

The Begak (Ida'an) Language of Sabah

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VRIJE UNIVERSITEIT

The Begak (Ida'an) Language of Sabah

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door

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geboren te Terneuzen

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copromotor: dr. M.A.F. Klamer

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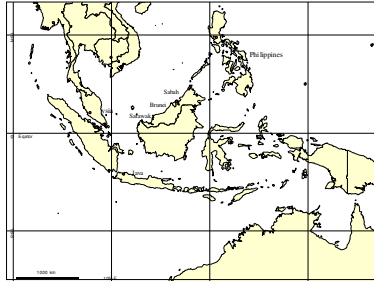
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Abbreviations

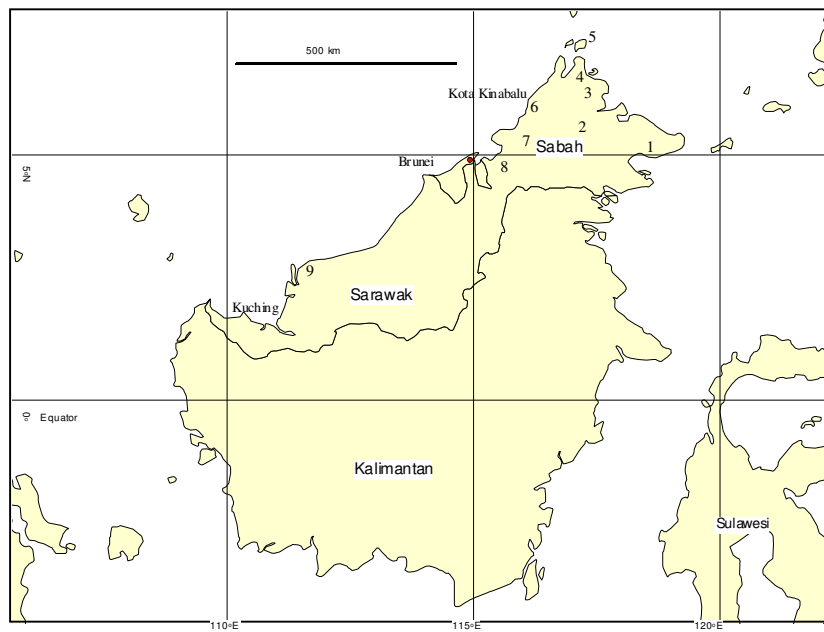
1	1st person	N	Nominative
2	2nd person	NEG.I	Sentential negation with (<i>n</i>) <i>inga</i> '
3	3rd person	NEG.IMP	Negative imperative
A	Accusative	NEG.P	Sentential negation with (<i>a</i>) <i>pon</i>
AUX	Default auxiliary	NOM	Manner Nominalisation
AV	Actor Voice	NOM.ABSTR	Abstract Nominalisation
C	Consonant	NOM.AG	Agent Nominalisation
CAU	Causative	NV	Non-volitive
CDM	Core Development Marker	OBL	Oblique preposition
CL	Classifier	P	Plural
COL	Collectivity marker 'X and company'	PET	Petitive
COM	Completive Aspect	PR	Progressive aspect marker
DEP	Dependent	PRF	Perfective aspect marker
DSTP	Distant Past	PRT	Discourse particle
E	Exclusive	QM	Question marker
FOC	Focus marker	QTM	Quote marker
FRC	Force preposition	REC	Reciprocal
G	Genitive	S	Singular
I	Inclusive	SF	Stem forming prefix
INT	Intensive	SQ	Sequential aspect marker
LOC	Locative preposition	TOP	New topic marker
MID	Middle	UV	Undergoer Voice
M	Loan word from Malay	V	Vowel

Maps

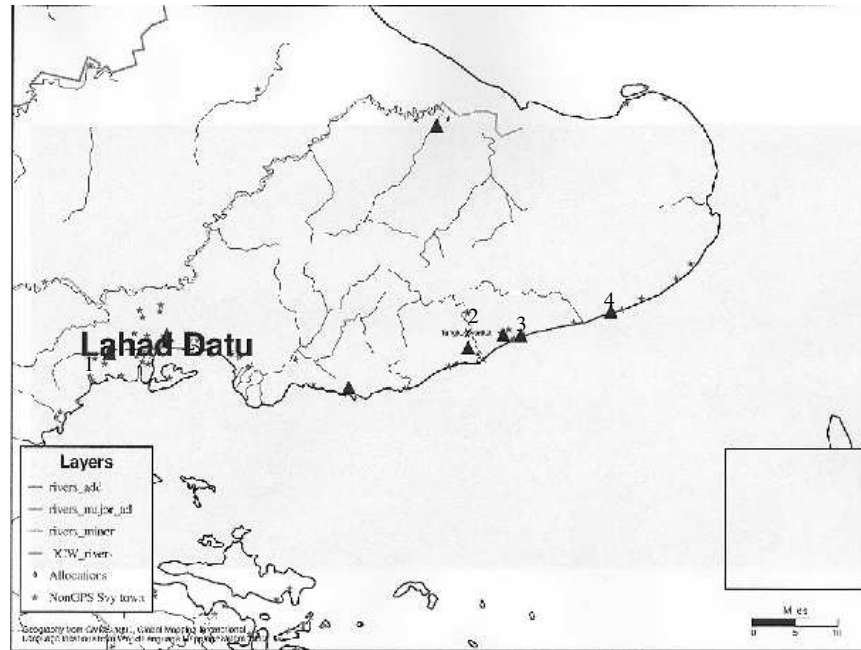
Map 1: Borneo and South East Asia



Map 2: Sabah, Sarawak and Brunei



- | | |
|---------------------|------------------|
| 2. Eastern Kadazan | 7. Timugon Murut |
| 3. Tombonuo | 8. Lun Bawang |
| 4. Kimaragang Dusun | 9. Melanau |
| 5. Bonggi | |

Map 3: The Dent Peninsula

1. Sepagaya
2. Along the westbank of the Tungku River: Ulu Tungku
Along the eastbank of the Tungku River: Ulu Taburi
3. Degan Tungku
4. Felda Sahabat

1 Introduction

1.1. The language

1.1.1. The dialects Ida'an, Begak and Subpan

This book presents a grammar of the Begak dialect of the Ida'an language of Sabah, Malaysia. The Ida'an language is spoken by approximately 6,000 people on the east coast of Sabah throughout the Dent peninsula westward to Lahad Datu and northwards to Sandakan (see maps 2 and 3).¹ The Ida'an language has three dialects: Ida'an, which is spoken in Sagama and other villages to the west of Lahad Datu; Begak, which is spoken in Ulu Tungku and other villages, to the east of Lahad Datu; and Subpan, which is spoken in the Kinabatangan and Sandakan districts (Banker 1984). The Subpan have largely intermarried with the people living along the Segama river, who are popularly called 'Dusun Segama', and are no longer a distinct group. The Dusun Segama language is mutually intelligible with the Upper Kinabatangan language (Smith 1984, King and King 1984, Moody 1984).

The term Ida'an is used by some sources, such as Appell (1968) and Prentice (1971) to refer to all indigenous people or languages of Sabah, but this book refers to the people who call themselves Ida'an, i.e. the speakers of the Ida'an language.² The name Begak is sometimes spelled Bega'ak or Begahak, where /h/ is pronounced as a glottal stop, but the Begak people usually refer to themselves as Begak. The Ida'an are the most numerous group with around 4,500 speakers, while the Begak number around 1,500 speakers (Moody 1991).

The Ida'an, Begak and Subpan used to be one group of people until the Ida'an Abdullah was converted to Islam, reputedly in 1408 A.D.. Harisson and Harisson (1970:229) argue that his conversion must have taken place in the latter half of the fifteenth century. After Abdullah's conversion, the Ida'an converted to Islam, while Begak and Subpan kept their traditional religion (animism). The Ida'an, Begak and Subpan split up and developed into separate ethnic groups although their language is the same.

The fact that the Ida'an and Begak have become separate ethnic groups poses problems for the linguistic name of the language. Although the Ida'an outnumber the Begak, the Begak do not consider themselves Ida'an, nor do the Ida'an consider themselves Begak. But, as most scientific publications on the language have so far concentrated on Ida'an, few people are aware of the existence of Begak. I could have opted for introducing a new term 'Ida'an-Begak' to avoid choosing between Ida'an or Begak, but neither the Ida'an and the Begak themselves, nor the Malaysian government uses this term. Therefore the title of this book is *The*

¹ This figure is taken from the SIL Ethnologue (Grimes 2004). The Malaysian census of 1998 distinguishes Malays, Kadazan/Dusun, Bajau, Murut, other Bumiputera, Chinese, or others and is therefore not very helpful in finding out the exact number of Ida'an and Begak.

² An alternative spelling of Ida'an is Idahan, where the glottal stop is written with /h/. The language does not have /h/ in its phoneme inventory.

Begak (Ida'an) language of Sabah. In what follows I will use the term *Ida'an* language to refer to both dialects, *Ida'an* to refer to the *Ida'an* dialect and *Begak* to the *Begak* dialect.

1.1.2. Affiliation

Several researchers have done work on subgrouping of Sabahan languages. Dyen (1965) recognises Murutic and Dusun subfamilies which he assigns to the 'Philippine Hesion'. Appell (1968) recognises Murutic and Dusunic and places Tidong in the same subgroup of Sabahan languages but excludes Banggi.

Prentice (1970:369) uses the term *Ida'an* not to refer to the *Ida'an* language but to a subgroup which includes all the languages of Sabah, including Banggi. He distinguishes the Murutic subfamily including Tidong and Murut, the Dusunic subfamily, including Dusun and Bisaya and the Paitanic subfamily, including Paitan, Banggi, and, interestingly, the *Ida'an-Begak* dialect Buludupi.³

Smith (1984) presents a conclusion of lexico-statistical research and survey performed by the Summer Institute of Linguistics and assigns the languages of Sabah to a 'Borneon stock' which comprises the families Tidong, Paitanic, the Murutic and the Dusunic. According to Smith (1984), Banggi and *Ida'an* are isolates, split off at the Western Austronesian superstock level. In Smith's (1984) report of the census, *Ida'an* has its highest shared vocabulary relationship with Banggi (45%) and with Dusun (44%). King (1992) is an update of Smith (1984) in which the classifications remain basically unchanged.

Blust (1998) provides evidence on the basis of shared phonological and lexical innovations that the languages of Sabah form a subgroup of the Malayo-Polynesian languages, separate from the Philippine subgroup, and that the languages of Sabah and North Sarawak form another larger subgroup. According to Blust, *Ida'an/Begahak/Buludupi* is a language isolate within the Sabahan subgroup. The picture according to Blust (1998) is as follows:

³ Buludupi is the name of an *Ida'an-Begak* dialect spoken on Sigaliud River, Sandakan, of which Swettenham (1880) gives a word list.

Table 1 Affiliation of the Philippine, Sabahan and North Sarawak subgroups (Blust 1998)

A. Philippine

1. Bashiic (Yami, Itbayaten, Ivatan)
2. Cordilleran (Ilokano, Bontok, Ifugaw, etc.)
3. Central Luzon (Sambalic, Kapampangan, North Mangyan)
4. Inati (language isolate on Panay)
5. Kalamian (Kalamian, Tagbanwa, Agutaynon)
6. Bilic (Bilaan, Tboli, Tiruray, Giangan Bagobo)
7. Greater Central Philippines
 - 7.1 South Mangyan (Hanunóo, Buhid)
 - 7.2 Palawanic (Palawano, Aborlan Tagbanwa, Batak, Molbog)
 - 7.3 Central Phillipines (Tagalic, Mamanwa, Mansaka, etc.)
 - 7.4 Manobo (Manobo languages, Tasaday, etc.)
 - 7.5 Danaw (Maranao, Iranon, Magindanao)
 - 7.6 Subanun (Subanun, Kalibugan)
 - 7.7 Gorontalo-Mongondow (Kaidipang, Gorontalo, Mongondow, etc.)
8. Sangiric (Sangil-Sangir, Talaud, etc.)
9. Minahasan (Toulour, Tontemboan, etc.)

B. Sabahan

1. Banggi (Banggi)
2. Dusunic (Rungus, Kadazan, Bisaya, etc.)
3. Murutic (Okolod, Serudung, Timugon, etc.)
4. Paitanic (Tambanua, Upper Kinabatangan, etc.)
5. Ida'an (Ida'an/Begahak, Buludupi)
6. Tidong (Tidong)

C. North Sarawak

1. Kelabitic (Lun Dayeh, Kelabit, Tring, Sa'ban)
2. Kenyah (Highland Kenyah, Lowland Kenyah)
3. Berawan-Lower Baram (Berawan, Kiput, Miri, etc.)
4. Bintulu (Bintulu)

Other languages spoken in the Lahad Datu district where the Ida'an language is spoken, are East-coast Bajau, Illanun and Suluk (Tausug). These languages do not belong to the Sabahan subgroup but are spoken by people who immigrated to Sabah some centuries ago. East Coast Bajau belongs to the language family of the Sama-Bajau sea nomads (Walton and Moody 1984). The Illanun people originate from Mindanao in the Philippines and immigrated to Sabah some centuries ago. Their language is related to the Danaw languages Maranao and Iranon and Magindanao (Banker 1984). The Suluk (Tausug) people have immigrated to Sabah from the Sulu archipelago in the Philippines since the 16th century (Moody 1984). The Bajau, Iranun and Suluk people have been living in the area side by side with the Begak people for centuries. I have not investigated the influence of these languages on Begak.

1.1.3. Typology

As can be read from Table 1 adopted from Blust (1998), the Ida'an language is an isolate within the Sabahan subgroup. The Ida'an language has indeed many characteristics that set it apart from other languages of Sabah and even makes it resemble languages of Sarawak. I will mention some of these characteristics to illustrate the isolate character of the Ida'an language within the Sabahan subgroup, and its resemblance with aspects of North Sarawak Languages. It should be stressed that the features discussed here are part of a typological comparison between languages; for a genealogical (re-)classification additional lexical and morphosyntactic data should be considered.

On the level of phonology, one feature that the Ida'an language has in common with languages of North Sarawak, but which does not occur in other Sabahan languages, is the result of a historical process termed consonant fortition by Blust (1998). Consonants that were single consonants in proto Malayo-Polynesian were strengthened. This is has survived in the Ida'an language in a special type of cluster /bp/, /dt/, /gk/, /gb/, /kp/ (see section 2.2.2.), but in North Sarawak languages, it survived as voiced aspirates or implosives. Blust (1998) posits the phenomenon as evidence for a common ancestor of the Sabah subgroup and the North Sarawak subgroup.

Another feature is vowel coalescence, termed 'ablaut' by Blust (1997). Like many other Austronesian languages, the Ida'an language has reflexes of the Proto-Austronesian infixes *-IN- and *-UM-. These reflexes have several allomorphs, some of which cause vowel coalescence with penultimate stem vowels, see section 2.3.5. This vowel coalescence (or 'ablaut') exists to a very limited degree in certain Sabahan languages, and to a higher degree in North Sarawak languages, such as Melanau (Blust 1997), but the Ida'an language presents a rather elaborate and complicated case of the phenomenon.

Stress in the Ida'an language is word-final, which links the language to the North Sarawak languages rather than to Sabah (Kroeger p.c.). Prentice (1971) describes stress in Timugon Murut as penultimate.

On the level of morphology, verbs in the Ida'an language have only two voices. This positions the language closer to the North Sarawak languages, which usually have only two or three voices (Clayre 1996) than to the rich agglutinative languages of Sabah, which tend to distinguish at least four voices. Moreover, unlike several languages of Sabah, Begak has lost the the Completive-Incompletive Aspect distinction in the Non-volitive mood. However, the Ida'an language still maintains a distinction between the Volitive and Non-volitive, while North Sarawak languages such as Melanau (Clayre 1972) tend to have no distinction between Volitive and Non-volitive mood, except for Lundayeh, where the term Stative corresponds to Non-volitive, (Clayre 2002).

The syntax of the basic clause seems to position the Ida'an language in between the languages of Sabah and North Sarawak from a syntactic point of view. On the one hand, the fact that the Ida'an language has no case marking on NPs makes it similar to North Sarawak languages as described in Clayre (1996), which also lack case markers on NPs. However, North Sarawak languages generally have only two

or, in the case of Lundayeh (Clayre 2002), at most three sets of pronouns, while the Ida'an language has four sets. In this respect it resembles Sahahan languages, which also have at least three or sometimes four sets. As for the word order, the Ida'an language has a syntactically based word order subject-verb-object and a semantically based word order verb-agent-patient. The verb-initial word order is slightly more frequent than the subject-initial word order, depending on various factors described in chapter 11. This positions the Ida'an language in between Sabahan languages and the North Sarawak languages. Sabahan languages tend to be verb-initial (except for Banggi, see Boutin 2002), while North Sarawak languages prefer the subject-initial word order, but allow an alternative word order where the verb is in initial position, followed by the non-subject, followed by the subject (Clayre 1996:60-63).

Table 2 Typological comparison of Begak with other Sabahan languages and North Sarawak languages

Phenomenon	The Ida'an language	other Sabahan languages (based on Blust 1998 and Clayre 1996)	North Sarawak languages (based on Blust 1998 and Clayre 1996)
Consonant fortition	yes	no	yes
Vowel coalescence ('ablaut')	yes	relics	yes
Word stress	word-final	variable or penultimate	word-final
Number of voices	2	4 or more	2 or 3
Case marking on NPs	no	yes	no
Number of sets of pronouns	4	4	2 or 3
Word order	verb-initial and subject-initial, slight preference for verb-initial	verb-initial	verb-initial and subject-initial, preference for subject-initial

1.1.4. Differences between Ida'an and Begak

The differences between the two dialects are not that big. In the census of Smith (1984), Begak had a shared vocabulary relationship of 87-90% with Ida'an. More recently, the percentage was found to be 95%, based on a wordlist collected by a speaker of Ida'an (King 1992). Most Begak people say they can understand Ida'an without difficulty, although certain vocabulary items are different, the most salient

difference being that Ida'an has the (very frequent) discourse particle *pi* where Begak has *pa*.

On the phonological level, Ida'an and Begak have the same phoneme inventory. Ida'an seems to have a geminate /bb/ where Begak has /gb/ (Ida'an data taken from Moody 1993):⁴

(1)	Ida'an	Begak	English
	<i>(ə)bban</i>	<i>gban</i>	'forest'
	<i>təbbuk</i>	<i>təgbuk</i>	'meet'
	<i>sibbu'</i>	<i>sigbu'</i>	'yellow'
	<i>m-ubba'</i>	<i>m-ugba'</i>	'rest'

Ida'an /bb/ could either be a simplification of an original /gb/ cluster, or be the original which was split up in /bb/ and /gb/ in Begak. Ida'an has /aw/ in final syllables where Begak has /ow/:

(2)	Ida'an	Begak	English
	<i>panaw</i>	<i>panow</i>	'go'
	<i>ikaw</i>	<i>ikow</i>	'2S.N 'you'
	<i>takaw</i>	<i>takow</i>	'steal'
	<i>a-taw</i>	<i>a-tow</i>	'know'
	<i>(ə)dtaw</i>	<i>dtow</i>	'day'

Other phonological differences in shared lexical items are non-systematic.

On the morphological level, there seems to be no difference. Both dialects have the same morphological processes, and the same affixes with identical function, but in cases where the language allows two options, Ida'an may inflect the same verb with one affix and Begak with another. For instance Begak has only *p-ata'* 'happen to see' but Ida'an has both *b-ata'* and *p-ata'* 'happen to see' (see sections 6.3. for a description of *b-* and *p-*).⁵ Each dialect seems to make different use of the same logical possibilities. The two dialects do not differ at the syntactic level.

The Begak dialect itself differs from village to village. For instance, the Begak of Ulu Tungku is more heavily influenced by Malay than that of Ulu Taburi on the other side of the Tungku river, probably because there are more non-Begak people on the Ulu Tungku side of the river. The Begak of Ulu Taburi is more conservative and its intonation is slightly different from that of Ulu Tungku.

⁴ The reverse, however, is not true. Begak does have /bb/ clusters as in *bəg-əbbi'* 'spit', *bəbba' adong* 'fire ants'. If Begak /gb/ clusters correspond to /bb/ clusters Ida'an, Begak /kp/ clusters probably correspond to /kk/ clusters. However, I have not checked this as /kp/ clusters are rare in Begak and I do not have access to an Ida'an lexicon.

⁵ These claims are based on a comparison between my own corpus and the folktales in Moody (1993) *Liton Ida'an*, Sabah Museum, Kota Kinabalu.

1.1.5. Earlier research

The first mention of the language is in F.A. Swettenham in no 5 of the *Journal of Straits Branch Royal Asiatic Society*, later published by Henry Ling Roth (1896) in *The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*. Swettenham published a word list of around 115 words, from a dialect or language called ‘Bulud Opie’, collected by the Hon. W.H. Treacher on Sigaliud River, Sandakan. Although some words of his word list deviate from the items in my own lexicon, it is clearly a dialect of the same language. However, Begak speakers nowadays do not know where Bulud Upi is situated.

Moody (1984) provides a report of the survey performed by Summer Institute of Linguistics in the period of 1978 through 1980. It is a lexico-statistic comparison of the languages of Sabah, where surveys of dialects of the Ida’an language are included.

Moody published a number of articles on the Ida’an dialect of the language, based on several periods of field work in the years 1984-2000. Moody (1989) documents the basic clause structure of Ida’an; Moody (1990) treats the social organisation of the Ida’an from an anthropological perspective; Moody (1991) describes how word order, verbal morphology and discourse particles structure the information flow in Ida’an narrative texts. Moody (1993) gives an overview of the Ida’an phonemics and briefly mentions a few (morpho)phonological phenomena. These articles were very helpful in the first stages of my research, while in later stages I have had a lot of benefit from personal communication with Moody.

1.1.6. Literature in Ida’an and Begak

The Ida’an and Begak have a rich oral literature, but apart from the Ida’an myth of origin, which was written in Jawi script in the fifteenth century (Harrison and Harrison 1970, see section 1.3.1. below), to my knowledge, nothing significant was written or published in the Ida’an language until the late 1980’s. In the Ida’an dialect, a phrasebook (Moody 1989) and a bundle of folk stories (Moody 1993) were compiled. In the Begak dialect, a picture dictionary was prepared (Moody 1998) and a few booklets containing one story each in the Begak dialect (various authors 1998, 1999). At the time of writing, some of the Begak people are in the process of editing Begak folktales in the form of booklets printed with a copying machine and stapled together.

1.2. Fieldwork, consultants, methodology

1.2.1. The field methods adopted

I gathered my data during three fieldwork periods: the first fieldwork period from July 2000 through January 2001; the second from February 2002 through August

2002 and the third from January 2004 through March 2004. The fieldwork took place in the village of Ulu Tungku near Lahad Datu on the east coast of Sabah, Borneo, Malaysia. Throughout my fieldwork, I stayed with a Begak host family in which Begak was spoken amongst adults and Malay with the children, as is common practice in the village.

During the first fieldwork period I learned to speak the language and started recording narratives and other forms of spontaneous speech. In the beginning the recorded speech was transcribed by my consultants, as I was not proficient enough in Begak to do it by myself. Towards the end of my first fieldwork period, I was able to transcribe the recorded texts myself. I recorded three hours of text during my first stay in Malaysia. After returning to the Netherlands, I entered the data into the computer and interlinearised them with the linguistic software program Shoebox, developed by the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Subsequently, I analysed the interlinearised sentences and made some hypotheses about the grammar.

During the second fieldwork period I recorded another ten hours of text, which I transcribed myself, and which were checked and corrected by my consultants. This time I did more effective elicitation, in order to check certain hypotheses on the analysis of the grammar. Usually I made up sentences based on spontaneous data and asked my consultants for their grammatical judgments of the sentences. After the second field work trip I wrote the prefinal draft of the dissertation. The third field trip was mainly used to double check the example sentences and word list in this draft.

The emphasis in this book is on spontaneous data. However, elicitation proved helpful to obtain certain rarer verb forms, to obtain more examples of rarer constructions or to test hypotheses about the grammar. The spontaneous examples in this book are marked with a code indicating their source text and sentence number. Elicited examples can be recognised by their lack of a source text code.

1.2.2. Consultants

During my first stay in Malaysia in 2000, my consultants were Patricia Pius (born in 1988), Kemisah Bibos (born in 1973), Lina Tiris (born in 1968) and Rosnani Bessing (born in 1982). Patricia Pius transcribed some of the texts; Kemisah Bibos transcribed and translated texts for me, while Lina Tiris and Rosnani Bessing translated words from the texts that had already been transcribed by Patricia Pius.

During my second fieldwork period in 2002, my consultants were Payna Bibos (born in 1967) and Aitim Apan (born in 1973) and incidentally Lina Tiris (born in 1968). Most of the work for this dissertation was done by Payna Bibos and Aitim Apan, as they corrected the largest part of the corpus (10 out of 13 hours) and provided all the elicited data. Payna Bibos and Aitim Apan also helped me in 2004 with the final checking.

Patrucia Pius has a Kadazan father⁶ and Lina Tiris an Indonesian (Toraja) father, and hence grew up in a Begak-Malay bilingual family. The other consultants all have Begak parents.

Payna Bibos, Aitim Apan and Lina Tiris had three years of secondary school, *Sijil Rendah Pelajaran* (SRP). Kemisah Bibos and Rosnani Bessing had five years of secondary school, *Sijil Pelajaran Malaysia* (SPM), while Patrucia Pius was, at the time she assisted me, in her sixth year of primary school and passed the final exam of the primary school *Ujian Penilaian Sekolah Rendah* (UPSR).

1.2.3. The corpus

During my field work, I have tried to gather texts from a variety of genres, but it proved difficult not to let one genre become dominant. It was for example much easier to record stories than conversations or procedural texts. Conversations are personal and therefore the researcher must get to know the speakers rather well before being able to record their speech. Moreover, many conversations were unfit for recording, for example because of the content or because of too much background noise. Stories and procedural texts are less personal; therefore it is possible to ask a person one knows less well to tell a story or procedural text, but Begak stories tend to be much longer than procedural texts. Therefore, inevitably the narrative genre dominates in my corpus: almost half of my recordings consists of narratives; one-quarter consists of conversations, while one-quarter consists of other genres such as procedural texts, explanations, a sermon, etc. (see the appendix A).

Throughout my fieldwork, I have been working together with people of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Jong-Dae Lee and his wife Mi-Suk An, who were working on a literacy program for the Begak people while I was in the village. They had already learned some Begak before I arrived and were so generous to give me copies of speech they had recently recorded, with the transcription of the texts. These tapes and transcriptions have helped me to learn the language. Jong-Dae Lee provided me with one hour of spontaneous texts, mainly narratives, while Mi-Suk An gave me several hours of speech elicited according to the LAMP method (Brewster and Brewster 1976). This method helps expatriates learn a foreign language in a natural setting, by eliciting natural data such as every day formulae, and by recording natural speech. Most of the time, Mi-Suk An would chat with her neighbour Bellu Tawid in Begak about a certain topic and when she heard an interesting sentence or expression, she would request her neighbour to repeat that sentence for recording. After that, she would elicit several variants of the same sentence, for example with different verb forms. Sometimes she would ask her neighbour to repeat the whole story; sometimes she used pictures and asked her neighbour to tell her what she saw on the pictures. The recordings can be characterised as semi-spontaneous or semi-elicited because on the one hand, the language data sounded very natural, but on the other hand, the speaker was monitoring her speech much more than in a natural situation and some of the

⁶ The Kadazan people are one of the largest ethnic groups in Sabah.

sentences are clearly the result of direct elicitation. The tapes of Mi-Suk are valuable, not only because of the large vocabulary of Bellu Tawid, but also because they provide some ‘everyday speech’ that is often totally absent in narratives and sometimes not even present in conversations. It is the type of speech one can only catch by taking notes but which is almost impossible to record on the spot. Her data complement my own data very well, as my own data consist mainly of narratives, conversations and procedural texts and contain only few notes of utterances overheard during conversations. Mi-Suk An and Jong-Dae Lee provided me with the transcriptions, which were corrected by my own consultants and then entered into the Shoebox database.

Almost all speakers in my corpus are older than 25, most of them are between 40 and 50 years old; and some of them are older than 50. This reflects the situation of the language where children and adolescents are more fluent in Malay than in Begak, speakers of in between 25 and 40 equally fluent in Begak and Malay and only speakers of over 40 years of age more fluent in Begak than in Malay. It was difficult to record speech of people younger than 30 years old because those speakers are less fluent in Begak. It would have been interesting to record their speech to find out how Malay influences Begak, but I excluded their speech from this grammatical description of Begak.

During my third fieldwork period in 2004, some Begak people had started writing their own stories and were entering them into the computer. Some of the stories were added to my database. My total corpus then consists roughly of 12 hours of spontaneous speech recorded and transcribed by myself, four hours of semi-spontaneous speech recorded by Mi-Suk An, one hour of spontaneous speech recorded by Jong-Dae Lee and a few written texts, see appendix A.

1.3. Language and culture

1.3.1. Setting of the Ida’an and Begak people

The Ida’an trace back their decedence to a legendary ancestor Besai, who lived on the Kinabatangan River. This legend or myth of origin was written down in Arabic Jawi script some centuries ago, probably by the first Ida’an Muslim Abdullah, and this document is still preserved by an Ida’an family of imams (Harrison and Harrison 1970: 229). It is Sabah’s oldest document. The legend continues with an Ida’an named Apoi, who went chasing after a golden deer and discovered the caves of Madday by chance, where the Ida’an still gather bird’s nests for a living.⁷ Moody (1990) treats the present social organisation of the Ida’an in more detail; the remainder of this section focusses on the Begak.

⁷ The myth includes a passage about an egg falling down from heaven, which breaks open and a man comes out. The Begak have a similar myth, which is included in the appendix. The legend on the golden deer and the caves of Maddai also exists among the Begak. A translation of the Ida’an origin myth as found in the oldest document of Sabah is given in Harrison and Harrison (1970: 231-232).

The Begak live in villages around the Tungku river, which they themselves call the Kemukun. On one side of the Tungku river, there are three villages which together form the municipality of Ulu Tungku. Two villages on the other side of the river form the municipality of Taburi. Another village Manar is situated along the highway to Lahad Datu. One larger village Dengan Tungku (in Begak: Dengon) is situated at sea; this village has many shops, a hospital and a secondary school and is populated by predominantly Iranun and Begak people and some Bajaus. Many Begak people have moved for their jobs to the nearby town Lahad Datu and to Felda Sahabat, a small service town in the middle of palm estates.

There are several anecdotes explaining why the Begak name of the river Kemukun deviates from the official name Tungku, but all have in common an element of miscommunication between the Begak people and strangers or government officials who asked the Begak what the name of the river was. According to one anecdote, a stranger pointed to three stones in the river and a Begak man said *tugu* 'monument'. According to another anecdote, a government official made a number of Begak people line up and asked them one by one what the name of the river was. All said *tun ku* 'I don't care'.

The Begak people used to be swidden rice farmers. When Malaysia became independent in 1963, the government started to develop the area, built roads and founded schools and hospitals. Nowadays, the Begak have legal rights of their yard, gardens and agricultural land. The people used to build small houses with bamboo walls, but nowadays most houses are stilt houses made of hard wood, while a few newer houses are two story buildings with a concrete floor.

Many Begak still grow dry hill rice for their own consumption, as hill rice is the staple food. Wet rice is not grown in the area; all rice culture is dry hill rice. Besides rice, a few cash crops are grown, such as coconut, cocoa, corn and oil palms (*kelapa sawit*). There is a recent tendency to grow less rice and to grow more cash crops instead, especially oil palm. Oil palm is becoming more popular than the other cash crops, because it is less labour-intensive than, for instance, cocoa or coconut. However, dry hill rice is based on a rotation system and the same piece of land cannot be cultivated two subsequent years. As people plant their land increasingly with oil palm, rotation becomes difficult; and as (forest) land continues to be sold to oil palm estates, it becomes almost impossible to find new land that can be slashed and burned for rice cultivation.

The oil palms estates surrounding the village keep expanding and many Begak men are employed there as a truck driver, guard or in the administration.⁸ In many Begak households, it is the task of the wife to grow rice and perhaps a few cash crops, while the husband earns money either in the oil palm estate or by growing cash crops. Even if the husband earns a very good salary, the wife continues to grow hill rice or else she employs workers to do the job, as hill rice is very highly valued for its fragrant grains which are smaller than those of wet rice sold in the market and shops. In their spare time, the men go hunting in the forest or shooting prawns in the river. River fish is caught by both men (using a net) and

⁸ It is mainly the immigrant workers from Indonesia, the Philippines and India who do the actual planting, weeding and harvesting of the oil palms, while Malaysians have other jobs in the oil palm estates.

women (using a fishing line), and sea fish is bought from stalls in the village Dengan Tungku, from stalls on the highway to Lahad Datu, or from sellers who go from door to door on a motor bike selling fish. Most other goods are bought in the nearby town Lahad Datu. Administration and contact with government officials is done in Dengan Tungku or in Lahad Datu.

The area where Begak is spoken has electricity since 1996, and before that, many people had generators; therefore the Begak have been exposed to Malay television for many years. At the time of writing the dirt road along the Tungku river into Ulu Tungku is being asphalted and connected to the highway from Lahad Datu to Felda Sahabat. Telephone lines and water pipes will soon follow.

1.3.2. The use of the Begak language

Ever since the introduction of schools, hospitals, radio and television in the area, Begak has lost terrain to Malay. Malay is used as a media in schools and my impression is that most (if not all) parents speak mainly Malay to their children, to prepare them for school. Only after the children have reached school age, they learn to speak Begak, but they remain more fluent in Malay than in Begak. At the age of twelve, virtually all children enter secondary school. As the secondary school is a boarding school, the teenagers come home only in weekends and are exposed less to Begak. My impression is that teenagers, unlike primary school children, love to speak Begak as they are more aware of their identity, but they tend to mix Begak and Malay.

The oil palm estates have attracted a steady influx of immigrants from Indonesia (mainly Bugis, Timorese and Torajas) and from the Philippines (mainly Bisaya). As most immigrant workers speak Malay and do not learn to speak Begak, the population of the area has become rather mixed, and Malay has won more terrain over Begak.

In general, Begak is still used at home, amongst adults and all the children, and in conversations amongst other people in the village, although people will easily switch to Malay as soon as a young or non-Begak person joins the conversation. Speeches for larger groups of people, for example at a wedding, are always in Malay to suit non-Begak guests. Malay is used in all other domains, for example in school, the clinic, etc.

Generally speaking, and depending on the person and the family, most people of over 45 years of age are more fluent in Begak than in Malay, but all of them are bilingual to some extent. Most people of between 25 and 45 years old are equally fluent in Begak and Malay. Young people of under 25 are best in Malay and speak Begak only to a certain extent. It can be concluded, then, that Begak is threatened with extinction within a few generations, unless the present generation makes an effort to learn and pass on the language.

1.3.3. Language, religion and culture

The Begak people used to adhere the traditional religion (animism), but since the independence of Malaysia, Islam and Christianity have been introduced into the area and many people nowadays are Muslim or Christian. Some people, mainly elderly people, still adhere to the traditional animistic belief.

The traditional belief is centered on the dry rice farming cycle. Land is slashed in July, burned in August and cleared in September. Many taboos are linked to this practice. Before planting rice, at the beginning of the rainy season early October, a *pərungan* ‘eye of the rice’ must be planted. This is a circle of lemon grass and certain species of rice in the middle of the rice field, which is supposed to ‘cool down’, i.e. bless the rice. Another ritual is performed as soon as the rice has ears: the people working in the rice field must ‘tie up’ three rice ears before they go home at the end of the day and say a prayer to chase away the spirits of the dead from the rice field. When the rice is half ripe, around March, a basket full of rice is harvested and roasted in a wok. The result is *sellag* (in Malay *emping*), a fragrant cereal which is eaten with coconut cream and sugar. Some of the roasted rice is offered to the bush knife and other agricultural instruments, which are believed to be animate beings. After the harvest is finished, around April, the *pərungan* ‘eye of the rice’ is harvested and the spirits of the rice are called into the room where the harvested rice is stored. Non-animists (Muslims and Christians) do not perform these rituals; for instance they do make *sellag* ‘roasted rice’ but do not offer it to their knives.

During harvest time certain words are taboo, for example, it is forbidden to say *bəttən ku lagbi* ‘my harvest basket is full’. The word *lagbi* ‘full’ must be replaced by *pullut*, which means ‘tree sap, rubber’ in any other context, but which means ‘full’ in harvesting context. When breaking the taboo, the rice is believed to last less long. Another taboo word is *gədirik* ‘slash’ when referring to cutting the straw after the rice ears have been harvested. It is not taboo when referring to slashing in any other context. The word to replace it is *məngippus* ‘finish’. I am not aware of any other taboo words within the agricultural domain, nor in other domains such as hunting, fishing, etc., but there may be more.

One of the most important other rituals is *russay*, which is performed when someone wants to make a wish or vow, for instance healing a sick person or blessing a wedding. Usually the ritual takes three nights. On the first night people play the gong all night long. The second night starts by dancing on the music of the gong, after which an opening song is performed. The roof is opened from inside out, and a lady who knows the ritual words invites *doto* ‘angelic being’ to come in and pronounces the wish which was the occasion for the ritual. After the opening song, the participants hold each others little finger if they are of the same sex or married with each other, or else if they are of the opposite sex and not married with each other, they hold a piece of cloth in between each other. The participants walk around the central pole of the house in the middle of the room (or if there is none, around a wooden stick placed in the middle of the room) speaking and singing in pairs in a ritual language. This speaking or singing in pairs is called *səndait* and the ritual language is understood only by those who have learned it. This singing in pairs goes on until dawn and is closed with the same song as the opening song. On the third

night gong music is played again to close the ritual. As the *russay* language is a secret language, I have not made an attempt to record or study it. The *russay* ritual and *səndait* 'singing in pairs' is not unique for Begak; it occurs in other parts of Sabah as well.⁹

The Begak believe in the afterlife. The underworld is believed to be situated on the hill of *Sirom* (*Silam* in Malay), near Lahad Datu. The Begak funerals, which take place one or two days after death, involve several rituals. First, the gong is beaten to inform the whole village of the fact that the person is dying, then after the person's death, the gong is beaten in another rhythm. The deceased person is 'fed' three times a day before the funeral takes place. The extremity of the coffin is decorated in the shape of a rhinoceros head if the deceased is a man, or a bird's head if the deceased is a woman. The coffin and the house are decorated with flags. Guests are received with coffee and biscuits and many people wail. On the funeral day, a chicken is killed by beating it three times at the extremity of the coffin, and its intestines are 'read' to reveal the cause of death. After that, the hair of a female family member of the deceased is combed and a very small string of hair is cut off and kept in a special bowl. Several possessions of the deceased, including agricultural instruments, are buried together with the coffin to equip the deceased with the necessary goods for in the underworld. On the third day after the funeral, several fruit trees are cut down for the deceased person to take with him on his departure to the underworld. He is believed to depart on the third day after the funeral and cross a river by boat before he arrives in *Sirom* and many taboos are linked to this belief. Some of these customs are general practice throughout Sabah. Muslims and Christians have their own respective prayers which replace the rituals described above, but the traditions of wailing, dancing and decoration with flags are often observed, as far as I have seen.

Marriage customs follow a mixture of traditional Begak customs and modern Muslim and Christian customs. The first step in a traditional Begak wedding is *mənnik mənawom* or *mənnik mənatab* 'go up propose for marriage': the man and his family go to the house of the future bride to propose for marriage. The traditional gifts the man has to bring is betelnut items, sugar and nowadays chicken and cake are also appreciated, but betelnut remains the most important, even if the family of the future bride does not chew betelnut. The next step is *gəsərawo-rawo* or *gəgəssur gatang* 'the exchange of the bride price'. This time the man and his family go to the house of the future bride again to give the bride price and discuss the wedding date. A traditional Begak wedding takes seven days. The first three days and nights the gong, *kulintangan* and drum are played. On the third day, there is a ceremony where the new couple sits side by side. The bridegroom gives a golden button to his bride as *pəngəruk* 'payment for sharing a plate'. After that, the couple eats sharing one plate and several salute shots are fired with a gun. The day after the ceremony at the bride's place, the couple moves into the house of the bridegroom; this is called

⁹ The Makian (Milian) of the Kinabatangan have a dance called *berunsai* in Malay which is almost identical to the Begak *russay* (Stuart T. Lyman p.c). The Kadazandusun have a tradition of *sundait* 'riddles' performed during the long hours of harvesting rice, which also involves speaking in pairs (Evans 1954, Raymond 94).

sibug. There is another ceremony where the couple has to sit side by side again, and the gong is played during the next three nights.

Nowadays, weddings tend to take only one day; this is called *kawin ədtow* ‘a one day wedding’. Muslims have their own religious practices, while Christians hold a church service before the feast begins in the yard of the bride’s parent’s house. A *kawin dtow* ‘one day wedding’ includes a ceremony called *bandi* ‘poetry bee’. *Bandi* ‘poetry bee’ is not only performed at weddings but also in the nights before funerals. *Bandi* language is different from *russay* language in that it is just poetic language and not a secret language with different words. I have only witnessed *bandi* during weddings. The bride sits behind curtains together with a group of elderly ladies, waiting for the bridegroom. When the bridegroom enters the yard of the bride’s parental home, some elderly men stop him and tell him singing in poetic language that he should pay a sum of money. The bridegroom pays half of that sum and goes to the front of the curtains. The elderly men sing to the ladies inside the curtains, requesting them again to open the curtains. The ladies reply, singing that the bridegroom should pay again. The bridegroom pays the other half of the required sum and the curtains are opened so that the bridegroom can meet the bride. For the present study, I have not studied the *bandi* ‘poetry bee’ language.

Many more traditional rituals, prayers, customs and taboos can be mentioned, but I have limited myself to the most important customs somehow involving language. Only some elderly people and of course the *tukong ubot* ‘traditional doctor, herbalist’ still know the *russay* and *bandi* language and other rituals. Their numbers keep decreasing.

1.3.4. *Uni lepid* ‘layered language’

Begak has no levels of speech for people of high or low social status, such as, for example, in Javanese; there is only one level (although individuals can of course speak in a refined or less refined way). Elderly people may use words that are unknown to the younger generation; these archaic words or expressions are called *uni dallom* ‘deep language’. Although the words ‘deep language’ in other Austronesian languages often refers to the ritual language, the Begak ‘deep language’ only refers to Begak archaic expressions unknown to younger speakers. The ritual language is referred to as *uni russay* ‘russay language’ or *uni bandi* ‘bandi language’.

Certain Begak words or expressions have a literal meaning and a figurative meaning. This figurative meaning is called *uni lepid* ‘layered language’. Certain other words or expressions are called *uni lepid* ‘layered language’ although they lack a literal meaning. In the first case, the *uni lepid* ‘layered language’ merely refers to metaphoric or flowery speech, while in the second case it refers to a kind of *argot* or *slang* which is used when the speaker wants to be understood by the addressee only and not by other people present. It is used for example when there are small children around who are not supposed to understand what the adults are talking about, or when there are visitors for whom the family wishes to hide certain information, or just when the speaker is angry and wants to use powerful language. A special

occasion where *uni lepid* is needed is when a man wants to propose for marriage. It is a tradition that men who want to ask for the hand of their future bride speak in metaphors and flowery speech, rather than using too direct language. The word list in the appendix contains several examples of *uni lepid*.

1.3.5. Kinship terms and terms of address

Here is a (perhaps incomplete) list of kinship terms:

(3)	Kinship	Term of address	English
	<i>pəɔəray</i>	-	'relatives'
	<i>goyan</i>	-	'nuclear family'
	<i>langgung</i>	-	'siblings and blood relatives of the same generation'
	<i>lakkag</i>	-	'remote relatives' (very infrequent word)
	<i>ama'</i>	<i>(a)ma'</i>	'father'
	<i>ina'</i>	<i>(i)na'</i>	'mother'
	<i>anak</i>	<i>uo'</i> (<i>female, male</i>), <i>say</i> (<i>male</i>)	'child'
	<i>anak kako</i>	-	'oldest child'
	<i>anak ari</i>	-	'youngest child'
	<i>io'</i>	<i>yo'</i>	'older sibling'
	<i>ai'</i>	<i>yi'</i>	'younger sibling'
	<i>inni'</i>	<i>(in)ni'</i>	'grandfather/grandmother'
	<i>anak-anak</i>	<i>wo', say</i>	'grandchild'
	<i>kamman</i>	<i>(kam)man</i>	'uncle'
	<i>minan</i>	<i>(mi)nan</i>	'aunt'
	<i>ganak</i>	<i>yo', yi'</i>	'first cousin'
	<i>missan</i>		
	<i>ganak</i>	<i>yo', yi'</i>	'second cousin, etc'
	<i>kəduo</i>		
	<i>anak</i>	<i>wo', say</i>	'nephew, niece'
	<i>makon</i>		
	<i>tamong</i>	<i>to father-in-law: (kam)man, to mother-in-law: (mi)nan, to son-in-law or daughter-in-law: tamong</i>	'father-in-law, mother-in-law, son-in-law, daughter-in-law'
	<i>məruay</i>	<i>way</i>	'relationship between two men who married two sisters or between two women who married two brothers'. Malay: <i>biras</i>
	<i>langu'</i>	<i>o langu'ku!</i>	'brother in law, sister in law, cousin of one's spouse'. Malay: <i>ipar</i>
	<i>bisan</i>	-	'relationship between the bride's parents and the bridegroom's parents; son-in-law's or daughter-in-law's parents.' Malay: <i>besan</i>

It is a custom to avoid using pronouns and in some cases also to avoid calling someone's name. The terms of address for non-relatives are based on terms of address for relatives:

(4) Age or status of addressee	Term of address	English
slightly older than speaker	<i>yo'</i>	'older sibling'
slightly younger than speaker	<i>yi'</i>	'younger sibling'
age speaker's father	<i>(kam)man</i>	'uncle'
age of speaker's mother	<i>(mi)nan</i>	'aunt'
age of speaker's grandparents	<i>(in)ni'</i>	'grandfather/grandmother'
age of speaker's grandchildren	<i>wo', say</i>	'my daughter, my son'

Besides the terms of address mentioned above, there are other ways to avoid using pronouns or calling someone's name. One way is to adopt an *abit*, which is a name with which close friends call each other. That is, if person X and person Y are friends and agree that their *abit* is 'Z', then X calls Y no longer 'Y' but 'Z' and Y calls X no longer 'X' but 'Z'. The *abit* may be based on a common hobby, for instance, if two friends often go fishing together, their *abit* may be the name of a species of fish. Not only friends may decide to chose an *abit* but also, for instance, a herbalist and a frequent client who like to avoid calling each other's name. If an aunt and her niece are of almost the same age, and both feel uncomfortable calling each other *minan* 'aunt' and *wo'* 'my daughter', an *abit* is an attractive option. Another option to avoid calling each other's name is to use the profession of the addressee as term of address, for instance *sigu* 'schoolteacher' etc.

Most people call each other by their nickname, whereas their official name as registered by the government is only used for their identity card and official occasions. People may change their name after a serious illness for fear of recurrence of the disease. When a person dies, all people who have more or less the same name receive a newly bought plate as a sign of *kakkab* 'cooling down', i.e. braking the curse on the name.

1.4. Overview of the Begak grammar

Chapter 2 discusses the phonology. Begak has four primary vowels /a, i, u, o or ə/ and two secondary vowels /e, o/ which only occur as a result of vowel coalescence of a stem vowel /a/ with infix *-i-* or *-u-*. The consonant inventory is /p, t, k, b, d, g, j, s, m, n, ng, ʔ/. Syllables are of the type V, VC, CV or CVC and the minimal word is bisyllabic. Consonant clusters only occur at syllable boudaries and must share place features. Stress falls on the final syllable of the word. Begak has several prefixes, three infixes and no productive suffixes. All morphophonology aims at creating consonant-initial bisyllabic words which contain no consonant cluster at a prefix-stem boundary. This is done by consonant-deletion, nasal fusion, vowel coalescence and suppletive allomorphy.

Chapter 3 treats morphological units and processes. The distinction between inflection and derivation is hard to draw in Begak, but it is claimed that at least voice, tense and mood are inflectional, while other morphology is derivational.

Chapter 4 presents formal evidence for distinguishing several word classes.

Chapter 5 describes the basic clause and syntactic categories. Begak has two basic word orders: one verb-initial and one subject-initial. Unlike most other Sabahan languages, Begak has only two voices, Actor Voice and Undergoer Voice. As Begak lacks case markers on full NPs, the word order and voice marking on the verb are very important in determining the grammatical functions of the NPs. Only pronouns are marked for case. Their case marking is determined not only by their grammatical function but, interestingly enough, also by the word order of the clause. Pronominal undergoer-subjects appear in the nominative if in pre-verbal position, but in the accusative or oblique if in post-verbal position.

Begak verbs are inflected for voice, tense and mood. Begak inflection and derivation is much poorer than that of the other Sabahan languages, but richer than that of North Sarawak languages. Inflection is treated in chapter 6. Chapter 7 treats the derivational morphology, which includes reciprocals, causatives, petitives, manner nominalisation and body noun incorporation. The structure of the noun phrase is treated in chapter 8.

Begak has several adverbial elements such as adverbs, aspectual particles, and several discourse particles. Begak has two sentence negators, two negative imperative negators and one contrastive negator. These and other adverbials are treated in chapter 9. This chapter also treats the syntax and semantics of the auxiliaries, which take finite or non-finite complements. Finally, the word order of clauses with and without auxiliaries, aspect particles, negators, etc. are described.

Chapter 10 treats several types of subordinate and coordinate clauses, such as complement clauses, direct and indirect speech complements, control clauses, relative clauses and adverbial subordinate clauses. Questions with interrogative pronoun (“wh-questions”) and clefts are based on the structure of the relative clause; therefore they are treated in the same subsection.

Chapter 11 treats the pragmatics of the two word orders and gives a statistic overview of the use of word order and voice in various genres. The syntactic characteristics of various genres of discourse are briefly discussed.

2. Phonology

2.1. Introduction

This chapter deals with the main aspects of the Begak phonology. Section 2.2. will describe the phoneme inventory. Section 2.3. will treat the phonotactics of the language: syllable structure, consonant clusters, vowel clusters, the structure of the root and the phonotactics of affixes. Section 2.4. will describe the main morphophonological processes of the language, such as consonant deletion, nasal fusion, infixation and vowel coalescence. Section 2.5. will discuss the four types of reduplication: Cə-reduplication, foot reduplication, full reduplication and syntactic reduplication with the particle *tu*. Section 2.6. will briefly mention two post-lexical phonological processes and section 2.7. will summarise this chapter.

2.2. Phoneme inventory

2.2.1. Consonants

Below, a description of each of the phonemes and their possible allophones is given. Their orthographical representation is given between brackets.

Table 1 Consonant inventory

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Voiceless stop	[p] (p)	[t] (t)	[tʃ](c)	[k] (k)	[ʔ] (‘)
Voiced stop	[b] (b)	[d] (d)	[dʒ] (j)	[g] (g)	
Fricative		[s] (s)			
Nasal	[m] (m)	[n] (n)		[ŋ] (ng)	
Liquid		[l] (l)			
Trill		[r] (r)			
Approximant	[w] (w)		[j] (y)		

The following table shows some contrast between consonants in initial position. If (semi-)minimal pairs could not be found, an example of another word containing the consonant is given.

(1)	/p/	vs	/b/	<i>pio</i>	‘good’
				<i>bio</i>	‘and’
	/t/	vs	/d/	<i>təllu</i>	‘three’ ¹
				<i>dəllu</i>	‘descend’
	/c/	vs	/j/	<i>jolan</i>	‘fried bananas’
				<i>cuka</i>	‘vinegar’
	/k/	vs	/g/	<i>karut</i>	‘wild cat’
				<i>garut</i>	‘hoarse (throat)’
	/ʎ/	vs	/t/	<i>lambus</i>	‘go on’
				<i>rambung</i>	‘rampant’
	/m/	vs	/n/	<i>minum</i>	‘DEP-drink, drink!’
				<i>ninum</i>	‘COM-drink, already drunk’
			/ng/	<i>ngam</i>	‘exact’
	/p/	vs	/t/	<i>pərom</i>	‘store to ripen quickly’
				<i>təron</i>	‘panic’
		vs	/k/	<i>kərom</i>	‘cripple’
	/b/	vs	/d/	<i>baul</i>	‘wooden box’
				<i>daun</i>	‘leaf’
		vs	/g/	<i>gaun</i>	‘smoke’

Not all consonants can occur word-initially. The bilabial approximant /w/, and the alveolar approximant /y/, for example, do not occur word-initially because Begak has a prohibition on initial glides. The palatal voiceless stop /c/ occurs word-initially only in loan words from Malay, as in the word *cuka* ‘vinegar’. There are no native words starting with /c/ and elderly people often pronounce /c/ as /s/. The palatal voiced stop /j/ does occur word-initially in a few native Begak words, such as *jolan* ‘fried bananas’, although /j/ is rare in word-initial position.

The glottal stop [ʔ], represented by /ʎ/, occurs as a default onset in vowel-initial roots, but is not contrastive in word-initial position, and is therefore not represented in the orthography (see section (2.3.1.) about the syllable structure).

Although there is no phonological prohibition on nasal segments in initial position, there is a morphosyntactic restriction on their occurrence. Roots of dynamic verbs cannot start with a nasal. Words of all other word classes as well as affixes can start with a nasal; the examples given above are mainly nouns.

The following table shows some minimal pairs of consonants in word-medial intervocalic position.

¹ These examples contain geminate consonants. Geminate consonants are treated in sections 2.3.2. and 2.3.3.

(2)	/p/	vs	/b/	<i>tabak</i>	‘large tray on legs’	
				<i>tapak</i>	‘plate’	
	/t/	vs	/d/	<i>mato</i>	‘eye’	
				<i>lado</i>	‘pepper, chillies’	
	/c/	vs	/j/	<i>lancuk</i>	‘candle’ (there are no words with /c/ in real intervocalic position)	
				<i>baju</i>	‘shirt’	
	/k/	vs	/g/	<i>siku</i>	‘elbow’	
				<i>sigu</i>	‘teacher’	
	/l/	vs	/r/	<i>gulo</i>	‘first’	
				<i>guro</i>	‘cane sugar’	
	/g/	vs	/b/	<i>labo</i>	‘lot of game’	
				<i>lado</i>	‘pepper’	
				vs /g/	<i>lagu</i>	‘song’ (Malay)
	/m/	vs	/n/	<i>bano</i>	‘husband’	
				<i>bama’</i>	‘chew betelnut’	
				vs /ng/	<i>bango</i>	‘husk’
	/p/	vs	/t/	<i>apug</i>	‘lime’	
				<i>atug</i>	‘dry’	
				vs /k/	<i>aku</i>	‘I’
	/y/	vs	/w/	<i>boyo</i>	‘crocodile’	
				<i>bowon</i>	‘sparrow’	

The bilabial glide /w/, and the alveolar glide /y/ occur word-medially as contrastive phonemes, but also as default onsets to solve vowel hiatuses, as in the words *pait*, [pajit] ‘fish’, and *liun* [lijun] ‘woman’, *maus* [mawus] ‘DEP-bring’, see section 2.3.5. In environments where glides occur as default onsets they are not represented in the orthography. (3) shows some minimal pairs of consonants in word-final position.

(3)	/p/	vs	b/	<i>allop</i>	‘sharp’	
				<i>alob</i>	‘knee’	
	/t/	vs	/d/	<i>lassot</i>	‘ <i>langsat</i> fruit’	
				<i>pasod</i>	‘many’	
	/k/	vs	/g/	<i>matak</i>	‘DEP-throw away’	
				<i>matag</i>	‘DEP-support a sick person’	
	/k/	vs	/ʔ/	<i>matak</i>	‘DEP-throw away’	
				<i>mata’</i>	‘DEP-look at’	
	/l/	vs	/r/	<i>mukul</i>	‘DEP-beat’	
				<i>mukur</i>	‘DEP-measure’	
	/m/	vs	/n/	<i>allom</i>	‘in’	
				vs /ng/	<i>allan</i>	‘intoxicated’
				<i>allang</i>	‘hard’	
	/ʔ/	vs	∅	<i>təbpi’</i>	‘waterside’	
				<i>təbpi</i>	‘burst’	
	/y/	vs	/w/	<i>tapoy</i>	‘rice wine’	
				<i>takow</i>	‘steal’	

As can be seen in the tables above, all stops in word-initial and word-medial position are released, whereas all stops in word-final position are unreleased. In IPA, unreleasedness is represented as [p[̚]], [t[̚]], [k[̚]], etc., but in my orthography of Begak

this is not represented, because being released or unreleased is not a contrastive feature in the phonology of Begak. The glottal stop is contrastive in word-final position only.

The glides in word-final position have been analysed as consonants rather than as the second vowel of diphthongs. If glides were the second element of diphthongs, they would have to occur in all positions where vowels can occur. Simple vowels can occur in all syllables and can always be followed by a consonant, but vowels followed by a glide can occur in word-final syllables only, and cannot be followed by a consonant. The non-existing word **dəllayt*, for example, is phonologically ill formed, because both /y/ and /t/ are in the coda and complex codas are forbidden in Begak, but the word *dəllay* ‘maize’ is phonologically well formed. The glide /y/ in this word is word-final and has to be analysed as a consonant in coda position.

2.2.2. Vowels

Table 2 shows the six Begak vowels:

Table 2 Vowel inventory

	+front -round		+back +round
+high	i		u
-high, -low	e	ə	o
+low		a	

The vowel /e/ only occurs in penultimate syllables, while schwa occurs anywhere except in final syllables.² Here are some minimal pairs of vowels in final syllables. The vowel /a/ in final syllables must be followed by a consonant, where a glottal stop counts as default. Exceptions where /a/ occurs in an open final syllable have not been attested yet. However, the vowel /o/ in the final syllable can be followed by any consonant except by a glottal stop. Again counterexamples have not been attested.

² There are four exceptions where /e/ does occur in final syllables: (1) the demonstrative *ne* ‘this’, (2) the discourse particle *key*, (3) the vocative *ye* ‘o younger sibling!’ which consists of the final syllable of the bisyllabic noun *ai* ‘younger sibling’, where the final /i/ has been lowered, (4) the *abit* ‘nickname’ *Separe* with which people in folktales call each other. My hypothesis is that all four exceptions are cases of lowering of an original /i/, although the pronunciation is invariably /e/. I will follow the pronunciation and spell these words with /e/.

(4)	/a/	vs	/u/	<i>apag</i>	‘wok’
				<i>apug</i>	‘lime’
	/a/	vs	/o/	<i>lisang</i>	‘play’
				<i>lisong</i>	‘wild ox’
	/i/	vs	/a/	<i>dili</i>	‘choose’
				<i>dila</i>	‘tongue’
	/i/	vs	/u/	<i>tiri</i>	‘step mother/father/etc’
				<i>tiru</i>	‘teach’
	/o/	vs	/u/	<i>bətton</i>	‘harvest basket’
				<i>bəttun</i>	‘star’
	/o/	vs	/i/	<i>bulo</i>	‘crop’
				<i>buli</i>	‘can’

(Semi)- minimal pairs of vowels in the penultimate syllable are in (5):

(5)	/a/	vs	/u/	<i>kamman</i>	‘uncle’
				<i>kumman</i>	‘eat’
	/a/	vs	/i/	<i>ikod</i>	‘cough’
				<i>akod</i>	‘upstream’
	/a/	vs	/e/	<i>panow</i>	‘go’
				<i>penow</i>	‘went’
	/a/	vs	/o/	<i>gabpi</i>	‘night’
				<i>gobpi</i>	‘late afternoon, evening, i.e. going to be night’
	/a/	vs	/ə/	<i>dəllay</i>	‘maize’
				<i>dallay</i>	‘slow’
	/u/	vs	/i/	<i>butus</i>	‘to smoke’
				<i>bitis</i>	‘shin’
	/u/	vs	/e/	<i>bera</i> (-i-bara)	‘-COM-say, said’
				<i>buru</i>	‘white feathered’
	/u/	vs	/o/	<i>ulu</i>	‘head’
				<i>olu</i>	‘eight’
	/u/	vs	/ə/	<i>məng-ərus</i>	‘AV-brush’
				<i>məng-urus</i>	‘AV-organize’
	/i/	vs	/e/	<i>sillun</i>	‘other’
				<i>sellag</i>	‘roasted rice’
	/i/	vs	/o/	<i>tindak</i>	‘step on’
				<i>tondak</i>	‘perch’
	/i/	vs	/ə/	<i>sillun</i>	‘other’
				<i>səllun</i>	‘nail’
	/o/	vs	/ə/	<i>səgkow</i>	‘call’
				<i>soggow</i> (s-u-aggow)	‘-DEP-catch’
	/o/	vs	/e/	<i>konut</i> (k-u-anut)	‘-DEP-pull’
				<i>kenut</i> (k-i-anut)	‘-COM-pull, pulled’

The way in which the high vowels /i/ and /u/ are actually pronounced can vary considerably. The actual pronunciation of the vowel /i/ comes usually close to the cardinal vowel [i] in open prefinal syllables, as in *dila* [dilaʔ] ‘tongue’, and can vary between [i] and [e] in closed final syllables, as in *bəssing* [bəssɪŋ] ‘squirrel’.

Exceptions to this generalisation are *miro* ‘they’, *igbit* ‘lift’, *sərigkow* ‘fight over something’, which are rendered [mɪro], [ɪgbit] and [səɾɪgkow] respectively.

The vowel /u/ is usually pronounced as cardinal [u] in open prefinal syllables, as in *bura*’ [buraʔ] ‘white feathered’ but is sometimes lowered to [ʊ] in closed final syllables, as in *bəlatung* [bəlatuŋ] ‘bean’.

The six Begak vowels can (at least historically) be split up in four primary (underived) vowels and two secondary (derived) vowels. The four primary vowels occur in unaffixed words and are /a/, /i/, /u/ and schwa, where schwa has two allophones: schwa in penultimate syllables and /o/ in final syllables. The secondary vowels /e/ and /o/ in penultimate syllables are almost without exception the result of vowel coalescence of the root vowel /a/ and the Completive Aspect infix *-i-*, resulting in the vowel /e/, or of the root vowel /a/ and the Dependent infix *-u-*, resulting in the vowel /o/. In other words, /e/ in penultimate syllables is underlyingly /ia/ and /o/ in penultimate syllables is underlyingly /ua/, whereas /o/ in final syllables is an allophone of schwa. A more detailed description of the phonology of the infixes *-i-* and *-u-* is given in section 2.4.5. and for the morphosyntactic description of these infixes, the reader is referred to sections 6.4. and 6.5. respectively. Examples of verbs infixed with *-i-* or *-u-* resulting in the secondary vowels /e/ and /o/ respectively are given in (6).

(6)	root	gloss	Dependent	Completive Aspect
	<i>lepas</i>	‘pass’	<i>lepas</i>	<i>lepas</i>
	<i>gani</i>	‘harvest’	<i>goni</i>	<i>geni</i>
	<i>gambar</i>	‘picture’	<i>gombar</i>	<i>gembar</i>
	<i>kanut</i>	‘pull’	<i>konut</i>	<i>kenut</i>
	<i>kaluk</i>	‘visit’	<i>koluk</i>	<i>keluk</i>
	<i>sala</i> ’	‘forbid’	<i>sola</i> ’	<i>sela</i> ’

The secondary vowels /e/ and /o/ also occur as the result of vowel coalescence in adapted loan words. If a loan word contains a sequence of a glide followed by /a/, the glide coalesces with the following vowel /a/ producing /e/ or /o/. Begak avoids glides word-initially and if loan words contains them, they are adapted to the Begak phonology. Examples are given in (7) and (8).

(7)	Malay	gloss	Begak	gloss
	<i>tuala</i>	‘towel’	<i>tola</i>	‘towel’
	<i>waktu</i>	‘time’	<i>(w)oktu / waktu</i>	‘time’
	<i>wayar</i>	‘wire’	<i>oyar</i>	‘wire’
	<i>wayang</i>	‘movie’	<i>oyang</i>	‘movie’
	<i>jualan</i>	‘things sold’	<i>jolan</i>	‘fried bananas’

(8)	Malay	gloss	Begak	gloss
	<i>pelihara</i>	‘look after’	<i>pəlera</i> ’	‘look after’
	<i>ajaib</i>	‘miraculous’	<i>deip</i>	‘astonished’
	<i>janji</i>	‘promise, vow’	<i>dendi</i>	‘vow’
	<i>kiamat</i>	‘end of the world’	<i>kemot</i>	‘end of the world’

On the other hand, if loan words from Malay containing a prefinal /e/ or /o/ are borrowed into the language, they are pronounced as /i/ and /u/ respectively. The Malay word *meja* ‘table’ becomes [mijaʔ] and *topi* ‘hat’ becomes [tupi]. In other words, even though /e/ and /o/ are phonemes of the language, these sounds are still changed into primary vowels if they occur in a non-derived environment.

There is a small number of roots containing the vowels /e/ or /o/ that appear not to be derived from the root vowel /a/ and an infix -i- or -u-, but these roots probably derive historically from roots containing the sequences /ia/ or /ua/. Examples are given in (9).³

(9)	root	gloss	root	gloss
	<i>bellos</i>	‘rotten’	<i>bowon</i>	‘sparrow’
	<i>denop</i>	‘knife’	<i>bowong</i>	‘onion’
	<i>derum</i>	‘needle’	<i>gongan</i>	‘baby prawn’
	<i>olu</i>	‘eight’	<i>soro</i>	‘voice’
	<i>boyo</i>	‘crocodile’	<i>konan</i>	‘right (as opposed to left)’

2.2.3. Ida’an and Begak orthography

Begak does not have a standard orthography yet, but a working orthography has been developed by David C. Moody and has been used for the Ida’an dialect in *Ida’an Folk Tales* (1993) and for the Begak dialect in the *Picture Dictionary* (2000) and in a number of separately printed folk tales and other booklets.

Moody’s orthography is identical to the one used in this dissertation, except that schwa is represented by /e/ and the mid-high vowel [e] by the digraph /ei/ in his orthography, contrary to Malay in which both sounds are represented by /e/. For example [penow] ‘went’ is spelled as *peinow* and [təbpu] ‘sugar cane’ as *tebpu* in his orthography. This dissertation writes schwa as /ə/ and [e] as /e/. Both in this dissertation and in Moody’s orthography, final glides are represented by /y/ and /w/ respectively and inserted glides to prevent vowel hiatuses, which are only phonetic and fully predictable in Begak, are not spelled out, for example [lijun] ‘woman’ is spelled as *liun*, not *liyun*. The glottal stop is represented by /ʔ/. Moody spells out the phonetic schwa’s at the beginning of cluster-initial words. For instance [ʔgban] ‘forest’: is *egban* in his spelling, but *gban* in mine.

During a recent Begak orthography workshop in March 2004, some of the participants uttered their wish to change the spelling of final glides from /y/ and /w/ into /i/ and /u/ respectively to make the Begak orthography follow Malay, since Malay has /i/ and /u/ in this position. For example [paraj] ‘paddy’ should be written as *parai* instead of *paray* and [pajow] ‘deer’ as *payou* instead of *payow*. Consequently, the (phonetic) inserted glide in words with a vowel hiatus ending in a vowel or glottal stop must be spelled out: [duwi] ‘thorn’ must be spelled *duwi* instead of *dui* to in order to avoid confusion with non-existing *[duj], and [tuwi] ‘here’ as *tuwi* to avoid confusion with [ttuj] *ttui* ‘defecate’. It was decided that the new

³ Ida’an has *walu* ‘eight’ instead of *olu*.

(Malay style) representation of final and inserted glides will be tried out in some booklets with folk tales before taking a final decision about a standard orthography.

2.3. Phonotaxis

2.3.1. Syllable structure

Begak has four syllable types: V, VC, CV and CVC. All four syllable types can occur in initial as well as in final position. Examples are given below.

V type syllables

- (10) **word** **gloss**
asu 'dog'
tuo 'old'

VC type syllables

- (11) **word** **gloss**
adtu 'far'
pait 'fish'

CV type syllables

- (12) **word** **gloss**
dila 'tongue'
basi 'bush knife'

CVC type syllables

- (13) **word** **gloss**
rinding 'wall'
sadtong 'shoulder'

If a word starts with a vowel, a glottal stop may be inserted to provide the initial syllable with an onset. For example the word *uran* 'rain' may be pronounced as [ʔuran]. Recall that the glottal stop is only contrastive in the coda. It functions as a default onset word-initially. In case of a vowel hiatus, a glide may be inserted (see section 2.3.5.).

2.3.2. Consonant clusters

The number of possible consonant clusters in Begak is rather restricted. All tautomorphic clusters have to share place features. There are three types of tautomorphic consonant clusters: the first type is a nasal followed by a stop with the same place features, the second type is a voiced stop followed by voiceless stop with the same place features, and the third type is a geminate. The only exceptions

to the rule that clusters must share place features are the clusters /gb/ and /kp/, and some recent loan words.⁴ Examples of clusters of a nasal followed by a stop are:

(14)	mp	<i>timpu</i>	'promise'	mb	<i>ambur</i>	'scatter'
		<i>kampus</i>	'out of breath'		<i>kambing</i>	'goat'
	nt	<i>intay</i>	'spy'	nd	<i>p-andu</i>	'NV-know'
		<i>antang</i>	'manner'		<i>bəg-undom</i>	'AV-miss'
	ngg	<i>anggur</i>	'lower leg'	ngk	<i>angka</i>	'set time'
		<i>mangga</i>	'manggo'		<i>bangku</i>	'chair'

Examples of words with a voiced stop followed by a voiceless stop with the same place features are:

(15)	bp	<i>babpa</i>	'mouth'
		<i>ləbput</i>	'muddy'
	dt	<i>sīdtom</i>	'ant'
		<i>udtung</i>	'watermelon'
	gk	<i>səgkow</i>	'call'
		<i>igkang</i>	'maize field'

Examples of words with the cluster /gb/ or /kp/ are:

(16)	gb	<i>sigbu</i>	'yellow'	pk	<i>pakpak</i>	'fall'
		<i>təgbuk</i>	'meet'		<i>lekpud</i>	'broken (sticks, bones)'

Examples of words with geminates are:

(17)	bb	<i>bəbba</i>	'fireants'	dd	<i>bidda</i>	'different'
	pp	<i>a-ppan</i>	'NV-bright'	tt	<i>a-ttas</i>	'NV-high'
	mm	<i>kamman</i>	'uncle'	nn	<i>tənnuk</i>	'fast asleep'
	gg	<i>səragga</i>	'fight'	ss	<i>bəssing</i>	'squirrel'
	kk	<i>akkor</i>	'thinking'	ll	<i>səllun</i>	'nail'
	ngng	<i>bəngngut</i>	'spin'	rr	-	

These examples show that all consonants that can occur in the onset of a final syllable can also form geminates. Glides and palato-alveolar consonants /c/ and /j/ cannot form geminates, as they cannot occupy the onset of a final syllable. The /r/ can occupy the onset of a final syllable, yet no examples of a geminate /r/ have been attested.

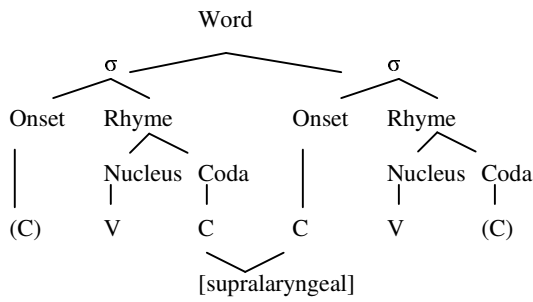
Geminates can only occur word-medially, and not word-finally in bisyllabic words: there is, for example, no such a word as **gapoll* or **denopp* or **siagg*. Geminates can not occur at the beginning of a bisyllabic word either, for example **bbəssing* or **ddenop* or **ggapol*. In the previous section we have seen that complex onsets and complex codas do not occur in Begak. Therefore geminates in

⁴ The clusters /gb/ and /kp/ are exceptional in that both segments do not share place features, but the fact that Ida'an has /bb/ where Begak has /gb/ suggests that /gb/ and /kp/ behave like a unit in some sense, unlike the clusters in loan words.

Begak can best be analysed as clusters consisting of the coda of the first syllable of the root and the onset of the second syllable of the root.⁵

Blust (1998) attributes Ida'an (or Begak) clusters of a voiced stop followed by voiceless stop of the same place features to consonant fortition process that occurs in many North Sarawak languages. In these languages, the Proto Malayo Polynesian consonants *d, *z, *j and *g split into a simple series of single consonants, etc and into a complex series of consonant clusters. For example proto PMP *tebu 'sugercane' became *təbpu* in Begak, proto PMP *qalejaw 'day' became *dtow* in Begak and proto PMP *beRat 'heavy' became *bəgkat* in Begak. The four possible types of clusters in Begak can be represented as follows:

Figure1 Consonant clusters



All consonant clusters consist of a coda consonant and an onset consonant, which are both associated with one single bunch of place features, or voice and manner features. Clusters consisting of two time slots each of which is associated with its own place features or voice and manner features do not occur. All clusters have to share something to be licensed, in other words: codas are forbidden in principle but if they are linked to the following onset they can be licensed (Coda Condition).⁶

2.3.3. Initial clusters and geminates

There is an exception to the above observation that geminates and clusters cannot appear word-initially. Geminates can occur in monosyllables, as in the following examples.

⁵ Sequences of two identical consonants can only be considered real geminates if they behave like a unit. If, for example, a phonological process applies to one of the two consonants but not to the other, the sequence must be analysed as a cluster of consonants that happen to be identical, but not as geminates. There are no Begak phonological processes that can prove whether clusters of two identical consonants are real geminates or not. Therefore I will continue to call them geminates even though they may actually be consonant clusters.

⁶ The Coda Condition (Ito 1986, 1989) forbids codas unless a coda consonant is linked to the following onset, for example if a coda consonant shares place features or other features with the following onset.

(18)	<i>bbong</i>	‘skin disease’	<i>llung</i>	‘river’
	<i>ppa’</i>	‘thigh’	<i>nnong</i>	‘here’
	<i>dda’</i>	‘blood’	<i>kkan</i>	‘cooked rice’
	<i>ttas</i>	‘high’	<i>ggud (niug)</i>	‘edible soft part (of a coconut)’
	<i>ssing</i>	‘cat’		

These words with a long initial consonant are pronounced as monosyllables most of the time, although they may be pronounced with an epenthetic initial schwa, eg. *nnong* ‘here’ [nnong] or [°nnong]. There are no minimal pairs of monosyllabic words where one item starts with a geminate and the other with a single consonant.⁷

Initial consonant clusters can also occur in monosyllables. Examples are given in (19).

(19)	<i>mba’</i>	‘where’	<i>gkot</i>	‘work’
	<i>mbi</i>	‘wherever’	<i>bpuk</i>	‘hair’
	<i>ndow</i>	‘child ghost’	<i>bpow</i>	‘a smell’
	<i>gban</i>	‘forest’	<i>dtow</i>	‘sun, day’

Words with an initial cluster consisting of a nasal and a stop or consisting of a voiced stop followed by a voiceless stop may be pronounced as monosyllables, but in emphatic speech they are more likely to be pronounced with an initial schwa, for instance *gban* ‘forest’ [gban] or [°gban].

The question that these monosyllabic cluster-initial words raise is whether they are really monosyllabic.⁸ As described above, clusters cannot occur word-initially except in monosyllables. And the only type of monosyllables there occur in Begak are cluster-initial words, except for function words and another handful of exceptions that I may have overlooked. In other words, it could very well be the case that cluster-initial words are bisyllabic and that the minimal word in Begak can be described as bisyllabic.

A language game sheds some light on this issue. The test was to reverse the two syllables of bisyllabic words, for instance *pa.now* ‘go’ becomes *now.pa’*. All four players unanimously (but independent of each other) were unable to reverse words starting with a geminate of the type of words in (18), because they perceived them as monosyllabic. But they did unanimously (independently of each other) reverse words of the type of (19), for example *gban* ‘forest’ became *ban-əg* and *bpuk* ‘hair’ became *puk-əb*. Apparently they perceived them as bisyllabic. However, it is most likely that the phonetic form is the basis for the game and not the phonological structure. An indication for this is that reversed words with a vowel hiatus included inserted glides in the reversed form, although these inserted glides are fully predictable. For example *liun* [lijun] or [liun] ‘woman’ became unanimously *yun-li*, even though the glide only belongs to the phonetic form instead

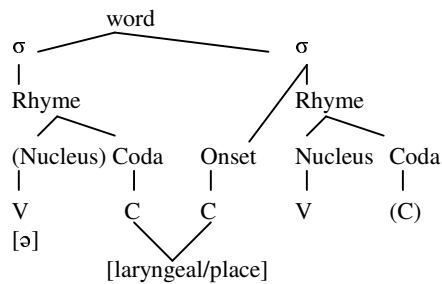
⁷ There seems to be one minimal pair, but it is very marginal. The Malay word *sen* ‘cent’ seems to have been imported twice into the language: if it means ‘money’ it tends to be pronounced as *ssin* with a geminate initial consonant, whereas it tends to be pronounced as *sin* in the sense of ‘cent’.

⁸ The North Sarawak Belait has similar initial long consonants in monosyllabic words (Clynes 2002).

of to the phonological (underlying) form.⁹

The only thing that can be concluded from the present data is that CCVC type words probably freely alternate with °CCVC. I adopt the following representation for words with initial clusters or geminates:

Figure2 Consonant clusters

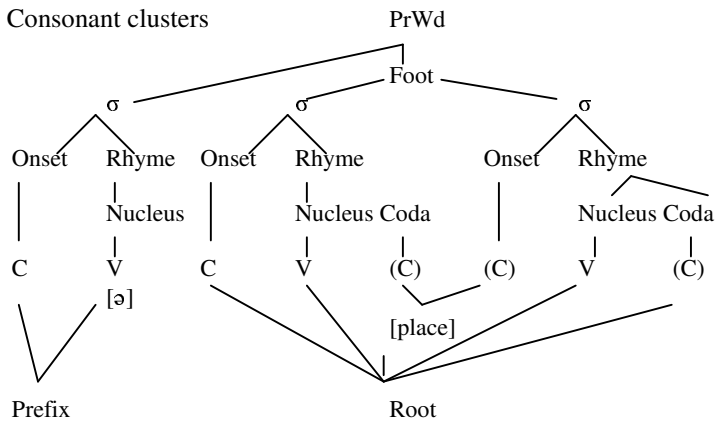


I will continue to spell geminate-initial words and cluster-initial words without schwa, for instance *ssing* ‘cat’ and *dtow* ‘day’, as schwa is predictable here.

2.3.4. Word-final consonants

Although Begak coda consonants in word-medial position are licensed only if they are linked to the following onset, virtually all coda consonants are allowed to occur in word-final position. Although prefixes are allowed to end in a consonant, codas are not licensed at prefix-stem boundaries. Therefore, several morphophonological processes apply to prevent the occurrence of closed syllables there. From the preceding paragraphs we can conclude that the prosodic word in Begak can be represented as follows:

Figure3 Consonant clusters



⁹ For a description of glide insertion, see section 2.3.5.

2.3.5. Vowel clusters

Begak allows vowel clusters of two non-identical vowels on syllable boundaries only, i.e. in roots consists of (C)VV(C). The following matrix shows the possible vowel clusters. The rows indicate the first members of a vowel cluster and the columns indicate the second members of a vowel cluster. The table does not contain columns with schwa or /e/, because the vowels schwa and /e/ do not occur in final syllables.

(20)

	i	a	u	o
i	x	<i>siag</i>	<i>tiu'</i>	<i>pio</i>
e	<i>deip</i>	x	<i>geud</i>	x
a	<i>pait</i>	x	<i>maus</i>	x
u	<i>tui</i>	<i>buat</i>	x	<i>tuo</i>
o	<i>roit</i>	x	<i>koung</i>	x
ə	x	x	x	x

As the table shows, clusters of two identical vowels or combinations with schwa do not occur.¹⁰ The clusters */ea/ and */oa/ do not exist because the vowels /e/ and /o/ are always the result of vowel coalescence of an infix consisting of a high vowel with /a/; they are underlyingly /ia/ and /ua/ respectively. Therefore, /ea/ is underlyingly /iaa/ and /oa/ is underlyingly /uaa/. These hypothetical underlying sequences contain three adjacent vowels, two of which are identical adjacent vowels /aa/. Begak does not allow sequences of two identical vowels (*ii, *uu etc.). Sequences of more than two vowels do not occur, as syllables cannot contain two vowels in one nucleus. Begak allows only two full vowels per root (see section 2.3.9.). Therefore, the derived vowel sequences /ea/ or /oa/ do not occur either.

Vowel hiatuses are often (though not always) broken up by glide insertion, because the language prefers syllables that start with an onset. Glide insertion is an optional process that shows variation, sometimes even within the same speaker. If one of the two vowels is a high vowel and the other one a non-high vowel, the glide takes the place features of the high vowel. If both vowels are high, the glide takes the place features of the first vowel. Here are some examples:

¹⁰ The absence of sequences of identical vowels can be interpreted as a manifestation of the Obligatory Contour Principle (OCP).

(21)	vowels	underlying form	pronunciation	gloss
	/ai/	<i>pait</i> <i>gərait</i>	[pajit] or [pait] [gərajit] or [gərait]	'fish' 'AV-pronounce'
	/au/	<i>kaut</i> <i>laud</i>	[kawut] or [kaut] [lawud] or [laud]	'cloud' 'wind'
	/ia/	<i>biag</i> <i>siag</i>	[bijag] or [biag] [sijag] or [siag]	'full after a meal' 'sarong, cloth'
	/io/	<i>io'</i> <i>pio</i>	[ijoʔ] or [ioʔ] [pijo] or [pio]	'older sibling' 'good'
	/ua/	<i>tua'</i> <i>bua'</i>	[twaʔ] [bwaʔ] or [buwaʔ]	'time' 'fruit'
	/uo/	<i>tuo</i> <i>luos</i>	[tuwo] or [tuo] [luwos] or [luos]	'old' 'take off clothes'
	/iu/	<i>tiu'</i> <i>liun</i>	[tijuʔ] or [tiuʔ] [lijun] or [liun]	'hit' 'woman'
	/ui/	<i>tui</i>	[tuwi]	'here'

If the first vowel is /e/ or /o/ the glide sometimes takes the place features of the first vowel and sometimes of the second vowel. The choice of the place features of the glide depends not only on the word but also on the speaker, and sometimes there is even variation within the same speaker. Vowel hiatuses of which the first vowel is /e/ or /o/ only occur in derived environments, that is, after infixation with *-i-* or *-u-*. These infixes are infixed after the first consonant of the stem and cause vowel coalescence (see section 2.4.5.). The stem vowel /a/ plus the infix *-i-* result in the vowel /e/ and the stem vowel /a/ plus the infix *-u-* result in the vowel /o/. Consider the following examples:

(22)	vowels	underlying form	pronunciation	gloss
	/e/	<i>reit (r-i-ait)</i> <i>deip (deip)</i>	[rejit] or [reit] [dejip] or [deip]	'COM-pronounce' 'astonished'
	/eu/	<i>neus (ni-aus)</i> <i>geud</i>	[newus] or [nejus] [geud] or [gejud]	'COM-bring' 'porridge'
	/oi/	<i>roit (r-u-ait)</i> <i>lois (l-u-ais)</i>	[rojit] or [roit] [lojis] or [lois]	'DEP-pronounce' 'DEP-polish'
	/ou/	<i>koung (k-u-aung)</i> <i>roun (r-u-aun)</i>	[kowuŋ] or [kouŋ] [rowun] or [roun]	'DEP-clear land' 'DEP-go round'

In all the examples mentioned above the glide is not present in the underlying form; therefore it is not represented in the orthography. An exception has been made for the spelling of the sequences /awo/ and /owo/ and /uwu/, in which the glide /w/ is underlying. Consider the following examples:

(23)	vowels	underlying form	pronunciation	gloss
	/awo/	<i>sawot</i>	[sawot]	'arrive'
		<i>sawo</i>	[sawo]	'marry'
		<i>gərawo</i>	[gərawo]	'breath'
	/owo/	<i>sowo</i>	[sowo]	'DEP-marry'
		<i>bowong</i>	[bowoŋ]	'onion'
		<i>bowon</i>	[bowon]	'sparrow'
	/uwu/	<i>suwu</i>	[suwuʔ]	'put food into someones mouth'

There are two reasons to assume that the /w/ in these words is present in the underlying form: first because these words cannot be pronounced without the glide /w/ and second because many and possibly all /awo/ and /owo/ sequences in Begak derive historically from the vowel sequence /awa/ of which the last vowel has been changed into /o/. The following examples were found in Zorc (1995):

(24)	Begak	PMP	proto
	<i>sawo</i>	* <i>sawa</i>	PAN
	<i>bowong</i>	* <i>bawang</i>	PHN

The sequence /uwu/ is very rare and is only attested in *suwu* 'put food into someones mouth'. I assume that the /w/ here is underlying.

2.3.6. The minimal word

Content words in Begak tend to consist of two syllables, but monosyllabic words and words consisting of three or more syllables also exist. Many words that are longer than two syllables have schwa as their vowel in the third or fourth syllable from the right. These words may or may not be historically derived. Here are some examples of words longer than two syllables:

(25)	<i>kəɭəgbungan</i>	'ridgepole'
	<i>təɭanguy</i>	'ground lizard'
	<i>ləŋgati</i>	'worm'
	<i>təgunggu</i>	'music'
	<i>ləmama</i>	'sirih'

Most monosyllabic nouns have an initial cluster; there are no monosyllabic nominal roots of the form CV. Roots are not allowed to contain schwa as their only vowel; each root must contain at least one full vowel.

There are some verbal or nominal roots in Begak consisting of just CVC; however, nouns consisting of just CVC tend to be pronounced as CCVC, for example *nnas* 'nurse' instead of *nas*. Verbal roots consisting of just CVC must be augmented with schwa to obtain a bisyllabic stem that can be inflected. For instance, the root *cop* 'stamp' is augmented with schwa when it is prefixed with the Actor Voice prefix *məŋg-*:

(26)	root	gloss	prefixation	gloss
	<i>cop</i>	'stamp'	<i>məŋg-ə-cop</i>	'AV-stamp'
	<i>ppom</i>	'pomp'	<i>məŋg-ə-ppom</i>	'AV-pomp'
	<i>ssak</i>	'ripe'	<i>bəg-ə-ssak</i>	'AV-ripe'
	<i>ttas</i>	'high'	<i>bəg-ə-ttas</i>	'AV-high'
	<i>lid</i>	'search'	<i>m-ə-lid</i>	'DEP-search'
	<i>mmuk</i>	'mug'	<i>səŋg-ə-mmuk</i>	'one-mug'
	<i>ttas</i>	'high'	<i>səg-ə-ttas</i>	'NOM-high' 'so high'
	<i>ttan</i>	'see'	<i>k-ə-ttan</i>	'NV-see'
	<i>tot</i>	'oppress'	<i>p-ə-tot</i>	'SF-oppress'

Alternatively, this augmented schwa can be analysed as belonging to the prefix; in other words certain prefixes can be analysed as having a variant without extra schwa for bisyllabic roots and a longer variant for monosyllabic roots.

If the prefix already contains a full vowel, such as in the examples in (27), augmentation with schwa does not occur:

(27)	root	gloss	prefixation	gloss
	<i>bom</i>	'bomb'	<i>ni-bom</i>	'COM-bomb'
	<i>cat</i>	'paint'	<i>ni-cat</i>	'COM-paint'
	<i>llit</i>	'sew'	<i>ni-llit</i>	'COM-sew'
	<i>llang</i>	'hard'	<i>a-llang</i>	'NV-hard'
	<i>ttas</i>	'high'	<i>a-ttas</i>	'NV-high'

It is safe to conclude that the minimal word in Begak is bisyllabic. Two syllables canonically form a foot, a bisyllabic prosodic constituent.

2.3.7. Phonotactics of non-content words

Non-content words and affixes can be shorter than a closed syllable. The genitive pronouns in the first and second person singular, *ku* and *mo*, for example, consist of just one open syllable. Some discourse markers also consist of one single open syllable, for example *pa*, 'you know, hey!' and *tu*, 'too, also', but longer function words also exist.

Begak has quite a few prefixes and infixes and only one suffix, which is not productive anymore. Prefixes take the shape V-, CV-, CVC- or CVCV-, infixes -V- or -VC- and the suffix -VC. Whereas content words need to contain at least one full vowel, infixes and prefixes can have schwa as their only vowel. The only exception to this rule is the Non-volitive prefix *a-*.

Begak has no productive prefixes. The unproductive suffix *-an* was used to derive place nouns from verbs, as in the word *tərugan* 'bed' from *turug*, 'sleep'.

2.3.8. Stress

All words receive final stress. Stress is expressed by pitch, length and loudness. Syllable weight does not play a role in stress assignment. Although stress is not rhythmic or recurrent in Begak, the iamb will be adopted as foot structure for the language. The first argument for assuming an iamb for Begak is the distribution of vowels: schwa cannot occur in final syllables; instead, its allomorph /o/, a full vowel, occurs in the more prominent syllable of the iamb. The second argument for assuming an iamb is the fact that a number of phonological processes refer to the notion of bisyllacity: shortening of inflected verbs (see section 2.6.1.), foot reduplication (reduplication of the last two syllables of the word (see section 2.5.2.), and infixation plus vowel coalescence (see section 2.4.5.).

2.3.9. Distribution of vowels

Begak is subject to the Prepenultimate Neutralisation Rule (Blust 1997:21), which means that only the last two syllables of a word can contain full vowels, and prepenultimate syllables only schwa. In terms of morphology, this means that only roots of content words or function words can contain full vowels. Final syllables can contain only the primary vowels /a/, /i/, /u/, /o/. Schwa cannot occur in final syllables, but /o/ in final syllables is an allophone of schwa. Penultimate syllables can contain the primary vowels /a/, /i/, /u/, and schwa, and after vowel coalescence caused by for instance infixation the vowels /e/ and /o/.

Affixes cannot contain full vowels; all prefixes have schwa as their only vowel. The only exception is the Non-volitive prefix *a-*, as in (28). This prefix can be attached either to the unaffixed root or to an affixed stem in the leftmost position, after all the other prefixes are attached.

- (28) *a-ləkkob* 'NV-stick, stuck'
a-pio 'NV-good'
a-bə-rəgko 'NV-AV-price, pricy'
a-kə-luan 'NV-AV.NV-go.out'

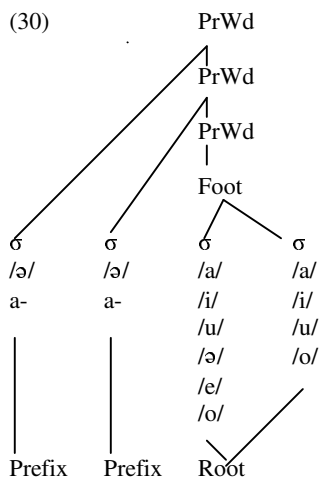
A consequence of the fact that only roots can have full vowels and affixes cannot is that affixes can be easily recognisable. In other words, whether the word is affixed or not, the last syllables of a word can contain full vowels. Syllables to the left of it can only contain schwa¹¹.

A handful of words seem to contain the historical, unproductive suffix **-an*. The examples in show that only the last two syllables of the word can contain a full vowel:

¹¹ Exceptions to this rule are place names such as Takəlan and other names such as the name Ida'an, that have a full vowel in the third or fourth syllable from the right for historical reasons.

