?/which?/where?' and /kula?/ 'how much?/how many?'. Besides the latter, which is common to all three subdialects, Sapulut has /aun/ 'who?/what?' and /atu/ 'what?/which?/where?', while Dalit has /atu/ 'who?/what?/where?' and /kalio/ 'which?/where?'.

All the subdialects of Paluan have the same interrogative adverbs, viz. /gayo/ 'why?', which takes an AD construction; /sangilan/ 'when (in the future)?', which takes a Basic clause with permutation of the post-Predicate clitics; /sangili?/ 'when (in the past)?', which takes a permuted AD construction; and /in?kula?/ 'how many times?', which behaves like /sangilan/ when referring to the future, and like /sangili?/ when referring to the past.

TABLE XX

*Paluan pronoun subclasses*

	1	2	3	4
1	/aku (a)	aku (a)	ku	dakon (b)
2	oko	ko	mu	diun
3	iso (c)	io	no	diso
12	ito	to	to	dito
122	itaka (d)	taka	taka	ditaka
13(3)	akay	akay	may	damon
22	akaw	ka (e)	min (f)	damuyun
33	ilo (g)	ilo	nilo	disilo/

- (a) Sapulut has /au/.  
 (b) Dalit has /dako?/.  
 (c) Dalit has /oyo/.  
 (d) Dalit has /itakaw, takaw, takaw, ditakaw/.  
 (e) Dalit has /kaw/.  
 (f) Dalit has /muyun/; Sapulut has /mi ~ muyun ~ min/.  
 (g) Sapulut has /isilo/.

## 10.3.1.3 Examples

## A) Paluan subdialect:

- 1) / |atu | [kuayan | min]. /  
 |P:where|T/S:[Paf:go/ft S:you]  
 'Where is (the place where) you are going?'
- 2) / |sangili?|ko |suku?. /  
 |Adj:when|T/S:thou|Psf:arrive  
 'When did you arrive?'
- 3) / |sangilan|ko |sumuku?. /  
 |Adj:when|T/S:thou|Psf:arrive/ft  
 'When will you arrive?'
- 4) / |dumasam |poyo|am|kaa|asiga? |aku |makow. /  
 |Psf:rain/ft|Mod |Co|Neg|Psf:willing/ft|T/S:I|Psf:go/ft  
 '(If) (it) 's raining, I don't want to go.'
- 5) / |muoy |aku |pagalap |da taun [pambabaal |ku da lan kaw]. /  
 |Psf:go/ft|T/S:I|Psf:take|O wood At:[Pif:make/ft S:I O house]  
 'I 'm going to collect some wood to build a house with.'
- 6) / |aginaa |aku |da sodo. /  
 |Psf:wait/ft|T/S:I|Si this  
 'I 'll wait here.'

## B) Dalit subdialect:

- 1) / |atu | [ulian | muyun]. /  
 |P:where|T/S:[Paf:go/ft S:you]  
 'Where is (the place where) you are going?'
- 2) / |aano|asaga? |aku |mugad |nu|dumasam |poyo. /  
 |Neg |Psf:willing/ft|T/S:I|Psf:go/ft|Co|Psf:rain/ft|Mod  
 'I don't want to go if (it) 's still raining.'
- 3) / |gayo |pai?|mu |aku|balai?. /  
 |Adj:why|Neg |S:thou|R:I|Prf:tell  
 'Why didn't you tell me?'
- 4) / |abuli |ki |indain |ku |baluga? ino. /  
 |Psf:permitted/ft|Mod|Prf:borrow/ft|S:I|T/R:parang the  
 'May I borrow the parang?'
- 5) / |aano|nakaugad |aku |da mai? ili |na|dinumalom |aku. /  
 |Neg |Psf:gone/pt|T/S:I|Tm evening the|Co|Psf:have-fever/pt|T/S:I  
 'I didn't go out yesterday because I had a fever.'