(29)	hypothetical stem	gloss	synchronic form	gloss
	<i>turug</i>	'sleep'	<i>tərugan</i>	'bed'
	<i>tapis</i>	'sift'	<i>təpisan</i>	'strainer'
	?		<i>pərunɡan</i>	'eye of the rice'
	?		<i>bərunɡan</i>	'person feeding deceased person'
	?		<i>kələɡbunɡan</i>	'ridgepole'
	?		<i>kətəpusan</i>	'last one'
	?		<i>kəbərəsan</i>	'urinate in bed'

The vowel distribution in affixed words can then be summarized as follows:



2.4. Morphophonology

This section describes the morphophonological processes of the language. Some processes create open syllables without onset clusters across morpheme boundaries: subcategorisation of certain prefixes, schwa deletion, consonant deletion. Other processes create bisyllabic, consonant-initial words: infixation allomorphy and vowel coalescence.

2.4.1. Verbal class prefixes subcategorised for initial consonants of the stem

Begak verbs are divided into at least three morphological classes according to which prefix the verb takes in the Actor Voice, and in derivations such as manner nominalisations, Intensive and Distant Past. Although class membership is partly arbitrary, some generalisations can be made. Class membership is based partly on semantic grounds and to a large extent on phonological criteria. For the semantic criteria see section 6.2.1.

The class prefix *gə-* is subcategorised for verbs starting with alveolar or labial consonants, as in (31).

- (31) *gə-lindut* 'run'
gə-runi 'talk'
gə-səgkow 'call'
gə-dagang 'buy'
gə-miran 'becoming surprised'
gə-buay 'becoming long'
gə-pio 'becoming good'

The class prefix *bəg-* prefixes to roots with an initial vowel or velar consonant. The final consonant /g/ of the prefix is deleted before consonant-initial roots, as in (32).

- (32) *bəg-arab* 'AV-look for'
bəg-undom 'AV-miss someone'
bə-kuttu 'AV-pick (fruit)'
bə-guru 'AV-learn'
bə-kati 'AV-tease'

The class prefix *məng-* can be prefixed to roots of any possible phonological shape, except to roots starting with a velar consonant. Its morphophonemics are described in detail in the next section.

The division into the morphological classes *gə-*, *bəg-* and *məng-* manifests itself in the following five derivations:

Table 3 Class prefixes

Function/class	I	II	III
Actor Voice	<i>gə-</i>	<i>bə(g)-</i>	<i>məng-</i>
Manner nominalisations	<i>sə-</i>	<i>sə(g)-</i>	<i>sə(ng)-</i>
Agent nominalisations	<i>pə-</i>	<i>pə(g)-</i>	<i>pəng-</i>
Distant Past	<i>gəɾə-</i>	<i>bəɾə(g)-</i>	<i>bəɾəng-</i>
Intensive	<i>tə-</i>	<i>tə(g)-</i>	-

2.4.2. Nasal fusion

Nasal fusion is a morphophonological process that applies to most members of the *məng-* class, except to the manner nominalisation prefix of that class: *sə(ng)-*, which undergoes consonant deletion before consonant-initial stems. Begak strives towards open syllables across morpheme boundaries, and nasal fusion is one mechanism that the language uses to achieve this goal, but this mechanism does not apply automatically. Other mechanisms, such as deletion of the final consonant of the prefix, also create open syllables. Speakers must learn which of the two processes applies for which prefix that ends in a nasal segment: nasal fusion or consonant

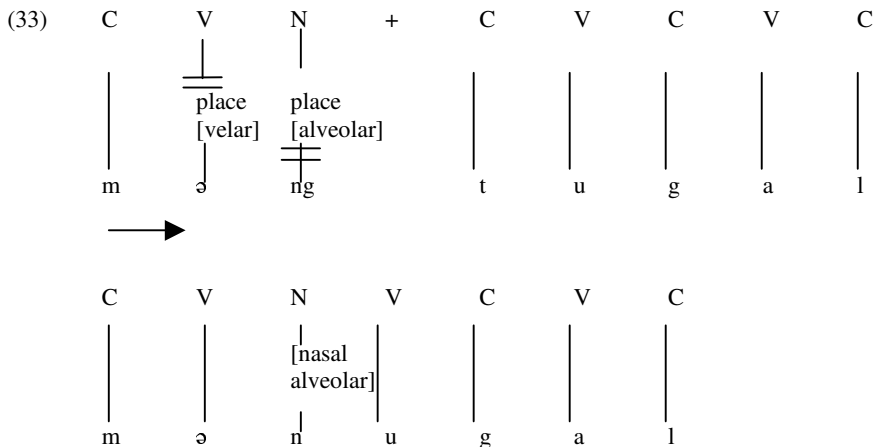
deletion. Therefore, nasal fusion must be analysed as a morphophonological process rather than a phonological process, since it does not apply in all possible contexts.

2.4.2.1. The prefix *məng-*

Just like many other West Austronesian languages, Begak has an Actor Voice prefix *məng-* that triggers nasal fusion or nasal assimilation. In linear terms, nasal assimilation can be described as follows: when a root is prefixed with *məng-*, the velar nasal copies the place features of the first consonant of the root, and subsequently that consonant is deleted.

In non-linear terms, the process can be described as nasal fusion or coalescence of segments which indicates that the nasal of the prefix and the obstruent of the root are realised simultaneously in one segment (Pater 1996).

The following multi-linear representation illustrates the process of spreading and delinking with the example *tugal* ‘plant with a dibble’. The velar nasal /ŋ/ and the alveolar stop /t/ coalesce to produce the alveolar nasal /n/: *mənugal*. The /n/ has the place features of the /t/ and the nasal feature of the nasal consonant, so the features of both segments are realised in one segment.



Nasal fusion in Begak can only have three types of nasals as its result: /ŋ/, /n/ or /m/. Table (34) shows vowel-initial roots prefixed with *məng-*. Tables (35) and (36) show how roots starting with /t/ and /s/ respectively result in /n/ after nasal assimilation triggered by *məng-*.

(34) root	gloss	<i>məng-</i> prefixation	gloss
<i>inum</i>	‘drink’	<i>mənginum</i>	‘AV-drink’
<i>ingog</i>	‘hear’	<i>məngingog</i>	‘AV-hear’
<i>uppu</i>	‘launder’	<i>mənguppu</i>	‘AV-launder’
<i>ukos</i>	‘cut in two’	<i>məngukos</i>	‘AV-cut in two’

(35)	root	gloss	<i>məŋg-</i> prefixation	gloss
	<i>təbpong</i>	‘cut tree’	<i>mənəbpong</i>	‘AV-cut tree’
	<i>tugal</i>	‘plant with dibble’	<i>mənugal</i>	‘AV-plant with dibble’
	<i>tiru</i>	‘teach’	<i>məniru</i>	‘AV-teach’
	<i>tabang</i>	‘help’	<i>mənabang</i>	‘AV-help’
(36)	root	gloss	<i>məŋg-</i> prefixation	gloss
	<i>sawo</i>	‘propose for marriage’	<i>mənawo</i>	‘AV-propose for marriage’
	<i>sukot</i>	‘ask’	<i>mənukot</i>	‘AV-ask’
	<i>səgkow</i>	‘call’	<i>mənəgkow</i>	‘AV-call’
	<i>salung</i>	‘catch’	<i>mənəlung</i>	‘AV-catch’

Begak has no stable native roots of dynamic verbs starting with /p/ or /b/, because the initial /p/ and /b/ were lost in a historical phonological process called ‘pseudo nasal substitution’ by Blust (2004:76-80), which also affected the related language Mukah Melanau (Blust 1997). The ultimate explanation for the loss of certain initial consonants in Begak is that the language probably wants to avoid homophony of the first consonant of a root with a possible prefix. Begak also has two prefixes *p-* and *b-*, (see section 6.3 for a description of the function of these prefixes) and due to the homophony constraint, roots of dynamic verbs cannot start with sounds that are homophonous to these prefixes.

Although the process of deleting initial labials is very active, even in loan words starting with a labial consonant, many (native or older loan) verbs that originally started with a labial consonant have not reached a stable condition yet. There is variation amongst speakers and even within the same speaker as for the root of these verbs: speakers can freely choose between the vowel-initial and the consonant-initial variant of the root. In other words, these verbs display root-allomorphy in certain inflectional forms. When these verbs are prefixed with *məŋg-* they can either display nasal fusion resulting in /m/ or deletion of the labial consonant /b/ or /p/. Table (37) shows some of these instable verbs.

(37)	root	gloss	<i>məŋg-</i> prefixation	Completive Aspect
	<i>(b)ara</i>	‘say’	<i>məmara</i>	<i>bera</i>
			<i>məgara</i>	<i>nera</i>
	<i>(b)ayo</i>	‘pay’	<i>məmayo</i>	<i>beyo</i>
			<i>məgayo</i>	<i>neyo</i>
	<i>(b)unu</i>	‘kill’	<i>məmunu</i>	<i>binu</i>
			<i>məngunu</i>	<i>ninu</i>
	<i>(b)arut</i>	‘cut hair, shave’	<i>məmarut</i>	<i>berut</i>
			<i>məgarut</i>	<i>nerut</i>
	<i>(b)ulo</i>	‘plant’	? <i>məmulo</i>	<i>bilu</i>
			<i>məngulo</i>	<i>nilu</i>
	<i>(b)ukul</i>	‘beat’	<i>məmukul</i>	<i>bikul</i>
			<i>məngukul</i>	<i>nikul</i>

Some verbs have root-allomorphy only in the Completive Aspect, but not in the Actor Voice:

(38)	root	gloss	<i>məŋg-</i> prefixation	Compleitive Aspect
	<i>(b)əgkay</i>	'give'	* <i>məməgkay</i> <i>məŋgəgkay</i>	<i>bigkay</i> <i>nigkay</i>
	<i>(b)əkkos</i>	'tie up'	* <i>məməkkos</i> <i>məŋgəkkos</i>	<i>bikkos</i> <i>nikkos</i>
	<i>(b)akal</i>	'hit with a club'	* <i>məmakal</i> <i>məŋgakal</i>	<i>bekal</i> <i>?nekal</i>
	<i>(b)allan</i>	'make'	* <i>məmallan</i> <i>məŋgallan</i>	<i>bellan</i> <i>nellan</i>

Recent loans starting with /b/ or /p/ are also unstable and vary between deletion of the labial consonant of the root and fusion resulting in /m/, which means that the labial in the root has not been deleted. These loan words show root-allomorphy in the Compleitive Aspect as well: some speakers retain the labial of the root, while others delete it in that context. Examples are:

(39)	root	gloss	<i>məŋg-</i> prefixation	Compleitive Aspect
	<i>pakay</i>	'use'	<i>məmakay</i> <i>məŋgakay</i>	<i>pekay</i> <i>nekay</i>
	<i>pasang</i>	'fix, install'	<i>məmasang</i> <i>məŋgasang</i>	<i>pesang</i> <i>nesang</i>
	<i>paksa'</i>	'force'	<i>məmaksa'</i> <i>məŋgaksa'</i>	<i>peksa'</i> <i>neksa'</i>

When nouns starting with a labial consonant /b/ or /p/ are prefixed with *məŋg-*, it is also not predictable which process will take place, nasal fusion or consonant deletion. (40) lists nouns that do or do not trigger fusion of the labial root consonant.

(40)	root	gloss	<i>məŋg-</i> prefixation	gloss
	<i>pukut</i>	'large net'	<i>məmukut</i>	'fish with large net'
	<i>pangngat</i>	'angle'	<i>məmangngat</i>	'fish with angle'
	<i>pəssi</i>	'fishingline without rod'	<i>məməssi</i>	'fish with fishingline without rod'
	<i>pindat</i>	'clam'	<i>məŋgindat</i>	'look for clam'
	<i>pana'</i>	'arrow'	<i>məŋgana'</i>	'shoot with an arrow'

Dynamic verbal roots starting with /n/, /ŋg/ or /m/ do not exist in Begak. The reason that there are no roots starting with a nasal is probably also because of potential homophony with prefixes: *n-* is an allomorph of the Compleitive Aspect infix *-i-*, while *m-* is an allomorph of the Dependent infix *-u-* and *ng-* is an abbreviation of the Actor Voice prefix *məŋg-*. See section 2.6.1. on the shortening of inflected verbs.

Verbal roots with initial /d/ that take *məŋg-* are rare; the few verbs with initial /d/ are usually prefixed with *gə-*: *gə-danggar* 'AV-bump'. Verbs starting with /g/ are usually prefixed with *bə-* and cannot be prefixed with *məŋg-*.

Verbs starting with /l/ or /r/ prefixed with *məŋg-* do not display nasal fusion but trigger epenthesis of schwa between the nasal /ŋg/ of the prefix and the liquid consonant of the root. Although /l/ and /r/ are clearly phonemic in Begak, the /l/ can be pronounced as /r/ after prefixation in fast speech. The opposite is impossible, so the process is probably best described as flapping of /l/ in an intervocalic environment. This process only applies to root initial /l/ and not to root internal intervocalic /l/: for example the word *bulan* ‘month’ cannot be pronounced as **buran*.

(41)	root	gloss	AV-form	gloss
	<i>litong</i>	‘glare’	<i>məŋgəlɪtɔŋ</i>	‘AV-glare’
			<i>məŋgəritɔŋ</i>	
	<i>ligow</i>	‘deceive’	<i>məŋgəlɪgow</i>	‘AV-deceive’
			<i>məŋgərigow</i>	
	<i>lɪppat</i>	‘coax’	<i>məŋgəlɪppat</i>	‘AV-coax’
	<i>lera’</i>	‘look after’	<i>məŋgələra’</i>	‘AV-look after’
			<i>məŋgərəra’</i>	
	<i>langgo</i>	‘lay child down’	<i>məŋgələŋgo</i>	‘AV-lay child down’
	<i>riksa’</i>	‘examine’	<i>məŋgəriksa’</i>	‘AV-examine’

2.4.2.2. The prefixes *bərəŋg-* and *pəŋg-*

Other prefixes that trigger nasal fusion are the Distant Past prefix *bərəŋg-* and the Agent Nominalisation prefix *pəŋg-*. These prefixes are prefixed to verbs that belong to the *məŋg-* class. They are much less frequent than the prefix *məŋg-*; only examples of vowel-initial verbs and verbs starting with /s/ or /t/ were attested. Forms of verbs starting with other consonants prefixed with *bərəŋg-* or *pəŋg-* have yet to be attested. The examples in (42) are forms of *bərəŋg-* attached to vowel-initial roots; (43) illustrates consonant-initial verbs prefixed with *bərəŋg-*. Prefixation with *bərəŋg-* is combined with infixation with *-i-*, which causes vowel coalescence of the root vowel. For vowel coalescence, see section 2.4.5.

(42)	root	gloss	<i>bərəŋg-</i> -i- prefixation	gloss
	<i>inum</i>	‘drink’	<i>bərəŋginum</i> (bərəŋg-inum)	‘drink’
	<i>uyok</i>	‘request’	<i>bərəŋgiyok</i> (bərəŋg--i-uyok)	‘request’
	<i>ssi</i>	‘fill’	<i>bərəŋgissi</i> (bərəŋg--i-uyok)	‘fill’
	<i>ay</i>	‘take’	<i>bərəŋgiɔy</i> (bərəŋg--i-oy)	‘take’
(43)	root	gloss	<i>bərəŋg-</i> -i- prefixation	gloss
	<i>tulis</i>	‘write’	<i>bərəŋnilis</i> (bərəŋg--i-tulis)	‘write’
	<i>təssug</i>	‘invite’	<i>bərəŋnissug</i> (bərəŋg--i-təssug)	‘invite’
	<i>tinam</i>	‘try’	<i>bərəŋninam</i> (bərəŋg-tinam)	‘try’
	<i>sukot</i>	‘ask’	<i>bərəŋnikot</i> (bərəŋg--i-sukot)	‘ask’
	<i>sellag</i>	‘emping’	<i>bərəŋnellag</i> (bərəŋg-sellag)	‘emping, roasted half ripe rice’

Examples of derivations with *pəng-* are shown in (44):

(44)	root	gloss	<i>pəng-</i> prefixation	gloss
	<i>takow</i>	'steal'	<i>pənakow</i>	'thief'
	<i>turug</i>	'sleep'	<i>pənurug</i>	'sleeper'
	<i>gkot</i>	'work'	<i>pəngəgkot</i>	'worker'
	<i>ata</i>	'look'	<i>pəngata</i>	'view'
	<i>alap</i>	'get'	<i>pəngalap</i>	'things got'
	<i>indon</i>	'think'	<i>pəngindon</i>	'thinking'

2.4.3. Schwa elision

Another phonological process that occurs in the context of prefixation is the elision of the final vowel of the prefix before vowel-initial verbal roots. The elided vowel is always a schwa. Vowel elision occurs after prefixation with the Actor Voice Non-volitive prefix *k(ə)-* and in forms with Cə-reduplication after prefixation with *gə-* resulting in *gəg(ə)-*. Examples of consonant-initial verbs prefixed with *kə-* are shown in (45), and examples of vowel-initial verbs prefixed with *k-* are given in (46).

(45)	root	gloss	<i>k(ə)-</i> prefixation	gloss
	<i>lapas</i>	'pass'	<i>kəlapas</i>	'has passed'
	<i>luan</i>	'go out'	<i>kəluan</i>	'has gone out'
	<i>dəllu</i>	'descend'	<i>kədəllu</i>	'has descended'

(46)	root	gloss	<i>k(ə)-</i> prefixation	gloss
	<i>uli</i>	'go home'	<i>kuli</i>	'has gone home'
	<i>iwas</i>	'return'	<i>kiwas</i>	'has returned'
	<i>issog</i>	'move'	<i>kissog</i>	'has moved'

(47)	root	gloss	reciprocal	gloss
	<i>lapas</i>	'pass'	<i>gəgəlapas</i>	'pass each other'
	<i>rakop</i>	'wrestle'	<i>gəgərakop</i>	'wrestle with each other'
	<i>radtop</i>	'close'	<i>gəgəradtop</i>	'close to each other'

(48)	root	gloss	reciprocal	gloss
	<i>usur</i>	'tell'	<i>gəgəusur</i>	'talk with each other'
	<i>atur</i>	'organise'	<i>gəgatur</i>	'organise with each other'
	<i>ana</i>	'arrow'	<i>gəgana</i>	'shoot arrow at each other'

On the basis of these examples an alternative analysis might be proposed in which the basic form of the prefix ends in a consonant, for example *gəg-* and *k-*, after which a schwa is inserted before consonant-initial verbal roots. There is no evidence in the phonology of the language that proves which analysis is the most adequate, because both schwa deletion and schwa insertion occur in the language. A context where schwa is inserted is after prefixation of monosyllabic roots to augment the root, for example in *məng-ə-ppom* 'AV-pump'.

A context where schwa is deleted is in infixation with the infixes *-i-* and *-u-* (see section 2.4.5.). When these infixes are infixed into a stem with a schwa in the prefinal syllable, such as *səgkow* ‘call’, this schwa is overwritten by the full vowel of the prefix, resulting in *sigkow* and *sugkow* respectively.

2.4.4. Consonant deletion

Begak has several inflectional and derivational prefixes with the shape CV(C)- of which the final consonant is deleted before consonant-initial stems. This consonant deletion process is one of the mechanisms of the language to avoid consonant clusters across morpheme boundaries. Most of the prefixes triggering consonant deletion belong to the same morphological class as the Actor Voice prefix *bə(g)-*. This class prefix *bə(g)-* appears as *bəg-* before vowel-initial or monosyllabic roots as in (49) and as *bə-* before consonant-initial roots as in (50).

(49)	root	gloss	<i>bə(g)-</i> prefixation	gloss
	<i>lid</i>	‘search’	<i>bəgəlid</i>	‘AV-search’
	<i>dtu</i>	‘far’	<i>bəgədtu</i>	‘AV-far’
	<i>arab</i>	‘look for’	<i>bəgarab</i>	‘AV-look for’
	<i>isud</i>	‘send’	<i>bəgisud</i>	‘AV-send’
	<i>usur</i>	‘tell’	<i>bəgusur</i>	‘AV-tell’
(50)	root	gloss	<i>bə(g)-</i> prefixation	gloss
	<i>kaung</i>	‘clear land’	<i>bəkaung</i>	‘AV-clear land’
	<i>kati</i>	‘tease’	<i>bəkati</i>	‘AV-tease’
	<i>guru</i>	‘learn’	<i>bəguru</i>	‘AV-learn’
	<i>guring</i>	‘fry’	<i>bəguring</i>	‘AV-fry’

The prefix *sə(g)-* marks manner nominalisations for the same verbal class. This prefix shows the same alternations as *bə(g)-*. The examples in (51) show the prefix before vowel-initial and monosyllabic roots and the examples in (52) show how the final consonant of the prefix is deleted before consonant-initial roots.

(51)	root	gloss	<i>sə(g)-</i> prefixation	gloss
	<i>apuy</i>	‘cook’	<i>səgapuy</i>	‘manner of cooking’
	<i>tow</i>	‘know’	<i>səgətow</i>	‘manner of knowing’
	<i>rat</i>	‘bad’	<i>səgərat</i>	‘badness’
	<i>dtu</i>	‘far’	<i>səgədtu</i>	‘distance’
	<i>llun</i>	‘live’	<i>səgəllun</i>	‘manner of living’
	<i>ssak</i>	‘ripe’	<i>səgəssak</i>	‘manner of riping’

(52)	root	gloss	<i>sə(ng)</i> - prefixation	gloss
	<i>kaung</i>	'clear land'	<i>səkaung</i>	'manner of clear land'
	<i>tata</i>	'cry'	<i>sətata</i>	'manner of crying'
	<i>buay</i>	'long'	<i>səbuay</i>	'very long'
	<i>pio</i>	'good'	<i>səpio</i>	'very good'
	<i>guru</i>	'learn'	<i>səguru</i>	'manner of learning'

The prefix *sə(ng)*- marks manner nominalisations for those verbs that take *məng*- in the Actor Voice. Contrary to the Actor Voice prefix *məng*-, the nominalisation prefix *sə(ng)*- does not trigger nasal fusion. Instead, the nasal is deleted before consonant-initial roots. Example (53) illustrates the prefix *sə(ng)*- before vowel-initial and monosyllabic roots and (54) illustrates how the nasal is deleted before consonant-initial roots.

(53)	root	gloss	<i>sə(ng)</i> - prefixation	gloss
	<i>ata</i>	'look'	<i>səngata</i>	'manner of looking'
	<i>llit</i>	'sew'	<i>səngəllit</i>	'manner of sewing'
	<i>gkot</i>	'work'	<i>səngəgkot</i>	'manner of working'
	<i>unu</i>	'kill'	<i>səngunu</i>	'manner of killing'
	<i>alap</i>	'get'	<i>səngalap</i>	'manner of getting'

(54)	root	gloss	<i>sə(ng)</i> - prefixation	gloss
	<i>tiru</i>	'teach'	<i>sətiru</i>	'manner of teaching'
	<i>tannan</i>	'fix'	<i>sətannan</i>	'manner of fixing'
	<i>sarab</i>	'burn field'	<i>səsarab</i>	'manner of burning a field'

Now why does *sə(ng)*- not trigger nasal fusion whereas the other prefixes of the same morphological class, that also end in a nasal, do trigger nasal fusion? I propose to assume that the nominalisation prefix *sə(ng)*- has two suppletive allomorphs from which speakers must choose: one allomorph *sə*- is attached to consonant-initial roots and the other allomorph *səng*- is attached to vowel-initial roots. The other prefixes that end in a nasal, then, have only one underlying form, which undergoes nasal assimilation before consonant-initial roots.

The prefix *bəɾə(g)*- marks the Distant Past for verbs of the class that take *bəg*- in the Actor Voice, see section 7.7. for the semantics of this prefix. The final consonant of the prefix *bəɾə(g)*- is present before vowel-initial verbs as in (55), but absent before consonant-initial verbs as in (56). The roots of the examples in (56) both start with /g/, which makes them bad examples to demonstrate deletion of the /g/ of the prefix, but I have no other examples. The prefix *bəɾə(g)*- is in most cases combined with the infix *-i-*.

(55)	root	gloss	<i>bəɾəg</i> - <i>-i-</i> prefixation	gloss
	<i>ubot</i>	'treat with medicine'	<i>bəɾəgibot</i> (bəɾəg-i-ubot)	'treated with medicine for a long time'
	<i>apuy</i>	'cook'	<i>bəɾəgepuy</i> (bəɾəg-i-apuy)	'cooked some time ago'
	<i>dtow</i>	'day'	<i>bəɾəgədtow</i> (bəɾəg-ə-dtow)	'go and return on the same day'

(56)	root	gloss	<i>bəɾəg-</i>	<i>-i-</i>	prefixation	gloss
	<i>gani</i>	'harvest'	<i>bəɾəgeni</i>	(<i>bəɾə--i-gani</i>)		'harvested some time ago'
	<i>guru</i>	'learn'	<i>bəɾəgiru</i>	(<i>bəɾə--i-guru</i>)		'learned for a long time'

The prefix *tə(g)-* marks Intensive forms of adjectives of the *bə(g)-* class. The examples in (57) show the prefix *tə(g)-* before monosyllabic or vowel-initial roots and the examples in (58) illustrate how the final /g/ is deleted before consonant-initial roots.

(57)	root	gloss	<i>tə(g)-</i>	prefixation	gloss
	<i>ttas</i>	'high'	<i>təgəttas</i>		'very-high'
	<i>rat</i>	'wicked'	<i>təgərat</i>		'very-wicked'
	<i>dtu'</i>	'far'	<i>təgədtu'</i>		'very-far'
	<i>uli'</i>	'go home'	<i>təguli'</i>		'return to original state'

(58)	root	gloss	<i>tə(g)-</i>	prefixation	gloss
	<i>buat</i>	'long'	<i>təbuat</i>		'very long'
	<i>kadong</i>	'short'	<i>təkadong</i>		'very short'
	<i>gajo</i>	'big'	<i>təgajo</i>		'very big'
	<i>tuo</i>	'old'	<i>tətuo</i>		'very old'

The prefix *pə(g)-* derives agent nouns from verbs of the *bə(g)-* class (see section 7.10.). The available data on this prefix are limited because it is not used very frequently. Derivations with *pə(g)-* of vowel-initial roots are given in (59). Examples of derivations of this prefix of consonant-initial roots are not available.

(59)	root	gloss	<i>pə(g)-</i>	prefixation	gloss
	<i>apuy</i>	'cook'	<i>pəgapuy</i>		'fire'
	* <i>pug</i>	-	<i>pəgəpug</i>		'bride price'

2.4.5. Infixation allomorphy of the Completive Aspect and Dependent affixes

The Completive Aspect and the Dependent can both be expressed by three allomorphs. The Completive Aspect can be expressed as *-i-*, *-ən-* and *ni-*; and the Dependent can be realised as *-u-*, *-əm-*, and *m-*, depending on the shape of the stem. Although the morphemes of the Completive Aspect and the Dependent are historically derived from proto-Austronesian *IN and *UM respectively (Blust 1997 for the related language Mukah Melanau), they must synchronically be analysed as suppletive affixes that still bear resemblance to *IN and *UM but never surface as such. The phonology decides which allomorphs fits best for which stem. This phenomena is analysed in an OT framework in Goudswaard (2004).

The distribution of the Completive Aspect and Dependent allomorphs can be briefly described as follows: stems that start with a consonant followed by schwa or /a/ are infixed with *-i-* and *-u-* respectively; stems that start with a consonant

followed by a high vowel are infixed with *-ən-* and *-əm-* respectively; vowel-initial stems are always prefixed with *ni-* and *m-* respectively; and stems starting with a liquid are prefixed with *nə-* and *mə-* respectively. I will first discuss infixation with *-i-* and *-u-*, after that I will discuss infixation with *-ən-* and *-əm-*, then I will treat the allomorphs *ni-* and *m-* and finally *nə-* and *mə-*.

The Completive Aspect and the Dependent are expressed by the infixes *-i-* and *-u-* in stems that start with a consonant followed by schwa or /a/. These infixes coalesce with the stem vowel so that bisyllabicity is retained. The examples below show that a bisyllabic consonant-initial form is obtained:

(60)	Stem	Completive Aspect	Dependent	gloss
	<i>səgkow</i>	<i>sigkow</i>	<i>sugkow</i>	'call'
	<i>səmmu'</i>	<i>simmu'</i>	<i>summu'</i>	'command'
	<i>səpput</i>	<i>sipput</i>	<i>supput</i>	'blow'
	<i>təbpol</i>	<i>tibpol</i>	<i>tubpol</i>	'shoot with blowpipe'
	<i>təssong</i>	<i>tissong</i>	<i>tussong</i>	'stuff'
(61)	Stem	Completive Aspect	Dependent	gloss
	<i>dalud</i>	<i>delud</i>	<i>dolud</i>	'wait'
	<i>gambar</i>	<i>gembar</i>	<i>gombar</i>	'take photo'
	<i>rambut</i>	<i>rembut</i>	<i>rombut</i>	'pull out'
	<i>dagang</i>	<i>degang</i>	<i>dogang</i>	'buy'
	<i>kaluk</i>	<i>keluk</i>	<i>koluk</i>	'visit'
	<i>panow</i>	<i>penow</i>	<i>ponow</i>	'go'

The output of vowel coalescence is a complex vowel, a single skeleton slot associated with two bundles of features. The result of vowel coalescence of the sequences /i+a/ and /u+a/ is /e/ and /o/ respectively.¹² This output can be predicted from the features of the input:

(62)	V	+	V	=	V
			[high front -round]		[high front -round]
	/ə/				
			/i/		/i/
	V	+	V	=	V
			[high back round]		[high back round]
	/ə/				
			/u/		/u/
	V	+	V	=	V
	[low]		[high front -round]		[-high -low front -round]
	/a/		/i/		/e/

¹² This output is very common cross linguistically, see Casali (1996) and De Haas (1988) for more examples.

V [low] /a/	+	V [high back round] /u/	=	V [-low-high back round] /o/
V [high front -round] /i/	+	V [high back round] /u/	=	V [high front -round] /i/

As is clear from this description, vowel coalescence enlarges the vowel inventory of the language from four to six segments.¹³ The original inventory has four simple segments and the derived inventory has two additional complex segments.

Stems that start with a consonant followed by the vowel /u/ are infixed with *-i-* in the Completive Aspect and with *-əm-* in the Dependent. Consider the following examples:

(63)	Stem	Completive Aspect	Dependent	gloss
	<i>sukot</i>	<i>sikot</i>	<i>səmukot</i>	'ask, inform'
	<i>tunu'</i>	<i>tinu'</i>	<i>təmunu'</i>	'burn'
	<i>guring</i>	<i>giring</i>	<i>gəmuring</i>	'fry'
	<i>kuttu</i>	<i>kittu</i>	<i>kəmuttu</i>	'pick fruit'
	<i>guru</i>	<i>giru</i>	<i>gəmuru</i>	'learn'
	<i>tulis</i>	<i>tilis</i>	<i>təmulis</i>	'write'

That this type of verb is infixed with *-əm-* in the Dependent can be explained from the fact that infixation with *-u-* would be invisible in the output. Prefixation with *m-* is also excluded because it would result in an illicit initial cluster, which the language tries to avoid.

It is interesting to see that the Completive Aspect of verbs with a penultimate vowel /u/ is expressed by the infix *-i-*, which overwrites the stem vowel /u/. The result of vowel coalescence of the sequence /i+u/ in for example /i+sukot/ = /sikot/ cannot be predicted from the features of the input; it must be considered an idiosyncrasy.

Consonant-initial verbs of which the penultimate vowel is /i/ or /e/ are infixed with *-ən-* and *-əm-* respectively, as in the forms below. Infixation with *-ən-* or *-əm-* makes the forms trisyllabic and thus less ideal than the bisyllabic forms the language strives to, but infixation with *-i-* or *-u-* is impossible because the infix *-i-* would be invisible and the infix *-u-* cannot coalesce with the stem vowel /i/. Prefixation with *ni-* in the Completive Aspect is also impossible, because full vowels are forbidden in the prepenultimate syllable, and prefixation with *m-* in the

¹³ Other languages in which vowel coalescence also enlarges the vowel inventory are Korean and Rotuman (De Haas 1988).

Dependent would create a complex onset, which is also forbidden.

(64)	Stem	Completive Aspect	Dependent	gloss
	<i>tiru'</i>	<i>təniru'</i>	<i>təmiru'</i>	'teach'
	<i>sikog</i>	<i>sənikog</i>	<i>səmikog</i>	'pull'
	<i>timpu</i>	<i>tənimpu</i>	<i>tənimpu</i>	'promise'
	<i>timbang</i>	<i>tətimbang</i>	<i>tətimbang</i>	'shoot'
	<i>giling</i>	<i>gəniling</i>	<i>gəniling</i>	'mill'
(65)	Stem	Completive Aspect	Dependent	gloss
	<i>lera'</i>	<i>lənera'</i>	<i>lənera'</i>	'look after'
	<i>gobpi</i>	-	<i>gəmobpi</i>	'getting night'

Vowel-initial stems are prefixed with *ni-* and *m-* respectively, thereby providing the verbs with an onset. The dependent prefix *m-* has no vowel, but the vowel of the Completive Aspect prefix coalesces with the stem vowel, preserving bisyllabicity. Here are some examples:

(66)	Stem	Completive Aspect	Dependent	gloss
	<i>asso</i>	<i>nesso</i>	<i>masso</i>	'read'
	<i>adtik</i>	<i>nedtik</i>	<i>madtik</i>	'lift up'
	<i>abput</i>	<i>nebput</i>	<i>mabput</i>	'bite'
	<i>apuy</i>	<i>nepuy</i>	<i>mapuy</i>	'cook'
	<i>ata'</i>	<i>neta'</i>	<i>mata'</i>	'look'
(67)	Stem	Completive Aspect	Dependent	gloss
	<i>ukul</i>	<i>nikul</i>	<i>mukul</i>	'hit'
	<i>unu'</i>	<i>ninu'</i>	<i>munu'</i>	'kill'
	<i>uyok</i>	<i>niok</i>	<i>muyok</i>	'request'
	<i>ubot</i>	<i>nibot</i>	<i>mubot</i>	'treat with medicine'
	<i>usur</i>	<i>nisur</i>	<i>musur</i>	'tell'
(68)	Stem	Completive Aspect	Dependent	English gloss
	<i>issog</i>	<i>nissog</i>	<i>missog</i>	'move'
	<i>issa'</i>	<i>nissa'</i>	<i>missa'</i>	'put'
	<i>idtam</i>	<i>nidtam</i>	<i>midtam</i>	'borrow'
	<i>ingut</i>	<i>ningut</i>	<i>mingut</i>	'force'
	<i>isud</i>	<i>nisud</i>	<i>misud</i>	'send'

The following list shows the forms of monosyllabic verbal stems. The vowel /i/ of the Completive Aspect morpheme makes the resulting form bisyllabic and an augmenting schwa is inserted in the Dependent forms before prefixation with *m-*.

(69)	Stem	Completive Aspect	Dependent	gloss
	<i>mmog</i>	<i>nimmog</i>	<i>məmmog</i>	'hit'
	<i>gkot</i>	<i>nigkot</i>	<i>məgkot</i>	'work'
	<i>ppom</i>	<i>nippom</i>	<i>məppom</i>	'pump up, spray'
	<i>llit</i>	<i>nillit</i>	<i>məllit</i>	'sew'

Stable native dynamic Begak roots starting with a labial consonant do not exist, because they became lost in a process called ‘pseudo nasal substitution by Blust (2004). According to his analysis, the original infix was **-um-*, but in several languages **b-um-unu*’ changed into *munu*’ because the sequences /bVm/ and /pVm/ were strongly disfavoured. Consequently, *m-* became the prefix and *unu*’ the root, and in Begak the root-initial labials disappeared altogether. As far as originally labial-initial roots exist, they are unstable and display root-allomorphy. One root-allomorph is vowel-initial and the other labial-initial (see section 2.4.2.1.). Speakers are free to choose either allomorph. The Completive Aspect is expressed either through infixation of the labial-initial root-allomorph with *-i-* or through prefixation of the vowel-initial root with *ni-*. Recent labial-initial loan words from Malay show the same root-allomorphy as Begak verbs. The first four forms in (70) are native instable roots and the other three are loan words:

(70)	Stem	Completive Aspect	Dependent	gloss
	<i>(b)unu</i> ’	<i>ninu/binu</i> ’	<i>munu</i> ’	‘kill’
	<i>(b)alos</i>	<i>nelos/belos</i>	<i>malos</i>	‘compensate, answer, revenge’
	<i>(b)ayo</i>	<i>neyo/beyo</i>	<i>mayo</i>	‘pay’
	<i>(p)anas</i>	<i>nenas/penas</i>	<i>manas</i>	‘hot, heat up’
	<i>pakay</i>	<i>nekay/pekay</i>	<i>makay</i>	‘use’
	<i>pikir</i>	<i>pənikir</i>	<i>mikir</i>	‘think’
	<i>pasang</i>	<i>nesang/pesang</i>	<i>masang</i>	‘fix, install’

Roots starting with a liquid followed by a high vowel show variation between infixation with *-ən-* and *-əm-* or prefixation with *nə-* and *mə-* respectively, as in (71).¹⁴ The forms with *nə-* and *mə-* can probably be best analysed as metathesized forms of *-ən-* and *-əm-*. This metathesis can be explained by the fact that some Austronesian languages have a ban on infixes that contain a sonorant in stems starting with a sonorant (Klein 2002). Metathesis prevents infixes from occurring after stems starting with a sonorant.

(71)	stem	gloss	Completive Aspect	Dependent
	<i>litong</i>	‘glare’	<i>nəlitong / lənitong</i>	<i>məlitong / ləmitong</i>
	<i>ligow</i>	‘deceive’	<i>nəligow</i>	<i>məligow</i>
	<i>ladut</i>	‘upside down’	-	<i>məlodut</i>
	<i>lera</i> ’	‘look after’	<i>nəlera’ / lənera’</i>	<i>məlera’ / ləmera’</i>
	<i>lauy</i>	‘flee’	-	<i>məlauy</i>
	<i>riksa</i> ’	‘examine’	<i>nəriksa’ / rəniksa’</i>	<i>məriksa’ / rəmiksa’</i>
	<i>riu</i> ’	‘bathe’	-	<i>məriu</i> ’

Metathesis in the above examples is not an OCP effect: if it were an OCP effect, any sequence of two sonorants would be forbidden. But the sequence that Begak tries to avoid is a root-initial sonorant followed by an infix that contains a

¹⁴ The /l/ in the forms *məlitong*, *nəlitong* ‘glare, spy’ and *məlera*’, *nəlera*’ may flap and be pronounced as /r/, (see also section 2.4.2.1. for the same process after prefixation with *məng(ə)-*.)

sonorant. The following examples show that metathesis cannot occur in verbs that contain a sonorant that is not root-initial:

(72)	stem	gloss	derivation	gloss
	<i>tulud</i>	‘fly’	<i>təmulud</i> , * <i>mətulud</i>	‘DEP-fly’
	<i>tiru</i> ’	‘teach’	<i>təmiru</i> ’, * <i>mətiru</i> ’	‘DEP-teach’
	<i>tumis</i>	‘stirfry’	<i>tənumis</i> , * <i>mənumis</i>	‘DEP-stirfry’

It can then be concluded from this section that Begak strives towards consonant-initial bisyllabic words, i.e. consonant-initial feet. The phonology chooses the allomorph that comes closest to this optimal form. Vowel coalescence is used to resolve vowel hiatuses and to preserve bisyllabicity, while metathesis prevents infixes to appear after a root-initial sonorant.

2.4.6. Reciprocal suppletive allomorphy: -ər- infixation versus Cə-reduplication

Reciprocals are expressed by one of two competing morphological processes depending on the shape of the stem. Verbs starting with a consonant that is not a liquid are infixed with -ər- after the first consonant of the stem, as in (73). This first consonant may be a stem-forming prefix, as in *p--er-ukos* ‘cut in two’. Stems starting with a liquid or with a vowel or monosyllabic stems undergo prefixation with *gə-* followed by Cə-reduplication. Examples of reciprocals of verbs starting with a liquid are given in (74) and examples of reciprocals of vowel-initial stems are given in (75).

(73)	stem	gloss	-ər- infixation	gloss
	<i>kədtut</i>	‘pinch’	<i>k-ər-ədtut</i>	‘pinch each other’
	<i>giay</i>	‘hang down’	<i>g-ər-iyay</i>	‘many hang down’
	<i>tadtas</i>	‘chase’	<i>t-ər-adtas</i>	‘chase each other’
	<i>sukot</i>	‘ask’	<i>s-ər-ukot</i>	‘ask each other’
	<i>p-ukos</i>	‘SF-cut in two’	<i>p--ər-ukos</i>	‘accidentally torn to pieces’

(74)	stem	gloss	<i>gə-</i> prefixation and Cə-reduplication	gloss
	<i>rakop</i>	‘wrestle’	<i>gəgərakop</i>	‘wrestle with each other’
	<i>lapas</i>	‘pass’	<i>gəgəlapas</i>	‘pass each other by’
	<i>langu</i> ’	‘relative’	<i>gəgəlangu</i> ’	‘be relatives of each other’
	<i>luan</i>	‘go out’	<i>gəgəluan</i>	‘go out together’

(75)	stem	gloss	<i>gə</i> prefixation and Cə-reduplication	gloss
	<i>adop</i>	‘face to face’	<i>gəgadop</i>	‘sit face to face’
	<i>ana</i>	‘arrow’	<i>gəgana</i>	‘shoot each other with arrow’
	<i>umur</i>	‘age’	<i>gəgumur</i>	‘be of the same age as the other’
	<i>usur</i>	‘tell’	<i>gəgusur</i>	‘talk with each other’
	<i>pput</i>	‘tie up’	<i>gəgəpput</i>	‘be tied up in each other’
	<i>dtu</i>	‘far’	<i>gəgədtu</i>	‘live far from each other’

The fact that the infix *-ər-* cannot occur after a stem-initial liquid may again be the effect of a constraint that bans infixes containing a sonorant after a stem-initial sonorant (Klein 2002)¹⁵. The same constraint bans infixation of *-ən-* and *-əm-* after a sonorant and causes the infix to metathesise, see the previous section. The reciprocal infix *-ər-* is not metathesised before a sonorant, however, but simply does not appear, because the reciprocal meaning can also be expressed by another morphological process.

One exception is *danggar* ‘bump’, which contains a liquid does not start with one, but nevertheless reciprocal is a reduplicated form: *gəgədanggar*. This may be a case of OCP: a sequence of two instances of /t/ is perhaps prohibited? On the other hand, *tula* ‘blame’ also contains a liquid but nevertheless it is infixed with *-ər-*: *tərula*’ as the stem does not start with /l/. Apparently then, stems starting with a liquid have reciprocals with Cə-reduplication and stems containing an /t/ sound may have a reciprocal of either form. A morphosyntactic description of reciprocals is given in section 7.2.; more details about Cə-reduplication follow in the next section.

2.5. Reduplication

Begak has four types of reduplication: Cə-reduplication, foot reduplication, full reduplication, and repetition with the adverb *tu* ‘also’. Cə-reduplication derives

¹⁵ In the Bisayan language Inonhan the plural actor infix *-Vr-* causes metathesis after an initial liquid. The examples in (i) show the ordinary infixation pattern if the stem does not start with a liquid, although it may contain one (/q/ is a glottal stop):

- | | | | | |
|-----|--------------|----------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| (i) | <i>súlat</i> | ‘read’ | <i>nag-surúlat</i> | ‘pres.perf-read-pl’ |
| | <i>pílá</i> | ‘spit’ | <i>nag-píríla</i> | ‘pres.perf-spit-pl’ |
| | <i>sáqot</i> | ‘dance’ | <i>nag-saráqot</i> | ‘pres.perf-dance-pl’ |
| | <i>kánta</i> | ‘sing’ | <i>nag-karánta</i> | ‘pres.perf-sing-pl’ |
| | <i>abót</i> | ‘arrive’ | <i>nag-qarábot</i> | ‘pres.perf-arrive-pl’ |

The following (elicited) examples illustrate metathesis after an initial liquid:

- | | | | | |
|------|---------------|---------------|---------------------|----------------------------|
| (ii) | <i>libot</i> | ‘surround’ | <i>nag-rilibot</i> | ‘pres.perf-surround-pl’ |
| | <i>lohúd</i> | ‘kneel’ | <i>nag-rolóhud</i> | ‘pres.perf-kneel-pl’ |
| | <i>lítson</i> | ‘roast a pig’ | <i>nag-rilítson</i> | ‘pres.perf-roast a pig-pl’ |

reciprocals in most cases. Foot reduplication and full reduplication have a wide range of semantics, while repetition with the adverb *tu* ‘also’ derives repetitive verbs. The phonological and semantic details of these four types of reduplication will be treated in the next sections.

2.5.1. Cə-reduplication

Appart from a few exceptions, Cə-reduplication derives reciprocals from verbal or nominal stems.¹⁶ The first consonant of the stem is copied and forms the onset of the new open syllable that is prefixed to the stem. The nucleus of this prefixed syllable can only be filled with schwa, because only schwa can occur in syllables that do not belong to a root or a foot.

Cə-reduplication can apply to unaffixed roots as well as on prefixed stems. Cə-reduplication is very frequent with prefixed stems, but Cə-reduplication of unaffixed roots is rare. For ease of exposition I will discuss Cə-reduplication of unaffixed roots first. Consider the following examples.

(76)	root	gloss	Cə- reduplication	gloss
	<i>bua</i>	‘fruit’	<i>bəbua</i>	‘various types of fruit’
	<i>bunu</i>	‘kill’	<i>bəbunu</i>	‘kill each other’
	<i>butor</i>	‘stare’	<i>bəbutor</i>	‘stare at each other’
	<i>bisan</i>	‘respective parents of the bride and bridegroom’	<i>bəbisan</i>	‘be <i>bisan</i> of each other’
	<i>pungol</i>	‘fruit stalk’	<i>pəpungol</i>	‘stick together/grow in a fruitstalk’
	<i>gamo</i>	‘married couple’	<i>gəgamo</i>	‘be a married couple’
	<i>satu</i>	‘one’	<i>səsatu</i>	‘only one’
	<i>kumpol</i>	‘stick together’	<i>kəkumpol</i>	‘really stick together’
	<i>taru</i>	‘put’	<i>tətaru</i>	‘put to each other’
	<i>tiru</i>	‘teach’	<i>tətiru</i>	‘teach each other’

Cə-reduplication of unaffixed roots can only occur if they start with a consonant; it has not been attested so far for vowel-initial roots, probably because they lack the necessary material that needs to be copied.

Cə-reduplication can also apply to affixed stems, reduplication with *gə*- being the most frequent. Cə-reduplication of stems prefixed with *gə*- can only occur with roots starting with a liquid, as in (74) above, or with a vowel, as in (75) above. Reciprocals of roots starting with a consonant other than a liquid are formed by infixation with *-ə-*, see section 2.4.6. In (74) above, the root is prefixed with *gə*- to form a new stem. This new stem forms the bases for Cə-reduplication: the /g/ of the

¹⁶ Examples such as *bəbua* ‘generic term for fruit’, *səsatu* ‘only one’, *kəkait* ‘pole used to to knock down fruit from a tree’, in which Cə-reduplication does not derive reciprocals, do not seem to be productive.

prefix is copied and schwa forms the nucleus of the new syllable. In (75), prefixation with *gə-* before vowel-initials root triggers elision of schwa in order to avoid a vowel hiatus. The /g/ of the new stem is copied to the onset of the new syllable.

Vowel-initial roots prefixed with the Middle prefix *b-* can also form of the basis of Cə-reduplication. Examples are given in (77). Again the consonant of the prefix is copied into the onset of the reduplicant. Reduplication of verbs prefixed with the Actor Voice Non-volitive prefix *k(ə)-* is illustrated in (78).¹⁷

(77)	root	gloss	prefixation with <i>b-</i> followed by Cə-reduplication	gloss
	<i>ambur</i>	'spread'	<i>bəbambur-bambur</i>	'be spread all over the place'
	<i>iang</i>	'separate'	<i>bəbiang</i>	'separate from each other'
	<i>agon</i>	'strong'	<i>bəbagon</i>	'do very strongly'
(78)	root	gloss	prefixation with <i>kə-</i> followed by Cə-reduplication	gloss
	<i>uli'</i>	'go home'	<i>kəkuli'</i>	'go to and fro'
	<i>lap</i>	'get'	<i>kəkəlap</i>	'really get'
	<i>inum</i>	'drink'	<i>kəkinum</i>	'drank some time ago'
	<i>tтан</i>	'see'	<i>kəkəttan</i>	'saw some time ago'
	<i>igbit</i>	'lift up'	<i>kəkigbit</i>	'lift up'

2.5.2. Foot reduplication

Foot reduplication is the reduplication of the last two syllables of the (affixed) stem. Foot reduplication can be analysed as a suffixation process, because the reduplicant is attached after the stem, but it can also be considered a truncation process applied to the rightmost copy of full reduplication, because the semantics of full reduplication and foot reduplication are identical.

The following stems can form the basis of foot reduplication: reciprocals derived by *-ər-* infixation, reciprocals derived by Cə-reduplication, forms infixed twice with the Dependent infixes *-u-* and *-əm-*, and all prefixed verbs consisting of more than two syllables.

Foot reduplication seems to have more or less the same semantics as full reduplication of verbs. One of my consultants thought that most of the times there is no difference, and both forms seem to be in free variation, but for some roots there is a subtle difference between foot reduplication and Cə-reduplication which she could not describe. Further research is needed to determine the exact semantics. Consider

¹⁷ Forms prefixed with *kə-* followed by Cə-reduplication could also be analysed as double prefixation with the Actor Voice Non-volitive prefix *k(ə)-*: some intransitive vowel-initial verbs are prefixed with *k-* for example *k-uli'* 'AV.NV-go.home'. If this form *k-uli'* is prefixed again with the same prefix, the form *kəkuli'* is obtained. This form *kəkuli'* can be analysed as double prefixation or Cə-reduplication.

the following examples of foot reduplication of reciprocals with *-ər-*.

(79)	stem	gloss	-ər- infixation and foot-reduplication	gloss
	<i>tuppuk</i>	‘bunch’	<i>təruppuk-ruppuk</i>	‘be in bunches here and there’
	* <i>sagga</i>	‘fight’	<i>səragga’-ragga</i>	‘constantly fighting with each other’
	<i>tipun</i>	‘gather’	<i>təripun-ripun</i>	‘gather different species’
	<i>sawo</i>	‘marry’	<i>sərawo-rawo</i>	‘propose and give bride price’
	<i>tiu</i>	‘hit’	<i>təriu’-riu</i>	‘hit each other a bit (suit each other)’
	<i>kawong</i>	‘disappear suddenly’	<i>kərawong-rawong</i>	‘many (fish) disappear suddenly’
	* <i>kudu</i>	‘show pity’	<i>kərudu’-rudu</i>	‘show pity’
	<i>sukot</i>	‘ask’	<i>sərukot-rukot</i>	‘ask each other again and again’

These examples nicely show that foot reduplication copies the last two syllables of the stem, regardless of morphological boundaries. Only the /t/ of the infix *-ər-* is copied into the reduplicant. The semantics of reduplication of reciprocals can be best described as distributive or repetitive: ‘do X repeatedly’, ‘do X here and there’. Consider the following reciprocals:

(80)	stem	gloss	Cə-reduplication and foot-reduplication	gloss
	<i>ambur</i>	‘spread’	<i>bəbambur-bambur</i>	‘spread all over the place’
	<i>uli</i>	‘go home’	<i>kəkuli’-kuli</i> <i>kəkuli’-uli</i>	‘go to and fro’
	<i>bunu</i>	‘kill’	<i>bəbunu’-bunu</i>	‘kill each other’
	<i>usur</i>	‘tell’	<i>gəgusur-gusur</i>	‘talk with each other’
	<i>gidu</i>	‘move’	<i>gəgidu’-gidu</i>	‘move constantly’
	* <i>tukkol</i>	-	<i>tətukkol-tukkol</i>	‘piled up stuffed without order’

These reduplicated reciprocals have the same semantics as reduplicated reciprocals derived with *-ər-*. The phonological boundaries of the reduplicant in these examples always seem to coincide with the morphological boundaries: the reduplicant starts with a prefix. Some variation seems to be possible for vowel-initial roots: both the form *kək-k-uli’-k-uli* from *uli* ‘go home’, with the prefix *k-* in the reduplicant, and *kək-k-uli’-uli*, without the prefix *k-* in the reduplicant, have been attested. In the latter form, the final glottal stop of the root forms the onset of the reduplicant. Next, consider the following examples:

(81)	stem	gloss	-u- infixation, -əm- infixation and foot-reduplication	gloss
	<i>gajo</i>	‘big’	<i>gəmojo-mojo</i>	‘grow bigger and bigger’
	<i>tidog</i>	‘straight’	<i>təmidog-midog</i>	‘grow straighter and straighter’
	<i>gabpi</i>	‘night’	<i>gəmobpi-mobpi</i>	‘getting very close to dawn’

These examples are the result of multiple application of morphological processes. The adjective *gajo* ‘big’ for example can be infixed with the allomorph *-u-* of the Dependent to derive *gojo*. This form can be infixed in its turn with another allomorph of the Dependent, *-əm-*, resulting in *gəmojo* ‘getting bigger’. This form can in its turn be reduplicated, resulting in *gəmojo-mojo*. Again, foot reduplication seems to be blind to morphological boundaries: only the /m/ of the Dependent infix *-əm-* is copied into the reduplicant.

The list in (82) shows examples of foot reduplication of stems affixed with various prefixes. As can be seen from the list, foot reduplication sometimes respects morphological boundaries and sometimes not. In some cases, the final consonant of the CVC- type prefix is not copied into the reduplicant, as in *bəgayam-ayam* from *ayam* ‘play’, and in some other cases it is copied into the reduplicant and as in *bəgalud-galud* from *alud* ‘boat’. I have no explanation for this variation.

(82)	stem	gloss	prefix	prefixation and foot-reduplication	gloss
	<i>alud</i>	‘boat’	<i>bəg-</i>	<i>bəg-alud-galud</i>	‘AV-go by boat for fun’
	<i>ilow</i>	‘look down’	<i>bəg-</i>	<i>bəg-ilow-gilow</i>	‘AV-look down a little bit’
	<i>ayam</i>	‘play’	<i>bəg-</i>	<i>bəg-ayam-ayam</i>	‘AV-make jokes about so’
	<i>lamud</i>	‘mix’	<i>gə-</i>	<i>gə-lamud-lamud</i>	‘AV-very mixed’
	<i>limbas</i>	‘take turns’	<i>gə-</i>	<i>gə-limbas-limbas</i>	‘AV-take turns’
	<i>ata</i>	‘look at’	<i>məng-</i>	<i>məng-ata-ngata</i>	‘AV-look at something for fun, not seriously’
	<i>ilag</i>	‘shine’	<i>məng-</i>	<i>məng-ilag-ilag</i>	‘AV-very shiny’
	<i>tassa</i>	‘CL.animal’	<i>sə-</i>	<i>sə-tassa-tassa</i>	‘only one CL’
	<i>səpaya</i>	‘everything’	<i>sə-</i>	<i>sə-paya-paya</i>	‘everything’
	<i>tiru</i>	‘teach’	<i>sə-</i>	<i>sə-tiru-tiru</i>	‘NOM-all kinds of teaching’
	<i>ila</i>	‘split’	<i>sə-b-</i>	<i>sə-b-ila-bila</i>	‘one half only’
	<i>*nio</i>	‘respectively’	<i>kə-</i>	<i>kə-nio-nio</i>	‘everybody respectively’
	<i>*ibod</i>	‘go to and fro’	<i>a-</i>	<i>a-gibod-gibod</i>	‘NV-go to and fro’

The semantics of the examples in (82) depend again on the word classes and on the prefix of the stem. The reduplicated verbs often have a meaning ‘do X for fun, not seriously, in a playful manner’, ‘do X repeatedly’. Reduplicated nouns or classifiers often mean ‘very X’, ‘only X’, ‘various kinds of X’.

2.5.3. Full reduplication

Full reduplication is making a complete copy of the whole word. Full reduplication can occur with nouns, verbs, adjectives, classifiers, locational nouns, and numerals, but not with true adverbs. Examples of bisyllabic reduplicated forms are given in (83) and trisyllabic and larger forms are given in (84):

(83)	stem	gloss	full reduplication	gloss
	<i>kulos</i>	'animal'	<i>kulos-kulos</i>	'insects'
	<i>lumbi</i>	'jar'	<i>lumbi-lumbi</i>	'all kinds of jars'
	<i>suran</i>	'story'	<i>suran-surana</i>	'many stories'
	<i>təŋga</i>	'middle'	<i>təŋga-təŋga</i>	'exactly in the middle'
	<i>sarog</i>	'down stream'	<i>sarog-sarog</i>	'at the extreme downstream'
	<i>dtow</i>	'day'	<i>sədtow-sədtow</i>	'only one day'
	<i>miang</i>	'DEP-separate'	<i>miang-miang</i>	'separate'
	<i>nibbat</i>	'COM-border'	<i>nibbat-nibbat</i>	'made borders'
	<i>panow</i>	'go'	<i>panow-panow</i>	'go a little bit'
	<i>pata</i>	'NV-see'	<i>pata-pata</i>	'see a little bit'
	<i>puti</i>	'white'	<i>puti-puti</i>	'very white'
	<i>gubor</i>	'loud'	<i>gubor-gubor</i>	'very loud'
	<i>səkkot</i>	'red'	<i>səkkot-səkkot</i>	'a little redish'
	<i>buat</i>	'MID-get up'	<i>buat-buat</i>	'get up a little bit'

Reduplicated nouns, classifiers and numerals have semantics such as plurality or diversity ('various X'), intensity ('very X'), diminutive ('a little bit X' or 'a little bit like X'). Reduplicated adjectives and verbs can mean plurality of action ('do X repeatedly'), classifiers and numerals can have the meaning 'only X'.

(84)	stem	gloss	prefixation and full reduplication	gloss
	<i>lamud</i>	'mix'	<i>gəlamud-gəlamud</i>	'mix'
	<i>monay</i>	'young man'	<i>gəmonay-gəmonay</i>	'dress up' (said of men)
	<i>lid</i>	'look for'	<i>bəgəlid-bəgəlid</i>	'look for something extensively'
	<i>ata</i>	'look at'	<i>məŋgata-məŋgata</i>	'look at a little bit'
	<i>dtu</i>	'far'	<i>bəgədtu-bəgədtu</i>	'go rather far away'
	<i>lancung</i>	'tour'	<i>məlancong-məlancong</i>	'tour around for fun'
	<i>lisang</i>	'play'	<i>gəlisang-gəlisang</i>	'play for fun'
	<i>lawo</i>	'play'	<i>gəgəlawo-gəgəlawo</i>	'play together repeatedly'

2.5.4. Repetition with *tu* 'too, also' as a linker

Repetition with the adverb *tu* 'too, also' is strictly speaking not a morphological but a syntactic process: it is the doubling of a verb with the adverb *tu* 'also' as a linker, comparable to the English construction 'Verbing and Verbing', for example 'he kept running and running'. Despite the syntactic nature of the process, I will treat it under the section of reduplication, because of its phonological and semantic similarities with morphological full reduplication, and because of the sound-symbolic elements occurring in this construction.

Repetition with the linker *tu* can only be applied to a verbal stem and its semantics are 'do X again and again'. Examples of repetition with *tu* based on inflected verbs are given below. Most of the times, the verb is inflected for Dependent; Actor Voice prefixation seems not to occur in this context for semantic reasons; Completive Aspect occurs sporadically here.

(85)	stem	gloss	affixation and repetition	gloss
	<i>ri</i>	'tear'	<i>məri-tu-məri</i>	'DEP-tear to pieces repeatedly'
	<i>ladut</i>	'upside down'	<i>nələdut-tu-nələdut</i>	'COM-turned upside down repeatedly'
	<i>ukos</i>	'cut in two'	<i>mukos-tu-mukos</i>	'DEP-cut in two repeatedly'
	<i>unguy</i>	'cry loudly'	<i>unguy-tu-unguy</i>	'cry loudly'
	<i>ubus</i>	'pour out'	<i>mubus-tu-mubus</i>	'DEP-pour out repeatedly'
	<i>langog</i>	'soak'	<i>longog-tu-longog</i>	'DEP-soak repeatedly'
	<i>rus</i>	'brush'	<i>mərus-tu-mərus</i>	'DEP-brush repeatedly'
	<i>pikot</i>	'grasshopper'	<i>pikot-tu-pikot</i>	'say "grasshopper" repeatedly'

Besides the repeated forms that are based on an inflected stem, there is also a number of repeated forms with *tu* 'too' that lack a non-reduplicated equivalent. Most of these items are sound-symbolic words, because many of them describe (human) sounds and repeated actions. Many of these words contain the consonant /r/. The presence of /r/ could be the result of historical infixation with -ər-, but a more plausible explanation for this recurring sound is that it symbolises the noise or strange movement described by the word. The repetition in the meaning of the sound-symbolic items in the list above, then, is expressed by the repetition of the form and by the discourse particle/linker *tu* 'too', while the sounds or strange movement they describe are expressed by the /r/ sound. Here are some examples:

(86)	repetition	non-existing stem	gloss
	<i>gurung-tu-gurung</i>	* <i>gurung</i>	'a few people crying loudly'
	<i>səbukut-tu-səbukut</i>	* <i>səbukut</i>	'rummage about repeatedly'
	<i>gərukut-tu-rukut</i>	* <i>gərukut</i>	'rummage about repeatedly'
	<i>gərəkak-tu-gərəkak</i>	* <i>gərəkak</i>	'many people laughing constantly'
	<i>kərəkak-tu-kərəkak</i>	* <i>kərəkak</i>	'burst of laughter'
	<i>kərup-tu-kərup</i>	* <i>kərup</i>	'eat something crispy noisily'
	<i>gəruap-tu-gəruap</i>	* <i>gəruap</i>	'talking loudly with each other'
	<i>gərigbit-tu-gərigbit</i>	* <i>gərigbit</i>	'scold and shout at each other'
	<i>ribow-tu-ribow</i>	* <i>ribow</i>	'repeated noise of metal'
	<i>gəruyong-tu-gəruyong</i>	* <i>gəruyong</i>	'many people buzzing repeatedly'
	<i>kour-tu-kour</i>	* <i>kaur</i> , * <i>kour</i>	'taking repeatedly'
	<i>kisol-tu-kisol</i>	* <i>kisol</i>	'turn around constantly in sleep'
	<i>us-tu-us</i>	* <i>us</i>	'gasp for breath'
	<i>pəlili'-tu-pəlili'</i>	* <i>pəlili'</i>	'pace up and down'
	<i>kios-tu-kios</i>	* <i>kios</i>	'go to and fro'
	<i>bəlignid-tu-bəlignid</i>	* <i>bəlignid</i>	'walk zigzagging'

2.5.5. Other reduplicated words

Begak has a number of words that seem to be the result of reduplication of one or two syllables. Many of these words are inherited from proto-Austronesian reduplicated lexical items. Here are some examples:

(87)	<i>soksok</i>	‘house lizard’
	<i>pakpak</i>	‘drop something small’
	<i>(məŋg-)ukpuk</i>	‘hit’
	<i>bobo</i>	‘handbag’
	<i>buol-buol</i>	‘stick out’
	<i>ria’-ria’</i>	‘drizzle’
	<i>mənus-nus</i>	‘stormy wind’
	<i>ipos-ipos</i>	‘cockroach’
	<i>barung-barung</i>	‘field hut, shelter’

2.6. Post-lexical processes

Post-lexical processes that can occur in the Begak phonology are shortening of inflected verbs in fast speech and the pronunciation of /s/ as [h] at the end of a word. Both processes can be considered to be post-lexical in the sense that they are optional and are not structure preserving (Kiparsky 1985). The term ‘not structure preserving’ means that a post lexical process can introduce elements into the language that were not present in the underlying inventory. The sound /h/, for example, is an element that is not present in the underlying phoneme inventory.

2.6.1. Shortening of inflected verbs

Inflected verbs consisting of more than two syllables are sometimes shortened to two syllables in fast or not too careful speech. In most of the cases, it means that a CVC-shape prefix is shortened to just C-. This final consonant is just enough for the prefix to be recognised so that no information is lost. Examples of shortened forms are:

(88)	stem	full inflected form	shortened inflected form	gloss
	<i>arab</i>	<i>bəg-arab</i>	<i>g-arab</i>	‘AV-search’
	<i>inum</i>	<i>məŋg-inum</i>	<i>ŋg-inum</i>	‘AV-drink’
	<i>uyok</i>	<i>məŋg-uyok</i>	<i>ŋg-uyok</i>	‘AV-request’
	<i>aus</i>	<i>pə-p-aus</i>	<i>p-aus</i>	‘UV.CAU.DEP-bring’
	<i>ttas</i>	<i>pə-p-əttas</i>	<i>p-əttas</i>	‘UV.CAU.DEP-high’

The result of this shortening is a bisyllabic, consonant-initial form, i.e. a consonant-initial foot. Apparently, then, shortening is used to produce the favorite prosodic word type of the language: the consonant-initial foot.

2.6.2. /s/ becomes /h/ at the end of a word

At the end of a word, the phoneme /s/ can optionally be pronounced as /h/. I briefly mention the phenomenon here because I have not done extensive research on it. As the following examples show, /s/ can be pronounced as /h/ in words starting with a

nasal (89), a vowel (90) and even before a voiceless obstruant (91). I do not know what phonological factors condition the phenomenon; it is probably not conditioned by sociolinguistic factors, because it is done by young and old people, men and women.

- (89) *Pog allun [ingoh] no (..)*
 pog a-llun inggos no
 when NV-alive all yonder
 ‘When they were all alive, (...)’ [Masi Dolam]
- (90) *Jadi, [kuloḥ] ino pa, [kuloḥ] rusok.*
 jadi kulos ino pa kulos rusok
 so animal yonder PRT animal broken.
 ‘So this thing hey, this thing (lit. animal) is broken.’ [ConversationtriptoLD 183]
- (91) (...) [puruh] *pusod liun rumo Buad.*
 (...) purus pusod liun rumo Buad
 (...) reason navel woman 3S Buad
 ‘(...) because of the center of it: the woman Buad.’ [Berigas]

The phenomenon of pronouncing /s/ as /h/ is post-lexical because it is optional and it is not structure preserving: the sound /h/ is not an underlying segment of Begak.

2.7. Summary

A distinction has been made between four primary vowels, which can only occur in non-derived environments; and two secondary vowels, which can only occur in the penultimate syllable of derived environments. It has been shown that only roots can have full vowels and that prefixes, with the exception of the Non-volitive prefix *a-*, can only contain schwa.

We have seen that Begak has four syllable types: syllables may but need not start with an onset and can be open or closed. Consonant clusters can only occur across syllable boundaries within the root; the consonants of the clusters must share place features. This means that Begak respects the Coda Condition, but only root-internally because roots may end in any consonant without restrictions. Consonant clusters are not allowed across prefix-stem boundaries: only open syllables may occur across morpheme boundaries. Several morphophonological processes help to create open syllables there.

Begak stems have been defined as consisting of exactly one iambic foot, i.e. two syllables. Phonological processes that are based on the notion of the foot are foot reduplication, augmentation of monosyllabic roots with schwa, shortening of inflected verbs and infixation plus vowel coalescence.

Apparently then, Begak strives towards consonant-initial bisyllabic words without clusters at a prefix-stem boundary and many morphophonological processes are a means to achieve that goal. Consonant deletion prevents prefixation from creating illicit consonant clusters, nasal fusion prevents prefixation from creating clusters of a nasal followed by a voiceless obstruant. Vowel coalescence is used in

order to prevent vowel hiatuses and to keep words bisyllabic.

The four types of reduplication of the language have been described in terms of an open syllable, a foot, the word; and a fourth type as the repetition of the word with the linker *tu* 'also'. It has been shown that many instances of the fourth type are sound-symbolic words that lack a non-reduplicated equivalent.

3. Morphological notions and categories

3.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the basic morphological units and processes that play a role in Begak clauses. In section 3.2. a definition will be given of the notions ‘root’, ‘stem’ and ‘affix’. The difference between roots and stems is particularly important in the Begak morphology, and will be illustrated with several examples. A list will be given of all Begak prefixes and infixes and their functions. Section 3.3. will treat the affix slots that limit affixation. Section 3.4. will briefly discuss the morphological typology.

Begak verbs are divided into three morphological classes, which form the topic of section 3.5. A description will be given of the phonological and semantic correlates of these morphological verbal classes. Section 3.6. will discuss the distinction between inflection and derivation in the Begak morphology. Special attention will be given to voice, mood and aspect morphology.

3.2. Definitions of morphological notions

3.2.1. Root

Roots may be defined in phonological or morphological terms. The phonological characteristics of roots were mentioned in the previous chapter. It was shown that most content words in Begak consist of two syllables, i.e. a foot, and have final stress, whereas function words may be shorter. An adequate morphological definition of roots is given by Payne (1997:24): “The root is an unanalyzable form that expresses the basic lexical content of the word”. Roots can be content words such as nouns and verbs, and function words such as pronouns and conjunctions. Roots of content words belong to an open lexical class. They can function as stems for morphological operations such as affixation or reduplication whereas roots of function words do not undergo morphological operations. Morphologically complex words consist of a root and one or more affixes, as in the following examples of a verb with causative prefix:

- | | | | |
|-----|-------------|---------|--------------------------------------|
| (1) | root | | root + affix |
| | <i>suok</i> | ‘enter’ | <i>məngə-suok</i> ‘cause to enter’ |
| | <i>buay</i> | ‘long’ | <i>məngə-buay</i> ‘cause to be long’ |

3.2.2. Stem

3.2.2.1. Definition

Stems form the basis of morphological operations such as affixation or reduplication. Stems may consist of just a root but can also consist of a root and one

or more affixes. An example of a morphologically complex stem is (2), consisting of the root *unong* and the semantically empty, stem forming prefix *p-*, which is prefixed on vowel-initial roots before other affixation is possible, see section 3.2.2.2. below.

(2)	root:	<i>-inum</i>	‘drink’
	derived stem:	<i>p-inum</i>	‘SF-drink’
	derivation:	<i>məngəp-inum</i>	‘AV.CAU-SF-drink’ ‘cause to drink’

Some affixes may be used twice such as in the following example:

(3)	category	form	gloss	translation
	root:	<i>gabpi</i>	night	‘night’
	stem:	<i>gobpi (-u-gabpi)</i>	DEP-night	‘getting night, i.e. afternoon’
	stem:	<i>gəmobpi</i> <i>(-əm--u-gbpi)</i>	DEP-DEP-night	‘late afternoon’
	derivation:	<i>gəmobpi-gəmobpi</i>	REP-DEP-DEP-night	‘really getting night, i.e. late afternoon’

The root *gabpi* in (3) is infix with the Dependent infix *-u-*, producing *gobpi*. The infix root forms the new stem for infixation with the Dependent infix *-əm-* (the allomorph of *-u-*) and subsequent reduplication, producing *gəmobpi-gəmobpi*. This double infixation is a derivational process.

Some stems are morphologically complex while their roots cannot be used as an independent word. Examples are:

(4)	derivation	hypothetical stem	gloss
	<i>məragkang</i>	<i>rəgkang</i>	‘child’
	<i>məngəra’</i>	<i>(ə)ra’</i>	‘maiden’
	<i>monay</i>	<i>manay</i>	‘young man’

The prefixes of these stems are still used productively, but the (hypothetical) roots of these words are not or no longer used on their own. Most terms referring to kinship are possibly (historically) derived, morphologically complex words.

3.2.2.2. Stems consisting of a root and a prefix

We have seen in chapter 2 that most Begak inflectional prefixes have two variants, one of the shape CVC- for vowel-initial stems and one of the shape CV- for consonant-initial stems, because the language tries to avoid consonant clusters or vowel hiatuses at morpheme boundaries. Some prefixes, however, lack two variants but only attach themselves to consonant-initial stems. This stem can either be a consonant-initial root or a vowel-initial root prefixed with the stem forming prefixes

b- or *p-*.¹ The prefixes *p-* and *b-* have no function of their own and are just empty morphs.² The choice of the empty morph is not entirely free, but depends on the semantics of the verb. Verbs of position and other ‘middle’ semantics can occur independently if prefixed with *b-*, therefore they also occur with *b-* in further derivations. Prefixes selecting such a consonant-initial stem are the Causative prefixes *məŋgə-*, *pə-* and *(pə)nə-*, and the Non-volitive prefixes *a-* and *kə-*, which require transitive stems to be consonant-initial.³ Here are some examples of complex stems consisting of a vowel-initial (or monosyllabic) root prefixed with *b-* or *p-*. The examples in (5) show how Non-volitive verbs are formed by attaching a Non-volitive prefix *a-* or *kə-* to a stem, consisting of a root prefixed with the prefix *p-*. The prefix *p-* is the default stem forming prefix.

(5)	root	UV-Non-volitive	AV-Non-volitive	gloss
	<i>ukow</i>	<i>a-p-ukow</i>	<i>kə-p-ukow</i>	‘NV-wake up’
	<i>arok</i>	<i>a-p-arok</i>	<i>kə-p-arok</i>	‘NV-smell’
	<i>inum</i>	<i>a-p-inum</i>	<i>kə-p-inum</i>	‘NV-drink’
	<i>gkot</i>	<i>a-p-ə-gkot</i>	<i>kə-p-ə-gkot</i>	‘NV-work’

Example (6) illustrates how UV-Non-volitive verbs are formed by attaching the Non-volitive prefix *a-* to a stem, consisting of a root prefixed with the prefix *b-* if the root has so called ‘middle’ semantics (see section 6.3.3. for a description of the middle category in Begak).

(6)	root	UV-Non-volitive	gloss
	<i>awang</i>	<i>a-b-awang</i>	‘NV-the door opens’
	<i>idtus</i>	<i>a-b-idtus</i>	‘NV-take out’
	<i>ungung</i>	<i>a-b-ungung</i>	‘NV-tooth comes out’
	<i>atak</i>	<i>a-b-atak</i>	‘NV-drop’

Causative verbs are formed by attaching *məŋgə-* (AV), *pə-* (Dependent) or *(pə)nə-i-* (UV-Completive) to a stem, consisting of a root prefixed with the prefix *p-* or *b-*. Again, verbs of position and other roots with ‘middle’ semantics usually take the prefix *b-*, whereas other verbs, whether stative or dynamic, transitive or intransitive, take *p-*. The default is *p-*.

¹ Monosyllabic roots augmented with schwa, such as *tot* ‘oppress’, *a-p-ə-tot* ‘oppressed’ behave identically to vowel-initial roots.

² “An empty morph is a recurrent form in a language that does not appear to be related to any element of meaning.” Bauer (1988:242)

³ Intransitive vowel-initial roots are directly prefixed with the Non-volitive allomorphs *a-* and *k-* instead of being prefixed with the stem forming prefixes *p-* or *b-* first, in contrast with transitive vowel-initial roots, for example *a-ttas* ‘high’, *a-gbog* ‘broken’, *k-uli* ‘returned’, *k-issog* ‘has moved’. In causatives, however, intransitive vowel-initial roots are treated in the same way as transitive vowel-initial roots: they are all prefixed with the stem forming prefixes *p-* or *b-* first, for instance *pə-p-ə-ttas* ‘make high’, *məŋgə-p-uli* ‘return something’, but also *məŋgə-p-inum* ‘cause to drink’.

(7)	root	gloss	AV-Causative <i>məŋə-</i>	UV-Dependent Causative <i>pə-</i>	UV-Causative <i>nə-</i> <i>-i-</i>
	<i>aus</i>	'bring'	<i>məŋə-p-aus</i>	<i>pə-p-aus</i>	<i>nə-p-eus</i>
	<i>inum</i>	'drink'	<i>məŋə-p-inum</i>	<i>pə-p-inum</i>	<i>nə-p-inum</i>
	<i>llang</i>	'hard'	<i>məŋə-p-ə-llang</i>	<i>pə-p-ə-llang</i>	<i>nə-p-illang</i>
	<i>uruy</i>	'stand'	<i>məŋə-b-uruy</i>	<i>pə-b-uruy</i>	<i>nə-b-iruy</i>
	<i>issog</i>	'move'	<i>məŋə-b-issog</i>	<i>pə-b-issog</i>	<i>nə-b-issog</i>

Petitives are formed by attaching the discontinuous affix *məkək(k)- -i-* to a stem⁴. The final /k/ of the petitive prefix *məkək(k)-* is deleted before consonant-initial stems and shows up before vowel-initial roots. Although the petitive is formed with a prefix of the type CVCV(C)-, it allows stems with stem forming prefixes. Some vowel-initial roots are prefixed with *p-* or *b-* first, causing deletion of /k/ in the prefix with *məkək(k)-*, while others are directly prefixed with *məkək-*. Unstable verbs with root-allomorphy (see section 2.4.2.1.) also vary between *məkək-* plus vowel-initial root-allomorph and *məkə-* plus consonant-initial root-allomorph. In other words, prefixation with the stem forming prefixes causes consonant-deletion of the final /k/ of *məkək(k)-*:

(8)	root	gloss	<i>məkə -i-</i>	gloss
	<i>aus</i>	'bring'	<i>məkəkəus</i>	'request to bring'
	<i>ulan</i>	'load'	<i>məkəkılan</i>	'request to load'
	<i>cop</i>	'chap'	<i>məkəkicop</i>	'request to chap'
	<i>allan</i>	'make'	<i>məkəkellan</i>	'request to make'
			<i>məkəbellan</i>	
	<i>kkan</i>	'feed'	<i>məkəpikkan</i>	'request to feed'
	<i>llun</i>	'live'	<i>məkəpillun</i>	'request to live'

Another category that allows but does not demand vowel-initial (or monosyllabic) stems to take stem-forming prefixes is the Completive Aspect. Vowel-initial roots are either prefixed with the Completive Aspect allomorph *ni-* or the complex stem with *p-* or *b-* is infixed with the allomorph *-i-* (see section 6.4.3.).

3.2.3. Affix

Affixes are bound morphemes that attach to a stem. Begak has several productive prefixes and a few productive infixes, such as the Completive infix *-i-* and its allomorphs, the Dependent infix *-u-* and its allomorphs and the Reciprocal infix *-ə-*, but has only one unproductive suffix *-an* that derives nouns from verbs. Begak has a few discontinuous morphemes consisting of a prefix and an infix: the UV-Completive Aspect Causative is expressed by the prefix *(pə)nə-* in combination with

⁴ If the first vowel of the root is /i/ this infix is inaudible. The infix *-i-* marks Completive Aspect if used in isolation or in other combinations, but in petitives the *-i-* infix does not seem to add any meaning to the verb.

the infix *-i-*, while the Petitive is expressed by the prefix *məkə(k)-* in combination with *-i-* and the Distant past is expressed by the allomorphs *gəɾə-*, *bəɾə(g)-* or *bəɾəng-* in combination with *-i-*. (9) gives a list of the most important affixes. The function of these affixes is discussed in chapters 6 and 7.

(9) Category	affix	function
Actor Voice	<i>gə-</i> <i>bə(g)-</i> <i>məng-</i>	Actor Voice class prefix Actor Voice class prefix Actor Voice class prefix
Stem forming prefixes	<i>p-</i> <i>b-</i>	Default stem forming prefix Middle prefix
Non-volitive Mood	<i>a-</i> <i>k(ə)-</i>	Non-volitive AV-Non-volitive
Dependent	<i>-u-</i> , allomorphs <i>-əm-</i> and <i>m-</i>	Dependent infix
Completive Aspect	<i>-i-</i> , allomorphs <i>-əm-</i> and <i>ni-</i>	Completive Aspect infix
Valency Changing Verb Morphology	<i>məngə-</i> <i>pənə--i-</i>	Causative Actor Voice Causative Undergoer Voice Completive Aspect
	<i>pə-</i> <i>məkə(k)--i-</i> <i>-əɾ-</i>	Causative UV-Dependent Petitive Reciprocal infix
Nominalisation of Verbal Stems	<i>sə(g)-</i> , <i>sə(ng)-</i> <i>səngə-</i> <i>ləng-</i>	Manner nominalisation Manner nominalisation of a causative verb Prefix occurring on certain plant names
	<i>pəng-</i> <i>kəng-</i>	Agent Noun Abstract Noun
Other morphology	<i>tə(g)-</i> <i>gəɾə--i-</i> , <i>bəɾə--i-</i> , <i>gəɾə--i-</i>	Intensive (adjectives) Distant Past

3.2.4. Word

The term ‘word’ can be defined phonologically or syntactically. A phonological definition has already been given in sections 2.3.3. and 2.3.4.: the Begak phonological word is minimally bisyllabic and has final stress. Some function words are bisyllabic (a foot) and receive final stress, for instance conjunctions such as *kəmo* ‘if’. Other function words are smaller than a foot, yet can be stressed, for example *sob* ‘as soon as’.⁵

⁵ Most content words consist of two syllables, but a small number of nouns is exceptional in consisting of just one syllable. Some short function words are monosyllabic too, but are nevertheless stressed and phonologically independent.

A syntactic definition of the term ‘word’ can be split up in a paradigmatic definition and a syntagmatic definition. A paradigmatic definition is that every word in the sentence can be replaced by another word, as in the following examples. The word *pait* ‘fish’ in (10) has been replaced by *səkkol* ‘sugar’ in (11).

(10) *Nong ku dogang pait.*
 nong ku -u-dagang pait
 AUX 1S.G -DEP-buy.UV fish
 ‘I am about to buy fish.’

(11) *Nong ku dogang səkkol.*
 nong ku -u-dagang səkkol
 AUX 1S.G -DEP-buy.UV sugar
 ‘I am about to buy sugar.’

The criterion of replacing one word with another word is a necessary but insufficient criterion. For example, it is possible to replace a prefix with another prefix, even if a prefix is obviously not a word. Therefore, a better criterion for the status of ‘word’ is the following. A syntagmatic definition of the notion word is that only whole words can move within the sentence, as shown in (12) and (13).

(12) *Muli’ gulo aku.*
 m-uli’ gulo aku
 DEP-go.home first 1S.N
 ‘I’m going home now.’

(13) *Aku muli’ gulo.*
 aku m-uli’ gulo
 1S.N DEP-go.home first
 ‘I’m going home now.’

Units smaller than a word cannot move in the sentence. The prefix *m-* and the root *uli’* ‘go home’ cannot move in the sentence, as (14) shows.

(14) **Aku uli’ m- gulo.*
 aku uli’ m- gulo
 1S.N go.home DEP- first
 ‘I’m going home now.’

Although most function words do not generally move within the sentence as a result of their syntactically fixed position, and although some function words are smaller than two syllables, it still makes more sense to consider them words than to consider them clitics, because they can be stressed in isolation. The conjunctions *pog* ‘when’ and *sob* ‘when’ for example, do not move within the sentence, because they always occur in the first position of a clause. However, they are stressed; therefore I consider them as independent words rather than clitics.⁶

⁶ A clitic is a syntactically independent but phonologically dependent word (Zwicky 1977). Certain sets of pronouns are clitics in some Sabahan or Philippine languages. The Begak first

3.3. Affix slots

Affixation in Begak is constrained not only by semantics and syntax, but also by the phonology. As we have already seen in section 2.3.9., Begak is subject to the prepenultimate neutralisation rule (Blust 1997:21). Only roots can contain full vowels but vowels in the prepenultimate syllable can only be schwa. In other words, all affixes have schwa as their vowel except for the Non-volitive prefix *a-*. The number of syllables containing schwa, i.e. the number of syllables that belong to affixes, must not exceed two.⁷ This means that a word can be affixed with at most one bisyllabic prefix (15), or one monosyllabic prefix and one monosyllabic infix (16), or two monosyllabic infixes (17). Examples with a root and two monosyllabic prefixes are rare for semantic reasons, but examples are given in (18). Examples with less than the maximum amount of affixation can be found throughout the book.

(15)	root	gloss	verbal derivation	gloss
	<i>ulan</i>	'load'	<i>məkə-k-ilan</i>	'request to load'
	<i>allan</i>	'make'	<i>məkə-b-ellan</i>	'request to make'
	<i>llun</i>	'live'	<i>səngə-p-ə-llun</i>	'manner of causing to be alive, i.e. manner to turn on'
	<i>inum</i>	'drink'	<i>məngə-p-inum</i>	'drink'
	<i>tabang</i>	'help'	<i>məkə-tebang</i>	'request to be helped'
	<i>lawas</i>	'clean'	<i>məngə-lawas</i>	'cause to be clean (said of land)'
(16)	root	gloss	verbal derivation	gloss
	<i>tabang</i>	'help'	<i>gə-t-ər-abang</i>	'AV--REC-help' 'help each other'
	<i>sukot</i>	'ask'	<i>gə-s-ər-ukot</i>	'AV--REC-ask' 'ask each other'
	<i>timbang</i>	'shoot'	<i>gə-t-ər-imbak</i>	'AV--REC-shoot' 'shoot each other'
	<i>kədtut</i>	'pinch'	<i>bə-k-ər-ədtut</i>	'AV--REC-pinch' 'pinch each other'
(17)	root	gloss	verbal derivation	gloss
	<i>satu</i>	'one'	<i>sənəretu (-ən--ər--i-satu)</i>	'COM-REC--COM-one' 'made one'
	<i>satu</i>	'one'	<i>səmərotu (-əm--ər--u-satu)</i>	'DEP--REC--DEP-ONE' 'make one'
	<i>təmmak</i>	'share'	<i>təmərummyak</i>	'DEP--REC--DEP-share'
			<i>(-əm--ər--u- təmmak)</i>	'share together'
	<i>sawo</i>	'marry'	<i>səmərowo (-əm--ər--u-sawo)</i>	'DEP--REC--DEP-marry'
				'cause to marry'

and second person singular genitive pronouns *ku* and *mo* respectively, and some monosyllabic forms of demonstratives *no* 'yonder', *ne* 'this' are candidates for clitic status. They are monosyllabic and attach themselves to content words. As it is yet unclear to me to what extent they are stressed, it is not clear yet whether they are clitics or not.

⁷ Trisyllabic roots, such as for example loan words, may form an exception (*məkə-pələra* 'request to look after' from *pələra*, 'look after which comes from Malay *pəlihara* 'look after').

(18)	root	gloss	verbal derivation	gloss
	<i>nanam</i>	'taste'	<i>bəkənonam</i> (<i>bə-kə-u-nanam</i>)	'AV-AV-DEP-taste, try the taste of something'
	<i>lati</i>	'meaning, understand'	<i>bə-gə-lati</i>	'try to understand'
	<i>suat</i>	'suitable'	<i>bə-gə-suat</i>	'make each other suitable'

A few examples of words affixed with the maximum amount of affixes are given in the scheme below:

Scheme 1 Affix slots in a word

Non-volitive prefix <i>a-</i>	prefix or infix	stem-forming prefix	root+ (<i>-i-</i> or <i>-u-</i>)	
	<i>məkək-</i>		<i>ilan (-i-ulan)</i>	'request to load'
	<i>məngə-</i>	<i>p-</i>	<i>inum</i>	'cause to drink'
	<i>gəgə-</i>		<i>lapas</i>	'pass each other'
<i>a-</i>	<i>kə</i>		<i>luan</i>	'happen to go out'

The infixes *-i-* and *-u-* which mark Completive Aspect and Dependent respectively, cause vowel coalescence with the stem vowel, so that they do not increase the number of syllables of the word.⁸ Therefore, these infixes have only semantic limitations. The stem forming prefixes *b-* and *p-* (see 3.2.2.2.) do not increase the number of syllables either. They do, however provide stems with an onset; therefore they occur in a special slot. All other affixes (monosyllabic or bisyllabic prefixes and monosyllabic infixes) are in the slot for prefixes or infixes, while the Non-volitive prefix *a-* forms a kind of appendix to the left of everything else.⁹ The examples in (19) show how *a-* always occurs at the left edge of other affixation.

(19)	root	gloss	verbal derivation	gloss
	<i>luan</i>	'go out'	<i>a-kə-luan</i>	'happened to go out'
	<i>lati</i>	'understand'	<i>a-kə-lati</i>	'be able to understand'
	<i>təngngos</i>	'swift'	<i>a-gə-təngngos</i>	'becoming rather swift'
	<i>gangit</i>	'tangled up'	<i>a-gə-gangit</i>	'rather tangled up'

Besides phonological restrictions, there are semantic and/or syntactic restrictions on affixation. These restrictions will be discussed in the chapters on inflectional morphology (chapter 6) and derivational morphology (chapter 7).

⁸ Their allomorphs *-ən-* (for *-i-*) and *-əm-* (for *-u-*) do increase the number of syllables of the word; these allomorphs do fill up a prefix-or-infix slot.

⁹ I am not sure whether the Non-volitive prefix *a-* can be prefixed to a word that is already affixed with a bisyllabic prefix or with two monosyllabic infixes or with a monosyllabic prefix and a monosyllabic infix.

3.4. Morphological typology

Comrie (1989) classifies languages according to their index of synthesis and their index of fusion. The index of synthesis indicates how many morphemes a language tends to have per word and the index of fusion indicates how many units of meaning are fused into a single morpheme. Begak is neither isolating, as it tends to have more than one morpheme per word, nor very polysynthetic, as it rarely has more than three morphemes per word. Begak is not very agglutinative, as there are few affixes that express only one function or meaning. The language is somewhat fusional, because certain affixes are portmanteau morphs marking the root for both mood and voice and other affixes mark the word for a change in both valency and voice. The causative prefix *məngə-*, for example, expresses not only causativity but also Actor Voice; the prefix *pə-* expresses causativity and UV-Dependent; the discontinuous affix *(pə)nə--i-* expresses causativity, Completive Aspect and Undergoer Voice. The prefix *kə-* marks verbs for Non-volitive Mood and AV. The petitive discontinuous affix *məkə(k)--i-* marks the verb automatically for Actor Voice.

Certain other languages of the Philippine type are slightly more agglutinative than Begak, in the sense that they do not have portmanteau morphs for causative verbs and stative verbs. They usually have a causative prefix *pa-*, as in Tagalog, that needs to be combined with the appropriate voice affixes. The stative prefixes in languages like Tagalog *maka-*, *naka-*, etc. can be split up into several morphemes *n-a-ka-* and *m-a-ka-* with separate chunks of meaning, while this is impossible in Begak. The Begak morphology has eroded so much (with respect to the original proto-Austronesian system) that it has become slightly fusional instead of agglutinative.

As we have seen in section 3.2.3., Begak has many prefixes, a few infixes and only one unproductive, historical suffix. This situation is not very rare in Borneo, with several languages employing many prefixes and infixes but few suffixes. Another Bornean language without suffixation is for example Muka Melanau, spoken in Sarawak (Blust 1997).

Nichols (1986) divides languages into head marking languages and dependent marking languages. Begak shows both head marking and dependent marking. An example of head marking is the voice marking on the verb. The voice affixes on the verb indicate whether the actor is the subject (Actor Voice) or whether the undergoer is the subject (Undergoer Voice). An example of dependent marking is the case marking of pronouns. Full NPs are unmarked for case. Other examples of head or dependent marking do not exist in Begak; therefore Begak cannot be said to be predominantly head marking or dependent marking.

3.5. Morphological verbal classes

Dynamic verbs in the Actor Voice are prefixed with a class prefix that indicates their morphological class. Class membership is arbitrary to a great extent, although some phonological and semantic generalisations can be made. For the phonological

correlations of the class prefixes, see section 2.4.1. For more elaborate semantic correlations of the classes of prefixes, see section 6.2.

The three class prefixes are *gə-*, *bəg-* and *məng-*. Verbs of the *gə-* and *bəg-* classes may be transitive or intransitive. Most verbs affixed with *məng-* are transitive, although exceptions exist. When *gə-* or *bəg-* are affixed to stative verbs, the result is always an inchoative intransitive verb, but when *məng-* is affixed to a stative verb, the result is always a transitive causative verb. Derivation of dynamic verbs from stative verbal roots or stems with *gə-* or *bəg-* is very productive and is possible with virtually all stative verbs, whereas prefixation of stative verbs with *məng-* is less frequent.¹⁰

A handful of verbal roots can be prefixed with more than one prefix, resulting in different verbal stems. Some verbs take *gə-* in one sense of the root and *məng-* in the other, or *bəg-* in one sense of the root and *məng-* in the other. However, cases where the same verbal root can be prefixed with *gə-* in one sense and *bəg-* in another sense do not exist. Examples of verbs with *gə-/məng-* alternation are given in (20) and examples of verbs with a *bəg-/məng-* alternation are given in (21).