## C) Sapulut subdialect:

- 1) / |atu | [ooyon mi]. /  
 |P:where|T/S:[Pof:go/ft S:you]  
 'Where is (the place where) you are going?'
- 2) / |dumasam |poyo,|aunow |au |makow. /  
 |Psf:rain/ft|Mod |Psf:unwilling/ft|T/S:I|Psf:go/ft  
 '(If) (it) 's raining, I don't want to go.'
- 3) / |lasuon |mu |asi-li. /  
 |Pof:heat/ft|S:thou|T/O:pig the  
 'Heat up the pork.'
- 4) / |naaki? |au |da sigup mu. /  
 |Prf:give|T/S:I|O tobacco Po:thou  
 'Give me (some of) your tobacco.'
- 5) / |apua? |tutuadon ku |da [au kaa.ansigup]. /  
 |Psf:dry/ft|T/S:throat Po:I|Tm [T/S:I Neg Psf:smoke/ft]  
 'My throat gets dry when I don't smoke.'

### 10.3.2 THE SUMAMBUQ DIALECT ('Semambu', 'Tagal', 'Tagol', 'Tagul', 'Pensiangan Murut', 'Bol Murut')

The Sumambuq dialect of Highland Murut is spoken over a wide area in the remote mountainous country near the Sarawak and Indonesian borders. This area embraces (a) the Mengalong /maŋalɔŋ/ river-basin upstream from Sindumin and adjacent areas of Sarawak, (b) the Padas river-basin southwards from Kemabong to a latitude of approximately 4°35'S., and (c) the Tagol /tagol/ river-basin.

Although there is a comparatively densely populated area south of the Tagol, 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, material obtained during the author's visit to the area 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 informant for the Tagol subdialect, for instance, stated that the speech of his village (Salarom /saladom/) did not differ at all from that of other villages on the Tagol river. However, some lexical differences were discovered both at Mongol /moŋool/ (one day's walk upriver) and at Pensiangan /pansiangan/ (two days downstream by canoe). In this and other cases where differences in lexical items amount to no more than five per cent, it is assumed that only one subdialect is involved.

On this basis, at least three, and possibly five, subdialects can be defined, namely:

(a) Tumanig, spoken along the Tomani /tumani?/ river and perhaps also on the upper Padas. Material on this subdialect, which is treated here as representative of the Sumambuq dialect, was supplied by Native Chief Rikin (aged about 40), who was born in the village of Tomani, where he still lives.

(b) Mauligan, spoken in the neighbourhood of the village of Meligan /mauligan/ and possibly over a much wider area. The informant was Ombow bin Kakayon (21 years old), a native of the above village.

(c) Tagol, spoken with minor variations (as mentioned above) along the river of the same name. The data for this subdialect were obtained from Kayow bin Antubing (aged about 20) of Salarom village.

Material recorded at Katubu /katubu?/ on the Telekosang /tolokoson/ river and at Kalalayung /kalalayun/ on the Rundum /arundum/ river suggests that the speech-forms of the two areas constitute subdialects distinct both from each other and from the three subdialects listed above. This cannot be stated with certainty, however, owing to the unreliability of the material. At Katubu no Malay-speaking informant could be found, and elicitation had therefore to be carried out partly through the medium of Timugon and partly through Tagol, which has undoubtedly caused some distortion in the informant's answers. At Kalalayung, on the other hand, there was only time enough to collect a short word-list, which does not contain sufficient evidence to make a conclusive definition of its position *vis-à-vis* other subdialects.

There are more publications in or about Sumambuq than any other Murut speech-form, partly because it is the dialect chosen by the Borneo Evangelical Mission for translations of the Bible (see 1.2.1). An excellent article by Shirley P. Lees [1966] of the B.E.M. describes the phonemes of Sumambuq and the problems encountered in creating an adequate orthography. Some of the recommendations made by Lees have been followed by the present author (in particular, the decision to write /d/ as 'r' except where it occurs in the word-medial cluster /nd/; (see 2.5). Two shortcomings in the article must, however, be mentioned.

The first is the failure of the author to recognise the occurrence of the phonemes /w/ and /y/ in word-final position. These have been analysed as occurrences of /u/ and /i/ respectively. Such an analysis (a) destroys the regular (C)V(C)V(C) structure of the root, (b) fails to account for the stress differences in such pairs as /kadúí/ 'porcupine' and /kánuy/ 'eagle', (c) makes the analysis of vowel-clusters much more complicated, and (d) necessitates the creation of extra morpho-phonemic rules to account for the change from /u/ and /i/ to /w/ and /y/



in the presence of a suffix.

The second shortcoming lies in the failure of the writer to pinpoint the source of her data. She describes the article as being a phonemic analysis of

...the Tagal dialect (spoken over the area from south of Tenom up the valley of the Padas and all its tributaries, extending to the Sarawak and Indonesian borders and also eastwards to the Tagal River area)...

In fact the subdialect described is probably that of Mauligan, as evidenced by the appearance in the description of such forms as /galiŋ/ 'from' and /duandu?/ 'woman' in free variation with /luandu?/, which have not been encountered in any other subdialect. Moreover, Mauligan is the nearest Sumambuq subdialect to the B.E.M. headquarters at Lawas (just over the border in Sarawak). Such translations as *Aho Onsoi sinuratan ri Markus, Rahu Tahol* [n.d.], *Buku Manani Rahu Tahol* [n.d.] and *Pangumangan nu Tuhan Yesus* [?1961] are probably ascribable to the same subdialect, as are the 'Tagal' list published in Ray [1913] and the lexical items contained in an article by Clarke [1952].

The Roman Catholic Mission at Keningau has published a translation of the catechism in the Tagol subdialect (*Murut Catechism* [1960]). The translation was executed by a Kadazan-speaker and is full of serious errors and Kadazan-isms. The fourth line of the Lord's Prayer ('*Thy will be done*'), for instance, is translated as 'Asauk halan kasihan Mu', i.e. / |asauk |ga |laan|[kasigaan mu]. /  
|Psf:achieve/ft|Mod|Mod |T/S:[Paf:willing/ft S:thou]

The Kadazan cognate of /laan/ (i.e. /daa/) is used to indicate a wish or a request. In Tagol, however, /laan/ is the 'frustrative' Modifier, corresponding to Timugon /daan/ (see p.152), and the sentence means '*If only Thy will could be done (but it can't)*'!

An article by Woolley [1936] contains some Tagol hunting terms, while the 'Pëntjângân' list in Genderen Stort [1916] can also be attributed to this subdialect, though it appears to contain an admixture of words from various Tidong speech-forms.

The only other published Sumambuq material is the 'Rundum Murut' list in Rutter [1929], which is reproduced in Bolang and Harrison [1949], where it is compared with Kelabit and Lun Daye. It is assumed that this list represents the speech form observed at Kalalayung (see above).

### 10.3.2.1 Phonology

All the Sumambuq subdialects have the following phonemes: /p t k ? b d g m n ŋ s j l y w i u o a/. The phoneme /j/, however, occurs only in recent loanwords. In loanwords of longer standing it is replaced by /y/ or /d/.

/b d g/ are realised as [b r h] everywhere except word-medially when preceded by a nasal (when they are obligatorily realised as [b d g]) and word-initially when preceded by a nasal (in which case they are realised as either [b d g] or [b r h]).