(20)	<i>gətəripun</i>	‘get together’	<i>mənəripun</i>	‘gather something’
	<i>gətindak</i>	‘stamp on the floor, for example during a dance’	<i>mənindak</i>	‘tread on something on purpose’
	<i>gətimbak</i>	‘explode’	<i>mənimbak</i>	‘shoot something’
	<i>gəsəgkow</i>	‘call someone (not necessarily urgent), beginning to call someone, inchoative’	<i>mənəgkow</i>	‘call someone (urgent), in the process of calling someone’
(21)	<i>bətəllong</i>	‘dive to find something’	<i>mənəllong</i>	‘dive for pleasure’
	<i>bəsurung</i>	‘disease getting worse’	<i>mənurung</i>	‘push forward a wheel barrow’
	<i>bəgulgug</i>	‘bring down objects in order to move them elsewhere’	<i>məngulgug</i>	‘work together to bring down objects, not necessarily to move them elsewhere’
	<i>bəgəssur</i>	‘going to shove forward something (inchoative)’	<i>məngəssur</i>	‘shoving forward something (in the process of shoving something forward)’

If a verbal root can be prefixed with two Actor Voice class prefixes, the *gə-* or *bəg-* variant is often intransitive and the *məng-* variant transitive, as in *gətimbak* ‘explode’ versus *mənimbak* ‘shoot’. In some cases, the difference is aspectual rather than one of valency. For example, the *gə-* or *bəg-* variant may be inchoative and the *məng-* variant describes an action that is just taking place, as in the pair *gəsəgkow* ‘going to call’ versus *mənəgkow* ‘calling’.

¹⁰ For a description of derivations of dynamic verbs from stative verbal roots see section 6.2.2.

Apart from the phonological correlations described in section 2.4.1. and the vague, weak semantics described above, the combination of a verb and a class prefix is arbitrary. Class prefixes must be analysed as stem forming prefixes that indicate the morphological class of a verb, rather than as prefixes which signal the transitivity or semantics of a verbal stem. This is because the semantic correlations are not strong and regular enough and because class prefixes only occur in the Actor Voice, where they indicate that the actor is the subject; they are not present in the Undergoer Voice (Kroeger p.c.)¹¹

The basic function of class prefixes is thus to indicate the morphological class of the verb. Aronoff (1994:64) defines the term ‘inflectional class as follows: “An inflectional class is the set of lexemes whose members each select the same set of inflectional realizations.” I prefer the term “morphological class” over the term “inflectional class”, because the morphological operations that depend on classes in Begak are derivational in nature rather than inflectional. The definition could be extended for Begak: A morphological class is the set of words whose members each select the same set of morphological realisations.

Certain derivational prefixes have several allomorphs depending on the morphological class of a verb. These derivational prefixes are listed below. Note that the Intensive *tə(g)-* can only occur on adjectives and a few stative verbs. The Actor Voice class prefixes derive dynamic verbs from stative verbs.

Table 1 Overview of derivational prefixes and their class

Function/class	I	II	III
Actor Voice	<i>gə-</i>	<i>bə(g)-</i>	<i>məng-</i>
Manner nominalisation	<i>sə-</i>	<i>sə(g)-</i>	<i>sə(ng)-</i>
Agent nominalisation	<i>pə-</i>	<i>pə(g)-</i>	<i>pəng-</i>
Distant Past	<i>gərə-</i>	<i>bərə(g)-</i>	<i>bərəng-</i>
Intensive	<i>tə-</i>	<i>tə(g)-</i>	-

A characteristic of the *gə-* class is that all its derivational prefixes end in schwa; all members of the *bəg-* class end in a /g/ before vowel initial stems and in schwa before consonant initial stems. All members of the *məng-* class end in an assimilating nasal, except for the nominalising prefix *sə(ng)-*, which has a nasal that deletes before a consonant-initial stem (see section 2.4.2. for nasal fusion or 2.4.4. for *sə(ng)-* allomorphy). The following table shows the derivations of a the dynamic *gə-* verbs *gədagang* ‘buy’ and *gəruni* ‘talk’, and of the adjective *sidom* ‘black’.

¹¹ Other Western Austronesian languages, such as Tagalog and Kimaragang, also have class prefixes that are only present in AV verbs. Kroeger (1998) remarks about the Tagalog prefixes that “It is quite common for a single verb root to occur in more than one stem form, each stem corresponding to a distinct sense of the root. (..) But as was the case in Kimaragang, we cannot in general analyze the stem prefix itself as signalling the derivation of these various senses. This is because the stem prefix is normally not present when the Pivot is a non-Actor core argument.”

Table 2 Derivations of verbs and adjectives in class I

Function / class I	<i>gədagang</i> 'buy'	<i>gəruni</i>	<i>sidom</i> 'black'
Actor Voice	<i>gədagang</i> 'buy'	<i>gəruni</i> 'talk'	<i>gəsidom</i> 'become black'
Manner nominalisation	<i>sədagang</i> 'manner of buying'	<i>səruni</i> 'manner of talking'	<i>səsidom</i> 'so black'
Agent nominalisation	-	<i>pəruni</i> 'talkative person'	-
Distant Past	<i>gərədegang</i> 'bought some time ago'	-	-
Intensive	-	-	<i>təsidom</i> 'very black'

The derivations of the dynamic verb *bəgapuy* 'cook', and of the adjective *ttas* 'high' are listed in Table 3.

Table 3 Derivations with roots of class II

Function / class II	<i>bəgapuy</i> 'cook'	<i>ttas</i> 'high'
Actor Voice	<i>bəgapuy</i> 'cook'	<i>bəgəttas</i> 'becoming high'
Manner nominalisation	<i>səgapuy</i> 'manner of cooking'	<i>səgəttas</i> 'very high'
Agent nominalisation	<i>pəgapuy</i> 'the cook'	-
Distant Past	<i>bərəgəpuy</i> 'cooked in a distant past'	-
Intensive	-	<i>təgəttas</i> 'very high'

The following table shows the derivations of the dynamic verbs *mənguyok* 'request' and *məngata* 'look'. There are no dynamic verbs in the *məng-* class that can be prefixed with *tə-* to derive a superlative.

Table 4 Derivations with roots of class III

Function / class III	<i>mənguyok</i> 'request'	<i>məngata</i> 'look'
Actor Voice	<i>mənguyok</i> 'request'	<i>məngata</i> 'look'
Manner nominalisation	<i>sənguyok</i> 'manner of requesting'	<i>səngata</i> 'manner of looking'
Agent nominalisation	-	<i>pəngata</i> 'view'
Distant Past	<i>bərəngiok</i> 'requested in a distant past'	-
Intensive	-	-

More information about the class prefixes in the Actor Voice can be found in section 6.2; more information about derivations such as Manner Nominalisation, Agent

Nominalisation, Distant Past forms and Intensives can be found in chapter 7 on derivations.

3.6. The distinction between inflection and derivation

Although the distinction between inflection and derivation is fluid, several criteria can be mentioned to tease them apart. Inflection is generally regarded as change in the grammatical or morphosyntactic form of a word or lexeme as opposed to derivation, which is the formation of a new lexeme from another lexeme. (Spencer 1991). ‘Inflection tends to be regular and productive, at least in comparison to derivation of operations’ (Payne 1997:26). Derivational morphology often changes the meaning of a word whereas inflectional morphology is semantically less relevant; therefore derivational morphemes are usually affixed closer to the stem than inflectional morphology, which is usually attached closer to the edge of a word (Bybee 1985).

These criteria can be applied to Begak, although the distinction between inflection and derivation remains difficult. The categories Voice, Completive Aspect, Dependent, are considered inflection rather than derivation in Begak, while Non-volitive Mood is a borderline case. The following table shows all categories considered inflectional in Begak.

Table 5 Inflectional paradigm

Aspect	Actor Voice	Undergoer Voice
Volitive Mood		
Incompletive Aspect	Class I <i>gə-</i> Class II <i>bəg-</i> Class III <i>məng-</i>	Ø, <i>b-</i> or <i>p-</i>
Completive Aspect	Class I <i>gə- -i-</i> Class II <i>bəg- -i-</i> Class III <i>məng- -i-</i>	<i>-i-</i> or its allomorphs <i>ni-</i> and <i>-ən-</i> <i>b--i-</i> or <i>p--i-</i>
Dependent	does not exist	<i>-u-</i> or its allomorphs <i>m-</i> and <i>-əm-</i>
Non-volitive Mood		
	<i>k(ə)-</i>	<i>a-</i>

Virtually all dynamic transitive and many intransitive verbs can occur in the Incompletive Aspect, the Completive Aspect and in the Dependent without radical change in meaning, which is a characteristic of inflection. Virtually all transitive verbs in Begak can occur in both voices without any radical change in meaning; voice is regular and productive for transitive verbs.

The Volitive/Non-volitive mood distinction is a borderline case. Non-volitive morphology on stative verbs and adjectives is inflectional in nature, as it hardly changes the meaning and is very productive and regular and even obligatory for vowel-initial stative verbal roots and adjectival roots. It does not change the

word class. Non-volitive morphology on dynamic verbs, however, changes the meaning of the verb from volitional to non-volitional, and sometimes it even seems to intransitivise the verb, though not very clearly. It is somewhat less productive than, for example, Completive Aspect, because it is not felicitous with the semantics of every verb, but it is still much more regular than, for example, reciprocals or causatives. I consider it to be inflectional although this is a borderline case.

By the same criteria, Volitive Mood morphology is derivational in nature when applied to stative verbal roots or adjectives, because stative verbs and adjectives are, unlike dynamic verbs, free morphemes that can occur without any affixation. Although Volitive Mood morphology on stative verbal roots is very productive, it changes the meaning of the verb considerably and sometimes changes its valency. Moreover, Volitive Mood morphology derives dynamic verbs from stative verbs, in other words, it derives one subclass of verbs from another. Therefore Volitive Mood on stative verbs and adjectives must be considered derivational.

A possible counter-argument against analysing voice as inflection is that nouns can be turned into verbs in Begak by affixing them with verbal morphology; and inflectional morphology is supposed not to change the category of a word.¹² However, this counter-argument does not work for Begak. Most Begak dynamic verbs cannot appear as bare roots and if they do they are interpreted as UV-Incompletive Aspect. Therefore voice morphology is inflectional for verbs. Begak nouns, however, can appear as unaffixed roots; therefore it is possible for Begak to analyse voice morphology and other verbal morphology as inflectional in all cases and as applying only after conversion (zero-derivation) has taken place. Zero-derivation must have taken place before verbal inflection on nouns, as inflected nominal stems differ to a great extent as compared to their verbal stems; verbal inflection also renders their meanings irregular and unpredictable, as is shown in (22).

(22)	root	gloss	verbal derivation	gloss
	<i>anak</i>	'child'	<i>bəganak</i>	'bear children'
	<i>tassam</i>	'vegetable'	<i>məmassam</i>	'cook vegetables'
			<i>gətassam</i>	'grow vegetables'
	<i>asu</i>	'dog'	<i>məngasu</i>	'hunt with dogs'
	<i>lansung</i>	'nail'	<i>gəlansung</i>	'put nails in'
	<i>alud</i>	'boat'	<i>bəgalud</i>	'ride a boat'
	<i>tukong</i>	'craftsman'	<i>gətukong</i>	'work as a carpenter'

¹² It has been argued for at least Tagalog that voice morphology is derivational in nature because nominal roots can be turned into a verb by attaching voice morphology to it. Many roots of dynamic verbs can appear unaffixed in Tagalog, then expressing the state resulting from the action described by the verb, or its object (comparable to object nouns), or the name of the action (comparable to action nominalisation); therefore an analysis of zero derivation does not work for Tagalog (Himmelman to appear a). Since unaffixed roots of dynamic verbs are rare in Begak, a zero derivation analysis works perfectly for Begak; therefore the derivation of verbs from nominal stems is not an argument for considering Begak voice morphology derivational.

It is inconsistent to analyse verbal voice and aspect morphology as inflectional for verbs but derivational for nouns. Therefore I assume that in Begak nouns have to be turned into a verb first by conversion (zero-derivation) before they can be inflected with voice, aspect and mood morphology.

According to the above criteria, inflection (rather than derivation) tends to be organised into a paradigm. There is a paradigmatic opposition between Actor Voice and Undergoer Voice and between Incomplete Aspect, Complete Aspect, Dependent and Non-volitive Mood, as in Table 5. Each form in the paradigm has features for voice, tense and aspect. The Actor Voice Incomplete Aspect is characterised by the class prefixes *gə-*, *bəg-* and *məng-*. The Actor Voice Complete Aspect has an infix *-i-* in addition to the class prefixes and thus relates to the AV-Incomplete Aspect. UV-Complete Aspect is formed with the Complete Aspect infix *-i-* or its allomorphs and has no class prefixes. We can conclude that UV is characterised by the absence of class prefixes and that (at least) unaffixed verbal roots function as forms of UV-Incomplete. The Dependent lacks class prefixes but is infixed with *-u-* or its allomorphs and thus relates to other UV-forms. Some of the possible verb forms (Undergoer Voice forms) are characterised by the absence rather than the presence of certain morphemes, which makes them formally non-compositional. Lack of compositionality is characteristic of paradigms (Himmelmann to appear b, Seiler 1966:197; Uhlenbeck 1985).

Although neither of the two voices can be considered basic, speakers do have intuitions about so called citation forms. The AV-Incomplete form is the citation form for dynamic transitive or intransitive verbs; the unaffixed root is the citation form for consonant-initial stative verbs and adjectives; the UV-Non-volitional for monosyllabic stative verbs and adjectives, and the Dependent for verbs of motion.

Causatives and reciprocals change the valency of verbs and must therefore be considered derivational. Nominalisations are category-changing and are therefore derivational. Intensive and Distant Past forms of verbs are rather unproductive and change the meaning of the root and must therefore be considered derivational. Reduplication changes the meaning of a word and is derivational.

Bybee (1985)'s generalisation that derivational morphology tends to be closer to the stem than inflectional morphology is valid for Begak. Reciprocals formed with the infix *-ər-* can be prefixed with the Non-volitive (inflectional) prefix *a-*, as in *a-k-ər-anut* 'accidentally pulling each other', from *kanut* 'pull' or infixed with the Complete Aspect (inflectional) infix *-ən-*, as in *s-ən--ər-igbu* 'made yellow' from *sigbu* 'yellow'. The inflectional morphemes in these examples are attached after the reciprocal infix *-ər-* has been attached to the stem, thereby demonstrating that Bybee's generalisation is valid for Begak. Most other Begak derivational affixes are portmanteau morphs combining a derivational function and one or more other inflectional categories, for example causativity plus Complete Aspect plus Undergoer Voice, thereby making it hard to verify Bybee's generalisation.

The phenomenon of morphological classes is usually taken to be a characteristic of inflection rather than of derivation (but see Fehring 2003 for an

alternative view).¹³ In Begak, however, derivation rather than inflection is organised into morphological classes. It was shown in the previous section that the shape of many affixes, whether category-changing or not, depends on the morphological class of the verb they are attached to. The shape of the prefix *sə-*, for example, which derives manner nominalisations from verbs, depends on the morphological class of the verbal stem it is attached to.

In summary, then, voice, aspect and mood morphology from Table 5 are considered inflectional, and all other morphology is considered derivational, because it is less regular, less productive and alters the semantics of the stem.

3.7. Summary

This chapter has given an overview of the basic morphological units of the Begak grammar. A definition has been given of the categories roots, stem, and affix. The distinction between roots and stems has been illustrated with a few examples of transitive verbal roots. It has been shown that certain derivational prefixes only attach themselves to consonant-initial stems consisting of a consonant-initial root or consisting of a vowel-initial root that has been prefixed with a consonant-initial prefix. It has been shown that these consonant-initial stem forming prefixes have a function of their own, but that they are used as empty morphs for phonological reasons only in derivational contexts.

Section 3.3. demonstrated how the Begak phonology influences the maximum number of affixes on a word. A scheme was shown with all the affix slots. Section 3.4. gave a brief characterisation of Begak morphology according to the parameters of agglutination, synthesis, head versus dependent marking. It was argued that Begak is not very agglutinative nor very synthetic. The language shows head marking on the voice morphology but dependent marking in the cases of the pronouns. Morphological classes of verbs were introduced in section 3.5. It was argued why the class prefixes of verbs are really indications of the morphological class of a verb and not transitivity markers.

In section 3.6. the distinction between inflection and derivation was defined and applied to the Begak morphology. It has been shown that voice, aspect and mood morphology are probably best considered inflectional. All other morphology is more derivational in nature.

¹³ Paradigms are often associated with inflection probably because verbs of Indo-European languages often have inflectional classes.

4. Parts of Speech

4.1. Introduction

This chapter deals with the various word classes in Begak and how they can be distinguished. Begak has two major open word classes: nouns and verbs. The other word classes are closed. Begak distinguishes dynamic verbs and stative verbs, the latter also comprising the subclass of adjectives. Section 4.2.1. describes the distinctive properties of dynamic verbs and section 4.2.2. describes how stative verbs can be distinguished from dynamic verbs and provides arguments for assigning adjectives to a subclass of stative verbs in Begak. Section 4.3. treats canonical nouns, as well as bare verbal stems functioning as nouns. Section 4.4. describes the basic properties of prepositions and locative nouns that are similar to prepositions. Section 4.5. lists the various types of pronouns; section 4.6. gives an overview of the different types of quantifiers, such as numerals and numeral classifiers. Section 4.7. introduces adverbs; section 4.8. aspectuals, 4.9. auxiliaries, 4.10. negators, 4.11. discourse markers. In section 4.12. some coordinating and subordinating conjunctions are listed. A summary is given in 4.13.

4.2. Verbs

Begak verbs can be divided into dynamic verbs and stative verbs. Dynamic verbs are transitive and intransitive verbs describing actions or events performed by an actor who has some degree of control over the action. Stative verbs are intransitive verbs whose sole argument is an undergoer who has no or less control over the situation. Although the term ‘stative verb’ suggests that these verbs express states, this is not always the case. Stative verbs are ambiguous between a state and an achievement (in the sense of Vendler 1957), for example *matay* is ambiguous between ‘be dead’ and ‘die’, and *allus* is ambiguous between ‘be stuck’ or ‘get stuck’, etc. Nevertheless, I have adopted the term ‘stative verb’ for these verbs, because adjectives (which express states) and verbs expressing states or achievements are treated alike by the verbal morphology. The division into dynamic verbs and stative verbs, then, is based on morphology and syntax (and to some extent on phonology) rather than on semantics.

Most stative verbs can be turned into dynamic verbs through affixation with an Actor Voice prefix or other Volitive mood morphology; and many dynamic verbs can receive involuntary semantics through affixation with Non-volitive morphology. Nevertheless, it is necessary to distinguish between roots that are lexically specified as stative (intransitive, patient-oriented) and roots that are lexically specified as dynamic (transitive or intransitive, agent-oriented). This section motivates the distinction and also provides evidence to distinguish dynamic and stative verbs from other verb classes.

4.2.1. Dynamic verbs

Dynamic verbs in Begak can be distinguished from other parts of speech by phonological, morphological and syntactic criteria. The phonological criterion distinguishing dynamic verbal roots from nominal roots (but not from stative verbal roots) is that roots of dynamic verbs can be subminimal, i.e. only CVC, for example *lid* ‘search’, *tot* ‘oppress’, whereas nominal roots may be monosyllabic and start with a geminate or consonant cluster, i.e. at least CCVC, but not subminimal, for example **lung* but *llung* ‘river’ **ban* but *gban* ‘forest’.¹ Dynamic verbal roots can be distinguished from stative verbal roots (but not from nominal roots) by the fact that they may consist of two syllables starting with a full vowel, for example *ukos* ‘cut in two’, *isud* ‘send, accompany’ and cannot start with a nasal or with a labial consonant.² Just like dynamic verbs, stative verbs can be subminimal: *rod* ‘difficult’ or bisyllabic starting with a consonant: *pio* ‘good’, *ratu* ‘fall’, but they cannot be bisyllabic and start with a full vowel: although forms such as *arang* ‘rare’ start with a full vowel /a/ this verb and similar cases must be analysed as *a-rang* where the vowel /a/ is the Non-volitive prefix *a-* and the subminimal root *rang*. Bisyllabic stative verbal roots starting with /i/ or /u/ do not exist.³ Unlike dynamic verbs, stative verbs (and nouns) can start with a nasal or with a labial consonant, for instance *məɗta* ‘worn out, falling apart’.

A morphological criterion that distinguishes dynamic verbal roots from stative verbal roots and nominal roots is that nominal roots are free morphemes that need no inflection to occur in the sentence. Stative verbal roots are free morphemes if they are bisyllabic and start with a consonant (i.e. if they constitute a phonological minimal word), but bound morphemes if they are subminimal or monosyllabic and start with a geminate/consonant cluster. In that case they need to be inflected with for instance the Non-volitive prefix *a-* to be able to occur in a sentence. Most dynamic verbal roots need (inflectional) morphology in order to occur in the sentence, except in a certain rare cases where the unaffixed root functions as an UV-Incompletive form in subordinate clauses, or as a stative verb or noun. Dynamic verbs in a sentence are nearly always consonant-initial as a result of this obligatory affixation. Dynamic verbs are either prefixed with a consonant-initial prefix, or they are infixes if their stem is consonant-initial.

The obligatory affixation is illustrated in sentences (1) through (3). Only stative verbs can occur without affixation. Dynamic verbs generally show no or few gaps in the paradigm of Volitive Mood inflection, but not all dynamic verbs can be inflected for Non-volitive Mood. Virtually all stative verbs can be inflected with Non-volitive Mood morphology but they usually have many gaps in the paradigm of

¹ There are a few exceptions of nouns of the shape CVC, which may turn out to be CCVC after more careful listening. However, the number of verbal stems of the shape CVC is very high.

² The initial labial consonants there were in Proto-Austronesian became lost in Begak. See section 2.4.2.1.

³ As was mentioned in section 2.3.6., subminimal roots need to be augmented with schwa before they can be prefixed with a consonant-initial prefix, for example *bəg-ə-lid* ‘search’. The subminimal root itself does not start with schwa.

Volitive Mood inflection.

Example (1) contains a dynamic verb in the Actor Voice; (2) contains a verb in the Actor Voice Completive Aspect; (3) illustrates a clause with an Undergoer Voice verb with Completive Aspect. Although the Undergoer Voice is characterised by the absence of a class prefix, dynamic verbs in the UV must be marked for aspect. Sentence (4) is ungrammatical because the verb lacks affixation, but see section 4.3.2. in this chapter for certain cases where unaffixed roots of dynamic verbs are grammatical and can be used as nouns or stative verbs.

- (1) *Kəmmon aku gədalud bas.*
 kəmmon aku gə-dalud bas
 lately 1S.N AV-wait bus
 ‘Lately, I was waiting for the bus/ I am just now waiting for the bus.’
- (2) *Kəmmon aku gədelud bas.*
 kəmmon aku gə--i-dalud bas
 lately 1S.N AV--COM-wait bus
 ‘Lately, I waited for the bus.’
- (3) *Kəmmon, bay delud ku bas.*
 kəmmon bay -i-dalud ku bas
 lately PRF -COM-wait.UV 1S.G bus
 ‘Lately, I waited for the bus.’
- (4) **Kəmmon bay dalud ku bas.*
 kəmmon bay dalud ku bas
 lately PRF wait.UV 1S.G bus
 *‘Lately, I was waiting for the bus.’

The syntactic criteria to distinguish (dynamic) verbs from other parts of speech are the following: verbs can take nominal arguments with semantic roles such as agent and patient. In the examples (1) through (4), the actor role is expressed by the first person singular pronoun and the undergoer role is expressed by *bas* ‘bus’. This criterion only works for verbal roots inflected with verbal morphology and not for, for instance, verbal roots with nominalisation morphology, which may also take agent and patient roles.

4.2.2. Stative verbs and adjectives

Stative verbs are intransitive verbs expressing a state or change of state whose sole argument is an undergoer. Stative verbs may describe a state or an event, but the verb highlights the result of the action rather than the action itself. For instance, the stative verb *matay* can mean ‘die’ or ‘be dead’, *a-gbog* ‘break’ or ‘be broken’, *a-gkas* ‘burn off’ or ‘be burned’, etc. In other words, stative verbs are defined morphologically rather than semantically in Begak, and do not express states exclusively. Adjectives describe property concepts and form a subclass of stative verbs; evidence for this will be given below.

Contrary to most dynamic verbs, stative verbs and adjectives can occur without affixation if they are phonologically independent. They must be prefixed with the Non-volitive prefix *a-* if they are of the shape CVC or CCV(C). This is true for canonical stative verbs and adjectives: **rang* but *a-rang* ‘rare’, **llang* but *a-llang* ‘hard’, **ttas* but *a-ttas* ‘high’, **gbog* but *a-gbog* ‘broken’, **gbud* but *a-gbud* ‘burst’. Examples of four canonical stative verbs without affixation are given in (5). The stative verb *gapu* ‘decayed’ is used attributively, whereas *layang* ‘fall’, *ratu* ‘fall’ and *matay* ‘dead, die’ are used predicatively. All four stative verbs are unaffixed and express an involuntary change of state.

- (5) *(..)*soggow *kat* *rumo* *daun* *gapu'* *no,* *layang,* *ratu'*, *matay.*
 -u-saggow *kat* *rumo* *daun* *gapu'* *ino* *layang* *ratu'* *matay.*
 -DEP-catch.UV CDM 3S leaf decayed yonder fall fall dead
 ‘(..) he caught a decayed leaf and fell dead.’ [Kebasi ref008]

The following sentence illustrate how adjectives can appear unaffixed, just like other stative verbs. The adjective *gayo* ‘big’ in (6) is used attributively:

- (6) *Satu* *maso,* *mata'* *rumo* *akay* *llung* *gayo.*
 satu maso m-ata' rumo akay llung gayo
 one time DEP-look.UV 3S EXIST river big
 ‘One time, he looked (and saw) there was a large river.’ [Masi' 007]

The adjectives verbs *puti* ‘white’ in (7), and *tittoy* ‘small’ in (8), are unaffixed and used predicatively.

- (7) *Na,* *da* *puti'* *key* *mato* *Masi'* *ne.*
 na da puti' key mato Masi' ne
 PRT PR white FOC eye Masi' this
 ‘Well, Masi’s eyes were white now.’ [Masi' 027]

- (8) *Aku* *tittoy* *masi.*
 aku tittoy masi
 1S.N small still
 ‘I am still small.’ [Dayangpuklip51]

Unlike dynamic verbs, both stative verbs and adjectives are ungrammatical with the (Volitive Mood) Completive Aspect infix *-i-* or its allomorphs. The verb *retu* ‘fall’ in (9) is affixed with the Completive Aspect infix; the intended reading is Completive Aspect, but the sentence is understood as a causative *nəretu* ‘cause to fall’. Likewise, (10) is bad.

- (9) **Rumo* *retu'*.
 rumo -i-ratu'
 3S -COM-fall.UV
 ‘He fell.’ [Notebook]

- (10) **Ali linnod nong pasang.*
 Ali -i-lənnod nong pasang
 Ali -COM-drowned.UV OBL sea
 Ungrammatical, but understood as: ‘Ali was drowned by other people.’
 Not good for: Ali drowned in the sea.’

Some stative verbs have a dynamic equivalent than can occur in the Completive Aspect, but again the verb is then dynamic and transitive. For example the stative verb *sayu* ‘be good’ is turned into a dynamic transitive verb by infixing it with the Completive Aspect infix; the reading ‘was good, has been good’ is not available for *seyu* ‘COM-good’; it can only mean ‘repair, fix’.

- (11) *Bay seyu mo mutur mo ne?*
 bay -i-sayu mo mutur mo ne
 PRF -COM-good.UV 2S.G motor 2S.G this
 ‘Have you fixed your motor already?’

Adjectives are usually distinguished from other major parts of speech on the basis of a number of morphological, syntactic and semantic criteria (Dixon 1977, Schachter 1985, Baker 2003). There is only weak morphological or syntactic evidence to distinguish words with adjective-like notions (words expressing property concepts) from other stative verbs in Begak; therefore adjectives are considered a subclass of stative verbs. Morphological evidence for a distinction between stative verbs and adjectives is the semantic effect of affixation on stative verbs and adjectives. Possible affixation includes Non-volitional morphology, AV-morphology, Dependent morphology and manner nominalisation morphology. Only some ‘real’ adjectives can take the (not very productive) ‘Intensive’ prefix *tə(g)-* but canonical stative verbs cannot. There is no syntactic evidence for a distinction between stative verbs and adjectives, because relativisation and modification with adverbs is the same for stative verbs and adjectives in Begak. In what follows, the arguments for assigning adjectives to a subclass of stative verbs will be elaborated.

Firstly, adjectives and stative verbs differ only slightly from each other with respect to the semantic effect of inflection with the Non-volitive prefix *a-*. The stative verb *guog* in (12), for instance, is unprefixes and means ‘stay’. The same verb in (13) is prefixed with the Non-volitive prefix *a-* and has an accidental meaning.

- (12) *Kəmo ulun sillun guog di’ gkun sillun*
 kəmo ulun sillun guog di’ gkun sillun
 if person other stay loc village other

sannang nong ilun ləmigow.
 sannang nong ilun -əm-ligow
 easy comp other.people -DEP-deceive.uv

‘When another person lives (stays) in another village/country, (s)he is easily deceived by other people.’ [Mi-Suk3B 062]

- (13) *Kəmmon aguog aku bugol di' umo di ngod*
 kəmmon a-guog aku bugol di' umo adi ngod
 just.now NV-stay 1S.N alone LOC ricefield over.there because
- pon atow ku iro gamo minan ku muli'*
 apon atow ku iro gamo minan ku m-uli'
 NEG.P or 1S.G COL married.couple aunt 1S.G DEP-go.home
 'A while ago I happened to stay alone in the rice field /was left behind in the rice field,
 because I did not know that my aunt and company were leaving.' [Mi-Suk2 326]

If adjectives are prefixed with the Non-volitive prefix *a-*, the meaning of the verb is intensified ("very A") or must be understood as accidental or involuntary, as illustrated in (14) and (15). These examples are from a story about Mr. Cameleon who wants to go fishing, but cannot find the right material to make a fishing rod. The adjective *bənnuy* in (14) is unprefixated and means 'straight', while its prefixed variant in (15) means 'very straight'.

- (14) *Bəgəlid kat rumo pug pangat barong-barong bənnuy.*
 bəg-ə-lid kat rumo pug pangat barong-barong bənnuy
 AV-look.for CDM 3S rod fishing.line whoever-whoever straight
 'He looked for a fishing rod, anything straight.' [Tudow 014]
- (15) *Akay ikug rumo, ikug rumo da paling bənnuy.*
 akay ikug rumo ikug rumo da paling bənnuy
 EXIST tail 3S tail 3S PR very straight
 'There was his tail, his tail was very straight.' [Tudow 019]

Abənnuy bio abuat.
 a-bənnuy bio a-buat
 NV-straight and NV-long
 'Very straight and very long.' [Tudow 020]

However, in certain cases the Non-volitive prefix *a-* on adjectives can be ambiguous between an intensive or accidental reading, as in (16), where *agajo* is ambiguous between 'very big' or 'big by accident'.

- (16) *Sellag titu kəmmi ne aləbpo ammis,*
 sellag -i-tutu kəmmi ne a-ləbpo a-mmis
 emping -COM-pound.UV 1P.I.N/G this NV-more sweet
- ngod agajo səkkol di sətabung Nandes.*
 ngod a-gajo səkkol adi sə-tabung Nandes
 because NV-big sugar over.there NOM-add Nandes
 'The *emping* we pounded is too sweet (lit. much more), because Nandes added too
 much sugar (lit. the way Nandes adds sugar was very big). [Mi-Suk5p49]

Secondly, both stative verbs and adjectives can be turned into a dynamic verb by prefixation with the (Volitive Mood) AV-prefixes *gə-* or *bəg-*, depending on

the phonological shape of the stem (see section 2.4.1.). The effect of the AV-prefixes *gə-* or *bəg-* is slightly different on stative verbs from that on adjectives. Dynamic verbs derived from stative verbs have an inchoative reading: ‘someone is about to V’ or a voluntary reading: ‘someone wants to V’. Dynamic verbs derived from adjectives may have voluntary semantics ‘want to be A’ but more often do they mean ‘become A’ (see section 6.2.2. for the derivational use of the AV-prefixes).

The AV-prefix *gə-* on the stative verbal root in (17a) marks inchoative aspect while the same verbal root in (17b) is unprefixes because the person in question is already dead.

- (17) a. *Gədino ne bay sidtu gə-matay sawit no.*
 gədino ne bay sidtu gə-matay sawit ino
 in.yonder.way this PRF merely AV-dead oil.palm yonder
 ‘Now, the oilpalm is just dying.’ (Context: the small trees were just standing in the sun waiting to be planted.) [Conversation koko1 157]
- b. *Dadi ama’ rumo allun, ina’ rumo matay.*
 dadi ama’ rumo a-llun ina’ rumo matay
 so father 3S NV-live mother 3S dead
 ‘So her father was alive, her mother was dead.’ (Context: about an orphan.) [Dayangpukli takes revenge 003]

The AV-prefix *bəg-* of *bəg-əllus* ‘stuck’ in (18a) derives a dynamic verb from the stative verbal root. The AV-prefix gives the verb an inchoative and voluntary reading: the person in question is stubborn and does not want to cross the river and apparently wants to get stuck. The variant in (18b) is prefixed with the Non-volitive prefix *a-* and describes how a swarm of birds got caught (and eventually eaten) in the house of a clever hunter.

- (18) a. *Bəgəllus key ikow nmong!*
 bəg-ə-llus key ikow nmong
 AV-stuck FOC 2S.N here
 ‘Just get stuck here! (Context: a person does not want to cross the river while flood is rising.)’
- b. *Ninga’ ləbpo buli məlauy, bay allus allom balay no.*
 ninga’ ləbpo buli mə-lauy bay a-llus allom balay ino
 NEG.I more can DEP-flee PRF NV-stuck inside house yonder
 ‘(The birds) could not flee anymore, they were stuck in the house.’
 [Monay bio Dera’ 047]

The dynamic verb *gəmulok* ‘act young’ in (19a) is derived from an adjective with the AV-prefix *gə-* and has voluntary semantics as compared to its unprefixes equivalent in (19b). The verb *bəgəttas* ‘high’ in (20a) is prefixed with an AV-prefix to give it an inchoative reading as compared to its unprefixes variant in (20b).

- (19) a. *Rumo malu' gəmulok masong.*
 rumo malu' gə-mulok masong
 3S want AV-young still
 'She still wants to be young (Context: an old person wearing young clothes).'
 [Notebook]
- b. *Liun ino begko, paling tana' pulu' bio duo,*
 liun ino begko paling tana' pulu' bio duo
 female yonder also very low ten and two
- pulu' bio tellu, mulok pa.*
 pulu' bio tellu mulok pa
 ten and three young PRT
 'As for the girl, (her age was) at the lowest twelve or thirteen, that's young, hey!'
 [Geteratab 110] (Context: marriage in the old days).
- (20) a. *Asirung sidtu bəgəttas.*
 a-sirung sidtu bəg-ə-ttas
 NV-shade merely AV-high
 'Context: about a courgette plant that does not bear fruit: It is shaded (and) only becomes high.' [Conversation koko1 253]
- b. *(..) attas balay rumo.*
 (..) a-ttas balay rumo
 (..) NV-high house 3S
 'Her house was high.' (Context: description of the palace of princess Dayangpukli) [Dayangpukli takes revenge 087]

The examples in (19) and (20) show that derivation of dynamic verbs through prefixation with an AV-prefix modifies the meaning of canonical stative verbs in a similar but not quite the same way as stative verbs describing property concepts.

Thirdly, derivation of dynamic verbs through prefixation with the (Volitive Mood) Dependent infix *-u-* distinguishes subtly between canonical stative verbs and adjectives. Contrary to dynamic verbs, which can freely be affixed with Dependent morphology, only a handful of canonical stative verbs or adjectives are grammatical when infixed with the Dependent infix *-u-* or its allomorphs. (see section 6.5. for a description of the Dependent). The Dependent affix gives stative verbs the semantics characteristic for Volitive Mood morphology, similar to those of AV-Incomplete Aspect morphology: inchoative, controlled and progressive semantics. Its effect on adjectives is not so much 'volitional' or 'control' but 'progressive': 'becoming A'.

The stative verbal root *rənna* 'come down, land' in (21) is infixed with *-u-*, resulting in the dynamic verb *runna* 'descend' which expresses a controlled voluntary action. The unaffixed form *rənna* refers to someone who is falling and cannot choose the place where he will come down.

- (21) *Runna'* *kat* *nupi* *key* *nong* *Monay*.
 -u-rənnə' *kat* *nupi* *key* *nong* *monay*
 -DEP-descend CDM dream FOC OBL young.man
 'A dream came down to Young Man.' [Bowon Bura'042]⁴

The verb *təmguban* 'collapse' in (22) is affixed with the Dependent infix *-əm-* because it refers to a controlled, voluntarily motion of someone who is lying down to sleep. The unaffixed form *tugban* means to collapse suddenly, uncontrollably and involuntarily.

- (22) *Təmguban* *key* *turug-turug*.
 -əm-tugban *key* *turug-turug*
 -DEP-collapse FOC sleep-RED
 '(She) laid down for a nap (...)' [Kebasi'p43]

The adjective *gojo* 'big' in (23) is infixed with *-u-* because it expresses an ongoing change: the baby fish continues to grow up. The adjective *kunnu* 'corpulent' in (24) also describes an ongoing process of growing fatter.⁵

- (23) *Da gojo* *kat* *pait* *no* *nnong*.
 da -u-gajo *kat* *pait* *ino* *nnong*
 PR -DEP-big CDM fish yonder here
 'The fish became bigger there (the fish grew up) here.' [Dayangpukli 014]

- (24) *Pog kukka'* *mərəgkang* *no* *sidtu* *mangan*,
 pog kukka' *mərəgkang* *ino* *sidtu* *mangan*
 when recovered child yonder merely AV.eat

bio bay kunnu.
 bio bay -u-kənnu
 and PRF -DEP-corpulent
 'When the child is recovered it just eats and will become corpulent.' [NdowB 008]

These examples show that, although the same morphology can occur on both canonical stative verbs and adjectives, its semantic effect is not identical.

Fourthly, derivation with the (rather unproductive) Intensive prefix *tə(g)-* forms intensive forms of adjectives but not of any other lexical categories.

⁴ Most Begak folk tales that are not about animals are either about royalty: *Sərutan* 'the Sultan', *Pəngian* 'the Sultan's Wife', *Rajo Tunggal* 'Crown Prince' and princess *Dayangpukli*, or about ordinary people: the couple *Monay* 'Young Man' and *Dəra* 'Young Lady'. *Monay* is the regular word for 'young man', while *Dəra* is not an existing word in Begak, but is cognate with *məngəra* 'girl'.

⁵ On the basis of the fact that stative verbs such as *tukal* 'thin' and *gajo* 'big' can be affixed with Dependent morphology (*təmkal* 'grow thin' and *gojo* 'grow big'), we would expect that for instance *tuo* 'old' can also bear Dependent morphology, but most other stative verbs can not. I have no explanation for the fact that only some stative verbs can be affixed with Dependent morphology while other items cannot.

(25)	stem	gloss	derivation	gloss
	<i>gajo</i>	'big'	<i>tə-gajo</i>	'very big, parents'
	<i>ttas</i>	'high'	<i>təg-ə-ttas</i>	'very high'
	<i>dtu'</i>	'far'	<i>təg-ə-dtu'</i>	'very far'
	<i>uli'</i>	'go home'	<i>təg-uli'</i>	'back into the original state'

There is one exception: *təguli'* 'back into the original state' from the verbal root *uli'* 'go home', but all the other derivations are from roots expressing property concepts. Although the prefix *tə(g)-* has only limited productivity, it is an argument for assuming a subclass of adjectives.

Fifthly, the prefix *sə-* and its allomorphs forms manner nominalisations from dynamic verbal stems, stative verbal roots and roots expressing property concepts. When attached to (dynamic or stative) verbal roots, the prefix creates gerund-like nouns with the meaning 'manner of doing X', as in (26) and (27) while on roots adjectives, it has an intensifying function, as in (28). Nevertheless, manner nominalisations of dynamic verbal roots may have an intensified meaning as well, and adjectives may take on a manner function, but the tendency is that manner nominalisations of adjectives have intensive semantics, whereas manner nominalisations of stative and dynamic verbs express manner. For more information on manner nominalisations, see section 7.9.

- (26) *Ganta' da pio səngəgkot Manuel.*
ganta' da pio səng-ə-gkot Manuel
 very PR good NOM-work Manuel
 'Manuel works very well. (lit. Manuels manner of working is very good.)'
- (27) *Jadi aku malu' gəgusur ngod səpatay ama' ku (..)*
jadi aku malu' gəg-usur ngod sə-patay ama' ku
 so IS.N want REC-tell how NOM-die father IS.G
 'I want to tell how my father died (..)' [Helen 001]
- (28) "E, ullo ne kədo səgəmmis sapa' no?"
 "e ullo ne kədo səg-ə-mmis sapa' ino
 EXCL why this friend NOM-sweet water yonder
 "Hey, my friend, why is the water so sweet?" [Kalibambang bio Sengoyan 030]

Syntactic evidence for a separate class of adjectives is more difficult to find. Crosslinguistically, verbs tend to be embedded in a relative clause in order to be licensed as modifiers of nouns, whereas adjectives can modify nouns directly. In some languages, the position of relative clauses is a good test for the verbal or adjectival status of a word, since adjectives may occur in another position than relative clauses headed by a verb, but this is not the case in Begak. Relative clauses headed by a verb as well as words expressing property concepts occur in the same position following the noun. Moreover, relative clauses in Begak are formed by a gapping strategy and do not contain relative pronouns or other relative markers; therefore a construction of a noun with a relative clause cannot formally be distinguished from a noun modified by a (stative) verb. For example, there is no

formal difference between sentence (29) in which the word adjective ‘fat’ modifies the noun *ulun* ‘person’, or sentence (30) in which the stative verb *lɛnnod* modifies noun *ulun* ‘person’, and sentence (31) in which the relative clause *gəluat pait no* ‘who sells this fish’ modifies the noun *ulun* ‘person’.

- (29) *Aku malu’ gəgusur bio ulun kubol no.*
 aku malu’ gəg-usur bio ulun kubol ino
 1S.N want AV.REC-tell and person fat yonder
 ‘I want to talk to the fat man.’

- (30) *(..)sa’ kanut ulun lɛnnod no gittan tali no.*
 sa’ -u-kanut ulun lɛnnod ino gittan tali ino
 SQ -DEP-pull.UV person drown yonder instrument rope yonder
 ‘(..) and then he pulled the person who was drowning with the rope.’ [Mi-Suk3A 262]

- (31) *Aku malu’ gəgusur bio ulun gəluat pait no.*
 aku malu’ gəg-usur bio ulun gə-luat pait ino
 1S.N want AV.REC-tell and person AV-sell fish yonder
 ‘I want to talk to the person who is selling fish.’

Another (less strong) kind of syntactic evidence that adjectives are actually verbs is that both verbs and words expressing property concepts can be modified by intensifying adverbs, such as the adverb *ganta’*. Example (32) shows an adjective modified by *ganta’*, (32) a (stative) psych verb, while (34) shows a dynamic verb modified by *ganta’*. We can conclude that the adverb *ganta’* modifies dynamic verbs in the same way as stative verbs or adjectives.

- (32) *Ganta’ da ammis kupi ano.*
 ganta’ da a-mmis kupi ano
 very PR NV-sweet coffee that
 ‘That coffee is very sweet.’

- (33) *Ali ne toka ganta’ da atow tun nong ina’ no pa.*
 Ali ne toka ganta’ da a-tow tun nong ina’ ino pa
 Ali this PRT very PR NV.know.UV really OBL mother yonder PRT
 ‘Ali, for instance, knows his mother very well.’ [Conversationkoko2 087]

- (34) *Ganta’ da məngata’ tun rumo nong nakon.*
 ganta’ da məng-ata’ tun rumo nong nakon
 very PR AV-look very 3S OBL 1S.A
 ‘He looked at me intensely.’ (lit: He very looked at me.)

The overall conclusion can be that adjectives form a subclass of stative verbs in Begak, because on the morphological plane they behave as stative verbs and on the syntactic plane there is no hard evidence against an analysis as verbs. The only difference between stative verbs and adjectives is some subtle semantic difference with various types of affixation and derivation of an Intensive form with *tə(g)-*.

Stassen (1997) and Wetzer (1996) observe that languages that lack obligatory morphological tense marking on verbs tend to express property concepts as verbs. ‘Verby’ encoding of property concepts is the default option for languages, but if a language is tensed, this default option is overruled and property concepts are no longer coded in the same way as verbs. Inflection (such as tense marking) tends to express semantically relevant categories. Nouns tend to express time stable concepts for which tense marking is highly irrelevant. Verbs tend to express events that are not time stable at all for which tense marking is thus very relevant. Property concepts tend to be more time stable than verbs; therefore morphological tense marking is irrelevant for property concepts. So if a language is tensed, it will mark verbs rather than adjectives for tense and no longer encode verbs in the same way as adjectives. Begak is in line with this claim. Begak has a Completive Aspect infix but no real past tense morphology. Moreover, the Completive Aspect morphology is not obligatory (see chapter 6). Property concepts form a subclass of stative verbs, which are different from dynamic verbs, but are nevertheless verbs.

4.3. Nouns

4.3.1. Common nouns

We have already seen in section 4.2.1. above that nouns can be distinguished from stative (but not from dynamic) verbal roots by the phonological criterion that nouns and dynamic verbal roots, unlike stative verbal roots, may be bisyllabic starting with a full vowel. Unlike (dynamic and stative) verbal roots, nouns cannot be subminimal; they consist minimally of one syllable starting with a geminate or consonant cluster. For example verbal stems can be of the shape CVC, for instance *lid* ‘search’ but nouns consist minimally of CCVC, for instance *lung* ‘river’.

Unlike dynamic verbs, underived nouns cannot be affixed.⁶ Nouns are not inflected in any way: they are not case marked, they are not marked for gender or number, etc.

Syntactic criteria distinguishing nouns from other word classes are the following. Firstly, nouns can form a possessor construction, as in (35). If the possessor in a possessive construction is expressed by a pronoun it bears the genitive case, as in (36).

- (35) *Balay Babu di.*
 balay Babu adi
 house Babu over.there
 ‘Babu’s house.’

⁶ Phonologically independent stative verbs need not be affixed either, but subminimal stative verbs or monosyllabic stative verbal roots starting with a geminate/consonant cluster must be affixed with the Non-volitive prefix *a-*. Nouns cannot be affixed at all, even if they are monosyllabic stative verbal roots starting with a geminate/consonant cluster. If a noun is affixed, the result is a new derived stem.

- (36) *Anak ku te.*
 anak ku te
 child 1S.G this
 'My child'

Secondly, noun phrases can express the argument of a verb, as the noun *bas* 'bus' in (1) through (4) above in the previous section. They can form the complement of a preposition, as in (37) where the noun combination *bulud Bərigas* 'hill of Berigas' is the complement of the preposition *di*'.

- (37) *Di' bulud Bərigas.*
 di' bulud Bərigas
 LOC hill Berigas
 'At the Berigas Hill'

Thirdly, nouns take typical adnominal modifiers, such as demonstratives (38) or classifiers, for instance *tassa*', the classifier used for animals, as in (39). Some nouns can be directly quantified by numerals as in (40) and other quantifiers such as *inggos* 'all' as in (41).

- (38) *Asu ino.*
 asu ino
 dog yonder
 'This dog'
- (39) *Duo tassa' asu.*
 duo tassa' asu
 two CL.animal dog
 'Two dogs'
- (40) *Duo dtow.*
 duo dtow
 two day
 'Two days'
- (41) *Inggos ayug rumo.*
 inggos ayug rumo
 all friends 3s
 'All her friends'

For more information about nouns and nominal phrases see chapter 8.

4.3.2. Roots of dynamic verbs: nouns

Although most dynamic verbs cannot occur without affixation, some of them can occur as roots, as in (42). Most items from this list are nouns of transitive verbs, but some roots of dynamic verbs function as UV-verb with Incomplete Aspect, see section 6.3.

- | | | | | |
|------|---------------|-------------------|--------------|--------------------------|
| (42) | <i>gkot</i> | 'work' | <i>tiru'</i> | 'teaching' |
| | <i>gking</i> | 'magic' | <i>gkay</i> | 'things given' |
| | <i>ugba'</i> | 'rest' | <i>aus</i> | 'things brought' |
| | <i>dtop</i> | 'something shiny' | <i>akkor</i> | 'thinking, plan' |
| | <i>pədtos</i> | 'illness' | <i>indon</i> | 'thinking, intelligence' |

A nominal property of these roots is that they can form the argument of a predicate. The root *gkot* in (43), for example, functions as the nominal argument of the interrogative *nu* 'what'. Contrast this with (44), which shows the same verbal root *gkot*, prefixed with an AV-prefix. The affixed verb functions as the predicate of the clause and takes *rumo* '(s)he' as its argument.

- (43) *Elsi, nu gkot mo?*
 Elsi, nu gkot mo
 Elsi, what work 2S.G
 'Elsi, what are you doing?' (lit what is your work?) [notes]

- (44) *Rumo pagon məngəgkot*
 rumo p-agon məng-ə-gkot
 3S SF-strong AV-work
 'He/she works hard.'

The verb *makkor* 'make a plan' in (45) is used as a verb and is inflected for Dependent. The stem *akkor* 'plan, thinking' in sentence (46) expresses the sole argument of the adjective verb *pio* 'be good'. The verb *pio* is used predicatively here because the noun *akkor* comes after the adjective *pio*, while the word order for attributively used adjectives is noun-adjective, for example *akkor pio*.

- (45) *Dadi, makkor kat Buad, panow.*
 dadi m-akkor kat Buad panow
 so DEP-plan.UV CDM Buad go
 'So Buad made a plan to go.' [Berigas 007]

- (46) *Pon pio akkor mo ne.*
 pon pio akkor mo ne
 NEG.P good plan 2S.G this
 'Your plan/thinking is not good.' [Mi-Suk1 583]

In conclusion, then, verbal roots are used as dynamic verbs if they are inflected, while they are used as nouns if they are uninflected and form the argument of another predicate.

4.4. Prepositions and locative nouns

4.4.1. Prepositions

Begak prepositions form a closed class. Begak has only two prepositions, *nong* and

di'. These prepositions are related to the demonstrative adverbs *nong* 'here' and *ddi'* 'there'; therefore, their semantics is predictable: the preposition *nong* is used for items close to the speaker or close to the deictic centre of a third person, whereas *di'* refers to things (far) away from the speaker, or (far) away from the deictic centre. The preposition *nong* does not only function as a locative preposition for things close by, but also functions as a oblique preposition. The preposition *di'* does not have any other functions except for the locative and temporal function.

The following sentences illustrates the use of *nong*. (47) shows that *nong* refers to a location. (48) shows that it can also be combined with a verb that describes a movement or direction.

- (47) *Dəra'* *ton nong balay.*
 Dəra' ton nong balay
 young.lady TOP OBL house
 'As for Young Lady, she was at home.' [Monay bio Dera' 039]

- (48) *Jadi dongay rumo mənnik nong balay no.*
 jadi -u-dangay rumo m-ə-nnik nong balay ino
 so -DEP-proceed 3S DEP-go.up OBL house yonder
 'So he proceeded and went up the house.' [Assa' 007]

Sentence (49) illustrates the oblique function of *nong*, marking recipients or addressees. (50) shows how *nong* introduces the complement of a noun.

- (49) *Məgkay key beg te nong nakon!*
 m-ə-gkay key beg te nong nakon
 DEP-give.UV FOC bag this OBL 1S.A
 'Give this bag to me!'

- (50) *Ino suran nong anak doto, pon buat ino.*
 ino suran nong anak doto apon buat ino
 yonder story OBL child angelic.being NEG.P long yonder
 'This is the story about the child of the angelic being, it is not very long.' [Anak Doto022]

Sentence (51) illustrates how *di'* refers to locations far away from the deictic centre of the person referred to. (52) shows *di'* how can be combined with a verb describing a direction. The kitchen in the story is not far away from the living room in the absolute sense, but *di'* is used instead of *nong* because it is another domain of the house than the living room, where the husband is.

- (51) *Ina' di' umo.*
 ina' di' umo
 mother LOC rice.field
 'Mother is in the rice field.'
- (52) *Jadi panow kat bano no di' dapur di.*
 jadi panow kat bano ino di' dapur adi
 so go CDM husband yonder LOC kitchen over.there
 'So her husband walked to the kitchen (..)' [Bakas 012]

See chapter 8 for the syntax of noun phrases and prepositional phrases.

4.4.2. Locative nouns

Locative nouns also form a closed class of uninflected words. Locative nouns usually form the complement of a preposition. Some of them can also be used as independent nouns, others can be used as independent verbs and some of them can be used as an independent preposition. The lists below show most locative nouns as well as their meaning if they are used as an independent noun or verb.

(53)	Locative noun	gloss	Meaning if used as independent noun/verb
	<i>ttas</i>	'above, top'	'high' (adjective)
	<i>alag</i>	'beneath'	
	<i>allom</i>	'inside'	the adjective <i>dallom</i> means 'deep'
	<i>awan</i>	'outside'	'sky' (noun)
	<i>ləɡuan</i>	'front'	
	<i>tukud</i>	'back'	'back' (body part, noun)
	<i>səbila'</i>	'side, other side'	'half' (from the dynamic verb <i>ila'</i> 'split')
	<i>gibang</i>	'left'	
	<i>konan</i>	'right'	
	<i>təŋga'</i>	'middle'	'halfway' (noun or stative verb)

The following two sentences illustrate a maximal full PP with a preposition, a locative noun and a head noun:

- (54) *Sawot rumo nong ttas bulud no, akay təgbuk rumo lawas.*
 sawot rumo nong ttas bulud ino akay təgbuk rumo lawas
 arrive 3S OBL top hill yonder EXIST meet.UV 3S clear
 'He arrived on top of the hill; he discovered a clear (area).' [Monay bio Dera' 012]

- (55) *Pog sawot rumo di' təŋga' dalan no, (..)*
 pog sawot rumo di' təŋga' dalan ino
 when arrive 3S LOC middle road yonder
 'When he arrived on the middle of the road, (..)' [Gongan bio Tuttul 036]

Some of the locative nouns can, however, also occur independently without a preposition, as in (56) where *allom* 'in' occurs without preposition.

- (56) *Ləppap kat kərok no səmuok allom balay no.*
 ləppap kat kərok ino -ə̃m-suok allom balay ino
 immediately CDM bird yonder -DEP-enter.UV inside house yonder
 'Immediately the birds brought (him) into the house.' [Monay bio Dera' 041]

The locative nouns in (57) precede the preposition and noun.

- (57) *ukat* 'hear say'
kiron 'until'
sakko 'from'
suru 'in the direction of'

These locative nouns can occur without preposition, as in (58), but if a preposition is present it follows the locative noun, as in (59), where the locative noun *sakko* 'from' is followed by the preposition *di*'.

- (58) *Kiron ino sija' suran ku, nong Monay bio Dəra'.*
 kiron ino sija' suran ku nong monay bio Dəra'
 up.to yonder merely story 1S.G OBL young.man and young.lady
 'Until here only is my story about Young Man and Young Lady.' [Monay bio Dera'94]

- (59) *Ratu' rumo sakko di' awan di, rənna' nong buta',*
 ratu' rumo sakko di' awan adi rənna' nong buta'
 fall 3S from LOC sky over.there descend OBL earth

matay, apamak.
 matay a-pamak
 dead NV-fall

'He fell from the sky and came down on earth, and fell dead.' [Monay bio Dera'083]

These locative nouns can be questioned with *mba*' 'which, where'. As *mba*' modifies or questions nouns and not verbs, this indicates that the items in (57) above are actually locative nouns and not a certain type of verbs, although they cannot be preceded by the prepositions *nong* or *di*'.

The locative noun *gittan* 'instrument, with', always occurs without preposition: as in (60), therefore it is not included in the list of locative nouns. Nevertheless it is a locative noun, because (i) it does not function as a verb: it cannot undergo any morphological operation and it cannot occur on its own: **Səpakkong gittan gaud* 'Sepakkong uses a paddle.' (ii) it behaves syntactically like other locative nouns without preposition, (iii) it takes a possessor phrase in relative clause constructions (see section 10.4.6.2.).

- (60) *Ləppap kat Səpakkong məppos Kalibambang*
 ləppap kat Səpakkong m-ə-ppos Kalibambang
 immediately CDM Sepakkong DEP-hit.UV Butterfly

gittan gaud no, sala'.
 gittan gaud ino sala'
 instrument paddle yonder, mistake
 'Immediately Sepakkong (tried to) hit Butterfly with the paddle, (but) missed.'
 [Sepakkongp7]

The verb *sawot* 'arrive' is sometimes used in the sense 'until' and is then uninflected. It could be analysed as a locative noun there. For instance :

- (61) *Kəssa'* *mulay* *kito* *muli'* *sakko* *mənguso* *ino*
kəssa' *mulay* *kito* *m-uli'* *sakko* *məng-uso* *ino*
 since *begin (M)* *1P.1.N/G* *DEP-go.home* *from* *AV-gather.food* *yonder*
- sawot* *gədino* *pon* *mil* *kingog* *ku*
sawot *gədino* *apon* *mil* *k-ingog* *ku*
 arrive *in.yonder.way* *NEG.P* *ever* *AV.NV-hear* *1S.G*
- anak* *kito* *ne* *tota'*
anak *kito* *ne* *-u-tata'*
 child *1P.1.N/G* *this* *-DEP-cry*
 'Since we first (lit. began to) came home from fishing until now I have never
 heard our child cry.' [Rengngon 084]

4.5. Pronouns

4.5.1. Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns can appear in three cases: Nominative, Genitive and Accusative. Nominative is used for subjects, the Genitive for possessors and non-subject agents and the Accusative is used for direct objects. See section 5.3.2 for more information on case marking of pronouns. Only the pronouns of the first and second person singular are contrastive in all three cases; the first and second person plural only distinguish the Nominative and Genitive from the Accusative, while the third person singular and plural pronouns have the same form in all three cases. The Accusative pronoun can be preceded by the oblique preposition *nong* to form an oblique pronoun: *nong nakon*, *nong niun*, etc. Begak distinguishes the first person plural inclusive from the first person plural exclusive, a common pattern in Austronesian languages.

(62) Person and number	Nominative	Genitive	Accusative	Oblique
1S	<i>aku</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>nakon</i>	<i>nong nakon</i>
2S	<i>ikow</i>	<i>mo</i>	<i>niun</i>	<i>nong niun</i>
3S	<i>rumo</i>	<i>rumo</i>	<i>rumo</i>	<i>nong rumo</i>
1P inclusive	<i>kito</i>	<i>kito</i>	<i>naton</i>	<i>nong naton</i>
1P exclusive	<i>kəmmi</i>	<i>kəmmi</i>	<i>namon</i>	<i>nong namon</i>
2P	<i>muyu</i>	<i>muyu</i>	<i>muyun</i>	<i>nong muyun</i>
3P	<i>(m)iro</i>	<i>(m)iro</i>	<i>(m)iro</i>	<i>nong (m)iro</i>

4.5.2. Interrogatives

The following list shows the Begak interrogatives. Interrogatives appear at the beginning of a sentence. The semantic role of the interrogative pronoun determines the voice marking of the verb. For a more detailed description of open questions

(questions that cannot be answered with yes or no) starting with an interrogative, see section 10.4.8.

- (63) *nay* 'who'
nu 'what'
mba' 'which'
bilo 'when'
kidon 'when (future)'
ullo 'why'
piro 'how many'

4.5.3. Demonstratives

4.5.3.3. Demonstrative pronouns

Begak has five demonstrative pronouns, which are shown in Table 1. The first three items *ate*, *ano* and *ino* can be used both pronominally and adnominally, but not adverbially, while *udi* and *adi* can be used pronominally, adnominally and adverbially.⁷ Some items have long and short forms. The long forms can be used in all cases, whereas the short form can only be used adnominally and referring to an entity mentioned earlier in discourse (anaphorically). Pronominally used demonstratives occur in non-verbal clauses, such as nominal clauses or adjectival clauses, but seem to occur rarely in verbal clauses.

Table 1 Function of the demonstratives

Long form	Short form	Gloss	Function
<i>ate</i>	<i>te/ne</i> ⁸	'this'	contrastive, closer to the speaker than to the addressee
<i>ano</i>	-	'that'	close to both speaker and addressee
<i>ino</i>	<i>no</i>	'yonder'	far away from speaker
<i>udi</i>	-	'there'	furthest away from speaker yet visible
<i>adi</i>	<i>di</i>	'over there'	furthest away from speaker and invisible

The sentences in (64) illustrate how the long forms are used pronominally. If a demonstrative is used pronominally in a nominal clause, it usually precedes the predicate, but may also follow it (for a description of non-verbal clauses see section 5.6.) Sentences (64a-c) illustrate presentational nominal and adjectival clauses with

⁷ The English translation of the demonstratives does not express very well that the five demonstratives form five points on a scale of distance. For instance, the translations for *ino* 'yonder' and *adi* 'over there' are not felicitous, because *ino* 'yonder' represents a shorter distance than *adi* 'over there', other than the translation suggests. Nevertheless, the translation reflects that fact that the first three items *ate*, *ano* and *ino* have other syntactic properties than the last two items *udi* and *adi*.

⁸ *Ne* 'this' is probably a short form of *ate* 'this'. *Ne* is exclusively used adnominally. *Te* 'this' is the short form for the spatial use while *ne* seems to be used for disambiguating NPs and anaphorically, i.e. referring to entities mentioned earlier in discourse, see section 8.6.3 for a more elaborate description.

ate ‘this’, *ano* ‘that’ and *ino* ‘yonder’ respectively. Sentence (64d) illustrates how *ino* ‘yonder’ can refer to a whole preceding clause. Sentences (64e, f) show how the demonstratives can be used pronominally in verbal clauses. This use is rare, however. Sentence (64g) illustrates the pronominal use in an adjectival clause.

- (64) a. *Ate lugus.*
 ate lugus
 this sirih
 ‘This is sirih.’ [Bama’002]
- b. *Ano ləmama’ kəmmi ne.*
 ano ləmama’ kəmmi ne
 that sirih.mix 1P.E.N/G this
 ‘That is our sirih mix’ [Bama’002]
- c. *Ino suran nong anak doto, pon buat ino.*
 ino suran nong anak doto apon buat ino
 yonder story OBL child angelic.being NEG.P long yonder
 ‘This is the story about the child of the angelic being, it is not very long.’
 [Anak Doto 022]
- d. *Kəmo da bpos ino, sa’ kito lomud*
 kəmo da bpos ino sa’ kito -u-lamud
 if PR after yonder SQ 1P.I.N/G -DEP-mix.UV

ssi bakas tittok kəmmon ne.
 ssi bakas -i-təttok kəmmon ne
 content wild.pig -COM-cut.to.pieces.UV just.now this
 ‘After this, then we mix (it with) the wild pig meat that we just cut to
 pieces.’ [Timba’006]
- e. *Pon mil kingog ino.*
 apon mil k-ingog ino
 NEG.P ever AV.NV-hear yonder
 ‘I’ve never heard that before.’ [Conversationsselectingseed 036]
- f. *Adi nigkot mo kəmmon di.*
 adi ni-gkot mo kəmmon adi
 over.there COM-work 2S.G just.now over.there
 ‘You just held (lit. worked) the one overthere.’ [Conversationsselectingseed 297]
- g. *Ate/ ano/ ino/ udi/ adi sumba’.*
 ate ano ino udi adi sumba’
 this that yonder there over.there pink
 ‘This one/that one/yonder one/the one there/the one overthere is pink.’

Adnominally used demonstratives follow the headnoun:

- (65) *Gəlas ate/ ano/ ino/ udi/ adi rana' gaddung.*
 gəlas ate ano ino udi adi rana' gaddung
 glass this that yonder there over.there colour green
 'This glass/that glass/yonder glass/the glass there/the glass over there is green.'

The items *udi* 'there' and *adi* 'overthere' occur pronominally in prepositional phrases and adverbially, but the other demonstratives cannot occur adverbially:

- (66) *Rumo panow di' adi bugol.*
 rumo panow di' adi bugol
 3S go LOC over.there alone
 'He goes over there alone.' [Mi-Suk2 241]
- (67) a. *Mba' baya' Babu?*
 mba' baya' Babu
 which place Babu
 'Where is Babu?'
- b. *Udi! *ate! /*ano! /*ino!*
 udi ate ano ino
 there this that yonder
 'There!'
- c. *(Di') adi!*
 di' adi
 LOC over.there
 'Over there!'

A more detailed semantic description of these items as well as their typical, contrastive and anaphoric usage will be given in section 8.6.

4.5.3.4. Demonstrative adverbs

The items *nnong* and *ddi'* in (68) can be used adverbially only.

- (68) **Distance long gloss**
 Close *nnong* 'here'
 Far away *ddi'* 'there'

Sentences (69) and (70) contain the demonstrative *nnong* 'here', because *Monay* is close to the deictic centre. These items are an emphatic, phonologically independent form of the phonologically subminimal prepositions *nong* for things close by and *di'* for things far away.

- (69) *Da buay Monay badung nnong (..)*
 da buay monay b-adung nnong
 PR long young.man MID-sit here
 'Young Man had been sitting here for a long time, (..)' [Monay bio Dera' 018]

- (70) *Sob suok nnong, gəruni kat Monay (..)*
 sob suok nnong gə-runi kat monay
 when enter here AV-speak CDM young.man
 ‘When (they) had entered here, Young Man said (...).’ [Monay bio Dera’ 042]

In the following sentence, the form *ddi’* is used, because in this stage of the story, *Monay* is far away from the hill in question.

- (71) *Sob akay bulud, ttan Monay, panow kat Monay ddi’.*
 sob akay bulud ttan monay panow kat monay ddi’
 when EXIST hill see.UV young.man go CDM young.man there
 ‘(Young Man had been hunting for a long time, for a day, when there was a hill)
 Young Man saw it and Young Man went there.’ [Monay bio Dera’ 013]

Just like the items *nnong* and *ddi’* above, the items in (72) can be used adverbially only. They do not form a homogeneous class of contrasting items. The word *tui* is used only for referring to a movement in the direction of the speaker, as in expressions like (73) where the speaker invites the addressee to move into his or her direction.

- | | | | |
|------|---|---------------|--------------|
| (72) | Distance | long | gloss |
| | Close to speaker, in the direction of the speaker | <i>tui</i> | ‘here’ |
| | Close to speaker and addressee | <i>tunong</i> | ‘here’ |
| | Close to speaker, in the direction of the speaker | <i>te-te</i> | ‘here’ |
| | Far away | <i>di-di</i> | ‘there’ |
- (73) *Rottop key tui!*
 -u-rattop key tui
 -DEP-close FOC here
 ‘Come closer here!’ [Notebook]

Tunong is a more neutral adverb used when speaker and addressee are in the same place, as in (74). The items *te-te* and *di-di* are derived from *(a)te* and *(a)di* by reduplication. The exact function of *te-te* and *di-di* and their difference with *tui* and *adi* respectively is not clear to me yet.

- (74) *Anak asu no məngukow kəmo akay asu*
 anak asu ino məng-ukow kəmo akay asu
 child dog yonder AV-wake.up if EXIST dog

sillun sowot tunong.
 sillun -u-sawot tunong
 other -DEP-arrive here
 ‘The puppy wakes (us) up if another dog comes here.’ [Mi-Suk3B 135]
- (75) *Te-te/ di-di pasod pait.*
 te-te/ di-di pasod pait.
 here/ there-RED many fish
 ‘Here/there are many fish.’ (Calling a friend when fishing at the riverside).

4.6. Quantifiers

4.6.1. Numerals

4.6.1.1. Cardinal numerals

The following list shows the Begak cardinal numerals. Not all numbers are mentioned, because all numbers higher than 10 are formed regularly according to the system illustrated below. Numbers of 11 and higher are formed with the coordinator *bio* ‘and’. The coordinator *bio* ‘and’ also conjoins NPs or clauses. The numbers for 100, 1000, etc are prefixed with *mə-* ‘one’ instead of with *sa-* ‘one’ or with the numeral prefix *sə-*.

(76)	<i>sa/satu</i>	1	<i>pulu’ bio pat, etc</i>	14
	<i>duo</i>	2	<i>duo pulu’</i>	20
	<i>təllu</i>	3	<i>təllu pulu’</i>	30
	<i>pat</i>	4	<i>pat pulu’, etc.</i>	40
	<i>limo</i>	5	<i>pat pulu’ bio sa’</i>	41
	<i>nom</i>	6	<i>pat pulu’ bio təllu</i>	43
	<i>туру’</i>	7	<i>pat pulu’ bio тuru’</i>	47
	<i>olu</i>	8	<i>məratu</i>	100
	<i>siway</i>	9	<i>duo ratu</i>	200
	<i>pulu’</i>	10	<i>təllu ratu</i>	300
	<i>pulu’ bio sa’</i>	11	<i>məribu</i>	1000
	<i>pulu’ bio duo</i>	12	<i>duo ribu</i>	2000
	<i>pulu’ bio təllu</i>	13	<i>təllu ribu</i>	3000

(77) *Pulu’ bio sa’*
pulu’ bio sa’
 ten and one
 ‘Eleven’

(78) *Məribu*
mə-ribu
 ‘One thousand’

Examples of NPs with cardinal numbers are given in section 4.6.3. on numeral classifiers.

4.6.1.2. Ordinal numerals

Ordinal numerals are formed by prefixing a numeral with *mə-* or *kə-*. The prefix *kə-* is used in the context of counting persons or objects, as in (79).

(79) *Ino anak kəssa’k əduo/kətəllu/kəpat.*
ino anak kəssa’k əduo/kətəllu/kəpat
 yonder child first/second/third/fourth
 ‘This is the first/second/third/fourth child.’

Sentence (80) shows how ordinal numerals with *mə-* modify future events, or other events expressed by a verb in the Dependent. Sentence (81) shows how an ordinal numeral with *kə-* modifies events of the past or the present, expressed by a verb with any other inflection. The numeral *təllu* ‘three’ has an irregular *mə-* form *məntəllu* ‘third’ besides the expected *mətəllu*. Its form with *kə-* is regular (*kətəllu* ‘third’).

- (80) *Nong məppos mətəllu.*
 nong m-ə-ppos mə-təllu
 AUX DEP-beat.UV ORD-three
 ‘She has to beat it three times.’ (The chicken must be beaten three times against the coffin). [Ama` ku pədtos. 129]
- (81) *Da nong kətəllu rumo gəruni.*
 da nong kə-təllu rumo gə-runi
 PR OBL ORD-three 3S AV-speak
 ‘She spoke for the third time.’ [Tudow 030]

4.6.1.3. Syntax and semantics of the numeral ‘one’

Both numerals *sa*’ and *satu* mean ‘one’, but their usage is different. The numeral *sa*’ ‘one’ is only in counting: *sa*’, *duo*, *təllu*’... ‘one, two, three...’. The numeral *satu* ‘one’ is used for quantifying, in combination with a noun, for example *satu bulan* ‘one month’. When it modifies a noun, it has the same function as indefiniteness markers or articles in Indo-European languages ‘a, a certain’, as the following examples show:

- (82) *Bowon ton satu kərok mangan paray.*
 bowon ton satu kərok mangan paray
 sparrow TOP one bird AV.eat paddy
 ‘A Sparrow is a bird that eats rice.’ [Bowon Bura’002]
- (83) *Satu dtow mata’ Monay akay satu balug bowon.*
 satu dtow m-ata’ monay akay satu balug bowon
 one day DEP-look.UV young.man EXIST one group sparrow
 ‘One day, Young Man saw that there was a big group of sparrows.’ [Bowon Bura’024]

When the numeral *satu* ‘one’ follows the noun, it means ‘another’, as in the following example:

- (84) *Jadi da gəgusur-gəgusur nong allom gkun no,*
 jadi da gəg-usur-gəg-usur nong allom gkun ino
 so PR AV.REC-tell-RED OBL inside village yonder
- sawot suran no di’ anan monay satu.*
 sawot suran ino di’ anan monay satu
 arrive story yonder LOC place young.man one
 ‘So (the people) in the village talked and talked with each other until the story reached another young man.’ [Monay bio Dera’053]

4.6.1.4. The numeral prefix *sə(ng)-*

The numeral 'one' can be expressed as a free numeral or as a prefix. The numeral prefix *sə-* 'one' can only be attached to classifiers and measure nouns. It cannot be attached to ordinary nouns or other word classes. Other numerals do not have a prefixed variant. The homophonous prefix *sə-* functions as a derivational prefix deriving manner nominalisations from verbal stems and is treated in section 7.9. The prefix *sə-* has two allomorphs: the allomorph *sə-* is used for consonant-initial classifiers as in (85) and *səng-* for vowel-initial classifiers as in (86).

(85)	classifier	gloss	<i>sə-</i> +classifier	gloss
	<i>bətuən</i>	'CL.person'	<i>sə-bətuən ulun</i>	'one person'
	<i>tassa'</i>	'CL.animal'	<i>sə-tassa' asu</i>	'one dog'
(86)	stem	gloss	<i>səng-</i> +measure noun	gloss
	<i>ppung</i>	'fist'	<i>səng-ə-ppung kkan</i>	'one fistfull of cooked rice'
	<i>mmuk</i>	'cooking tin'	<i>səng-ə-mmuk paray</i>	'one cooking tin full of unhusked rice'
	<i>ikar</i>	'acre'	<i>səng-ikar buta'</i>	'one acre of land'

4.6.2. Numeral classifiers

Classifiers form a closed class of words and are not inflected. Some classifiers can also be used as independent nouns. (87) lists most numeral classifiers together with their meaning if they are used as nouns.

(87)	Classifier	meaning if used as independent noun	type of nouns
	<i>silə'</i>	'rice grain'	default/objects
	<i>bətuən</i>	'body'	persons
	<i>tassa'</i>	?	animals
	<i>(pə)suog</i>	'stem of plant or tree, buttocks'	plants, trees
	<i>ləgbatu'</i>	<i>batu</i> means 'stone'	fruit, eggs, other round objects
	<i>lissog</i>	'seed, pit'	tiny round objects such as tablets, ricegrain
	<i>tatta'</i>	'drip'	drop of liquid
	<i>tidong</i>	'wild banana'	one piece (finger) of bananas or maize
	<i>bulus</i>	?	cloth that is not yet sewn
	<i>tilab</i>	?	flat things such as a piece of zink, wooden planks, plywood
	<i>lapad</i>	?	banana leaf

Not all of the items from the above list are equally frequent. Only the first five items are frequently used in every day speech. The other ones are mainly used in stylish speech or in technical speech, for example, about building a house with flat material.

Numeral classifiers always occur after the numeral, but the combination of the numeral and the classifiers can occur in front of the noun, as in (88a), or after the

noun, as in (88b). In other words, the classifier plus numeral form a separate classifier phrase. There may be a difference in function or referentiality between classifier phrases that occur before or after the noun, but I have not checked this yet. Numeral classifiers are not always obligatory. Nouns indicating time such as ‘day’, ‘night’, ‘month’ etc. cannot have classifiers, as in (89).

(88) a. *Duo tassa' asu*
 duo tassa' asu
 two CL.animals dog
 ‘Two dogs’

b. *Asu duo tassa'*
 asu duo tassa'
 dog two CL.animals
 ‘Two dogs’

(89) *Təllu dtow*
 təllu dtow
 three day
 ‘Three days’

The classifier *sila'* is often used as a default classifier instead of the other more specific classifiers, even for nouns referring to people and animals.⁹ It is even used to refer to people, as in (90). This generic usage of *sila'* often occurs in casual speech.

(90) (..) *summu'* *nong kənnuy no pədəllu'*
 (..) -u-səmmu' nong kənnuy ino pə-dəllu'
 (..) -DEP-command.UV OBL eagle yonder UV.CAU.DEP-descend

anak duo sila' nnong.
 anak duo sila' nnong
 child two CL.generic here

‘(..) and he commanded the eagle to take down (lit. cause to descend) his two children here.’ [Dayangpukli 218]

More information about the syntax of numeral phrases and numeral classifiers can be found in section 8.2.

⁹ I do not have the impression that the classifier system is declining; the generic classifier is just more frequent than the more specific ones.

4.6.3. Measure nouns

Measure nouns are nouns of an open class that have the same syntax as numeral classifiers. They can be prefixed with the numeral prefix *sə-* and modify other nouns. The Begak measure nouns are here categorised following Van den Berg (1989)

Time

(91)	classifier	gloss	classifier	gloss
	<i>sə-minggu</i>	'one week'	<i>duo minggu</i>	'two weeks'
	<i>sə-dtow</i> ¹⁰	'one-day'	<i>duo dtow</i>	'two days'
	<i>sə-bulan</i>	'one month'	<i>duo bulan</i>	'two months'
	<i>sə-tahun</i>	'one-year'	<i>duo tahun</i>	'two years'

Metrics, areas

(92)	classifier	gloss	classifier	gloss
	<i>səng-ikar</i>	'one acre'	<i>duo ikar</i>	'two acre'
	<i>sə-gelon</i>	'one gallon'	<i>duo gelon</i>	'two gallon'
	<i>sə-litar</i>	'one liter'	<i>duo litar</i>	'two liter'
	<i>sə-kilo</i>	'one kilo'	<i>duo kilo</i>	'two kilo'

Volumes

(93)	classifier	gloss	classifier	gloss
	<i>sə-kadut</i>	'one rice sack'	<i>duo kadut</i>	'two rice sacks'
	<i>sə-botol</i>	'one bottle'	<i>duo botol</i>	'two bottles'
	<i>sə-mital</i>	'one tin'	<i>duo mital</i>	'two tins'
	<i>sə-bəlatok</i>	'one basket'	<i>duo bəlatok</i>	'two baskets'
	<i>səng-ə-mmuk</i>	'one mug'	<i>duo mmuk</i>	'two mugs'
	<i>sə-sanggan</i>	'one basin'	<i>duo sanggan</i>	'two basins'

Parts

(94)	classifier	gloss
	<i>sə-bila</i>	'one half, side'
	<i>sə-p-ukos</i>	'one cut'
	<i>sə-balug</i>	'one swarm of birds'

Parts of plants

(95)	classifier	gloss	classifier	gloss
	<i>sə-pənna</i>	'one fruitstalk'	<i>duo pənna</i>	'two fruitstalks'
	<i>sə-bulig</i>	'one rice ear'	<i>duo bulig</i>	'two rice ears'
	<i>sə-punggol</i>	'one fruitstalk'	<i>duo punggol</i>	'two fruitstalks'
	<i>sə-tuppuk</i>	'one bunch'	<i>duo tuppuk</i>	'two bunches'

Others are: *sə-ginis* 'a sort of'; *sə-rəppo* 'one armspan'; etc. Measure nouns follow the same syntax as classifiers. Sentence (96) shows how the numeral plus classifier

¹⁰ The form *sə-dtow* 'one day' forms an exception to the rule that vowel-initial roots or roots consisting of just CVC are prefixed with the allomorph *səng(ə)-* instead of with *sə-*.

sə-pəŋna ‘one-fruit stalk’ can come after the demonstrative *no* which marks the end of the NP, while (97) shows how a measure noun can occur independently, referring to a noun mentioned earlier in discourse.

- (96) (..) *ratu’ bua’ niug no səpəŋna’*
 (..) *ratu’ bua’ niug ino sə-pəŋna’*
 (..) fall fruit coconut yonder one-fruit.stalk
 ‘One fruitstalk of coconuts fell down.’ [Kebasi’p34]
- (97) *Tepuk ku səsanggan ngod aku malu’ mangan.*
 -i-tapuk ku sə-sanggan ngod aku malu’ mangan
 -COM-stay.behind.UV 1S.G one-basin because 1S.N want AV.eat
 ‘I hid one basin (of pork) because I wanted to eat.’ [Bakas 040]

4.6.4. Other quantifiers

The quantifiers shown in (98) do not inflect and occur either before or after the noun phrase they quantify.

- (98) *inggos* ‘all’
dadān ‘all of them’
silut ‘each’
iro ‘X and company’
barong ‘whoever’
suku ‘the whole category’

The words *inggos* and *dadān* both mean ‘all’, but differ slightly in their semantics and syntax; see section 8.2.2. for their use. The word *silut* ‘each’ is used to give the noun phrase a distributive reading. Sentence (99) illustrates the use of *inggos* ‘all’ and sentence (100) illustrates the use of *dadān* ‘all’.

- (99) *Inggos kəmmi baya’ nong Itin.*
inggos kəmmi b-aya’ nong Itin
 all 1P.E.N/G MID-follow OBL Itin
 ‘We all joined Itin.’ [ConversationtriptoLD 139]
- (100) *Anak rumo dadān liun.*
 anak rumo dadān liun
 child 3s all woman
 ‘All his children are girls.’ [notes].

The quantifier *iro* is a collectivity marker meaning something like ‘X & Company’, as in (101) but it can also be used to mark diversity in plural.

- (101) *Kəmmən, aku pənəw di' anan iro Nani.*
 kəmmən, aku -i-pənəw di' anan iro Nani
 just.now 1S.N -COM-go LOC place COL Nani
 'Just now I went to Nani and company's place.'

Barong 'whoever' and *suku* can modify nouns but also introduce a relative clause, as illustrated in (102). For more information about quantifiers, see section 8.2.

- (102) *Barong ulun bəgəpuy da gəlindut*
 barong ulun bəg-apuy da gə-lindut
 whoever person AV-cook PR AV-run

kebing kuron ino.
 -i-kabing kuron ino
 -COM-hold.in.hand.UV pan yonder
 'Whoever was cooking ran (to the palace of the Sultan still) holding his cooking pan.'
 [Mengerā' Kusur]

The quantifiers listed in (103) form an open class and tend to occur before the noun phrase they modify (and not after it). These quantifiers behave like stative verbs in the sense that they can be turned into a dynamic verb by conversion (zero derivation) and inflected with verbal morphology.

- | (103) | unaffixed | gloss | AV-form | gloss |
|-------|------------------|--------------|-----------------|------------------------------|
| | <i>kənnop</i> | 'each' | <i>bəkənnop</i> | 'go to each place' |
| | <i>tagub</i> | 'whole' | <i>məngəgub</i> | 'go through the whole place' |
| | <i>sukup</i> | 'enough' | <i>səmukup</i> | 'make enough' |
| | <i>pasod</i> | 'many' | <i>gəpasod</i> | 'become numerous' |
| | <i>tittoy</i> | 'small' | <i>gətittoy</i> | 'become smaller' |

Sentence (104) illustrates how *kənnop* 'each' is unaffixed and occurs before the noun it modifies. Sentence (105) illustrates how *bəkənnop* is used as a dynamic verb.

- (104) *Akay pudol kənnop təllu sila' təduru' mo ne*
 akay pudol kənnop təllu sila' təduru' mo ne
 exist itchy.sore each three CL.generic finger 2S.G this
 'There is a pimple (on) each of your three fingers.' [Mi-Suk3A 278]

- (105) *Di' bpung miro sowot tu sowot*
 di' bpung miro -u-sawot tu -u-sawot
 LOC former.time 3P -DEP-arrive too -DEP-arrive

məngəppom bəkənnop balay.
 məng-ə-ppom bə-kənnop balay
 AV-spray AV-each house
 'They used to come frequently to spray every house.' [Mi-Suk3A 007]

4.6.5. Days and months

The names of the days of the week are consist of *ari* ‘day’, which is from Malay *hari* ‘day’, and a Begak numeral (except for *ari minggu*, Sunday). The Begak word for day is *dtow*, but nobody uses the word *dtow* for the names of the days of the week.

(106)	Day	Literal translation	Gloss
	<i>ari satu</i>	‘day one’	‘Monday’
	<i>ari duo</i>	‘day two’	‘Tuesday’
	<i>ari tǝllu</i>	‘day three’	‘Wednesday’
	<i>ari pat</i>	‘day four’	‘Thursday’
	<i>ari limo</i>	‘day five’	‘Friday’
	<i>ari nom</i>	‘day six’	‘Saturday’
	<i>ari minggu</i>	‘day (of the) week’	‘Sunday’

The names of the months also consist of numerbs instead of names:

(107)	Day	Literal translation	Gloss
	<i>bulan satu</i>	‘month one’	‘January’
	<i>bulan duo</i>	‘month two’	‘February’
	<i>bulan tǝllu</i>	‘month three’	‘March’
	<i>bulan pat</i>	‘month four’	‘April’
	<i>bulan limo</i>	‘month five’	‘May’
	<i>bulan nom</i>	‘month six’	‘June’
	<i>bulan turu’</i>	‘month seven’	‘July’
	<i>bulan olu</i>	‘month eight’	‘August’
	<i>bulan siway</i>	‘month nine’	‘September’
	<i>bulan pulu’</i>	‘month ten’	‘October’
	<i>bulan pulu’ bio sa’</i>	‘month eleven’	‘November’
	<i>bulan pulu’ bio duo</i>	‘month twelve’	‘December’

4.7. Adverbs

Begak has a large closed class of unaffixable words with various usages that do not belong to any of the other word classes. This class includes adverbs of degree, of time, certainty, as well as words that modify verbs and can be analysed as either aspect markers or discourse markers or uninflectable auxiliaries. Adverbs cannot be used as predicates and cannot form the basis of derivation by means of affixation and or reduplication. This section does not treat words expressing manner, which modify other predicates, such as ‘quickly’, ‘in a difficult way’. These modifiers are expressed by adverbs in English, but by adjectives in Begak, a subclass of stative verbs. This section only presents real adverbs. A more elaborate description of the various types of adverbs and other modifiers is given in section 9.5.

A few adverbs of degree are listed in (108). An example of a sentence with an adverb of degree is given in (109).

- (108) *tun* 'very', 'really'
ganta 'very'
- (109) *Gajo tun kinnan bowon.*
gajo tun kinnan bowon
 big really COM.eat.UV sparrow
 'The sparrows have eaten very much.' [Notebook]

Some adverbs of time are given below. They usually occur at the beginning of the sentence or after the verb, as in (111).

- (110) *kəmmon* 'a while ago', 'just now'
mutap 'tomorrow'
gulo 'first'
- (111) *Muli' gulo aku.*
m-uli' gulo aku
 go.home first 1S.N
 'I'm going home now.'

Adverbs of certainty are given below:

- (112) *kambor* 'perhaps'
asar 'certainly'

These adverbs usually occur at the beginning of the sentence or sometimes at the end.

4.8. Aspectuals

The three aspectuals are listed below:

- (113) *da* 'sequence, progressive aspect'
sa' 'sequential aspect'
bay 'already'

The aspectuals *sa'*, *bay* and *da* are monosyllabic and always occur before the verb. The aspectuals *bay*, *da*, *sa'* all occur in the same slot in the sentence. They can occur in combinations of two aspectuals, but then too they occur in the same slot; therefore these three constitute a subgroup. Aspectuals are treated in 9.2. *Sa'* marks sequential or inceptive events. It 'anticipates' on the following event.

- (114) *Bay bpos kəmmi mangan, sa' sowot rumo bəgaus pait.*
bay bpos kəmmi mangan sa' -u-sawot rumo bəg-aus pait
 PRF after 1P.E.N AV.eat SQ -DEP-arrive 3S.N AV-bring fish
 'We had already finished eating, (when) he was just arriving to bring fish.'
 [Mi-Suk1 676]

Bay marks perfective aspect:

- (115) *Nong təmulak barong ssin bay beiyo.*
 nong -ə̃m-tulak (M) barong ssin bay -i-bayo
 AUX -DEP-draw.UV whoever money PRF -COM-pay.UV
 ‘Withdraw (from the total sum) the money already payed.’ [Conversation koko1 148]

Da marks sequential progressive aspect; it indicates that the event described by the verb has started and goes on, or that the story goes on to the next stage:

- (116) *Kemo da punong alud no kito da kagom.*
 kemo da p-unong alud ino kito da kagom
 if PR SF-finish boat yonder 1P.I.N/G PR sink
 ‘When this boat is finished, we will sink.’ (Context: Monkey is eating the boat made of sugar cane and Butterfly warns him not to eat the whole boat.)
 [Kalibambang bio Sengoyan 052]

4.9. Auxiliaries

The list below contains a heterogeneous group of auxiliaries. Auxiliaries occupy the slot that is usually occupied by verbs and can be combined with one of the three aspectuals described above. Yet, some auxiliaries have impoverished inflection while other items cannot be inflected at all. Except for their impoverished inflection and position in the sentence, they show no other formal traits characteristic of verbs. The items in (117) are semi-auxiliaries and the items in (118) uninflectable auxiliaries.

- | | | | | | |
|-------|-------------------|----------------------------------|-------|---------------|---------------------|
| (117) | <i>malu</i> | ‘want, about to, so that’ | (118) | <i>mil</i> | ‘ever’ |
| | <i>kalay</i> | ‘not want, so that not’ | | <i>sangan</i> | ‘in the process of’ |
| | <i>atow</i> | ‘know, be able, (not) happen to’ | | <i>bpos</i> | ‘finished, after’ |
| | <i>kəlap/alap</i> | ‘get, succeed in’ | | <i>buli</i> | ‘can’ |
| | | | | <i>səmbay</i> | ‘must’ |
| | | | | <i>sambir</i> | ‘must’ |

Mil means ‘ever’ and modifies negators or is preceded by other aspectuals such as *bay* ‘already’.

- (119) *Aku pon mil panow di’ KK.*
 aku apon mil panow di’ KK
 1S.N NEG.P ever go LOC Kota Kinabalu
 ‘I have never been to KK (Kota Kinabalu).’

- (120) *Pon buli mapuy bəgkas bagku gəniling.*
 pon buli m-apuy bəgkas bagku -ən-giling
 NEG.P can DEP-cook.UV husked.rice new -COM-grind.UV
 ‘Newly polished rice cannot be cooked. (The grains do not get soft.)’ [Notebook]¹¹

Auxiliaries will be treated in more detail in section 9.4.

4.10. Negators

Begak has five negators: (*a*)*pon* and (*n*)*inga*’ are sentence negators. It will be shown in section 9.3.1 that (*a*)*pon* and (*n*)*inga*’ differ only very subtly in meaning and function. In short, (*a*)*pon* is quite neutral and tends to be used for negating habits and for facts that are not unexpected; whereas (*n*)*inga*’ tends to be used as slightly contrastive negation or for sudden events or things one does not expect. The following example contains the sentence negator *ninga*’.

- (121) *Məngəbpot Duga’ ninga’ akay Tudow muli’.*
 məng-ə-bpot Duga’ ninga’ akay tudow m-uli’
 AV-wait.for.someone Duga’ NEG.I EXIST male.cameleon DEP-go.home
 ‘Duga’waited for (Mr. Cameleon), (but) there was no Cameleon coming home.’
 [Tudow 039]

Aro ‘don’t!’ is the most frequent negative imperative, while *batong* ‘don’t!’ is the archaic, less frequent negative imperative. *Pon ka*, also pronounced as *pəngka*, negates nominal phrases and is also used as contrastive negator. Negation is treated at length in section 9.3.

4.11. Discourse markers

The following list shows the discourse markers. Most discourse markers are monosyllabic. The following items mark text structure:

- (122) *koy* ‘focus’
key ‘focus’
kat ‘core development marker’
ton ‘new topic’

The particles in (123) are modal particles that reflect the attitude of the speaker:

¹¹ Rice that has just been polished and is still warm because of the electric mill somehow remains hard and does not get ‘cooked’ even after cooking it in the normal way. It must cool down first before it can be cooked.