### 10.3.2.2 Morphology

As in other dialects of Highland Murut, the Past Temporal aspect of Subject focus [-um-] verbs is formed by infixing the morpheme {-in-} 'PT aspect' to the Future Temporal form. In Sumambuq, however, when the stem has /d/ or /l/ as its initial phoneme, metathesis takes place between the phoneme and the /n/ of the infix. Bearing in mind the remarks already made (10.3 above) concerning the inflection of [-um-] verbs in Highland Murut as a whole, the Sumambuq dialect has the following forms:

- (a) stems beginning with a vowel:  
/uli?/ 'S goes home' → /muli?/ (FT), /inuli?/ (PT)
- (b) stems beginning with /p/ or /b/:  
/patoy/ 'S dies' → /matoy/ (FT), /inatoy/ (PT)
- (c) stems beginning with /d/ or /l/:  
/luat/ 'S gets up' → /lumuat/ (FT), /nilumuat/ (PT)
- (d) stems beginning with other consonants:  
/suku?/ 'S arrives' → /sumuku?/ (FT), /sinumuku?/ (PT)

The hypermorpheme [-in] marking the Future Temporal aspect of Referent focus verbs (see 5.2.1.3.1) is absent in Sumambuq, its place being taken by [-an]. The other aspects are inflected as in Timugon. Thus:

- (a) /patidan/ (+ /patid/) 'S will throw T/R away'  
(Timugon: /patidin/);
- (b) /ilayan/ (+ /iloy/) 'S will look at T/R'  
(Timugon: /ilain/);
- (c) /kinaanan/ (+ /kinaan/) 'S will wait for T/R'  
(Timugon: /inaanin/ + /inaa/).

The Future Temporal form of the Associate focus of all [-um-] verbs and most perfect participles is marked in Sumambuq by the hypermorpheme [-on] and not, as in Timugon, by [-an] (see 5.2.1.4). The Past Temporal aspect is formed by the infixing of {-in-} to the Future Temporal form in the case of [-um-] verbs, and by replacing {ka-} with {na-} in the case of the perfect participles. Thus the Associate forms of /patoy/ (pvl) 'S dies' are /potoyon/ (FT) and /pinotoyon/ (PT) (cf. Timugon /patayan/ and /pinatayan/), while those of /oloŋ/ (ppl) 'S sleeps' are /kooloŋon/ and /nooloŋon/ (no analogous form in Timugon, but cf. Baukan

/kaalaŋan/ and /naalaŋan/).

The formative for plural metrical nouns, {ŋaN-} (see 5.1.1.5 and 7.2.3.2), which is common in Lowland Murut and in Paluan, is extremely rare in Sumambuq. It occurs only with the 'classifiers' (i.e. members of subclass 4), the uninflected noun stem being used elsewhere. Thus:

- (a) / [duo       ŋainan]       [kulubaw] /  
       H:[No:two MNn:bodies] At:[H:buffalo]  
       '*two buffaloes*'
- (b) / [oopod        ŋaulun]       [sandiwad] /  
       H:[No:one-ten MNn:persons] At:[H:Timugon]  
       '*ten Timugons*'
- (c) / duo       odow /  
       No:two MNn:day  
       '*two days*'
- (d) / oopod        lingit /  
       No:one-ten MNn:dollar  
       '*ten dollars*'

The demonstratives and determiners of Sumambuq, which are set out in Table XXI below, are alike in all subdialects. The determiners exist only in a clitic series, and there appear to be no plural forms.

TABLE XXI

*Sumambuq demonstratives and determiners*

		A	B	C
Dm1	sg.	/gitu	gino	gio?
	pl.	giatu	giano	giayo?
Dm2		sodo ~ soo	?	?
Dm3		daitu	daino	?
Dt ( <i>clitic</i> )		-tu	-no	-li/

Table XXII overleaf displays the pronoun subclasses of the Tumaniq subdialect. Divergences in other subdialects are noted after the table.

The interrogative pronoun /kula?/ 'how much? / how many?' is common to all subdialects. Tumaniq and Mauligan have two others: /atu/ 'who?/ what?/which?/where?' and /aun/ 'what?/where?'. In Tagol, however, these are replaced by the single pronoun /aun/.

TABLE XXII  
Sumambuq pronoun subclasses

	1	2	3	4
1	/au	au	ku	dakon
2	oko	ko	mu	diun
3	iso (a)	io	no	diso (b)
12	ito	to	to	dito
122	itaka	taka	taka	ditaka
13(3)	akay	akay	may	damon
22	akaw	ka	mi (c)	damuyun
33	isilo (d)	ilo	nilo	disilo/ (e)

- (a) Tagol has /io/.  
 (b) Tagol has /dio/.  
 (c) Tagol has /mi ~ muyun/.  
 (d) Tagol and Mauligan have /ilo/.  
 (e) Tagol has /dilo/.

The interrogative adverbs of Tumaniq are /gayo/ 'why?', which takes an AD construction; /sangilan/ 'when (in the future)?', which takes a permuted Basic construction; and /sangili?/ 'when (in the past)?', which takes a permuted AD construction. The Tagol subdialect has /kulo/ 'why?', which takes an optionally permuted AD construction; /sangilan/ 'when (in the future)?', which takes a permuted Basic construction and /sangili?/ 'when (in the past)?', which takes a permuted AD or Basic construction. In the case of the last two adverbs, permuted pronouns of series 2 are often replaced by the corresponding series 1 pronouns. The interrogative adverbs of Mauligan are /kulo/ 'why?', which takes a permuted AD construction; and /sangili?/ 'when? (referring to either future or past)', which takes a permuted Basic construction, the temporal reference being signalled by the aspect of the verb. The adverb /inqula?/ 'how many times?' exists in all subdialects, but it is not known what clause constructions accompany it.

### 10.3.2.3 Examples

A) Tumaniq subdialect:

- 1) / |saŋgilan|ko |muli?./  
|Adj:when|T/S:thou|Psf:go-home/ft  
'When are you going home?'
- 2) / |saŋgili?|ko |suku?./  
|Adj:when|T/S:thou|Psf:arrive  
'When did (you) arrive?'
- 3) / |aŋulug |poyo,|aanjas |au |makow./  
|Psf:rain/ft|Mod |Psf:unwilling/ft|T/S:I|Psf:go/ft  
'(If) (it)'s raining, I don't want to go.'
- 4) / |dadai?-li |poyo,|kaa|akaakow |au |nu|agusod  
|Tm:yesterday the|Mod |Neg|Psf:gone/ft|T/S:I|Co|Psf:have-cold/ft  
|au./  
|T/S:I  
'I couldn't go out yesterday, because I had a cold.'
- 5) / |pain|kinaani?|ilo./  
|Neg |Prf:wait|T/R:they  
'Don't wait for them.'
- 6) / |anaŋga? |taka |da bulak |da mai?-tu./  
|Psf:drink/ft|T/S:we(in)|O ricebeer|Tm evening the  
'We 'll be drinking ricebeer this evening.'

## B) Tagol subdialect:

- 1) / |kulo |ko |pantaŋi?./ or / |kulo|pantaŋi?|ko./  
|Adj:why|T/S:thou|Psf:cry  
'Why are you crying?'
- 2) / |saŋgilan| $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ko} \\ \text{oko} \end{array} \right\}$  |muoy |da gio?./  
|Adj:when| T/S:thou|Psf:go/ft|A there  
'When are you going there?'
- 3) / |saŋgili?| $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ko} \\ \text{oko} \end{array} \right\}$  |inuoy |da gio?./  
|Adj:when| T/S:thou|Psf:go/pt|A there OR:  
/ |saŋgili?| $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ko} \\ \text{oko} \end{array} \right\}$  |uoy |da gio?./  
|Adj:when| T/S:thou|Psf:go|A there  
'When did you go there?'
- 4) / |abuli |au |ki |akibala? |diun./  
|Psf:permitted/ft|T/S:I|Mod|Psf:ask-tell/ft|A:thou  
'May I ask you (something)?'