- (123) *pa* 'emphasis'
la 'emphasis' (Malay)
kan 'isn't it?' (Malay)
ka 'contrast'
(kə)toka 'for example'

The following particles are additive particles:

- (124) *tu* 'too'
bəgko 'also'
(si)ja' 'merely' (Malay?)
sidtu 'merely'

The examples below illustrate a few important discourse markers. *Kat* marks events as foreground information in stories. It occurs in sentences that constitute the backbone of the story. *Ton* introduces new topics, or gives background information as in (125). *Koy* and *key* mark events that are relevant for the current moment in the conversation or story; they also mark imperatives, as in (126) and (127).

- (125) *Dadi, makkor kat Buad, panow, Buad ton liun.*
dadi m-akkor kat Buad panow Buad ton liun
so DEP-plan.UV CDM Buad go Buad TOP woman
'So Buad made the plan to go, Buad now was a woman.' [Berigas 007]

- (126) *Jadi maus kat rumo koy atay bəssing-bəgitom ino (..)*
jadi m-aus kat rumo koy atay bəssing-bəgitom ino
so DEP-bring.UV CDM 3S FOC liver squirrel-black yonder
'So he took the liver of the black squirrel (..)' [Bowon Bura'011]

- (127) *Jadi kito pəkəssu key suran.*
jadi kito pə-kəssu key suran
so I.P.I.N/G UV.CAU.DEP-soon FOC story
'So, let's speed up the story (because it is quite long.)' [Bowon Bura'012]

For a more elaborate description, see section 9.6.

4.12. Conjunctions

4.12.1. Conjunctions (also) used to link NPs

The following three conjunctions can link not only clauses but also NPs:

- (128) *bio* 'and'
atow 'or' from Malay *atau*
gam 'or'

The conjunction marker *bio* can coordinate NPs, as in example (129) or clauses, as

in (130).

- (129) *Sərutan bio Pəngian da gəduḡor.*
 Sərutan bio Pəngian da gə-duḡor
 Sultan and sultan's.wife PR AV-worry
 'The Sultan and the Sultan's Wife became worried.' [Bowon Bura'061]
- (130) *Pakay betəri, kulos no, karan, bio gubor.*
 pakay betəri kulos ino karan bio gubor
 use battery animal yonder electricity and noisy
 'It uses batteries, this thing (lit. animal), electricity, and it is noisy.' (Context: talking about an electronic massage instrument). [Conversationdogs 182]

Two coordinated NPs do not have to be adjacent: the following example shows how the first NP *aku* is separated from the second NP *Neneng*:

- (131) *Dtow ano aku gəlisang bio Neneng*
 dtow ano aku gə-lisang bio Neneng
 day that 1S.N AV-play and Neneng
 'Today (lit. that day) I am playing with Neneng.' [Mi-Suk1 019]

In long lists, *bio* 'and' only occurs before the last item:

- (132) *Putti, ssom, lujan bio lassot.*
 putti ssom lujan bio lassot
 banana citrus.fruit durian and langsung
 'Bananas, citrus fruits, *durians* and *langsats*.'

Gam 'or' coordinates two NPs and occurs after both NPs it coordinates. Its syntax is: NP *gam* NP *gam*, and occurs after every item except for the last one, even in long lists, as in the following example.¹²

- (133) *Putti gam, ssom gam, lujan gam, bio lassot.*
 putti gam ssom gam lujan gam bio lassot
 banana or citrus.fruit or durian or and langsung
 'Bananas or citrus fruits or *durians* or *langsats*.'

4.12.2. Coordinating conjunctions

The following conjunctions coordinate clauses (not NPs):

¹² It can also be a dubitative marker, or question marker, a kind of discourse marker meaning.

- (134) **conjunctions** **gloss**
suga' 'but'
ngod (ka) 'because'
minsán 'although'
səbɔb 'because from Malay *sebab*
pasol 'because' from Malay *pasal*
supayo 'so that' from Malay *supaya*

The following example illustrates the use of coordinating conjunctions *ngod* 'because' and *suga'* 'but'.

- (135) *Jadi aku səlalu məngata' di' rinding di,*
jadi aku səlalu məng-ata' di' rinding adi
 so 1S.N always (M) AV-look LOC wall over.there
 'So I always look at the wall to look at the clock.' [Mi-Suk4 038]

ngod bay raman aku məngata' jam no,
ngod bay raman aku məng-ata' jam ino
 because PRF used.to 1S.N AV-look watch yonder

suga' pon akay ləbpo jam no.
suga' apon akay ləbpo jam ino
 but NEG.P EXIST more hour yonder
 'because I am used to looking at the clock, but the clock is not there anymore.'
 [Mi-Suk4 039]

4.12.3. Subordinating conjunctions

The following subordinating conjunctions introduce a subordinate clause of time and/or condition:

- (136) *pog* 'when, after'
sob 'at the moment that..'
kəmo 'if, when'
kidon 'when (future)'
bilo 'when (from Malay *bila*)'

Sentence (137) illustrates a temporal subordinate with *pog* 'when':

- (137) *Pog pata' rumo nong təbpang, nnong asu*
pog p-ata' rumo nong təbpang nnong asu
 when SF-look.UV 3S OBL well here dog

kuling-kuling turug allom təbpang no.
kuling-kuling turug allom təbpang ino
 rolled.up-RED sleep inside well yonder
 'After he looked in the well, here was a dog rolled up sleeping in the well.'
 [Payow Mas 009]

Sentence (138) illustrates the use of the conditional/temporal conjunction *kəmo* ‘if’ :

- (138) *Jadi kəmo da tegay kito, nong kito*
 jadi kəmo da -i-tagay kito nong kito
 so if PR -COM-salt.UV 1P.I.N/G AUX 1P.I.N/G
- togbas ssi bakas ino.*
 -u-tagbas ssi bakas ino
 -DEP-drain.UV content wild.pig yonder
 ‘So when we have salted (the wild pig meat) we have to drain it.’ [Timba’003]

More information about conjunctions can be found in section 10.5.

4.13. Summary

In this chapter the distinctive properties are three major word classes, dynamic verbs, stative verbs and nouns, have been described. The distinction between dynamic verbs and stative verbs was shown with morphological and syntactic criteria. It has been argued that Begak distinguishes adjectives from stative verbs, but that they form a subclass of stative verbs.

It was shown that Begak has only two prepositions that can be combined with a larger number of locative nouns. An overview was given of various types of quantifiers. Several types of adverbs, auxiliaries, negators and discourse particles were introduced. Coordinating and subordinating conjunctions were briefly mentioned and illustrated.

5. Syntactic categories and the basic clause

5.1. Introduction

Clauses consist of a predicate and one or more arguments. Begak distinguishes verbal predicates, existential predicates and other non-verbal predicates such as nominal predicates and location predicates. There is also a type of clauses which consist of a predicate without arguments. Clauses with a verbal predicate follow the typical West Austronesian (see Himmelmann in press) pattern in exhibiting a voice system on the verbs. In section 5.2., the notions ‘subject’, ‘arguments’ and ‘oblique’ and ‘voice system’ will be defined. Section 5.3. will treat the verbal clause with its voice system, word order and case marking of pronouns. This section will also show some subject tests. Section 5.4. will describe subjectless predicates. Section 5.5. will treat existential predicates; section 5.6. will discuss other non-verbal predicates such as nominal, numeral and locational predicates. Section 5.7. will briefly discuss open and closed questions; section 5.8. will introduce imperatives and section 5.9. will offer a summary.

5.2. Definitions

In this section, definitions will be given of the notions ‘subject’, ‘object’, ‘term’ and ‘oblique argument’, ‘adjunct’ and ‘voice system’. These definitions are necessary for the description of the basic clause in Begak. The definitions will be illustrated with relevant examples. In the subsection about the voice system, the Begak voice system will be compared to other Austronesian voice systems as well as to ergative systems and Indo-European voice systems.

5.2.1. Subject and object

Examples (1) and (2) illustrate transitive verbs. Example (1) is an Actor Voice verb and (2) an Undergoer Voice verb. The voice marking on the verb (in combination with the word order) indicates which argument is the subject. The subject of an Actor Voice verb is the actor and the subject of the Undergoer Voice verb is the undergoer. The terms actor and undergoer (Foley & Van Valin 1984) will be used as macroroles when it is not necessary to specify the exact semantic role.

- (1) *Pius da gədagang pait di' kadday.*
Pius da gə-dagang pait di' kadday
Pius PR AV-buy fish LOC shop
'Pius is just about to buy fish in the shop.'

- (2) *Bay degang Pius pait di' kadday.*
 bay -i-dagang Pius pait di' kadday
 PRF -COM-buy.UV Pius fish LOC shop
 'Pius has already bought fish in the shop.'

Examples (3) and (4) illustrate intransitive verbs. The sole argument of an intransitive verb is always the subject. The inflection of intransitive verbs depends to some extent on its semantic role. Agentive verbs appear in the Actor Voice prefix as in (3), whereas patientive verbs appear, for instance, with Non-volitive morphology, as in (4).

- (3) *Elvin gəlunguy di' llung.*
 Elvin gə-lunguy di' llung
 Elvin AV-swim LOC river
 'Elvin is swimming in the river.'
- (4) *Elvin aratu' nong allom llung.*
 Elvin a-ratu' nong allom llung
 Elvin NV-fall OBL inside river
 'Elvin fell into the river.'

Evidence for subjecthood is given in the section below. The object is the argument of a transitive verb that is not the subject; for instance the object of (1) is *pait* 'fish'. The actor NP *Pius* in (2) is not the subject but is not an adjunct either, because it is not a prepositional phrase or an adverb. Actor NPs of UV-verbs will be referred to as agent-non-subject or actor-non-subject because they are not adjuncts but cannot be proven to be objects. Object tests have not been found. If a verb has three arguments, the third argument will be referred to as indirect object or oblique argument. The distinction between direct objects and indirect objects or oblique arguments is treated in section 5.2.3.

5.2.2. Subject tests

There are three constructions in Begak in which the notion 'subject' plays a central role. Only the subject can (i) be gapped in relative clauses, (ii) appear in the pre-verbal position and (iii) be raised to the subject position of certain stative verbs or adjectives. It will be assumed here that the crucial element in these constructions is the subject of the clause. Examples with subjects in pre-verbal position can be found throughout the book and will not be discussed any further here.

5.2.2.1. Relative clauses

Relative clauses in Begak are post-nominal and are formed by a gapping strategy, without a relative pronoun or another relative marker. Relative clauses of arguments are only grammatical if the head noun is the subject of the relative clause. If the head noun is the actor of the relative clause, the verb of the relative clause appears in the Actor Voice; and if the head noun is the undergoer of the relative clause, the verb of the relative clause appears in the Undergoer Voice. In example (5), the antecedent *Pud* is the actor of the relative clause; therefore the verb *məngərəra* ‘look after’ appears in the Actor Voice.

- (5) *Ino rumo kiron suran ku nong iro*
 ino rumo kiron suran ku nong iro
 yonder 3S up.to story 1S.G OBL COL
- gino Pud [məngərəra’ ulang.]*
 gino Pud məngə-rera’ ulang
 wife.and.children Pud AV-look.after snake
 ‘Until so far my story about Pud and her child who looked after (held as a pet) a snake.’ [Pud 084]

The gap in the relative clause can only be the subject of the clause. The gap in (6), for example, cannot refer to the undergoer, i.e. the object of the relative clause, because the verb *məngukul* ‘beat’ is in the Actor Voice. The only possible interpretation with an AV-verb is that the gap refers to the actor of the clause.

- (6) *Pon pandu’ ku ulun [məngukul Ali].*
 apon p-andu’ ku ulun məng-ukul Ali
 NEG.P SF-know.UV 1S.G person AV-beat Ali
 good for: ‘I do not know the person who beat Ali.’
 not good for: ‘I do not know the person whom Ali beat.’

The gap in (7) is the undergoer of the relative clause; therefore the verb *degang* ‘bought’ appears in the UV. If the verb appeared in the AV, (*gədegang* ‘bought’) the gap would be understood as actor of the relative clause, which is semantically odd.

- (7) *Minum, nan, ano kuy [degang ama’ ku digabpi].*
 m-inum minan ano kuy -i-dagang ama’ ku digabpi
 DEP-drink.UV aunt that cake -COM-buy.UV father 1S.G yesterday
 ‘Drink, aunty! This is some cake that my father bought yesterday.’ [Conversationharvest 061]

Similarly, the gap in (8a) refers to the undergoer of the relative clause; therefore the verb *titu* ‘pound’ in (8a) appears in the UV. If this verb is in the AV, as in (8b), the gap refers to the actor, which is semantically odd.

- (8) a. *Aləpis* *paray* [*titu* *kito* *ne*].
 a-ləpis paray -i-tutu kito ne
 NV-flatten.UV rice.plant -COM-pound.UV 1P.I.N/G this
 ‘The rice that we have just pounded has become flat.’ [seillag 010]
- b. **Aləpis* *paray* [*mənutu* *kito* *ne*].
 a-ləpis paray məng-tutu kito ne
 NV-flatten.UV rice.plant AV-pound 1P.I.N/G this
 * ‘The rice that is pounding us has become flat.’
 Or if there is a pause between *paray* and *məng-tutu*: ‘The rice is flat, (let’s start) pounding.’

For a more elaborate description of relative clauses, see section 10.4.

5.2.2.2. Subject-to-subject raising

The adjectives *sannang* ‘easy’, *tuso* ‘difficult’ and *arod* ‘difficult’ and a few others may occur in a ‘raising’ construction, comparable to the English raising predicate ‘seem’. The adjectives mentioned can occur in two different word orders. In the word order without raising, the adjective occurs before the complement clause, but in the raised variant, the subject of the complement clause ‘raises to’ (or in neutral terms appears in) the subject position of the adjective. The element that ‘raises to’ the subject position of the matrix adjective must be the actor of an AV-verb or the undergoer of an UV-verb. Although the ‘raising’ construction is far more frequent for UV-Dependent verbs than for AV-verbs, the construction is grammatical for both UV and AV verbs. Sentences (9a) and (9b) illustrate the word order without ‘raising’ for AV-verbs. The subject *aku* ‘I’ in (9a) and *ikow* ‘you’ in (9b) appear in the preverbal subject position of the complement verbs *gərait* ‘pronounce’ and *mənilung* ‘put on’ respectively. Sentence (9c) illustrates the ‘raising’ construction for an AV-verb. The subject of the complement clause *aku* ‘I’ appears in the preverbal subject position of the matrix verb, the adjective *tuso* ‘difficult’.

- (9) a. *Tuso* [*aku* *gərait* *bəttal* *no*].
 tuso aku gə-rait bəttal ino
 difficult 1S.N AV-pronounce word yonder
 ‘It is difficult for me to pronounce this word.’ [Mi-Suk3B 010]
- b. *Tuso* [*ikow* *mənilung* *tərumpa*] *ngod* *akay*
 tuso ikow məng-silung tərumpa’ ngod akay
 difficult 2S.N AV-put.on shoes because EXIST

pədtos kasu' mo ne.
 pədtos kasu' mo ne
 ill foot 2S.G this

'It is difficult for you to put your shoes on because your feet hurt.' [Mi-Suk3A 276]

- c. *Aku tuso [_ məngallan kimci].*
 aku tuso məng-allan kimci
 1S.N difficult AV-make kimci
 'It is difficult for me to make *kimci*.' [Mi-Suk2 222]

Sentence (10a) illustrates the word order without 'raising' for an UV-Dependent verb. The UV-Dependent is a reduced inflectional form that needs an adverb or, in this case, an auxiliary *nong* to be licensed. The undergoer-subject *kulit rumo ne* 'its skin' appears after the complement verb *lossi* 'peel'. Sentences (10b) and (10c) are examples of the 'raising' construction. The undergoer-subject *gongan* 'baby prawn' in (10b) and *bəttal no* 'this word' in (10c) respectively appear in the pre-verbal subject position of their matrix predicate. The actor is often omitted in predicates with *sannang* 'easy', *tuso* 'difficult' and *arod* 'difficult' if the complement verb is in the UV-Dependent, whether the subject is 'raised' or not, as is shown in (10a) and (10b), but (10c) shows that it can be present.

- (10) a. *(..) arod [nong lossi kulit rumo ne].*
 a-rod nong -u-lassi kulit rumo ne
 NV-difficult AUX -DEP-peel.UV skin 3S this
 '(..) it is difficult to peel its skin off (Context: eating river prawn).' [Mi-Suk2 109]

- (11) b. *Gongan no tuso [nong mapuy _].*
 gongan ino tuso nong m-apuy
 baby.prawn yonder difficult AUX DEP-cook.UV
 'These baby prawns are difficult to cook.' [Mi-Suk2 111]

- c. *Bəttal no tuso [nong ku roit _].*
 bəttal ino tuso nong ku -u-rai
 word yonder difficult AUX 1S.G -DEP-pronounce.UV
 'This word is difficult for me to pronounce.' [Mi-Suk3B 009]

Other subject-tests have not been found yet. Control is not based on the notion of subject but actor (see section 10.2.3.). In some languages, quantifier floating and deletion under co-ordination is sensitive to the notion of subject, but Begak does not allow quantifier floating and subject obviation in coordinated sentences works on common sense rather than the notion of subject. Another possible subject test is reflexivisation, but this phenomenon is very rare in Begak, and as far as it exists, it is based on semantic roles and word order (see section 8.3.2.9.).

5.2.3. Terms, oblique arguments and adjuncts

Arguments are nominals to which the predicate assigns semantic roles. Several theories distinguish terms (core arguments) from oblique arguments, although the terminology used may vary. Functional Grammar (Dik 1978) calls them nuclear arguments and satellites respectively; Tagmemic theory (Pike & Pike 1982) distinguishes nucleus and margin.

Core-arguments (terms) are the subject and the object of a transitive verb. The characteristic of the subject is that its semantic role is marked on the verb by voice marking and that it can occur in pre-verbal position. The other core-argument (term), the object, can be promoted to subject by changing the voice marking on the verb. For example, the direct object of (1), *pait* ‘fish’, is the subject of (2).

A small number of underived verbs in Begak have three arguments: subject, object and indirect object, the indirect object being the addressee of verbs of saying or the recipient of verbs of giving. Derived verbs, such as causatives or petitives derived from a transitive verbal root can also have three arguments, the causee being expressed as an oblique argument. Oblique arguments, such as the indirect object of a verb of giving or saying, cannot be promoted to subject by changing the voice marking. Oblique arguments tend to be expressed by a prepositional phrase with the oblique preposition *nong*, as in (12).

- (12) *Suga’ bano ku mǝngǝgkay tullang bakas nong asu.*
 suga’ bano ku mǝng-ǝ-gkay tullang bakas nong asu
 but husband 1S.G AV-give bone wild.pig OBL dog
 ‘But my husband gave one pig bone to the dog(s).’ [Mi-Suk2 240]

Adjuncts are elements to which the predicate assigns no semantic role. Adjuncts are always expressed by prepositional phrases or adverbials. The prepositional phrase *di’ kadday* ‘in the shop’ in (1) and (2) and *di’ llung* ‘in the river’ in (3) are adjuncts.

The term ‘oblique’ is confusing in Begak because the oblique preposition *nong* can be used for adjuncts (for example *nong balay* ‘at home’), oblique arguments (for example the indirect object *nong asu* ‘to the dog(s)’ in (12) as well as for undergoers of AV-verbs referring to human beings (direct objects), which are terms (see section 5.3.4.). Therefore, the cross-linguistic tendency that terms are often expressed by NPs and that adjuncts and oblique arguments by oblique NPs or PPs does not hold in all cases for Begak. In fact, it has been argued for Philippine-type languages in general that case marking does not directly reflect the distinction between terms, oblique arguments and adjuncts (Himmelman in press; Ross 2002:30).

A syntactic criterion to distinguish between terms, oblique arguments and adjuncts in Begak is the following: terms can be freely promoted to subject by changing the verb morphology, whereas oblique arguments cannot become the subject of the

clause (see Foley and Van Valin 1984:80). Only subjects can appear in pre-verbal position in Begak, therefore the best way to test the subjecthood of an NP is to put it in pre-verbal position. The subject of (13a) is the actor, *Nasrun*, because the verb is marked for Actor Voice. Sentence (13b) illustrates how the undergoer of the clause, *buk* ‘book’, a term, can become the subject of the clause with an UV-verb.¹ However, (13c) shows that the recipient *Rudi* is not a term and cannot be promoted to subject.

- (13) a. *Nasrun mængəgkay buk nong Rudi.*
 Nasrun mæng-ə-gkay buk nong Rudi
 Nasrun AV-give book OBL Rudi
 ‘Nasrun gives a book to Rudi.’
- b. *Buk no bay bigkay Nasrun nong Rudi.*
 buk ino bay -i-bəgkay Nasrun nong Rudi
 book yonder PRF -COM-give.UV Nasrun OBL Rudi
 ‘This book has been given to Rudi by Nasrun.’
- c. **Rudi bay bigkay Nasrun buk no.*
 Rudi bay -i-bəgkay Nasrun buk ino
 Rudi PRF -COM-give.UV Nasrun book yonder
 ‘*This book has been given to Rudi by Nasrun.’

There is evidence for the termhood of actor-non-subjects of sentences with an UV-verb. First of all, they are ordinary NPs without oblique preposition. Secondly, they can be promoted to subject by changing the voice morphology. Thirdly, they can be the controller in control sentences. Bresnan (1982) argues that in English, actors of passive

¹ Undergoer-subjects need not occur in pre-verbal position. Actually, the verb-initial word order is more natural for UV-verbs; therefore both (13b) and (13c) are slightly unnatural. Nevertheless, the word order is not the only cause of the ungrammatical status of (13c). Compare the following two sentences:

- (i) a. *Bay bigkay Nasrun buk no nong Rudi.*
 bay -i-bəgkay Nasrun buk ino nong Rudi
 PRF -COM-give.UV Nasrun book yonder OBL Rudi
 ‘This book has been given to Rudi by Nasrun.’
- b. **Bay bigkay Nasrun Rudi buk.*
 bay -i-bəgkay Nasrun Rudi buk
 PRF -COM-give.UV Nasrun Rudi book
 ‘This book has been given to Rudi by Nasrun.’

In the (a) variant, the undergoer *buk no* ‘the book’ is the subject of the clause; the oblique argument *nong Rudi* has an oblique preposition. The (b) variant is ungrammatical because *Rudi* lacks a preposition and appears in the wrong slot.

sentences cannot control the gap of a control sentence because they are oblique arguments instead of core arguments: ‘*To go there was tried by me’ is ungrammatical. In Begak, however, the actor-non-subject of an UV-verb can control the gap of a control sentence, as (14) shows. The genitive pronoun *ku* is the actor-non-subject and controls the gap of the complement clause.

- (14) *Digabpi bay təninam ku mənannan kudor no bagku.*
 digabpi bay -ən-tinam ku məng-tannan kudor ino bagku
 yesterday PRF -COM-try.UV 1S.G AV-install mouse.trap yonder new
 ‘Yesterday I tried to install the mousetrap again.’

This could be an indication that act-non-subjects of UV-verbs are terms instead of oblique arguments or adjuncts.

5.2.4. Voice

Voice in Begak determines the syntactic functions and semantic roles of the arguments of the verb. Begak has two voices: Actor Voice and Undergoer Voice. Voice affixes on the verb indicate the semantic role of the subject: in the Actor Voice the actor is the subject and in the Undergoer Voice the undergoer is the subject. Begak is different from other Philippine type languages in that only pronouns and oblique NPs are marked for case, while argument NPs are unmarked for case.

The term voice is often associated with ‘passive’ in Indo-European languages. The voice system in Begak and many other West Austronesian languages differs from the classical ‘passive’ in several respects, see also Schachter (1976), Kroeger (1993) for Tagalog, Bell (1976, 1983) for Cebuano, Artawa and Blake (1997) and Arka (1998) for Balinese. First: in the classical ‘passive’ the verb becomes intransitive, as the undergoer is promoted to subject and the actor can only appear as oblique argument or as adjunct, whereas in West Austronesian voice systems the actor does not appear as an oblique NP or adjunct, but is still a core-argument, i.e. a term. In West Austronesian languages, verbs in the Undergoer Voice are still transitive; the actor is still a term. All that has taken place is a realignment of syntactic functions and semantic roles of the verb.

Secondly: in most languages that have a classical passive, the active form is the morphologically simple and unmarked one whereas the passive form is morphologically more complex and marked. In West Austronesian languages such as Begak on the other hand, neither of the voices is morphologically more complex than the other and sometimes the Undergoer Voice is even the basic form.

Thirdly: the classical passive form is usually less frequent than the active form in narratives. Givón (1979:59) for example counted only 4% to 7% passives in his corpus of English sentences. Shibatani (1988) looked at transitive clauses only and found an average of 18% passive and 82% of active verbs, but notes that the amount of

passives increases in scientific texts and newspapers. See also Keenan (2001) for English, German and Dutch as compared to Malagasy. In West Austronesian languages, however, the Undergoer Voice is usually just as frequent or even more frequent than the Actor Voice. Cooreman, Fox and Givón (1984:17) counted 18.2% clauses with actor as subject against 81.8% non-actor as subject in their corpus of Tagalog transitive clauses with basic word order. Shibatani (1988) looked at transitive clauses in Cebuano narratives and counted 52% Actor Focus clauses (my Actor Voice), 46% of what he calls Goal Focus clauses (my Undergoer Voice) and 2% Directional Focus. Voice in West Austronesian languages is thus different from the classical passive in other languages in that the non-active form(s) are/is more frequently used in texts.

Various terms have been used over the past fifty years to describe the voice system in West Austronesian languages. Foley and van Valin (1984) and Schachter (1976) have preferred the term 'topic' over the term 'subject', and 'focus' over 'voice' in order to distinguish it from passive in other languages. Ross (2002) refers to voice systems where both Actor Voice and Undergoer Voice(s) are transitive as 'symmetrical voice', while Kroeger (2004) uses the term 'non-demoting voice'. I will follow Ross (2002) and Kroeger (2004) in using the terms 'voice' instead of 'focus' or 'topic', because the notions 'focus' and 'topic' are generally used as pragmatic notions. To use these terms for what is actually a (syntactic) voice phenomenon would create confusion. I will use the term Undergoer Voice instead of 'passive voice' and 'Actor Voice' for 'active voice'.

Some West Austronesian languages show a preference for Actor Voice constructions and use morphologically more complex forms in the Actor Voice constructions than in the Undergoer Voice construction. This led Gerds (1988) and Payne (1982) to analyse Ilokano and Tagalog respectively as being ergative. They consider the morphologically more simple form to be the basic form and the morphologically more complex form to be the derived form. As the AV-form is more complex and less frequent, it should be considered the derived form, the antipassive, in their argumentation. Although the Begak AV form is morphologically slightly more complex than the UV, a nominative-accusative analysis works slightly better for Begak, although an ergative analysis is perhaps not impossible. If the pronominal undergoer of a transitive UV-verb appears in pre-verbal position, it has the same case as the subject of an intransitive verb (nominative). However, if the undergoer of an UV-verb appears in post-verbal position, it has the same case as an undergoer of an AV-verb (accusative), see section 5.3.2. Actor-non-subjects of UV-verbs appear in the genitive. Although this is a strange pattern for a nominative-accusative language, it is perhaps slightly more difficult to account for in an ergative analysis. Another characteristic of typical ergative languages is that in antipassive constructions the actor forms the subject and the undergoer appears as an oblique argument or adjunct. The undergoer is often indefinite. If the Begak AV is analysed as an antipassive, it is difficult to explain why the undergoer of AV-verbs are sometimes but not always oblique, and why the undergoer of AV-verbs may be definite and need not be non-specific or indefinite.

Furthermore, antipassive sentences in ergative languages are less frequent than ergative sentences: Kalmár (1979:121) reports that in his corpus of natural Eskimo tests, only 4.9% of all transitive clauses were antipassive; Tsunoda (1988) found 11% of antipassive clauses in his corpus. Although the Undergoer Voice in Begak is more frequent than the Actor Voice, the percentages appeared to be different from the above languages in a statistic count. Three texts of different genres were selected and all transitive verbs were counted in both main clauses and subordinate clauses. One narrative text of about 4500 words contained about one third Actor Voice verb forms against two third of Undergoer Voice forms. The percentages were similar for a procedural text of the same size, but a conversation of a similar size contained more Actor Voice verbs: the ratio between AV and UV is about 50/50. (See chapter 11 for the exact percentages and a more detailed discussion of the interpretation of the facts). The percentage of one third to half of all the verbs is too high for a real antipassive construction.

As for Begak intransitive verbs, they take Actor Voice morphology if their sole argument is an actor and Undergoer Voice morphology if their only argument is an undergoer. Examples of intransitive agentive verbs taking an Actor Voice prefix *gə-* or *bəg-* are *gə-lindut* 'run', *gə-lunguy* 'swim', *bəg-alud* 'travel by boat', *gə-laug* 'jump'. Examples of intransitive verbs with a undergoer as their sole argument are verbs such as *tugban* 'collaps', *ratu* 'to fall'. These verbs are unaffixed as the Undergoer Voice is characterised by the absence of class prefixes. (See section 6.7. for a description of the inflection of intransitive verbs.)

These facts can be interpreted as morphological evidence for split-intransitivity ('split-S' or 'active' system). Drossard (1985) for example characterises Philippine languages as active type languages because intransitive verbs take on different voice markers depending on their semantic role. Donohue (1996) describes the Wanci variety of Bajau as a split-S type language on the basis of similar data. Yet, as Shibatani (1988) argues, Philippine languages cannot be characterised entirely as split-S/active type languages, because of their elaborate voice system. Most active type languages do not have voice systems at all. However, there are linguists who have extended Dixon's definition of active/split-S systems to cover Austronesian languages with a voice system. Arka (1998), for example, characterizes Balinese as an active/split-S language despite its voice system. Himmelmann (2004: 114-116) argues that the term 'split-S' should be reserved for languages where intransitive verbs occur in two (or more) structurally different basic clause types, not just for languages where intransitive verbs take different morphology depending on their semantic role. In Begak, the difference between the two types of intransitive verbs is purely morphological; therefore the language is not 'active' or split-S.

5.3. Verbal clauses

In this section, the syntax of basic verbal clauses will be described. Section 5.3.1. briefly introduces the relation between voice marking and the word order. Section 5.3.2. explains how in Begak the word order influences pronominal case marking. Section 5.3.3. describes the case marking of pronouns in special constructions and how the case marking of pronouns depends not only on the word order, but also on the pragmatic function of the arguments and on deixis. Section 5.3.4. focusses on the oblique case marking of specific or human direct objects. Section 5.3.5. briefly comments on the word order of adjuncts and section 5.3.6. concludes the section on verbal clauses.

5.3.1. Word order and voice system

Compared to other languages of Sabah, Begak has a reduced voice system in displaying only two voices: Actor Voice and Undergoer Voice. The subject of the Actor Voice is the actor and the subject of the Undergoer Voice is the undergoer. All dynamic verbs, i.e. non-stative verbs, must be affixed with voice, aspect and mood affixes that indicate the semantic role of the subject. As was mentioned in section 5.2.2., the notion of subject is needed to describe the grammatical relation of the element that occurs in pre-verbal position, that constitutes the gap of a relative clause, and can 'raise' to the subject position of certain predicates. This is the argument indicated by the voice marking.

In most Philippine type languages, pronouns appear in the appropriate case, while full NPs are marked by the appropriate case particles, for example *ang, ng* and *sa* as in Tagalog. It is the verbal morphology that determines the semantic roles of the arguments; the word order is rather free. In Begak however, it is not so much the verbal morphology alone that determines the semantic roles of the arguments of the verb, but rather the rigid word order and the case marking of the pronouns. In other words, voice is still marked by the morphology, but is not absolutely necessary for understanding the semantic roles of the arguments of the verb; syntax has taken over that function to a great extent.

Begak has two word orders. (i) The verb-initial word order is semantically based and is Verb-Actor-Undergoer, irrespective of the voice marking of the verb. (ii) The subject-initial or verb-medial word order is syntactically based and is Subject-Verb-Object, irrespective of voice marking of the verb. The terms 'verb-initial word order' and 'subject-initial word order' will be used to describe the relative position of the verb with respect to its arguments, ignoring other elements. Sometimes, if adverbs, particles or other adjuncts appear before the verb or before the subject, the verb or subject is strictly speaking not in initial position anymore, but it is still in front of the other basic elements of the clause.

Two word orders and two voices (AV and UV) result in four types of clauses. The following sentences illustrate the four different clause types. Sentence (15a)

illustrates the subject-initial word order with an AV-verb, (15b) illustrates the same sentence in the verb-initial word order. Sentence (16a) is a subject-initial clause with an UV-verb and (16b) is the same sentence in the verb-initial order.

- (15) a. *Pius (da) gədagang pait di' Dəngon.* (Subject - Verb - Object)
 Pius da gə-dagang pait di' Dəngon
 Pius PR AV-buy fish LOC Dəngon
 'Pius is buying fish in Dəngan.'²
- b. *(Da) gədagang Pius pait di' Dəngon* (Verb - Actor- Undergoer)
 da gə-dagang Pius pait di' Dəngon
 PR AV-buy Pius fish LOC Dəngon
 '(..) Pius is buying fish in Dəngan, (..)'³
- (16) a. *Pait ino degang Pius di' Dəngon* (Subject - Verb - Object)
 pait ino -i-dagang Pius di' Dəngon
 fish yonder -COM-buy UV Pius LOC Dəngan
 'This fish was bought by Pius in Dəngan.'
- b. *(Bay) degang Pius pait di' Dəngon* (Verb - Actor - Undergoer)
 bay -i-dagang Pius pait di' Dəngon
 PRF -COM-buy.UV Pius fish LOC Dəngan
 'Pius has already bought fish in Dəngan.'

The above examples show that the word order is extremely important for disambiguating between actors and undergoers on the one hand and subjects and objects on the other. Voice marking also plays a role, but the rigid word order determines how a clause must be interpreted. In examples (15a) and (16a) (with subject-initial word order), the argument in pre-verbal position is the subject. The voice marking on the verb determines that this pre-verbal NP, the subject, must be interpreted as the actor in (15a), but as the undergoer in (16a). In examples (15b), and (16b) (with verb-initial word order) the first

² The subject-initial word order is the usual word order for sentences with an AV-verb. It is the word order that is also used as an opening sentence of a story or conversation. The verb-initial word order is grammatical too for sentences with an AV-verb, but this word order indicates that the meaning of the sentence depends strongly on its context and tends to be used in the middle of a story or conversation when the context of the sentence is already known. The verb-initial word order with AV-verb is ungrammatical as an opening sentence of a story or conversation, because the context is yet unknown in an opening sentence. It is already more grammatical if it is followed by another sentence explaining why Pius went buying fish. The verb-initial word order is the usual word order for UV-verbs. This word order is almost always grammatical for clauses with an UV-verb and does not demand a context. The subject-initial word order is pragmatically marked. See chapter 11 for an elaborate description of the pragmatics associated with each word order.

³ The aspectuals in the (b) variants of (15) and (16) only make the elicited sentences sound better in isolation, but the sentence is not agrammatical without them.

argument after the verb is interpreted as the actor and the second argument that follows the verb is interpreted as the undergoer, irrespective of the voice marking on the verb.

5.3.2. Word order and the case of pronouns

Unlike NPs in most other languages of Sabah, full NPs do not bear case markers in Begak; only pronouns can appear in different cases, depending not only on the voice marking of the verb, but also depending on the word order. Scheme 1 shows all four combinations of voice marking and word order. The figure shows the four slots that determine the Begak word order. The left-most slot is the pre-verbal position, followed by the verb-slot. The slot after the verb can be occupied by the actor and the right-most slot is reserved for the undergoer. The first row shows the case marking of pronouns in the verb-initial word order if the verb is in the AV; the second row shows the case marking of pronouns in the subject-initial word order if the verb is in the UV; the third row schematises a clause with an UV-verb in the verb-initial word order and the fourth row in the subject-initial word order.

Scheme 1 Word order and case marking of pronouns

pre-verbal slot	verbal slot	Actor slot	Undergoer slot
	AV-verb	Actor: Nom	Undergoer: Acc/Obl
Actor: Nom	AV-verb		Undergoer: Acc/Obl
	UV-verb	Actor: Gen	Undergoer: Acc
Undergoer: Nom	UV-verb	Actor Gen	

The list of personal pronouns from section 4.5.1. is repeated below as (17).

(17) Person and number	Nominative	Genitive	Accusative	Oblique
1S	<i>aku</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>nakon</i>	<i>nong nakon</i>
2S	<i>ikow</i>	<i>mo</i>	<i>niun</i>	<i>nong niun</i>
3S	<i>rumo</i>	<i>rumo</i>	<i>rumo</i>	<i>nong rumo</i>
1P inclusive	<i>kito</i>	<i>kito</i>	<i>naton</i>	<i>nong naton</i>
1P exclusive	<i>kəmmi</i>	<i>kəmmi</i>	<i>namon</i>	<i>nong namon</i>
2P	<i>muyu</i>	<i>muyu</i>	<i>muyun</i>	<i>nong muyun</i>
3P	<i>(m)iro</i>	<i>(m)iro</i>	<i>(m)iro</i>	<i>nong (m)iro</i>

Four different cases can be distinguished. The nominative case is used for subjects: for actors in the Actor Voice and for undergoers in the Undergoer Voice. The genitive marks the actor in the Undergoer Voice and can also mark the possessor in possessive NPs. The accusative case indicates the post-verbal undergoer in all voices while the oblique case is used for all obliques. As can be seen from the table, only the first and second person singular display a full distinction in all four cases. Third person singular and plural forms are identical in all three cases. The first and second person plural only distinguish the accusative (and oblique) case from the other cases, but do not

distinguish the nominative from the genitive. The oblique forms of the pronouns are composed of the oblique preposition *nong* and the accusative forms of the pronouns.

The following sentences are elicited sentences that illustrate word order, voice- and case marking. Sentence (18a) illustrates the syntactically based, subject-initial word order with a verb in the Actor Voice; sentence (18b) is the same sentence but in the semantically based, verb-initial word order. The actor of (18a) and (18b) is the pronoun *aku* 'I', which appears in the nominative, because it is the subject of the clause, indicated by the voice marking on the verb. The undergoer of this clause, *kkan* 'cooked rice' is a full NP and is therefore not case-marked.

- (18) a. *Aku gə̀ləppot kkan.*
 aku gə̀-ləppot kkan
 1S.N AV-wrap cooked.rice
 'I am wrapping cooked rice.'
- b. *(..) gə̀ləppot aku kkan, (..)*
 gə̀-ləppot aku kkan
 AV-wrap 1S.N cooked.rice
 'I am wrapping cooked rice.'⁴

The actor of (19) is a full NP and is not case marked. The undergoer of this sentence, (*nong*) *niun* 'you' is the object of the sentence and appears either in the accusative or in the oblique without any significant difference in meaning.

- (19) a. *Lina bə̀garab (nong) niun.*
 Lina bə̀g-arab (nong) niun
 Lina AV-look.for (OBL) 2S.A
 'Lina is looking for you (Acc/Obl).'
- b. *(..) bə̀garab Lina (nong) niun (..)*
 bə̀g-arab Lina (nong) niun
 AV-look.for Lina (OBL) 2S.A
 '(..) Lina is looking for you (Acc/Obl) (..).'

Sentences (20a) and (21a) illustrate a clause with an UV-verb in the syntactically based, subject-initial word order, while the sentences (20b) and (21b) appear in the semantically based, verb-initial word order. The actor of (20a) and (20b), *asu* 'a dog', is not case-marked as it is a full NP. The undergoer of (20a), *aku* 'I', appears in the nominative, because it is the subject of the sentence and because it appears in pre-verbal position. The undergoer of (20b), *nakon* 'I/me', is also the subject of the sentence,

⁴ This sentence is only grammatical in its context, because the verb-initial word order with AV-verb demands a context.

because the verb is still marked for Undergoer Voice, but nevertheless it appears in the accusative, because it is in post-verbal position.⁵ The actor of (21a) and (21b), *ku* 'I' appears in the genitive because it is not the subject of the sentence.

- (20) a. *Aku /*nakon /Elvin nebput asu digabpi.*
 aku /*nakon /Elvin ni-abput asu digabpi
 1S.N /*1S.A /Elvin COM-bite.UV dog yesterday
 'I (Nom/*Acc) /Elvin have/has been bitten by a dog yesterday.'
- b. *Nebput asu nakon /*aku pa, digabpi.*
 ni-abput asu nakon /*aku pa digabpi
 COM-bite.UV dog 1S.A /*1S.N PRT yesterday
 'I (Obl/Acc/*Nom) have been bitten by a dog yesterday.'
- (21) a. *Paray damit no bay geni ku.*
 paray damit ino bay -i-gani ku
 rice damit yonder PRF -COM-harvest.UV 1S.G
 'I have already harvested the *damit* rice (species of rice that can be stored for a long time).'
- b. *Bay geni ku paray damit no*
 bay -i-gani ku paray damit ino
 PRF -COM-harvest.UV 1S.G rice damit yonder
 'I have already harvested the *damit* rice.'

The sole argument of an intransitive verb or adjective always appears in the nominative if it is expressed by a pronoun, as is illustrated in the following sentences. The a) variants are in the verb-initial word order and the b) variants in the subject-initial word order.

- (22) a. *Bay pədtos rumo, pədtos tu aku.*
 bay pədtos rumo pədtos tu aku
 PRF ill 3S ill too 1S.N
 'She (was) already ill, I (got) ill too.' [Conversationdogs 212]

⁵ Most pronominal post-verbal undergoers of UV-verbs appear in the accusative, but there are two examples of an oblique post-verbal undergoer, one of which is (ii).

- (ii) *Bay nisud ku nong rumo di' lapangan terbang.*
 bay ni-isud ku nong rumo di' lapangan terbang
 PRF COM-bring 1S.G OBL 3S LOC field (M) fly (M)
 I have already brought him to the airport. [Mi-Suk3B 079]

The oblique preposition *nong* is far more frequent on post-verbal undergoers of AV-verbs.

- b. *Aku pədtos.*
 aku pədtos
 1S.N ill
 ‘I am ill.’ [Leppit 034]
- (23) a. *Muli’ gulo aku.*
 m-uli’ gulo aku
 DEP-go.home.UV first 1S.N
 ‘I’m going home now.’ [Notebook]
- b. *Aku muli’ gulo.*
 aku m-uli’ gulo
 1S.N DEP-go.home.UV first
 ‘I’m going home now.’ [Notebook]

As we have seen, case marking of pronouns in pre-verbal position differs from that in post-verbal position: undergoers of UV-verbs are nominative in pre-verbal position but accusative in post-verbal position. In most languages, the subject of a clause appears in the nominative instead of in the accusative. Therefore the question can be raised whether these non-nominative post-verbal undergoers of UV-verbs are really subjects. The answer is that they must be subjects, because we have seen in the section 5.2.2. that the undergoer of an UV-verb is the subject in relative clauses and ‘raising’ constructions.⁶

If only subjects can appear in the pre-verbal position, the question is: what is the pragmatic function of this pre-verbal position? That depends on the type of sentence. Interrogative pronouns such as *nay* ‘who, or *nu* ‘what’ etc. always appear in the pre-verbal slot and express new information (focus). Pre-verbal subjects of declarative sentences tend to express known information (topic), introduce a new topic or form a contrastive topic. Clauses with AV-verbs have a preference for the subject-initial word order, while clauses with UV-verbs have a preference for the verb-initial word order. Therefore the pre-verbal position is perhaps even more pragmatically prominent for UV-verbs than for AV-verbs. The pragmatic function of the pre-verbal position will be described in more detail in chapter 11.

In any case, there is a relation between voice marking, the position of the subject NP and definiteness. Subjects of AV-verbs are always definite and if they are indefinite, they need to be introduced with an existential clause plus relative clause first. Objects of AV-verbs are often indefinite except in the case of personal names or pronouns. Undergoer-subjects in the pre-verbal must be definite, while a post-verbal

⁶ The only subject tests found so far are based either on the pre-verbal position (raising and ordinary clauses with subject-initial word order), which is obviously less ideal if one tries to prove the subjecthood of a post-verbal element, or on extraction of the subject (relative clauses), which is also less ideal as the extracted undergoer-subject of an UV-verb no longer appears in any position let alone post-verbally. Unfortunately, no subject tests without extraction or relocation of the subject were attested yet.

undergoer-subject may but need not be definite.

In terms of constituent structure then, the pre-verbal position is reserved for nominative pronouns or non-oblique NPs; it is a reserved slot for subjects that are pragmatically prominent (topic or focus). The position directly following the verb is reserved for actors and is annotated for nominative pronouns or genitive pronouns or non-oblique NPs. The position following the actor is reserved for undergoer-NPs and is annotated for accusative or oblique pronouns. It is clear, then, that Begak case marking is not quirky or lexical, but structural. The case marking is not only determined by grammatical relations but also by word order and pragmatics.

5.3.3. Word order and pronouns in special constructions

5.3.3.1. Auxiliary constructions with the auxiliary *nong*

The presence of auxiliaries and certain particles influences the word order and case marking of the constituents. One of the characteristics of an auxiliary construction is that the actor appears before the verb, even in the verb-initial word order.

Actor-non-subjects of UV-verb clauses normally appear in the genitive, as they are not the subject of the clause, but in constructions with the auxiliary *nong* and an UV-Dependent verb they may appear either in the genitive or in the nominative. Likewise, the actor of an AV-verb normally appears in the nominative, as it is the subject of the clause, but may appear in the genitive in a negative imperative with the auxiliary *aro* 'don't!'. Compare Scheme 2 with Scheme 1 above:

Scheme 2 Word order and case marking of pronouns in auxiliary constructions

Subject slot	Auxiliary slot	Actor slot	Verbal slot	Undergoer slot
	Auxiliary	Actor:Nom/Gen	AV-verb	Undergoer:Acc/Obl
Actor: Nom	Auxiliary		AV-verb	Undergoer:Acc/Obl
	Auxiliary	Actor:Nom/Gen	UV-verb	Undergoer:Acc
Undergoer: Nom	Auxiliary	Actor:Nom/Gen	UV-verb	

Negative imperatives with the auxiliary *aro* 'don't!' are treated in section 9.3.3. Other auxiliaries are treated in section 9.4. This section describes the default auxiliary *nong* and its effect on the word order and case marking.⁷

A very frequent type of auxiliary construction is that with the auxiliary *nong* + verb in the UV-Dependent. The auxiliary *nong* has only very abstract semantics and marks actions that need to be performed, are usually performed or actions that are going to take place very soon. This verb following the auxiliary *nong* is usually, though not

⁷ The default auxiliary *nong* is homophonous with the oblique preposition *nong*, but their functions are different.

always an UV-Dependent verb. Examples (24) and (25) illustrate this construction with actor in the genitive.

- (24) *Nong ku muppu' gulo ulan ku.*
 nong ku m-uppu' gulo ulan ku
 AUX 1S.G DEP-laundry.UV first clothes 1S.G
 'I have to wash my clothes first/I'm going to wash my clothes first.'

- (25) *Nong ku dumus gulo anak ku ate.*
 nong ku -u-dəmus gulo anak ku ate
 AUX 1S.G -DEP-bathe.UV first child 1S.G this
 'I have to bathe my child first.' [Mi-Suk1 496]

The undergoer of this UV-verb is the subject of the clause and it appears in the accusative if pronominal and post-verbal, as in (26) and in the nominative if pronominal and pre-verbal, as in (27):

- (26) *Nong ku tobang niun.*
 nong ku -u-tabang niun
 AUX 1S.G -DEP-help.UV 2S.A
 'For me (Gen) to help you (Acc).'

- (27) *Ikow nong lontik kətuo kampung nong allom gkun no.*
ikow nong -u-lantik kətuo kampung nong allom gkun ino
 2S.N AUX -DEP-install.UV head (M) village (M) OBL inside village yonder
 'You (Nom) are to be installed as village head in this village.' [Sebuludp88]

Actors that are not the subject appear in the genitive in ordinary clauses. In clauses with the default auxiliary *nong*, non-subject actors can appear either in the genitive or in the nominative, as is shown in (28a, b).⁸

- (28) a. *Pasod ulan nong mo muppu'!*
 pasod ulan nong mo m-uppu'
 many clothes AUX 2S.G DEP-laundry.UV
 'You (Gen) have got many clothes to wash!' [Notebook]
- b. *Pasod ulan nong ikow muppu'!*
 pasod ulan nong ikow m-uppu'
 many clothes AUX 2S.N DEP-laundry.UV
 'You (Nom) have got many clothes to wash!'⁹

⁸ The Tagalog auxiliaries *ayaw* 'not want' and *ibig* 'want' also vary between a genitive or nominative experiencer (Kroeger 1993:168-169).

The semantic difference between the nominative and genitive actor is very subtle and hard to describe, if there is any. According to my consultants, it depends on the semantics of the verb whether there is any difference at all, but if there is a difference, it is probably deictic. In the following example, the nominative actor in (29a) is close to the speaker, whereas the genitive actor in (29b) is far away from the speaker. There also seems to be a presupposition that the genitive actor in (29b) has not gone to the girl yet, whereas the nominative actor in (29a) has already seen the girl in question and is ready to propose to her.

- (29) a. *Ino mo pio nong ikow sowo.*
 ino rumo pio nong **ikow** -u-sawo
 yonder 3S good AUX **2S.N** -DEP-marry.UV
 ‘This one is the right (girl) for you (Nom) to marry.’ (He has just visited her and is returning home and is not far away) [AssaII.171]
- b. *Ino mo pio nong mo sowo.*
 ino rumo pio nong **mo** -u-sawo
 yonder 3S good AUX **2S.G** -DEP-marry.UV
 ‘This one is the right (girl) for you (Gen) to marry.’ (He has not visited her yet)

Sometimes the default auxiliary *nong* is not present, but the word order of the clause follows the pattern typical for clauses with auxiliary, with the actor in pre-verbal instead of post-verbal position. Sentence (30) illustrates this phenomenon with a genitive actor and the second clause of (31) with a nominative actor:

- (30) *Dadi kəmo rumo "nnong key, ku kumman key ja' ano."*
 dadi kəmo rumo nnong key ku kumman key ja' ano
 so QTM 3S here FOC 1S.G DEP eat.UV FOC merely that
 ‘So she said, “no problem (lit. just here), I will just eat it”.’
 [Dayangpukli takesrevenge 35]
- (31) *(..)nong ikow may bowong puti' no,*
 nong ikow m-ay bowong puti' ino
 AUX 2S.N DEP-take.UV onion white yonder
 ‘You take the garlic (lit. white onion),’
- sa' ikow təmutu bowong puti' no.*
 sa' ikow -əṃ-tutu bowong puti' ino
 SQ 2S.N -DEP-pound.UV onion white yonder
 ‘then you pound the garlic.’ [Conversationdogs 604]

⁹ One of my consultants remarked that the nominative is more polite here, but the other thought that the nominative is more suitable for a question than the genitive. Apparently there is hardly any difference and if there is a difference at all, it is very subtle.

For the time being I assume that the auxiliary *nong* has been omitted in these clauses, as their word order is typical for clauses with an auxiliary.

5.3.3.2. Genitive subjects with the particle *kat*

Another construction with unexpected case on pronouns is the construction with the particle *kat*. Actor-subjects of transitive and intransitive clauses normally appear in the nominative, but in constructions with the particle *kat* they appear in the genitive. The verb in the construction in question always appears before its arguments:

Scheme 3 Pronominal case marking in clauses with *kat*

verb slot	Actor slot	Undergoer slot
AV-verb	Actor: Nom/Gen	Undergoer: Acc/Obl
UV-verb	Actor: Gen	Undergoer: Acc

The particle *kat* has two functions; or to put it stronger, there are two homophonous words *kat*. The first *kat* has the function to mark the actor of an otherwise intransitive verb or adjective if the actor is not a real agent, but a cause or force. This marking with *kat* is obligatory for non-subject causes or forces. The force or cause functions as an oblique argument, whereas the agent-non-subject of a (transitive) UV-verbs is still a term. For example in (32), *llung* ‘river’ is a cause or force of an otherwise intransitive verb.

- (32) *Bussul ton bulud apukos kat llung.*
 bussul ton bulud a-p-ukos kat llung
 hill TOP hill NV-SF-cut.in.two.UV FRC river
 ‘A *bussul* is a hill that is cut off by a river.’ [Notebook]

More examples with this type of *kat* are found in sections 6.3.2. and 6.3.3.

The second, more important and more frequent *kat* the foregrounds clauses describing successive actions in stories which carry the main storyline. The verb of these clauses is focussed and the actor is always present (see section 9.6.1.1. for a description of *kat*). Sentence (33) below, for example, is a sentence from the story about how to avoid mice and other pests. The speaker tells what crucial things she did to avoid ants in her kitchen. In what follows, the case pattern of clauses describing successive actions with *kat* in its second function is described.

Actors preceded by the particle *kat* appear in the genitive regardless of their grammatical function, regardless of the voice marking on the verb. Sentence (33) illustrates a transitive verb in the Dependent with an actor expressed as the genitive pronoun *ku* ‘I’. The genitive is expected here, because the actor of an UV-verb is not the subject of the clause. The particle does not change the expected case marking here.

- (33) *Tongob* *kat* ***ku*** *key* *mital* *səkkol* *no* (..)
 -u-tangob *kat* *ku* *key* *mital* *səkkol* *ino*
 -DEP-close.UV CDM 1S.G FOC tin sugar yonder
 ‘So I closed the sugar tin (..)’ [Mi-Suk3B 111]

However, the particle *kat* does change the expected case marking of intransitive verbs and of transitive AV-verbs. (34) shows an intransitive verb *panow* ‘go’ in an ordinary clause without *kat*. The sole argument of his verb, *ikow* ‘you’, appears in the nominative, because it is the subject of the clause. Now consider (35). Here, the sole argument of the same verb, *ku* ‘I’ appears in the genitive, because it is preceded by the particle *kat*.

- (34) *Panow* ***ikow***, *akay* *ulang* *sakko* *di’* *konan* *mo* (..)
 panow ikow akay ulang sakko di’ konan mo
 go 2S.N EXIST snake from LOC right 2S.G
 ‘(Suppose) you (Nom) are walking and there is a snake coming from the right of you (..)’
 [Leiwon 001]

- (35) *Panow* *kat* ***ku*** *key* *di’* *kərito* *di*.
 panow *kat* *ku* *key* *di’* *kərito* *adi*
 go CDM 1S.G FOC LOC car over.there
 ‘(..) I (Gen) walked to the car.’ [Conversationdogs 011]

Sentence (36) is a clause with an AV-verb of which the actor is preceded by the particle *kat*. It is an elicited example with an infrequent construction that is nevertheless grammatical. Successive actions in stories are more frequently expressed by clauses with a Dependent UV-verb in combination with the particle *kat*, but AV-verbs with the particle *kat* are not impossible; they do occur once in a while, as in (37). Pronominal actors of ordinary clauses with an AV-verb appear in the nominative, because they are the subject of the clause. The actor of *gəlassi* ‘peel’, however, appears in the genitive, although it is the subject, because it is preceded by *kat*.

- (36) *Jadi* *gəlassi* *kat* ***ku*** *key* *dəllay* *no*.
 jadi gə-lassi *kat* ***ku*** *key* *dəllay* *ino*
 so AV-peel CDM **1S.G** FOC maize yonder
 ‘So I (Gen) started peeling the maize.’
- (37) *Gətakas* *kat* *ku* *key* *məŋərəmi* *ulan*.
 gə-takas *kat* *ku* *key* *məŋg-tərəmi* *ulan*
 AV-hurry.up CDM 1S.G FOC AV-tidy.up clothes
 ‘I quickly tidied up the clothes.’ [Mi-Suk2 029]

My hypothesis is that the actor appears in the genitive even where it is not expected, because *kat* occurs in far most cases with UV-Dependent verbs, where the

actor appears in the genitive, as it is not the subject. The actor of AV-verbs or intransitive verbs appears in the genitive too, analogous to the genitive actor of the much more frequent UV-Dependent verbs.

5.3.4. The oblique preposition *nong*: human objects

It has already been mentioned in the previous section that direct objects of AV-verbs are sometimes marked with the oblique preposition *nong*. This subsection gives a more detailed description of when undergoer-NPs are marked with the oblique preposition *nong*.

The first function of the oblique preposition is to mark locational adjuncts, or nominal complements as in the sentences (38) and (39) respectively.

- (38) *Jadi dongay rumo mɛnnik nong balay no.*
 jadi -u-dangay rumo m-ə-nnik nong balay ino
 so -DEP-proceed 3S DEP-go.up OBL house yonder
 ‘So he proceeded and went up to the house.’ [Assa’007]

- (39) *Ino suran nong anak doto, pon buat suran ino.*
 ino suran nong anak doto apon buat suran ino
 yonder story OBL child angelic.being NEG.P long story yonder
 ‘This is the story about the child of the angelic being, it is not long.’ [Anak Doto 022]

Headless possessive NPs such as ‘mine’, ‘ours’ are also marked with *nong*:

- (40) *Nong namon bay serab.*
 nong namon bay -i-sarab
 OBL 1P.E.A PRF -COM-burn.ricefield.UV
 ‘Ours is already burned.’ (Context: talking about clearing a new rice field for the coming season.) [Conversationdogs 322]

The second function of the preposition *nong* is to mark oblique arguments, indirect objects of verbs, for example the recipient or beneficiary argument of verbs of ‘saying’ or ‘giving’. Most Begak verbs have maximally two arguments, an actor and an undergoer, but verbs of giving and saying have three arguments. The agent and the patient of these verbs are coded as core arguments, but the third argument of these verbs is expressed as an oblique argument, as in sentences (41) and (42). The word order in sentences with the verb *gkay* ‘to give’ is most of the times Verb-agent-patient-beneficiary or Subject-Verb-object-indirect object.

- (41) *Muyu ne tugus mængəgkay kinnas nong namon.*
 muyu ne tugus mæng-ə-gkay kinnas nong namon
 2P.N/G this go.on AV-give side.dish OBL 1P.E.A
 ‘You always give us food.’ [Mi-Suk1 364]
- (42) *Bera’ rumo nong Gias: “aku ton”, (...)*
 -i-bara’ rumo nong Gias aku ton
 -COM-say.UV 3S OBL Gias 1S.N TOP
 ‘He said to Gias, “as for me,” he said, (...)’ [Payow Mas 024]

In less careful, fast speech, the preposition *nong* can be omitted, as in sentences (43) and (44), where the third argument *nakon* ‘me’ is unmarked for the oblique. These sentences are probably instances of fast, less careful speech, because my consultants judged similar constructions with non-oblique beneficiaries as ungrammatical in elicited contexts. In other words, sentences (43) and (44) are instances of ellipsis.

- (43) *Ano bigkay nakon, tissing tiud.*
 ano -i-bəgkay nakon tissing tiud
 that -COM-give.UV 1S.A ring coconut.shell
 ‘This is what (they) gave me, a coconut shell ring.’ [Berigas 018]
- (44) *Bera’ rumo nakon “anak allom təray mo ne gapol”.*
 -i-bara’ rumo nakon anak allom təray mo ne gapol
 -COM-say.UV 3S 1S.A child inside belly 2S.G this twins
 ‘He told me “the child in your belly are twins”.’ [Anak gapol 004]

The other preposition for things far away from the speaker, *di’*, is also omitted in fast, less careful speech, especially in the very frequent expression *panow Lahad Datu* ‘go Lahad Datu’, as in (45a).¹⁰ This expression stands for ‘go to Lahad Datu’, as in (45b).

- (45) a. *Sau’ penow Lahad Datu.*
 Sau’ -i-panow Lahad Datu
 Sau’ -COM-go Lahad Datu
 ‘Sau’ went to Lahad Datu.’ [Notebook]
- b. *Sau’ penow di’ Lahad Datu.*
 Sau’ -i-panow di’ Lahad Datu
 Sau’ -COM-go LOC Lahad Datu
 ‘Sau’ went to Lahad Datu.’

Even if the preposition *nong* is sometimes omitted before an indirect object, it does not turn the indirect object into a core-argument. Only the actor and the undergoer

¹⁰ Most people go to Lahad Datu on a regular basis, as it is the nearest town where people go for shopping and buiseness related to administration, pay their bills, go to the post office, etc.

arguments of a verb can become the subject of the sentence and occur in pre-verbal position, but recipients or beneficiary arguments cannot be promoted to subject in Undergoer Voice sentences. Sentence (46) is ungrammatical because a beneficiary cannot become the subject of the sentence.

- (46) **Rudi bigkay mija' bellan Martin.*
 Rudi -i-bəgkay mija' -i-ballan Martin
 Rudi -COM-give.UV table -COM-make.UV Martin
 ‘*Rudi was given a table made by Martin.’
 Good for: ‘Rudi was given away.’

The third function of the oblique preposition *nong* is to mark the undergoer of an AV-verb, the direct object, as being human as opposed to an object that is non-human. This use of *nong* is obligatorily, at least in careful speech, for objects that are human and expressed by a proper name as in (47a) and (47b).

- (47) a. *Benson bəgisud nong Bəssing panow di' Lahad Datu.*
 Benson bəg-isud nong Bəssing panow di' Lahad Datu
 Benson AV-send OBL Bessing go LOC Lahad Datu
 ‘Benson drives Bessing to Lahad Datu.’
- b. **Benson bəgisud Bəssing panow di' Lahad Datu.*
 Benson bəg-isud Bəssing panow di' Lahad Datu
 Benson AV-send Bessing go LOC Lahad Datu
 ‘Benson drives Bessing to Lahad Datu.’

Sentence (47a) is correct because the name *Bessing* is preceded by *nong* but (47b) is ungrammatical because names of undergoer arguments must be marked by the oblique preposition *nong*. Even though *nong* is obligatory in this context according to my consultants, and although *nong* occurs very frequently with personal names in my corpus, it can be omitted in less careful speech.

The marking of undergoer arguments with *nong* is considered to be preferable but not really obligatory for personal pronouns referring to human beings. According to my consultants it is more stylish and sophisticated to use it, but in fast, less careful speech it can be omitted. The pronominal direct object of (48a) *nakon* ‘me’ is not preceded by *nong*, whereas the pronominal direct object *rumo* ‘her’ of the same verb *məngə-rera*’ in the last clause of (48b) is marked by *nong*.

- (48) a. **M ənawo ikow, malu' akay məngə-rera' nakon,*” *kəmo rumo.*
 məng-sawo ikow malu' akay məngə-rera' nakon kəmo rumo
 AV-marry 2S.N want EXIST AV-look.after 1S.A QTM 3S
 ‘‘Marry, so that there is someone looking after me’’ she said (to her widowed father).’
 [Dayangpukli takes revenge 006]

- b. *Bay nera' rumo rumo di bəgəlid ina' rumo,*
 bay ni-ara' rumo rumo adi bəg-ə-lid ina' rumo
 PRF COM-say.UV 3S 3S over.there AV-look.for mother 3S
- malu' sidtu bəganti ina' rumo matay di,*
 malu' sidtu bə-ganti ina' rumo matay adi
 want merely AV-replace mother 3S dead over.there
- malu' tu akay məngərəra' nong rumo.*
 malu' tu akay məngə-rera' nong rumo
 want too EXIST AV-look.after OBL 3S
 'She had already said that she was looking for a mother for her, just to replace her
 dead mother, so that there would be someone looking after her.'
 [Dayangpukli takes revenge 022]

Sentence (48b) also shows that the marking of undergoers of AV-verbs with *nong* is optional for full NPs referring to persons but not containing a personal name. The direct objects of the verbs *bəgəlid* 'look for' and *bəganti* 'replace' respectively are not marked with *nong*. Direct objects of AV-verbs expressed by full NPs referring to non-human entities are not marked with *nong*, as the first two AV-verbs of (49) show. The verb *bəgəppa* 'collapse' takes a full NP complement without *nong*, the same is true for *məngawang* 'open', but *məngusing* and *məngənggut* 'turn around' takes a complement marked with *nong*, as it refers to a person.¹¹

¹¹ My hypothesis is that marking with *nong* of full NPs referring to human beings is not only a matter of style, but also specificity. Marking with *nong* seems to give the NP a slightly specific, restricted reading. The following example is elicited; my two consultants gave me exactly the same readings for the sentences given below, independent of each other.

- (iii) a. *Kəlu' Julia mənabang ulun miskin.*
 kəlu' Julia məng-tabang ulun miskin
 desire Julia AV-help person poor
 'Julia wants to help the poor.' (any poor people)
- b. *Kəlu' Julia mənabang nong ulun miskin.*
 kəlu' Julia məng-tabang nong ulun miskin
 desire Julia AV-help OBL person poor
 'Julia wants to help the poor.' (only the very poor)

The reading of sentence (iiia) is that Julia helps whoever is poor whereas sentence (iiib) implies that Julia helps only the poorest people amongst the poor. However, more clear examples of spontaneous speech are needed to draw any hard conclusions.

- (49) *Sakko nong miro bəgəbpa' bəlakang akay ssin,*
 sakko nong miro bə-gəbpa' bəlakang akay ssin
 from OBL 3P AV-collapse fence EXIST money
- sawot nong miro məngawang kəlambu', akay ssin,*
 sawot nong miro məng-awang kəlambu' akay ssin
 arrive OBL 3P AV-open musquito.net EXIST money
- sawot nong miro məngusing, məngənggut nong liun no*
 sawot nong miro məng-pusing məng-ə-ngngut nong liun ino
 arrive OBL 3P AV-turn.around AV-spin OBL woman yonder
- nong langon no, ino akay ssin inggos ino.*
 nong langon ino ino akay ssin inggos ino
 OBL pillow yonder yonder EXIST money all yonder
 'From (the moment) they collapse the fence, there is (question of) money, until (when) they open the musquito net there is money, until (when) they turn around the lady on the pillow, all this has money.' (Context: during the Bandi ritual a wedding, the bridegroom has to pay in three installments before he can see his bride). [Geteratab 146]

We can conclude from this section that the oblique preposition *nong* is obligatory for indirect objects, i.e. non-core arguments that are human. The oblique preposition is also obligatory or at least very frequently used for undergoers of AV-verbs expressed by personal names in careful speech. It is not obligatory but stylish for undergoers of AV-verbs expressed by personal pronouns.

The general meaning of the preposition *nong*, then, seems to be that of location and goal. A recipient can be argued to be a human goal, and a human specific patient can also be argued to be the goal of the action. In that sense, the abstract meaning of the preposition *nong* can be location for adjuncts and goal for arguments.

Another explanation for the use of the oblique preposition is given by Givón (1997, 1976). Agents tend to be humans and tend to be expressed as subject, while patients tend to be inanimate and expressed as objects. Recipients tend to be humans and are often expressed as the indirect object. If a human entity is a direct object, this is an uncommon situation; and some languages therefore code it as an indirect object to mark it as an object that is high on the animacy hierarchy.

Begak is not the only language in the region that marks human undergoers of AV-verbs as obliques. Two examples of languages that use a similar strategy are Tagalog (Himmelman in press) and Hiligaynon (Spitz 2002:385).

5.3.5. The word order of adjuncts

Time adjuncts usually occur before all other constituents, but may occasionally come

after all arguments. For example *dtow-dtow* ‘day after day’ in (50) and *da buay* ‘for a long time’ in (51) appear before the subject and predicate. Location adjuncts or arguments occur after all core arguments. The adverb *nnong* ‘here’ in (51) and the PP *allom gban* ‘in the forest’ in (52) occur after all other arguments.

- (50) *Dtow-dtow Monay gorab, pon akay alap Monay kərok.*
 dtow-dtow monay -u-garab apon akay a-lap monay kərok
 day-RED young.man -DEP-hunt NEG.P EXIST NV-get.UV young.man bird
 ‘Day after day Young Man hunted (but) Young Man did not catch any bird.’
 [Monay bio Dera’010]

- (51) *Da buay Monay badung nnong, (..)*
 da buay monay b-adung nnong
 PR long young.man MID-sit here
 ‘For a long time Young Man had been sitting here.’ [Monay bio Dera’018]

- (52) *Mannu-mannu iro key gəʔəradas allom gban.*
 mannu-mannu iro key gə--əʔ-tadas allom gban
 very-RED 3P FOC AV--REC-chase inside forest
 ‘They chased after each other as fast as they could in the forest.’ [Asu bio Bakas 020]

Temporal subordinate clauses always appear before the main clause. Temporal subordinate clauses will be treated in chapter 10.5.

This discussion closes the section about verbal clauses. The remainder of this chapter is devoted to non-verbal clauses such as weather predicates, existential predicates, nominal clauses, and non-declarative sentences.

5.3.6. Conclusion

Case marking in Begak is determined by an interaction of various factors: voice marking on the verb, word order, definiteness, topichood/focus, or other pragmatic functions. The fact that the position in the sentence determines partly the case marking of an NP is not unique for Begak: Cebuano pronouns bear the preposed genitive/nominative case only in pre-verbal position too (Sityar 1998; Wolff 1966). The difference between Cebuano and Begak is that the preposed genitive/nominative case is licensed by a finite verb in Cebuano, while finiteness does not play any role in Begak.

Another language with case alternation in subjects is Bonggi. Bonggi subjects are nominative in ordinary sentences, but genitive after tense auxiliaries, in subordinates of time and place, and in adverbial relatives and WH-questions. Case alternation in Bonggi is conditioned by the interaction of voice marking on the verb, discourse pragmatic relations such as topic and focus, clause linking and argumenthood (Boutin 2002).

The question remains why case marking in Begak is not purely determined by grammatical functions and verb morphology. I am speculating here that it is because Begak verb morphology is very much reduced as compared to proto-Austronesian and other Philippine type languages. The morphology of NPs is also very much reduced as compared to the original system and word order has taken over much of the marking of syntactic functions. Case marking is not necessary anymore for marking syntactic functions and has taken on other functions, such as marking pragmatic prominence.

Another issue related to the loss of voice distinctions is the following. We have seen that there is a correlation in Begak between the word order and the voice marking on the verb. Clauses with an AV-verb tend to be subject-initial whereas clauses with an UV-verb tend to be verb-initial. This is in line with the observation made by Blust (2002:72) that Western Austronesian languages with a reduced voice system tend to move towards a subject-initial word order. This subject-initial word order tends to manifest itself first in clauses with an Actor Voice verb (active constructions in Blust's terminology) and only later in clauses with an Undergoer Voice (passive in Blust's terminology) or an intransitive verb. Clauses with intransitive verbs or Undergoer Voice verbs tend to maintain the original verb-initial word order somewhat longer.

5.4. Clauses with a subjectless predicate

Subjectless predicates are predicates without arguments. Weather verbs are typically predicates that lack arguments which can occur either as nouns or as verbs. If they are used as a verb, the clause consists of just the weather verb without arguments. List (54) shows the list of basic weather verbs. As most of these candidates can also occur in combination with the existential predicate *akay*, they can also be analysed as nouns. Sentence (54) illustrates the verbal use of a weather verb: the weather verb is modified by a modal auxiliary just like ordinary verbs. Sentence (55) illustrates the nominal use: the weather predicate forms the sole argument of the intransitive verb *rodtas* 'fall down'. Most of these verbs can also occur in isolation, for example in the exclamations (56) and (57) so that their word class is impossible to establish.

- (53) *uran* 'rain'
panas 'hot'
sərangit 'bright/the sun shines right into your 'eyes'
ləppit 'thunder and lightning'
rudtug 'thunder'
bəriot 'flash'

- (54) *Malu'* *uran.*
malu' *uran*
 want rain
 'It's going to rain.'

(55) *Uran rodtas.*
 uran -u-radtas
 rain -DEP-fall.UV
 'The rain is falling.'

(56) *Sərangit!*
 'bright!'

(57) *Panas!*
 'Hot!'

5.5. Existential predicates

Existential predicates consist of the existential marker *akay* followed by a nominal argument. Sentence (58) illustrates an existential predicate with an indefinite nominal argument.

(58) *Akay pasod pəsuog putti di' tukud balay ku.*
 akay pasod pəsuog putti di' tukud balay ku
 EXIST many stem banana LOC back house 1S.G
 'There are a lot of banana trees behind my house.' [Mi-Suk1 050]

If the existential marker takes two arguments, the sentence is understood as a possessive clause. Most of the time the possessor is in front of the existential marker, followed by the possessee. Sentence (59) illustrates the possessive use of the existential marker *akay*. The existential marker can also be combined with a single definite possessive argument as in (60):

(59) *Na aku ton pon akay anak gərunay.*
 na aku ton apon akay anak gərunay
 PRT 1S.N TOP NEG.P EXIST child self
 'Well, as for me, I don't have children who are really my own.' [Anakku1 001]

(60) *A' sa' no la, akay anak ku gapol liun.*
 a' sa' ino la akay anak ku gapol liun
 yes SQ yonder PRT EXIST child 1S.G twins woman
 'Yes, and then I had twin daughters.' [Anak gapol 008]

As for the possessive construction in questions: the standard answer to the question in (61) could be (62):

(61) *Nay akay buk ano?*
 nay akay buk ano
 who exist book that
 'Whose book is that?'

(62) *Aku akay.*
 aku akay
 1S.N exist
 'It's mine.'

The existential *akay* can sometimes be used as an attributive possessive marker in the speech of young people. See section 8.5. on possession for this construction.

Another use of *akay* is that of an intensifier, as in (63), where *akay* is used by the speaker to reassure her mother that she really did not go places.

(63) *"Ninga' ne bəko ina', aku ne pa panow*
ninga' ne bəgko ina' aku ne pa panow
 NEG.I this also mother 1S.N this PRT go

sija' mənagkop sapa', inga' akay aku panow."
sija' məng-sagkop sapa' inga' akay aku panow
 merely AV-fetch water NEG.I EXIST 1S.N go
 'No mother, I only went to fetch water, I really did not go (places).'
 [Dayangpukli takes revenge 043]

5.6. Other non-verbal predicates

5.6.1. Nominal predicates

Nominal predicates consist of two nominal phrases of which one is the topic and the other the predicate. The word order is usually: topic-nominal predicate; there are no copulas in Begak. Begak does not syntactically distinguish predicate nominals of identification from nominals marking class membership. (64) and (65) illustrate nominal clauses where the argument is a demonstrative and the predicate a noun.

(64) *Ano səkkol.*
 ano səkkol
 that sugar
 'That is sugar.'

- (65) *Jadi naran pait ino Liway.*
 jadi naran pait ino Liway
 so name fish yonder Liway
 ‘So the name of this fish is ‘Liway’.’ [Pait Liway 002]

The following sentence illustrates a nominal predicate with the relative clause. It is a typical example of how a description of an unknown object is given in Begak. The topic comes first in the sentence, followed by the discourse particle *ton*, which is used to focus on a new topic. The nominal predicate follows, which consists of a generic noun *anan* ‘place’, followed by a restrictive relative clause.

- (66) *Banay ton anan mənagkop sapa’.*
 banay ton anan məng-sagkop sapa’
 bamboo.waterjar TOP place AV-fetch water
 ‘As for ‘banay’, it is a place to store water.’ [Boyo bio Pelanuk 023]

5.6.2. Locative predicates

Locative clauses consist of an argument and a predicate consisting of a PP or a deictic pronoun. PPs can have various structures, for a full description of PPs the reader is referred to 4.4. and 8.7. Again, the topic comes first, followed by the predicate. The following three sentences illustrate a locative clause consisting of a topic followed by a PP. In questions, however, the topic comes at the end, while the location consists of the interrogative *mba’* ‘where, which’ followed by a locative noun.

- (67) *Pasod sidtom allom mital səkkol no.*
 pasod sidtom allom mital səkkol ino
 many ant inside tin sugar yonder
 ‘There are a lot of ants in the sugar tin.’
- (68) a. *Mba’ sakko muyu ne?*
 mba’ sakko muyu ne
 where from 2P.N/G this
 ‘Where are you coming from?’
- b. *Kəmmi ne sakko Lahad Datu.*
 kemmi ne sakko Lahad Datu
 1P.E.N/G this from Lahad Datu
 ‘We are coming from Lahad Datu.’

- (69) a. *Mba' baya' Payna?*
 mba' baya' Payna
 where place Payna
- b. *Nong balay.*
 nong balay
 OBL house
 'Where is Payna? At home.' [Notebook]

Locative predicates can also consist of a demonstrative adverb *tunong* 'here' or *udi* 'there' or *adi* 'overthere', optionally preceded by the preposition *di*', as in (70).

- (70) *Balay Babu di' adi.*
 balay Babu di' adi
 house Babu LOC over.there
 'Babu's house is overthere.'

5.6.3. Numeral predicates

A clause can consist of just a topic followed by a numeral and classifier, as in the following examples. This type of clause is not very frequent but it is a possible answer to a question of the type 'How many X do you have?':

- (71) *Anak ku pat bətuən.*
 anak ku pat bətuən
 child 1S.G four CL.person
 'My children are four.'
- (72) *Asu ku təllu tassa'*
 asu ku təllu tassa'
 dog 1S.G three CL.animal
 'My dogs are three.'

For more information about numerals and classifiers, the reader is referred to 4.6. and 8.2.

5.6.4. Comparatives

Comparatives have no special morphological form. The standard follows the item it is compared with. Often the locative noun *sakko* 'from' marks the standard, but the coordinating particle *bio* 'and' can also be used. The comparative may, but need not, be preceded by *ləbpo* 'more', as in (73). It is absent in (74).

- (73) *Basi no (ləpɔ) kadong (masong) sakko basi adi.*
 basi ino ləpɔ kadong masong sakko basi adi
 bush.knife yonder more short still.again from bush.knife over.there
 ‘This bush knife is shorter still than the bush knife overthere.’ [Mi-Suk1 352]
- (74) *Ləbpom ku kəɓpung məŋgannak Francisko atow*
 ləbpom ku kə-ɓpung məŋgannak Francisko a-tow
 think 1S.G ORD-former.time wife Francisko NV-know.UV
- uni muyu sakko namon ngod rumo səratu bio muyu.*
 uni muyu sakko namon ngod rumo -ər-satu bio muyu
 speech 2P.N/G from 1P.E.A because 3S -REC-one and 2P.N/G
 ‘I think Francisko’s wife knows your language earlier than we because she is together
 with you.’ [Mi-Suk3B 031]

Questions with an implicit comparative are formed with *bio* ‘and’:

- (75) *Jadi səmukot kat ku key ‘hay gajo,*
 jadi -əm-sukot kat ku key nay gajo
 so -DEP-inform.UV CDM 1S.G FOC who big
- muyu bio sikut no?”*
 muyu bio sikut ino
 2S.N/G and mouse yonder
 ‘So I asked them: ‘who is bigger, you or that mouse?’ (Context: the children of the
 speaker are afraid of a mouse.)’ [Mi-Suk3B 237]
- (76) *Bera’ miro ‘k əmmi gajo.”*
 -i-bara’ miro kəmmi gajo
 -COM-say.UV 3P 1P.E.N/G big
 ‘So they said “We are bigger”.’ [Mi-Suk3B 238]

5.7. Questions

5.7.1. Closed questions

Closed questions in Begak are formed by rising the intonation at the end of the sentence. Optionally the question marker *gam* can be used, which is placed either at the end of the sentence or after the verb.¹² The word order is the same as in declarative sentences.

¹² The marker *gam* is perhaps similar to Malay/Indonesian *kah*, which appears after the element it has scope over. In other words, in (77) *gam* probably modifies the whole clause, as *gam* appears at the end. In (78) *gam* appears after *buli* ‘can’ instead of after the whole clause; therefore the

- (77) *Muyu gəropan gam?*
 muyu gəropan gam
 2P.N/G hungry QM
 ‘Are you hungry?’ [Mi-Suk1 063]
- (78) *Buli gam aku məngidtam tərumpa’ mo?*
 buli gam aku məng-idtam tərumpa’ mo
 can QM 1S.N AV-borrow shoes 2S.G
 ‘Can I borrow your shoes?’ [Mi-Suk1 292]

5.7.2. Open questions

In open questions, the interrogative pronoun normally stands in first position:

- (79) *Nay bəgepy kulat no?*
 nay bəg--i-apuy kulat ino?
 who AV--COM-cook mushroom yonder
 ‘Who cooked these mushrooms?’
- (80) *Nu degang mo?*
 nu -i-dagang mo?
 what -COM-buy.UV 2S.G
 ‘What have you bought?’

The question marker *gam* can optionally be added after the question word, as in the following sentence. It puts an extra emphasis on the question.

- (81) *Nay gam muyu akay pinsil?*
 nay gam muyu akay pinsil
 who QM 2P.N/G EXIST pencil
 ‘Who of you has a pencil?’ (I forgot to bring mine)

For more information about open questions the reader is referred to 10.4.8.

5.8. Imperatives

Imperatives are in the Dependent or in the AV-incompletive; most of the time they are followed by the focus markers *key* or *koy*, optionally followed by the undergoer as in (82). The discourse markers *key* and *koy* are not obligatory, as shown in (83). (See

sentence should perhaps be translated *Can I borrow your shoes?* (or *can't I?*), but I have not yet checked the exact function of *gam* and the effect of its place in the sentence.

section 9. 6.1.2. for a description of these discourse markers.)

- (82) *Bay tuong, mɛdtop key lancuk no.*
 bay tuong m-ə-dtop key lancuk ino
 PRF dark DEP-shine.UV FOC candle yonder
 ‘It is already dark, light up the candle please.’ [Mi-Suk1 720]

- (83) *Minum nan!*
 m-inum minan
 DEP-drink.UV aunt
 ‘Drink, aunty!’ [Conversationharvest 061].

If the actor is present in an imperative, it always appears after the verb in the nominative, irrespective of the voice marking on the verb. Sentence (81) shows an imperative with AV-verb where the actor is expressed by a nominative pronoun, which is expected as the actor is the subject of an AV-verb.

- (84) *Kəmo da tidog dtow, bəgapuy ikow kkan.*
 kəmo da tidog dtow bəg-apuy ikow kkan
 if PR high sun AV-cook 2S.N cooked.rice
 ‘When it is noon (lit. high sun), you cook rice!’ [Tuttul bio Gonganp1]

Sentence (85) shows an imperative with a nominative pronoun, which is unexpected, as the actor is not the subject of the UV-verb and would normally appear in the genitive:

- (85) *May ikow pandi’ di’ anan ulang.*
 m-ay ikow pandi’ di’ anan ulang
 DEP-take.UV 2S.N banner LOC place snake
 ‘Take a banner at the snakes place.’ (Context: the Sultan in this myth gives impossible orders to his future son-in-law) [Rajo Tunggal Da Kaling Teputow.370]

Negative imperatives are treated in 9.3.3. which treats the negators *aro* ‘don’t!’ and *batong* ‘don’t!’.

5.9. Summary

In section 5.2., the notions ‘subject’, ‘arguments’ and ‘oblique’ and ‘voice system’, ‘core-argument’, ‘oblique argument’ and ‘adjunct’ were defined. The subject tests presented were the pre-verbal position, relativisation and ‘raising’ to subject. A test was proposed to distinguish core-arguments from oblique arguments: only core-arguments can be promoted to subject by changing the voice marking on the verb. It was explained that the distinction between core-arguments, non-core arguments and adjuncts remains

problematic in Begak, because the oblique preposition *nong* can be used for all three functions.

The verbal clause with its voice system, word order and case marking of pronouns was treated in section 5.3.2. It was shown that the word order determines pronominal case marking: pronominal undergoer-subjects are nominative in pre-verbal but accusative or oblique in post-verbal position. The pragmatic function of the subject determines where it appears. It was argued that Begak case marking of pronouns is not quirky or lexical but structural. The case marking of pronouns in two special constructions was briefly described.

The remainder of the chapter briefly introduced a few non-verbal clauses and non-declarative clauses. Argumentless predicates such as weather predicates were described in section 5.4. Section 5.5. treated existential predicates; section 5.6. discussed other non-verbal predicates such as nominal and prepositional predicates. Open and closed questions were briefly introduced in section 5.7. and section 5.8. described the basic structure of imperatives.

6. Verbal inflection

6.1. Introduction

6.1.1. Paradigm and organisation of this chapter

This chapter treats the inflectional morphology of the Begak verbs. In this section an introduction is given as to how verbal morphology can be organised into a paradigm and how voice is linked to aspect and mood for transitive verbs. The sections in the remainder of the chapter discuss each of the different affixes of the inflectional paradigm. The Begak inflection is shown in Table 1.

Table 1 Verbal inflection

Aspect	Actor Voice	Undergoer Voice
Volitive Mood		
Incompletive Aspect	Class I <i>gə-</i> Class II <i>bəg-</i> Class III <i>məng-</i>	Ø, <i>b-</i> or <i>p-</i>
Completive Aspect	Class I <i>gə- -i-</i> Class II <i>bəg- -i-</i> Class III <i>məng- -i-</i>	<i>-i-</i> or its allomorphs <i>ni-</i> and <i>-ən-</i> <i>b--i-</i> or <i>p--i-</i>
Dependent	does not exist	<i>-u-</i> or its allomorphs <i>m-</i> and <i>-əm-</i>
Non-volitive Mood		
	<i>k(ə)-</i>	<i>a-</i>

Begak verbs are not inflected for person or number, but are marked for voice, mood, and aspect. As mentioned in chapter 5, Begak has only two voices, whereas other Sabahan languages distinguish at least four voices. Besides these two voices, Begak distinguishes two types of mood: Volitive and Non-volitive. This distinction corresponds to the durative versus potential mode in Bisayan languages (Zorc 1977), to active past versus perfective past in Coastal Kadazan (Miller & Miller 1989) and to non-potentive versus potentive mode (Himmelman 2004) or volitive mood versus non-volitive mood (Kroeger 1993) in Tagalog. Schachter and Otones (1972) and Dell (1983) refer to Non-volitive mood as Ability and Involuntary Action (AIA). Verbs in the Volitive Mood express voluntary actions or changes of state, whereas verbs in the Non-volitive Mood express completed action, involuntary action and the mere (in)ability to do something.¹

¹ It will be described in section 6.6. how the category 'Non-volitive' is ambiguous between mood and aspect. On the one hand it can be classified as 'stative aspect' because it expresses stativity on certain types of verbs. On the other hand, it is better to call it mood in Begak, because it expresses non-volitionality on most types of verbs.

Verbs in the Volitive Mood can occur in the Incomplete Aspect, in the Complete Aspect or in the Dependent, which is a kind of neutral aspect. The Actor Voice is expressed by one of the three class prefixes *gə-*, *bəg-* or *məng-*, whereas the Undergoer Voice is characterised by the absence of these class prefixes. Consonant-initial verbal roots appear unaffixed, whereas vowel-initial roots are prefixed with *p-* or *b-* depending on the semantics of the roots. The Complete Aspect is expressed by the infix *-i-* or one of its allomorphs while the Incomplete Aspect is unmarked. Complete Aspect in Begak corresponds to past tense in other Sabahan languages (Kroeger 1991, Hurlbut 1988).

The function of the Actor Voice class prefixes will be described in section 6.2.; the unaffixed Undergoer Voice forms and forms prefixed with *b-* and *p-* will be dealt with in section 6.3. Section 6.4. will discuss the Incomplete Aspect forms of both AV and UV-verbs.

Verbs in the Volitive Mood can occur in a third form, the Dependent, which is used for commands, events about to happen, changes of state and successive actions in stories. The Begak Dependent corresponds to reduced focus forms in other Sabahan languages and to Subjunctive forms in Bisayan languages. Dependent verbs cannot occur in the Complete Aspect, as the Dependent is a neutral aspect.² Unlike the reduced focus forms in other Sabahan languages, the Begak Dependent does not occur in all voices; it does not exist in the AV but only in the UV. It is expressed by the infix *-u-* or one of its allomorphs. The Dependent will be treated in section 6.5.

Verbs in the Non-volitive Mood can occur in both voices but cannot be marked for Complete Aspect, unlike Non-volitive mood verbs in other Sabahan languages. Dusunic languages, for example, such as Kimaragang (Kroeger 1989) or Eastern Kadazan (Hurlbut 1988), maintain the Non-past versus Past Tense distinctions in the Non-volitive mood. Non-volitive Mood is expressed by the prefix *a-* in the UV, whereas the prefix *kə-* is a portmanteau morph expressing not only Non-volitive Mood but also AV.

Verbs in the Non-volitive Mood in both voices will be treated in section 6.6. Section 6.7. will describe the inflection of intransitive verbs, with attention for the unaccusative split. Section 6.8. will briefly mention a few irregular verbs. Section will 6.9. summarise this chapter.

6.1.2. The link between voice, aspect and mood for transitive verbs

Not all verbs have a complete paradigm; many verbs lack a form here and there. The following sentences illustrate the inflected forms of a verb with a complete paradigm *təgbuk* 'meet'. Sentences (1) illustrates the AV-Incomplete Aspect and (2) the AV-Complete Aspect.

² Moody (1991) actually calls the Dependent "Neutral Tense" because this verb form is used in contexts where the time frame has already been set, so that the verbs themselves can be neutral as for their tense specification.

- (1) *Jam Li mənəgbuk duktur.*
 Jam Li məng-təgbuk duktur
 Zam Lee AV-meet doctor
 ‘Zam Lee is seeing a doctor.’

- (2) *Jam Li mənibguk duktur.*
 Jam Li məng--i-təgbuk duktur
 Zam Lee AV--COM-meet doctor
 ‘Zam Lee saw a doctor.’

The following example contains a verb in the UV-Completive Aspect.

- (3) *(Bay) tigbuk Jam Li duktur.*
 (bay) -i-təgbuk Jam Li duktur
 PRF -COM-meet.UV Zam Lee doctor
 ‘Zam Lee saw a doctor (but is still not getting better).’

Sentence (4) shows how the root of a consonant-initial verb is an UV-verb with Incompletive Aspect.

- (4) *Təgbuk Jam Li ssin.*
 təgbuk Jam Li ssin
 meet.UV Zam Lee money
 ‘Zam Lee finds/found money by chance.’

Sentence (5) illustrates the UV-Dependent of the same verb.

- (5) *(..) Tugbuk kat rumo key mənijar no.*
 -u-təgbuk kat rumo key mənijar ino
 -DEP-meet.UV CDM 3S FOC manager yonder
 (Zam Lee wants to get a job.) ‘He (immediately) went to see the manager.’

Sentence (6) contains an AV-verb in the Non-volitive Mood:

- (6) *Jam Li kətəgbuk ssin.*
 Jam Li kə-təgbuk ssin
 Zam Lee AV.NV-meet money
 ‘Zam Lee finds/found money by chance.’

The UV-Non-volitive is illustrated in (7). This is not the politest way to say that someone found money and Begak speakers would normally avoid this verb form in this particular context, and it is used here only to illustrate the UV-Non-volitive of the same verb.

- (7) *Atəgbuk Jam Li ssin.*
 a-təgbuk Jam Li ssin
 NV-meet.UV Zam Lee money
 ‘Zam Lee found money by chance.’

Most verbs, however, do not occur in all cells of the paradigm. As for the Non-volitive Mood, most transitive verbs lack AV-Non-volitive forms (**kədagang* ‘buy’, **kədalud* ‘wait’) and some verbs may even lack UV-Non-volitive forms if the semantics of the verbal root is incompatible with Non-volitive Mood. If a main clause transitive verb occurs in the Non-volitive Mood at all, it is usually in the UV.

As for the Volitive Mood, voice seems to be linked to aspect to some extent. AV-Incompletive Aspect is very frequent for any verb, but many dynamic verbs lack UV-Incompletive Aspect forms (**dagang* ‘buy’, **luat* ‘sell’). The opposite is the case for the Completive Aspect, which is expressed by the infix *-i-* or its allomorphs and occurs more often in the UV than in the AV. Most transitive verbs occur in the UV-Dependent or UV-Completive Aspect if the syntax forces them to occur in the UV, for instance in certain subordinate clauses, but rarely occur in the unaffixed form which expresses UV-Incompletive Aspect. Conversely, if a main clause verb must be put in the Completive Aspect, it is in many cases automatically in the UV; AV-Completive forms are much less frequent, though productive.