- 5) / |naando? |naapo |ulun |da gitu. /  
 |P:there-is-not|Tm:soon|T/S:person|Si here  
 'There won't be any people here soon.'

C) Mauligan subdialect:

- 1) / |sangili?|ka |muli?. /  
 |Adj:when|T/S:you|Psf:go-home/ft  
 'When are you going home?'
- 2) / |sangili?|ka |inuli?. /  
 |Adj:when|T/S:you|Psf:go-home/pt  
 'When did you go home?'
- 3) / |kulo |ko |kooloŋ. /  
 |Adj:why|T/S:thou|Psf:sleep  
 'Why are you sleeping?'
- 4) / |sino |ki |siaŋ. /  
 |P:there-is|Mod|T/S:water  
 'Is there any water?'
- 5) / |atidoŋ |boobonsoy |intok-tu, |kaando?  
 |Psf:hilly/ft|Adj:really|T/S:place the|P:there-is-not  
 |tana? [olontoy]. /  
 |T/S:earth At:[Psf:flat/ft]  
 'The place is really hilly, there's no flat land.'

### 10.3.3 THE ALUMBIS DIALECT ('Loembis', 'Lumbis')

The Alumbis dialect is spoken along the Lumbis /alumbis/ river in Kalimantan and extends over the border to adjacent parts of Sabah. The informant was K.K. Ganjau bin Kaandakan, one of a group of Alumbis-speakers who have emigrated from the Lumbis region of Kalimantan to seek work on Sapong Rubber Estate near Tenom, and who now live in a longhouse at Taniboy near that estate. There is no published material on this dialect.

#### 10.3.3.1 Phonology

The phonemes of Alumbis are /p t k ʔ b d g m n ŋ s j l y w i u o a/.

The phonemes /b d g/ are realised as [b d g] word-medially or -initially when preceded by a nasal, as [b r ɣ] word-medially or -initially when preceded by a vowel or a non-nasal consonant, and as [b r x] in word-final position. In sentence-initial position they are optionally realised as either [b d g] or [b r ɣ].

The phoneme /j/ is much commoner in Alumbis than in other Highland Murut dialects (though not as common as in Timugon), and is not restricted to loanwords.

It seems possible that a phoneme /ñ/ can be added to the inventory, since several forms, all of them verbs inflected with [aŋ-] (see 5.2.1.1.3) and having /s/ as the initial stem phoneme, were recorded as containing such a segment. The forms are: [añimbu] (+ /simbu/) 'T/S will run', [añampuy] (+ /sampuy/) 'T/S will blow', and [añusub] (+ /susub/) 'T/S will order O'. The first two, however, were also recorded with [n]. Further research is needed before the phonemic status of [ñ] can be decided.

### 10.3.3.2 Morphology

Alumbis does not share any of the features of verb-formation noted in 10.3.2.2 above as characteristic of Sumambuq. It does, however, share the same lack of metrical nouns formed with {ŋaN-}. The demonstratives are likewise identical to those of Sumambuq, and will not be shown here. The pronouns are illustrated in Table XXIII below.

TABLE XXIII

*Alumbis pronoun subclasses*

	1	2	3	4
1	/au	au	ku	dako?
2	oko	ko	mu	diun
3	oyo	io	no	dio
12	ito	to	to	dito
122	itaka	taka	taka	ditaka
13(3)	akay	akay	may	damo?
22	akaw	ka	mi	damuyun
33	ilo	ilo	nilo	dilo/

The interrogative pronouns of Alumbis are /aun/ 'who?', /atu/ 'what?/which?/where?', and /kula?/ 'how much?/how many?'. The interrogative adverbs are /kulo/ 'why?', /saŋgilan/ 'when (in the future)?', and /saŋgili?/ 'when (in the past)?', all of which take a permuted Basic construction.