Begak differs from certain languages of Sarawak in that the AV-Completive form is rare yet productive, whereas in certain languages of Sarawak, the infix *-i-* or *-in-* is a portmanteau morpheme for Completive Aspect in combination with Undergoer Voice:

“In the languages of Sarawak, with the exception of Lun Bawang, the number of possible focus constructions is reduced to two: the core arguments of actor and undergoer. This means that it is only necessary to mark one of the arguments for focus. In these languages undergoer focus is commonly unmarked. Similarly, because there is only a two-way distinction in aspect marking (completed on non-completed action) only one need be marked. Actor-focus verbs are commonly unmarked for aspect, while undergoer-focus verbs are marked by *-in-* or one of its related forms. As a result, the main contrast in the verb morphology is between actor focus verbs unmarked for aspect, and unmarked undergoer focus verbs marked for completed aspect” (Clayre 1996:81)

A historical explanation of the fact that UV (undergoer-focus in Clayre’s terminology) is linked with Completive Aspect in some languages is given by Blust (2002:70). The Proto-Austronesian (PAN) infix *-in-* was a portmanteau morpheme marking not only UV (other terms are undergoer focus or Patient focus) but also Completive Aspect (Blust’s perfective aspect).

Even though Completive Aspect in non-derived Begak verbs is linked to voice to limited extent, aspect in the Begak causative is entirely linked to voice. Begak has three causative portmanteaumorphs: *məngə-* is AV Incompletive; *(pə)nə-* is UV-Completive and *pə-* is UV-Dependent. Causative verbs cannot appear in the AV-Completive or UV-Incompletive (see chapter 7).³ In other words, although in

³ If the syntax forces a causative verb to appear in the AV, for instance in questions with an interrogative pronoun, it appears in the AV even if it refers to the past or to a completed

underived verbs AV-Completive Aspect inflection exists, which is unlike most Sarawak languages, Begak Completive Aspect is strongly linked to UV and Incompletive Aspect to AV.

As can be seen from Table 1 above, the Begak Dependent only exists in the UV-form and lacks an AV-form, unlike other Sabahan languages which have corresponding forms in all voices. However, the gap in the paradigm is filled by the AV-Incompletive. If syntax forces the verb to appear in the AV-form, the AV-Incompletive marking is used.

6.2. The Actor Voice class prefixes

6.2.1. The prefixes *gə-*, *bəg-* and *məng-*

The Actor Voice in Volitive Mood is characterised by prefixation with one of the class prefixes *gə-*, *bəg-* or *məng-*. Assignment to one of the classes is based on phonology and to a more limited extent on semantics. Phonological restrictions are that stems starting with a coronal or labial consonant (*s, t, d, n, l, r, b, p, m*) take the prefix *gə-*, as in (8); the class prefix *bəg-* selects stems with a vowel or with a velar consonant (*g, k*) as in (9); while verbs starting with a vowel or a coronal consonant (*s, t, d, n, l, r*) take *məng-*, as in (10). Note that the domain of *məng-* overlaps with that of *gə-* (coronals) and with *bəg-* (vowel-initial or monosyllabic stems).

- | | | | | | |
|------|-------------------------------|---------------------|-----|------------------|----------------|
| (8) | <i>gə-lindut</i> | 'run' | (9) | <i>bəg-arab</i> | 'look for' |
| | <i>gə-lunguy</i> | 'swim' | | <i>bəg-ə-lid</i> | 'search' |
| | <i>gə-nupi</i> | 'dream' | | <i>bəg-isud</i> | 'bring' |
| | <i>gə-səgkow</i> | 'call' | | <i>bəg-undom</i> | 'miss someone' |
| | <i>gə-dagang</i> | 'buy' | | <i>bə-guru</i> | 'learn' |
| | <i>gə-tindak</i> | 'step on' | | <i>bə-kuttu</i> | 'pick (fruit)' |
| | <i>gə-lassi</i> | 'peel' | | <i>bə-kaung</i> | 'clear land' |
| | <i>gə-runi</i> | 'talk' | | <i>bəg-uang</i> | 'bark' |
| (10) | <i>məng-asso</i> | 'read' | | | |
| | <i>məng-ukos</i> | 'cut' | | | |
| | <i>mənugal (məng-tugal)</i> | 'plant with dibble' | | | |
| | <i>mənarab (məng-sarab)</i> | 'burn ricefield' | | | |
| | <i>məndatas (məng-tadtas)</i> | 'chase' | | | |

The semantic difference and difference in valency of the verbs in the three classes is less clear. The classes of *gə-* and *bəg-* contain predominantly action verbs which may be intransitive or transitive. Many, though not all of the transitive verbs of these classes express a low degree of affectedness; i.e. the patient of the

action, in which case it receives its completive interpretation from the context. If the syntax forces a causative verb to appear in the UV, it appears in the UV-Completive aspect if it refers to a completed event and in the UV-Dependent if it refers to the present or (near) future.

sentence is not very much affected by the action. Moody (1991) adequately describes *bə(g)-* and *gə-* verbs as verbs with low transitivity in the sense of Hopper and Tompson (1980), where transitivity is used as a semantic notion rather than as a syntactic notion, meaning the degree of volitionality of the agent, and a high degree of affectedness of the patient.

The class of verbs prefixed with *məng-* contains predominantly transitive verbs and hardly any intransitives. Most verbs that have the right phonological shape and whose patient has a high degree of affectedness belong to this class, along with others that are lower in affectedness.

Sentences (11) and (12) illustrate intransitive verbs prefixed with *gə-*, while (13) is transitive:

- (11) *Mutap satu kito gəlumba'.*
 mutap satu kito gə-lumba'
 tomorrow one 1P.I.N/G AV-race
 'The day after tomorrow we will race.' [Tuttulp111]
- (12) *Pog "na!" kəmo tuttul, gəlindut kat payow.*
 pog "na!" kəmo tuttul gə-lindut kat payow
 when EXCL QM watersnail AV-run CDM deer
 'When the watersnail said "now!" the deer ran.' [Tuttulp113]
- (13) *Suga' kəmo ino da gərambut nipon,*
 suga' kəmo ino da gə-rambut nipon
 but if yonder PR AV-pull.out tooth

pio pasor, apon pədtos bəgko.
 pio pasor apon pədtos bəgko
 good because NEG.P ill also
 'But when he pulls out teeth he is good (at his job) because it does not hurt.'
 [Conversationkoko1 105]

The verb *bəguang* 'bark' in (14) is intransitive, while examples (15) through (17) contain transitive verbs from the *bəg-* class:

- (14) *Asu ino bəguang nong babpa' balay Gias.*
 asu ino bəg-uang nong babpa' balay Gias
 dog yonder AV-bark OBL mouth house Gias
 'Immediately the dog started to bark near the front of Gias' house.' [Payow Mas 046]

The following examples show transitive verbs with *bəg-* in the AV.

- (15) *Sawot tunong ano Adil bəgisud namon.*
 sawot tunong ano Adil bəg-isud namon
 arrive here that Adil AV-send 1P.E.A
 'Adil brought us until here.' [Conversation koko1 036]

- (16) *Bəgaus basi kito kəmo da panow mutap.*
 bəg-aus basi kito kəmo da panow mutap
 AV-bring bushknife 1P.1.N/G if PR go tomorrow
 ‘Let us bring our bushknife if we go tomorrow.’ [Conversation koko1 356]
- (17) *Mannu-mannu kat kəmmi bəkakkam tuttul.*
 mannu-mannu kat kəmmi bə-kakkam tuttul
 very-RED CDM 1P.E.N/G AV-feel.around watersnail
 ‘We did our best feeling around (to look for) watersnails.’ [Conversation koko1 325]

Examples (18) through (20) illustrate a few *məng-* verbs, which are all transitive:

- (18) *Suga’ ino kalay ku di kəmo məngallan nipon nnong.*
 suga’ ino kalay ku adi kəmo məng-allan nipon nnong
 but yonder not.want 1S.G over.there if AV-make tooth here
 ‘But this is what I do not like: if (he) makes (false) teeth there.’ [Conversation koko1 103]
- (19) *Ulun pasod nnong mənakow mangan putti.*
 ulun pasod nnong məng-takow mangan putti
 person many here AV-steal AV.eat banana
 ‘Crowds of people are stealing there and eating bananas.’ [Conversationcorn 230]
- (20) *Arji məngəgbuk duktur pakar masong.*
 Arji məng-təgbuk duktur pakar masong
 Arji AV-meet doctor specialist still.again
 ‘Arji even went to see a specialist.’ [Conversationcorn 424]

As mentioned in section 3.5., a handful of verbal roots can be prefixed with either *məng-* in one sense of the root; or with *gə-* or *bəg-* in another sense of the root. In most cases, the *məng-* variant is transitive or expresses an inchoative sense, whereas the *gə-* or *bəg-* variant express an intransitive or ongoing activity. Sentence (21a) contains such an intransitive verb *gə-timbak* ‘explode’ prefixed with *gə-*, whereas its equivalent *mənimbak* ‘shoot’ prefixed with *məng-* in (21b) is transitive. The verb *gəsəgkow* ‘call’ in (22a) expresses an ongoing action whereas its equivalent *məngəgkow* ‘call’ in (22b) expresses an inchoative event.

- (21) a. *Ahir rumo, da ragob apuy, gətimbak təray pəlanuk.*
 ahir rumo da ragob apuy gə-timbak təray pəlanuk
 end (M) 3S PR get.hot fire AV-shoot belly mouse.deer
 ‘In the end, the fire got really hot and the mouse deer’s belly exploded.’
 [Tessorp232]
- b. *Akay tu ulun mənimbak pəsawow, ttan ku sipag.*
 akay tu ulun məng-timbak pəsawow ttan ku sipag
 EXIST too person AV-shoot river.lobster see.UV 1S.G other.side
 ‘There are people there shooting shrimps, I saw them (at) the other side.’
 [Conversation koko1 219]

- (22) a. (..) *da gəʂəgkɔw* “*o bowon bura*” *kəmo rumo*.
 (..) *da gə-səgkɔw* *o bowon bura*’ *kəmo rumo*
 (..) PR AV-call EXCL sparrow white.feathered QTM 3S
 ‘When he got home he would call ‘O Whitefeathered sparrow!’”
 [Bowon Bura’ 161]
- b. *Pog mənəgkɔw ACD naran anak Səmərayang ne tu*.
pog mənəg-səgkɔw ACD naran anak Səmərayang ne tu
 when AV-call ACD name child Semerayang this too
 ‘When the ACD (certain function in medical staff) called (Arji, it was)
 Semerayang’s child’s name.’ (Context: Arji borrowed Semerayang’s identity
 card to see a doctor.) [Conversationcorn 418]

Although certain semantic tendencies can be discovered in the assignment to one of the three classes of *gə-*, *bəg-* and *mənəg-*, the choice of the prefix remains rather arbitrary.

6.2.2. The derivational use of the Actor Voice class prefixes

Although *gə-*, *bəg-* and *mənəg-* can hardly be semantically distinguished in the context of inflection on dynamic verbal stems, their functional difference is more evident in derivation. The prefix *mənəg-* derives exclusively causative transitive verbs from stative verbal roots and adjectival roots, whereas *gə-* and *bəg-* derive inchoative intransitive verbs.⁴

(23) <i>a-</i>	gloss	<i>mənəg-</i>	gloss
<i>a-gbog</i>	‘broken’	<i>mənəg-ə-gbog</i>	‘break something’
<i>a-nnud</i>	‘afloat’	<i>mənəg-ə-nnud</i>	‘to float something’
<i>a-nsur</i>	‘crushed’	<i>mənəg-ə-nsur</i>	‘crush’
<i>a-bpob</i>	‘smoked’	<i>mənəg-ə-bpob</i>	‘smoke something’

⁴ In these examples the stative verb is clearly primary and the dynamic verb with *mənəg-* the derived form, because these forms need not be prefixed with *b-* or *p-* before prefixation with the Non-volitive prefix *a-*. Dynamic verbal roots that are subminimal or start with a geminate or consonant cluster and are augmented with schwa must be prefixed with *b-* or *p-* before prefixation with the Non-volitive prefix *a-*: not **atot* but *a-p-ə-tot* ‘oppressed’. In cases of consonant-initial roots that can function as a stative verb, it remains questionable whether the root is the basic form and the dynamic *mənəg-* form derived or whether the dynamic *mənəg-* form is the basic verb and the stative form, the unaffixed root, derived. Consonant-initial roots that can function as a stative verb are discussed in section 6.3.

- (24) *Aku malu' məngəpɔb balay no,*
 aku malu' məng-ə-bpɔb balay ino
 1S.N want AV-smoke house yonder
- kalay səmuok lammuk.*
 kalay -əm-suok lammuk
 not.want -DEP-enter musquito
 'I want to smoke the house so that the musquitos do not enter.'

As these derived verbs are transitive, they can also occur in the UV-Completive Aspect and in the Dependent, whereas intransitive dynamic verbs derived from stative verbs through prefixation with *gə-* or *bəg-* cannot occur in the UV-Completive Aspect or in the Dependent.

As was mentioned in section 4.2.2., *gə-* and *bəg-* turn stative verbal roots and adjectival roots into dynamic verbs. The following lists show the semantic effect of *gə-* and *bəg-* on stative verbs and adjectives. Stative verbal roots or adjectives that are subminimal or that start with a geminate or consonant cluster are prefixed with the Non-volitive prefix *a-*, whereas consonant-initial stative verbs are optionally prefixed with *a-*. Stative verbal roots or adjectival roots that are subminimal or that start with a geminate or consonant cluster or with a velar consonant are prefixed with *bəg-* to receive an a dynamic, inchoative sense, as in (25) whereas stative verbs starting with a coronal or labial consonant are prefixed with *gə-*, as in (26).

- | (25) | Non-volitive prefix <i>a-</i> | gloss | AV-prefix <i>bəg-</i> | gloss |
|------|-------------------------------|---------|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| | <i>a-ttas</i> | 'high' | <i>bəg-ə-ttas</i> | 'become high' |
| | <i>a-mmis</i> | 'sweet' | <i>bəg-ə-mmis</i> | 'become sweet' |
| | <i>a-ssak</i> | 'ripe' | <i>bəg-ə-ssak</i> | 'become ripe' |
| | <i>a-bpuk</i> | 'dizzy' | <i>bəg-ə-bpuk</i> | 'become dizzy' |
| | <i>a-dtu'</i> | 'far' | <i>bəg-ə-dtu'</i> | 'go far away' |
| | <i>a-tug</i> | 'dry' | <i>bəg-ə-tug</i> | 'be drying' |
| | <i>a-llun</i> | 'alive' | <i>bəg-ə-llun</i> | 'live, keep oneself alive' |
-
- | (26) | stem | gloss | AV-prefix <i>gə-</i> | gloss |
|------|----------------|---------|----------------------|---------------------------|
| | <i>lənnod</i> | 'drown' | <i>gə-lənnod</i> | 'almost drowning' |
| | <i>matay</i> | 'die' | <i>gə-matay</i> | 'almost dying' |
| | <i>siop</i> | 'ready' | <i>gə-siop</i> | 'getting ready' |
| | <i>pio</i> | 'good' | <i>gə-pio</i> | 'becoming better' |
| | <i>lundung</i> | 'lazy' | <i>gə-lundung</i> | 'becoming lazy' |
| | <i>mulok</i> | 'young' | <i>gə-mulok</i> | 'want to be/become young' |
| | <i>puti'</i> | 'white' | <i>gə-puti'</i> | 'become white' |

Sentences (27) and (28) illustrate dynamic verbs derived from adjectival roots by prefixation with *gə-*. All these verbs receive an inchoative sense if prefixed with an AV-prefix.

- (27) a. *Paray di' adi bay malu' gəputi'.*
 paray di adi bay malu' gə-puti'
 paddy LOC over.there PRF want AV-white
 'The rice overthere is already becoming white.' [Notebook]
- b. *Puti' bowon ano, satu-satu tun sija' puti'.*
 puti' bowon ano satu-satu tun sija' puti'
 white sparrow yonder one-RED really merely white
 'That sparrow was white, really only one (sparrow) was white.' [Bowon Bura' 026]
- (28) a. *(..) ama' ku gəlundung bəgusur suran.*
 (..) ama' ku gə-lundung bəg-usur suran
 (..) father 1S.G AV-lazy AV-tell story
 '(..) my father became lazy telling stories.' (He became tired of it.)' [Notebook]
- b. *Ama' ku bay lundung bəgusur suran.*
 ama' ku bay lundung bəg-usur suran
 father 1S.G PRF lazy AV-tell story
 'My father is already lazy telling stories.' (He already does not feel like it.)

Sentences (29) and (30) show how psych verbs can receive a stronger sense if prefixed with an AV-prefix. If the verb *ləbpom* is used without AV-morphology, it means 'to think, to guess', but if prefixed with *gə-*, it means 'to accuse someone'. Similarly, *lumon* means 'be silent', but *gəlumon* means that a person is deliberately silent about something. This verb not only receives an inchoative, dynamic sense, but also a somewhat stronger meaning.

- (29) a. *(..) gələbpom miro key.*
 gə-ləbpom miro key
 AV-think 3P FOC
 '(..) they just accuse/suspect (her of it).' [Conversationkoko3 152]
- b. *Ləbpom ku bəgko miro di bəgeus kərito no.*
 ləbpom ku bəgko miro adi bəg--i-aus kərito ino
 think.UV 1S.G also 3P over.there AV--COM-bring car yonder
 'I guess they went by car (lit. taken the car).' [ConversationtriptoLD 143]
- (30) a. *Ali lumon.*
 Ali lumon
 Ali silent
 'Ali is silent.'
- b. *Gəlumon tun ikow!*
 gə-lumon tun ikow
 AV-silent really 2S.N
 'You are really purposely silent about it!'

Sentences (31) through (33) illustrate some verbs consisting of an adjectival root and a prefix *gə-* or *bəg-*. These verbs receive an inchoative and or volitional sense if

prefixed with an AV-prefix. The prefix *bəg-* in (33) turns the the root *llun* ‘alive’ into a dynamic verb meaning ‘live’ instead of the stative ‘alive’.

- (31) a. *Ulan ku bay bəgətug.*
 ulan ku bay bəg-ə-tug
 clothes 1S.G PRF AV-dry
 ‘My clothes are already drying.’
- b. *Ulan ku bay atug.*
 ulan ku bay a-tug
 clothes 1S.G PRF NV-dry
 ‘My clothes are already dry.’
- (32) a. *‘Aro mo panow bəgədtu’”, kəmo Pəngian.*
 aro mo panow bəg-ə-dtu’ kəmo Pəngian
 NEG.IMP 2S.G go AV-far QM sultan’s.wife
 ‘Don’t you go far away’”, said the Sultan’s Wife. [Mengera’Kusur].
- b. *Balay iro Itun adtu’ sakko tunong.*
 balay iro Itun a-dtu’ sakko tunong
 house COL Itun NV-far from here
 ‘The house of Itun and her family is far from here.’
- (33) a. *Məṛəḡkang no (..)bəḡəllun tu ḡərunay rumo.*
 məṛəḡkang ino bəḡ-ə-llun tu ḡərunay rumo
 child yonder AV-live too self 3S
 ‘The child (..) kept herself alive.’ [Dayangpukli 010]
- b. *Ləṅgati seggow ku digapbi di allun masong.*
 ləṅgati -i-saggow ku digapbi adi a-llun masong
 rain.worm -COM-catch.UV 1S.G yesterday over.there NV-live still.again
 ‘The rainworms I caught yesterday are still allive.’ (Context: fishing) [Notebook]

More examples of dynamic verbs derived from stative verbal roots and adjectival roots through prefixation with *gə-* or *bəg-* can be found in section 4.2.2.

All three AV-prefixes derive denominal verbs. The denominal verbs derived with the prefix *məṅg-* tend to be contain more (syntactically) transitive verbs and tend to have a higher degree of affectedness than denominal verbs derived with the prefix *gə-* or *bəg-*. For instance, the verb *gə-tassam* means to grow vegetables whereas the verb *məṅg-tassam* (*məṅg-tassam*) means ‘look for edible leaves that can be used as vegetable’, or ‘make a vegetable dish of certain edible leaves’. But again, this is just a tendency.

(34)	stem	gloss	derivation	gloss
	<i>asu</i>	'dog'	<i>məngasu</i>	'hunt with dogs'
	<i>tassam</i>	'vegetables'	<i>mənassam</i>	'make a vegetable dish'
	<i>salag</i>	'shelter/smokehut'	<i>mənalag</i>	'smoke something'
	<i>pindat</i>	'clams'	<i>məngindat</i>	'look for clams'
	<i>tagay</i>	'salt'	<i>mənagay</i>	'put salt on something'

The *məng-* class contains many verbs derived from nouns denoting food items. These verbs often mean 'to look for food', 'to go hunting or gathering for food'. Other *məng-* verbs derived from nouns mean 'to go hunting or gathering with the help of N'. Examples of verbs derived from nouns denoting food items, instruments for hunting and other nouns are given below.⁵

- (35) *Inggos bərmatay pasod məngindat llung dallom.*
 inggos bərmatay pasod məng-pindat llung dallom
 all spirits.of.dead many AV-clam river deep
 'All the many spirits of the dead went looking for clams in the deep part of the river.'
 [Masi dalam 014] (Context: a living person goes to the underworld to meet her deceased daughter and discovers that the dead do all things the opposite way.)
- (36) '*Panow məməssi*' *kəmo Kalibambang.*
 panow məng-pəssi kəmo kalibambang
 go AV-fishing.line.without.rod QTM butterfly
 '“Lets' go fishing without a rod (with a line only)”, said the Butterfly.'
 [Kalibambang bio Sengoyan 010]
- (37) *Kubad panow məngasu, kubad jago pəsalag.*
 kubad panow məng-asu kubad jago pəsalag
 rest go AV-dog rest watch (M) shelter
 'Some would go hunting with dogs and the rest would watch the shelter.' [Məngasu 003]
- (38) *Suga' rumo ukat mənabang mənapow balay.*
 suga' rumo ukat məng-tabang məng-sapow balay
 but 3S hearsay AV-help AV-roof house
 'But he will help roofing the house, so he said.' [Conversationselectingseed 350]

If *gə-* and *bəg-* are prefixed to a nominal root, they derive an action verb.⁶ The following list shows some examples of verbs derived from nouns with the prefixes *gə-* and *bəg-*.

⁵ The denominal verbs in (36), (37) and (38) form the verbal complement of another verb *panow* 'go' or *mənabang* 'help', but they can occur independently as a main verb in another context.

⁶ The term factitive is used by Van den Berg (1989:198) to describe similar verbs.

(39)	base noun	gloss	derived verb	gloss
	<i>gkun</i>	'village'	<i>bəg-ə-gkun</i>	'live in a village'
	<i>apuy</i>	'fire'	<i>bəg-apuy</i>	'cook'
	<i>anak</i>	'child'	<i>bəg-anak</i>	'bear a child'
	<i>ulan</i>	'load, clothes'	<i>bəg-ulan</i>	'load'
	<i>alud</i>	'boat'	<i>bəg-alud</i>	'go by boat'
	<i>igkang</i>	'corn field'	<i>bəg-igkang</i>	'grow corn'
	<i>ai'</i>	'younger sibling'	<i>bəg-ai'</i>	'call or treat as younger sibling'
	<i>kəruk</i>	'nose flute'	<i>bə-kəruk</i>	'play nose flute'
(40)	base noun	gloss	derived verb	gloss
	<i>dəllay</i>	'maize'	<i>gə-dəllay</i>	'grow maize'
	<i>tassam</i>	'vegetable'	<i>gə-tassam</i>	'grow vegetables'
	<i>russay</i>	'religious dance'	<i>gə-russay</i>	'perform the russay dance'
	<i>baju</i>	'shirt'	<i>gə-baju</i>	'wear a shirt'
	<i>təgunggu'</i>	'gong'	<i>gə-təgunggu'</i>	'play gong'
	<i>dukut</i>	'grass'	<i>gə-dukut</i>	'weed'
	<i>lansong</i>	'nail'	<i>gə-lansong</i>	'nail'

The derived verbs can be transitive and intransitive. Whether they are prefixed with *gə-* or *bəg-* depends on the phonological shape of the root, but not on the semantics. The list of verbs derived with *gə-* contains transitive and intransitive verbs and so does the list of *bəg-*. The following sentences all contain verbs derived from a nominal root. (41) contains a verb derived from the noun *baju* 'shirt'; (42) contains the verb *gətəgunggu'* from the noun *təgunggu'* 'gong'; (43) contains two verbs derived from the nouns *dəllay* 'maize' and *igkang* 'maizefield' respectively.

- (41) *Ulan no pon gəbaju.*
 ulun ino apon gə-baju
 person yonder NEG.P AV-shirt
 'The person does not wear a shirt.' (Context: in a session of clairvoyance)
 [Ama' kupedtos 275]
- (42) *Mulay-mulay rumo gətəgunggu'.*
 mulay-mulay rumo gə-təgunggu'
 begin-RED 3S AV-gong
 '(..) in the beginning (they) play the gong.' [Russay 005]
- (43) *Kəmo kito malu' gədəllay, kəmo*
 kəmo kito malu' gə-dəllay kəmo
 if 1P.I.N/G want AV-maize if
- di' bpung sərait kəmmi no bəgigkang.*
 di' bpung sə-rait kəmmi ino bəg-igkang
 LOC former.time NOM-pronounce 1P.E.N/G yonder AV-cornfield
 'If we want to grow corn, as for former times we called it to work on a cornfield.'
 [Begigkang 001]

The following sentences illustrate verbs derived from nominal roots by prefixation with *bəg-*:

- (44) *Bəgapuy kat rumo key.*
bəg-apuy kat rumo key
 AV-fire CDM 3S FOC
 ‘She started to cook.’ [Bowon Bura’ 203]
- (45) *Inggos io’ ku ne bəgai’ nong nakon.*
inggos io’ ku ne bəg-ai’ nong nakon
 all older.sibling 1S.G this AV-younger.sibling OBL 1S.A
 ‘(She said) ‘All my older sisters treat me as their younger sister’ (i.e. they are telling me what to do).’ [Nine princesses 021]
- (46) *Dadi rumo pun, di’ bpung bəkəruk.*
dadi rumo pun di’ bpung bə-kəruk
 so 3S too (M) LOC former.time AV-flute
 ‘So he also used to play the (nose) flute.’ [Nine princesses 082]
- (47) *Jadi panow kat kalibambang, bəgalud.*
jadi panow kat kalibambang bəg-alud
 so go CDM butterfly AV-boat
 ‘So the Butterfly went to navigate a boat.’ [Kalibambang bio sengoyan 004]

6.2.3. Summary

The Actor Voice is marked by one of the three class prefixes *gə-*, *bəg-* or *məng-*. Verbs are assigned to one of the three morphological classes on the basis of phonological and semantic criteria, but class membership is arbitrary to a certain extent. There is, however, a semantic difference between the classes *gə-* and *bəg-* on the one hand and *məng-* on the other. Stative verbal roots affixed with *gə-* or *bəg-* receive an inchoative interpretation, while prefixation with *məng-* causativises them. *Gə-* and *bəg-* derive transitive and intransitive verbs from nominal roots, while many denominal verbs with *məng-* are transitive.

6.3. The Undergoer Voice Incompletive

The Undergoer Voice is characterised by the absence of the class prefixes *gə-*, *bəg-* or *məng-*. The UV-Incompletive can be expressed in three ways, depending on the semantics and shape of the verbal root. Consonant-initial bisyllabic roots appear unaffixed, as they are already phonologically independent, whereas vowel-initial roots of dynamic verbs or monosyllabic roots are prefixed with either *p-* or *b-*. The prefix *p-* is the default stem forming prefix for vowel-initial or monosyllabic roots, while *b-* forms stems of verbal roots with middle semantics.

UV-Incompletive forms do not always have the same volitive mood

semantics as the AV-Incomplete forms described in the section above. In certain temporal subordinate clauses, the UV-Incomplete forms are similar in meaning to their AV-equivalents. In main clauses, however, UV-Incomplete forms have Non-volitive Mood semantics, similar to verbs inflected for Non-volitive Mood.⁷

Despite the fact that bare verbal roots and roots affixed with *b-* or *p-* have stative semantics in main clauses, they must formally, according to the paradigm, be analysed as UV-Incomplete forms. AV-Incomplete forms consist of a root prefixed with a class prefix; AV-Complete forms consist of a root prefixed with a class prefix and the Complete Aspect infix *-i-*. UV-Complete forms either consist of a consonant-initial root without class prefix, affixed with a Complete Aspect affix; or of a vowel-initial root prefixed with a semantically empty, stem forming prefix *b-* or *p-* and infixed with the Complete Aspect infix; ergo UV-Incomplete forms consist of just the root or of a vowel-initial root prefixed with *b-* or *p-*.⁸

In fact, it could be argued that the phonologically independent stem is ambiguous between an inflected and a derived form. In main clauses it functions as an UV-Incomplete verb, which is inflectional. In main clauses it functions as a stative verb derived from a dynamic verb, which may form the base of an inchoative verb derived with one of the AV-prefixes *gə-* or *bəg-*, comparable to the inchoative verbs described in section 6.2.2. This usage is derivational.

Section 6.3.1. treats consonant-initial forms, section 6.3.2. forms with the default stem forming prefix *p-*, which are only formally different from but semantically identical in meaning to the forms in 6.3.2. Section 6.3.3. discusses forms with *b-*, and section 6.3.4. briefly mentions derivations of inchoative verbs with AV-prefixes.

6.3.1. Unaffixed root

Unaffixed roots have the same semantics as AV-verbs if they occur in temporal subordinates expressing simultaneity introduced by *sob* 'when' or *pog* 'when'. In this construction, the verb retains its volitive semantics and the only difference with

⁷ Unaffixed roots of transitive verbs with eventive instead of stative semantics seem to be more common in Ida'an. Moody (1989) writes that the following example is grammatical in Ida'an:

- (i) *Dagang ku pait di' pasor*
 buy.UV 1S.G fish LOC market
 'I am buying fish at the market.' (Glosses are mine, N.G.)

Moody (p.c.) remarks that other examples are rare but nevertheless exist in Ida'an.

⁸ This situation is similar to that of the Sarawak language Melanau, where the prefix *p(e)-* marks the Subject Focus Stative (my AV-Non-volitive) for the MNP class (one phonologically determined class of verbs), while the unaffixed form of the verb is Object Focus Stative (my UV-Non-volitive) of MNP verbs. The unaffixed form is ambiguous between Subject Focus-Stative or Object Focus-Stative of UIE-verbs (the other class of verbs) (Clayre 1972:336).

the AV is that the undergoer is the subject of the clause instead of the actor. Example (48) shows this construction with the verb *litong* ‘spy’ in the temporal clause. This verb is unmistakably volitional. Similarly, in (49), the subordinate describes a volitional action. This sentence is taken from the story about the Monkey and the Butterfly who go riding a sugar cane boat. Monkey does not know that the boat is made of sugar cane because Butterfly has not told him, but when the water splashing in his face tastes sweet, he licks the boat and the paddle to find out why the water is sweet. After tasting the boat, he eats up the boat and drowns.

- (48) *Sob litong rumo, ddi’ iro duo no di’ ttas.*
 sob litong rumo ddi’ iro duo ino di’ ttas
 when spy.UV 3S there COL two yonder LOC top
 ‘When she spied (on Princess Dayangpukli and the Crown Prince), those two were there, above (in the palace).’ [Dayangpukli takes revenge 118]
- (49) *Pog silak gaud no, ammis pa, təbpu.*
 pog silak gaud ino ammis pa təbpu
 when lick.UV paddle yonder sweet PRT sugercane
 ‘When (Monkey) licked the paddle, it was sweet, it was (made of) sugar cane.’ [Kalibambang bio Sengoyan 037]

UV-Incompletive verbs in main clauses, however, often have slightly Non-volitive Mood semantics: they express non-volitional, unintentional events or states, or (in)ability. UV-Incompletive verbs may be transitive dynamic verbs or transitive psych verbs or verbs of perception. Most psych verbs and some consonant-initial verbs of perception occur unaffixed if a non-intentional event is described, but they appear in the AV or UV-Dependent if an intentional event is described, as was illustrated in (29) (*ləbpom* ‘guess’) and (21b) (*ttan* ‘see’) above. Examples are listed below:

- | | | | | |
|------|---------------|--------------|----------------------------|---------------------|
| (50) | UV | gloss | AV | gloss |
| | <i>gədtam</i> | ‘remember’ | <i>bə-gədtam</i> | ‘remember’ |
| | <i>liwag</i> | ‘forget’ | <i>gə-liwag</i> | ‘forget’ |
| | <i>lati</i> | ‘understand’ | <i>bə-gə-lati, kə-lati</i> | ‘give a meaning to’ |
| | <i>ləbpom</i> | ‘guess’ | <i>gə-ləbpom</i> | ‘accuse’ |
| | <i>ttan</i> | ‘see’ | <i>kə-ttan</i> | ‘see’ |

Unaffixed verbal roots of dynamic verbs, however, are quite rare in Begak. Most intransitive and transitive dynamic verbs lack this form and consequently their paradigms are incomplete. Some unaffixed roots of transitive verbs are listed below, with their AV-equivalent. Most of the unaffixed forms have a non-intentional meaning.

(51)	UV	gloss	AV	gloss
	<i>tapuk</i>	'left over, stay behind'	<i>mənapuk</i>	'leave behind'
	<i>tuttug</i>	'fall out (hair, grains)	<i>mənuttug</i>	'take out grains'
	<i>saggow</i>	'get caught'	<i>mənaggow</i>	'catch'
	<i>təgbuk</i>	'come across'	<i>məntəgbuk</i>	'meet'
	<i>təssong</i>	'blocked (nose)'	<i>məntəssong</i>	'stuff, block something'
	<i>təbpas</i>	'fall off'	<i>məntəbpas</i>	'make fall into its place'

Some of these roots are clearly transitive and their actor is almost always present; others are transitive but their actor is often omitted, while some unaffixed roots are anti-causative and intransitive (see Comrie 1985 for the term anti-causative).⁹ Sentence (52) illustrates how the UV-verb *təgbuk* 'meet' means to come across' if unprefixated, whereas the same root means 'intentionally meet' if prefixed with the AV-class prefix *məng-*, as in (20) above. This verb is transitive just like its AV-equivalent.

(52)	<i>(..)da</i>	<i>təgbuk</i>	<i>rumo</i>	<i>satu</i>	<i>pəsuog</i>	<i>kayu.</i>
	da	təgbuk	rumo	satu	pəsuog	kayu
	PR	meet.UV	3S	one	CL.tree	tree
	'(..) then he came across a tree.' [Soksok 010]					

Prefixation of the verbs in (50) with the Non-volitive prefix *a-* only emphasises the accidental character of the event, but the difference in meaning is subtle and in some cases non-existent. Sentence (53) shows how the unprefixated UV-form of the verb *saggow* 'catch' hardly differs in meaning from the UV-Non-volitive form *asaggow* 'get caught'; the two forms are used in one coordinated sentence.

(53)	<i>Jadi</i>	<i>asaggow</i>	<i>Ali,</i>	<i>suran</i>	<i>ilun</i>	<i>la,</i>	
	jadi	a-saggow	Ali	suran	ilun	la	
	so	NV-catch.UV	Ali	story	other.people	PRT	
	<i>saggow</i>	<i>Ali</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>səbob</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>soksok</i>	<i>ino.</i>
	saggow	Ali	ne	səbob	ka	soksok	ino
	catch.UV	Ali	this	because	PRT	house lizard	yonder
	'So Ali got caught, according to the story of other people, Ali was caught, because of the sound of the house lizard.' [Soksok 038]						

⁹ The term 'anti-causative' originally refers to intransitive verbs derived from lexical causative verbs such as *melt*, *break*. In Begak, however, it is often unclear whether the intransitive or the transitive form is the basic form. On the one hand, the transitive form, which is affixed with the AV-prefix *məng-* or another Volitive Mood prefix, is morphologically more complex than the unaffixed root; so that it may be strange to consider the unaffixed form 'anti-causative', and more appropriate to consider the transitive form 'causative'. On the other hand, the transitive AV-(Incompletive) form with *məng-* stands in a paradigmatic relation with the intransitive unaffixed form: it is the absence of morphology that expresses UV-Incompletive. I will continue to refer to intransitive unaffixed forms as 'anti-causative', because of the function of the absence of affixation in Begak.

Some verbs become intransitive and anti-causative when uninflected, for example, the verb *təbpas* in (54a) means ‘accidentally fall off’ with or without the UV-non-volitive prefix *a-*, but it means ‘make (a curtain or mosquito net) fall into its place’ if prefixed with the AV-class prefix *məng-*, as in (54b). The unaffixed form is intransitive, unlike its AV-equivalent. Note that items that are possibly intransitive are not glossed with UV.

- (54) a. *(A)təbpas* *ulu* *ku* *sakko* *nong* *niug*.
 (a-)təbpas ulu ku sakko nong niug
 (NV-)fall.down head 1S.G from OBL coconut
 ‘(My) head fell off the coconut.’ Context: someone is camping outside
 and uses a coconut as a pillow.) [Notebook]
- b. *Siti* *məntəbpas* *kələmbu*.
 Siti məng-təbpas kələmbu
 Siti AV-fall.down mosquito.net
 ‘Siti makes the mosquito net fall into its place.’ (She installs the mosquito net)
- (55) a. *Bay* *tittoy* *tapuk* *ləbpo* *səkkol* *no*.
 bay tittoy tapuk ləbpo səkkol ino
 PRF small stay.behind more sugar yonder
 ‘There is already only a little sugar left.’ [Mi-Suk2 415]
- b. *Aku* *səmbay* *məntapuk* *ləngkumman* *ttak* *asu* *no*.
 aku səmbay məng-tapuk ləngkumman ttak asu ino
 1S.N must AV-stay.behind food portion dog yonder
 ‘I have to leave a portion of the food for the dogs.’ [Mi-Suk3B 061]

For items where the unaffixed variant is intransitive, it is difficult if not impossible to determine whether they are actually roots of dynamic verbs that can function as stative verbs in their bare form or whether they are actually stative verbs that can be causativised and turned into a dynamic verb by inflecting them with Volitive Mood morphology. For example, it is unclear whether the unaffixed root *tapuk* ‘stay behind’ is the basic form or the *məng-* form *məntapuk* ‘leave behind’. In this case, it is perhaps better to assume that there is no basic form, but that they stand in a paradigmatic relation to each other.

6.3.2. The prefix *p-*

Vowel-initial roots of dynamic verbs in the UV-Incompletive Aspect are prefixed with *p-* or *b-*, depending on the semantics of the stem. Verbs expressing bodily position or motion are prefixed with *b-*; this prefix is treated in the next section. The prefix *p-* is the neutral, default choice. The prefixes *p-* and *b-* for vowel-initial stems do not mark UV-Incompletive Aspect themselves; they are only stem forming prefixes that create phonologically independent stems (see section 3.2.2.2.). Phonologically independent stems which are not affixed any further are interpreted

as UV-Incompletive Aspect by default. If a root is prefixed with *p-* in combination with other affixes, the *p-* has no meaning, as it only creates a stem. Therefore the prefix will be glossed as SF: ‘stem forming prefix’. Many consonant-initial dynamic verbs lack the unaffixed form, and similarly, many vowel-initial transitive verbal roots lack a form with *p-* too, probably because the slightly Non-volitive semantics of unaffixed stems or roots with *p-* is not compatible with every transitive verb.

Again, the UV-Incompletive has volitive semantics in temporal subordinates expressing simultaneity, as in (56), a sentence from a story about a prince Monay. The verb in (56) is prefixed with *p-* because right at the moment Monay looks up, he is reminded of his wife (who has now changed back into a bird and flies right above his head).

- (56) *Sob payas Monay gədino bowon no,*
 sob p-ayas monay gədino bowon ino,
 when SF-look.up.UV young.man in.yonder.way sparrow yonder

da akay tillab nong atay Monay.

da akay tillab nong atay monay
 PR EXIST shock OBL liver young.man

‘When Young Man looked up in this way, he rememberd (it) with a shock (there was a shock in his liver).’ [Bowon Bura’ 222]

- (57) *Sob pata’ miro, sob pəgkot rumo*
 sob p-ata’ miro sob p-ə-gkot rumo
 when SF-look.UV 3P when SF-work.UV 3S

anak rumo ne pa mənguat, təmmil.

anak rumo ne pa məng-uat təmmil

child 3S this PRT AV-get.up cool

‘When they looked, when she touched her child to get it up, it was cold.’

Some other forms attested in this construction are given in (58). These verbs remain transitive and volitional when occurring with *p-*.¹⁰

- (58) **UV with *p-*** **gloss** **AV** **gloss**
p-ila’ ‘cut in two’ *məng-ila’* ‘cut in two’
p-inum ‘drink’ *məng-inum* ‘drink’
p-adtik ‘raise something’ *məng-adtik* ‘raise something’
p-ukag ‘open’ *məng-ukag* ‘open something’

UV-Incompletive verbs in main-clauses with *p-* are similar in semantics to the Non-volitive forms. The verbs in (59) are verbs of perception that are ambiguous between

¹⁰ The Begak phonology deletes root-initial consonants after prefixation with *m-* and *məng-* (see section 2.4.2.1.); therefore it is unclear which verbs in the lists below are actually vowel-initial roots inflected with *p-* and which ones are actually adjectives, stative verbs or active verbs whose root starts with a /p/. However, in most cases of transitive verbs *p-* definitively does not belong to the root.

an (in)ability reading and a non-volitional, unintentional reading when prefixed with *p-*.

- | | | | | | |
|------|-----------------------|--|--|-------------------|---------------|
| (59) | UV | gloss | | AV | gloss |
| | with <i>p-</i> | | | | |
| | <i>p-ata'</i> | 'look' | | <i>məŋg-ata'</i> | 'look' |
| | <i>p-ayas</i> | 'look up' | | <i>bəŋ-ayas</i> | 'look up' |
| | <i>p-atong</i> | 'happen/able to spot' | | <i>məŋg-atong</i> | 'look around' |
| | <i>p-arok</i> | 'happen/able to smell' | | <i>məŋg-arok</i> | 'smell' |
| | <i>p-andu'</i> | 'happen/able to recognise, know someone' | | <i>məŋg-andu'</i> | 'get to know' |
-
- | | | | | | | |
|------|--|-------------------|-----------|------------|-------------|-------------|
| (60) | <i>Pon</i> | <i>pandu'</i> | <i>ku</i> | <i>nay</i> | <i>liun</i> | <i>ino.</i> |
| | apon | p-andu' | ku | nay | liun | ino |
| | NEG.P | SF-know.person.UV | 1S.G | who | woman | yonder |
| | 'I do not know who this woman is.' [Mi-Suk1 455] | | | | | |

Other dynamic verbs with *p-* occurring in main clauses may remain transitive when they occur with *p-* and the actor is very often present. Examples are the first two items of (61). Yet other verbs with *p-* become intransitive if prefixed with *p-*; *p-* has an anti-causativising function on these verbs. The root prefixed with *p-* signals that the subject of the clause is a theme and that there is no agent and if there is one, it is not salient. As is shown in the list, Volitive Mood morphology, for example the AV-prefix *məŋg-* or the UV-Dependent prefix *m-*, makes these verbs causative. The other examples of (61) are items of this category.

- | | | | | |
|------|--------------------------|----------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| (61) | UV with <i>p-</i> | gloss | AV | gloss |
| | <i>p-ə-gkot</i> | 'able to work' | <i>məŋg-ə-gkot</i> | 'work' |
| | <i>p-ə-kkan</i> | 'able to eat' | <i>məŋg-ə-kkan</i> | 'eat' |
| | <i>p-ukow</i> | 'wake up' | <i>məŋg-ukow</i> | 'wake someone up' |
| | <i>p-udtung</i> | 'be cut off' | <i>məŋg-udtung</i> | 'cut off something' |
| | <i>p-indang</i> | 'torn' | <i>məŋg-indang</i> | 'tear something' |
| | <i>p-unong</i> | 'finished' | <i>məŋg-unong</i> | 'finish something' |
| | <i>p-unggol</i> | 'break off' | <i>məŋg-unggol</i> | 'break off something' |
| | <i>p-upud</i> | 'finished' | <i>məŋg-upud</i> | 'finish something' |
| | <i>p-angas</i> | 'torn out' | <i>məŋg-angas</i> | 'tear out' |

Sentence (62) illustrates the anti-causative verb *pukow* 'wake up', which is prefixed with *p-* because the subject of the clause is a theme and there is no (salient) agent. Sentence (63) illustrates how the same verb receives a dynamic interpretation if prefixed with any other prefix.

- | | | | | | | | | |
|------|---|---------------|--------------|------------|---------------|---------------|------------|---------------|
| (62) | <i>Subu</i> | <i>masong</i> | <i>pukul</i> | <i>pat</i> | <i>gədino</i> | <i>Bo-Woo</i> | <i>bay</i> | <i>pukow.</i> |
| | subu | masong | pukul | pat | gədino | Bo-Woo | bay | p-ukow |
| | morning | still.again | hour | four | in.yonder.way | Bo-Woo | PRF | SF-wake.up |
| | 'It was stil morning around four o' clock (when) Bo-Woo woke up.' [Mi-Suk1 703] | | | | | | | |

- (63) *Kəmo da tənnuk aku turug aro mukow nakon, a'.*
 kəmo da tənnuk aku turug aro m-ukow nakon a'
 if PR close.eyes 1S.N sleep NEG.IMP DEP-wake.up.UV 1S.A yes
 'When I am fast asleep, please do not wake me up!' [Mi-Suk3B 319]

Similarly, sentence (64) illustrates an anti-causative verb *pangas* 'fallen/torn apart', which is prefixed with *p-* because the subject of the clause *bobo no* 'that bag' is a theme and there is no (salient) actor who has torn the book apart; it is just falling apart. Sentence (65) illustrates how the same verb receives a dynamic interpretation if prefixed with the AV-prefix *məng-*.

- (64) *Bobo no pon tangka', ttan mo, bay pangas.*
 bobo ino apon tangka' ttan mo, bay p-angas
 bag yonder NEG.P last see.UV 2S.G PRF SF-torn.UV
 'This bag does not last, do you see, it is already torn out.'
- (65) *Aku malu' məngangas ssom no.*
 aku malu' məng-angas ssom ino
 1S.N want AV-tear citrus.fruit yonder
 'I want to tear down those citrus fruits (from the tree).'

Sentence (66) illustrates the use of the anti-causative verb *punggol* 'break off'. Again, the root prefixed with *p-* is used because the agent mentioned *ribut* 'stormy wind' is not very salient. The verbal root *unggol* can also be used dynamically as in *məng-unggol*, *m-unggol* 'break off something', for example breaking off the stalk of a plant.

- (66) *Pəlla' aku punggol niug nong kilid*
 pəlla' aku p-unggol niug nong kilid
 afraid 1S.N SF-break.off coconut OBL side
- balay kəmmi ne ribut gabpi no.*
 balay kəmmi ne ribut gabpi ino
 house 1P.E.N/G this storm night yonder
 'I was afraid that the coconut tree next to our house would break off because of the storm this night.' [Mengambur begkas 002]

If the actor of these anti-causatives verbs prefixed with *p-* is a force, cause, an inanimate entity or animal rather than a human being, it may be expressed by the particle *kat*, as in (67).

- (67) *Baju ku ne puppu' kat gəssang ku.*
 baju ku ne p-uppu' kat gəssang ku
 shirt 1S.G this SF-laundry.UV CDM sweat 1S.G
 'My shirt is soaked in sweat (lit. laundered in sweat).'

But, again, just as was the case for consonant-initial unaffixed roots, the division between transitive and intransitive verbs is not sharp. Although the items in

(58) listed above are transitive and volitive if they occur in a temporal subordinate, they may be used in main clauses in an anti-causative sense, in which case their actor may be omitted, as in (68) through (70). These sentences are from a conversation about pregnancy. The participants of the conversation talk about a certain lady whose pregnancy is not visible yet. The verb form that is used here is *p-ata* ‘see’ which means that her pregnancy can or cannot be seen by people in general; the actor is not mentioned because the verb is used in an impersonal sense.

- (68) *O! Akay nong bətuən gam?*
 o akay nong bətuən gam
 EXCL EXIST OBL body QM
 ‘Speaker1: Oh, is she pregnant?’ (Lit. ‘she has something in her body’ or something exists in her body.) [Conversationcorn 727]

- (69) *Suga’ rumo antang pon pata’*
 suga’ rumo antang apon p-ata’
 but 3S like NEG.P SF-look.UV

kan ngod ulun akubol.
 kan ngod ulun a-kubol
 isn’t.it? because person NV-fat

Speaker1: ‘But it is like almost invisible, isn’t it, because she is a rather fat person.’
 (lit. its manner (?) is not seen) [Conversationcorn 728]

- (70) *Bay pata’.*
 bay p-ata’
 PRF SF-look.UV
 Speaker2: ‘It is already visible.’ [Conversationcorn 729]

In summary then, the phonologically independent stem consisting of the root prefixed with *p-* is identical in function to the stem consisting of a bisyllabic consonant-initial root. It expresses volitional events in temporal subordinates clauses, and slightly involuntary action on transitive main clause verbs. The phonologically independent stem consisting of a root prefixed with *p-* may be intransitivised, and function as an anti-causative.

6.3.3. The middle prefix *b-*

The third way to express the UV-Incompletive is with a phonologically independent stem consisting of the root and the prefix *b-*. The prefix *b-* is prefixed before vowel-initial roots of certain verbs that express position as in (71), motion (72), and anti-causatives (73).¹¹

¹¹ The prefix *b-* is just a stem forming affix that creates phonologically independent stems, which are interpreted by default as UV-Incompletive Aspect. The prefixes *p-* and *b-* have no meaning in combination with other affixation, such as Completive Aspect, Causative, Petitive or Non-volitive affixes. Nevertheless, as *b-* is more selective than *p-* as to what roots it combines with; therefore I will gloss *b-* with ‘Middle’, although it has no Middle semantics in

(71)	<i>b-</i>	gloss	AV	gloss
	<i>b-adung</i>	‘sit’	<i>məŋg-adung</i>	‘sit on something’
	<i>b-uruy</i>	‘stand’	<i>məŋg-uruy</i>	‘stand on something’
	<i>b-uat</i>	‘get up’	<i>məŋg-uat</i>	‘help a baby to get up’
(72)	<i>b-</i>	gloss	AV	
	<i>b-issog</i>	‘move’	<i>məŋg-issog</i>	‘move something’
	<i>b-iud</i>	‘shove up’	<i>məŋg-iud</i>	‘shove up something’
	<i>b-ə-ttog</i>	‘cease’	<i>məŋg-ə-ttog</i>	‘about to cease’
	<i>b-adtik</i>	‘ascend’	<i>məŋg-adtik</i>	‘lift up something’

combination with other affixation.

When the manuscript of this book was about to go to the publisher, I realised that the basis for adopting a prefix *b-* is rather small. One argument for not adopting *b-* as a prefix is that the items listed here are perhaps labial-initial roots whose root-initial labial consonant is deleted after prefixation with *m-* or *məŋg-*, see section 2.4.2.1. In that case, the /b/ belongs to the root instead of to a prefix *b-*. Future research must reveal whether cognates in related languages also have a /b/ in their root or whether they start with a vowel. Another argument against an analysis of *b-* as a separate prefix is that it is so much less productive than the other stem-forming prefix *p-*, and many items are intransitive. It could very well be that most intransitive items with *b-* are in fact stative verbs or adjectives that allow causativisation with the AV-prefix *məŋg-* instead of with causative morphology. The transitive items with *b-* are perhaps just labial-initial verbs that are unstable between a labial-initial and a vowel-initial variant. But again, the phonology hides some of the facts. Yet another argument against a prefix *b-* is that a few other transitive and intransitive Begak verbs that start with a /b/ or /p/ appear unaffixed:

(i)	<i>b-</i> or /b/	gloss	AV	gloss
	<i>bantis</i>	‘have one’s eyebrows depilated’	<i>məŋg-antis</i>	‘depilate eyebrows’
	<i>barut</i>	‘have a haircut’	<i>məŋg-arut</i>	‘cut someone’s hair, shave someone’
	<i>bədti’</i>	‘be circumcised’	<i>məŋg-ədti’</i>	‘circumcise someone’
	<i>batin</i>	‘change clothes’	<i>məŋg-atin</i>	‘about to change clothes’
	<i>butus</i>	‘smoke’	-	
	<i>bumur</i>	‘rinse one’s mouth’	-	
	<i>buow</i>	‘watch and chase away birds in a rice field’	-	
	<i>bulo</i>	‘plant’	<i>məŋg-ulo</i>	‘plant (no difference)’

It may just be an ideosyncrasy of verbs starting with the sound /b/ to occur without inflection. Moreover, there are very few verbs that have a form on both *b-* and *p-*, and if they do, it seems to be a labial-initial root anyway: *pila* ‘splitting something’ versus *bila* ‘be split’.

However, an argument in favour of analysing *b-* as a prefix is that cognates of *ugas* ‘wash’, *adung* ‘sit’, *ambur* ‘scatter’ and *alap* ‘get, take, fetch’ in other Austronesian languages seem to start with a vowel. Another argument for adopting a prefix *b-* is that verbs beginning with /b/ all seem to have semantics usually associated with ‘Middle’: motion, grooming activities, spontaneous events. But this can be coincidence or due to sound symbolism of roots in the sense of Blust (1988)’s Austronesian Root theory.

(73)	<i>b-</i>	gloss	AV	gloss
	<i>b-ə-dtat</i>	'be open (eyes)'	<i>məŋg-ə-dtat</i>	'open one's eyes'
	<i>b-ə-dtong</i>	'be closed (eyes)'	<i>məŋg-ə-dtong</i>	'close one's eyes'
	<i>b-awang</i>	'opens (a door)'	<i>məŋg-awang</i>	'open something'
	<i>b-alap</i>	'get caught'	<i>məŋg-alap</i>	'get something'
	<i>b-ungung</i>	'fall out by itself (tooth)'	<i>məŋg-ungung</i>	'take out a loose tooth'
	<i>b-issi</i>	'torn (cloth)'	<i>məŋg-issi</i>	'tear a cloth'
	<i>b-ambur</i>	'scattered, spread all over the place'	<i>məŋg-ambur</i>	'scatter something'
	<i>b-ugas</i>	'be washed somehow'	<i>bəg-ugas</i>	'wash something'

Stems consisting of a root prefixed with *b-* can best be described as middle verbs in the sense of Kemmer (1993). Most of the verbs prefixed with *b-* are intransitive on the syntactic plane; examples will be given below. On the semantic plane, however, middle verbs are in between intransitive verbs, which have only one participant, and reflexive verbs. Transitive verbs have two participants each referring to a distinct entity; reflexive verbs express a transitive event where two participants are expected, but where the actor happens to be the same entity as the undergoer. Middle verbs (and especially verbs of position and grooming verbs) also express an event where the actor is the same entity as the undergoer, but 'inherent in their meaning is the lack of expectation that the two semantic roles they make the reference to will refer to distinct entities' (Kemmer 1993:58). They also differ from intransitive verbs, which only have one participant.

Example (74) is from a story about a supernatural being who ascends to heaven. The verb used for 'ascending' is *b-adtik*. If the same root is prefixed with any other prefix, for example with the Dependent prefix *m-*, *madtik*, the verb receives a transitive reading 'lift up something, usually goods bought in town, to the house'. The prefix *b-* is used here, because the actor lifts himself up to heaven.

(74)	<i>Badtik</i>	<i>kat</i>	<i>Rajo</i>	<i>Mambang</i>	<i>Səntana</i> ,
	<i>b-adtik</i>	<i>kat</i>	<i>rajo</i>	<i>Mambang</i>	<i>Səntana</i> '
	MID-raise.up	CDM	king	Mambang	Sentana'

sidtu gədilap kasu' no.
sidtu gə-dilap kasu' ino
 merely AV-twinkle foot yonder

'King Mambang Sentana' ascended (to heaven); his feet were merely twinkling.'
 [Dayangpukli 177]

The following two sentences are from an explanation about rice farming with the slash and burn method. The farmers in this sentence move (themselves) to another farming post; in other words the actor is identical to the undergoer.

(75)	<i>Kidon</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>bpos</i>	<i>rumo</i>	<i>bəgumo,</i>	<i>rumo</i>	<i>bissog.</i>
	<i>kidon</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>bpos</i>	<i>rumo</i>	<i>bəg-umo</i>	<i>rumo</i>	<i>b-issog</i>
	when.fut	PR	after	3S	AV-ricefield	3S	MID-move
	'When he had finished growing rice, he moved.' [Jadi 017]						

The prefix *b-* expresses inchoative actions as well as states; (76) means that the person is sitting, but in another context the same verb form in can also mean that the person is sitting down, as in (77). Sentences (78), (79) and (74) illustrate the inchoative use of the prefix *b-*.

- (76) *Jadi buay gulo aku badung gədalud.*
 jadi buay gulo aku b-adung gə-dalud
 so long first 1S.N MID-sit AV-wait
 ‘So I’ve been sitting and waiting first for a long time.’ [Mi-Suk4 013]

- (77) *Badung!*
 b-adung
 MID-sit
 ‘Sit down!’

- (78) *Ino baya’ da bəttog mərəgkang no tota’*
 ino baya’ da b-ə-ttog mərəgkang ino -u-tata’
 yonder place PR MID-cease child yonder -DEP-cry
 ‘At that moment, the child stopped crying.’ [Bowon Bura’ 198]

- (79) *Panas tun pa, biud-biud a’.*
 p-anas tun pa b-iud-b-iud a’
 SF-hot really PRT MID-move.up-RED yes
 ‘Its really hot! Move up, move up!’ [Conversationharvest 172]

Most verbs that are prefixed with *b-* are intransitive but have a transitive, causative equivalent with *məng-*. If the verb’s sole argument of the verbal root is an actor, as in *b-adung* ‘sit’ and *b-uruy* ‘stand’, prefixation with the prefix *məng-* adds an undergoer to the argument structure of the verb, resulting in *məng-adung* ‘sit on something’ or *məng-uruy* ‘stand on something’. If the verb’s sole argument is an undergoer, as some other verbs that take *b-*, prefixation with *b-* adds an actor to the argument structure of the verb as in *bissog* ‘move’ versus *məng-issog* ‘move something’. The verbal root *uat* ‘get up’ is used in a transitive sense if prefixed with the Dependent prefix *m-* in (80a), or with the Completive Aspect prefix *ni-* in (80b), but in an intransitive sense if prefixed with *b-*, as in (80c).

- (80) a. *Sa’ muat mərəgkang no gədino (...).*
 sa’ m-uat meregkang ino gedino
 SQ DEP-get.up.UV child this in.yonder.way
 ‘Then she woke up the child in this way, (..)’ [Mengera’ Kusurp157]
- b. *Da niwat rumo anak rumo, da pətusu.*
 da ni-uat rumo anak rumo, da pə-tusu
 PR COM-get.up.UV 3S child 3S, PR UV.CAU.DEP-drink.milk
 ‘After she had woken up her child, she breastfed it.’ [Mengera’ Kusurp160]

- c. *Buat kat rumo key gədino bəgko* (...).
 b-uat kat rumo key gədino bəgko
 MID-get.up CDM 3S FOC in.yonder.way also
 'She got up, in this way (...)' [Mengerā' Kusurp160]

Despite the fact that many *b*-verbs have a transitive equivalent, they are (syntactically) intransitive if prefixed with *b*-. (81a) illustrates how the verb *n-issog* is transitive: it licences two arguments. (81b) is ungrammatical, because the same verbal root *issog* 'move' has been prefixed with *b*-, resulting in an intransitive verb which only licenses one argument. If the actor argument is a non-human entity and is expressed as an oblique argument marked by the particle *kat*, as in (81c), the sentence becomes grammatical. Although *asu* 'a dog' is semantically the actor of the clause, it is expressed as an oblique argument instead of as a core-argument; therefore the clause is syntactically intransitive.

- (81) a. *Mija' no nissog Neneng.*
 mija ino ni-issog Neneng
 table yonder COM-move.UV Neneng
 'Neneng moved the table.'
- b. **Mija' no bissog Neneng.*
 mija ino b-issog Neneng
 table yonder MID-move Neneng
 '*Neneng moved the table.'
- c. *Mija' no bissog kat asu.*
 mija ino b-issog kat asu.
 table yonder MID-move FRC dog
 'The table has been moved by the dog (for example it walked against it).'

The verbs listed in (73) above can be best described as anti-causatives in Comrie (1985:323-24)'s terminology or as spontaneous in Kemmer (1993)'s terminology. These verbs differ from other verbs with *b*- in a few respects. Their sole semantic role is a patient that does not initiate the situation and that undergoes the event involuntarily. Yet, for most of these verbs, there is no salient (human) agent and 'the event is treated as if it emanates from the patient' (Kemmer 1993:145).

The following three sentences illustrate the anti-causative use of verbs with *b*-. The verb *b-ugas* 'washed' means 'happen to be washed by itself' and has a transitive AV-equivalent *bəg-ugas* 'wash something'. The verb *b-iang* 'different' in (83) has transitive equivalents *n-iang* 'COM-separate' or *məng-iang* 'AV-separate', but is used intransitively here. The verb *b-ədtat* 'open eyes' in (84) is prefixed with *b*- because the eyes of the dogs referred to by the speaker opened up by themselves.

- (82) *Kəmo uran, rumo bugas.*
 kəmo uran rumo b-ugas
 if rain 3S MID-wash
 'If it rains, it gets washed.' (Context: the speaker was digging up sweet potatoes in the mud and explained that they are more visible when the mud is washed off by the rain.)
 [Notebook]
- (83) *Biang gkun Bərigas, biang gkun Buad.*
 b-iang gkun Bərigas b-iang gkun Buad
 MID-separate village Berigas MID-separate village Buad
- suga' bəkako səratu ina' ama'.*
 suga' bəkako -ər-satu ina' ama'
 but sibling -REC-one mother father
 'So Berigas lived in one village and Buad lived in another village, but they were brother and sister, they had the same father and mother.' [Berigas 006]
- (84) *Da bədtat mato Asu no da buli kəttan.*
 da b-ə-dtat mato asu ino da buli kə-ttan
 PR MID-open.eyes eye dog yonder PR can AV.NV-see
 'The eyes of both of the dogs were open now, they could see.' [Asu bio Bakas 015]

6.3.4. Verbs prefixed with a combination of the AV-prefix *gə-* and *p-* or *b-*

We have already seen in section 4.2.2. that stative verbs prefixed with an AV-prefix *gə-* or *bəg-* receive an inchoative reading. Verbs that become intransitive if prefixed with *b-* or *p-* can also be prefixed with the AV-prefix *gə-*, resulting in a verb with anti-causative and inchoative semantics (*gə-p-*) or middle and inchoative semantics (*gə-b-*). In any case, the resulting verb is intransitive. A few inchoative anti-causative and middle verbs are listed below:

- (85) *gə-p-* **gloss** *gə-b-* **gloss**
gə-p-unong 'become finished' *gə-b-adtik* 'begin to ascend'
gə-p-unggol 'begin to break off' *gə-b-awang* 'begin to open (door)'
gə-p-upud 'become finished' *gə-b-issi* 'begin to tear (cloth)'
gə-p-undang 'begin to tear (book)' *gə-b-issog* 'begin to move'

Sentences (86) and (87) illustrate the prefix combination *gə-p-* and example (89) is an (elicited) sentence with *gə-b-*:

- (86) *Niug no gə-p-udtung tiu' lassun.*
 niug ino gə-p-udtung tiu' lassun
 coconut yonder AV-MID-cut.off hit poison
 'Yonder coconut tree is about to break off completely because it has been poisoned.'

- (87) *Suran muyu ne pon atow gəpunong!*
 suran muyu ne apon atow gə-p-unong
 story 2P.N/G this NEG.P NV-know.UV AV-SF-finish
 'This story of yours just does not get finished!' [Notebook]
- (88) *Bay da gəpupud betəri no.*
 bay da gə-pupud betəri ino
 PRF PR AV-finished battery yonder
 'The battery is already getting finished.' [Mi-Suk1 657]
- (89) *Rajo Mambang Səntana', bay gəbadtik.*
 rajo Mambang Səntana' bay gə-b-adtik
 king Mambang Sentana' PRF AV-MID-raise.up
 'King Mambang Sentana' is about to ascend (to heaven)/ begins to ascend.'

Although there are not many examples of *gəp-* or *gəb-* in my corpus, this prefix combination is productive. As stems with *p-* or *b-* are equivalent to consonant-initial unaffixed roots, it is expected that transitive verbs normally prefixed with *məng-* in the AV receive inchoative semantics when prefixed with *gə-* or *bəg-*. The verb *gə-tindak* 'explode' in (21a) above could be treated as a derived inchoative verb, equivalent to the examples with *gəp-* or *gəb-*. Similarly, the verb *gə-tuttug* in (89) is perhaps a derived inchoative verb of its transitive equivalent from (51) above.

- (90) *Da gətuttug bulu no sawot nong*
 da gə-tuttug bulu ino sawot nong
 PR AV-fall.out fur yonder arrive OBL
- amatay tu bəgko asu di.*
 a-matay tu bəgko asu di.
 NV-dead too also dog over.there
 'Its fur started to fall out until the dog finally died.' [Conversationdogs 621]

6.3.5. Summary

The Undergoer Voice is characterised by the absence of the class prefixes *gə-*, *bəg-* or *məng-*. Consonant-initial roots appear unaffixed, whereas vowel-initial roots are prefixed with either *p-* or *b-* in their UV-Incompletive forms. The prefix *p-* is the default prefix for vowel-initial dynamic verbs in the UV-Incompletive form.

Unaffixed roots and forms with *p-* have volitive semantics in temporal subordinates of simultaneity, but slightly non-volitive, anti-causative semantics in main clauses. Unaffixed roots of psych verbs and verbs of perception express unintentionality and/or (in)ability. Unaffixed verbal roots of other transitive verbs in main clauses are quite rare in Begak; they are often intransitive verbs expressing an accidental event.

The prefix *b-* is affixed to vowel-initial middle verbs of motion, or spontaneous events. The result is an intransitive verb. Just like stative verbs

consisting of a unaffixed root, verbs prefixed with *p-* or *b-* or can be prefixed with the AV-prefix *gə-* to derive a dynamic verb with inchoative semantics.

6.4. Completive Aspect

Completive Aspect is expressed in the UV by one of the allomorphs *-i-*, *-ən-* or *ni-* and in the AV by one of the AV-class prefixes *gə-*, *bə(g)-* or *məng-* in combination with *-i-*. It has already been mentioned that the Completive Aspect is more frequent for UV-verbs in main clauses than for AV-verbs, but both are productive.

The infix *-i-* and its allomorphs are described here as ‘completive aspect’ rather than ‘past tense’, but this analysis is rather tentative. More research needs to be done for a better classification. On the one hand, verbs marked with *-i-* or its allomorphs seem to refer to the past and seem to have a tense locus. A tense locus is typical for tense. On the other hand, verbs marked with *-i-* or its allomorphs seem to refer to completed events rather than just any event in the past whether completed or not. Moreover, the existence of certain special uses of *-i-* as in examples (101) through (104) below, where *-i-* does not refer to an event in the past, make a past tense analysis difficult and force an analysis of completive aspect.

The Completive Aspect is not marked on every verb that refers to the past or to a completed event. Often the deictic centre is first defined by adverbs such as *digabpi* ‘yesterday’, *di’ bpung* ‘in former times’, *kəmmon* ‘a while ago’, etc. After the deictic center, the reference point, has been established it is not mentioned anymore. The deictic centre shifts continuously during the discourse, and once the deictic centre has been established, most verbs expressing successive actions appear with other inflection than Completive Aspect, mostly in the Dependent. Only those forms that mark the boundaries of an episode in a text appear in the Completive Aspect. See King (1991) and Boutin (1991) for an elaborate description of the past tense (the equivalent of the Begak Completive Aspect) in the related languages Tombonuo and Bonggi respectively. I will now illustrate some AV-Completive forms and UV-Completive forms separately, beginning with the AV-forms.

6.4.1. The AV-Completive Aspect

Although the Completive Aspect can be expressed by three different allomorphs in the Undergoer Voice, it can only be expressed by the allomorph *-i-* in the Actor Voice. If the first vowel of the stem is schwa, or /u/, the infix *-i-* replaces it; if the first vowel of the stem is /a/, vowel coalescence takes place resulting in /e/ (see section 2.4.5. for a description of the allomorphy). But if the first vowel of the stem is /i/, the infix is inaudible. The verb in (91), for example, cannot be infixed audibly with *-i-*; therefore the verb can refer to past, present or future since the AV-Incomplete and the AV-Completive form are homophonous for verbal stems with /i/ as its prefinal vowel:

- (91) *Ali pon bəgisud namon panow di' sipag.*
 Ali apon bəg-isud namon panow di' sipag
 Ali NEG.P AV-send 1P.E.A go LOC other.side
 'Ali does/did/will not send us to the other side.'

AV-forms in the Completive Aspect are much less frequent than UV-Completive Aspect forms. AV-completive forms occur more frequently in conversations than in other genres, probably because AV-forms in general are more frequent in conversations than in other genres (see chapter 11). Certain types of conversations are about persons rather than about the result of successive actions. Facts about persons tend to be expressed by AV-forms where the actor is prominent, whereas successive actions are expressed by UV-forms where the undergoer is prominent. Moreover, conversations consist of several turns. AV-forms are used to introduce a new topic, therefore conversations contain more AV-forms and consequently also more Completive Aspect AV-forms.

The next example is from a conversation where the speaker reports her neighbour's words. Her neighbour said she is sick but will get better soon because of the medical treatment he has had. The medical treatment is finished before the moment of speech, therefore the verb bears Completive Aspect morphology.

- (92) *Ino ukat rumo di da bəgibot,*
 ino ukat rumo adi da bəg--i-ubot
 yonder hearsay 3S over.there PR AV--COM-medicine
- da pon buay da kukka'.*
 da apon buay da kukka'
 PR NEG.P long PR recoverd
 'This is what she said, she had had medical treatment now; it will not be long before she will get better.' [Conversation koko1 044]

In example (93), the speaker complains about the false teeth that the dentist made for her in the past. Again, the *-i-* infix marks completion of action. The verb is in the Actor Voice to emphasise the fact that it was the dentist Mr such and such who made the false teeth. The actor is the topic (the dentist), not the undergoer (the false teeth).

- (93) *Rumo məngellan nipon palsu ku ne.*
 rumo məng--i-allan nipon palsu ku ne
 3S AV--COM-make tooth false 1S.G this
 '(..) he made my false teeth!' [Conversation koko1 108]

Sentence (94) is from a myth about a supernatural being. The verb *bəgenak* 'gave birth' is in the Completive Aspect, because the birth of this supernatural being marks a new episode in the story. This is one of the few examples of AV-verbs in the Completive Aspect in stories. It occurs in the AV form because the actor is a contrastive topic.

- (94) *Təbenselan ton, pon sukup siway bulan,*
 Təbenselan ton apon sukup siway bulan
 Təbenselan TOP NEG.P enough nine month

туру’ bulan, bay bəgenak.

туру’ bulan, bay bəg--i-anak
 seven month PRF AV--COM-child

‘As for Təbenselan, (she) gave birth before the necessary nine months had passed, but (after) seven months.’ [Tebeinseilan 008]

The next example is from a story about Mr and Mrs Cameleon. Mr Cameleon went fishing and got swallowed by a big fish. When Mrs Cameleon goes to the fishing spot, she does not see her husband but only sees a big fish. She cuts open the big fish, and to her surprise, her husband is in the fish’s stomach. They go home to eat the big fish that had swallowed her husband. The Completive Aspect is used because the event of swallowing is prior to the moment of eating the fish. The Actor Voice is used because the gap in the relative clause is the actor and gaps of relative clauses must be the subject in the relative clause. In other words, the occurrence of an AV-form is forced by the syntax here.

- (95) *Mengan pait gəligkut nong bano rumo ne.*
 -i-mangan pait gə--i-ləgkut nong bano rumo ne
 -COM-AV.eat fish AV--COM-swallow OBL husband 3S this
 ‘(They) ate the fish that had swallowed her husband.’ [Tudow 116]

6.4.2. The UV-Completive

The UV-Completive marks completion in matrix clauses, for example in conversations. The following sentences illustrate the use of a Completive Aspect UV-verb in matrix clauses of a conversation.

- (96) *Niang mo gam sakko anan ina’ mo, paray pungu?*
 ni-iang mo gam sakko anan ina’ mo paray pungu
 COM-separate.UV 2S.G QM from place mother 2S.G paddy rice.seed
 ‘Have you separated (it) from your mother’s, the rice seed?’ [Conversationdogs 287]

- (97) *Niun ne pon niang.*
 niun ne apon ni-iang
 2S.A this NEG.P COM-separate.UV
 ‘Your’s is not separated.’ [Conversationdogs 290]

- (98) *Ngod bay titu’ ina’ mo dtow adi.*
 ngod bay -i-tutu’ ina’ mo dtow adi
 because PRF -COM-pound.UV mother 2S.G day over.there
 ‘(Last year I did not have any *Lisi Tuka* rice seed). Because your mother had pounded it already the other day.’ [Conversationdogs 300]

The UV-Completive has a special function of textual cohesion in stories and procedural texts. Cohesion in these genres is maintained partly with tail-head linkage. Part of the content of the previous sentence is repeated in a temporal subordinate clause in the next sentence. Often the verb of the main clause with the new information is in the UV-Dependent, whereas the verb in the temporal subordinate that repeats the previous clause is in the UV-Completive see section 11.3. on tail-head linkage).

The following examples are from a procedural text about how to pop or roast rice. The verb *ni-pung* ‘COM-take with fist’ in (99), for example, repeats the content of the previous sentence, while its Completive morphology indicates that the action is completed. The next step in the procedure is expressed by the verb *m-ubor* ‘thresh with the hands’, which is in the Dependent. The verb *ni-pung* in (100) repeats this step in the procedure in the Completive Aspect to indicate that it is completed. The next step in the procedure, *m-əttop* ‘winnow’, is in the Dependent again.

- (99) *Pog nipung kəmmi paray no maus*
 pog ni-pung kəmmi paray ino m-aus
 when COM-take.with.fist.UV 1P.E.N/G paddy yonder DEP-bring.UV

muli’ nong balay, nong mubor
 m-uli’ nong balay nong m-ubor
 DEP-go.home.UV OBL house AUX DEP-thresh.with.hands.UV

paray ino.
 paray ino
 paddy yonder

‘After we have taken the rice with our fist, we bring it home, to thresh the rice with our hands.’ [Seillag 007]

- (100) *Pog nibor, sa’ məttop paray no.*
 pog ni-ubor sa’ m-ə-ttop paray ino
 when COM- thresh.with.hands.UV SQ DEP- winnow.UV paddy yonder
 ‘After we have threshed it with our hands, we have to winnow the rice.’
 [Seillag 008]

The UV-Completive is sometimes used for warnings or curses, i.e. actions that have not happened in the past, but of which the speaker is very sure that they will take place in the future. The marking of future events with Completive Aspect morphology is rather infrequent. Sentence (101) comes from an animal story about a watersnail and a deer who engage in a running contest. The deer is boasting to the extremely slow watersnail that he will certainly crush him. Note that the verb is affixed with the completive infix although the event must still take place. Another example of a warning in the UV-Completive is (102), where the warnee was fishing and the dog almost ate her bait.

- (101) *Redta'* *ku pa ikow ne ancur.*
 -i-radta' ku pa ikow ne a-ncur
 -COM-step.on.UV 1S.G PRT 2S.N this NV-crushed
 'I will certainly crush you with my feet.' (lit. You will be stepped flat by me)
 [Tuttulp111]
- (102) *Kinnan asu ppan mo ne!*
 kinnan asu ppan mo ne
 -COM-eat.UV dog bait 2S.G this
 'The dog is about to eat your bait!' [Notebook]

A curse with an UV-Completive verb is, for instance, (103). The verb in (103) is prefixed with a combination of the stem forming prefix *p-* and the Completive infix *-i-*, and illustrates the use of the Completive referring to an event that does not take place in the past.

- (103) *Pippos boyo niun.*
 p-i-uppos boyo niun
 SF--COM-hit.UV crocodile 2S.A
 'May you be hit by a crocodile!' [Notebook]

The following sentential complement of the verb *pəlla'* 'afraid' contains an UV-Completive verb that describes a future event.

- (104) *Ali pəlla' seggow polis.*
 Ali pəlla' -i-saggow polis
 Ali afraid -COM-catch.UV police
 'Ali is afraid that he will be caught by the police.' [Notebook]

Future events in a main clause with Completive affix in the Actor Voice were not attested in the corpus: only Undergoer Voice verbs seem to be able to refer to future events.¹² Not all Undergoer Verbs in the Completive Aspect can refer to future events: for some verbal stems the Completive Aspect can only refer to completed actions whereas for other verbal stems it can also refer to the future. Having seen the semantics and the use of the Completive Aspect in the AV and UV, we will now turn to cases where the infix *-i-* is combined with other UV prefixes.

¹² Other examples of UV-Completive Aspect forms referring to future events occur in temporal subordinates:

- (ii) *Kemo da liwat mo koko no, (..)*
 kemo da -i-luat mo koko no, (..)
 when PR -COM-sell.UV 2S.G cocoa yonder
 'When you have sold/ will have sold that cocoa, (..)' [Notebook]

6.4.3. The Completive infix *-i-* in combination with the prefixes *p-* and *b-*

The Completive infix *-i-* can be combined with the UV-prefixes *p-* and *b-*, which are prefixed before vowel-initial roots. The resulting verb lacks the non-volitive, anticausative or middle semantics typical of roots prefixed with *p-* and *b-* only, as *p-* and *b-* are only stem forming prefixes that provide vowel-initial roots with an onset. Not surprisingly, the verbs prefixed with *b--i-* or *p--i-* hardly differ in meaning from verbs prefixed with the Completive prefix *ni-* only. Most verbs can only be prefixed with either *b--i-* or *p--i-*; the effects of *b--i-* with *p--i-* on the same verb cannot be contrasted. Some of the examples given in this section may actually turn out to be not vowel-initial verbs prefixed with *b--i-* or *p--i-*, but labial-initial root-allomorphs infixed with *-i-* (see sections 2.4.2.1 and 2.4.5.)

Example (105) contains a headless relative of which the verb is prefixed with *p--i-*.

- (105) *Kussu'* *key pa Tingkas mba' ne key*
 -u-kəssu' key pa Tingkas mba' ne key
 -DEP-soon FOC PRT Tingkas where this FOC

pepy *mo ne da assak?*
 p-- i-apuy mo ne da a-ssak
 SF--COM-cook.UV 2S.G this PR cooked
 'Hurry up Tingkas, where is (the food) you cooked, is it cooked already?'
 [Conversationharvest 078]

Example (106) refers to an event of salute shots, where the people in charge had not finished all the bullets, while they should have. The form *pinong* (*p--i-unong*) is used but the form *ninong* (*ni-unong*) would not have made any difference as for the meaning.

- (106) *Suga'* *pon pa, pon pa pinong* *ulun iro.*
 suga' apon pa apon pa p--i-unong ulun iro
 but NEG.P PRT NEG.P PRT SF--COM-finish.UV person 3P
 'But no, they really did not finish (the bullets), these people.' [InterviewInni` 316]

The prefix combination *b--i-* seems to be just a variant of *ni-* as in (107):

- (107) *Bay piro* *dtow pon bigas* *mo kənanan!*
 bay piro dtow pon b--i-ugas mo kənanan
 PRF how.many day NEG.P MID--COM-wash.UV 2S.G kitchen.ustensils
 'How many days have you not washed the dishes!' [Notebook]

Sentence (108) illustrates how verbs which lack a Middle form can have a Completive Aspect with *b--i-*. Sentence (108a) contains a Completive Aspect verb formed with *ni-*, the verb in sentence in (108b) is formed with *b--i-*, while the Middle verb in (108b) is ungrammatical.

- (108) a. *Baju ku bay siop nillit ku.*
 baju ku bay siop ni-llit ku
 shirt 1S.G PRF ready COM-sew.UV 1S.G
 ‘I have finished sewing my shirt. (is ready sewn)’
- b. *Baju ku bay siop billit ku.*
 baju ku bay siop b--i-llit ku
 shirt 1S.G PRF ready MID-COM-sew.UV 1S.G
 ‘I have finished sewing my shirt (is ready sewn).’
- c. **Baju ku bay siop bəllit ku.*
 baju ku bay siop b-ə-llit ku
 shirt 1S.G PRF ready MID-sew 1S.G
 ‘I have finished sewing my shirt (is ready sewn).’

Similarly, it may be the case that not all verbs that can have a Completive Aspect form with *p--i-* also have a form with *p-*.

6.4.4. Verbs with UV-Completive Aspect morphology derived from nouns or stative verbs

Verbs derived from nouns or intransitive verbs through prefixation with AV-morphology in combination with Completive Aspect may be transitive or intransitive. Examples are verbs such as *bəgibot* (*bəg--i-ubot*) ‘receive medical treatment’ in (92) and *bəgenak* (*bəg--i-anak*) ‘give birth’ in (94) above. All verbs derived from nouns or intransitive verbs and inflected with Completive Aspect morphology only are UV-verbs and are all transitive, as UV-verbs must have an undergoer argument. Example (105) above is a transitive verb derived from *apuy* ‘fire’.

- (109) *Elsi, bay sebun mo baju mo ne?*
 Elsi, bay -i-sabun mo baju mo ne?
 Elsi, PRF -COM-soap.UV 2S.G shirt 2S.G this
 ‘Elsi, have you put soap on your shirt?’
- (110) *Jadi kəmo da tagay kito nong kito*
 jadi kəmo da -i-tagay kito nong kito
 so if PR -COM-salt.UV 1P.I.N/G AUX 1P.I.N/G
- togbas ssi bakas ino.*
 -u-tagbas ssi bakas ino
 -DEP-drain.UV content wild.pig yonder
 ‘So when we have salted (the wild pig meat) we drain the wild pig meat.’
 [Timba’003]

Recall from section 4.2.2. that stative verbs cannot be inflected with Completive Aspect morphology as it transitivises them. Most verbs of motion or bodily function

usually occur with Dependent inflection but do not occur in the AV-Volitive Mood. They rarely occur in the UV-Completive Aspect.

6.4.5. Summary

Summarising, the Completive Aspect can occur both in AV-verbs and in UV-verbs, but it is far more frequent in UV-verbs. AV-verbs tend to occur in the Incompletive Aspect while most UV-verbs occur in the Completive Aspect. Completive Aspect is not marked on all verbs. Once the context is clear, most verbs that describe past events or completed actions occur in forms other than the Completive Aspect. AV-verbs can be found mainly in conversations. UV-Completive Aspect verbs occur frequently in procedural texts, in conversations, or in narrative texts where they mark the end of an episode. Completive Aspect morphology can be combined with the stem forming prefixes *p-* and *b-*. Usually there is no difference in meaning with *ni-*.

6.5. The Dependent

The Begak Dependent is the verb form that corresponds to the Reduced Focus in other Sabahan languages and to Subjunctive forms in other Philippine type languages. Verbs marked for the Dependent are always in the Undergoer Voice; contrary to other Sabahan languages, Begak does not have an AV-equivalent for the Dependent.¹³

Dependent morphology expresses a neutral aspect that contrasts with the Incompletive and Completive Aspect. The absence of AV-class prefixes on Dependent verbs and the case pattern of pronominal arguments shows that Dependent verbs are UV-verbs. Just like UV-Incompletive verbs, UV-completive verbs and UV-Non-Volitive verbs, the actor of Dependent verbs appears in the genitive and its undergoer appears in the nominative only if in pre-verbal position, and in the accusative if in post-verbal position (see section 5.3.2.). Only the undergoer of Dependent verbs may appear in pre-verbal position, may be relativised upon, and may be ‘raised to subject’ (see section 5.2.2.). The fact that Dependent morphology is in complementary distribution with Completive Aspect morphology is an argument for analysing the Dependent as a type of aspect (instead, of for example, mood).

The Dependent has four main usages: it marks intransitive verbs of motion or bodily functions; it forms imperatives; it marks verbs expressing successive actions in stories; and it occurs on verbal complements of the auxiliary *nong*.

¹³ In Moody’s (1989) analysis of Ida’an, the pragmatic focus of sentences with a Dependent verb is neither the actor nor the undergoer but the action described by the verb. Moody (1991:142) remarks about Ida’an: “The arguments of verbs occurring in the neutral tense are not encoded as pivots”, but he does not give syntactic evidence for this claim. In my analysis of Begak, I assume that the Dependent is UV because of the lack of AV-prefixes and because the undergoer is the subject in constructions such as relativisation.

Moody (1991) calls the Dependent appropriately ‘neutral tense’, because verbs without the infix *-i-* are, in his terminology, ‘Non-Past Tense’ verbs and verbs with the infix *-i-* are ‘Past Tense’ verbs. Verbs infixed with *-u-* express neither ‘Past Tense’ nor ‘Non-Past Tense’; therefore he calls the *-u-* infix ‘Neutral Tense’. Nevertheless, I have chosen the term ‘Dependent’ because the opposition of the *-u-* (Dependent) and the *-i-* (Completive Aspect) infix is not just an aspectual opposition; these infixes differ on the syntactic plane too. Verbs infixed with *-i-* (Completive Aspect) are syntactically independent, but verbs in the Dependent are sometimes syntactically or semantically dependent on their context. Intransitive verbs and imperatives are syntactically and semantically independent. Dependent verbs in narratives occur in main clauses and are thus syntactically independent, but they are more often than not licenced by special adverbs or by the presence of other Dependent verbs. Outside the context of narratives, for instance in relative clauses and questions, Dependent verbs occur after the auxiliary *nong* and are therefore syntactically dependent on the auxiliary *nong*. The semantics and syntactics of the forementioned constructions will be dealt with below.

6.5.1. Dependent inflection on intransitive verbs

Verbs expressing simple motion, habit and bodily functions and a few other intransitive verbs are usually marked with *-u-* or its allomorphs *m-* and *-əm-*. The most frequent intransitive verbs of motion that take Dependent marking are shown in table (111) while (112) shows some verbs of bodily functions.

(111)	root	Dependent	gloss
	<i>uli'</i>	<i>muli'</i>	‘go home’
	<i>lambus</i>	<i>lombus</i>	‘go on’
	<i>nnik</i>	<i>mənnik</i>	‘go up’
	<i>dullu'</i>	<i>dənullu'</i>	‘descend’
	<i>rənnə'</i>	<i>runnə'</i>	‘come down’
	<i>ssob</i>	<i>məssob</i>	‘come’
	<i>aya'</i>	<i>maya'</i>	‘join, follow’
	<i>luan</i>	<i>ləmuən</i>	‘go out’
	<i>suok</i>	<i>səmuok</i>	‘enter’
(112)	root	Dependent	gloss
	<i>rim</i>	<i>mərim</i>	‘laugh’
	<i>tata'</i>	<i>tota'</i>	‘cry’
	<i>guad</i>	<i>gəmuad</i>	‘vomit’
	<i>bbi'</i>	<i>məbbi'</i>	‘spit’
	<i>gəssang</i>	<i>gussang</i>	‘sweat’

Sentences (113) and (114) illustrate the use of the Dependent affix in intransitive verbs of movement and sentences (115) and (116).

- (113) *Muli' rumo anan Bərigas.*
 m-uli' rumo anan Bərigas
 DEP-go.home 3S place Berigas
 'She went home to Berigas.' [Berigas 014]
- (114) *Məntəri məssob tunong.*
 məntəri m-ə-ssob tunong
 minister DEP-come here
 'The minister will come here.'
- (115) *Tittoy kinnan ku, gəmuad.*
 tittoy kinnan ku -ə-m-guad
 small COM.eat.UV 1S.G. -DEP-vomit
 '(Even if) I had eaten a little bit, (I) vomited.' [Conversationdogs 104]
- (116) *Mimi mərim.*
 Mimi m-ə-rim
 Mimi DEP-laugh
 'Mimi laughs.'

Intransitive verbs in the Dependent are semantically and syntactically independent in the sense that they can occur in both word orders and do not need any auxiliaries or adverbs to be licenced. Clauses with intransitive verbs in the Dependent can follow the verb-initial word order as in (113) or the subject-initial word order as in (114) and (116).

6.5.2. The Dependent in imperatives

The second use of the Dependent is in imperatives. Transitive as well as intransitive verbs in imperative usage can occur in the Dependent. If the undergoer is expressed by a pronoun it occurs in the accusative, as in (117).

- (117) *Dolud key nakon!*
 -u-dalud key nakon!
 -DEP-wait.UV FOC 1S.A
 'Wait for me!'

The following imperative illustrates how the agent (addressee) can be mentioned in an imperative with Dependent.

- (118) *Maya' key, maya' key ikow.*
 m-aya' key m-aya' key ikow
 DEP-follow FOC DEP-follow FOC 2S.N
 'Follow (me), follow (me)! [Dayangpukli takes revenge 181]

Although most imperatives are in the Dependent, imperatives may also occur in the AV-Incompletive Aspect (see section 5.8. for a description of the imperative.)

6.5.3. The Dependent in successive actions

The third function of the Dependent is to mark successive action in stories or to a limited extent in other genres. Again, the verbs expressing these successive actions can be intransitive as well as transitive. Sentences with a Dependent verb in narratives form the backbone of the story, and are therefore often marked with the discourse marker *kat*, which marks sentences as foregrounded events in the discourse, as in (119). Another adverbial element that introduces a (series of) verb(s) in the Dependent is for example *ləppap* ‘immediately’ or the discourse particles *key* or *koy*, which indicate that the action is very relevant for the rest of the story (Moody 1989). Often, these adverbial elements or discourse markers only appear in the first clause of the sentence; many more Dependent verbs can follow, all depending on the adverbial element in the first clause of the sentence. The second verb *mabput* ‘DEP-bite’ in (119), for example, is not introduced by adverbials itself, but depends on the adverbs in the first clause of the sentence. See section 9.5.1. for a description of the adverbial elements such as *ləppap*, and section 9.6.1. for discourse particles.

- (119) *Ləppap* *kat* *boyo* *key* *gədino*, *soggow*
 ləppap kat boyo key gədino -u-saggow
 immediately CDM crocodile FOC in.yonder.way -DEP-catch.UV

kasu’ *Pəlanuk*, *mabput* *kasu’* *Pəlanuk* *no*.
 kasu’ pəlanuk m-abput kasu’ pəlanuk ino
 foot mousedeer DEP-bite.UV foot mousedeer yonder
 ‘Immediately the crocodile caught the paw of the mouse deer and bit in the paw of the mouse deer.’

Likewise in (120), the first Dependent verb *malap* ‘get’ is introduced by the discourse particles *kat* and *key*, whereas the second verb of the sentence, *ləmua* ‘let go’ is not introduced anymore.

- (120) *Jadi* *pog* *anu* *gədino*, *malap* *kat*
 jadi pog anu gədino m-alap kat
 so when whatever in.yonder.way DEP-get.UV CDM

Boyo *key* *ləmua’* *anggur* *Pəlanuk* *no*,
 boyo key -ə-m-lua’ anggur pəlanuk ino
 crocodile FOC -DEP-let.go.UV shin mousedeer yonder
 ‘So after this, the crocodile caught it and let go of the mouse deer’s shin.’
 [Boyo bio Pelanuk 027]

Similarly, the Dependent verb *maus* ‘bring’ signalled by the discourse particles *kat* and *koy*, whereas the second verb of the sentence, *məgkay* ‘give’, depends on the adverbs/discourse particles of the previous clause.

- (121) *Jadi maus kat rumo koy atay bæssing-bəgitom ino,*
jadi m-aus kat rumo koy atay bæssing-bəgitom ino
 so DEP-bring.UV CDM 3S FOC liver squirrel-black yonder
- məgkay nong Pəngian.*
m-əgkay nong Pəngian
 DEP-give.UV OBL sultan's.wife
 'So he took the liver of the black squirrel home and gave it to the Sultan's Wife.'
 [Bowon Bura'011]

Dependent verbs can also be introduced by a non-Dependent verb, without adverbials or discourse particles. In that case, the juxtaposed clause with Dependent verb depends semantically on the time frame provided by the first clause. In (122) for example, the verb *məgkay* 'give' does not depend on adverbials or discourse particles, but on the AV-verb *bəgaus* 'bring' from the first juxtaposed clause.

- (122) *Aku bəgaus pait məgkay muyun.*
aku bəg-aus pait m-ə-gkay muyun
 1S.N AV-bring.UV fish DEP-give.UV 2P.A
 'I have brought you some fish.'¹⁴

In summary then, Dependent verbs in declarative matrix clauses are licensed by certain adverbials or discourse particles or non-Dependent verbs in a previous clause.

6.5.4. The Dependent after auxiliaries

The fourth usage of the Dependent is the construction of the auxiliary *nong* + verbal complement. This auxiliary is obligatory in certain constructions such as relative clauses and questions with interrogative pronoun. As *nong* is a kind of dummy auxiliary or default auxiliary, its semantics can only be vaguely described as 'modal' or 'aspectual' and it will be glossed as *AUX*. The construction *nong* + verb describes actions that need to be performed, actions that are going to take place very soon, actions that are just taking place, or actions that usually or habitually take place. The actor of these clauses with *nong* appears before the verb (see section 9.4.2. for the word order of clauses with auxiliaries). The actor is often expressed by a genitive pronoun, rarely by a full NP; if the undergoer is a pronoun, it occurs in the accusative, see also section 5.3.2. Examples (123) and (124) illustrate this construction.

¹⁴ See section 10.3. for a more elaborate description of juxtaposed purpose clauses.

- (123) *Nong ku muppu' ulan ku.*
 nong ku m-uppu' ulan ku
 AUX 1S.G DEP-laundry.UV clothes 1S.G
 'I have to wash my clothes / I'm going to wash my clothes / I am just washing my clothes.'
- (124) *Nong ku dumus gulo anak ku te.*
 nong ku -u-dəmus gulo anak ku ate
 AUX 1S.G -DEP-bathe.UV first child 1S.G this
 'I have to bathe my child first.' [Mi-Suk1 496]

Sentence (125) shows how a question with interrogative pronoun is built on the construction with *nong*. Even if the noun *kulos* 'animal, thing' is omitted, *nong* cannot be omitted.

- (125) *Nu (kulos) *(nong) mo kokkam nong tuong no?*
 nu kulos nong mo -u-kakkam nong tuong ino
 what animal AUX 2S.G -DEP-feel.around.UV OBL dark yonder
 'What thing (lit. animal) are you looking for (lit. feeling around) in the dark?'
 [Mi-Suk5Ap39].

The above examples illustrate the usual word order in which the undergoer-subject of the clause comes after the verb. Sentence (126a) shows how a undergoer-subject can occur in pre-verbal position. Sentence (126b) shows that the auxiliary *nong* may be omitted in casual speech: the sentence is grammatical, but the actor *kəmmi* 'we' is still placed before the verb, the word order typical for the auxiliary constructions. Sentence (126c) is an ordinary sentence with UV-Completive Aspect verb showing the ordinary word order without the auxiliary *nong* and with the actor after the verb. Sentence (126d) shows that the actor cannot occur after the verb in the construction of *nong*+verb.

- (126) a. *Suku assak no nong kəmmi miang.*
 suku a-ssak ino nong kəmmi m-iang
 all NV-ripe yonder AUX 1P.E.N/G DEP-separate.UV
 'All the ripe (rice) has to be/is usually separated by us.' [Mi-Suk5Ap42]
- b. *Suku assak no kəmmi miang.*
 suku a-ssak ino kəmmi m-iang
 all NV-ripe yonder 1P.E.N/G DEP-separate.UV
 'All the ripe (rice) has to be/is usually separated by us.' [Mi-Suk5Ap42]
- c. *Suku assak no bay niang kəmmi.*
 suku a-ssak ino bay ni-iang kəmmi
 all NV-ripe yonder PRF COM-separate.UV 1P.E.N/G
 'All the ripe (rice) was separated by us.'

- d. **Suku assak no miang kəmmi.*
 suku a-ssak ino m-iang kəmmi
 all NV-ripe yonder DEP-separate.UV 1P.E.N/G
 ‘All the ripe (rice) has to be/us usually separated by us.’

Relative clauses with an UV-Dependent verb must also contain the auxiliary *nong*, as in (127) and (128). Relative clauses with an UV-verb, for example in the Completive Aspect, lack this auxiliary, as shown in (128b). In other words, verbs in the Dependent cannot be relativised upon without the auxiliary *nong*, showing again that the Dependent has reduced syntactic possibilities.

- (127) *Pasod ulan nong ku muppu’*
 pasod ulan nong ku m-uppu’
 many clothes AUX 1S.G DEP-laundry.UV
 ‘The clothes I have to wash are many/I have to wash many clothes.’

- (128) a. *Na, siag nong ku məllit ate sigbu’*
 na siag nong ku m-ə-llit ate sigbu’
 PRT cloth AUX 1S.G DEP-sew.UV this yellow
 ‘Na, the sarong I am about to sew/sewing here is yellow.’ [Mi-Suk5Ap7]

- b. *Na, siag nillit ku ate sigbu’*
 na siag ni-llit ku ate sigbu’
 PRT cloth COM-sew.UV 1S.G this yellow
 ‘Na, the sarong I have sewn here is yellow.’

If another, semantically richer modal auxiliary is followed by a Dependent verb, the auxiliary *nong* is inserted most of the time, but can be left out in casual speech in some cases, as in (129). Sentence (130) contains an AV-verb and shows that richer modal auxiliaries followed by a non-Dependent verb are not preceded by *nong* (see section 9.4. on auxiliaries).

- (129) *Kəmo sellag lengog pon buli (nong) tomos buay.*
 kəmo sellag -i-langog apon buli nong -u-tamos buay
 as.for emping -COM-soak.UV NEG can AUX -DEP-store.UV long
 ‘As for soaked emping (i.e. soaked in coconut milk), it cannot be stored long.’
 [Mi-Suk5Ap49].

- (130) *Pog bpos keung, sa’ ikow da buli mənugal.*
 pog bpos -i-kaung sa’ ikow da buli məng-tugal
 when after -COM-clear.land.UV SQ 2S.N PR can AV-plant.with.dibble
 ‘After having clearing the land, then you can plant (rice) with a dibble.’
 [Mi-Suk5Ap65]

It is clear, then, that Dependent verbs cannot occur on their own. Contrary to other AV-or UV-verbs, they need to be preceded by the auxiliary *nong* in certain modal contexts in order to be grammatical.

6.5.5. The derivational use of the Dependent

Verbs derived from nouns that are inflected for Dependent are always transitive, as the Dependent is automatically UV. UV-verbs need an undergoer argument:

- (131) *Nong mo təmidong dəllay no.*
 nong mo -ə̃m-tidong dəllay ino
 AUX 2S.G -DEP-corncob.UV maize yonder
 ‘You usually cob the corn.’ [begigkang 015]

- (132) *Buli tu nong gəmeud, dəllay.*
 buli tu nong -ə̃m-geud dəllay
 can too AUX -DEP-porridge.UV maize
 ‘(It) can also be turned into porridge, corn.’ [begigkang 016]

Unlike Completive Aspect morphology, Dependent morphology does not have a transitivity effect on intransitive verbs: verbs of motion remain intransitive when they occur in the Dependent.

Some stative verbs and nouns denoting properties can be infixated with *-u-* in order to turn them into an intransitive verb with inchoative aspect, as in (134). The infix *-u-* marks a change of state in these items.

- | (133) | stem | gloss | stem + Dep-affix | gloss |
|-------|---------------|-------------|------------------|----------------------------|
| | <i>gabpi</i> | ‘night’ | <i>gabpi</i> | ‘afternoon, getting night’ |
| | <i>gajo</i> | ‘big’ | <i>gojo</i> | ‘becoming big’ |
| | <i>sakit</i> | ‘crazy’ | <i>sakit</i> | ‘becoming crazy’ |
| | <i>tukal</i> | ‘skinny’ | <i>tə̃mukal</i> | ‘becoming skinny’ |
| | <i>kə̃nnu</i> | ‘corpulent’ | <i>kə̃nnu</i> | ‘become corpulent’ |

Dependent morphology can be affixed recursively in certain derivations, as shown in the examples *gajo* and *gabpi*. First, the adjectival root *gajo* is infixated with the allomorph *-u-*, resulting in *gojo*. Subsequently, the stem *gojo* is infixated with the allomorph *-ə̃m-*, resulting in *gə̃mojo*. The semantic effect of recursive infixation depends on the word class of the stem. The first two items *gajo* ‘big’ and *gabpi* ‘night’, which are an adjective and a noun respectively receive ‘inchoative’ or ‘progressive’ semantics, while the verbal stems *lapas* ‘pass’ and *də̃llu* ‘descend’ take on the meanings ‘immediately’ or ‘very carefully’.

- | (134) | root | Dependent | gloss | double infixation | gloss |
|-------|---------------|---------------|----------------|-------------------|--------------------------------------|
| | <i>gajo</i> | <i>gojo</i> | ‘becoming big’ | <i>g-ə̃m-ojo</i> | ‘becoming bigger and bigger’ |
| | <i>gabpi</i> | <i>gabpi</i> | ‘evening’ | <i>g-ə̃m-obpi</i> | ‘late afternoon; soon getting night’ |
| | <i>lapas</i> | <i>lapas</i> | ‘pass by’ | <i>l-ə̃m-opas</i> | ‘pass by immediately’ |
| | <i>də̃llu</i> | <i>də̃llu</i> | ‘descend’ | <i>d-ə̃m-ullu</i> | ‘descend carefully’ |

A few nouns can be turned into an inchoative intransitive verb by prefixing it with the AV-prefix *gə̃-* and infixing it with *-u-*. For example:

- (135) *Bay gənona'*
 bay gə--u-nana'
 PRF AV--DEP-puss
 '(The wound) is already starting to produce puss.' [Notebook]
- (136) *Bay gədoli'*
 bay gə--u-dali'
 PRF AV--DEP-flood
 '(The river) is already starting to overflow.' [Notebook]

Note that only the combination of *gə-* and *-u-* is grammatical for these nominal stems. Derivation with either only the AV-prefix *gə-* or only with the Dependent infix *-u-* is ungrammatical. The combination of *gə-* and *-u-* is the only exception where the Dependent infix can be combined with another inflectional affix.

6.5.6. Summary

The Dependent is a neutral type of aspect which is neither Incompletive, nor Completive. It occurs on intransitive verbs of motion and other intransitive verbs that describe a change of state. Only on these intransitive verbs can a Dependent verb occur on its own in a main clause, that is, without adverbials, auxiliaries or discourse particles that license its presence. In imperatives and sentences expressing successive actions, Dependent verbs are licensed by certain adverbials, or discourse particles. In modal contexts, Dependent verbs are licensed by the auxiliary *nong*.

6.6. Non-volitive Mood

Non-volitive Mood is expressed by the prefix *kə-* or *akə-* in the Actor Voice and by *a-* in the Undergoer Voice. The AV-non-volitive prefix *kə-* is a portmanteau morph marking the verb for AV and Non-volitive Mood. The prefix *a-*, however, can be analysed as expressing Non-volitive Mood only, but not voice, firstly because the UV is characterised by the absence of AV-morphology; hence verbal stems without AV-prefixes but prefixed with *a-* are UV by default. Secondly, the prefix *a-* can be combined with *kə-*; the result still being an AV-verb, not an UV-verb.

Non-volitive morphology is ambiguous between mood and aspect as it can have three related meanings. It describes actions, events or states that are involuntary; it marks completion of action or the mere (in)ability to do something.¹⁵ I have chosen for the term 'Non-volitive', because most dynamic verbs marked for Non-volitive Mood allow a non-volitional reading, and many allow a completive reading, but the potentive reading seems to be less important. But the choice of the

¹⁵ See also Dell (1983) for an elaborate description of the Tagalog equivalent of the Non-volitive Mood.

terminology remains difficult.

Although the AV-Non-volitive forms with *kə-* differs from the UV-Non-volitive forms with *a-* only in voice, their functions are specialised to some extent. The AV-variant with *kə-* does not exist for many transitive verbs except for verbs of perception; whereas the UV-variant with *a-* exists for both verbs of perception and other transitive verbs. Only verbs of perception can freely occur with Non-volitive Mood in either voice, but most other transitive verbs can not. This is not surprising, though. In Tagalog, for instance, transitive verbs expressing an accidental, non-controlled, Non-volitive event tend to appear in any of the non-actor voices of the Non-volitive mood, in which the undergoer is the subject (Himmelman to appear b).

6.6.1. AV-Non-volitive verbs with *k(ə)-*

The prefix *k(ə)-* has two allomorphs. The allomorph *kə-* is used for all consonant-initial stems, whether transitive or intransitive, whereas the allomorph *k-* is used for vowel-initial roots of intransitive (unergative) verbs. Recall that vowel-initial roots of transitive verbs must first be prefixed with *p-* or *b-* before they can be prefixed with *kə-* (see section 3.2.2.2., and section 6.3. of this chapter).¹⁶ Intransitive verbs will be treated in section 6.7. below; transitive verbs will be treated first.

Transitive verbs that take Non-volitive morphology are verbs of perception, although the transitive verbs that can occur with *k(ə)-* are not numerous. The prefix *k(ə)-* on these verbs are ambiguous between completion and accidental, involuntary action.

(137)	AV-Non-volitive	gloss	UV	gloss	AV-Volitive	gloss
	<i>kə-ttan</i>	'see'	<i>ttan</i>	'see'	-	
	<i>kə-p-arok</i>	'smell'	<i>p-arok</i>	'smell'	<i>məng-arok</i>	'smell on purpose'
	<i>kə-p-andu</i>	'know a person'	<i>p-andu</i>	'know a person'	<i>məng-andu</i>	'get to know a person'
	<i>kə-p-atong</i>	'spot, look around'	<i>p-atong</i>	'spot, look around'	-	
	<i>kə-k-ingog</i>	'hear'	<i>kingog</i>	'hear'	<i>məng-ingog</i>	'listen'
	<i>kə-lap</i>	'get'	<i>a-lap</i>	'get'	<i>məng-alap</i>	'get, fetch'
	<i>kə-tubid</i>	'afford'	<i>a-tubid</i>	'afford'	-	
	<i>k-inum</i>	'had a drink, had breakfast'	-		<i>məng-inum</i>	'drink, have breakfast'

The AV-Non-volitive prefix *kə-* was judged to be grammatical in a few ordinary transitive verbs of some elicited sentences, for instance *kə-p-əgkot* 'able to work',

¹⁶ Exceptions are *k-inum* 'have had a drink' which is in contrast with *kə-p-inum* 'able to drink', *kə-ttan* 'see' instead of the expected **kə-p-ə-ttan*, and *k-ingog* 'hear' instead of **kə-p-ingog*.

but *kə-* is very rare on other transitive verbs in my corpus. Here are a few example sentences with verbs of perception and one other transitive verb with *kə-*:

- (138) *Neli kəpatong.*
 Neli kə-p-atong
 Neli AV.NV-SF-look.around
 ‘Nelleke is able/happens to see (the ripe cucumbers under the leaves).’ [Notebook]
- (139) *Ikow kəparok ges no?*
 ikow kə-p-arok ges ino?
 2S.N AV.NV-SF-smell gas yonder
 ‘Do you smell that gas?’ [Notebook]
- (140) *Ama’ Yo ləbpom ku kəttan.*
 ama’ Yo ləbpom ku kə-ttan
 father Yo think.UV 1S.G AV.NV-see
 ‘Yee Woo’s father has seen it, I think. (talking about the Russay ritual).’ [Gerussay 008]
- (141) *Aku bay kinum.*
 aku bay k-inum
 1S.N PRF AV.NV-drink
 ‘I have already had breakfast.’

The prefix *kə-*, then, gives verbs of perception and certain other transitive verbs an interpretation that is ambiguous between completion, ability or accident.

6.6.2. UV-Non-volitive verbs with *a-*

The prefix *a-* can be attached to many transitive verbs as well as to stative verbs. Intransitive (stative) verbs prefixed with *a-* are treated in section 6.7. The prefix *a-* marks involuntary actions on transitive (dynamic) verb, as in the following examples. Sentence (142) illustrates how the verb prefixed with *a-* describes an involuntary action. The verbal root *tattas* is normally used to express the voluntary action of unstitching clothes when a person is sewing and its AV-equivalent is *mənatattas* (*məng-tattas*). Here it is used in a story about fishermen who carried so many fish into the Sultan’s house that the fish reached the shoe plateau, halfway the stairs. The shoe plateau, which is tied with ropes to the poles of the house, got loose under the weight of the fish.

- (142) (..) *sodtong pait, sawot nong lagbang no,*
 (..) -u-sadtong pait, sawot nong lagbang ino,
 -DEP-shoulder.UV fish, arrive OBL shoe.plateau yonder,

atattas *lagbang.*
 a-tattas lagbang.
 NV-unstitch.UV shoe.plateau
 '(They just continued to) carry fish on their shoulder, until the shoe plateau, the shoe plateau became loose (literally unstitched).' [Dayangpukli1p53]

The root *ləgkut* 'swallow' in (143a) can be used in a voluntary sense if prefixed with the a Volitive Mood affix, as in (143b) where *lugkut* 'swallow' describes the volitional swallowing of a boat by a river monster. Both verbs are still transitive.

- (143) a. *Aləgkut* *ku* *tullang* *pait.*
 a-ləgkut ku tullang pait
 NV-swallow.UV 1S.G bone fish
 'I accidentally swallowed a fish bone.'
- b. *Ləppap* *kat* *pait* *ino* *mapa',* *lugkut,*
 ləppap kat pait ino m-apa' -u-ləgkut
 immediately CDM fish yonder DEP-hinder.UV -DEP-swallow.UV
- kumman* *alud* *ino* *bio* *apuy* *no* *gədino.*
 kumman alud ino bio apuy ino gədino
 eat.DEP.UV boat yonder and fire yonder in.yonder.way
 'The fish blocked the way for the boat, swallowed and ate it with fire and all, like this.' (Context: in an attempt to kill a monstrous fish, the village people made the monster swallow a burning boat.) [Pait Liway 007]

The stative verb *atəssong* in (144) is intransitive, contrary to its dynamic variant *mənəssong* 'stuff something' which is prefixed with the AV-Volitive prefix *məng-*.

- (144) *Atəssong* *irung* *ku,* *tiu'* *səlesma.*
 a-təssong irung ku tiu' səlesma
 NV-stuff.UV nose 1S.G hit cold
 'My nose is blocked because of a cold.' [Notebook]

The same is true for the verbs in (145). The root of verb *aləkkob* 'get stuck' in (145a) is prefixed with *a-* to give it an involuntary reading; it has become intransitive. The same root occurs in (145b), infixed with the Dependent infix *-u-* to mark it as a voluntary action 'to plant' and is still transitive.

- (145) a. *Aləkkob* *kərito* *nong* *allom* *paut.*
 a-ləkkob kərito nong allom paut
 NV-stick.UV car OBL inside mud
 'The car got stuck in the mud.'
- b. *Ino* *rumo* *lukkob* *di:*
 ino rumo -u-lukkob adi
 yonder 3S -DEP-stick.UV over.there

urung pon ka pəsuog di.
 urung apon ka pəsuog adi
 extremity NEG.P PRT stem over.there
 ‘This is what she planted: the leaves, not the roots.’ [Suran nong Karut 011]

As has already been mentioned in section 6.3., the unaffixed root of consonant-initial transitive verbs has slightly involuntary semantics in main clauses. If they are prefixed with *a-* the involuntary meaning is intensified. The same is true for verbs prefixed with *p-* or *b-*. The verb *apukow* ‘accidentally wake up’ with *a-* suggests that the person was waken up by the rain, whereas the verb *pukow* ‘wake up’ in (62) above is neutral: the person just wakes up. Similarly in (147), the verb *apunong* is used when something is accidentally finished, whereas *punong* ‘finished’ is neutral.

(146) *Gabpi no kingog ku rodtas uran. Apukow aku.*
 gabpi ino k-ingog ku radtas uran a-p-ukow aku
 night yonder AV.NV-hear 1S.G DEP-fall rain NV-SF-wake.up 1S.G
 ‘Last night I heard rain fall. I accidentally woke up.’ [Mi-Suk6p?]

(147) *Digabpi Linus bio Jimin di məngəppom,*
 digabpi Linus bio Jimin adi məngə-ppom
 yesterday Linus and Jimin over.there AV-spray

suga’ apunong lassun dukut di,
 suga’ a-p-unong lassun dukut adi
 but NV-SF-finish poison weed over.there

pon punong dan buta’ nippom di.
 pon p-unong dan buta’ ni-ppom adi
 NEG.P SF-finish yet earth COM-spray.UV over.rher

‘Yesterday Linus and Jimin sprayed (the rice field), but the weed poison happened to be finished, but the land they had sprayed was not yet finished.’ [Mi-Suk3A 166]

However, there is not much difference in many cases. The sentences in (148) come from two different versions of the same folk story. The two verbs *pəkkən* and *apəkkən* hardly differ in meaning.

(148) a. *Suga’ mulo ku ton da apon pəkkən ku.*
 suga’ mulo ku ton da apon p-ə-kkan ku
 but crop 1S.G TOP PR NEG.P SF-eat.UV 1S.G
 ‘But as for this crop, I will not be able to eat it.’ (Context: the woman is afraid she will die before the crop is ripe.) [Karut 014]

b. *Səbob mulo bilo rumo apon apəkkən rumo.*
 səbob mulo -i-bulo rumo apon a-p-ə-kkan rumo
 because crop -COM-plant.UV 3S NEG.P NV-SF-eat.UV 3S
 ‘Because she would not be able to eat the crop she had planted.’ [Karut1p16]

Some anti-causative verbs with *a-* tend to be used for an event, whereas their equivalent verb with *b-* or *p-* only expresses a steady state. The verb *a-b-ungung* ‘pull out a milk tooth’ in (149a) suggests that the child has taken out the milk tooth herself, and emphasises the event, whereas the form *b-ungung* merely expresses the fact that the milk tooth has come out, in whatever way.

- (149) a. *Kəmmon abungung nipon Yee-Woo nong alag no.*
 kəmmon a-b-ungung nipon Yee-Woo nong alag ino
 just.now NV-MID-pull.out tooth Yee-Woo OBL beneath yonder
 ‘Just now Yee-Woo’s tooth from under came out.’ [Mi-Suk4 070]
- b. *Nipon rumo satu te pon dan bungung,*
 nipon rumo satu ate pon dan b-ungung
 tooth 3S one this NEG.P yet MID-pull.out
- suga’ bay təbpu’ tu. ganti rumo di.*
 suga’ bay təbpu’ tu ganti rumo adi
 but PRF grow too replace 3S over.there
 ‘This one tooth has not come out yet, but its replacing (one) has already grown.
 [Mi-Suk4 162]

6.6.3. The variant *akə*

The AV-Non-volitional prefix *kə* has a variant *akə*. It is not clear to me whether this form is just a variant of *kə* or whether it should be analysed as a combination of *a-* and *kə*.¹⁷ According to my consultants, it is just a matter of preference whether a speaker chooses *kə* or *akə* in the Actor Voice, but there is no real semantic difference. If there is a difference at all, it is very subtle. It could be speculated that the *akə* form is related to Tagalog *na-ka-* and *ma-ka-* and to Kimaragang *no-ko-*, which has eroded to *a-*, *kə* and *akə*. The verb *a-kə-luan* ‘go out’ in (150) has a slightly more involuntary reading than its equivalent *kə-luan* ‘go out’ without prefix *a-*. The sentence is about a person in a dream who was forced to go out to the real

¹⁷ An argument in favour of analysing *akə* as a combination of *a-* and *kə* is that I have heard two or three instances of an inchoative AV-verb prefixed with *a-*, such as (i):

- (iii) *a-gə-təngos begko laud*
 NV-AV-swift also wind
 ‘The wind is also getting much stronger’ [Conversationsselectingseed 312]

The adjective *təngos* ‘swift’ in (i) is prefixed with the AV-Volitive prefix *gə* to give it an inchoative sense, while the prefix *a-* seems to intensify it. The prefix *a-* does not turn the AV-verb into an UV-verb, as the result is still inchoative. By analogy, if the prefix *a-* modifies Volitive AV-verbs it can also modify verbs already marked for AV-Non-volitive with *kə*. But the cooccurrence of Non-volitive *a-* and Volitive *gə* was not attested elsewhere in the corpus and the form *akə* is rare.

world and became a true person against her will.

- (150) *Səbob nupi, pon ka ulun, kiro*
 səbob nupi apon ka ulun kiro
 because dream NEG PRT person count
- ulun akəluan nong awan nong dunio no.*
 ulun a-kə-luan nong awan nong dunio ino
 person NV-AV.NV-go.outside OBL outside OBL world yonder
 '(but he did not know how to marry her,) because she was a dream, a person who had
 gone outside to this world.' [Bowon Bura' 060]

Sentence (151) is said by an elderly person who does not know for sure yet whether she will be physically fit to work on the land in the next season. She uses the verb *kə-tubid* 'be capable, afford' without prefix *a-* and the verb *a-kə-tubid* 'be capable, afford' with prefix *a-* in one breath.

- (151) a. *Kəmo kə-tubid aku maya' bəgumo,*
 kəmo kə-tubid aku m-aya' bəg-umo
 if AV.NV-capable 1S.N DEP-follow AV-ricefield
 'If I am capable, I will join working in the ricefield.' [Conversationselectingseed359]
- b. *(..)tow da apon akə-tubid.*
 tow da apon a-kə-tubid
 know.UV PR NEG.P NV-AV.NV-capable
 '(Who) knows whether I will be capable.' [Conversationselectingseed 360]

Sentence (152) is about the rarity of people who still understand the secret language used for the Russay event. The verb form *a-kə-lati* 'understand' with the prefix combination *a-kə-* is used, probably to emphasise the verb.

- (152) *(..)missan silut kəmmi ne pon akay akəlati,*
 missan silut kəmmi ne apon akay a-kə-lati
 once both 1P.E.N/G this NEG.P EXIST NV-AV.NV-understand
- uni di' bpung, pon akay atow.*
 uni di' bpung apon akay a-tow
 talk LOC former.time NEG.P EXIST NV-know.UV
 '(..) even we all do not understand, it is the language of the past that no one knows
 anymore.' [Gerussay 010]

More research is needed to find out whether *akə-* is just a pronunciation variant from *kə-* where the /a/ sound is a historic relic or whether it is really composed of *a-* and *kə-*.

6.7. The inflection of intransitive verbs

6.7.1. The unaccusative split

This section gives an overview of the inflection of intransitive verbs and makes an attempt at classifying verbs as unaccusative (patient-oriented) and unergative (agent-oriented). This classification is rather tentative, as several different criteria can be used. I assume that unaccusativity or unergativity is a semantic, not syntactic property that may be reflected in the morphology, although the correlation with morphology is not perfect. Although there are proto-typical agent properties and proto-typical patient properties (Dowty 1991, Foley & Van Valin 1984), certain intransitive verbs are treated as unergatives in one language and as unaccusatives in the other.

I assume that voice marking is the main criterion in Begak for classifying a verb as unaccusative or unergative. In general, intransitive verbs with an actor as their sole argument are unergative and take AV-morphology and intransitive verbs with an undergoer as their sole argument are unaccusative and take UV-morphology. Mood may correlate with unaccusativity, but I will focus on voice marking.

The following schedule gives an overview of how intransitive verbs in Begak are inflected. It is taken from Arka (1998)'s analysis of Balinese and has been adapted to fit the situation in Begak. The verbs on the top of the schedule are most agent-like while verbs on the bottom are most patient-like.

			Agent-like
Voice marking	affix	type of verb	
AV	<i>gə-/bəg-/məng-</i>	a. volitional doer b. possessor c. arguments of verbs of manner of motion d. emitter (of sound and light) e. inchoative argument (of non-motion verbs, controllable or with causation) f. arguments of verbs of directed motion	✘
UV in Volitive Mood but AV in Non-volitive Mood	<i>-u-, k(ə)-, Ø</i>	g. performer of body position	
UV	<i>a-, Ø</i>	h. arguments of states; psych verbs (if non-volitional)	
			Patient-like

The criterion of voice marking as an indication of unaccusativity or unergativity works well for verbs at both extremes of the continuum. For instance, volitional doers are proto-agents (Foley and Van Valin 1984, Zaenen 1993). Begak intransitive verbs whose sole argument is a volitional doer is prefixed with an AV-class-prefix *gə-, bəg-* or *məng-*, as in (153).

- (153) *gərumi* 'talk'
bəgamong 'eat breakfast'
gətəling 'look back'
bəgingot 'pay attention'
bəgalud 'sail a boat'

Stative verbs and psych verbs are verbs of the other extreme of the continuum. Their sole argument is an undergoer. These verbs are usually uninflected (if they start with a consonant. Examples of unaffixed stative verbs were given in section 4.2.2. and (27) through (30) above. Anti-causative verbs derived from transitive verbs, such as *p-ukow* 'wake up', *p-unong* 'be finished', *p-agon* 'be strong', *p-ukos* 'be cut off' also fall in this category. The unaffixed stem (which may consist of a consonant-initial root or of a vowel-initial root with the stem forming prefix *p-*) functions as the UV-Incomplete Aspect form, which means that stative verbs and psych verbs are unaccusatives.

An additional test for unaccusativity involves causativisation by deriving transitive AV-verbs with an AV-prefix (see Kroeger 1990 for Kimaragang or Levin and 1995 for a similar test for English). If the prefix adds an actor, the verb's original argument was an undergoer, whereas if the prefix adds an undergoer, the verb's original argument was an actor. When stative verbs have a transitive AV-equivalent with *məng-*, the form with *məng-* adds an actor, as the original argument was already an undergoer. Examples were given in (51) above.

If stative verbs or psych verbs are used volitionally, they become unergatives and receive AV-morphology. Examples of stative verbs used volitionally are given in (154).

(154)	no morphology	gloss	AV-morphology	gloss
	<i>adtu</i>	'far'	<i>bəgadtu</i>	'far'
	<i>mulok</i>	'young'	<i>gəmulok</i>	'young'
	<i>lumon</i>	'silent'	<i>gəlumon</i>	'silent'
	<i>turug</i>	'sleep'	<i>mənurug</i>	'sleep'
	<i>gədtam</i>	'remember'	<i>bəgədtam</i>	'remember'
	<i>liwag</i>	'forget'	<i>gəliwag</i>	'forget'
	<i>ləbpom</i>	'guess, think'	<i>gələbpom</i>	'guess, think'

Verbs expressing a possessor relation or a part-whole relation take AV-morphology; examples are *bəg-ama* 'call/have as father', *bəg-ina* 'call/have mother', *bəg-io* 'call/have older brother or sister', *gə-langu* 'call/have in-law', *gə-məruay* 'call/have in law' and other verbs expressing the relation with a member of the family. A possible explanation for the AV-morphology of these verbs, and their consequent classification as unergatives is that a person who calls somebody 'father' or 'sister', etc. can only do so volitionally; the person is somehow in control of the situation; therefore these verbs are treated as unergatives. An example of a verb expressing a possessor was given in (45) above.

Although verbs of directed motion take (UV-)Dependent morphology, verbs of manner of motion are unergatives, as they take AV-morphology: *gə-lindut*

'run', *gə-lunguy* 'swim', *gə-b-ə-ngngut* 'spin', *gə-laug* 'jump up and down'. There are exceptions though: why is *t-əm-ulud* 'fly' not inflected with AV-morphology but with the (UV)-Dependent infix? Example sentences of verbs of manner of motion were given in (11) and (12) above.

Certain emitters of sound and light take AV-morphology and must hence be classified as unergatives. Examples are *gə-dilap* 'twinkle', *məng-ilag* 'shine'. Verbs of emission are unergatives in several languages because they are 'internally caused' intransitive verbs: a star shines because of its inherent properties (Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995).

Inchoative verbs are also derived from stative verbs and psych verbs and take AV-morphology. In fact, as we have seen in section 6.2.2., AV-morphology on stative verbs and psych verbs (unaccusatives) is ambiguous between a volitional or inchoative reading. Examples of inchoatives are *gə-puti* 'become white', *gə-pasod* 'become numerous', *bəg-ə-ttas* 'become high', *bəg-ə-ssak* 'become ripe'. Example sentences with inchoative verbs were given in (27) through (33) above.

The criterion of voice marking becomes more difficult to apply on verbs in the middle of the continuum whose sole argument is neither very agent-like nor very patient-like, such as verbs of directed motion and bodily functions. One problem in Begak is that these verbs take UV-morphology in the Volitive Mood, as was shown in (111) and (112) above, but take AV-marking in the Non-volitive Mood, as is shown in (155) below. This raises the question whether voice marking in the Volitive Mood or in the Non-volitive Mood must be taken as a criterion for unaccusativity.

In Kimaragang Dusun all intransitive verbs (both unergative and unaccusative) take AV-morphology in the Eventive Aspect (my Volitive Mood), but in the Stative Aspect (my Non-Volitive Mood), unergative verbs take an AV-prefix, while unaccusative verbs take an UV-prefix (Kroeger 1990). Therefore, the Stative Aspect rather than Eventive Aspect is indicative for unaccusativity in Kimaragang. According to this and other criteria, Kimaragang verbs of motion are unergative, but states are unaccusative. Foley (2002) applies Kroeger (1990)'s test to Tagalog and concludes on the basis of Non-volitive Mood morphology that Tagalog verbs of motion are unergative and change of state verbs such as 'shatter', 'fall', 'collapse' are unergative.

If indeed Non-volitive Mood morphology is to be taken as indicative for unaccusativity or unergativity, Begak verbs of motion are unergative. However, verbs of motion tend to be unaccusative in other languages (Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995). For the time being I will assume that in Begak, the voice marking of the Volitive Mood is indicative for voice marking, and that verbs of directed motion are unaccusative, but I may be wrong. Other tests for unaccusativity or unergativity could offer a solution, but I have not found any other test so far.

Verbs of position pose a similar problem to verbs of motion. We have seen in section 6.3.3. that verbs of position are inflected with the stem forming. Middle prefix *b-*. Examples are *b-adung* 'sit', *b-uruy* 'stand', *b-uat* 'stand up'. Sentences with verbs of position were given in (74) through (84) above. If Volitive Mood morphology is taken into consideration, these verbs must be classified as unaccusatives, because verbs affixed with *b-* without other prefixes function as UV-

verbs. However, they take an AV-prefix in the Non-volitive Mood: *kəb-uruy* ‘able to stand up’, *kəb-uat* ‘able to get up’, which is typical for unergatives.

According to the causativisation test, verbs of position and anti-causative verbs prefixed with *b-* are unaccusative. As we have seen in (71) through (73), the AV-equivalent of *b-adung* ‘sit’ is ‘*məng-adung* ‘sit on something’. An undergoer has been added here. But an actor is added in virtually all other cases: *b-uat* ‘get up’ versus *məng-uat* ‘make someone get up’ and *b-issog* ‘move’ versus *məng-issog* ‘move something’. Apparently, the sole argument of these verbs is an undergoer.

Another test for unergativity is imperatives, as imperatives can only be formed of a volitional subject (Kroeger 1990). Verbs of position can occur in imperatives, for example *buat!* ‘get up!’ or ‘*badung!* ‘sit down!’. But an explanation for the grammaticality of imperatives from verbs of position is that these verbs have a usage as states ‘be seated’, ‘be standing’ etc. and a usage as events: ‘sit down’, ‘stand up’. This means that the test of imperatives is perhaps invalid as a test for unergativity. I assume that verbs of position are unaccusative on the basis of their Volitive Mood morphology, but again, this is very tentative.

In concluding, then, the unaccusative split is not very transparent in Begak. Many exceptions were omitted from the discussion. Nevertheless, even though it is not always possible to classify a verb as unaccusative or unergative on the basis of inflection, inflection gives a rough indication of whether a verb is unaccusative or unergative.

6.7.2. Non-volitive Mood morphology on intransitive verb

The intransitive split based on Non-volitive morphology was not worked out in the previous section and in section 6.3. First, verbs of motion affixed with AV-Non-volitive morphology will be treated and then it will be shown how stative verbs appear in the UV-Non-volitive.

The list in (155) shows how Dependent morphology expresses ongoing motion, while AV-Non-volitive morphology marks completed motion.

(155)	AV-Non-volitive	gloss	Dependent (or other)	gloss
	<i>k-uli</i>	‘gone home’	<i>m-uli</i>	‘go home’
	<i>kə-lambus</i>	‘gone on’	<i>lombus (l-u-ambus)</i>	‘go on’
	<i>kə-nnik</i>	‘gone up’	<i>m-ə-nnik</i>	‘go up’
	<i>kə-ssob</i>	‘have come’	<i>m-ə-ssob</i>	‘come’
	<i>k-issog</i>	‘moved’	<i>b-issog</i>	‘move’
	<i>kə-luan</i>	‘gone out’	<i>l-əm-uan</i>	‘go out’
	<i>kə-riiu</i>	‘bathed’	<i>mə-riiu</i>	‘bathe’
	<i>kə-lauy</i>	‘fled’	<i>mə-lauy</i>	‘flee’

This list shows that Non-volitive morphology takes quite specialised semantics on verbs of motion, the main contrast being one of tense or aspect (completion) rather than the expected semantics of volitionality or ability. Even though the table ‘Non-

volitive' is less felicitous and may even be misleading for verbs of motion, I will continue to use it, because it works well for most other semantic classes of verbs.

Completion is the most important function of the AV-Non-volitive for verbs of motion. Compare the (a) sentences which contain an AV-Non-volitive verb with the (b) sentences which contain the same verb in the Dependent:

- (156) a. *Kurang ləbpo nong allom tahun nom pulu' bio olu*
 kurang ləbpo nong allom tahun nom pulu' bio olu
 less more OBL inside year six ten and eight

kəssob haji Muda sakko Lahad Datu.
 kə-ssob haji Muda sakko Lahad Datu
 AV.NV-come haji Muda from Lahad Datu
 'Around the year '68 Haji Muda from Lahad Datu came.' [Sejarap38]

- b. *Kidon ikow məssob bagku tunong?*
 kidon ikow m-ə-ssob bagku tunong
 when.fut 2S.N DEP-come new here
 'When will you come again?' [Notebook]

- (157) a. *Iro Bəssing bay kuli' sakko di' KK.*
 iro Bəssing bay k-uli' sakko di' KK
 COL Bəssing PRF AV.NV-go.home from LOC KK
 'Bessing and his family have already returned from Kota Kinabalu.' [Notebook]

- b. *Jadi muli' ino Assa' ne.*
 jadi m-uli' ino Assa' ne
 so DEP-go.home yonder Assa' this
 'So Assa' went home.' [Assa' 013]

The following sentence illustrates how the prefix *kə-* can be used to mark completion and ability at the same time. It is about a living person Kebasi' who entered the world of the dead, to meet his daughter. In the underworld, all things are upside down; and Kebasi has great difficulty to climb the stairs of his daughter's house, because it is upside down too.

- (158) a. *Kənnik tu bəgko Kəbasi di' ttas di.*
 kə-nnik tu bəgko Kəbasi di' ttas adi
 AV.NV-ascend too also Kebasi LOC top over.there
 'Kebasi succeeded too in climbing up the house.' [Kebasip39]

- b. *Jadi dongay rumo mənnik nong balay no.*
 jadi -u-dangay rumo m-ə-nnik nong balay ino
 so -DEP-proceed 3S DEP-go.up OBL house yonder
 'So he proceeded and went up the house.' [Assa' 007]

Sentence (159) is taken from a conversation in which the locutor explained that he could not go to the wedding of an acquaintance of his, because he does not

have a car and the wedding site is too far to walk. The verb *kəpanow* ‘go’ is marked with *kə-* and describes (in)ability to do something.

- (159) *Kəmmi pon kəpanow.*
 kəmmi apon kə-panow
 1P.E.N/G NEG.P AV.NV-go
 ‘We were not able to go.’ [Jadi 088]

Verbs of position prefixed with *k(ə)-* may be ambiguous between an abilitative and completion reading, as in (160). This sentence is from a conversation where one of the participants tells that she had been so sick in the past week that she could not get out of bed. The verb *kə-b-uat* ‘AV.NV-get up’ has a strong abilitative interpretation here, but it can possibly be understood as completive.

- (160) *Na, baya’ ku da kəbuat, malu’ səmidu,*
 na baya’ ku da kə-b-uat malu’ -em-sidu
 PRT place 1S.G PR AV.NV-MID-get.up want -DEP-urinate

bay pukul pat.
 bay pukul pat
 PRF hour four

‘Na, by the time (lit. place) I was able to get up/got up to go to urinate, it was already four o’ clock.’ [Conversationdogs 030]

A handful of consonant-initial verbs of motion can occur without inflection. The meaning of their bare form varies from perfectivity to lack of control. The uninflected verb *sawot* ‘arrived’ in (162a), for instance, expresses completed motion. The uninflected verb in (163a) expresses lack of control, whereas the same verb in the Dependent in (163b) expresses a controlled movement.

- | | | | | | |
|-------|---------------|----------------------------|--|-----------------|----------------------|
| (161) | UV | gloss | | DEP | gloss |
| | <i>sawot</i> | ‘just arrived’ | | <i>sawot</i> | ‘arriving’ |
| | <i>suok</i> | ‘just entered’ | | <i>səmuok</i> | ‘entering’ |
| | <i>lattos</i> | ‘just crossed the river’ | | <i>lottos</i> | ‘crossing the river’ |
| | <i>tugban</i> | ‘collapse’ | | <i>təmuqban</i> | ‘lie down’ |
| | <i>rəmma’</i> | ‘come down uncontrollably’ | | <i>runna</i> | ‘descend’ |

- (162) a. *Sob buay rumo mugba’, sob sawot bəgko karut.*
 sob buay rumo m-ugba’ sob sawot bəgko karut
 when long 3S DEP-rest when arrive also wild.cat
 ‘When she had rested for a long time, then the Wild Cat also arrived.’
 [Karut 011]

- b. *Sowot kat tikung-kərow.*
 -u-sawot kat tikung-kərow
 -DEP-arrive CDM bird.without.tail
 ‘The Tikung Kerow bird arrived.’ [Rengon 031]

- (163) a. (..) *ratu' rumo sakko di' awan di*
ratu' rumo sakko di' awan adi
 fall 3S from LOC outside over.there

rænna' nong buta', matay, apamak.
rænna' nong buta' matay a-pamak
 descend OBL earth dead NV-fall

'(When Young Man started to laugh, the birds that were flying him home dropped him and) he fell down from the sky and came down on earth, he fell dead.' [Monay bio Dera' 083]

- b. *Runna' kat nupi nong Monay.*
-u-rænna' kat nupi nong monay
 -DEP-descend CDM dream OBL young.man
 'Young Man dreamed.' (Lit. a dream came down to Young Man).'
 [Bowon Bura' 039]

Monosyllabic stative verbs are directly prefixed with the Non-volitive prefix *a-*, as in (164), whereas transitive subminimal or vowel-initial verbal roots need to be prefixed with *p-* or *b-* first before they can be prefixed with the Non-volitive prefix *a-*.

- (164) (..) *attas balay rumo.*
 (..) *a-ttas balay rumo*
 (..) NV-high house 3S
 'Her house was high.' [Dayangpukli takes revenge 087]

Consonant-initial stative verbs and adjectives are optionally prefixed with the Non-volitive prefix *a-*. The prefix *a-* gives adjectives a more intensive meaning, as in (165a), or an accidental meaning, as in (166b).

- (165) a. *Ullo səbuat lagay ate arambung!*
ullo sə-buat lagay ate a-rambung
 why NOM-long fruit.stalk this NV-rampant
 'How come this (rice ear) here is so long and rather rampant!'
 [Conversationselectingseed 401]

- b. *Ino pa, dadan rambung, suga' anak-anak.*
ino pa dadan rambung suga' anak-anak
 yonder PRT all rampant but child-RED
 'That's it you know (lit. yonder hey!), they are all rampant, but smallish.'
 [Conversationselectingseed 447]

- (166) a. *Na, siag nong ku məllit ate sigbu'.*
na, siag nong ku m-ə-llit ate sigbu'
 PRT, cloth AUX 1S.G DEP-sew.UV this yellow
 'Well, the sarong I am about to sew/sewing here is yellow.' [Mi-Suk5Ap7]

- b. *Abpu' milo ku gkot anak ku.*
 a-bpu' milo ku gkot anak ku.
 NV-spill milo 1S.G work child 1S.G
 'My Milo (intant cocoa) is spilt by my child.'

Jadi bay asigbu' buk ku ne.
 Jadi bay a-sigbu' buk ku ne
 so PRF NV-yellow book 1S.G this
 'So my book is yellow (now).' [Mi-Suk6p8]

More examples of the effect of *a-* on adjectives were discussed earlier in section 4.2.2. Consonant-initial verbs stative verbs may appear with and without *a-*. In some cases the form without *a-* expresses a state, as in (167a) whereas the form with *a-* expresses an event, as in (167b).

- (167) a. *Dadi ama' rumo allun, ina' rumo matay.*
 dadi ama' rumo a-llun ina' rumo matay
 so father 3S NV-live mother 3S dead
 'So her father was alive, her mother was dead.' (Context: about an orphan.) [Dayangpukli takes revenge 003]

- b. *Pog lakkang sukkib rumo ne,*
 pog lakkang sukkib rumo ne
 when remove.UV lid 3S this

amatay key bəgko Tuttul.
 a-matay key bəgko tuttul
 NV-dead FOC also watersnail
 'When his lid was removed, Watersnail died.' [Gongan bio Tuttul 050]

In other cases, forms with or without *a-* seem to be in free variation. Or, if there is a difference at all, the form without *a-* is used in a neutral context when a speaker is simply relating facts, as in (168a), while the form with *a-* is used in conversation when people talk or gossip about the event afterwards, as in (168b). The form in (168b) is somewhat stronger: 'the person really drowned'.

- (168) a. *Suga' Səngoyan bay ddi' key, bay lənnod.*
 suga' səngoyan bay ddi' key bay lənnod
 but monkey PRF there FOC PRF drowned
 'But Monkey was already there, he had already drowned/was already drowning.' [Kalibambang bio Səngoyan 061]

- b. *Ino baya' məngannak Taip malu' tun*
 ino baya' məngannak Taip malu' tun
 yonder place wife Taip want really

<i>alənnod</i>	<i>ngod</i>	<i>purus</i>	<i>təgai</i>	<i>gayo</i>	<i>no.</i>
a-lənnod	ngod	purus	təgai	gayo	ino
NV-drowned	because	reason	sun.hat	big	yonder

'This is when Taip's wife was really about to drown, because of her large sun hat.' (She bowed forward in the river with a very heavy sunhat that was attached to her head.) [Conversation koko1 210]

Again, more examples of stative verbs with or without *a-* can be found in section 4.2.2.

6.8. Irregular verbs

6.8.1. Verbs that are unaffixed in the Actor Voice

The following verbs are unaffixed in the AV; some of these items even being transitive.

(169)	unaffixed root	gloss	Dependent	Completive
	<i>panow</i>	'go'	<i>ponow</i>	<i>penow</i>
	<i>bulo</i>	'plant'	<i>mulo</i>	<i>bilonilo</i>
	<i>buow</i>	'chase birds'	<i>muow</i>	-
	<i>butus</i>	'smoke'	-	-
	<i>bama'</i>	'chew betelnut'	-	<i>bema'</i>
	<i>pantun</i>	'sing'	-	-
	<i>səmbayong</i>	'worship'	<i>səmə(m)boyong</i>	?
	<i>suwu'</i>	'feed someone by putting food into his mouth'	<i>suwu'</i>	?

A possible reason for the items starting with /b/ is that this /b/ has been interpreted as the prefix *b-* so that they do not need to be prefixed anymore. The word *səmbayong* is a loan word and is probably too long to take another AV-prefix. Several other Malay loan verbs are not inflected either.

6.8.2. Verbs with suppletive forms

Begak has four irregular verbs with suppletive forms. Their inflection will be treated here one by one. The verb *mangan* 'eat' has suppletive forms for all its inflectional forms. Its AV-form is *mangan*, its UV-Completive Aspect form is *kinnan*, and its UV-Dependent form is *kumman*. These three suppletive forms are probably derived from the historical base *kkan* 'eat'. This word serves nowadays as a noun meaning 'cooked rice' (the staple food) and as a verbal root meaning 'feed someone', with forms such as *məng-ə-kkan* in the AV, *m-ə-kkan* in the Dependent, *səng-ə-kkan* as a nominalisation. The Non-volitive form *a-p-ə-kkan*, however, does not mean 'to feed', but 'manage to eat'. Apparently the verbal stem *kkan* was historically one

verb, but is now split into two different verbs with closely related semantics. Other derivations with *kkan* are *ləngkumman* ‘cooked food’ and *pəngangan* ‘ingredients’.

The verb *may* ‘take’ has the roots: *ay*, which is used in the Actor Voice *məng-ay* and in the UV-Dependent *m-ay* and its suppletive root *ioy*, which is used in the Completive Aspect *ni-oy* and in the Distant past *bəʔəng--i-oy*.

The verb *alap* ‘get’ also has a suppletive root. The root *alap* is used in the Actor Voice *məng-alap*, in the UV-Dependent *m-alap*, in the UV-Completive Aspect *belap* (b--i-alap) or *nelap* (ni-alap), in the UV-Non-volitive form *alap*, in the Non-volitive form *a-b-alap*, and in the manner nominalisation *səng-alap*. The AV-Non-volitive form is *kəlap*; apparently the first vowel of the root disappears before the prefix *k(ə)-*, which does not happen in other roots.

The verb *malu* ‘want’ is not inflected. The form *kəlu* ‘want’ can be analysed as a noun or as an UV-Non-volitive form of the verb. The experiencer of *malu* always occurs in the nominative if pronominal, whereas the experiencer of *kəlu* always occurs in the genitive if pronominal. As both verbs and nouns can take a genitive argument, the word class of *kəlu* is not clear. Another derivation is *kəngəlu* ‘desire’, the longer form of *kəlu*.

6.8.3. Double infixation in complex stems

Verbs whose stem consists of a root with a (historical) prefix are doubly infixed (with two different allomorphs) in the Completive Aspect and Dependent. Some verbs are infixed twice obligatorily: (170a) contains the verb *təgalan* ‘weed’ in the Dependent and (170b) shows the same verb in the Completive Aspect.

- (170) a. *Nong təməgolan malu' lawas.*
 nong -əm--u-təgalan malu' lawas
 AUX -DEP--DEP-weed.UV want clear
 ‘(We have) to weed it to make the land clear.’ [Begigkang 006]
- b. *Pog bpos tənəgelan no da lawas.*
 pog bpos -ən--i-təgalan ino da lawas
 when after -COM--COM-weed.UV yonder PR clear
 ‘After weeding, (the land) is clear.’ [Begigkang 009]

Other complex verbal stems may but need not be infixed doubly. If they are, the meaning is intensified. This is the case for a number of verbs whose stem (historically) consists of a root and a prefix that can still be recognised as an AV-class prefix, but which actually belongs to the stem. These verbs have not reached a stable condition yet and the UV-forms sometimes retain the prefix and sometimes they do not. Sentence (171a) shows a verb *gəlamud* ‘mix’ in the Dependent. The variant in (171b) shows that the same verb with single infixation with the Dependent results in a less intensive meaning. The variant in (171c) shows that the prefix *gə-* is sometimes absent although synchronically, it belongs to the stem.

- (171) a. *Nong gəməlomud sija' pait atta' no bio lado.*
 nong -əmə--u-gəlamud sija' pait a-tta' ino bio lado
 AUX -DEP--DEP-mix.UV merely fish NV-raw yonder and pepper
 'Just mix the raw fish well with the pepper (..)' [Misuk6p2.]
- b. *Nong gəlomud sija' pait atta' no bio lado.*
 nong -u-gəlamud sija' pait a-tta' ino bio lado
 AUX -DEP-mix.UV merely fish NV-raw yonder and pepper
 'Just put the raw fish and the pepper together (..)'
- c. *Sa' lomud səkkol gam bio santan.*
 sa' -u-lamud səkkol gam bio santan
 SQ -DEP-mix.UV sugar QM and coconut.juice
 'Then add sugar and santan.' [Mi-suk6p129]

Other unstable verbs that are sometimes but not always doubly infixated are *bə-kə-laking* 'hold someone on his back', *bə-kə-dilap* 'twinkle' *bə-ladut* 'upside down'. Their UV-forms sometimes retain and sometimes lack the prefix.

As has already been mentioned earlier, nouns can be turned into a transitive verb through infixation with Completive Aspect or Dependent morphology. If the noun is morphologically complex, double infixation is obligatory, as in (172). Both sentences are from a recipe for coconut oil and contain the Dependent and Completive Aspect form respectively of the noun *sə-gabpi* 'one night'. The noun *sə-gabpi* 'one night', is infixated with the two allomorphs *-əm-* and *-u-* of the Dependent or with the two allomorphs *-ən-* and *-i-* of the Completive Aspect, resulting in the transitive verbs *səməgobpi* and *sənəgebpi* 'let something stand for one night', literally 'cause to be one night'.

- (172) a. *Biasa rumo kəmo ulun tunong*
 biasa rumo kəmo ulun tunong
 usually (M) 3S if person here
- məngallan lano no, nong səməgobpi.*
 məng-allan lano ino nong sə--əmə--u-gabpi
 AV-make oil yonder AUX one--DEP--DEP-night.UV
 'Usually when people here make oil, (we) let it stand for one night.'
 [Lano niug 003]
- b. *Kəmo sənəgebpi, sapa' rumo ne di' alag.*
 kəmo sə--ən--i-gabpi sapa' rumo ne di' alag
 if one--COM--COM-night.UV water 3S this LOC beneath
 'When (we have) let it stand for one night, its water is down.' [Lano niug 004]
- Jadi ennak niug ino nong ttas.*
 jadi ennak niug ino nong ttas
 so fat coconut yonder OBL top
 'So the fat of the coconut is on top.' [Lano niug 005]

Even loan words that are morphologically complex or that sound morphologically complex are doubly infixed. The Malay noun *sərangga* ‘insect’, for example, is turned into a transitive Begak verb with Completive Aspect morphology. It is obligatorily infixed twice: *sənərengga* ‘spray with insecticide’, because *sərangga* sounds morphologically complex. Either the /sə/ sequence sounds like the prefix *sə-* or the /ər/ sequence sounds like the infix *-ər-*. Apparently, then, double infixation of morphologically complex stems is a phonological phenomenon. An explanation could be that only a vowel change in the final syllable is not sufficient to mark Completive Aspect or Dependent and UV on trisyllabic stems. The result could be confusing as AV-Completive Aspect verbs also consist of three syllables plus changed final vowel. Therefore, a clearer marking is necessary. The double infixation results in a maximal phonological word consisting of four syllables of which the first two have schwa and the last two a full vowel.

6.9. Summary

We have seen that, as a result of historical morphological erosion of the language, voice is to some extent linked to aspect in Begak. Firstly, although both AV and UV verbs can be marked for Completive Aspect, it is much more frequent for UV-verbs. Secondly, the Dependent does not exist in the AV. Thirdly, if a verb appears in the UV, it occurs more often in the Completive Aspect than in the Incompletive aspect.

Begak inflection depends to a great extent on the semantic class of the verb. We have seen that all transitive verbs can appear at least in the Volitive Mood categories AV-Incompletive, UV-Completive Aspect and UV-Dependent; and some transitive verbs can also appear with Non-volitive Mood morphology in the appropriate context. We have seen that the inflection of intransitives depends on the semantic role of their argument.

7. Derivational morphology

7.1. Introduction

This chapter deals with derivational morphological operations. The first part is reserved for valency changing morphology: reciprocals, causatives and petitives. Reciprocals are valency reducing whereas causatives and petitives are valency increasing operations. As all three morphological operations are very productive and frequently used, relatively much space is dedicated to this part of the grammar. Section 7.2. will treat reciprocals, section 7.3. will discuss causatives; petitives will be dealt with in 7.4.

The second part of this chapter is reserved for derivational morphology that does not change the valency of the verb. Section 7.5. will deal with the combination of prefixes *bə-gə*. Section 7.6. will treat the prefix *mə(g)-*, section 7.7. the 'Distant Past' prefix *bərag-*; section 7.8. will describe the Intensive prefix *tə(g)-*.

The third part of this chapter treats nominalisations derived from verbal stems. In 7.9. section manner nominalisations are described and analysed. This type of nominalisation is very productive. The remaining sections treat less productive nominalisations. Section 7.10. deals with a less productive type of action nominalisations; section 7.11. describes abstract nouns and section 7.12. briefly comments on nouns with the historical prefix *ləng-*.

Section 7.13. will deal with expressions of emotion and body-characteristics which can be expressed either by a clausal construction or by a compound construction. Section 7.14. will summarise this chapter.

Derivational morphology can in general not be combined. For instance, if a verb is causativised, it cannot at the same time bare reciprocal morphology; a reciprocal cannot take petitive, Distant Past or nominalising morphology, etc. The only exception is the manner nominalisation prefix *səngə* which is a portmanteaumorph for manner nominalisation of causative verbs. The reason for the impossibility of combining derivational affixes is not only semantic but also phonological: Begak does not allow more than two syllables additional to the two syllables of the stem (see section 3.3.).

7.2. Reciprocals

Begak has two morphological processes that derive reciprocal verbs from verbal stems and are in phonological complementary distribution. The first process is infixation with *-ər-* and the second is Cə-reduplication of the prefixed stem. The main function of both processes is to reduce the valency of the verb to form reciprocals. Reciprocals can be derived from transitive as well as from intransitive verbal stems. Section 7.2.1. deals with the morphology and syntax of reciprocals derived from transitive verbal stems. Section 7.2.2. describes reciprocals derived

from intransitive stems. Reciprocal morphology has several other semantic functions besides reciprocity. Section 7.2.3. describes the secondary functions of reciprocal morphology.

7.2.1. Reciprocals derived from transitive stems

7.2.1.1. Forms without overt inflection

There are two morphological processes that derive reciprocal verbs from a verbal stem, both of which are productive. Stems starting with a non-liquid consonant are infixed with *-ər-*, as in (1), whereas vowel-initial stems and stems starting with a liquid form reciprocals by Cə-reduplication of the prefixed stem. The stem can be prefixed with several prefixes, depending on the semantic class of the verb, before undergoing Cə-reduplication. (2) lists some verbal stems starting with a liquid with their Actor Voice forms and their reciprocals. (3) lists vowel-initial and monosyllabic verbal stems with their Actor Voice forms and their reciprocals. (4) lists some reciprocals derived from middle form verbs prefixed with *b-*, while (5) shows predominantly verbs of motion prefixed with the AV-Non-volitive prefix *k(ə)-* before undergoing Cə-reduplication.

(1)	root	AV-form	gloss	-ər- infixation	gloss
	<i>kədtut</i>	<i>bə-kədtut</i>	'pinch'	<i>k-ər-ədtut</i>	'pinch each other'
	<i>kati</i>	<i>bə-kati</i>	'tease'	<i>k-ər-ati</i>	'tease each other'
	<i>tadtas</i>	<i>mənadtas</i>	'chase'	<i>t-ər-adtas</i>	'chase each other'
	<i>sukot</i>	<i>mənukot</i>	'ask'	<i>s-ər-ukot</i>	'ask each other'
	<i>nnik</i>	<i>kə-nnik</i>	'(AV.NV) ascended'	<i>k-ər-ə-nnik</i>	'ascended together'
	<i>andu'</i>	<i>məng-andu'</i>	'get to know'	<i>p-ər-andu'</i>	'know each other'
	<i>ukos</i>	<i>məng-ukos</i>	'cut in two'	<i>p-ər-ukos</i>	'accidentally gone to pieces'
(2)	stem	AV-form	gloss	<i>gə-</i> prefixation and Cə-reduplication	gloss
	<i>rakop</i>	<i>məngərakop</i>	'wrestle'	<i>gəgərakop</i>	'wrestle with each other'
	<i>lapas</i>	<i>lopas</i>	'DEP-pass'	<i>gəgəlapas</i>	'pass each other by'
(3)	stem	AV-form	gloss	<i>gə-</i> prefixation and Cə-reduplication	gloss
	<i>ana'</i>	<i>məngana'</i>	'arrow'	<i>gəgana'</i>	'shoot each other with arrow'
	<i>usur</i>	<i>bəgusur</i>	'tell'	<i>gəgusur</i>	'talk with each other'
	<i>ruk</i>	<i>məngəruk</i>	'share plate'	<i>gəgəruk</i>	'share a plate together'
	<i>pput</i>	<i>məngəpput</i>	'tie up'	<i>gəgəpput</i>	'be tied up in each other'

(4)	stem	gloss	prefixation with <i>b-</i> followed by Cə- reduplication (and foot-reduplication)	gloss
	<i>ambur</i>	'spread'	<i>bəbambur-bambur</i>	'be spread all over the place'
	<i>iang</i>	'separate'	<i>bəbiang</i>	'separate from each other'
	<i>agon</i>	'strong, do strongly'	<i>bəbagon-bagon</i>	'do very strongly'
(5)	stem	gloss	prefixation with <i>kə-</i> followed by Cə-reduplication	gloss
	<i>uli'</i>	'go home'	<i>kəkuli'</i>	'go to and fro'
	<i>lap</i>	'get'	<i>kəkəlap</i>	'really get'
	<i>inum</i>	'drink'	<i>kəkinum</i>	'drank some time ago'
	<i>ttan</i>	'see'	<i>kəkəttan</i>	'saw some time ago'
	<i>igbit</i>	'lift up'	<i>kəkigbit</i>	'really lift up'

Although these two operations are formally quite different, their function is identical. The reciprocal infix and the Cə-reduplication of a prefixed stem have several functions, of which the reciprocal is the primary one. Reciprocal morphology is valency reducing; it intransitivises transitive verbs. Dynamic, transitive verbs in the Actor Voice are prefixed with a class prefix *gə-*, *bəg-* or *məng-* and usually take an object, whereas the reciprocal of the same verb does not take an object. The object of a transitive verb is expressed by a bare NP or by an NP preceded by the preposition *nong*, as in (6a), where the object of *bəkati* 'tease' is marked with *nong*. The reciprocal verb *kəрати* 'tease each other' in (6b) does not take an object.

- (6) a. *Elvin bəkati nong Mimi.*
 Elvin bə-kati nong Mimi
 Elvin AV-tease OBL Mimi
 'Elvin teases Mimi.'
- b. *Elvin bio Mimi kəрати.*
 Elvin bio Mimi -əɾ-kati
 Elvin and Mimi -REC-tease
 'Elvin and Mimi tease each other.'
- c. *Elvin kəрати bio Mimi.*
 Elvin -əɾ-kati bio Mimi
 Elvin -REC-tease and Mimi
 'Elvin and Mimi tease each other.'

The reciprocal verb in (7) is formed with Cə-reduplication instead of infixation with *-əɾ-* but has the same syntax. The object of *məngəmung* 'help working on the land' is marked with *nong*. The reciprocal verb *gəgəmung* 'help each other working on the land', however, does not take an object.

- (7) *Kito gəgəmung bio Lija'*
 kito gəg-ə-mung bio Lija'
 1P.1.N/G AV.REC-work.for.a.friend and Liza
- ngod Lija' məngəmung nong naton.*
 ngod Lija' məng-ə-mung nong naton
 because Liza AV-work.for.a.friend OBL 1P.1.N/G
 'We work together with Liza because Liza helped us with the work. (In other words, we have to do something back for her).' [Notebook]

Reciprocals have a single argument that sometimes consists of two NPs coordinated with the coordinating particle *bio* 'and' which coordinates NPs or other constituents. Sentence (6b) shows how the two participants form one conjoined NP as the sole argument of the verb. Sentence (6c) above shows how the two participants are expressed as a discontinuous coordinated NP which must be nevertheless be analysed as a single argument.

Both participants of reciprocal events can be represented by a single pronoun, as *kito* 'we' in sentence (7) and *miro duo no* 'they two' in (8).

- (8) *Jadi da gətarabang miro duo no bəgalud.*
 jadi da gə--ər-tabang miro duo ino bəg-alud
 so PR AV--REC-help 3P two yonder AV-boat
 'So the two of them helped each other to navigate the boat.'
 [Kalibambang bio Sengoyan 016]
- (9) a. *Kəmo da bpos no bəgko,*
 kəmo da bpos ino bəgko
 when PR after yonder also
- sa' Asu bəgko mənadtas Bakas.*
 sa' asu bəgko məng-tadtas bakas
 SQ dog also AV-chase wild.pig
 'When after that, (after Wild Pig had chased after Dog) then the Dog would chase after the Wild Pig too.' [Asu bio Bakas 019]
- b. *Mannu-mannu iro key gətaradtas allom gban.*
 mannu-mannu iro key gə--ər-tadtas allom gban
 very-RED 3P FOC AV--REC-chase inside forest
 'They chased after each other in the forest.' [Asu bio Bakas 020]

Some reciprocal verbs do not have a non-reciprocal equivalent, for example *səragga* 'fight with each other'. This verb can be analysed as a hypothetical root *sagga* 'fight' infixed with *-ər-* with, but this hypothetical root is not attested without reciprocal infix *-ər-*. Most of these verbs without non-reciprocal equivalent describe natural reciprocal events, for which there exists no non-reciprocal equivalent event. One person cannot fight without the other person fighting back, therefore the hypothetical stem *sagga* 'fight' does not exist. Other examples of natural reciprocals are given in (10) through (12). The verb *təripun* 'gather together'

in (11), for example cannot occur as **tipun*.¹ Likewise, the verb *sərigkow* ‘grab from each other, fight over something’ in (12) is a natural reciprocal event that cannot take place without reciprocity.²

- (10) *Jadi ino mulay rumo Bakas bio Asu səragga*.
 jadi ino mulay rumo bakas bio asu -ər-sagga’
 so yonder begin (M) 3S wild.pig and dog -REC-fight
 ‘So this is how the pig and the dog started to fight with each other.’ [Asu bio Bakas 024]
- (11) *Panow kat Tuttul ne bəgko təməripun ayug rumo*.
 panow kat tuttul ne bəgko -əm--ər-tipun ayug rumo
 go CDM watersnail this also -DEP--REC-gather friend 3S
 ‘So Watersnail went to look for his friends, to gather his friends together.’
- (12) *Mimi bio Neneng sərigkow gula’ batu*.
 Mimi bio Neneng -ər-sigkow gula’ batu
 Mimi and Neneng -REC-fight.over sugar (M) stone (M)
 ‘Mimi and Neneng are fighting over candy.’

7.2.1.2. Inflected reciprocals

Reciprocals formed with the infix *-ər-* can be affixed with all other inflectional morphology, for example with the AV-prefix *gə*.³ Prefixation with the AV-prefix *gə* does not seem to change the meaning of the sentence. In fact, most reciprocals derived from dynamic transitive verbs are interpreted as an AV-verb, an agentive intransitive verb, anyway; for example the verb *gə-t-ər-abang* ‘help each other’ in (8) could be replaced by *t-ər-abang* without any change in meaning. Similarly, the verb *gəsəragga*’ in (13) does not differ in meaning from (10) above, which is from the same text.⁴

¹ The verbal root *tipun* does exist in the same sense in a related Philippine Bisayan language Inonhan though. This language has a similar infix *-Vr-*, where V stands for a copy of the stemvowel. This infix indicates that the object of the verb is plural. *Tipun* in Inonhan means ‘to gather’, *t-ir-ipun* means gather many people.

² The verb *sərigkow* seems to be pronounced with /e/, but it does not contain a stem vowel /a/ and an *-i-* infix which have coalesced. The /e/ is probably a variation in the pronunciation of the vowel /i/; therefore I will write it with /i/.

³ Note that the AV-class prefix for reciprocals is always *gə*, which is the AV-class prefix which marks low transitivity. The high transitivity prefix *məng-* occurs on the non-reciprocal, transitive variants.

⁴ One of the consultants also felt that prefixation with *gə* has an inchoative effect: (ia) is said of people who are already engaged to be married, whereas (ib) is said of people who are about to be engaged to be married.

- (i) a. *Ali bio Siti tərūnang*.
 Ali bio Siti -ər-tunang
 Ali and Siti -REC-engaged
 ‘Ali and Siti are engaged.’ (The engagement was some time ago.)

- (13) *Jadi* (..) *ino* *baya'* *iro* *mulay* *gəsəragga'*
jadi (..) *ino* *baya'* *iro* *mulay* *gə--ər-sagga'*
 so (..) *yonder* *place* *COL* *begin* *AV--REC-fight*
 'So (..) this is when they started to fight, the dog and the pig started to fight.'
 [Asu bio Bakas 006]

The following reciprocal verb is inflected with AV-Completive Aspect morphology:

- (14) *Da* *gəsərewo* *Monay* *bio* *liun* *ino*.
 da *gə--ər--i-sawo* *monay* *bio* *liun* *ino*
 PR AV--REC--COM-marry *young.man* *and* *woman* *yonder*
 '(..) and Monay married with that girl.' [Bowon Bura' 142]

Reciprocals formed with Cə-reduplication cannot bear extra AV-inflection for several reasons. In the first place, the Cə-copy of certain forms is already a copy of an inflectional prefix, for instance the AV-prefix *gə-* or the Middle prefix *b-*. In the second place, there are phonological restrictions. We have seen in section 3.3. that Begak words can consist of maximally four syllables, two of which contain a full vowel (the root plus infix *-i-* or *-u-*) and two of which contain schwa (prefixes, infixes). Most reciprocals formed with Cə-reduplication already contain two root-syllables and two schwa-syllables (*gəgə-*, *bəbə-*, *kəkə-*), but they may be infixed with the Completive Aspect infix *-i-* as in (15) and those with a monosyllabic root may be prefixed with the Non-volitive prefix *a-* as in (16).

- (15) (..) *da* *gəgissur* *gatang* *iro* *mərəgkang* (..)
 da *gəg--i-ssur* *gatang* *iro* *mərəgkang*
 PR AV.REC--COM-push.forward *donate* *COL* *child*
 '(..) the children have given (lit. pushed forward) bride price, (..)' [geteratab 071]
- (16) *Agəgədin* *muyu* *duo* *tu*.
 a-gə-gədin *muyu* *duo* *tu*
 NV-REC-catch.up.with 2P.N/G *two* *too*
 'So the two of you (managed to) catch up with each other.' (Context: the addressee arrived in the village just one day before her older brother was about to leave, so they managed to see each other.) [Notebook]

When a reciprocal verb derived from a transitive verb is infixed with the Dependent infix *-u-* or with the Completive Aspect infix *-i-*, the result is a transitive UV-verb. Although reciprocals in the AV have their valency reduced by one, UV-forms must somehow have a distinct actor as well as an undergoer. This explains

-
- b. *Ali* *bio* *Siti* *gətərunang*.
 Ali *bio* *Siti* *gə--ər-tunang*
 Ali *and* *Siti* *AV--REC-engaged*
 'Ali and Siti are getting engaged.' (The event is taking place now.)

My other consultant did not mention this difference.

why the valency of the reciprocal *sənərimbang* is not reduced and does not mean ‘join each other’ but ‘join something together’. The verb in (17a) is a transitive AV-verb, while the AV-reciprocal derived from it in (17b) is intransitive. Its single argument is a plural actor. The verb in (17c) is in the UV-Completive Aspect and is transitive as expected: the undergoer-subject *kəkait* ‘pole used to knock down fruit from a high tree’ is the plural entity. The speaker explains how she joined two poles to make her pole long enough for the high trees. This form is infixated twice, but as we have seen in section 6.8.3., double infixation is a phonological phenomenon that does not effect the valency of reciprocals derived from transitive verbs.

- (17) a. *Aku malu' mənəmbung suran kəmmon di.*
 aku malu' mənəmbung suran kəmmon adi
 1S.N want AV-continue story just.now over.there
 ‘I want to continue the story of a while ago.’ [Mi-Suk1 664]
- b. *Jadi ino lati pantun miro gəsərəmbung ino.*
 jadi ino lati pantun miro gə--ər-səmbung ino
 so yonder meaning sing 3P AV--REC-answer yonder
 ‘So this the meaning of their singing and answering each other.’ [Geteratab 176]
- c. *Nnong kəkait sənərimbang ku.*
 nnong kəkait -ən--ər--i-səmbung ku
 here pole -COM--REC--COM-continue.UV 1S.G
 ‘Here are the poles that I joined together.’ [Conversation koko1 261]

The next example is drawn from the Begak version of the story about the Flood and explains how the two only survivors of the Flood descended from the Ark and made their children marry with each other. Compare this form with the AV-reciprocal *sərawo* ‘marry with each other’ from sentence (14) above.⁵ Again, the UV-reciprocal is transitive as UV-verbs demand a distinct undergoer. The plural entity is the undergoer.

- (18) *Makkor kat iro koy bəganak, səmərowo,*
 m-akkor kat iro koy bəg-anak -əm--ər--u-sawo
 DEP-plan.UV CDM COL FOC AV-child -DEP--REC--DEP-marry.UV
- lukka' kusay, lukka' liun ino səmərowo.*
 lukka' kusay lukka' liun ino -əm--ər--u-sawo
 born man born woman yonder -DEP--REC--DEP-marry.UV
 ‘So they made plans to get children, to make them marry with each other; a boy was born; a girl was born; they were made to marry with each other.’ [Haji Mamali 015]

There are only three examples in my corpus of reciprocals derived from monotransitive verbs inflected for Completive Aspect or Dependent. In all three cases, the verb remains transitive and the undergoer-subject is the plural entity.

⁵ The root *sawo* can have two senses. The first sense is ‘proposed for marriage’ as in the Actor Voice-form *mənawo*. The reciprocal form *s-ər-awo* means ‘marry with each other’.

The next examples of reciprocals in the UV are derived from ditransitive verbs. Reciprocal morphology reduces the valency of ditransitives from three to two. The reciprocal verb *t-ər-obang* ‘help each other’ is infixed with the Dependent infix *-u-*. Its stem *tabang* ‘help’ is a control verb with three arguments: an actor, the controller and the complement clause. The derived AV-reciprocal verb *tərabang* and also its Dependent equivalent have two arguments: a plural actor argument, which is now also the controller, and the complement clause.

- (19) *Jadi tərobang kat kərok pasod no tonggung*
 jadi -ər--u-tabang kat kərok pasod ino -u-tanggung
 so -REC--DEP-help.UV CDM bird many yonder -DEP-carry.UV
- Monay ne, maus təmulud nong awan.*
 monay ne m-aus -əm-tulud nong awan
 young.man this DEP-bring.UV -DEP-fly.UV OBL sky
 ‘So the crowd of birds helped each other to carry Monay, to make him fly in the sky (lit. bring him to fly).’ [Monay bio Dera’ 032]

The next example shows that double infixation does not change the valency of the verb, although it may have a subtle aspectual effect, similar to the aspectual effect of double infixation of non-derived verbs described in section 6.7.3. of the previous chapter. Compare the doubly infixed verb *təmərobang* ‘help each other’ with its single infixed equivalent *tərobang* ‘help each other’ above:

- (20) *Muli’ kat kəmmi key, təmərobang*
 m-uli’ kat kəmmi key -əm--ər--u-tabang
 DEP-go.home CDM 1P.E.N/G FOC -DEP--REC--DEP-help.UV
- bəgko maus paray atta’ no muli’ tunong.*
 bəgko m-aus paray a-tta’ ino m-uli’ tunong
 also DEP-bring.UV paddy NV-unripe yonder DEP-go.home here
 ‘We went home to help each other bring the unripe rice home here.’ [Mi-ssuk5Ap44].

The UV-Dependent reciprocal *təmərummyak* ‘share’ in (21b) is derived from the ditransitive verb *təmmak* ‘divide in two, share something with someone’, as in (21a). The reciprocal has two arguments: a plural agent which is identical to its recipient/beneficiary, and a patient.

- (21) a. *Rumo kalay mənəmmak nong nakon*
 rumo kalay məng-təmmak nong nakon
 3S not.want AV-divide.in.two OBL 1S.A
- buah’ rambutan no.*
 buah’ rambutan ino
 fruit rambutan yonder
 ‘He does not want to share the *rambutans* with me.’ [Mi-Suk2 246]

- b. *Sa' təmərummyak muyu bio iro ina' Səlakai.*
 sa' -əm--ər--u-təmmak muyu bio iro ina' Səlakai
 SQ -DEP--REC--DEP-share.UV 2P and COL mother Selakai
 '(..) and then he shared (the meat) with you and with us and with the
 mother of Selakai and company.' [Mi-Suk6p32]

UV-forms of reciprocals formed with Cə-reduplication were not attested, possibly because the reduplicated prefix *gəgə-* is after all an AV-prefix; and AV excludes UV.

In conclusion, UV-reciprocals derived from monotransitive verbs remain transitive, and their undergoer-subject is a plural entity. UV-reciprocals derived from ditransitive verbs become monotransitive. The plural entity is the actor which consists of the agent and the beneficiary.

7.2.2. Reciprocals derived from intransitive verbs

7.2.2.1. Uninflected forms

Not only transitive, but also stative verbs or other intransitive verbs can form the basis of reciprocals. (22) lists a few intransitive verbs and their reciprocals.

(22)	root	gloss	Reciprocal	gloss
	<i>satu</i>	'be one'	<i>s-ər-atu</i>	'be together'
	<i>lapas</i>	'pass'	<i>gəgə-lapas</i>	'pass each other by'
	<i>dtu'</i>	'far'	<i>gəgə-dtu'</i>	'live far from each other'
	<i>sawot</i>	'arrive'	<i>s-ər-awot</i>	'reach each other (figurative sense, in communication)'
	<i>giay</i>	'hang down'	<i>g-ər-iaay</i>	'hang down together by many'

The underived verbal stems from this list have only one argument. The reciprocals derived from these intransitive stems are still intransitive from a syntactic point of view, but semantically, this argument is plural. Compare sentences (23a, b). Sentence (23a) is an intransitive verb with only one argument *balay ku* 'my house'. The reciprocal verb *gəgədtu'* 'far from each other' in (23b) is an intransitive verb argument(s) is/are *ikow bio Korea* 'you and Korea'. This is a discontinuous coordinated NP, consisting of two NPs, both expressing the semantically plural argument of the reciprocal verb.

- (23) a. *Balay ku adtu' sakko tunong.*
 balay ku a-dtu' sakko tunong
 house 1S.G NV-far from here
 'My house is far from here.' [Mi-Suk1 349]

- b. *Dadi ikow ne di' gkun mo gəgədtu' bio Korea no?*
 dadi ikow ne di' gkun mo gəgə-dtu' bio Korea ino
 so 2S.N this LOC village 2S.G AV.REC-far and Korea yonder
 'So is your country far away from Korea?' (Lit. are you in your country and
 Korea far away from each other). [Conversationshop003]

Compare also (24a, b). The verb *sawot* 'arrive' in (24a) is an intransitive verb with one argument *aku* 'I'. Its reciprocal equivalent in (24) is also intransitive, but it means that two people are talking to each other about different topics, resulting in a hilarious situation. Although it is syntactically intransitive, it has two participants on the semantic level.

- (24) a. *Digabpi aku sawot di' gkun.*
 digabpi aku sawot di' gkun
 yesterday 1S.N arrive LOC village
 'Yesterday I arrived in the village.' [Mi-Suk1 171]
- b. *Suran miro apon sərawot.*
 suran miro apon -ər-sawot
 story 3P NEG.P -REC-arrive
 'They misunderstood each other.' (Lit.: their story did not mutually arrive.)
 [Notebook]

7.2.2.2. Inflected reciprocals derived from intransitive verbs

Reciprocals derived from intransitive roots can be prefixed with the Non-volitive prefix *a-* without change in valency, as is illustrated in example (37) below. (UV-)Reciprocals derived from intransitive roots inflected for Completive Aspect become transitive; the Completive Aspect morphology adds an actor and causativises the verb. Although Dependent morphology does not transitivise underived intransitive roots, it does have a causativising effect on reciprocals derived from intransitive roots. In all cases, the plural entity is the undergoer-subject. Again, the derived forms must be infixed twice for phonological reasons when inflected for Completive Aspect or Dependent.

Compare the examples in (25). The verb *səratu* 'be together' in (25a), derived from the numeral *satu* 'one', is intransitive and its sole argument is a plural entity. The verbs *səmərotu* 'put together (Dependent)' and *sənəretu* 'put together (Completive Aspect)' in (25b) and (25c) respectively are transitive. Sentence (25b) is taken from a conversation in which the speaker complained that the treasurer of the club in question perhaps did not separate his own money from the money of the club.

- (25) a. *Da səratu bio Rajo Tunggal.*
 da -ər-satu bio rajo tunggal
 PR -REC-one and king only.one
 'So she was together with the Crown Prince.' [Rajo Tunggal Da Kaling Teputow 051]

- b. *Nong rumo səmərōtu inggos.*
 nong rumo -əm--ər--u-satu inggos
 AUX 3S -DEP--REC--DEP-one.UV all
 'He puts everything together.' [Notebook]
- c. *Paray assak no bio atta' no*
 paray a-ssak ino bio a-tta' ino
 rice.plant NV-ripe yonder and NV-unripe yonder
- inga' sənəretu kəm̄mi.*
 ninga' -ən--ər--i-satu kəm̄mi
 NEG.I -COM--REC--COM-one.UV 1P.E.N/G
 'We have not we put it together (lit. be one) the ripe and unripe rice.'
 [Misuk5Bp59].

The following sentence is from a recipe; the stem of *səmərubpa'* 'put together' is the inherently reciprocal *sərəbpa'* 'be together', which lacks a non-reciprocal equivalent.

- (26) *Niug bio səkkol bio bəgkas*
 niug bio səkkol bio bəgkas
 coconut and sugar and husked.rice
- tebung ku inggos səmərubpa'.*
 -i-tabung ku inggos -əm--u-sərəbpa'
 -COM-add.in.water.UV 1S.G all -DEP--DEP-together.UV
 'I added the coconut, sugar and husked rice all (mixed) together.' [Mi-Suk5Bp75].

The adjectival root *sərago* 'same' in (27) is also a natural reciprocal without non-reciprocal equivalent. This stem is infixed with a double Dependent infix, resulting in a transitive verb.

- (27) *Tuso nong səmərōgo.*
 tuso nong -əm--u-sərago
 difficult AUX -DEP--DEP-same.UV
 'It is difficult to make (it) even.' (Context: the speaker was sawing legs of a table shorter, trying to make all legs of the same size) [Notebookp15]

7.2.3. Other semantic functions of the reciprocal

Verbal stems marked with reciprocal morphology can express several other functions than reciprocity only. Kemmer (1993) and Lichtenberk (2000) describe a number of functions that reciprocal verbs can have in several languages. Some of these functions, such as 'chaining' are also found in Begak. Lichtenberk (2000:35) gives the following description of a chaining situation. "In a chaining situation, participant A stand in a certain relation to participant B, participant B stand in the same relation to participant C, C to D, etc." The following sentence exemplifies this

function of the reciprocal: person A holds the hand of person B, person B holds the hand of person C, etc.

- (28) *Miro kərətting, gəgəgkot ppi'.*
 miro -ər-kətting gəgə-gkot ppi'
 3P -REC-chain AV.REC-work hand
 'They are forming a chain, holding each others hand.' [Mi-Suk2 259]

Another example is *t-ər-undan* 'follow each other' as in (29), which describes how a large family drove home in two cars. The non-reciprocal variant of this verb is *tundan*, in the AV *mənungdan*, which means 'to follow the person from behind', for example in a situation where the police is chasing a thief. The verbs *kəratang* 'line up' in (30) lacks a non-reciprocal equivalent.

- (29) *Ceking nnong ne kan, duo*
 ceking nnong ne kan duo
 checking (E) here this isn't.it? two
- kərīto tərundan dtow adi ne.*
 kərīto -ər-tundan dtow adi ne
 car -REC-follow.behind day over.there this
 'As for the police checking, right, (we were) driving in two cars following each other that day.' [Conversationcorn 554]

- (30) *Kəratang kito, nong kito mupus dalan no.*
 -ər-katang kito nong kito m-upus dalan ino
 -REC-line.up 1P.I.N/G AUX 1P.I.N/G DEP-finish.UV road yonder
 'Let's line up until the end of the road (lit. until the road is finished).' [Tuttulp113]

Reciprocals can also express a collective situation. In the collective situation, two or more participants are together involved in a situation, in the same initiation type role (Lichtenberk 2000:35), i.e. one person is not acting on the other, but both are acting together on a third entity.

The verb *gəgəssur* 'push forward' in (31a) is an idiom describing the giving of the bride price to the bride. This is clearly not a reciprocal event, because the future bridegroom gives the bride price to the future bride, while the bride does not give him a gift. However, the verb is marked with reciprocal morphology because the bridegroom and his family give gifts to the future bride collectively and many people are present. The verb has a non-reciprocal equivalent *gəssur* 'shove forward' which is used in ordinary situations, as in (31b). The verb *gəgəluan* 'cause to go outside' is more or less synonymous with *gəgəssur* and describes the same event. Its non-reciprocal verbal stem *luan* 'go out' is an intransitive verb of motion, as is illustrated in (31c) whereas the reciprocal *gəgəluan* is transitive. Apparently, the reciprocal morphology does not only express collectivity here, but also has a causativising effect.

- (31) a. *Ino key anan gəgəluan*
 ino key anan gəgə-luan
 yonder FOC place AV.REC-go.outside
- anan gəgəssur gatang.*
 anan gəgə-ssur gatang
 place AV.REC-push.forward bride price
 'This will be the place where to give it (cause to go out), the place for giving the bride price.' [Geteratab 065]
- b. *Məssur key kərito no tui!*
 m-ə-ssur key kərito ino tui
 DEP-shove.UV FOC car yonder here!
 'Push the car here!'
- c. *Ləbpo gajo dda' ləmuan pa.*
 ləbpo gajo dda' -əm-luan pa
 more big blood -DEP-go.outside PRT
 'Too much blood came out!' [Conversationcorn 915]

Another secondary function of the reciprocal is the repetitive function (Lichtenberk 2000:41). The verb *sərambin* in (32a) is still transitive but the difference with the underived verb in (32b) or (32c) is that, in (32a) with a reciprocal verb, the mother holds her child in her arms constantly; she does nothing else.

- (32) a. *Siti sidtu sərambin bio anak rumo ne.*
 Siti sidtu -ər-sambin bio anak rumo ne
 Siti merely -REC-hold.in.arms and child 3S this
 'Siti constantly holds her child in her arms (and never puts it away).' [Notebook]
- b. *Siti sidtu mənambin anak rumo ne.*
 Siti sidtu məng-sambin anak rumo ne
 Siti merely AV-hold.in.arms child 3S this
 'Siti just holds her child in her arms (but puts it away once in a while).'
- c. *Siti ninga' malu' mənambin ləbpo, pəlla'.*
 Siti ninga' malu' məng-sambin ləbpo pəlla'
 Siti NEG.I want AV-carry.in.arms more afraid
 'Siti does not want to carry the child in her arms anymore, she is afraid.'
 [Conversationkoko2 069]

Some reciprocal verbs are derived from nominal roots. The semantics of these verbs is often similar: they express human relationships. The following examples illustrate the use of reciprocals from nominal roots.

- (33) *Bay buay tu gəgayug bio aku antang Ia'.*
 bay buay tu gəg-ayug bio aku antang Ia'
 PRF long too AV.REC-friend and 1S.N like Ia'
 'I have been friends for a long time already with ..er..like Ia'.' [Teratab 010]

- (34) *Ina' bio minan Mipay gəgabit.*
 ina' bio minan Mipay gəg-abit
 mother and aunt Mipai AV.REC-nickname
 'Mother and aunt Mipai share an *abit*-nickname.'⁶
- (35) *Akay liun gəgumur bio aku (..).*
 akay liun gəg-umur bio aku
 EXIST woman AV.REC-age and 1S.N
 'There is a woman who has the same age as I have (..)' [Notebook]
- (36) *Pon buli kəmo akay abur gəgəbbat bio kito.*
 apon buli kəmo akay abur gəg-ə-bbat bio kito
 NEG.P can if EXIST companion AV.REC-boundary and 1P.I.N/G
 'We cannot (burn our field) if there is a neighbour whose ricefield is next to ours. (lit. who shares boundaries with us).' (Context: it is forbidden to burn off a rice field if the neighbour is planting.)

Some verbs receive middle semantics (Lichtenberk 2000:46) when affixed with reciprocal morphology. The result of the reciprocal derivation is syntactically intransitive while its semantics are reflexive. The stem *tambus*, as in (37b) for example, is an intransitive, unaccusative verb meaning 'pierced' and cannot take dynamic morphology. Its reciprocal *atərambus*, as in (37a), means literally 'piercing itself'. This sentence is about a lady who is having a steam bath, the traditional cure for recovering from child birth. Her mother is asking her whether she is feeling hot through and through now. Literally, she is asking whether her daughter's body 'pierces' itself with heat.

- (37) a *Panas no, atərambus kəmənno mo?*
 panas ino a-əɾ-tambus kəmənno mo
 hot yonder NV--REC-pierced feeling 2S.G
 'What about the heat, are you feeling hot through and through now?'
 [Conversationdogs 062]
- b. *Buat tun lancong di, tambus kasu' rumo.*
 buat tun lancong adi, tambus kasu' rumo
 long really nail over.there pierced foot 3S
 'The nail was really long, his foot was pierced.' (Context: someone stepped on a nail.)

Similarly, the verb *təringkat* in (38) is derived from the noun *tingkat* 'story, level'. Its reciprocal is syntactically intransitive, its literal meaning is something like 'split itself into levels'.

⁶ An *abit* is a nickname with which close friends address each other to avoid calling each other's name, see section 1.3.5.

- (38) *Ina' ku akay dapur no tərīngkat.*
 ina' ku akay dapur ino -ər-tingkat
 mother 1S.G EXIST kitchen yonder -REC-story
 'My mother has this kitchen with levels.' (Context: the speaker had fallen because of the split-level kitchen floor.) [Conversationdogs 032]

The verb *kəronut* in (39a) is derived from the transitive verbal stem *kanut* 'pull' but is used in the middle sense here. The speaker is sewing a sleeve to her shirt and hopes that the two ends of her shirt will not start to pull. In this situation, the agent and patient cannot be distinguished from each other. The transitive equivalent *bəkənut* is illustrated in (39b) for contrast.

- (39) a. *Yang pənting pon nong kəronut.*
 yang pənting apon nong -ər--u-kanut
 REL (M) important (M) NEG.P AUX -REC--DEP-pull.UV
 'What is important is that it should not start to pull.' (Context: sewing sleeves onto a shirt) [Notebook]
- b. *Ullo, ikow məngaksa' nakon bəkənut kətting?*
 ullo ikow məng-aksa' nakon bə-kanut kətting
 why 2S.N AV-force 1S.A AV-pull line
 'Why, are you forcing me to pull the line?' [Notebook]

Similarly, the verbs *tərətton* and *sərəmbung* in (40) express how (different parts of) a paddle in a folk story are joined again after treating it with magic. The same verb can also be used for the healing of broken legs. The verb *tərətton* is inherently reciprocal (**tətton* does not exist), while the verbal stem *səmbung* can be used as a dynamic transitive verb.