## 10.3.3.3 Examples

- 1) / |sangilan|ko |muli?. /  
 |Adj:when|T/S:thou|Psf:go-home/ft  
 'When are you going home?'
- 2) / |sangili?|ko |inaton. /  
 |Adj:when|T/S:thou|Psf:come/pt  
 'When did you come?'
- 3) / |kulo |ko |kaa|ambala? |dako?. /  
 |Adj:why|T/S:thou|Neg|Psf:tell/ft|R:I  
 'Why won't you tell me?'
- 4) / |kaa|makow |au |nu|kaa|natadu? |anjulug. /  
 |Neg|Psf:go/ft|T/S:I|Co|Neg|Psf:stopped/pt|T/S:rain  
 'I 'm not going out if the rain hasn't stopped.'
- 5) / |kaa|inakow |au |da damai? |nu|alugu |au. /  
 |Neg|Psf:go/pt|T/S:I|Tm yesterday|Co|Psf:sick/ft|T/S:I  
 'I didn't go out yesterday because I was ill.'
- 6) / |pain|mu |kawio? |sigup-no, |ambuuk  
 |Neg |S:thou|Pof:finish|T/O:tobacco the|Psf:be-angry/ft  
 |ama? mu. /  
 |T/S:father Po:thou  
 'Don't finish the tobacco, your father will be angry.'

## 10.4 THE OKOLOD MURUT LANGUAGE ('Kolor', 'Kolur')

Okolod is spoken in two distinct regions which are situated on the periphery of the Murut language area and separated from each other by about 70 miles of country inhabited by speakers of Highland Murut and Lun Daye. The first region straddles the Sabah-Sarawak border near the headwaters of the Tengoa /tanua?/ river, to the north of the Mauligan subdialect area. The second Okolod-speaking region is in Indonesian Borneo, south of the Alumbis-speaking area. It is not known how far this region extends, nor how many Okolod-speakers it contains.

The material presented here was obtained from Timang binte Malud, who was born about forty years ago in the village of Ongkolog in the Tengoa river basin. When she was very young her family and others moved to the second Okolod area in Kalimantan, from which she and her husband later moved to the Tenom area with the group of Alumbis-speakers mentioned earlier. According to Timang, there are now very few Okolod-speakers left in the original area.

Nothing has been published to date on this language.



## 10.4.1 PHONOLOGY

As will be seen below, the phonology of Okolod differs in several respects from that of its Highland Murut neighbours. The phoneme inventory consists of /p t k ʔ b d g m n ŋ s l y w i u o a/.

The phonemes /b d g/ are realised as [b d g] in all environments and are never fricativised.

Sequences of homorganic nasal and voiced consonants are not permitted in Okolod, except in foreign words and in instances where two phonemes are separated by a morpheme boundary; their place is taken by the nasal consonant alone, as seen in the examples below:

- /iŋalan/ 'name' (cf. Timugon /iŋgalan/)
- /tamaŋ/ 'sambhur deer' (cf. Timugon /tambaŋ/)
- /diniŋ/ 'wall/partition' (cf. Timugon /dindiŋ/)
- /kulambuʔ/ 'mosquito net' (+ Malay kelambu)
- /ambaguʔ/ 'T/S will wash R' (+ /baguʔ/ + [ag-])
- /indagu/ 'S speaks' (+ /dagu/ 'speech' + {iN-})

In many roots having /o/ in both syllables, the vowel in the first syllable is lengthened. The factors conditioning this change have not been discovered. Examples are:

- /doonoʔ/ 'one' (cf. Timugon /dondoʔ/)
- /toogok/ 'wrist' (cf. Alumbis /totogok/)
- /booloŋ/ 'S sleeps' (cf. Timugon /boloŋ/)

## 10.4.2 MORPHOLOGY

In contrast with the phonology, the morphology of Okolod differs but slightly from that of Highland Murut. The verbal inflections are the same as those of Alumbis, while the pronouns and demonstratives are identical with the forms of the Tagol subdialect of Sumambuq, except that no examples of a plural Dml series have been recorded in Okolod.