- (40) *Pog pata' mo, bay tərətton, bay sərəmbung bagku.*
 pog p-ata' mo bay -ər-tətton bay -ər-səmbung bagku
 when SF-look.UV 2S.G PRF -REC-join PRF -REC-continue new
 'As soon as you look at it, (the broken paddle) is joined again, it is of one piece again.'
 [Lekpud gaud. 049]

The AV-variant of the reciprocal *sərəmbung* was used not in a middle sense 'be joined' but in a reciprocal sense 'answer each other' in sentence (17) above. This shows that the same form may be used in various meanings. A distributive or repetitive sense is added by reciprocal morphology in combination with foot reduplication; examples were given in section 2.5.2.

It is always difficult to describe the various semantic functions of a morphological operation, as they are all expressed by the same sounds. It is very well possible to interpret certain example sentences in this section differently. Nevertheless, an attempt has been made to show that the reciprocal morphology in Begak is not limited to the reciprocal function only and that it expresses various other semantic subtleties.

The question may be raised whether the semantics of the reciprocal depends in any way on the semantics of verbal stem. The (non-exhaustive) lists below show that this is not entirely predictable. Transitive verbal stems as in (41) may take on reciprocal, collective or chaining semantics:

(41)	<i>gepag</i>	'arrange'	<i>gənərepag</i>	'arrange many things'
	<i>tusun</i>	'order'	<i>tərusun</i>	'ordered'
	<i>*təmi</i>	-	<i>mənərimi</i>	'order things'
	<i>səmbung</i>	'answer, join'	<i>sərəmbung</i>	'answer each other; be of one piece'
	<i>undi'</i>	'vote'	<i>gəgundi'</i>	'many people vote'
	<i>atur</i>	'organise'	<i>gəgatur</i>	'organise together'
	<i>tula'</i>	'blame'	<i>tərula'</i>	'blame each other'
	<i>tundan</i>	'follow'	<i>tərundan</i>	'follow each other'

Verbs of motion with reciprocal morphology, as in (42), may take on reciprocal, collective or iterative semantics:

(42)	<i>nnik</i>	'go up'	<i>k-ər-ənnik</i>	'ascended together'
	<i>uli'</i>	'go home'	<i>kək-uli'</i>	'go to and fro'
	<i>lapas</i>	'pass'	<i>gəgə-lapas</i>	'pass each other by'
	<i>sawot</i>	'arrive'	<i>s-ər-awot</i>	'reach each other (in communication)'
	<i>luan</i>	'go out'	<i>gəgə-luan</i>	'(many people) giving (cause to go out)'

Stative verbs with reciprocal morphology, as in (43), may take on reciprocal, collective or middle semantics:

(43)	<i>satu</i>	'be one'	<i>s-ər-atu</i>	'be together'
	<i>dtu'</i>	'far'	<i>gəgə-dtu'</i>	'live far from each other'
	<i>agon</i>	'strong, do strongly'	<i>bəb-agon-b-agon</i>	'do very strongly'
	<i>adop</i>	'face to face'	<i>gəg-adop</i>	'sit face to face'
	<i>butor</i>	'stare'	<i>bəb-utor</i>	'stare to each other'
	<i>tambus</i>	'pierced'	<i>t-ər-ambus</i>	'through and through'
	<i>kawong</i>	'suddenly disappear'	<i>k-ər-awong-rawong</i>	'many suddenly disappear'

Many Begak intransitive verbs and adjectives are infixed with the reciprocal infix *-ər-* but lack a form without *-ər-*. Most of these forms have collective or iterative semantics:

(44)	<i>*tidong</i>	<i>təridong</i>	‘earth torn because of drought’
	<i>*tutu’</i>	<i>tərutu’</i>	‘ordered’
	<i>*kukkus</i>	<i>kərukkus</i>	‘fall off, lose completely (sarong)’
	<i>*kəmis</i>	<i>kəɾəmis</i>	‘crushed, flat’
	<i>*dtup</i>	<i>gəgədtup</i>	‘betelnut split in two’
	<i>*titup</i>	<i>təritup</i>	‘popping of rice grains’
	<i>*sawang</i>	<i>sərawang</i>	‘cut open the bushes at the border between rice fields’
	<i>*tinib</i>	<i>tərinib</i>	‘(houses) being close to each other’
	<i>*təton</i>	<i>təɾəton</i>	‘(once broken) bones or sticks joined together, of one piece’
	<i>*təpung</i>	<i>təɾəpung</i>	‘(trees whose branches) touch each other’
	<i>*siduk</i>	<i>s-əm-əriduk</i>	‘many fish bite’
	<i>*timok</i>	<i>tərimok</i>	‘have goose bumps’

Reciprocal morphology creates verbs from nouns with collective, reciprocal, chaining or middle semantics:

(45)	<i>tuppuk</i>	‘bunch’	<i>t-əɾ-uppuk-t-əɾ-uppuk</i>	‘in several bunches’
	<i>pungol</i>	‘fruit stalk’	<i>pəpungol</i>	‘grow in a fruit stalk (eg. <i>rambutan</i>)’
	<i>tingkat</i>	‘level’	<i>t-əɾ-ingkat</i>	‘levelled’
	<i>kəlu’</i>	‘desire’	<i>kək-əlu’</i>	‘in love with each other’
	<i>kəting</i>	‘chain’	<i>k-əɾ-əting</i>	‘form a chain with each other’

The corpus contains only one example of a reciprocal derived from a dynamic, intransitive verb: *tərangug* ‘many dogs barking together’ from *tangug* ‘bark’. Little, then, is predictable from the semantics of the verbal stem.

7.2.4. Summary

Reciprocals are expressed by two different morphological processes: infixation with *-əɾ-* and Cə-reduplication. It has been shown that the primary function of both processes is to reduce the valency of the verb to form reciprocals. Reciprocals derived from transitive verbal stems are syntactically intransitive if uninflected or inflected with AV-morphology. Reciprocals in the UV remain transitive if derived from a monotransitive root, or become monotransitive if derived from a ditransitive root. Uninflected reciprocals derived from intransitive verbs remain intransitive, but their sole argument becomes a plural entity. UV-reciprocals derived from intransitive verbs become transitive; the UV-morphology adds an actor to the plural undergoer argument. Several secondary functions of reciprocal morphology were described in section 7.2.3. Although some examples can be analysed differently, it has been made clear that reciprocal morphology is polysemous in Begak.

7.3. Causatives

This section is devoted to the description of valency increasing morphology: causatives and petitives. Begak has three causative prefixes, which attach themselves to consonant-initial stems. This stem can consist of a consonant-initial or of a vowel-initial root prefixed with one of the stem forming prefixes *b-* or *p-*, see section 3.2.2.2. The prefixes deriving causatives are synchronically portmanteau morphs marking causativity as well as voice and aspect. AV-causatives are derived with *(mə)ngə-* and only occur in the Incomplete Aspect. Dependent causatives are derived with *pə-*; UV-Completive Aspect causatives are derived with a discontinuous affix consisting of the prefix *(pə)nə-* and the Completive Aspect infix *-i-*.⁷

Table 1 Causative morphology

Aspect	AV	UV
Incomplete Aspect	<i>(mə)ngə-</i>	
Completive Aspect		<i>(pə)nə -i-</i>
Dependent		<i>pə-</i>

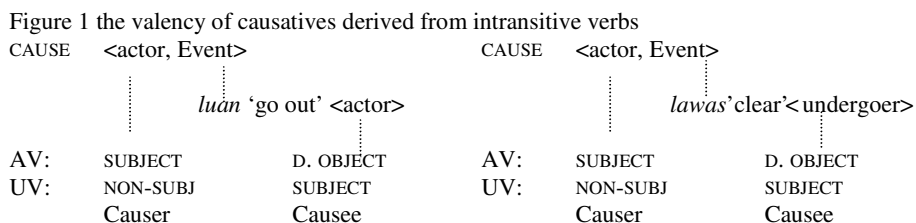
Causatives can be derived from intransitive and transitive stems. Section 7.3.1. describes the morphology and syntax of causatives derived from intransitive stems while section 7.3.2. discusses causatives derived from transitive stems.

7.3.1. Causatives of intransitive verbs

Causative morphology increases the valency of the verb. “[A] causative construction involves the specification of an additional argument, the causer, onto a basic clause.” (Dixon 2000:30). The increase of arguments can be represented as in

⁷ The Begak causative morphemes are related to PAN **pa-*. The Dependent causative synchronically consists of *pə-* only. The AV-causative morpheme *məngə-* probably consisted historically of *pə-*, prefixed with the AV-prefix *məng-*, resulting in *məng-pə-*. The /p/ was lost in a process that made labial consonants disappear after nasal fusion (see section 2.4.2.1.). Synchronically the first syllable of the prefix is sometimes dropped, resulting in *ngə-*. The Completive Aspect UV-causative discontinuous affix *(pə)nə -i-* was historically transparent: the verbal root was prefixed with the causative morpheme *pə-* and, as we have seen in section 6.8.3, derived stems must be doubly infixed in the Completive Aspect with both allomorphs *-i-* and *-ən-*, resulting in *p-ən-ə-R-i-OOT*. Synchronically the first syllable *pə-* is dropped most of the time, resulting in *nə-R-i-OOT*. The fact that the Dependent causative consists of *pə-* only, without Dependent infix *-u-* or *-ən-*, forces a portmanteaumorph analysis: the Dependent is unmarked in the Causative. Therefore, the causative prefixes will be glossed as AV.CAU-ROOT, UV.CAU.COM--COM-ROOT and UV.CAU.DEP-ROOT respectively. The Undergoer Voice is normally the unmarked voice and is glossed as ROOT.UV, but as the prefixes are no longer transparent, I assume that voice has become a component of the function of the causative prefix.

Figure 1, which has been taken from Kroeger (2004:203) and slightly modified:



The causative morphology adds an actor to the original verb. In the AV, this actor (causer) becomes the subject whereas the original single argument of the verb (causee) becomes the direct object. In the UV, the causee becomes the subject and the causer the actor-non-subject. Example (46a) illustrates an intransitive verb. Sentence (46b) contains a causative of the same verb in the Actor Voice; *rumo* '(s)he' is treated as the subject of the clause and *ulan* 'goods' the original argument of the clause is treated as the direct object. In sentence (46c), the causer *rumo* '(s)he' is treated as the actor-non-subject, whereas the original single argument *ssin* 'money' is treated as the subject. Similarly, in sentence (46d), the causer *kəmmi* 'we exclusive' is treated as the actor-non-subject, whereas the original single argument *ulan pəgəpug* 'bride price goods' is treated as the subject.

- (46) a. *Lənuan kat rumo sakko nong pəssu rumo ne.*
 -əm-luan kat rumo sakko nong pəssu rumo ne
 -DEP-go.out CDM 3S from OBL hole 3S this
 'It went out of its hole (context: a monstrous fish).' [Pait Liway009]
- b. *Jadi kəmmi bəgko da məngəluan ulan.*
 jadi kəmmi bəgko da məngə-luan ulan
 so 1P.E.N/G also PR AV.CAU-go.outside load
 'So as for us, we have to spend goods. (lit. cause to go out).' [Geteratab 056]
- c. *Pəluan key ssin mo!*
 pə-luan key ssin mo
 UV.DEP.CAU-go.out FOC money 2S.G
 'Spend your money!' (for example to buy a car.)
- d. *Dadi da nəliwan kəmmi*
 dadi da nə--i-luan kəmmi
 so PR UV.COM.CAU--COM-go.outside 1P.E.N/G
- ino ulan pəgəpug.*
 ino ulan pəgəpug
 yonder load sign.of.engagement
 'So we have handed over (lit. cause to go out) our goods, the sign of engagement (..)' [Geteratab 059]

As for the form of the causative prefix, the AV-causative prefix *məngə-* and the UV-causative prefix *pənə-* have a long and a short form: *məngə-* and *ngə-* in the AV-form and *pənə-* and *nə-* in the UV-form respectively. The short forms seem to be just pronunciation variants.⁸ Sentence (47) shows the short form of the AV-causative:

- (47) *(..)bay gajo anak no, malu' ngəpiskul tunong,*
bay gajo anak ino malu' məngə-p-iskul tunong
 PRF big child yonder want AV.CAU-SF-school here

kəmo malu' Siti ngəguog anan Siti.
kəmo malu' Siti məngə-guog anan Siti
 QTM want Siti AV.CAU-stay place Siti
 '(..)Her child was grown up, and she wanted it to go to school here, and if Siti wanted, she would leave (the child) at Siti's (lit. cause the child to stay at Siti's place).' [Conversationkoko2 115]

The long form of the UV-Completive Aspect causative is rarely used, but occurs in the following example:⁹

- (48) *Anak rumo da tunong anan ku pənipiskul ku.*
anak rumo da tunong anan ku pəni-p-iskul ku
 child 3S PR here place 1S.G UV.CAU.COM-SF-school 1S.G
 'His child is here, at my place, I sent him to school.' [Anakku1 005]

The UV-Dependent causative prefix *pə-* can be reduced to *p-* before roots starting with schwa. The verb *pəppan* 'show' in (49), for instance, is prefixed with *p-* only. The reduction of the expected *pəp-* may be a case of haplology. There is no semantic difference between the long and the short form.

- (49) *Mənnik key te ttas, pəppan nakon.*
m-ə-nnik key ate ttas pə-ppan nakon
 DEP-go.up FOC this top UV.CAU.DEF-clear 1S.A
 'Go up here and show it to me (lit. make clear).' [Mi-Suk4 049]

⁸ According to my consultants, there is no difference in meaning for most lexical items; the choice between the long and short form may be a matter of personal preference. However, they claim that there is a difference for certain lexical items. The longer forms is used when the moment of speech is somewhat remote from the event described by the verb, whereas the shorter forms tend to be used when the moment of speech is close to the event described by the verb.

⁹ My consultants claim that there is a difference between the long form in (48) and its short equivalent *nəpiskul* 'send to school'. The long form *pənəpiskul* 'send to school' not only implies that the event took place quite some time ago, but also that the people in question paid everything for the child. The shorter form *nəpiskul* 'cause to go to school' would suggest that the people in question only registered the child. There seems to be no semantic difference between the long and short forms of the AV or Dependent causatives, or if there is, it is very subtle.

As for the combination of causative morphology with other morphology, UV-Dependent causatives can be infixed with an UV-Dependent infix *-u-* as in (50) to indicate that the event described by the verb will take place very soon. Compare (50a) with (50b), which is without infix *-u-*.

- (50) a. *Pəlapas* *key lori no!*
 pə--u-lapas key lori ino
 UV.CAU.DEP--DEP-pass FOC truck yonder
 'Let this truck pass!' (Urgent, you go to the side of the road to let it pass immediately.)
- b. *Pəlapas* *key lori no!*
 pə-lapas key lori ino
 UV.CAU.CAU-pass FOC truck yonder
 'Let this truck pass!' (Less urgent, you go into a sideway to let it pass.)

Cross-linguistically, the arguments of a causative of an intransitive verb are case-marked in the same way as the arguments of an ordinary transitive verb; and the arguments of a causative verb of the transitive verb are case marked in the same way as the arguments of an ordinary ditransitive verb, such as 'give' (Dixon 2000, Song 1996). This is also true for Begak. Sentence (51a) is an Actor Voice causative derived from the adjective *rusok* 'broken'. The Completive Aspect UV-causative verb *nəlewas* in (52) is derived from the adjective *lawas* 'clear' (as said of a field). The undergoer arguments of both verbs *mulo* 'crop' and *umo* 'rice field' respectively, are not human and thus unmarked.

- (51) a. *Ullo ne muyu ne məngərusok mulo?*
 ullo ne muyu ne məngə-rusok mulo
 why this 2P.N/G this AV.CAU-broken crop
 'Why are you destroying (my) crop!' [Conversationcorn 245]
- b. *Kərito no rusok.*
 kərito ino rusok
 car yonder broken
 'Yonder car is broken.'
- (52) a. *Bay nəlewas ina' bio ama' ku digabpi.*
 bay nə--i-lawas ina' bio ama' ku digabpi
 PRF UV.CAU.COM--COM-clean mother and father 1S.G yesterday
 'My mother and father have already cleared (the land) yesterday.' [Notebook]
- b. *Bay lawas umo miro.*
 bay lawas umo miro
 PRF clear rice.field 3P
 'Their rice field is already clear.'

If the causee is human and in post-verbal position, it is often marked by the oblique preposition *nong*, just like post-verbal undergoer-subjects or direct objects

of ordinary transitive verbs. The following example illustrates this.

- (53) a. *Lati rumo mənḡəkakkab ino, rumo mənḡətəmmil*
 lati rumo mənḡə-kakkab ino rumo mənḡə-təmmil
 understand 3S AV.CAU-cool.down yonder 3S AV.CAU-cool
- nong suku ulun baya' ḡəussay ino.*
 nong suku ulun b-aya' ḡə-russay ino
 OBL all person MID-join AV-sing.and.dance yonder
 'The meaning of this *kakkab* ritual is this: it cools down (i.e. blesses) all the
 people who join in the singing and dancing ritual.' [geteratab 164]
- b. *Aku malu' sapa' təmmil.*
 aku malu' sapa' təmmil
 1S.N want water cool
 'I want cool water.' [Conversationharvest 056]

Similarly, the post-verbal undergoer arguments of UV-Dependent causatives are unmarked, whether human or non-human. The verb *puli'* in (54) is derived from the verb of motion *uli'* 'go home'. The verb *puli'* shows that schwa-initial roots are sometimes prefixed with *p-* only instead of with *pə-p-* to obtain a Dependent causative.

- (54) *Səmbay nong puli' ḡaud ddi'.*
 səmbay nong p-uli' ḡaud ddi'
 must AUX UV.DEF.CAU-go.home paddle there
 'He had to return that paddle'. [Lekpud ḡaud. 040]

Animate causees need not be marked with *nong* after UV-verbs, as in the following examples. Both examples contain an UV-Completive Aspect causative verb.

- (55) *Bay nədillu' polis ukat anak Kantung di.*
 bay nə--i-dullu' polis ukat anak Kantung di
 PRF UV.CAU.COM--COM-descend police hearsay child Kantung over.there
 'The police made Kantung's daughter descend (from the van) so they said.'
 [Conversationcorn 545]
- (56) *Nəḡiwog rumo anak rumo!*
 nə--i-guog rumo anak rumo
 UV.CAU.COM-COM-stay 3S child 3S
 'She left her child behind!' [Notebook]

Causative verbs can be derived from stative verbal roots, dynamic verbal roots, adjectival or nominal roots. The previous examples already contained several causative verbs derived from stative verbal roots, adjectival roots and dynamic verbal roots. The following sentences illustrate causative verbs derived from nominal roots. Causative morphology on nominal roots creates causative verbs. Sentence (57) contains causatives derived from the nouns *baju* 'shirt', *sədiwor*

‘trousers’ and *singol* ‘towel, turban’. (58) contains an UV-causative derived from the noun *bano* ‘husband’ and (59) contains an UV-causative derived from the noun *gaji* ‘salary’.

- (57) *Bpos ino may sədiwor, may baju, may*
 bpos ino m-ay sədiwor m-ay baju m-ay
 after yonder DEP-take.UV trousers DEP-take.UV shirt DEP-take.UV
- singol gittan məngəkayan nong ulun matay no*
 singol gittan məngə-kayan nong ulun matay ino
 towel instrument AV.CAU-clothe.dead.body OBL person dead yonder
- məngəbaju, mənədiwor, məngəsingol.*
 məngə-baju məng-sədiwor məngə-singol
 AV.CAU-shirt AV-trousers AV.CAU-towel
 ‘After that, take (a pair of) trousers, take a shirt, take a towel to clothe his body with;
 to make him wear a shirt, to make him wear trousers, to make him wear a towel.’
 [InterviewInni` 016]
- (58) *Aku mərəgkang masong, bay nəbeno təgajo ku.*
 aku mərəgkang masong bay nə--i-bano təgajo ku
 1S.N child still PRF UV.CAU.COM--COM-husband parent 1S.G
 ‘I was still small when my parents married me off (lit. caused me to have a
 husband).’ [My Husbands 001]
- (59) *Suga’ ino anak-makon ku pənəgeji ku.*
 suga’ ino anak-makon ku pənə--i-gaji ku
 but yonder niece.or.nephew 1S.G UV.CAU.COM--COM-salary 1S.G
 ‘But it is my nephew whom I paid salary to.’ [Balayku 002]
- Pənəgeji ku pat ratu.*
 pənə--i-gaji ku pat ratu
 UV.COM.CAU--COM-salary 1S.G four hundred
 ‘I paid (him) a salary of 400.’ [balayku 003]

Crosslinguistically (and also in Begak) causatives can be freely derived from patient-oriented intransitive verbs, as in the example (51) through (53) above, but only from a restricted set of agent-oriented intransitive verbs and transitive verbs. Only some agent-oriented verbs and very few transitive verbs can be causativised. These verbs are only grammatical if the causee is inanimate or if it is animate at all, it receives an interpretation of strong physical action or force: the causee was strongly forced to perform the action described by the verb, as in (55) above or physically affected by the causer.

In fact, the causer must be a human being, while the causee of any causative verb (whatever the valency of the root) is usually an inanimate entity, as in (46), or a person lacking control, as in (56) and (58) above. Another example of a physically affected causee of a causative derived from an unergative base verb is given in (60). This sentence is about an adult person who is sick and cannot sit down by herself.

- (60) *Matag kat kamman mo nakon, pəbadung.*
 m-atag kat kamman mo nakon pə-b-adung
 DEP-support.UV CDM uncle 2S.G 1S.A UV,DEP,CAU-MID-seat
 'Your uncle supported me to make me sit down.' [Conversationdogs 084]

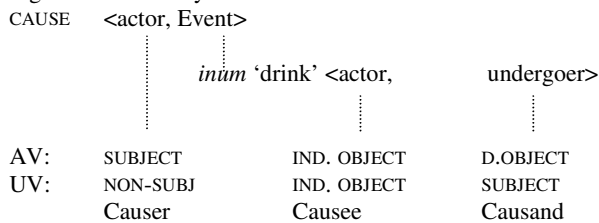
The fact that Begak causees tend to be inanimate entities or children rather than (healthy) adults can be explained by the crosslinguistic tendency for agents to be humans and patients to be inanimate entities. If the causee is a human, volitionally acting person who has control over the action, the petitive prefix *məkə-* must be used rather than a causative prefix. See section 7.4. for a description of petitives.

In summary then, causative morphology transitivises intransitive verbs; it adds an A argument to the verb. The case marking of pronouns is the same as in non-derived transitive verbs. Causative morphology derives transitive verbs from nouns; the meaning of the verb depends on the noun. Causatives can be freely derived from actor-oriented intransitive verbs but only from a restricted set of actor-oriented intransitive verbs. Causees tend to be inanimate entities; if the causee is animate at all, the action described by the verb tends to have an interpretation of direct physical contact or strong force.

7.3.2. Causatives of transitive verbs

Causativisation adds an actor to the transitive verb. This can be represented as follows:

Figure 2 the valency of causatives derived from a transitive verb



The causer is treated as the actor of the causativised verb: it is the subject of an AV-verb and the actor-non-subject of an UV-verb. The actor of the original transitive verb the causative is derived of is called the causee; it is treated as an indirect object of the causativised verb.¹⁰ The undergoer of the original transitive verb the causative

¹⁰ The causee of causatives derived from transitive verbs can generally not become the subject of the sentence; only the causand, the original patient of a transitive verb can be the subject of UV-Completive Aspect or UV-Dependent verbs. This suggests that the causee of transitive verbs is the indirect object of causative verbs: only core arguments can become the subject of the clause (with the appropriate voice marking on the verb), but oblique arguments cannot. (see section 5.2.3). The following example contains a causative verb derived from a transitive verb *ingog* 'hear'. This sentence is ungrammatical, because the causee *ama' ku* 'my father' is

is derived of is called the causand. It continues to be treated as undergoer in the causativised verb: it is the object of an AV-verb and the subject of an UV-verb.

Example (61) illustrates an AV-causative of a transitive verbal root *inum* 'drink'. The causer is the subject of the AV-causative: it is in pre-verbal position. The causee (original agent) *nong ai' rumo ne* 'to his younger sibling' is expressed as an indirect object marked by the oblique preposition *nong*. The causand (original patient) *ubot* is expressed as a direct object.

- (61) *Rumo məngə-p-inum ubot nong ai' rumo ne.*
 rumo məngə-p-inum ubot nong ai' rumo ne
 3s AV.CAU-SF-drink medicine OBL younger.sibling 3s this
 'He causes his younger brother to drink medicine.'

Examples (62) and (63) illustrate an UV-Dependent causative and an UV-Completive Aspect causative respectively. The causer *ku* 'I' is treated as the actor-non-subject and appears in the genitive case. The causee (the original actor) of (62) and (63) is *nong ai' ku ne* 'to my younger sibling'; the causee is treated as the indirect object and is marked by the oblique preposition *nong*. The causand (original undergoer argument) is *ubot* 'medicine' in (62) and (63); it is treated as the subject of the clause and appears immediately after the actor.

- (62) *Kəmmən ne, bay nəpinum ku ubot*
 kəmmən ne, bay nə-p-inum ku ubot
 just.now this PRF UV.CAU.COM-SF-drink 1s.G medicine

nong ai' ku.
 nong ai' ku
 OBL younger.sibling 1s.G
 'Just now I caused my younger sister to drink medicine.'

- (63) *Pəpinum ku key*
 pə-p-inum ku key
 UV.CAU.DEP-SF-drink 1s.G FOC

ubot no nong ai' ku.
 ubot ino nong ai' ku
 medicine yonder OBL younger.sibling 1s.G
 'Cause your younger sister to drink this medicine!'

in pre-verbal position whereas it is not the subject but the indirect object. Indirect objects cannot occur in pre-verbal position.

- (ii) **Ama' ku bay nəpingog ku muzik bagku ino.*
 ama' ku bay ne-p--ingog ku muzik bagku ino.
 father 1s.G PRF UV.CAU.COM-SF-hear 1s.G music new yonder
 'I have just let my father hear this new music.'

Nevertheless, this example would sound unnatural anyway because the word order with pre-verbal subject is a rather marked option for UV-verbs.

Dixon (2000) observes that many languages do not allow causative constructions based on transitive verbs or agentive intransitive verbs. If they allow causatives derived from transitive verbs at all, it is usually a very small set of verbs and these verbs tend to contain the items ‘eat’ and ‘drink’. This latter observation is also true for Begak. As has already been mentioned in the previous section, causees must be inanimate or if they are human, they must lack control as in (64) where the oblique preposition *nong* has been omitted.

- (64) *Nong ku pəsillung gulo baju anak ku te.*
 nong ku pə-sillung gulo baju anak ku te
 AUX 1S.G UV.CAU.DEP-clothe first shirt child 1S.G this
 ‘First I am going to clothe my child.’ [Mi-Suk1 500]

The following example is one of the few causatives in the corpus where the causee has some control over the action, although it is strongly urged. *Ino* ‘this’ refers to a letter and is the subject of clause; the causer (agent) is omitted from the clause. The causee is expressed as indirect object introduced by the oblique preposition *nong*.

- (65) *Ino bay nəbesso*
 ino bay nə-b--i-asso
 yonder PRF UV.CAU.COM-MID--COM-read
- nong iro Bisaya’ no kəmmən.*
 nong iro Bisaya’ ino kəmmən
 OBL COL Bisaya yonder just.now
 ‘I have already let the Bisayas read it (the letter), a while ago.’ [Conversationcorn 102]

The mapping of semantic roles to grammatical functions becomes more difficult if both the causee and the causer are humans, as in the following example. The causee of the AV-causative *məngəsawo* ‘cause to marry/propose’ in (66) is expressed by a direct object marked with the oblique preposition *nong*, because it is a human direct object. The person he is supposed to marry with is expressed by an adjunct *nong anan muyu*, which literally means ‘at your place’.

- (66) *Jadi ino gaway kəmmi, panow məngəsawo nong anak*
 jadi ino gaway kəmmi panow məngə-sawo nong anak
 so yonder goal 1P.E.N/G go AV.CAU-marry OBL child
- kəmmi ne nong anan muyu.*
 kəmmi ne nong anan muyu
 1P.E.N/G this OBL place 2P.N/G
 ‘To this is our goal, we have come to have our son marry into your (family). (or: we have come to make our son propose to your family).’ [Geteratab 041]

It could be speculated here that Begak prohibits two NPs marked by only *nong* (without locative noun) in one clause and that the second human object must be marked otherwise. But more research is needed to find out whether this is true. Clauses with two human objects are rare and if they exist, one of the arguments is

often omitted.

It is impossible to derive causatives from ditransitive verbs. For example, it is ungrammatical to derive a causative **məngəbayo* from the ditransitive stem *bayo* ‘pay something to someone’. This is probably because causativisation adds an argument to the already existing arguments of the verb; and in the case of **məngəbayo* ‘cause to pay’ the result will be a verb with four arguments: ‘*A causes B to pay C to D’.¹¹ As ordinary verbs in Begak cannot have four arguments, causatives of ditransitive verbs are ungrammatical too. This phenomenon is an instantiation of what Song (1996) calls NP-density control: Languages try to reduce the number of NPs per clause and take certain measures so that the number of NPs in a causative construction does not exceed the number of NPs normally permitted in the clause.

Ordinary Begak clauses usually do not contain many NPs anyway. If one or more arguments of a verb are known to the interlocutor, they are omitted by the speaker. This is also the case for causative constructions. The causee and causer of the next causative, for example, are left unexpressed, because they have already been mentioned in the previous clause.

- (67) *Akay gaud kəmmi pəpidtam kəmo, rumo.*
 akay gaud kəmmi pə-p-ıdtam kəmo rumo
 EXIST paddle 1P.E.N/G UV.CAU.DEP-SF-borrow QTM 3S
 ‘(We) have a paddle that we will lend (to you) (lit. cause to borrow).’
 [Lekpud gaud. 016]

Summarising then, causatives of transitive verbs are possible in Begak but ditransitive verbs cannot be causativised. Causees of causativised transitive verbs are expressed as indirect objects marked by the oblique preposition *nong*. If an argument of a verb is known to the interlocutor, it is generally omitted by the speaker. This is also the case for causative constructions which contain an extra argument. Causees of causatives derived from transitive verbs are interpreted to be either physically caused or strongly forced to perform the action by the verb.

7.3.3. Summary

We have seen that causative morphology adds an argument to verbs, adjectives and nouns. Patient-oriented intransitive verbs can be freely causativised, whereas only a restricted set of agent-oriented intransitive verbs and transitive verbs can be causativised. In any case, causees tend to be inanimate entities, children or adults that somehow lack control over the action described by the verb. The case marking of pronouns of causatives derived from intransitive verbs is the same as in non-

¹¹ It is however possible to derive a petitive from *bayo* ‘pay’: *məkəbqyo* ‘request to pay’, see section 7.4. The petitive of *bayo* ‘pay’ has three arguments, because the agent (requester) and beneficiary are the same person: ‘A requests B to pay C (to A). As the derivation has not more than three arguments, it is grammatical, as opposed to a causative of the same verbal root, which has four arguments.

derived transitive verbs. Causees of causativised transitive verbs are expressed as indirect objects marked by the oblique preposition *nong*.

This concludes the section on morphological causatives. Lexical causatives, such as *məngəkkan* ‘feed’ and *məngunu* ‘kill’ will not be treated in this book. For analytical causatives, such as ‘force / ask someone to V’, the reader is referred to section 10.2.3.

7.4. Petitives

The petitive discontinuous affix *məkə(k)--i-* is similar to the causative prefixes described above in that it adds an actor argument to the verb. The meaning of the resulting verb is ‘request to Verb’. The action described by the verb is always understood to be for the benefit of the requester. Contrary to the causative affixes described above, the petitive only exists in the Actor Voice and contrary to many causative verbs, the causee of the petitives must be a human, volitional being who is in full control of the event. Therefore petitives are almost exclusively derived from transitive dynamic verbs, contrary to causatives.

The final consonant of the prefix *meke(k)-* drops before consonant-initial roots or before vowel-initial roots prefixed with the stem-forming prefixes *b-*, *p-*. Certain verbs may take either the default stem prefix *k-*, as in (68a) or *b-* as in (68b), without any difference in meaning. The verbal root *allan* ‘make’ has only two arguments, *aku* ‘I’ and *surat* ‘letter’ as is illustrated in (68c), whereas the petitive has three arguments: the causer *kəmmi* ‘we exclusive’, the unexpressed causee ‘the village head’ and the causand *surat* ‘letter’.

- (68) a. *Kəmmi panow di’ Syarikat kəkellan surat.*
kəmmi panow di’ Syarikat kək--i-allan surat
 1P.E.N/G go LOC Syarikat AV.PET--COM-make letter
 ‘We are going to Syarikat to ask (the village head) to make a letter for us.’ [Notebook]
- b. *Məkəbellan surat.*
məkə-b--i-allan surat
 AV.PET-MID-COM-make letter
 ‘(Yes, the police told them to) request (the village head) to make a letter for them.’ [Conversationcom 110]
- c. *Aku məngallan surat.*
aku məng-allan surat
 1S.N AV-make letter
 ‘I am making a letter.’

Petitives are almost always formed of the verbal stem infixed with the *-i-* allomorph of the Completive Aspect and prefixed with *məkə*. The allomorph *-i-* of the Completive Aspect does not give the verb a completive aspect or past tense interpretation; it does not seem to add any meaning to the verb. The Completive

Aspect morpheme is absent in verbal stems whose first vowel is /i/. Sentence (69a) illustrates that the Completive Aspect morpheme does not give the verb a completive or past-tense reading. The speaker told her friend that she wanted to ask to load her oil palm fruits the next day. The underived verb is given in (69b).

- (69) a. *Aku key panow anan Təssor məkəkilan sawit.*
 aku key panow anan Təssor məkək--i-ulan sawit.
 1S.G FOC go place Təssor AV.PET--COM-load oil.palm
 'I will go to Təssor to aks him to load our *sawit*.'
- b. *Təssor bəgulan sawit.*
 Təssor bəg-ulan sawit.
 Təssor AV-load oil.palm
 'Təssor is loading oil palm (fruits).'

Petitive verbs are usually derived from transitive verbs, although exceptions are possible. The causer is always expressed as the subject, the causee as indirect object marked by the oblique preposition *nong* and the causand as direct object. Just like the other causative prefixes, the petitive prefix is quite productive. (70) illustrates how it derives verbs from loan words such as 'stamp' and 'sign'.

- (70) *Mutap Sindan panow məkəkicop*
 mutap Sindan panow məkək--i-cop
 tomorrow Sindan go AV.PET--COM-stamp
- məkəsein borang nong kərani*
 məkə--i-sain borang nong kərani
 AV.PET--COM-sign form OBL clerk
 'Tomorrow Sindan goes to ask for a chop and a sign.' [Notebook]

The examples shown so far were derived from transitive verbs with a human actor and an inanimate undergoer. Example (71) is a petitive derived from the verbal root *ləmera* 'look after'. Both the causee and the causand of this petitive verb are human. It is expected that the causee is treated as indirect object and will be marked by the preposition *nong*, and that the causand is marked in another way because two NPs marked by *nong* are impossible. But this is not the case in this sentence. The causee *muyun* 'you' is expressed by an accusative pronoun instead of as an indirect object; while the causand *anak kəmmi ne* 'our child' is expressed as an indirect object marked by being oblique preposition *nong*. This is the opposite from sentence (66) in section 7.3.2., where the human causee was marked by the oblique preposition *nong* and the human causand by the PP *nong anan* 'at someone's place'. Apparently there is no standard way of expressing causee and causand if they are both human.

- (71) *Kəmmi ton panow məkəpərəra' muyun nong anak ku ne.*
 kəmmi ton panow məkə-pərəra' muyun nong anak ku ne
 1P.E.N/G TOP go AV.PET-look.after 2P.A OBL child 1S.G this
 'We want to request you to take care of our child.' [Geteratab 049]

Often, people do not derive a petitive from a specific verb but describe the construction with *(mə)kətebang* ‘ask for help’ + verbal complement, as in (72).

- (72) (..) *sa’ sugkow kat rumo Pəras kətebang*
 (..) *sa’ -u-səgkow kat rumo Pəras kə--i-tabang*
 (..) *SQ -DEP-call.UV CDM 3S Peras AV.PET--COM-help*

məngay payow di kubad.
məng-ay payow adi kubad
AV-take deer over.there rest

‘Then he called Peras asking him to help him to take the rest of the deer (meat) there.’
 [Misuk5Bp86]. (Bonekai had shot a deer on his own and had taken home half of the meat and was forced to leave the rest on the spot).

If there is no direct object present in the clause, the causer is understood to be identical or co-referent to it, as in (73). In this sentence, only the requester Rajo Tunggal is mentioned and the causand is omitted; the causand is understood to be identical to the causer: Rajo Tunggal. This sentence is from the story about a prince who went hunting in the forest and saw a strange, unknown village. He wonders whether the village is populated by humans or by ghosts and decides to go there to find out. It is a risky business, because if it is indeed a ghost village, going there means asking to be eaten by the ghosts.

- (73) “*Kəmo gkun nitu*”, *kəmo rumo*, “*məkəpikkan*,”
kəmo gkun nitu kəmo rumo “məkə-p--i-kkan
if village ghost QTM 3S AV.PET-SF--COM-eat

kəmo gkun ulun, na məkəpillun” kəmo Rajo Tunggal.
kəmo gkun ulun na məkə-p--i-llun kəmo Rajo Tunggal.
if village person well AV.PET-SF-COM-live QTM king only.one
 “‘If it is a town of ghosts”, he said, “(going there means) asking to be eaten up, if it is a town of people, well, (I can) ask to be left alive, said the Crown Prince.’
 [Mengerakusur]

Sentences (74) and (75) also illustrate petitives whose causer is co-referent with its causand. The causer and causand of (74) is *məragkang* ‘the child’: the requester is identical to the one to be carried in the arms. Sentence (74b) shows the underived version of the same verb and shows that petitive morphology does not always increase the syntactic valency of the verb: both (74a) and (74b) have two arguments.

- (74) a. *Məragkang no məkəsembin.*
məragkang ino məkə--i-sambin.
child yonder AV.PET-COM-carry.in.arms
 ‘The child wants to be carried in the arms (of his mother).’ [Notebook]

- b. *Lidi mənambin anak rumo ne.*
 Lidi məng-sambin anak rumo ne
 Lidi AV-carry.in.arms child 3S this
 'Lidi carries her child in her arms.'

The causer of (75a) is unexpressed but identical to the causand: the requester is identical to the one to be treated with magic. Here again we see that petitive morphology does not add an extra argument if the causer is identical to the causand (75b). Both sentences are transitive.

- (75) a. *Da mənguyok lilla'. Da məkətewar.*
 da məng-uyok lilla' da məkə--i-tawar
 PR AV-request pity PR AV.PET--COM-treat.with.magic
 'He asked for pity. He asked to be treated with magic.' [Puttebulig019]
- b. *Nong ku towar niun.*
 nong ku -u-tawar niun
 AUX 1S.G -DEP-treat.with.magic.UV 2S.A
 'I will treat you with magic.'

The omitted object is not always understood as being identical to the actor, though. Begak rarely expresses all the arguments in one single clause; if one of more of the arguments are supposed to be known to the hearer, they are freely omitted, as in (76), where the direct object is omitted, because it was already known what the speaker wanted to record.

- (76) *Neli, aku malu' kərekam nong niun.*
 Neli aku malu' kə--i-rakam nong niun
 Neli 1S.N want AV.PET--COM-record OBL 2S.A
 'Nellie, I want to ask you to record (something) for me.' [Notebook]

Contrary to other causative prefixes, the petitive prefix can be applied to at least one ditransitive verbal root *bayo* 'pay'. Causatives of ditransitive are ungrammatical as they would result in predicates with four arguments, but this is not the case for petitives, because their causer and causand can be co-referent. The verb form *məkəbeyo* 'request to be paid', for instance, was judged grammatical in elicitation, although it was never attested in spontaneous speech. Other derivations of ditransitives, such as 'ask to be given', 'ask to buy', 'ask to borrow', 'ask to lend' are ungrammatical.

The following sentence is the only example attested so far of the petitives derived from an intransitive verb.

- (77) *Pap kat tow puti' təmina' məkələdung.*
 ləppap kat tow puti' -ə-m-tina' məkə--i-ladung
 immediately CDM person white -DEP-pass.message.UV AV.PET--COM-go.down
 'Immediately this white person passed the message that he would like help to go down.' [Haji Mamali 054]

In summary then, petitives differ from causatives in a few respects. Firstly, most causatives are derived from intransitive verbs, whereas most petitives are derived from transitive verbs. Secondly, the causee of causatives is preferably an inanimate entity who has little or no control on the situation, whereas the causee of petitives is always a human being. Thirdly, the causand of causatives is seldom a human being, whereas the causand of petitives can be identical to the human causer (agent). Fourthly, causative morphology always adds another argument whereas petitive morphology need not because the causer can be identical to the causand. It adds another participant on the semantic level though.

7.5. Combination of the Actor Voice prefixes *bə-gə*

My corpus contains only a handful of examples prefixed with a combination of the two Actor Voice prefixes *bə-* and *gə-*, so very little can be said about this combination of prefixes. This combination of prefixes seems to make the meaning of the verb stronger. For example the verbal stem *lati* means ‘understand’, whereas *bə-gə-lati* means ‘explain’; *suat* means ‘suitable’, whereas *bə-gə-suat* means ‘to make suitable’: the experiencer has changed into an agent while the stimulus has changed into a patient.

- (78) a. *Pon atow kito bəgəlati nupi.*
 apon a-tow kito bə-gə-lati nupi
 NEG.P NV-know.UV 1P.I.N/G AV-AV-understand dream
 ‘We cannot explain this dream.’ [Bowon Bura’ 053]
- b. *Pon lati ku nupi no.*
 apon lati ku nupi ino
 NEG.P understand.UV 1S.G dream yonder
 ‘I do not understand this dream.’
- (79) a. *Pon suat nakon paras ayam no.*
 apon suat nakon paras ayam ino
 NEG.P suitable 1S.A appearance play yonder
 ‘The appearance of this game does not appeal to me.’ [Mi-Suk3A 090]
- b. *Kəmo ikow pon kəlap bəgəsuat bio rumo (..).*
 kəmo ikow apon kə-lap bə-gə-suat bio rumo
 if 2S.N NEG.P AV.NV-get AV-AV-suitable and 3S
 ‘If you do not succeed in making it right with him (..).

Other examples with *bə-gə* are *bəgədalir* ‘think strongly about something’ from *dalir* ‘think’, and *bə-gə-runi* ‘talk about something’.

7.6. The prefix *məg-*

A handful of verbs are prefixed with *məg-* in the Actor Voice instead of with *gə-*, *bəg-* or *məng-*. This prefix seems to derive verbs from nouns. It is unproductive. It occurs exclusively on *məg-ilun* ‘be other people’ from *ilun* ‘other people’, *məg-langgung* ‘be relative’ from *langgung* ‘relative’, *məg-sukur* ‘be grateful’ from *sukur* ‘grateful’, *məg-ramay* ‘make a crowd’ from *ramay* ‘crowd’, and *məg-musu* ‘be enemies’ from *musu* ‘enemy’.

- (80) *Ino pon ka məgilun, məlanggung.*
 ino apon ka məg-ilun məg-langgung
 yonder NEG.P PRT AV-other.people AV-relative
 ‘She is not a stranger but she is a relative. (Context: a son asks his parents permission to marry a certain girl).’ [geteratab 013]
- (81) *Kəmo malu’ muyu məgramay, kawin ino*
 kəmo malu’ muyu məg-ramay kawin ino
 if want 2P.N/G AV-crowd marry yonder
- təgunggu’ gam atow məben gam, sakko nong muyun la.*
 təgunggu’ gam atow mə-ben gam sakko nong muyun la
 gong QM or DEP-band.UV QM from OBL 2P.A PRT
 ‘If you want to play Russay (lit. make a crowd) at the wedding or play the gong or a band, that (depends) on you.’ [geteratab 075]

7.7. The Distant Past prefixes *bəɾə(g)-*, *bəɾəng-* and *gəɾə-*

The distant past prefixes *bəɾə(g)*, *bəɾəng-* and *gəɾə-* are productive prefixes but they are not very frequently used. Distant Past morphology is not category-changing nor valency-changing. It occurs on dynamic verbs only, and cannot be prefixed on stative verbal roots. The result is always an Actor Voice form. The term Distant Past is tentative, but seems to mark activities that took place in a distant past and, depending on the semantics of the verbal root, suggests that the activity took place several times. Its semantics cannot not always be clearly distinguished from the AV-Completive Aspect, because both the AV-Incompletive and the Distant Past express completed events in the past and both verb forms are infrequent. Therefore the examples with Distant Past forms below will not always be contrasted with other verb forms.

As for the allomorphy: Begak derivational morphology is sensitive to the verbal class of the root. Verbs prefixed with *bəɾə(g)-* are usually prefixed with *bəg-* in the AV, while verbs prefixed with *bəɾəng-* are usually prefixed with *məng-* in the AV, and verbs prefixed with *gə-* in the AV take *gəɾə-*. As is also the case for *məng-*, the nasal of *bəɾəng-* causes nasal assimilation with the following consonant of the stem. The Distant Past prefix is always combined with the Completive Aspect infix *-i-*, except when the stem itself already contains a vowel /i/ as in *tissug* ‘invite’.

Sentence (82a) contains a verb derived from a vowel-initial nominal root through zero derivation. It is prefixed with the allomorph *bə̀rə̀g-* as the verb is from the *bə̀g-* class. Its semantics are similar to that of the AV-Completive Aspect verb in (82b). Sentence (83a) shows how verbs from the *gə̀-* class are prefixed with *gə̀rə̀-*. Sentence (84a) contains a verb from the *mə̀ng-* class.

- (82) a. *Bə̀rə̀gə̀puy gam muyu lisi manuk?*
bə̀rə̀g--i-apuy gam muyu lisi manuk
 AV.DSTP--COM-cook QM 2P.N/G egg chicken
 ‘Didn’t you cook chicken eggs?’ (There are eggs on the table and the speaker wants to know who cooked them.) [Bowon Bura’080]
- b. *Bə̀gə̀puy gam muyu lisi manuk?*
bə̀g--i-apuy gam muyu lisi manuk
 AV--COM-cook QM 2P.N/G egg chicken
 ‘Didn’t you cook chicken eggs?’ (There are no eggs on the table yet.)
- (83) a. *Kə̀mmi gə̀rə̀də̀gang kaset di’ Indonesia.*
kə̀mmi gə̀rə̀--i-dagang kaset di’ Indonesia
 1P.E.N/G AV.DSTP--COM-buy cassette LOC Indonesia
 ‘We bought cassettes in Indonesia.’ (Context: talking about their business trip of several weeks ago) [Ama’p186]
- b. *Bpos no, da gə̀də̀gang no, sa’ pusing*
bpos ino da gə̀--i-dagang ino sa’ pusing
 after yonder PR AV--COM-buy yonder SQ turn.around (M)
- bə̀gko kə̀mmi ano mə̀ngay ano la.*
bə̀gko kə̀mmi ano mə̀ng-ay ano la
 also 1P.E.N/G that AV-take that PRT
 ‘After that, (after) we had bought (some other goods), we turned around to take it (away).’ (Context: talking about a trip to town of that morning).
 [ConversationtriptoLD 045]
- (84) a. *Babu bay bə̀rə̀ngiyok nong iro om*
Babu bay bə̀rə̀ng--i-uyok nong iro om
Babu PRF AV.DSTP--COM-request OBL COL uncle
- bə̀kaung umo rumo ne.*
bə̀-kaung umo rumo ne
 AV-clear.land rice.field 3S this
 ‘Babu already requested the *om* (Indonesian workers) (perhaps several times) to clear her rice field (i.e. gather and burn trees that were left after the first burning of cleared jungle).’ [Notebook]
- b. *Babu bay mə̀ngiyok nong iro om*
Babu bay mə̀ng--i-uyok nong iro om
Babu PRF AV--COM-request OBL OBL uncle

bəkaung umo rumo ne.
 bə-kaung umo rumo ne
 AV-clear.land rice.field 3S this

'Babu already requested the *om* (Indonesian workers) (a short time ago) to clear her rice field.'

The implication of *bərəngiok* 'request' in (84a) is that Babu has the right to hire the Indonesian workers, even if somebody else also wants to hire them, because Babu asked them to work for her a long time ago. Other people perhaps asked them to work for them more recently.

The form *bərənellag* 'make emping' is almost idiomatic. The following example is a standard question:

- (85) *Iro Payna pon bərənellag?*
 iro Payna apon bərəng-sellag
 COL Payna NEG.P AV.DSPT-emping
 'Did Payna and company not make emping?' [Notebook]

The following two examples illustrate events that took place a long time ago (86) or that were long in duration (87a):

- (86) *Bərənilis ikow naran mo nong buk no?*
 bərəng--i-tulis ikow naran mo nong buk ino?
 AV.DSPT--COM-write 2S.N name 2S.G OBL book yonder
 'Did you write your name in the book?' (Context: talking about an event that took place a year ago). [Notebook]

- (87) a. *Miro pon dan bərəngissi borang ino.*
 miro apon dan bərəng--i-ssi borang ino
 3P NEG.P yet AV.DSPT--COM-content form yonder
 'They have not filled in the form yet.' (Implication that it takes them quite a long time to decide whether or not to fill in the form) [Notebook]
- b. *Miro pon dan məngəssi borang ino.*
 miro apon dan məng-ə-ssi borang ino
 3P NEG.P yet AV-content form yonder
 'They have not filled in the form yet.' (They have made up their mind but only need to fill it in).

The verb in (88) suggests that the speaker has had a good breakfast so that he is not hungry or thirsty anymore.

- (88) *Aku bay bərənginum di' balay.*
 aku bay bərəng-inum di' balay
 1S.N PRF AV.DPNV-drink LOC house
 'I have already had breakfast home (lit. a drink).' (Context: the speaker is offered a drink or food but he/she is not hungry or thirsty.) [Mi-Suk1 515]

A few words seem to be historically derived with a Distant Past prefix but with an unproductive process. The noun *bəramatay* ‘spirits of the dead’, for instance is derived from the stative verb *matay* ‘dead’, its meaning is ‘spirit of the dead’.¹² Another example is *gərabuta* ‘walk, go by foot’ from *buta* ‘earth’.

7.8. The Intensive prefix *təg-*

The prefix *təg-* is a semi-productive affix that derives Intensive forms from adjectives. It cannot be prefixed on dynamic verbs. Again, this is a prefix whose allomorphs depend on the shape of the stem. For the allomorphy of the prefix, see section 2.4.4. The label ‘Intensive’ probably covers the meaning best. Not all adjectives can be prefixed with *təg-*, but more research is needed to find out why this is so.

Derivations with *təg-* can be used predicatively, but not attributively. The following examples illustrate the predicative use of *təg-*. Most examples of this section, and in fact most examples with *təg-* in my entire corpus, are from a conversation of four women selecting rice seed. This was the right context for commenting on the qualities of a plural entity. The ladies were looking for a special sub-species of rice and made comments on the appearance of the rice ears that they were rummaging through.

- (89) *Bay təgayan ano bua’ no padan.*
 bay tə-gayan ano bua’ ino padan
 PRF INT-size that fruit yonder measure
 ‘(That) is already very large, that fruit has just the right size.’
 [Conversationselectingseed188]

- (90) a. *Təbuat lagay rumo.*
 tə-buat lagay rumo
 INT-long rice.ear 3S
 ‘Its fruitstalk is very long.’ [Conversationselectingseed 316]
- b. *Buat lagay rumo.*
 buat lagay rumo
 long rice.ear 3S
 ‘Its fruitstalk is long.’

¹² The word *bəramatay* ‘spirits of the dead’ is often used as a curse or swearword. If people do not want to use this rather rude swearword, they may choose to use the bastard swearword or *bəramata* instead, which sounds like it is composed of the nonsense prefix *bəram-* and the stem ‘look at’. The bastard swear word *bəramanu* consists of the nonsense prefix *bəram-* and the root *anu* ‘whatchemecallit’.

- (91) a. *Ulun gədino ne bay təgəttas iskul.*
 ulun gədino ne bay təg-ə-ttas iskul
 person in.yonder.way this PRF INT-high school
 'People nowadays are very highly educated .' [Notebook]
- b. *Ulun gədino ne bay attas iskul.*
 ulun gədino ne bay a-ttas iskul
 person in.yonder.way this PRF NV-high school
 'People nowadays are highly educated.'

More often yet, derivations with *tə-* are used in exclamations. Example (92) shows that some verbs in an exclamation are intensified with *təg-* while other verbs are intensified with the manner nominalisation prefix *sə-*:

- (92) *Adoy ate pa Kəbua', təpio paras*
 adoy ate pa Kəbua' tə-pio paras
 EXCL this PRT Kebua' INT-good appearance
- sərambung no na anak-anak kan.*
 sə-rambung ino na anak-anak kan
 NOM-rampant yonder PRT child-RED isn't.it?
 'Hey! (look at) that Kebua', this (rice ear) looks very good and rampant, and very small (lit. very child-like), isn't it?' [Conversationselectingseed 446]

The word *tə-gagjo* 'very big' in (93) is derived from *gajo* 'big' and it can be used as an adjective or as a noun. If it is used as a noun, it refers to parents or village leaders.

- (93) *Dənili' ku tu suga' təgajo-təgajo sila'.*
 -ən-dili' ku tu suga' tə-gajo-tə-gajo sila'
 -COM-choose.UV 1S.G too but INT-big-RED grain
 'I did select (them) but (these) grains are all very big.'¹³ [Conversationselectingseed 473]

Summarising, then, the prefix *tə(g)-* intensifies verbs; it is not very productive and it is often used in exclamations. The nominalising prefix *sə-* described in 7.9. below has a similar function of intensifying stative verbs. This section ends the list of derivational prefixes that derive verbs (or stative verbs / adjectives). The remainder of this chapter describes various prefixes that derive nominalisations from verbs.

7.9. Manner nominalisations

Begak has a productive prefix *sə-* that derives manner nominalisations from verbal stems and that functions as a numeral prefix 'one' on nominal stems, for example in

¹³ The word *sila'* is most of the times used as a generic classifier, but in this sentence it functions as a noun and has its original meaning: 'rice grain'.

sə-gabpi ‘one-night’. The numeral function of *sə-* is described in section 4.6.1.4.; the present section treats the nominalising function of the prefix.¹⁴

Manner nominalisations express manner (manner of Verbing) and intensity (so very Verb).¹⁵ Section 7.9.1. describes the context of use of manner nominalisations. Nominalisations exhibit verbal as well as nominal characteristics. Section 7.9.2. gives the syntactic analysis of nominalisations. The prefix *sə-* in Begak has several allomorphs. The choice of these allomorphs does not only depend on the morphological class and phonological make-up of the root, but also on its semantics. Section 7.9.3. presents an overview of the allomorphy and semantics of manner nominalisations in Begak. A brief summary is given in section 7.9.4.

7.9.1. Context of use of manner nominalisations

The main function of manner nominalisation is modification. Begak is similar to many other Austronesian languages in expressing manner not by adverbs, but by stative verbs or adjectives. Some stative verbs or adjectives can modify another verb or verbal complement (see section 10.3.4.), but most stative verbs or adjectives expressing manner can only modify nouns. Verbs must be nominalised in order to be modified by one of those stative verbs. The following sentences illustrate how the stative verbs *arat* ‘bad’, *pio* ‘good’ and *rimot* ‘clean’ modify nominalised verbs:

- (94) *Arat səturug mərəgkang no.*
 a-rat sə-turug mərəgkang ino
 NV-bad NOM-sleep child yonder
 ‘The children have had a bad sleep.’ (For example they had a nightmare.) [Notebook]
- (95) *Səgugas mo ne ganta’ da rimot.*
 səg-ugas mo ne ganta’ da rimot
 NOM-wash 2S.G this very PR clean
 ‘You wash (the dishes) very clean! (literally: your washing of the dishes is very clean!)[Mi-Suk2 007]

¹⁴ The prefix *sə-* is probably derived from proto Malayo-Polynesian **isa* ‘one’ (Zorc 1995). The relation of **isa* with Begak *sə-* cannot be proven with historical material, but Begak has certain formal and semantics similarities with Malay *sə-*, which is assumed to be related to **isa*. Certain Western Austronesian languages seem to have a similar prefix *sə-* derived from **isa*. Eastern Kadazan uses the verbal prefix *song-* to indicate that many people are doing something at the same time (Hurlbut 1988:49,63). In Malay the prefix *sə-* has a variety of functions, its meaning varying from ‘one’ to ‘the same’.

¹⁵ The Taiwanese language Tsou has a morpheme *hia*, which has a similar function to Begak *sə-*: it also derives manner nominalisations where dynamic verbs receive manner semantics and stative verbs intensive semantics. Just like Begak, it seems to be rather verbal, as it still assigns accusative case to its object. (Chang 2002).

- (96) *Ganta' da pio səngəgkot Manuel.*
 ganta' da pio səng-əgkot Manuel
 very PR good NOM-work Manuel
 'Manuel works very well.'

Manner nominalisations are frequently used in manner questions starting with the interrogative pronoun *ngod* 'how'. The interrogative pronoun *ngod* 'how' must be followed by either the noun *antang* 'manner' or by a nominalised verb. The verbs *idtam* 'borrow' in (97) and *gkot* 'work' in (98) are nominalised, because they occur in the sentence starting with *ngod* 'how'.

- (97) *'Ngod səngidtam mo kad?' kəmo aku.*
 ngod səng-idtam mo kad kəmo aku
 how NOM-borrow 2S.G card QTM 1S.N

'Muyu pon gəsərago paras.'
 muyu apon gə-sərago paras
 2P.N/G NEG.P AV-identical appearance
 'How can you borrow (my son's identity) card, I said. "You do not look alike".'
 [Conversationcorn 511]

- (98) *Ulun ino burod, ngod səngəgkot rumo?*
 ulun ino burod ngod səng-ə-gkot rumo
 person yonder blind how NOM-work 3S
 'This person is blind, how can he work?' [Tessor]

Nominalisations with an intensive meaning "so very Verb" are often used in exclamations starting with *ullo* 'why'. Sentences or questions starting with *ullo* 'why' can be verbal or nominal, but the ones with a nominalisation have a rather pejorative meaning. An answer is not expected; *ullo* 'why' is used as an exclamation.

- (99) *Ullo sədallay mo ne?*
 ullo sə-dallay mo ne
 why NOM-slow 2S.G this
 'Why are you so slow? (Lit. why your slowness?)' [Tuttulp111]

Nominalisations derived from adjectives can modify another verb or clause. The nominalisation *səgədtu* 'manner of going far' in (100) is derived from the adjective *ədtu* 'far' and modifies the verb *panow* 'go'.

- (100) *Ullo səgədtu' mo panow inni'?*
 ullo səg-ə-dtu' mo panow inni'
 why NOM-far 2S.G go grandmother
 'Why are you going so far away grandmother?'

It will be suggested in the next section that the nominalisation in this construction forms the head of a relative clause. In fact, (100) could be translated with 'why the

farness with which you go?'. But first it must be shown that *sə*-derivations are indeed nouns instead of verbs.

7.9.2. The syntax of nominalisations

The derivations on *sə* have nominal as well as verbal characteristics. It will be shown that manner nominalisations are closer to verbs than to nouns and that they are similar to gerunds in Indo-European languages in their verbal nature.

7.9.2.1. Nominal characteristics of nominalisations

One of the characteristics of nouns is that they can function as the argument of a predicate. Nominalisations can also form the argument of predicates, both intransitive and transitive. In example (101a), the nominalisation *səngəkkan* 'eating' is functioning as the argument of the predicate *pon pio* 'not good'. Sentence (101b) shows how an ordinary noun *nanam* 'taste' forms the argument of the same predicate *pio* 'good'. Sentence (101c) shows that the modifier *pio* 'good' comes after the noun if used attributively, whereas in both (101a) and (101b) it precedes the noun which is only possible if it is used predicatively. Sentence (101d) illustrates the word order of a manner verb that modifies another verb. The subject *ikow* 'you' appears obligatorily adjacent to the manner verb *sannang* 'easily'.¹⁶ If *səngəkkan* in (101a) were a verb modified by *pio* 'good', the actor *Monay* would have to appear adjacent to *pio*, but it does not. Therefore, *səngəkkan* cannot be a verb but must be a nominal.

- (101) a. *Pon pio səngəkkan Monay.*
 apon pio səng-ə-kkan monay
 NEG.P good NOM-eat Monay
 'Monay (was worried and) did not eat well. (Lit. Monay's manner of eating was not good).'
- b. *Pon pio nanam kinnas ino.*
 apon pio nanam kinnas ino
 NEG.P good taste side.dish yonder
 'The taste of yonder side dish is not good. (Yonder side dish does not taste good).'
- c. *Kalay ku mangan kinnas pon pio nanam ino.*
 kalay ku mangan kinnas apon pio nanam ino
 not.want 1S.G eat.AV side.dish NEG.P good taste yonder
 'I do not want to eat that side dish that does not taste good.'

¹⁶ The syntax of manner verbs modifying other verbs is described in section 10.3.4.

- d. *Pon ka sannang ikow məngakay kad ilun.*
 apon ka sannang ikow məng-akay kad ilun
 NEG.P PRT easy 2S.N AV-use card other.people
 'You cannot easily use other people's (id) card.' [Conversationcorn 516]

Example (102) illustrates how a nominalisation can form the argument of a transitive predicate. The verb *kə-maku* 'bear' appears in the AV-Non-volitive Mood. Its subject *aku* 'I' appears in the nominative and its object is formed by nominalisation *sə-lamak mo* 'your stuffing (your) face'.

- (102) *Aku pon kəmaku səlamak mo!*
 aku apon kə-maku sə-lamak mo
 1S.N NEG.P AV.NV-bear NOM-stuff.face 2S.G
 'I cannot stand your stuffing (your) face! (very rude!).'

Demonstratives can introduce nominal predicates, and so can nominalisations:

- (103) a. *Ino balay ku ne.*
 ino balay ku ne
 yonder house 1S.G this
 'This is my house.'
- b. *Ino səbara' ku muyun:*
 ino sə-bara' ku muyun
 yonder NOM-say 1S.G 2P.A
- pon dan aku malu' mənawo.*
 apon dan aku malu' məng-sawo
 NEG.P yet 1S.N want AV-marry
 'This is (what) I will say to you: I do not want to propose (to her) yet.'¹⁷

Another proof of the nominal character of *sə*-derivations is the fact that they often occur after the interrogative pronoun *ngod* 'how'. The interrogative pronoun *ngod* 'how' can only be followed by the noun *antang* 'manner' (104) or by *sə*-derivations (105), but not by verbs or verbal clauses. Apparently, *sə*-derivations are nouns.

- (104) *Aku bəgusur nong niun ngod antang məngəpput paray.*
 aku bəg-usur nong niun ngod antang məng-ə-pput paray
 1S.G AV-tell OBL 2S.A how manner AV-tie.up paddy
 'I tell you the way to tie up paddy.' [Notebook]

¹⁷ It could be argued, though, that the nominalisations in (103b) should be interpreted as a verb in a cleft and it cannot be seen on the surface that this is not the case.

- (105) *Ngod sərait ku naran mo?*
 ngod sə-rait ku naran mo
 how NOM-pronounce 1S.G name 2S.G
 ‘How should I pronounce your name?’ [Notebook]

Nouns can be modified by demonstratives, for example by the demonstrative *no* ‘yonder’ in *balay no* ‘yonder house’. Demonstratives can also occur after one of the arguments of a nominalisation, but in that position it is ambiguous whether they modify the nominalisation itself or one of its arguments. For instance, *no* ‘yonder’ in (94) modifies most probably the actor *mərəgkang* ‘child(ren)’ instead of the nominalisation *sə-turug* ‘sleep’ and likewise *ne* ‘this’ in (99) modifies most likely *mo* ‘you’ instead of *sə-dallay* ‘slowness’. Therefore modification by demonstratives is not a good argument for the nounhood of *sə*-derivations.

7.9.2.2. Verbal characteristics of nominalisations

Nominalisations in Begak have a few verbal characteristics, the most important being that they can take one or two arguments, depending on the transitivity of the stem. The single argument of an intransitive stem appears in the genitive if it is pronominal, as in (99) above. The actor of transitive predicates appears in the genitive whereas the undergoer of a transitive predicate appears in the accusative if pronominal, as in (105) above and (106) below. Full NPs are always unmarked for case, just like in verbal clauses.

- (106) *Ullo səngata’ mo nakon?*
 ullo səng-ata’ mo nakon
 why NOM-look.at 2S.G 1S.A
 ‘Why are you looking at me?’

This case pattern is identical to the case pattern of clauses with an Undergoer Voice verb, as is shown in (107).

- (107) *Nong mo mata’ nakon.*
 nong mo m-ata’ nakon
 AUX 2S.G DEP-look.at.UV 1S.A
 ‘Please look at me.’

Another verbal characteristic of manner nominalisations is that they can modify another predicate. Compare the following two sentences:

- (108) a. *Kuat Babu məngəgkot!*
 kuat Babu məng-ə-gkot
 diligent Babu AV-work
 ‘Babu works diligently.’

- b. *Səkuat* *mo* *məngəgkot!*
 sə-kuat mo məng-ə-gkot
 NOM-diligent 2S.G AV-work
 ‘How diligently you are working!’ [Mi-Suk2 138]

A semantic difference is that (108a) is more an evaluation and (108b) is more a manner description. The adjective *kuat* ‘diligently’ modifies and takes as its complement the verb *məngəgkot* ‘work’ (see section 10.3.4. about manner). Similarly, *səkuat* modifies *məngəgkot* ‘work’ in (108b).

However, the case marking of adjectives modifying another verb is different from nominalisations modifying another verb. The actor-subject of stative verbs modifying another predicate appears in the nominative if it is a pronoun, as it is the sole argument of the stative verb and coreferent with the actor of the AV-verb it modifies, as in (101d) above. The actor of nominalisations modifying another verb, however, appears in the genitive instead of in the nominative, as is shown in (108b).

Constructions with a nominalisation derived from a stative verb modifying another verb are very similar to adjunct relative clauses as in (109). Relative clauses in Begak are not marked by relative markers or pronouns. The headnoun of the adjunct relative clause is *waktu* ‘time’; its actor *ku* ‘I’ is the possessor of the headnoun and appears in the genitive (see section 10.4.6. for an elaborate description of adjunct relatives).

- (109) *Na, nu ngod, waktu*_{head} [*ku bəgami*]_{rel} *sawot tikung-kərow.*
 na nu ngod waktu ku bəg-ami’ sawot tikung-kərow
 PRT what because time 1S.G AV-baby.sit arrive bird.without.tail
 ‘Well, the time that I was baby sitting the Tikung-kerow bird arrived.’ [Rengngon 128]

In fact, the nominalisation *səkuat* ‘diligently’ in (108b) or *sətakas* ‘hurrying up’ (110) could be analysed as the head noun of an adjunct relative clause. The second person pronoun *mo* ‘you’ is then not an argument of the nominalisation but of the relative clause.

- (110) *Ullo, kədo, sətakas*_{head} [*mo muli’ ano*]_{rel}
 ullo kədo sə-takas mo m-uli’ ano
 why friend NOM-hurry.up 2S.G DEP-go.home that
 ‘Why, my friend, do you go home so hastily?’ [Bowon Bura’ 224]
 Or: ‘Why, my friend, the hurriedness with which you return home?’

The accusative case marking of undergoers in manner nominalisations, then, is verbal. The genitive marking of actors can be explained as being verbal, as actors of UV-verbs appear in the genitive too, but turns out to be nominal: the actor of manner nominalisations is in fact a possessor.

7.9.2.3. Conclusion on the syntax of manner nominalisations

Nominalisations in Begak are hybrid. Internally, they act as a predicate that takes arguments and follows the Undergoer Voice case pattern, which is typically verbal. Externally, the whole complex of the derivation and its arguments can form the argument of another predicate. This use of *sə* is nominal. The construction with a *sə*-derivations modifying another predicate seems to be verbal on first sight, but turns out to be a construction where the *sə*-derivation functions as the nominal head of a relative clause.

This hybrid behaviour is expected, since nominalisations show verbal as well nominal characteristics cross-linguistically (Comrie & Thompson 1985). If placed on a continuum from verbal to nominal, Begak manner nominalisations occupy a place rather close to the verbal extreme, because they maintain the verbal subclass distinctions and show the same case patterns as in UV verb forms. They are comparable to English gerunds as far as their verbal syntax is concerned.

7.9.3. Allomorphy

The nominalisation prefix *sə*- has four allomorphs: *sə*-, *səg*-, *səng*- and *səngə*-. The choice of the right allomorph depends on morphological class of the verb and on its semantics. The class distinction is only maintained for vowel-initial verbal stems: all vowel-initial verbal stems are prefixed with the allomorphs *səg*- or *səng*-, whereas all consonant-initial stems take *sə*-, irrespective of the morphological class they belong to. Causatives take *səngə*-. The relevant semantic and or inflectional classes are stative verbs, verbs of position, anti-causatives, verbs of motion, dynamic verbs and causatives.

7.9.3.1. Stative verbal roots and adjectives

Manner nominalisations of consonant-initial stative verbal roots and adjectives are prefixed with the allomorph *sə*-, vowel-initial stative verbal roots and adjectives are prefixed with the allomorph *səg*-, as is shown in (111). Manner nominalisations derived from stative verbal roots are prefixed with *səg*- or *sə*- because they belong to the *bə(g)*- or *gə*- class if prefixed with AV-morphology.

(111)	root	gloss	AV prefix	nominalisation	gloss
	<i>turug</i>	'sleep'	-	<i>sə-turug</i>	'manner of sleeping'
	<i>təgki</i>	'pregnant'	<i>gə-təgki</i>	<i>sə-təgki</i>	'manner of getting pregnant'
	<i>rimot</i>	'clean'	-	<i>sə-rimot</i>	'how clean, so clean'
	<i>pio</i>	'good'	<i>gə-pio</i>	<i>sə-pio</i>	'how good, so good'
	<i>dtu</i>	'far'	<i>bəg-ə-dtu</i>	<i>səg-ə-dtu</i>	'manner of going far, so far'
	<i>ssak</i>	'ripe'	<i>bəg-ə-ssak</i>	<i>səg-ə-ssak</i>	'manner of ripening, so ripe'

The meaning of *sə(g)*- on adjectives or stative verbs is almost without exception intensive 'so very Verb' as in the three examples below. The (a) sentences illustrate

the intensive semantics of the nominalised forms while the (b) sentences illustrate the stative semantics of the adjectives or stative verbs affixed with *a-* or unprefixes.

- (112) a. “*E, ullo ne kədo səgəmmis sapa’ no?*”
 “e, ullo ne kədo səg-ə-mmis sapa’ ino
 EXCL why this friend NOM-sweet water yonder
 ‘Hey, my friend, why is the water so sweet?’ (Monkey is sailing a boat made of sugar cane and the sweet water splashes into his face.)
 [Kalibambang bio Sengoyan 030]
- b. *Kumman gaud no, ammis kan, təbpu.*
 kumman gaud ino ammis kan təbpu
 DEP.eat.UV paddle yonder sweet isn’t.it? suger.cane
 ‘(Monkey) ate the paddle, it was sweet, right, (it was made of) sugar cane.’
 [Kalibambang bio Sengoyan 043]
- (113) a. “*ullo gam səbuay Gongan ne pon*
 ullo gam sə-buay gongan ne apon
 why QM NOM-long baby.prawn this NEG.P
 sowot-sowot” *kəmo no.*
 -u-sawot-u-sawot kəmo ino
 -DEP-arrive-RED QTM yonder
 ‘‘Why does it take Babyprawn so long to arrive?’’, she said.’ (Lit. why is it so long that Babyprawn does not arrive ?) [Gongan bio Tuttul 029]
- b. *Buay aku məmikir nu ne kulos ino.*
 buay aku məng-pikir nu ne kulos ino
 long 1S.N AV-think what this animal yonder
 ‘I’ve been thinking for a long time what this thing (lit. animal) is.’
 [Conversationselectingseed 088]
- (114) *Tow mo, mata’ sətumok antang ano ne.*
 tow mo m-ata’ sə-tumok antang ano ne
 know 2S.G DEP-look.UV NOM-small manner that this
 ‘Do you know, look at how small they are like this!’ [Conversationselectingseed 518]

Nominalisations have in common with adjectives prefixed with AV-morphology the volitional, agentive, inchoative or intensive semantics as compared to the stative semantics of their unprefixes or UV-Non-volitive equivalent. For instance *səgədtu* ‘going far’ in (100), *səkuat* ‘diligently’ in (108) or *sətakas* ‘hurrying up’ (110) above have volitional semantics similar to AV-verbs. Sentence (106) above shows that the intensive meaning is preferred but not restricted to nominalisations derived from stative verbs.

7.9.3.2. Verbs of position

Nominalisations of verbs of vowel-initial verbs of position and other verbs with middle semantics (see section 6.3.3.) are prefixed with the *sə-*. The Middle prefix *b-*

with which the verbal root is prefixed when occurring in a sentence is retained in the nominalisation.

(115)	stem	gloss	nominalisation	gloss
	<i>b-adung</i>	‘MID-sit’	<i>sə-b-adung</i>	‘manner of sitting’
	<i>b-uruy</i>	‘MID-stand’	<i>sə-b-uruy</i>	‘manner of standing up’
	<i>b-uat</i>	‘MID-get up’	<i>sə-b-uat</i>	‘manner of getting up’
	<i>(kə-)b-aya’</i>	‘(AV.NV)-MID-follow’	<i>sə-b-aya’</i>	‘manner of following’

The following sentence illustrates a manner nominalisation of the root *aya* ‘follow, join someone’. It is a sentence from a conversation in which the speaker tells how ill had been, up to the point that she was too sick to get into the car to go to the doctor.

(116)	<i>Na, ngod ne səbaya’</i>	<i>ku panow bəgubot?</i>
	na ngod ne sə-b-aya’	ku panow bəg-ubot
	PRT how this NOM-MID-follow	1S.G go AV-medicine
	‘Na, how can I join (them) to go get medical treatment?’ [Conversationdogs 026]	

Certain ‘spontaneous’ verbs that usually occur with the stem forming *p-*, retain this prefix *p-* in nominalisations. Examples are given below:

(117)	stem	gloss	nominalisation	gloss
	<i>p-agon</i>	‘SF-strong’	<i>sə-p-agon</i>	‘so strong’
	<i>p-ukow</i>	‘SF-get up’	<i>sə-p-ukow</i>	‘manner of waking up’
	<i>p-unong</i>	‘SF-finished’	<i>sə-p-unong</i>	‘manner of finishing’

The verb *p-agon* ‘strong’ (and also *b-agon* or *m-agon*, etc.) is often used in an adverbial way, modifying other predicate.

7.9.3.3. Verbs of motion

Nominalisations derived from verbs of motion usually take the allomorph *səng-*, but there is considerable variation as to what allomorph is chosen. Verbs of motion sometimes retain their inflection in manner nominalisations. Recall from chapter 6 that verbs of motion are inflected with the Dependent prefix *m-* or one of its allomorphs if the verb expresses ongoing motion, or with the AV-Non-volitive prefix *k(ə)-* if the verb expresses completed motion. Nominalisations of vowel-initial stems can thus have three alternative forms: a neutral one with *səng-*: *sənguli’*, one with the prefix *m-*: *sə-m-uli’* both meaning ‘returning’, and one with the prefix *k-*: *sə-k-uli’*, the latter meaning ‘having returned’.¹⁸ This distinction is neutralised in consonant-initial stems: no other prefix can come in between the stem and the prefix *sə-*.

¹⁸ Nominalisations of verbs of motion may be unstable because I have attested forms like *səng-ənnik* and *səng-uli’* instead of *sə-m-uli’* ‘going home’ or *sə-m-ənnik* ‘going up’. The allomorph *səng-* is perhaps the default form for vowel-initial stems.

The examples in (118) show how nominalisations with *səng-* do not differ from those with *m-*: both expresses a motion that is taking place or that will take place very soon:

- (118) a. *Ngod səngənnik ano, kusay?*
 ngod səng-ə-nnik ano kusay
 how NOM-go.up that man
 'How can (I) go up (the house), son?' [Kebasi'p38]
- b. *Ngod səmənnik mo?*
 ngod sə-m-ə-nnik mo
 how NOM-DEP-go.up 2S.G
 'How can you go up?' (Talking from a very full car to someone standing on the road who wanted to have a ride.) [Notebook]

Sentence (119) contrasts a nominalisation with *səng-* with a form with *k-*. The variant in (119a) is said by a person who is about to return home, while the variant in (119b) is a question to someone who has just arrived home.

- (119) a. *Səbob pon atow ku ngod sənguli'.*
 səbob apon a-tow ku ngod səng-uli'
 because NEG.P NV-know.UV 1S.G how NOM-go.home
 '(..) because I did not know how to return.' (The speaker explains why she has not been able to visit her parents for a long time). [Bowon Bura' 214]
- b. *Ngod səkuli' mo sakko di' KK?*
 ngod sə-k-uli' mo sakko di' KK
 how NOM-AV.NV-go.home 2S.G from LOC Kota Kinabalu
 'How did you come home from Kota Kinabalu?'

It must be emphasised that the *səng-* form is the norm/most frequent form. Perhaps speakers get confused as to what should be the right prefix for this category.

7.9.3.4. Dynamic verbs

Dynamic verbs can take one of the three prefixes *gə-*, *bəg-* or *məng-* (see section 6.2.). Manner nominalisations of consonant-initial dynamic verbs are formed by prefixing the allomorph *sə-* to the stem, thereby neutralising the semantic difference between the three subclasses of dynamic verbs. Nominalisations of vowel-initial dynamic verbs, however, maintain the semantic difference between *bəg-* verbs and *məng-* verbs: they are prefixed by *səg-* or *səng-* respectively. (120) lists some *gə-* verbs and their derivations, (121) lists some *bəg-* verbs and their derivations and (122) shows some examples of the *məng-* class.

(120)	stem	AV-form	gloss	nominalisation	gloss
	<i>lisang</i>	<i>gə-lisang</i>	‘play’	<i>sə-lisang</i>	‘manner of playing’
	<i>dagang</i>	<i>gə-dagang</i>	‘buy’	<i>sə-dagang</i>	‘manner of buying’
	<i>runi</i>	<i>gə-runi</i>	‘talk’	<i>sə-runi</i>	‘manner of talking’
	<i>rait</i>	<i>gərait</i>	‘pronounce’	<i>sə-rait</i>	‘manner of pronunciation’
(121)	stem	AV-form	gloss	nominalisation	gloss
	<i>guru</i>	<i>bə-guru</i>	‘learn’	<i>sə-guru</i>	‘manner of learning’
	<i>guring</i>	<i>bə-guring</i>	‘fry’	<i>sə-guring</i>	‘manner of frying’
	<i>kassow</i>	<i>bə-kassow</i>	‘disturb’	<i>sə-kassow</i>	‘manner of disturbing’
	<i>apuy</i>	<i>bəg-apuy</i>	‘cook’	<i>səg-apuy</i>	‘manner of cooking’
	<i>ugas</i>	<i>bəg-ugas</i>	‘wash’	<i>səg-ugas</i>	‘manner of washing’
(122)	stem	AV-form	gloss	nominalisation	gloss
	<i>tannan</i>	<i>mənannan</i>	‘install’	<i>sə-tannan</i>	‘manner of installing’
	<i>tiru’</i>	<i>məniru’</i>	‘teach’	<i>sə-tiru’</i>	‘manner of teaching’
	<i>sellag</i>	<i>mənellag</i>	‘make <i>emping</i> , ¹⁹	<i>sə-sellag</i>	‘manner of making <i>emping</i> ’
	<i>llit</i>	<i>məng-ə-llit</i>	‘sew’	<i>səng-ə-llit</i>	‘manner of sewing’
	<i>alap</i>	<i>məng-alap</i>	‘catch’	<i>səng-alap</i>	‘manner of catching’

Example (105) above illustrated the use of a nominalisation with *gə-* in a question starting with *ngod* ‘how’; a nominalisation from the *bəg-* class can be found in (95) above and a nominalisation from the *məng-* class in (96).

7.9.3.5. Causative verbs

Nominalisations of causative verbs whose root starts with a consonant are prefixed with a single prefix *səngə-*, whereas nominalisations of causative verbs whose root starts with a vowel are prefixed with the prefix combination *səngəp-*. Nominalisations derived from dynamic (non-causative) verbs starting with a liquid /l/ or /r/, for example *ləra* ‘look after’ are also prefixed with *səngə-* instead of with *səng-*. Examples of nominalisations derived from causatives and of a liquid-initial dynamic verb are given in (123).

¹⁹ *Sellag* ‘emping’ is a noun meaning ‘roasted half ripe rice’, but it can be turned into a verb by zero derivation and inflected with *məng-*. This verbal stem can be used as the base for nominalisations.

(123)	AV form	gloss	nominalisation	gloss
	<i>məŋgə-ləra'</i>	'AV-look after'	<i>səŋgə-ləra'</i>	'manner of looking after'
	<i>məŋgə-p-inum</i>	'CAU-SF-drink, cause to drink'	<i>səŋgə-p-inum</i>	'manner of causing to drink'
	<i>məŋgə-p-əlla'</i>	'CAU-SF-afraid, cause to be afraid'	<i>səŋgə-p-əlla'</i>	'manner of frightening'
	<i>məŋgə-p-uli'</i>	'CAU-SF-go home, bring back'	<i>səŋgə-p-uli'</i>	'manner of sending home'
	<i>məŋgə-p-allan</i>	'CAU-SF-be intoxicated, intoxicate'	<i>səŋgə-p-allan</i>	'manner of intoxicating'

Sentence (124) contains three manner nominalisations, all depending on the question word *ngod* 'how'. The first nominalisation is *səpatay*, derived from the irregular verb *matay* 'die', which sometimes shows up as *patay* in derivations. The second nominalisation is *səŋgəllun*, derived from the stative verb *llun* 'alive'. Note that the nominalisation has a dynamic interpretation 'live', as opposed to its stative verbal root 'alive'. The third nominalisation *səŋgələra* is derived from a liquid-initial dynamic (non-causative) verb *lera* 'look after', which is a loan from Malay *pəlihara* 'look after'. Sentence (125) contains a nominalisation derived from a causative verb *məŋgə-p-allan* 'cause to be intoxicated'.

(124)	<i>Jadi</i>	<i>aku</i>	<i>malu'</i>	<i>gəgusur</i>	<i>ngod</i>	<i>səpatay</i>	<i>ama'</i>	<i>ku</i>
	jadi	aku	malu'	gəg-usur	ngod	sə-patay	ama'	ku
	so	1S.N	want	REC-tell	how	NOM-die	father	1S.G

<i>bio</i>	<i>ngod</i>	<i>səŋgəllun</i>	<i>kəmmi</i>
bio	ngod	səŋg-ə-llun	kəmmi
and	how	NOM-live	1P.E.N/G

<i>səŋgələra'</i>	<i>ina'</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>namon</i>	<i>kəssa'</i>	<i>tittoy.</i>
səŋgə-lera'	ina'	ku	namon	kəssa'	tittoy
NOM-look.after	mother	1S.G	1P.E.A	since	small

'I want to tell how my father died and how we lived being looked after by my mother since we were small.' [Helen 001]

(125)	<i>"Na</i>	<i>nu</i>	<i>ngod</i>	<i>səŋgəpallan</i>	<i>liun</i>	<i>no!"</i>
	na	nu	ngod	səŋgə-p-allan	liun	ino
	PRT	what	how	NOM.CAU-SF-intoxicated	woman	yonder

"How can I make this girl stoned?" (said the prince to the lady in his dream). [Bowon Bura'090]

7.9.3.6. Summary

We have seen that the distinction between the various verbal subclasses is maintained only for vowel-initial stems and is neutralised for consonant-initial stems. Consonant-initial stems only differentiate between causatives with *səŋgə-* and non-causatives with *sə-*. If the root is vowel-initial, a stem-forming prefix may

be retained.

7.9.4. Conclusion

Begak lacks manner adverbs. Manner is expressed by two competing constructions: adjectives with a verbal complement (see section 10.3.4.) or manner nominalisations. Manner nominalisations are hybrid: internally they form a predicate with arguments, but externally they function as nouns that can form the argument of another predicate. Their case marking is nominal and comparable to that of adjunct relative clauses. They can best be compared to gerunds in English. The allomorphy of manner nominalisations follows the morphological and semantic verbal classes.

7.10. Agent nominalisations with the prefix *pəng-*

The prefix *pəng-* derives various other nominals from verbal stems, the most important being agent nominalisation. The choice of the allomorph depends on the verbal class of the root, see section 2.4.2.2. The prefix is not very productive, although it is perhaps not totally unproductive. The semantics of the derived noun can vary: it can refer to the agent of the action described by the verb, as in (126) and (127), but in the case of psych verbs and verbs of sense, it refers to the thing observed (stimulus) and not to the experiencer, as in (129) and (130). In the case of *pəng-angan* ‘food’, it derives an object noun that refers to the food, not to the eater.

- (126) *Da buay dongay kat Dayangpukli mangun bəgko*
 da buay -u-dangay kat Dayangpukli m-angun bəgko
 PR long -DEP-proceed CDM Dayangpukli DEP-resurrect.UV also

Pəngian ne, malu' akay pəgapuy miro.
 Pəngian ne malu' akay pəg-apuy miro
 sultan's.wife this want EXIST AG.NOM-cook 3P

‘After a long time, Dayangpukli resurrected the Sultan’s Wife, so that they would have a cook.’ [Dayangpukli 240]

- (127) *Ali ton pəruni*
 Ali ton pə-runi
 Ali TOP AG.NOM-talk
 ‘Ali is talkative (lit. is a talker).’

Some derivations with *pə(ng)-* are similar to *sə-*nominalisations in that they take arguments. Sentence (128) illustrates how *pəngalap* takes a undergoer argument *pait* ‘fish’; the nominal *pəngingog* ‘as I heard it/ hearing’ in (129) takes a genitive actor-argument *ku* ‘I’:

- (128) *Suku pəŋgalap pait di (..) məŋgata'.*
 suku pəŋg-alap pait adi (..) məŋg-ata'
 all AG.NOM-get fish over.there (..) AV-look
 'All fishermen were looking.'
- (129) *Pəŋgingog ku sərait mo kəmmən ne*
 pəŋg-ingog ku sə-rait mo kəmmən ne
 AG.NOM-hear 1S.G NOM-pronounce 2S.G just.now this
- ngod kəpin sərago.*
 ngod kəpin sərago
 because appear same
 'My hearing of your pronunciation just now seemed to be the same.' [Mi-Suk6p51]

The following nominalisation *pəŋgata'* 'view' is also an action nominal and takes an actor *rumo* 'he' and an undergoer *payow* 'deer':

- (130) *Dalan rumo sala', ngod pəŋgata' rumo payow.*
 dalan rumo sala' ngod pəŋg-ata' rumo payow
 way 3S mistake because AG.NOM-see 3S deer
 'His way is wrong because what he sees (lit. his view) is a deer (but in fact it is a ghost).'

The following list shows a few more *pəŋg-* derivations:

- | | | | | |
|-------|--------------|--------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| (131) | stem | gloss | pəŋg- prefixation | gloss |
| | <i>takow</i> | 'steal' | <i>pənakow</i> | 'thief' |
| | <i>turug</i> | 'sleep' | <i>pənurug</i> | 'sleepyhead' |
| | <i>gkot</i> | 'work' | <i>pəŋgəgkot</i> | 'hard worker' |
| | <i>ata'</i> | 'look' | <i>pəŋgata'</i> | 'view' |
| | <i>alap</i> | 'get' | <i>pəŋgalap</i> | 'someone who gets' |
| | <i>indon</i> | 'think' | <i>pəŋgindon</i> | 'thinking' |
| | <i>angan</i> | 'eat' | <i>pəŋgangan</i> | 'cooking ingredients' |

Concluding, then, *pəŋg-* can derive nominalisations whose exact function depends on the meaning of the verb.

7.11. The historical prefix *ləŋg-*

The historical prefix *ləŋg-* is an unproductive prefix. *Ləŋg-* only exists in a few frequent nouns and a number of animated animal and plants names. The noun *ləŋgkuas* 'galangal' also occurs in Malay and is not specific for Begak. The roots of words in which it occurs cannot be recognised anymore, except for *ləŋg-kumman* 'food' and *ləmama* 'sirih mix', where the prefix seems to derive nouns from verbs, but this may be a coincidence.

(132)	stem	gloss	hypothetical root	gloss
	<i>lɔŋkumman</i>	‘food’	<i>kkan</i>	‘eat’
	<i>lɔmamaʼ</i>	‘sirih mix’	<i>bamaʼ</i>	‘chew betelnut’
	<i>lɔŋkuas</i>	‘galangal’	?	
	<i>lɔŋgati</i>	‘rainworm’	?	
	<i>lɔŋgatok</i>	‘leech’	?	
	<i>lɔŋguok</i>	‘ravine’	?	
	<i>lɔŋgaluʼ</i>	‘gums’	?	
	<i>lɔŋggaman</i>	‘harvest knife’	?	
	<i>lɔmutug</i>	‘mosquito bite’	?	

Lɔŋg- is probably related to the proto-Austronesian prefix **kali* or **qali* which marked all kinds of items having to do with ghosts, dangerous plants or animals, anything that grows in the form of tuberous plants, anything that flibbers or moves in a funny way, etc. (Blust 2001).

7.12. Abstract nouns derived with the prefix *kə(ŋg)-*

Certain abstract nouns are derived from (stative) verbal roots with the prefix *kə(ŋg)-*. This prefix is probably not productive. It has two allomorphs: the full prefix *kəŋg-* is affixed to vowel-initial stems while the nasal is deleted before consonant-initial stems. The list in (133) shows four examples of abstract nouns with *kəŋg-*:

(133)	stem	gloss	root	gloss
	<i>kəŋgəluʼ</i>	‘desire’	<i>luʼ</i>	‘want’
	<i>kəŋgəlay</i>	‘desire not to’	<i>kalay</i>	‘not want’
	<i>kəŋgəbpuk</i>	‘drunkenness’	<i>bpuk</i>	‘dizzy, drunk’
	<i>kəpuos</i>	‘being spilt’	<i>puosʼ</i>	‘finished’

The following sentences show a few other abstract nouns with prefix *kə(ŋg)-*:

(134)	<i>Ino</i>	<i>kiron</i>	<i>kəŋgətow</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>suran</i>	<i>nong</i>	<i>gkun.</i>
	ino	kiron	kəŋg-ə-tow	ku	suran	nong	gkun.
	yonder	until	NOM.ABSTR-know	1S.G	story	OBL	village
	‘Until here is my knowledge about the story of the village.’ [p13 ketua kampung]						

(135)	<i>Jadi</i>	<i>iro</i>	<i>gamo</i>	<i>rəŋngon</i>	<i>ton,</i>	<i>ino</i>
	jadi	iro	gamo	rəŋngon	ton	ino
	so	COL	married.couple	civet	TOP	yonder
	<i>rumo</i>	<i>kəŋgəllun</i>	<i>miro</i>	<i>mangan</i>	<i>pait</i>	<i>sijaʼ.</i>
	rumo	kəŋg-ə-llun	miro	mangan	pait	sijaʼ
	3S	NOM.ABSTR-live	3P	AV.eat	fish	merely
	‘So as for Mr. and Mrs. Civet, this was their life (or way of life): just eating fish.’					
	[Rəngngon 080]					

- (136) *Ino nong kətuso, nong kəpatay.*
 ino nong kə-tuso nong kə-patay
 yonder OBL NOM.ABSTR-difficult OBL NOM.ABSTR -die
 ‘This (leads) to difficulty, to death. (Context: a bad guy who kept imitating the neighbours without thinking).’ [Monay bio Dera’ 089]

Again, this description is far from complete because of the low frequency of the prefix.

7.13. Body characteristics and expressions of emotion: compounding

Body characteristics and diseases form more or less idiomatic expressions that may occur in a clause or in a compound, as in (137) and (138). In these compounds, the modifier is followed by the noun, unlike in NPs, where the noun is followed by its modifier. The modifier in these compounds is the head.