The Okolod vocabulary contains many words which mark it off quite distinctly from other Murut languages, since they are found elsewhere only in the Dusun languages spoken to the north of the Nabay area. Such words are /ilan/ 'cheek', /kusoy/ 'male' and /sumanak/ 'young woman'. Considerable influence from the neighbouring Lun Daye language is evidenced by such forms as /tipan/ 'thigh', /udu/ 'grass', and /nubaʔ/ 'cooked rice'.

The interrogative pronouns of Okolod are /isi/ 'who?', /alan/ 'what?', /atu/ 'which?/where?', and /tulaʔ/ 'how much? / how many?'.

The interrogative adverbs are /kulo/ 'why?', taking a permuted AD or Basic construction, and /saŋiliʔ/ 'when?', which refers to either past or future and takes a permuted Basic construction, with optional replacement of permuted series 2 pronouns by the corresponding pronouns of

series 1. Pronouns manifesting clause-level Topic tagmeme are obligatorily permuted in the presence of a Time tagmeme removed to pre-Predicate position.

#### 10.4.3 EXAMPLES

- 1) / |saŋili? |oko |makow. /  
 |Adj:when|T/S:thou|Psf:go/ft  
 'When are you going?'
- 2) / |saŋili? |ko |inaton. /  
 |Adj:when|T/S:thou|Psf:come/pt  
 'When did you come?'
- 3) / |kulo |ko |pantani?. /  
 |Adj:why|T/S:thou|Psf:cry  
 'Why are you crying?'
- 4) / |kulo |ko |kaa|amanay |dakon. /  
 |Adj:why|T/S:thou|Mod|Psf:tell/ft|O:I  
 'Why won't you tell me?'
- 5) / |dadai? |au |aluag |makow |nu  
 |Tm:yesterday|T/S:I|Psf:unwilling/ft|Psf:go/ft|Co  
 |gagalan |au. /  
 |Psf:have-fever/ft|T/S:I  
 'I didn't want to go out yesterday, because I had a fever.'
- 6) / |alan |[inooyon mu da tanam]. /  
 |P:what|T/S:[Paf:go/pt S:thou A Tenom]  
 'What was (the thing for which) you went to Tenom?' (i.e. 'What did you go to Tenom for?')
- 7) / |pain|mu |umalo? |uku?- kutu. /  
 |Neg |S:thou|Pof:hit|T/O:dog Po:I-the  
 'Don't hit my dog.'

#### 10.5 CONCLUSION

Other Murut languages undoubtedly exist in the (linguistically) still unknown areas of south-east Sabah and northern Kalimantan. Among these may be counted the language of the East Coast 'Tawau Muruts', of whom nothing is known but the name, and the language known as 'Salalir' (or 'Sedalir', 'Salilir', etc.). The word-list entitled 'Sedalir' in Genderen Stort [1916] represents a speech-form very similar to Okolod, displaying such characteristic features as the occurrence of [b d g] in

all environments and lack of nasal + voiced stop sequences. Lees [1966], however, in discussing the distribution of allophones of /d/ and /g/, states that '...Selalir (near the Indonesian border) uses r and h almost invariably, even using flapped r after nasal,...'. It therefore seems certain that two languages are involved here, the identification of which will have to await further research.

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The following abbreviations are used:

- HMSO Her Majesty's Stationery Office.  
(J)MBRAS (Journal of the) Malayan (Malaysian after 1963) Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.  
JSBRAS Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.  
PRGS Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society.  
SIL Summer Institute of Linguistics publications.  
SMJ Sarawak Museum Journal.  
SSJ Sabah Society Journal.

AHO ONSOI SINURATAN RI MARKUS. RAHU TAHOL.  
n.d. Sidang Injil Borneo, Lawas, Sarawak.

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