- (137) **expression** **literal translation** **gloss**
pio mənğəra ‘good girl’ ‘beautiful girl’
pio monay ‘good young man’ ‘handsome young man’
lagas ulu ‘bald head’ ‘bald-headed’
puti’ ulu ‘white head’ ‘old and grey’
gajo ulu ‘big head’ ‘big-headed’
allang umur ‘hard age’ ‘old (euphemism)’
səkkot mato ‘read eye’ ‘red-eyed’
- (138) **expression** **gloss**
pədtos ulu ‘head ache’
pədtos təray ‘stomach ache’
pədtos kasu ‘feet ache’

Expressions of emotion form compounds or phrases that are even more idiomatic and syntactically tighter than body characteristics or diseases. Some of the emotions in Begak are located in the *atay* ‘liver’, while other emotions are located in the *gərawo* ‘breath, spirit’ (Malay: ‘*nafas, semangat*’). Some emotions are listed below:

- (139) **Expression** **Literal translation** **Meaning**
sannang atay ‘easy liver’ ‘at ease, happy’
panas atay ‘hot liver’ ‘angry, impatient’
sigak atay ‘very happy liver’ ‘very happy’
allang atay ‘hard liver’ ‘bear a grudge’
bəkəlias atay ‘beating liver’ ‘heart missed a beat’
gətillab atay ‘shocking liver’ ‘remember with a shock’

(140)	Expression	Literal translation	Meaning
	<i>gajo gərawo</i>	'big breath/spirit'	'love someone very much'
	<i>tuso gərawo</i>	'difficult breath/spirit'	'worry'
	<i>arat gərawo</i>	'bad breath/spirit'	'offended, hurt'
	<i>pədtos gərawo</i>	'sick breath/spirit'	'angry, offended'
	<i>kəlu' gərawo</i>	'desire of the breath/spirit'	'want/like something'
	<i>bulud gərawo</i>	'breath/spirit is a hill'	'very much want to do or eat something'

These expressions occur in two constructions. One construction is an ordinary clause in which the adjective or verb is the predicate and the noun forms an NP with its possessor. Another construction, which is specific for body characteristics, diseases or expressions of emotion, is a phrasal construction, in which the body characteristic or expression of emotion as a whole forms the predicate. In fact, the body part forms a compound with the adjective or verb; and the possessor is the subject.

This compound construction is illustrated in (141), (142a) and (143a). The sentences (142b) and (143b) illustrate the clausal variant with verb-initial word order, while (142c) and (143c) illustrate the clausal variant with subject-initial word order. The sentences in (144) show that the compound variant is ungrammatical if the compounded noun is not a body part.

- (141) *Bano mo ne [puti' ulu.]_{COMPOUND}*
 bano mo ne puti' ulu
 husband 2S.G this white head
 'Your husband is white-headed (has grey hair).' [Nine princesses 012]
- (142) a. *O Rəngog, ullo ikow [səkkot mato]_{COMPOUND}?*
 o Rəngog ullo ikow səkkot mato
 EXCL small.river.fish.with.red.eyes why 2S.N red eye
 'O Rəngog, why are your eyes red?/ Why are you red-eyed?' [Rənggon 169]
- b. *Səkkot [mato_N rəngog_{POSS}]_{NP}*
 səkkot mato rəngog
 red eye small.river.fish.with.red.eyes
 'The eyes of the *rəngog* fish are red.'
- c. *[Mato rəngog]_{NP} səkkot.*
 mato rəngog səkkot
 eye small.river.fish.with.red.eyes red
 'The *rəngog*-fish has red eyes.'
- (143) a. *Aku [pədtos ulu.]_{COMPOUND}*
 aku pədtos ulu
 1S.N sick head
 'I've got a headache.' [Notebook]

- b. (..) *Pədtos* (..) [*ulu ku*]_{NP}
 pədtos ulu ku
 sick head 1S.G
 '(..) I've got (..) a headache. (Lit. my head hurts.)' [Bowon Bura' 124]
- c. [*Ulu ku*]_{NP} *pədtos*.
 ulu ku pədtos
 head 1S.G sick
 'I've got a headache (lit. my head hurts).'
- (144) *a. *Nanci ne [səkkot kərito]*_{COMPOUND}
 Nanci ne səkkot kərito
 Nancy this red car
 'Nancy's car is red/ *Nancy is red-carred.'
- b. *Səkkot [kərito Nanci ne]*_{NP}
 səkkot kərito Nanci ne
 red car Nancy this
 'Nancy's car is red.'
- c. [*Kərito Nanci ne*]_{NP} *səkkot*.
 kərito Nanci ne səkkot
 car Nancy this red
 'Nancy's car is red.'

In the clausal variant, discourse particles such as *key* or *la* come after the stative verb or adjective of the expression of emotion, as in (145a) and (145b) respectively. These particles occur after the predicate if there is no other particle in that slot, or if there is, after the word group which they put in pragmatic focus. This proves that the adjective is indeed the predicate of the clause. The possessor of the noun *gərawo* or *atay* appears in the genitive if pronominal, as is shown in (145b), which proves that the noun forms an NP with its possessor.

- (145) a. *Da sannang key [atay rumo]*_{NP}.
 da sannang key atay rumo
 PR easy FOC liver 3S
 'Now she was at ease/happy.' [Masi p178]
- b. *Sannang la [atay ku]*_{NP}.
 sannang la atay ku
 easy PRT liver 1S.G
 'I am at ease/happy.' [Tessor p231]
- c. *Bulud [gərawo ku]*_{NP} *malu' mangan lujan!*
 bulud gərawo ku malu' mangan lujan
 hill breath 1S.G want AV.eat durian
 'I really feel like eating durian!'

- d. (..)da pədtos [gərawo [minan ku]]_{NP} (..)
 da pədtos gərawo minan ku
 PR sick breath aunt 1S.G
 'My aunt is angry (..)'. [Dayangpukli p61]

In the compound variant, the possessor forms the subject and the expression as a whole the predicate. The possessor-subject appears in pre-verbal (or pre-predicate) position in (146a). The particle *kat* in (146b) always appears in second position, usually after the verb. In this case, the entire compound appears before *kat*, showing that the two words count as one for the placement of *kat*. The expression *titik tambur* 'play the drum' is one of the exceptions where a verb and its complement seem to form a compound. Sentence (146c) demonstrates that the whole expression is a single predicate: the intensifying adverb *tun* 'very, really' comes after the whole complex, whereas it normally occurs after *gajo* 'big' as is shown in (146d) and (146e).

- (146) a. *Siti ne [gajo gərawo]_{COMPOUND} nong anak-anak rumo.*
 Siti ne bulud gərawo nong anak-anak rumo
 Siti this big breath OBL child-RED 3S
 'Siti loves her grand children very much.' [Conversationkoko3 068]
- b. [*Titik tambur*]_{COMPOUND} *kat tikung-kərow,*
 titik tambur kat tikung-kərow
 play.with.sticks drum CDM bird.without.tail

biluk kat pəlanuk.
 biluk kat pəlanuk
 dance CDM mousedeer
 'Tikung-kerow played the drum and Mousedeer danced.' [Rengngon 059]
- c. (..)tanda' rumo [gajo gərawo]_{COMPOUND} tun nong məngannak rumo.
 tanda' rumo gajo gərawo tun nong məngannak rumo
 sign 3S big breath real OBL wife 3S
 '(..) a sign that he really loves (lit. has big breath) his wife very much.'
 [Nine princesses 132]
- d. **Gajo kərito tun Nanci ne.*
 gajo kərito tun Nanci ne
 big car real Nancy this
 'Nancy's car is really big.'
- e. *Gajo tun kərito Nanci ne.*
 gajo tun kərito Nanci ne
 big real car Nancy this
 'Nancy's car is really big.'

Although the clausal variant with subject-initial word order is available for body characteristics and diseases, as in (142c) and (143c) above, this word order is

ungrammatical for expressions of emotion. The nouns *atay* or *gərawo* cannot occur in preverbal position, as is shown in (147c). If the nouns *gərawo* or *atay* appear in pre-verbal position they are interpreted literally as the medical notions ‘breath’ or ‘liver’, which is semantically non-sensical.

- (147) a. *Rumo da [sannang atay]_{COMPOUND}* b. *Sannang [atay rumo]_{NP}*
 rumo da sannang atay sannang atay rumo
 3S PR easy liver easy liver 3S
 ‘Now she was at ease/happy.’
- c. **[Atay rumo]_{NP} da sannang.*
 atay rumo da sannang
 liver 3S PR easy
 * ‘Intended: now she was at ease/happy.’
 # ‘Literally: her liver was easy.’

This proves that even the clausal variant is a semantic unit of words that must appear in a fixed order. Another explanation is that subjects in pre-verbal position are definite. Body parts used in the literal sense such as ‘head’ or ‘eyes’ in (141), (142) and (143) are referential and can be definite; therefore they can occupy the pre-verbal position. *Atay* or *gərawo* are non-referential and cannot be definite and therefore they cannot occur in pre-verbal position.

It seems to depend on the expression whether it occurs more frequently in the clausal variant or in the compound variant. Most expressions occur more frequently in the clausal variant. The clausal variant is also the productive one.

7.14. Summary

In the first part of this chapter three types of valency changing morphology were described: reciprocals, causatives and petitives. We have seen in section 7.2. that reciprocals can be derived from both transitive and intransitive verbs and from nouns. Reciprocals are normally valency reducing, but if reciprocals are inflected for the UV they are transitive, irrespective of the valency of base verb. The various other functions of reciprocal morphology were described in some detail.

Causatives were described in section 7.3. Causative morphology is valency increasing and can be applied to verbs, adjectives and nouns. Most unaccusative verbs can be causativised, but only some unergative verbs can and only a few transitive verbs. If an unergative or transitive verb is causativised, its causee must be either inanimate or animate but strongly forced or physically affected.

Petitives were treated in section 7.4. Contrary to causatives, petitives must be formed of verbs with a volitional actor, as it is only possible to make a request to an animate person who has control over the action. Petitive morphology is always valency increasing on the semantic plane, as it adds an actor, but need not be valency increasing on the syntactic plane, as its actor is often coreferent with its undergoer.

The second part of this chapter treated derivational morphology that does

not change the valency of the verb. Section 7.5. dealt with the combination of prefixes *bə-gə-* ; section 7.6 briefly mentioned the prefix *məg-*. The ‘distant past’ prefix *bərag-* was treated in 7.7.; and section 7.8. described the intensive prefix *tə(g)-*.

The third part of this chapter dealt with nominalisations derived from verbal stems. Section 7.9. treated manner nominalisations. Manner nominalisations constitute an important part of the grammar. Manner is expressed by adjectives instead of adverbs in Begak. Some adjectives can modify another verb, but most adjectives only modify nouns. Verbs must be nominalised with *sə-* in order to be modified by a stative verb. It was shown that *sə-*nominalisations are verbal internally, but nominal externally. Section 7.10. briefly described agent nominalisations; section 7.11. briefly mentioned historical derivations with *ləng-*; section 7.12. briefly introduced abstract nouns and section 7.13. treated expressions of emotion and body-characteristics. It was shown that they can be expressed either by a clausal construction or by a compound/noun-incorporation construction. The syntactic characteristics of both constructions, such as the placement of particles or adverbs, were described.

8. Nominal and Prepositional Phrases

8.1. Introduction: the structure of the NP

This chapter treats nominal phrases and prepositional phrases. The present section describes the structure of the NP and the word order of all its elements, while the remainder of the sections in this chapter discusses the various elements of the NP and PP individually.

The structure of the Begak NP can be represented schematically as follows:

Scheme 1 Positions in the NP

Head	Posthead modifier(s)	Demonstrative
-Noun -Pronoun	-Adjective -Verb -Noun -Possessor phrase -Relative clause	Demonstratives

A noun phrase may be preceded and or followed by a quantifier phrase. Quantifiers are discussed in section 8.2. A few pronouns are treated in 8.3.

The noun phrase itself contains a head noun which may be followed by a post-head modifier. This post-head modifier can be an adjective expressing a property concept, an adnominal noun or a verb. Post-head modifiers are treated in section 8.4. It is sometimes unclear whether a noun+modifier construction in Begak must be analysed as an ordinary NP, as a compound or as an idiomatic phrase. Several multi-word constructions are discussed in this section.

A head noun may be followed by a possessor phrase; possessor constructions are treated in section 8.5. Demonstratives always come at the end of an NP; they are treated in section 8.6. PPs are briefly mentioned in section 8.7. Some conclusions are offered in section 8.8.

Examples of full NPs are given in (1) through (3). Sentence (1) contains two quantifiers, a noun, and a possessor phrases. The possessor phrase itself consists of a personal pronoun *rumo* 'his' and a demonstrative *ne* 'this'. Sentence (2) contains a quantifier, a numeral, a noun and a possessor. Sentences (3a and b) are elicited for the purpose of illustrating a rather full NP; they contain a numeral phrase, an adjective as modifier and a demonstrative.

- (1) *Jadi [inggos iro]_{QP} [langu' rumo ne]_{NP} raman nong rumo.*
 jadi inggos iro langu' rumo ne raman nong rumo
 so all COL in.law 3S this used.to OBL 3S
 'So all his in laws are used to him.' [Mi-Suk3B 164]
- (2) *[Inggos duo]_{QP} [anak ku]_{NP} dtow ano kəssu turug*
 inggos duo anak ku dtow ano kəssu turug
 all two child 1S.G day that soon sleep

ngod dtow di alumu miro gəlisang.
 ngod dtow adi a-lumu miro gə-lisang
 because day over.there AV.NV-tired 3P AV-play
 ‘Both my two children went to sleep early today because the other day they played
 until they were tired.’ [Mi-Suk3B 215]

- (3) a. [*Asu gayo*]_{NP} [*təllu tassa’ no*]_{QP} *məngabput.*
 asu gayo təllu tassa’ ino məng-abput
 dog big three CL.animal yonder AV-bite
 ‘Those three big dogs bite.’
- b. [*Təllu tassa’*]_{QP} [*asu gayo no*]_{NP} *məngabput.*
 təllu tassa’ asu gayo ino məng-abput
 three CL.animal dog big yonder AV-bite
 ‘Those three big dogs bite.’

These NPs are slightly exceptional because so many positions are filled. In most cases, the number of filled positions in an NP does not exceed two, not because the syntax forbids more slots to be filled, but because it is stylistically odd to make NPs too long.

Prepositions and locative nouns have already been treated in chapter 4. What follows is just a brief comment on the structure of a prepositional phrase. A PP may consist of three elements: an optional preposition, a locative noun and a noun. Not all elements of a PP need to be present: a PP can consist of a preposition+noun (4a); or of a locative noun+noun (4b), or of a preposition+locative noun+noun (4c)

- (4) a. *nong balay*
 nong balay
 OBL house
 ‘At home’
- b. *ttas balay*
 ttas balay
 top house
 ‘On top of the house’
- c. *nong ttas balay*
 nong ttas balay
 OBL top house
 ‘On top of the house’

8.2. Quantifier expressions

8.2.1. Numeral classifiers

Numerals and classifiers have been defined as a word class in section 4.6.2. This section concentrates on the syntax of classifiers and numeral phrases. Numeral phrases consist of a numeral and a classifier. Numeral phrases can occur before the head noun they modify or after the entire NP; therefore they can be considered independent phrases.

In my data, numeral phrases tend to follow their head noun, except for the numeral ‘one’, as in (5). Other numerals occur less often in pre-nominal position as in (6), since the function of the numeral phrase one+classifier is to introduce a new entity in discourse, as in (5), while numeral phrases of higher numbers simply express quantity, as in (6).

- (5) *Akay sətassa’ kərok, naran rumo kkak.*
 akay sə-tassa’ kərok naran rumo kkak
 EXIST one-CL.animal bird name 3S crow
 ‘(Once upon a time) There was a bird, its name was Crow.’ [Ama’Nisahp001]
- (6) *Məgkay kat rumo key namon duo tassa’ anak asu no.*
 m-ə-gkay kat rumo key namon duo tassa’ anak asu ino
 DEP-give.UV CDM 3S FOC 1P.E.A two CL.animal child dog yonder
 ‘He gave us these two dogs.’ [Mi-Suk3B 088]

Numerals other than ‘one’ tend to come after their head noun, or even after the entire NP. Sentence (7) illustrates how the numeral and classifier come after the adjective *assak* ‘ripe’.

- (7) *Ano kkan lutu’ mo: kkan sənərigbu’*
 ano kkan lutu’ mo kkan -ən-sərigbu’
 that cooked.rice packed.lunch 2S.G cooked.rice -COM-turmeric.UV
- bio putti assak təllu tidong.*
 bio putti a-ssak təllu tidong
 and banana NV-ripe three CL.banana
 ‘This is your packed lunch: yellow rice and three ripe bananas.’ [Kebasi’p41]

Classifiers are optional to a certain extent, although the sentence sounds much better with a classifier than without it. Numerals rarely modify nouns without a classifier. The numeral *satu* ‘one’ is an exception; it can freely modify nouns without a classifier, as in (8). The original version of sentence (9) contains a numeral without a classifier, but according to my consultants this is a speech error. The classifier *bətuān* ‘person’ should be inserted. However, sentence (2) above was judged correct.

- (8) *Ttan rumo akay satu lumbi.*
 ttan rumo akay satu lumbi
 see.UV 3S EXIST one fust
 'He saw that there was a fust.' [Ama'Nisahp005]
- (9) *(..) nong təmuʃʃug ulun pasod, duo, atow təllu *(bətuan)*
 nong -əʃm-tuʃʃug ulun pasod duo atow təllu bətuan
 AUX -DEP-invite.UV person many two or three CL.person
- ulun nong kawin no.*
 ulun nong kawin ino
 person OBL wedding yonder
 '(..) to invite many people; for two or three people for the wedding(..)' [Geteratab 073]

Classifiers may be used without a head noun, referring to the noun mentioned earlier in discourse, as in (10), which is from story about a man who had eaten a whole wild pig on his own and suffered from a stomach ache.

- (10) *(..) kinnan rumo sətassa' allom təray rumo.*
 kinnan rumo sə-tassa' allom təray rumo
 COM.eat.UV 3S one-CL.animal inside belly 3S
 'He had eaten a whole animal (of wild pig) in his belly.' [Manggung Kebasan p68]

8.2.2. Other quantifiers

The other non-numeral quantifiers in Begak form a heterogeneous group of impersonal pronouns, indefinite pronouns, etc. each with their own position in the phrase. Some quantifiers can only occur before the noun they modify, others can only occur after the noun they have scope over, while others can occur before and after the head noun; some quantifiers can occur independently, while others cannot. Quantifiers that behave like stative verbs in that they can be turned into a noun have already been introduced in section 4.6.4. and will not be mentioned anymore.

8.2.2.1. The collectivity marker *iro*

Iro is a quantifier meaning 'N and company'. It is homophonous to (and perhaps cognate to) the third person plural pronoun (*m*)*iro*. The third person plural pronoun can be pronounced either *miro* or as *iro*, but the quantifier is always pronounced as *iro*. If *iro* occurs independently, it functions as third person plural pronoun instead of as quantifier marking collectivity. *Iro* refers to humans most of the time, but it may refer to animals, for example a group of dogs, or to things in casual speech. It always precedes the NP it modifies. Sentence (11) illustrates how it can be followed by a proper name; in (12) it is followed by an ordinary noun; in (13) *iro* has scope over a numeral phrase, meaning 'more or less'.

- (11) *Sob* (..) *muli'* *di'* *anan* *iro* *Meri* *di*,
 sob (..) m-uli' di' anan iro Meri adi
 when (..) DEP-go.home LOC place COL Meri over.there
nong matag.
 nong m-atag
 AUX DEP-support.UV
 'When (..) (I) had to be lifted up to go home to Meri and her family; (I) had to be supported.' [Conversationdogs 100]
- (12) (..) *panow* *kəmmi* *di'* *balay* *di'* *iro* *anak* *ku* *di*.
 panow kəmmi di' balay di' iro anak ku adi
 go 1P.E.N/G LOC house LOC COL child 1S.G over.there
 '(..) we went to the house of my child and her family (..)' [Conversationdogs 565]
- (13) *Kəmo* *da* *akay* *iro* *təllu* *gabpi*, *sa'* *nong* *pərom*.
 kəmo da akay iro təllu gabpi, sa' nong pərom
 if PR EXIST COL three night SQ AUX ferment (M)
 'After about three nights we have to ferment them (the cocoa pips) down.' [Kokop137]

8.2.2.2. *Inggos* 'all'

The quantifier *inggos* 'all' occurs before the NP it modifies, as in (14), or after the NP it modifies as in (15), just like numeral phrases. It can occur without a head noun, as in (16). However, it cannot float; it has to be adjacent to the NP it modifies.

- (14) *Jadi* *inggos* *ulun* *bay* *kəssu* *muli'*.
 jadi inggos ulun bay kəssu m-uli'
 so all person PRF soon DEP-go.home
 'So everybody went home soon.' [Mi-Suk2 026]
- (15) *Aku* *malu'* *mangan* *məngunong* *ləngkumman* *no* *inggos*.
 aku malu' mangan məng-unong ləngkumman ino inggos
 1S.N want AV.eat AV-finish food yonder all
 'I want to finish all of this food.' [Mi-Suk2 340]
- (16) "Nong *ku* *pərakkot* *inggos* *no*," *kəmo* *rumo*.
 nong ku pə-rakkot inggos ino kəmo rumo
 AUX 1S.G UV.CAU.DEP-stick all yonder QTM 3S
 'I will make everything sticky, she said.' [Dayangpukli takes revenge 185]

8.2.2.3. *Dadan* 'all of them'

The quantifier *dadan* means 'all of them' and is used to emphasise that all members of the certain group share a certain characteristic.

- (17) *“Ikw ne pa,” kəmo, “naran bangso muyu dadan miskin,” kəmo.*
 ikow ne pa kəmo naran bangso muyu dadan miskin kəmo
 2S.N this PRT QTM name race 2P.N/G all poor QTM
 ‘‘As for you’’, he said, ‘‘you name it, all of you people are poor’’, he said.’ [Tuo Babi42]

It can only occur after the NP it has scope over and cannot occur independently, i.e. without NP it modifies (**dadan panow* ‘all go’).

8.2.2.4. *Suku* ‘all of a group’

The quantifier *suku* is probably related to the Malay noun *suku* ‘a quarter, part of, part, tribe, racial group’. In Begak it means something like ‘all members of a certain group’ and it is still a noun: it can occur only before the NP it has scope over (18).

- (18) *Nong sugkow suku anak-anak rumo.*
 nong -u-səgkow suku anak-anak rumo
 AUX -DEP-call.UV all child-RED 3S
 ‘All his children have to be called.’ [Ama` ku pedtos. 260]

The nominal character of *suku* ‘all’ is confirmed by the possibility of prefixing it with the numeral prefix *sə-* ‘one’, which only attaches to classifiers and measure nouns. Apparently, then, *suku* shares some characteristics with measure nouns.

- (19) *Da bigkay rumo tissing mas puti’*
 da -i-bəgkay rumo tissing mas puti’
 SQ -COM-give.UV 3S ring gold white

səsuku ayug-ayug rumo ne.
 sə-suku ayug-ayug rumo ne
 one-all friend-RED 3S this
 ‘She gave a platinum ring to al her friends.’ [Berigas 013]

8.2.2.5. *Silut* ‘each’

The quantifier *silut* means ‘both’ or ‘each’. It can occur after the NP it has scope over, or independently, as in (20). Sentences (20) and (21) illustrate the distributive function of *silut* ‘each’.

- (20) *Ino pon akay anak,*
 ino apon akay anak
 yonder NEG.P EXIST child

silut məngərəra’ anak ilun.
 silut məngə-rera’ anak ilun
 each AV-look.after child other.people
 ‘She does not have children (either); (they) each/both look after other peoples children.’ [Conversationkoko2 003]

- (21) *Silut miro muli'*
 silut miro m-uli'
 each 3P DEP-go.home
 'They both go home (meaning: each to their own house).'

This concludes the section on quantifiers. As quantifiers form an open class in Begak, not all quantifiers can be treated, but a description of the syntax and semantics of the most important numerals, classifiers, measure nouns and quantifiers has been given.

8.3. The head noun

The slot of the head noun can be filled by a noun or a pronoun; in some cases the head noun is omitted, for instance in headless relative clauses (see section 10.4.7.). Nouns and pronouns have already been introduced in sections 4.3. and 4.5. respectively. The entire section will be devoted to pronouns.

8.3.2.6. The free choice pronoun *barong* 'whoever'

Barong 'whoever' is a free choice pronoun that is probably derived from or related to the Malay *barang* as in *barangsiapa* 'whoever', *barangkali* 'perhaps', *səmbarang* 'anything, at random'. For the notion 'free choice pronoun' see Haspelmath 1996:48-52). It is an indefinite pronoun that can refer to any member of a restricted set of entities: 'anyone', 'anybody', 'whoever' 'whatever', etc. *Barong* may modify another head noun plus relative clause as in (22), or be a head itself, as in (23).

- (22) *Jadi barong ulun^{head} [məŋinum]_{rel} da maya' məŋinum,*
 jadi barong ulun məŋ-inum da m-aya' məŋ-inum
 so whoever person AV-drink PR DEP-follow AV-drink
- barong [pon malu' məŋinum,]_{rel} pon nong məgkay.*
 barong apon malu' məŋ-inum apon nong m-ə-gkay
 whoever NEG,P want AV-drink NEG,P AUX DEP-give.UV
 'So whoever drinks (is used to drinking) joins in drinking, whoever does not want to drink is not given (a drink).' [Russay 070]
- (23) *Barong rattop ikow kəmidong,*
 barong rattop ikow -əŋ-kidong
 whoever closeby 2S.N -DEP-wink.UV
- barong adtu' ikow kəmiyoy.*
 barong a-dtu' ikow -əŋ-kioy
 whoever NV-far 2S.N -DEP-wave.UV
 'Wink whoever is closeby and wave to whoever is far away.'
 [Conversationsselectingseed 064]

The pronoun *barong* can also be used for inanimate entities:

- (24) *Barong pon ngam nong kito matak.*
 barong apon ngam nong kito m-atak
 whoever NEG.P exact AUX 1P.I.N/G DEP-throw.away.UV
 ‘Anything that is not right, we should throw it away.’ [Tessorp229]

8.3.2.7. Free choice indefinite pronouns *mbi*, *mimbi* ‘wherever’

The free choice indefinite pronouns *mbi* or its pronunciation variant *mimbi* means ‘wherever’ or in some contexts ‘whichever’. Sentence (25) could be an answer to the question ‘where should we start planting rice?’ or ‘which knife should I take?’.

- (25) *Mbi key ja’!*
 mbi key ja’
 wherever FOC just
 ‘Whatever, wherever!’

Mbi or *mimbi* can be followed by a relative clause headed by the dummy noun *baya* ‘place’ or *anan* ‘place’:

- (26) *Gə̌lindut ikow, mbi baya’^{head} [mo rotu’ no,]_{rel}*
 gə̌-lindut ikow mbi baya’ mo -u-ratu’ ino
 AV-run 2S.N wherever place 2S.G -DEP-fall yonder

lout ka tullang pait no.
 -u-laut ka tullang pait ino
 -DEP-insert.post.in.ground.UV PRT bone fish yonder

(Context: a magic dream) ‘You just run, insert these fish bones vertically where you fall, wherever that may be (lit. at whatever place you fall).’
 [Dayangpukli takes revenge 086]

- (27) *Mimbi anan^{head} [panow]_{rel} pon guog tə̌gai no.*
 mimbi anan panow apon guog tə̌gai ino
 wherever place go NEG.P stay sun.hat yonder
 ‘Wherever (she) goes, that sun hat does not stay (at home).’ (Context: about a neighbour who always wears her sun hat). [Conversation koko1 196]

8.3.2.8. *Ilun* ‘another person, other people, someone’

Ilun is an indefinite pronoun meaning ‘another person, other people, someone, someone else’. *Ilun* can refer to one person or to people in general. It is always used independently just like the ordinary noun *ulun* ‘person’ it is related to. Sentence (28) illustrates the use of *ilun* in the sense of ‘somebody else’: the sentence is drawn from a part of a conversation about using somebody else’s identity card or insurance card.

- (28) *Pon ka sannang ikow mə̌ngakay kad ilun.*
 apon ka sannang ikow mə̌ng-akay kad ilun
 NEG.P PRT easy 2S.N AV-use card other.people
 ‘You cannot easily use other people’s (identity) card.’ [Conversationcorn 516]

In the following sentence it just means ‘somebody’:

- (29) *Dongay mərəgkang di, summu’*
 -u-dangay mərəgkang adi -u-səmmu’
 -DEP-proceed child over.there -DEP-command.UV
- nong ilun, mallan.*
 nong ilun m-allan
 OBL other.people DEP-make.UV
 ‘The child proceeded and commanded somebody to make (a paddle).’
 [Lekpud gaud. 029]

8.3.2.9. The reflexive pronoun *gərunay*

Begak has an emphatic pronoun *gərunay* ‘own, self’, which probably derives from the historical conjunction/pronoun *gunay* ‘and’, ‘in company of’, which still exists in Ida’an, infixed with the reciprocal infix *-ər-*.¹ The emphatic pronoun modifies nouns (30) or verbal clauses (31), meaning ‘do it by myself/yourself/herself, etc’. In (30), *gərunay* is a modifier, whereas in (31) it functions as an independent noun with possessor *rumo* ‘his/her’.

- (30) *Na aku ton pon akay anak gərunay tun-tun.*
 na aku ton apon akay anak gərunay tun-tun
 PRT 1S.N TOP NEG.P EXIST child self real-RED
 ‘Well, as for me, I don’t have children really of my own.’ [Anakku1 001]

¹ Begak does not have this pronoun *gunay* anymore, but it still exists in the Ida’an dialect. In Ida’an, it can be used as a conjunction which links clauses, as in (i), or as a conjunction which links NPs, as in (ii).

- (i) *Sob da matay Gərəgasi, gəgisun kat iro muli’*
 sob da matay Gərəgasi gəg-isun kat iro m-uli’
 when PR dead giant REC-plan FRGD 3P DEP-go.home
 ‘As soon as the Giant had died they made a plan to go home’

gunay do’ tərəmmak pait rekop iro di.
 gunay do’ -ər-təmmak pait -i-rakop iro adi
 and PR -REC-divide fish -COM-catch.UV 3P over.there
 ‘and divided the fish they had caught.’ (Moody 1993:41) (Ida’an)

- (ii) *Gəsəragga’ Kədakil gunay Təngkatput.*
 gə--ər-sagga’ Kədakil gunay Təngkatput
 AV--REC-fight hummingbird with songbird
 ‘Hummingbird and Songbird fought with each other.’ Moody (1993:53) (Ida’an)

- (31) *Dodot bay atow panow gərunay rumo.*
 Dodot bay a-tow panow gərunay rumo
 Dodot PRF NV-know.UV go self 3S
 ‘Dodot can already walk by herself.’

The combination of the noun *bətuān* ‘body’ and the emphatic noun *gərunay* functions as a reflexive marker, as illustrated in (32).

- (32) *Kəmo kito bəgingot nong bətuān kito gərunay.*
 kəmo kito bəg-ingot nong bətuān kito gərunay
 if 1P.I.N/G AV-mind OBL body 1P.I.N/G self
- pon bəgingot nong ulun kubad di (..)*
 apon bəg-ingot nong ulun kubad adi
 NEG.P AV-mind OBL person rest over.there
 ‘If we mind ourselves and not mind the others (..).’ [Tessorp224]

The expression *bətuān rumo gərunay* in (33a) is ambiguous between ‘self’ or ‘his own body’. The antecedent must precede the reflexive expression *bətuān rumo gərunay* in linear order and have a semantic role that is higher than the reflexive expression. Sentence (33b) and (33c) show that the syntactic function of the reflexive expression is irrelevant: it can be the subject of the clause, but its antecedent has a semantic role that is higher (agent) than the reflexive (patient). Sentence (33d) is ungrammatical because the reflexive expression precedes its antecedent in linear order.

- (33) a. *Amek bəgambar bətuān rumo gərunay.*
 Amek bə-gambar bətuān rumo gərunay
 Amek AV-picture body 3S self
 ‘Amek takes a picture of himself/of his own body.’
- b. *Bay gembar Amek bətuān rumo gərunay.*
 bay -i-gambar Amek bətuān rumo gərunay
 PRF -COM-picture.UV Amek body 3S self
 ‘Amek has taken a picture of himself/of his own body.’
- c. *Nong Amek gombar bətuān rumo gərunay.*
 nong Amek -u-gambar bətuān rumo gərunay
 AUX Amek -DEP-picture.UV body 3S self
 ‘For Amek to take a picture of himself/of his own body.’
- d. **Bətuān rumo gərunay bay gembar Amek*
 bətuān rumo gərunay bay -i-gambar Amek
 body 3S self PRF -COM-picture.UV Amek
 ‘Amek has taken a picture of himself/of his own body.’

The reflexive expression *bətuən gərunay* ‘own body, self’ is rarely used, however. Most reflexive events are expressed by other means. This concludes the section on pronouns that occupy the slot reserved for head nouns.

8.4. Post-head modifiers

8.4.1. Modifiers consisting of an adjective, a noun, or a verb

Nouns may be modified by adjectives, stative verbs, dynamic verbs and nouns. All nominal modifiers immediately follow their head. Sentences (34) and (35) illustrates nouns modified by an adjective:

- (34) *Di' bpung akay pait gayo nong Kəməkun ne.*
 di' bpung akay pait gajo nong Kəməkun ne
 LOC former.time EXIST fish big OBL Tungku this
 ‘A long time ago, (..) there was a big fish in the Kemukun (Tungku river).’
 [Pait Liway 001]

- (35) *Jadi (..) runna' nong salag puti'.*
 jadi (..) -u-rənna' nong salag puti'
 so (..) -DEP-descend OBL nest white
 ‘So (..) he came down on the white nests.’ (Context: someone discovered the bird’s nests in the Maddai caves by chance.) [Payow Mas 017]

It is probably ungrammatical or at least stylistically bad to insert more than one adjective into an NP; it rarely occurs. If it occurs at all, it is in certain collocations as in the following example:

- (36) *Ttan mo kusay tana'-tana' kubol no?*
 ttan mo kusay tana'-tana' kubol ino
 see.UV 2S.G man short-RED fat yonder
 ‘Do you see that fat short man?’

The examples in (37) illustrate how certain nouns can function as adnominal modifiers.

- (37) a. *banggo' tiud*
 bowl coconutshell
 ‘(A) bowl made of coconut shell’
- b. *ai' kusay ku*
 younger.sibling man 1S.G
 ‘My younger brother’

The construction of a noun modified by another noun resembles that of the possession construction, which also consists of two juxtaposed nouns. The context of discourse decides which interpretation is the most natural.

The following list shows some nouns modified by a dynamic verb:

(38)	head	modifier	gloss	meaning
	<i>sabun</i>	<i>məriu'</i>	'soap DEP-bathe'	'bathing soap'
	<i>sabun</i>	<i>mənguppu'</i>	'soap AV-laundry'	'laundry soap'
	<i>lano</i>	<i>bəgapuy</i>	'oil AV-cook'	'cooking oil'
	<i>musim</i>	<i>bəkaung</i>	'season AV-clear land'	'clearing season'
	<i>musim</i>	<i>gədukut</i>	'season AV-weed'	'weeding season'
	<i>musim</i>	<i>mənugal</i>	'season AV-plant with dibble'	'planting season'
	<i>musim</i>	<i>bəgani</i>	'season AV-harvest'	'harvesting season'
	<i>musim</i>	<i>gəlisi</i>	'season AV-lay eggs'	'lay season of chickens'

The construction of a noun followed by a dynamic verb resembles that of adjunct relative clauses. It may in fact be an adjunct relative clause: the thematic relation of the noun with its modifier is that of instrument or time (perhaps place is also possible). Adjunct relative clauses consist of a head noun that is optional if there is a head noun, followed by an optional actor and a verb:

(39)	<i>Sabun</i> _{head}	[<i>gittan</i> _{dummy}	<i>ku</i>	<i>məriu'</i>]	rel
	sabun	gittan	ku	mə-riu'	
	soap	instrument	1S.G	DEP-bathe	
	'Soap with which I bathe.'				

In (39) the dummy noun *gittan* 'instrument' is the head noun and is followed by a relative clause. The dummy noun may be left out and the actor need not be present either if it is impersonal. In fact, all modifiers in Begak could be analysed as relative clauses: there is no difference between direct modification and relativisation because Begak does not have a relative marker. See section 10.4. for a description of relative clauses.

8.4.2. Generic nouns with modifying noun

Certain constructions of a noun modified by another noun seem to be lexical units, as in the following list:

(40)	head	modifier	gloss	modifier
	<i>anak</i>	<i>putti</i>	'child-banana'	'small banana tree'
	<i>anak</i>	<i>pana'</i>	'child-bow'	'the arrow'
	<i>mato</i>	<i>dtow</i>	'eye-day'	'sun'
	<i>mato</i>	<i>pərunɡan</i>	'eye-perungan'	'its center'
	<i>mato</i>	<i>bubun</i>	'eye-top of the head'	'crown of the head'
	<i>mato</i>	<i>basi</i>	'eye-bush knife'	'the edge, sharp part of a bush knife'

As the syntax, morphology, stress and intonation pattern of these more or less fixed combinations is identical to that of NPs consisting of a head noun plus adpositional noun, there is no strict argument to analyse them as compounds. The meaning of the

two nouns together is only partly compositional, and this type of phrase seems to be productive.

8.4.3. Modifiers in names of relatives, plants and animals: frozen NPs or compounds

Begak has a number of expressions that can be analysed either as compounds or as frozen NPs. The following list shows some of these expressions:

(41)	head	modifier	gloss	meaning
	<i>anak</i>	<i>makon</i>	child-?	'niece or nephew'
	<i>anak</i>	<i>gapol</i>	child-twin	'twins'
	<i>anak</i>	<i>tili'</i>	child-step	'step child'
	<i>ina'</i>	<i>tili'</i>	mother-step	'step mother'

The word *makon* cannot occur in combination with another noun, while the possibilities of *gapol* and *tili'* are restricted. Other examples are names of plants and animals:

(42)	combination	gloss head noun	gloss modifier	meaning
	<i>bowon bura'</i>	'sparrow'	'white feathered'	'white feathered sparrow'
	<i>bowon silong</i>	'sparrow'	-	'Malay parrot <i>Psittinus cyanurus</i> cyanurus'
	<i>bowon kəstudom</i>	'sparrow'	-	'black sparrow'
	<i>bowon bəgkang</i>	'sparrow'	-	'brown sparrow'
	<i>bowon bəssir</i>	'sparrow'	-	'dark brown sparrow'
	<i>bəssing</i>	'squirrel'	-	'black squirrel'
	<i>bəgitom</i>	'squirrel'	-	'banana squirrel'
	<i>pait pagi</i>	'fish'	-	'Malay: <i>ikan pari</i> , type of fish'
	<i>sujan llang</i>	'turtle'	'hard'	'certain species of river turtle with hard shield'
	<i>putti gaba'</i>	'banana'	-	'Malay: <i>pisang mas</i> '
	<i>səkilo kayu</i>	'tuberical'	'wood'	'cassava'
	<i>ulang gayo</i>	'snake'	'big'	'python'
	<i>biag kkan</i>	'full of food'	'cooked.rice'	'species of frog known for entering houses to eat rice'

Names of animals, for example, usually consist of a head noun indicating the generic word, for example *pait* 'fish', and a second word (noun or adjective) specifying or modifying the first, for example *pagi* 'Rayfish, *Rhinoptera adspersa*. Sometimes the second part of the compound or NP is a recognisable word, for example in *sujan llang* 'hard-shielded turtle' where *sujan* means 'turtle' and *llang*

means ‘hard’. But sometimes, the second member of the expression does not occur outside of the animal name, as in *pait pagi* ‘ray fish’. The word *pagi* can be compared with the morpheme ‘cran’ in English ‘cranberry’. Since the words that constitute the second member of animal names do not occur elsewhere, it is impossible to conclude anything about their word class: they can be nouns or adjectives or verbs. The expressions in (41) and (42) are perhaps best analysed as compounds. Their intonation pattern does not differ from ordinary NPs; nor does their syntax (possessive constructions also have a noun-plus-noun shape; adjectives follow nouns in ordinary NPs). Yet, their meaning is non-compositional.

8.4.4. Conclusion

As Begak does not have relative clause markers, any content word can function as the modifier of a noun. Certain expressions, such as names of plants or animals have the formal characteristics of ordinary NPs but their semantics are not compositional. The words of which they consist cannot be separated. As there is little evidence to analyse them as compounds, they must be considered frozen NPs.

8.5. Possession

In Begak the possessor comes after the possessee just like in many other Western Austronesian languages:

- (43) *Da gojo anak Dayangplukli Indosəgo.*
 da -u-gajo anak Dayangplukli Indosəgo
 PR -DEP-big child Dayangplukli Indosego
 ‘Dayangplukli Indosego’s child grew up.’ [Dayangplukli.Sulokp58]

Begak does not distinguish between alienable or inalienable possession, nor between inherent versus non-inherent possession. The possessor fills the position of the modifier(s).

If an NP contains a possessor and a demonstrative, it is not always clear whether the demonstrative belongs to the possessor or to the possessee. Sentence (44), for instance, contains an NP with a possessor internal to another possessor, with a demonstrative *di* ‘overthere’. This demonstrative can be used for ordinary nouns as well as pronouns, therefore it is not clear whether it belongs to *balay* ‘house’, *anak* ‘child’ or *ku* ‘my’.

- (44) *(..)panow kəmmi di’ balay di’ iro anak ku di.*
 panow kəmmi di’ balay di’ iro anak ku adi
 go 1P.E.N/G LOC house LOC COL child 1S.G over.there
 ‘(..) we went to the house of my child and her family (..).’ [Conversationdogs 565]

However, in (1) repeated here as (46) it is clear that the demonstrative belongs to the possessor: the demonstrative *ne* ‘this’ cannot be used in combination

with ordinary nouns (see section 8.6.3.): **inggos iro langu' ne* 'these inlaws' is ungrammatical.

- (45) *Jadi inggos iro langu' rumo ne raman nong rumo.*
 jadi inggos iro langu' rumo ne raman nong rumo
 so all COL in.law 3S this used.to OBL 3S
 'So all his in laws are used to him.' [Mi-Suk3B 164]

Other examples of possession can be found in (2), (10) and throughout the book.

There is another possessor construction in which the existential *akay* functions as a possessiver marker, illustrated in (46a). Compare this sentence with (46b) which contains the ordinary, original possessive construction.

- (46) a. *Sa' may bəgko rumo akay bəgkas.*
 sa' m-ay bəgko rumo akay bəgkas
 SQ DEP-take.UV also 3S EXIST husked.rice
 'Then (we have to) take his husked rice.' [Ama` ku pedtos. 062]
- b. *Sa' may bəgko bəgkas rumo.*
 sa' m-ay bəgko bəgkas rumo
 SQ DEP-take.UV also husked.rice 3S
 'Then (we have to) take his husked rice.'

Not many people seem to accept the construction of (46a): especially elderly people never express possession with the construction with *akay* 'exist'. Only relatively young people and a few middle aged people use the construction of (46a). It could be speculated that the possession construction with *akay* 'exist' is actually a calque from the Malay possession construction with *punya* 'possess', as in *dia punya bəras* 'his husked rice'. The Malay word *punya* is translated by *akay* in Begak (Recall from section 5.5. that the existential *akay* has two functions: it can mean 'exist' or 'have'). If the possession construction with *akay* is indeed a loan construction from Malay, this explains why it does not occur in the speech of elderly people: their speech is relatively uninfluenced by Malay.

8.6. Demonstratives

Demonstratives have already been distinguished from other word classes, and described syntactically in section 4.5.3. The present section describes their semantics in more detail, especially their typical usage of location in place, time and discourse. Demonstratives occur in the final position of the NP. They are shown in Table 1, repeated from chapter 4.5.3.3.

Recall from section 4.5.3. that the five demonstrative actually consist of two sets. The first set of three items *ate* 'this', *ano* 'that' and *ino* 'yonder' can only be used pronominally and adnominally, but not adverbially. The second set of demonstratives, for entities further away, *udi* and *adi*, can be used pronominally, adnominally and adverbially. Despite their syntactic differences, they are put in one

table because, semantically, they are represent five points on a scale of distance.

Table 1 Function of the demonstratives

Long form	Short form	Gloss	Function
<i>ate</i>	<i>te/ne</i> ²	'this'	contrastive, closer to the speaker than to the addressee
<i>ano</i>	-	'that'	close to both speaker and addressee
<i>ino</i>	<i>no</i>	'yonder'	far away from speaker
<i>udi</i>	-	'there'	furthest away from speaker yet visible
<i>adi</i>	<i>di</i>	'over there'	furthest away from speaker and invisible

8.6.1. The spatial use of demonstratives

The semantics of the Begak demonstratives are described with the help of two tests developed by Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen (Levinson et al). The first test was designed to determine the typical, non-contrastive use of demonstratives. It involved acting out certain situations, for instance where the speaker sits next to the addressee and points to his own tooth, to a book he is holding, to a hill several kilometers away, etc. Several parameters are tested: distance, social boundaries such as the house versus the yard, whether the object is closer to the speaker or to the addressee, visibility, whether the speaker points to the object or not.

Begak speakers define the usage of *ate* 'this' as 'things close by'. The tests showed that the form *ate* 'this' is typically used for items that are ideally within the reach of the speaker and closer to the speaker than to the addressee. It is slightly contrastive. *Ate* is typically not used for things touched.

- (47) *Nipon ate pædtos.*
 nipon ate pædtos
 tooth this ill
 'This tooth hurts.' (Speaker points to his own tooth but without touching it.)

- (48) *Ate buk mo gam?*
 ate buk mo gam
 this book 2S.G QM
 'Is this your book?' (the book is behind the speaker's back but closer to him than to the addressee).

The Begak folk definition of *ano*, which was confirmed during the test, is that this word is used for 'things you can hold or touch'. The form *ano* is used non-contrastively for items that are ideally within the reach of both speaker and

² *Ne* 'this' is probably a short form of *ate* 'this'. *Ne* is exclusively used adnominally. *Te* 'this' is the short form for the spatial use while *ne* seems to be used for disambiguating NPs and anaphorically, i.e. referring to entities mentioned earlier in discourse, see section 8.6.3. for a more elaborate description.

addressee but less ideally also for items a couple of meters away. The usage of *ano* is wider than that of *ate* or *ino*.

- (49) *Ano buk mo gam?*
 ano buk mo gam?
 that book 2S.G QM
 'Is that your book? (the book is in front of the speaker, or in between speaker and addressee or closer to the addressee, but in all three cases speaker and addressee are close to each other and the book is within hand reach of both. This demonstrative is also appropriate if speaker or addressee are holding the book).'

Ino 'yonder' is typically used for items that are a few steps up to several meters away from the speaker or to things pointed at. The position of the addressee seems to be irrelevant. It is difficult to determine the spatial use of *ino*, as *ino* is used so extensively to refer to entities mentioned earlier in discourse.³

- (50) *Ino kulos nong ttas sadtong mo!*
 ino kulos nong ttas sadtong mo
 yonder animal OBL top shoulder 2S.G
 'This is an insect on your shoulder!' (Speaker is pointing at an insect on the addressee's shoulder.)

Udi 'there' is typically used to refer to items far away from both speaker and addressee at a distance of tens of meters away; while *adi* 'over there' refers to things out of sight for both speaker and addressee, for example behind a hill.

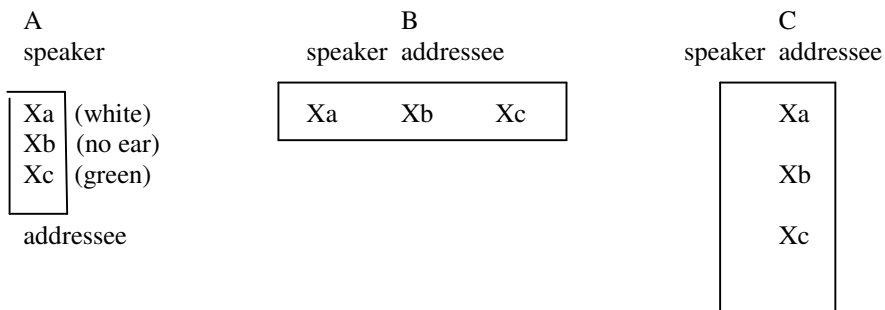
- (51) *Ttan mo bulud udi?*
 ttan mo bulud udi
 see.UV 2S.G hill there
 'Do you see the hill there?' (The hill is several hundreds of meters away but visible.)

³ Moreover, *ano* 'this' and *ino* 'yonder' function as fillers and are sometimes difficult to distinguish from the original function of demonstratives:

- (iii) *Gədino ino-no, pog ano,*
 gədino ino-ino pog ano
 in.this.way yonder-RED when that
- pog penow kemmi di məsyuarat miro.*
 pog -i-panow kemmi adi məsyuarat miro
 when -COM-go 1P.E.N/G over.there meeting (M) 3s
 'In this way, er..er (lit. when yonder-yonder), when er (lit. when that), when we went to their meeting.' [Conversationcorn 396]

- (52) *Bay mil ikow mənnik bulud adi?*
 bay mil ikow m-ə-nnik bulud adi
 PRF ever 2S.N DEP-go.up hill over.there
 'Have you ever climbed the hill overthere?' (The hill is out of sight.)

The second test investigated the contrastive use of the demonstratives. The test involved three glasses with different colours on a table, arranged in different positions related to speaker and addressee. The figure below shows three of these situations, where the glasses are represented as Xa, Xb and Xc. These three situations below serve as an illustration, although more positions were used in the test.



Situation A: (both consultants were unanimous, independently of each other)

- (53) a. *Gəlas ate rana' puti'.*
 gəlas ate rana' puti'
 glass this colour white
 'This glass is white.'
- b. *Gəlas ano pon akay pakkow.*
 gəlas ano apon akay pakkow
 glass that NEG.P exist ear
 'That glass has no ear.'
- c. *Gəlas ino rana' gaddung.*
 gəlas ino rana' gaddung
 glass yonder colour green
 'Yonder glass is green.'

Situation B: One consultant used *ano* for all three cups because all three were close to both speaker and addressee, while the other used the following forms:

- (54) a. *Gəlas ate rana' puti'.*
 gəlas ate rana' puti'
 glass this colour white
 'This glass is white.' (Glass is closer to speaker than to addressee.)

- b. *Gəlas ano pon akay pakkow.*
 gəlas ano apon akay pakkow
 glass that NEG.P exist ear
 'That glass has no ear.' (Glass is in between speaker and addressee.)
- c. *Gəlas ino rana' gaddung'.*
 gəlas ino rana' gaddung
 glass yonder colour green
 'Yonder glass is green.' (Closer to addressee than to speaker/far away from speaker.)

Situation C: (Both consultants were unanimous independently of each other)

- (55) a. *Gəlas ate rana' puti'.*
 gəlas ate rana' puti'
 glass this colour white
 'This glass is white.' (Glass is close to both speaker and addressee.)
- b. *Gəlas ano pon akay pakkow.*
 gəlas ano apon akay pakkow
 glass that NEG.P exist ear
 'That glass has no ear.' (Glass is in the middle.)
- c. *Gəlas udi rana' gaddung.*
 gəlas udi rana' gaddung
 glass there colour green
 'The glass there is green.' (Glass furthest away from both speaker and addressee.)

The contrastive use of the demonstratives is not identical to their typical use: even though *udi* 'there' and *adi* 'over there' are typically used for things at a distance of several (kilo)meters, they can be used contrastively for the cup that was the furthest away on the table (not more than one meter).

Ate was used contrastively for the first, closest cup if it was closer to the speaker than to the addressee, but *ano* 'that' was used instead if the first cup was close to both speaker and addressee. *Ano* was used non-contrastively for the first or second cup which was not necessarily the closest but was at least close to both speaker and addressee. *Ino* was used for the second or third cup which was further away from the speaker but not necessarily from the addressee. The forms *udi* or *adi* were used for the third cup which was the furthest away from the speaker but not necessarily from the addressee.

It follows from the test that only *ate* 'this' is contrastive: it is used for items closer to the speaker than to the addressee. All other demonstratives only indicate the distance from the item to the speaker, and the position of the addressee is more or less irrelevant.

8.6.2. The temporal use of demonstratives

In its temporal use, *ano* ‘that’ refers to the present, whereas *ino* ‘yonder’ refers to a point in time before or after the present moment. For example:

- (56) a. *dtow ano* b. *dtow ino*
 dtow ano *dtow ino*
 day that day yonder
 ‘Today’ ‘That day’

In its temporal use, *adi* or *di* refer to a time prior (57) to the moment of speech. Other examples of the temporal use of *di* can be found throughout the book.

- (57) *Da panow mənuaɣ* *dtow adi.*
 da panow məng-tuay *dtow adi*
 PR go AV-clam day over.there
 ‘She went looking for clams that day.’ [Conversation koko1 197]

It is not clear to me yet whether *adi* or *di* can refer to future time.

8.6.3. The anaphoric (discourse) use of demonstratives

Some, though not all of the demonstratives discussed above have an anaphoric usage, where the term anaphoric means ‘referring to entities mentioned earlier in discourse’. The short items in (58) do not form an independent series; they are just repeated from various tables above for ease of exposition. The short items have an adnominal use only and lack a pronominal use. They are used anaphorically most of the time.

Table 2 Anaphorically used demonstratives

(58) Distance	long	short	gloss	anaphoric use
Close to speaker	-	<i>ne</i>	‘this’	personal pronouns, proper names
Far away from the speaker	<i>ino</i>	<i>no</i>	‘yonder’	ordinary nouns
Far away from the speaker	<i>adi</i>	<i>di</i>	‘over there’	anywhere, but not preferred

The short demonstrative *ne* is used anaphorically most of the time and lacks a long equivalent. It could be hypothesised that *ate* has two short forms: *te* which is used spatially and *ne* which is used anaphorically.

Ne ‘this’ and *no* ‘yonder’ are almost in complementary distribution, while *di* ‘over there’ can modify any NP. *Ne* is used exclusively for persons, but is ungrammatical for animals or objects (except, of course, for personified animals who are the main character of an animal story). It cannot be used for common nouns, not even if the noun refers to a person. *No* ‘yonder’ is used exclusively for common nouns, whether referring to persons, animals or objects, but is

ungrammatical for personal pronouns or proper names. *Di* ‘over there’ is grammatical for all of the above, but depending on the context, *ne* ‘this’ or *no* ‘yonder’ may be more appropriate for other semantic reasons.

When *ne*, *no* and *di* are used anaphorically, it is perhaps less appropriate to translate them with ‘this’, ‘yonder’ and ‘over there’ respectively, because they do no longer express a spatial or temporal distance. In fact, it is not entirely clear to me yet what the semantic difference is between items whose usage overlaps, i.e. between *ne* ‘this’ and *di* ‘over there’ on the one hand and *no* ‘yonder’ and *di* ‘over there’ on the other.

Ne ‘this’ is the preferred demonstrative to modify a proper name, such as *Dəra*’ or *Agus* in (59) and (60) respectively, probably because persons whose names are known are in some sense close to speaker or addressee. *Di* ‘over there’ is less frequent for proper names, but is grammatical too, as in (61), but **no* ‘yonder’ is always ungrammatical:

- (59) *Jadi təgki’ Dəra’ ne/*no.*
 jadi təgki’ Dəra’ ne/*ino
 so pregnant young.lady this/*yonder
 ‘So Young Lady was/got pregnant.’ [Monay bio Dera’007]

- (60) *Agus ne/*no pun bəgusur namon.*
 Agus ne/*ino pun bəg-usur namon
 Agus this/*yonder too AV-tell 1P.E.A
 ‘Agus too told us.’ [Conversationkoko3 036]

- (61) *Begko sayu tu pa Adil di/*no.*
 begko sayu tu pa Adil adi/*ino
 also good too PRT Adil over.there/*yonder
 ‘By the way, Adil is (a) nice (person) too, hey.’ [Conversation koko1 037]

Ne ‘this’ is the most appropriate for personal pronouns. *Di* ‘overthere’ is sometimes appropriate, as in the NP *io’ mo di* ‘your older siblings’ in (62) or in (63), where *di* ‘over there’ is slightly contrastive.

- (62) *Ullo ikow ne/*no ‘maya’ uni*
 ullo ikow ne/*ino m-aya’ uni
 why 2S.N this/*yonder DEP-follow speech

*io’ mo di/*no?*
 io’ mo adi/*ino
 older.sibling 2S.G over.there/*yonder
 ‘Why do you follow your older siblings’ advice (lit. speech)?’ [Nine princesses 055]

- (63) *Da kukka’ bəgko aku di/*no,*
 da kukka’ bəgko aku adi/*ino
 PR recoverd also 1S.N over.there/*yonder

gəpədtos kat siku rumo bəgko.
 gə-pədtos kat siku rumo bəgko
 AV-ill CDM elbow 3S also
 'I was finally recovered, (when) her elbow got hurt.' [Conversationdogs 248]

If *ne* and *di* are used in the same sentence, they sometimes mark contrast. In the following example *ne* and *di* are used to emphasise the fact that the protagonist Masi' ate real clams whereas her daughter was eating sea weed, thinking that she was eating clams. The demonstratives *ne* and *di* function contrastively: 'Masi' on the one hand, her daughter on the other hand'.

- (64) *Mangan Masi' pindat rumo ne, anak rumo*
 mangan Masi' pindat rumo ne anak rumo
 AV.eat Masi' clam 3S this child 3S
- di mangan pindat rumo di.*
 adi mangan pindat rumo adi
 over.there AV.eat clam 3S over.there
 'Masi ate her clams, her child ate her clams.' [Masi'088]

The form *no* 'yonder' is the most appropriate for common nouns referring to entities mentioned earlier in discourse, but and *di* 'over there' is sometimes appropriate too:

- (65) *Sob ləkpuđ gaud no/*ne/di, na bay tota' rumo.*
 sob ləkpuđ gaud ino/*ne/adi na bay -u-tata' rumo
 when broken paddle yonder/*this/over.there PRT PRF -DEP-cry 3S
 'When the/*this/overthere paddle broke, well, he already cried.' [Ləkpuđ gaud. 014]
- (66) *Mara' kat liun *ne/no/di (..)*
 m-ara' kat liun *ne/no/adi (..)
 DEP-say. UV CDM woman *this/yonder/over.there (..)
 'The woman said (..)' [Bowon Bura'070]

The demonstrative *ne* 'this' can modify the interrogative pronouns *ullo* 'why' (67) and *ngod* 'how' (68):

- (67) *Ullo ne llung no pon dali'?*
 ullo ne llung ino apon dali'
 why this river yonder NEG.P flood
 'Why is the river not flooded?' [Conversation koko1 335]
- (68) *Na, ngod ne səbaya' ku panow bəgubot?*
 na ngod ne sə-baya' ku panow bəg-ubot
 PRT how this NOM-follow 1S.G go AV-medicine
 'Well, how can I go get medicine?' [Conversationdogs 026]

Ne can modify the demonstratives *ino* 'yonder' or *ano* 'that':

- (69) *Ringgi' no, minan, san pait təgayan ano ne kəlap.*
 ringgi' ino minan minsan pait tə-gayan ano ne kə-lap
 fishing.net yonder aunt although fish INT-large that this AV.NV-get
 'As for the fishing net, aunty, even fish huge like this you can catch (them).'

[Conversation koko1 353]

Summarising, *ne* 'this' and *no* 'yonder' are in complementary distribution, whereas the use of *di* 'over there' overlaps almost completely with the distribution of both *ne* 'this' and *no* 'yonder'. Their exact semantics is not clear yet.

8.6.4. *Gədino* 'in yonder way', *gədano* 'in that way', *gədate* 'in this way'

The adverbs *gədino* 'in yonder way', *gədano* 'in that way' and *gədate* 'in this way' are related to the demonstratives *ano* 'that', *ino* 'yonder' and *ate* 'this'. The adverb *gədano* refers to the present, whereas *gədino* refers to the past or to the future. Sentence (70) is the opening line of a story and the story teller is still referring to the present. Sentence (71) is from the body of another story and the story teller is referring to a certain point in the past, about a person whom she has already mentioned earlier in the text.

- (70) *Jadi gədano suran kito, suran kito nong suran bowon.*
 jadi gədano suran kito suran kito nong suran bowon
 so in.that.way story 1P.I.N/G story 1P.I.N/G OBL story sparrow
 'This is how our story (goes) our story about the White Sparrow.' [Bowon Bura' 001]
- (71) *Dadi muli' kat rumo gədino, turug.*
 dadi m-uli' kat rumo gədino turug
 so DEP-go.home CDM 3S in.yonder.way sleep
 'So he went home to sleep.' [Dayangpukli takes revenge 056]

The form *gədate* 'in this way' is used contrastively in combination with one of the other forms:

- (72) *Gədino kəmo Siti, gədate kəmo Lisa.*
 gədino kəmo Siti gədate kəmo Lisa
 in.yonder.way QTM Siti in.this.way QTM Lisa
 'Like this' said Siti, 'like that' said Lisa.' [Conversationkoko3 033]

The expression *gedino ne*, literally 'in yonder way this' is idiomatic and means 'now' or 'nowadays':

- (73) *Uluṅ gədino ne bay təgəttas iskul.*
 ulun gədino ne bay təg-ə-ttas iskul
 person in.yonder.way this PRF INT-high school
 'People nowadays are highly educated .' [Notebook83]

This concludes the section on demonstratives. It was shown how the ideal and typical usage of demonstratives differs from the contrastive usage. The temporal usage of demonstratives was briefly discussed. Examples were given of how demonstratives function anaphorically and in discourse.

8.7. Summary

This chapter treated nominal phrases and prepositional phrases. The structure of the NP and the word order of all its elements was described in the section 8.1.

Quantifiers were discussed in section 8.2. The function of classifiers and measure nouns was described; various other quantifiers were introduced. Several types of pronouns replacing the head noun were mentioned in 8.3.

Post-head modifiers were treated in section 8.4. Post-head modifiers consisting of adjectives, stative verbs, nouns and dynamic verbs were illustrated. A few multi-word constructions that form a lexicalised, frozen NP were discussed.

Possessor constructions were briefly discussed in section 8.5.; it was shown that possessors always follow their head noun. An alternative possessor construction based on Malay was mentioned.

Demonstratives were treated in section 8.6. Their locative use was described as well as their temporal, anaphoric and discourse use. Section 8.7. briefly summarised the syntax of the prepositional phrase.

9. Adverbials and other modifiers

9.1. Introduction

This chapter treats adverbials and other modifiers. Begak has three aspectual particles *sa'*, *bay* and *da* which always occur before the predicate. These aspectuals will be treated in section 9.2. Begak has two forms for sentence negation: (*a*)*pon* and (*n*)*inga'*; one form for contrastive or nominal negation: *pon ka*; and two forms for negative commands: *aro* and *batong*. The various forms of negation will be treated in section 9.3. Begak has a number of auxiliaries that share characteristics with verbs. Some of these auxiliaries still function as a main verb. Both types of auxiliaries will be treated in 9.4. Section 9.5. will offer a description of aspectual adverbs, adverbs of degree and adverbs of time. Begak has a number of discourse particles with various functions: some of these particles structure the thematic continuity in (narrative) texts, some emphasise constituents, while others mark the attitude of the speaker. These discourse particles will be described in section 9.6. A summary of this chapter will be given in 9.7.

9.2. Aspectuals

Begak has three aspectual particles *sa'*, *bay* and *da*. The aspectuals are monosyllabic and always occur before the predicate, before the negator, or before the auxiliary. They are listed below:

- (1) *da* 'progressive, inceptive aspect'
sa' 'sequential aspect'
bay 'perfective aspect, 'already'

Neither of these three aspectuals imposes restrictions on the verb morphology.

9.2.1. The inchoative, progressive aspectual *da*

The aspectual marker *da* marks progressive aspect or inchoative aspect, depending on the context.¹ Most of the times it indicates that a certain event has started and continues. It is inchoative in (2):

¹ Moody (1991: 143) writes that Ida'an has four aspectuals: *do'* marking durative or inceptive aspect, *bia'* marking perfective aspect, *sa'* marking anticipatory aspect and *ta'* marking continuative aspect. Apparently, Ida'an *bia'* corresponds to Begak *bay*, Ida'an *sa'* is identical to Begak *sa'*. But Ida'an *do'* and *ta'* have apparently conflated to Begak *da*: *da* can be inceptive or progressive.

- (2) *Dadi kəmo da mənna' pasang da gəruni bangow.*
 dadi kəmo da mənna' pasang da gə-runi bangow
 so if PR be.ebb sea PR AV-speak large.egret
 'So as soon as the tide becomes low, the large egret (starts to) speak.' [Bangow 018]

In (3) the aspectual *da* has neither inchoative nor progressive aspect, but seems to mark perfectivity. The difference with *bay* 'already' is that *bay* only marks perfectivity whereas *da* also indicates that the story goes on to the next stage. The dog in this particular example enters the state of being grown up and the story goes on:

- (3) *Ləmera'-ləmera' kat rumo, da gajo asu ino,*
 -ə-m-lera'-ə-m-lera' kat rumo da gajo asu ino
 DEP-look.after.UV-RED CDM 3S PR big dog yonder

panow kat rumo məngasu.
 panow kat rumo məng-asu
 go CDM 3S AV-hunt.with.dogs
 'He looked after it, as soon as the dog was grown up, he went hunting (with it).'
 [Payow Mas 010]

Sentence (4) is a similar example of the typical use of *da* in narratives, where it does not have progressive semantics but merely functions as a discourse marker that signals a new stage in the story line. In certain passages of narratives, *da* occurs in almost every clause to signal that the story line continues.

- (4) *Jadi da gajo rumo bəgko, da sawot da bəttog*
 jadi da gajo rumo bəgko da sawot da b-ə-ttog
 so PR big 3S also PR arrive PR MID-cease

rumo buow paray da sidtu bəgayam bowon rumo ne.
 rumo buow paray da sidtu bəg-ayam bowon rumo ne
 3S chase paddy PR just AV-play sparrow 3S this
 'And when he got big (the moment) arrived (that) he ceased chasing away (the sparrows from) the rice, and he just played with his sparrow.' [Bowon Bura' 037]

The aspectual *da* occurs almost exclusively in clauses with verb-initial word order, probably *da* occurs in clauses expressing thematic continuity (see section 11.2. on the function of the two word orders.) The aspectual *da* occurs frequently in temporal subordinate clauses introduced by the conjunction *pog* 'when', as in (5):

- (5) *Pog da məngila' rumo təray pait ino, akay ulun gəruni.*
 pog da məng-ila' rumo təray pait ino akay ulun gə-runi
 when PR AV-split 3S belly fish yonder EXIST person AV-speak
 'When she was about to cut open the fish's stomach/when she was cutting open the fish's stomach, there was someone talking.' [Tudow 071]

9.2.2. The sequential aspectual *sa'*

The aspectual *sa'* marker, which is homophonous with the numeral *sa'* 'one', marks sequential aspect; it 'anticipates' on the following event. When it occurs in between the subject and the verb it can be roughly translated with 'just starts to Verb', as in (6) and (7). Often, *sa'* is used as a kind of conjunction 'and then' that coordinates clauses, as in (8). Clauses with Dependent verbs are very often coordinated with the aspectual particle *sa'* functioning as a coordinating conjunction.

- (6) *Na mərəgkang no sa' bəguru-bəguru gərūni.*
 na mərəgkang ino sa' bə-guru-bəguru gə-rūni
 PRT child yonder SQ AV-learn-RED AV-talk
 'Well, the child just started to learn to talk.' (Context: the child was just crying and pointing at the bag instead of saying anything.) [Bowon Bura' 192]
- (7) *Pon atow ku, aku sa' kingog ja' suran miro,*
 apon a-tow ku aku sa' k-ingog ja' suran miro
 NEG.P NV-know 1S.G 1S.N SQ AV.NV-hear merely story 3P
 'I do not know, I only just heard their story.' [Conversationsselectingseed 098]
- (8) *Pog nedtik, sa' mila' təray ino,*
 pog ni-adtik sa' m-ila' təray ino
 when COM-raise.up.UV SQ DEP-split.UV belly yonder
- məssi-tu-məssi takin-takin nong allom ne,*
 m-əssi-tu-m-əssi takin-takin nong allom ne
 DEP-fill.SF-too-DEP-fill.UV fragrant.leaves-RED OBL inside this
- sa' məllit bagku.*
 sa' m-ə-llit bagku
 SQ DEP-sew.UV new
 'After (he) had raised (her) up, he opened her belly and filled it with all kinds of fragrant leaves and sewed it up again.' [Dayangpukli 218]

As we have seen above, the aspectual *da* is similar to *sa'* in that it can mark a new stage in a continuing story line. The difference between *da* and *sa'* is that *da* 'looks back in signalling that someone has just entered into a new stage, whereas *sa'* is anticipatory and 'anticipates' the next event, action or state. *Sa'* seems to occur frequently with in the AV-Incomplete Aspect or UV-Dependent, although other morphology is probably not excluded.

9.2.3. The perfective aspectual *bay*

The aspectual *bay* marker marks perfective aspect. It can be roughly glossed with 'already'. If it is combined with a verb with Completive Aspect, as in (9) through (11), it indicates that the event described by the verb is already completed. If it precedes a verb in the Incomplete Aspect or a non-verbal predicate, it functions as

an adverb meaning ‘already’, as in (12). The first clause in (12) also illustrates the use of *sa’* when it occurs after the subject.

- (9) *Nnong key gulo, aku bay bərənginum sapa’.*
 nnong key gulo aku bay bərəng-inum sapa’
 here FOC first 1S.N PRF DPST-drink water
 ‘No thank you (lit. just here first) I have already drunk water.’ (Context: said by a person who is offered water) [Conversationharvest 055]
- (10) *Pog pata’ mo toka bay tinsud təlaktur.*
 pog p-ata’ mo toka bay -i-tunsud təlaktur
 when SF-look 2S.G PRT PRF COM-plough.under.UV tractor
 ‘When you look, so to speak, (your land) has already been ploughed under by the tractor.’ [Conversationdogs 325]
- (11) *Bay turug kəmmi; nidta’ ku lampu, bay jam pulu’.*
 bay turug kəmmi ni-dta’ ku lampu bay jam pulu’
 PRF sleep 1P.E.N/G COM-extinguish.UV 1S.G lamp PRF hour ten
 ‘We were already sleeping, I put off the lamp, it was already ten o’clock.’
 [Conversationharvest 091]
- (12) *Kəmo umur mo sa’ təllu pulu’ ləbpo, buli, kəmo umur mo bay*
 kəmo umur mo sa’ təllu pulu’ ləbpo buli kəmo umur mo bay
 if age 2S.G SQ three ten more can if age 2S.G PRF
pat pulu’ suru ttas pon buli jomin ləbpo pəkərja.
 pat pulu’ suru ttas apon buli -u-jamin ləbpo pəkərja
 four ten direct top NEG.P can -DEP-guarantee.UV more worker (M)
 ‘If your age is just thirty or over, (you) can; if your age is already forty or over, you cannot give a work permit to foreign workers anymore (lit. guarantee workers).’
 [Conversationcorn 124]

9.2.4. Combinations of aspectuals

The aspectuals *da*, *sa’* and *bay* can be combined if semantically felicitous. *Sa’* and *da* can be combined to emphasise that a certain event has to take place first before another event can start to take place. For example in (13), the speaker explains how a Begak burial is organised and she uses *sa’ da* to emphasise that a certain prayer must be said first; only then can the men start to cover the grave with earth.

- (13) *Sa’ da nong togbun, sa’ da buli ulun pasod muli’.*
 sa’ da nong -u-tagbun sa’ da buli ulun pasod m-uli’
 SQ PR AUX -DEP-cover.UV SQ PR can person many DEP-go.home
 ‘Only then can (the grave) be covered (with earth); only then can the crowd go home.’
 [Ama` ku pedtos. 324]

The aspectuals *da* and *bay* can be combined to emphasise that a certain event or state has already started to take place, as in (14) or that a certain event has

only just been finished, as in (15). Sentence (14) is about a police checking where policemen stopped a Begak woman because they thought she was a Filipino. But as soon as she started to talk to the policemen, they noticed that she had a Malaysian accent, not a Filipino accent. The speaker wants to emphasise here that the policemen had already recognised her accent. In (15) the aspectual combination *da bay* expresses that, as soon as the treatment is over, the moment will arrive that the ghost disease is cured.

- (14) *Suga' bay neus miro bəsaro*
 suga' bay ni-aus miro bəsaro
 but PRF COM-bring.UV 3P AV.discuss (M)
- da bay pandu' miro logat məlayu di.*
 da bay p-andu' miro logat məlayu adi
 PR PRF SF-know.person.UV 3P accent (M) Malay over.there
 'But they had already started to talk (to me), they had already recognised the Malay accent.' [Conversationcorn 685]
- (15) *Kəmo da bay nibot, bəttog ndow di.*
 kəmo da bay ni-ubot, b-əttog ndow adi
 if PR PRF COM-medicine.UV MID-cease ghost over.there
 'When/as soon as (the child) has been treated with medicine, the ghost (disease) ceases.' [endowB 009]

Summarising then, aspectuals are particles that occur before the verb. They can be modified by adverbs and be combined.

9.3. Negation

Begak has two forms for sentence negation: *(a)pon* and *(n)inga'*; one form for contrastive or nominal negation: *pon ka*; and two forms for negative commands: *aro* and *batong*. Sentence negation will be treated first, followed by contrastive or nominal negation and negative imperatives.

9.3.1. Sentence negation with *(a)pon* and *(n)inga'*

The two forms for sentence negation are *(a)pon* and *(n)inga'*. Both negative particles have a long form and a short form: *apon* versus *pon* and *ninga'* versus *inga'*.² According to my consultants, the only difference between the long and short form is one of style. The long form is used in careful speech.

² It could be speculated that the /a/ sound of *apon* is the Non-volitive prefix *a-* or that the sounds /ni/ of *ninga'* is the Completive Aspect prefix *ni-*, but I have not found any formal or semantic evidence for it.

The position of the negator depends on the information structure of the clause, which in its turn depends on the voice marking of the verb. Recall from section 5.3.1. that the subject-initial word order is the most frequent for AV-verbs while the verb-initial word order is the norm for UV-verbs. Any other word order is pragmatically marked. The negator appears either after the subject, or before the whole clause with subject-initial word order for AV-verbs or verb-initial for UV-verbs or intransitive verbs. For example, (16a) has a negator after the subject; (16b) illustrates a negator in front of the whole subject-initial clause, while (16c) is less felicitous because the negator appears before the whole verb-initial clause. Although (16c) is less perfect, this word order with negation preceding a verb-initial clause need not be ungrammatical in all cases, but is just less frequent and or pragmatically very marked.

- (16) a. *Siti apon/ninga' mangan bakas.*
 Siti apon/ninga' mangan bakas
 Siti NEG.P/NEG.I AV.eat wild.pig
 'Siti does not eat porc.'
- b. *Apon/ninga' Siti mangan bakas.*
 apon/ninga' Siti mangan bakas
 NEG.P/NEG.I Siti AV.eat wild.pig
 'Siti does not eat porc.'
- c. *?Apon/ninga' mangan Siti bakas.*
 apon/ninga' mangan Siti bakas
 NEG.P/NEG.I AV.eat Siti wild.pig
 'Siti does not eat porc.'

The negator in (17a) appears after the subject; in (17b) it appears before the subject-initial clause, which is less good. Again, this word order need not be ungrammatical in all cases but is probably just pragmatically very marked. In (17c) it appears before the verb-initial clause, which is better.

- (17) a. *Koko no apon/ninga' (dan) nippom ku.*
 koko ino apon/ninga' (dan) ni-ppom ku
 cocoa yonder NEG.P/NEG.I (yet) COM-spray.UV 1S.G
 'I have not (yet) sprayed yonder cocoa trees.'
- b. *?Apon/ninga' (dan) koko no nippom ku.*
 apon/ninga' (dan) koko ino ni-ppom ku
 NEG.P/NEG.I (yet) cocoa yonder COM-spray.UV 1S.G
 'I have not (yet) sprayed yonder cocoa trees.'
- c. *Apon/ninga' (dan) nippom ku koko no.*
 apon/ninga' (dan) ni-ppom ku koko ino
 NEG.P/NEG.I (yet) COM-spray.UV 1S.G cocoa yonder
 'I have not (yet) sprayed yonder cocoa trees.'

Negation in intransitive verbs seems to follow the same word order as in clauses with UV-verbs. Again, the word order in (18c) is not ungrammatical in all cases and may be just pragmatically marked.

- (18) a. *Bua' ssom no apon/ninga' ammis.*
 bua' ssom ino apon/ninga' a-mmis
 fruit citrus yonder NEG.P/NEG.I NV-sweet
 'Yonder citrus fruit is not sweet.'
- b. *Apon/ninga' ammis bua' ssom no.*
 apon/ninga' a-mmis bua' ssom ino
 NEG.P/NEG.I NV-sweet fruit citrus yonder
 'Yonder citrus fruit is not sweet.'
- c. *?Apon/ninga' bua' ssom no ammis.*
 apon/ninga' bua' ssom ino a-mmis
 NEG.P/NEG.I fruit citrus yonder NV-sweet
 'Yonder citrus fruit is not sweet.'

If languages have more than one form of negation, there is often a semantic difference between them. This is also true for Begak, although the difference between *(a)pon* and *(n)inga'* is extremely subtle. Only one of my consultants noticed a difference in certain contexts, whereas the other consultant was only able to say that a certain form of negation sounds awkward in certain contexts.

As for their text frequency, *(a)pon* is at least three times as frequent as *(n)inga'*, depending on the genre and on the individual speaker:

Table 1 Negation in conversation

Conversation	<i>(a)pon</i>	<i>(n)inga'</i>
Koko	176	50
Corn	49	13
Dogs	113	39
Total	338	102

Table 2 Negation in narrative text

Narrative text	<i>(a)pon</i>	<i>(n)inga'</i>
Bowon Bura'	54	13
Dayangpukli R.	21	17
Monay bio Dera'	19	2
Total	94	32

Table 3 Negation in procedural text

Procedural text	<i>(a)pon</i>	<i>(n)inga'</i>
Ama' ku pedtos	61	1
Teratab	17	11
Menugal	20	2
Total	98	14

These figures suggest that negation with *(a)pon* is more basic than negation with *(n)inga'*.

The phonology also suggests *(a)pon* is slightly more basic than *(n)inga'*. If the short form *pon* is combined with certain frequent verbs, for example *atow* 'known', *akay* 'exist', *pon* loses its stress and its vowel /o/ is neutralised to schwa, resulting in *pənatow* 'not know', as in (19) and *pənakay* 'not exist' as in (20) respectively. However, the vowels in *(n)inga'* are never reduced to schwa.

- (19) *(..)pon atow [pənatow] ku kənnay ulun.*
 apon a-tow ku kə-nnay ulun
 NEG.P NV-know.UV 1S.G ORD-who person
 ‘(Yes, he was a friend of Bornet), I don’t know who he was.’
 [Conversationsselectingseed 442]
- (20) *Sawot gədino ne pon akay [pənakaj] ləbpo*
 sawot gədino ne apon akay ləbpo
 arrive in.yonder.way this NEG.P EXIST more
- nong kə-pəlla’*
 nong kə-pəlla’
 AUX NOM.ABSTR-afraid
 ‘Until nowadays there is nothing anymore to frighten this people.’ [Pait Liway 012]

(A)pon and (n)inga’ can both negate stative predicates, predicates with a dynamic verb and non-verbal predicates. One difference is that (a)pon is a quite neutral form of negation and tends to be used for negating habits, facts that are known for some time, usual situations or events that are not unexpected; whereas (n)inga’ tends to be used as slightly contrastive negation or for sudden events or things one does not expect. For example, apon negates a habitual situation in (21), which is a comment on the reputation of a certain dentist, who generally pulls out teeth without causing pain:

- (21) *Suga’ kəmo ino da gərambut nipon*
 suga’ kəmo ino da gə-rambut nipon
 but if yonder PR AV-pull.out tooth
- da malu’ tu pasor, apon pədtos bəgko.*
 da malu’ tu pasor apon pədtos bəgko
 PR want too because NEG.P ill also
 ‘But when he pulls out teeth, (people) like him (the doctor), because it does not hurt.’
 [Conversation koko1 105]

Similarly, in the elicited sentence (22a), apon negates a habit, a state, whereas ninga’ in (22b) negates a specific action.

- (22) a. *Apon igbit rumo tindog no.*
 apon igbit rumo tindog ino
 NEG.P lift.UV 3S pole yonder
 ‘He cannot lift yonder pole.’ (Implication: he has never been strong enough or: he has tried it but did not succeed.)
- b. *Ninga’ igbit rumo tindog no.*
 ninga’ igbit rumo tindog ino
 NEG.I lift.UV 3S pole yonder
 ‘He cannot lift yonder pole.’ (Implication: he may be strong but this particular pole is too heavy, or: he does not even try but knows just by looking at it that he will not be able to lift it.)

Sentence (23) is an example of the usual way to negating states, especially emotions situated in the *gərawo* ‘breath’ or in the *atay* ‘liver’. According to one of the consultants, *ninga’* in this context is quite strong and means that the person in question was really not at ease, whereas negation with *pon* as in (23a) is more neutral. The other consultant judges (23b) as *kasar* ‘rough’, impolite, not good to hear.

- (23) a. *Jadi antang pon pio gərawo rumo.*
 jadi antang apon pio gərawo rumo
 so like NEG.P good breath 3S
 ‘So she was like not at ease.’ (Lit. she did not have a good breath.) [Tudow 045]
- b. *#?Jadi antang ninga’ pio gərawo rumo.*
 jadi antang ninga’ pio gərawo rumo
 so like NEG.I good breath 3S
 ‘So she was (really) like not at ease.’ (Lit. she did not have a good breath.)

(A)*pon* can occur in negative questions where a negative answer ‘No I was not’ is expected, as in (24). Negation with (*n*)*inga’* is too contrastive and therefore bad, as in (24b).³

- (24) a. *Pon pəlla’ ikow?*
 apon pəlla’ ikow
 NEG.P afraid 2S.N
 ‘Aren’t you afraid?’ [Conversation kaddayp144]
- b. **Ninga’ pəlla’ ikow?*
 ninga’ pəlla’ ikow
 NEG.I afraid 2S.N
 ‘Aren’t you afraid?’

Sentence (25) illustrates the slightly contrastive sense of *inga’*. This sentence is drawn from a story about the Watersnail and the Deer who were in a running contest. When the Deer started to run, the Watersnail did not move at all. The negation with *ninga’* expresses contrast because it is against any expectation that Watersnail did not to run, although he participated in a running contest. Nevertheless, my consultants both commented that *apon* would have been appropriate too in this context.

³ The negator *ninga’* can be appropriate too in negative questions, as the following example illustrates. *Ninga’* expresses surprise or contrast with the expected situation:

- (i) *Jadi ninga’ akay mənəbang niun?*
 jadi ninga’ akay meng--i-tabang niun
 so NEG.I EXIST AV--COM-help 2S.A
 ‘So was there no (one who) helped you?’ (Context: the speaker reacts with surprise when hearing that there was nobody around when the addressee had been bitten by a dog late at night). [Conversationdogs 521]

- (25) *Tuttul di ninga' maya' gəlindut.*
 tuttul adi ninga' m-aya' gəlindut
 water.snail over.there NEG.I DEP-follow AV-run
 'Watersnail did not join in running (the race).' (Contrary to the expectation that participants in a running contest run!) [Tuttul p115]

Another difference between *(a)pon* and *(n)inga'* is that *(a)pon* but not *(n)inga'* can occur in lexical negation, for instance in the fixed expression *pon pakay* 'clumsy', which means literally 'not use'.

It must be emphasised again, though, that there is no semantic difference between *apon* and *ninga'* in most other contexts. The sentences above have been given only to maximise the contrast between both forms of negation.

9.3.2. Contrastive / nominal negation with *pon ka*

The negative particle *pon* can be combined with the particle *ka* to form contrastive negation or nominal negation. (For a more elaborate description of the particle *ka*, see section 9.6.3.3.). It can be used as negation of nominal constituents or negation with narrow scope, as in (27), or as (strongly) contrastive sentence negation as in (28). The combination *pon ka* is most of the times pronounced as *pəngka* rather than as *pon ka*: the vowel /o/ of *pon* being reduced to schwa, as in (26).

- (26) “*Sala' ikow*” *kəmo*, “*pəngka anggur ku ino.*”
 sala' ikow kəmo apon ka anggur ku ino
 mistaken 2S.N QTM NEG.P PRT shin 1S.G yonder
 “‘You are mistaken’, he said, ‘this is not my shin.’” (Context: Crocodile wants to bite in the leg of Mousedeer, but bites in his bamboo waterjar instead).
 [Boyo bio Pelanuk 025]
- (27) *Ino pa asu matay, pon ka anak mo.*
 ino pa asu matay apon ka anak mo
 yonder PRT dog dead NEG.P PRT child 2S.G
 ‘This is a dead dog hey, this is not your child.’ [Dayangpukli takes revenge 148]
- (28) *Ino llon ku di, kəmo bugol rumo,*
 ino llon ku adi kəmo bugol rumo
 yonder need 1S.G over.there if alone 3s
- pon ka kəssu ino məgkot!*
 apon ka kəssu ino m-ə-gkot
 NEG.P PRT soon yonder DEP-work.UV
 ‘This is what I mean: if he is alone, he does not work fast at all!’
 [Conversation kokol 165]

The following sentence shows that double negation is possible in Begak. Double negation receives a positive meaning:

- (29) *aku pəŋka pon atow muli', aku atow, (...)*
 aku apon ka apon a-tow m-uli' aku a-tow
 1S.N NEG.P PRT NEG.P NV-know.UV DEP-go.home 1S.N NV-know.UV
 'I do not not know (how) to go home, I do know.' [Payow Mas 040]

9.3.3. Negative imperatives *aro* and *batong*

Negative imperatives are formed with *aro* 'do not!' and *batong* 'do not!'. *Aro* is the standard form of negative imperatives, while *batong* is a far less frequent variant used only by elderly people; even elderly people rarely use this form. *Aro* and *batong* always occur in clause-initial position, optionally followed by the particle *koy* or *key*, followed by a reduced clausal complement whose verb can only occur in the UV-Dependent, as in (30) and (31) or in some cases also in the AV.

- (30) *Aro key ko tota'.*
 aro key ko -u-tata'
 NEG.IMP FOC PRT -DEP-cry
 'Do not cry!' [lekpud gaud. 044]
- (31) *"E, aro key gubor pa," kəmo Kalibambang.*
 e aro key gubor pa kəmo kalibambang
 EXCL NEG.IMP FOC noisy PRT QTM butterfly
 "'Hey!, do not protest! (lit. be noisy)" said Butterfly.' [Kalibambang bio Sengoyan 027]

The fact that *aro* and *batong* are followed by a verb in the AV-Incomplete or Dependent suggests that they are auxiliaries. Moreover, negative imperatives follow the word order typical for clauses with auxiliary, where the actor appears before the verb (see section 5.3.3.1.).

The actor is omitted most of the time, but may optionally be present. If it is present, it is a genitive or nominative pronoun. Sentence (32a) shows a nominative actor with an intransitive AV-verb; (32b) has a genitive actor with an intransitive verb, (32c) a genitive actor with transitive UV-verb and (32d) a genitive actor with transitive AV-verb. No examples of a nominative actor with a transitive AV-verb were found in the corpus. In short, the case of the actor pronoun is independent of valency or voice. More research is needed to find out what determines which case of the actor pronoun, if there is any semantic difference at all.

- (32) a. *Aro koy ikow gətuso.*
 aro koy ikow gə-tuso
 NEG.IMP FOC 2S.N AV-difficult
 'Don't you worry.' [Masi' 096]
- b. *Ina', aro mo maya', kəmmi panow məngindat.*
 ina' aro mo m-aya' kəmmi panow məng-pindat
 mother NEG.IMP 2S.G DEP-follow 1P.E.N/G go AV-clam
 'Mother, don't you join us, we are going to look for clams.' [Masi' 073]

- c. *Aro mo kumman kkan no*
 aro mo kumman kkan ino
 NEG.IMP 2S.G DEP.eat.UV cooked.rice yonder

di' buta' nitam.

di' buta' ni-dtam

LOC earth COM-borrow.UV

'Don't you eat that rice on borrowed land.' (Context: special taboo in a myth.) [Masi' 105]

- d. *Aro mo bəgaus namon gəlundung.*
 aro mo bəg-aus namon gə-lundung
 NEG.IMP 2S.G AV-bring 1P.E.A. AV-lazy

'Don't you cause us to be lazy. (From the prayer to the bush knife after offering it some roasted rice).' [Conversationselectingseed 150]

Sentence (33) illustrates the use of the less frequent, archaic negative form *batong* with particle *koy*. *Batong* sounds archaic and is hardly ever used. In fact, (33) is the only spontaneous example of *batong* in the entire corpus. The other handful of examples, including (34) are semi-spontaneous.

- (33) *Batong ko koy sidtu turug!*
 batong ko koy sidtu turug
 NEG.IMP PRT FOC merely sleep
 'Do not just sleep! [Bowon Bura'088]

- (34) *Tassam no bay bellos, batong kumman.*
 tassam ino bay bellos batong kumman
 vegetable yonder PRF rotten NEG.IMP DEP.eat.UV
 'Those vegetables are already rotten, do not eat them!' [Mi-Suk2 292]

For more information about imperatives, see section 5.7.; for a description of the particles *koy* and *key*, see section 9.6.1.2.

9.3.4. Summary

Sentence negation is expressed by the negative particles (or auxiliaries) (*a*)*pon* and (*n*)*inga'*. Although both forms of negation can be used in the same context without difference in meaning most of the time, (*a*)*pon* is semantically slightly more neutral, whereas (*n*)*inga'* is slightly contrastive. The context where *apon* is allowed is slightly less restricted than that of *ninga'*. Negation with (*a*)*pon* is more frequent than negation with (*n*)*inga'*. Negation of nominal constituents and contrastive negation is expressed by *pon ka*, often pronounced as *pəŋka*. We have seen how negative imperatives can be formed with *aro* or *batong*, with or without particle *key* or *koy*, and with or without actor.

9.4. Auxiliaries

This section describes a heterogeneous group of adverbials or verbs expressing aspect or modality that can best be analysed as auxiliaries because of their syntactic behaviour. Begak auxiliaries occupy the verbal slot in the sentence and can be preceded by one of the three aspectuals described above.

Steele (1978) defines auxiliaries as elements that are (i) independent words; (ii) occur in the same clause as the main verb, i.e. the main verb is not subordinated to the auxiliary; and (iii) express aspect or modality. Kroeger (2004) adds to criteria (ii) that this implies that an auxiliary cannot occur independently without a main verb, because an auxiliary does not assign semantic roles. It is transparent to the argument structure of its main verb.

According to these criteria, two types of auxiliaries must be distinguished: auxiliaries that can still function as a main predicate, and other items that cannot undergo any morphological operation and cannot function as a main predicate.

9.4.1. Semi-auxiliaries

The semi-auxiliaries are listed below. These auxiliaries are verb-like in that (i) they can still function as the main verb in a clause; (ii) they have an argument structure: the first three items are psych verbs with an experiencer and a stimulus, while *kəlap* ‘get’ has a recipient and patient; (iii) they can bear some inflectional or derivational morphology.

- (35) *malu* ‘want, about to, so that’
kalay ‘not want, so that not’
atow ‘know, be able, (not) happen to’
kəlap/alap ‘get, succeed in’

The reason for including them in the section of auxiliaries is that (i) their inflectional possibilities are very limited and (ii) their semantics is bleached and becomes purely aspectual in certain constructions with a complement verb. Nevertheless, they are closer to verbs than to ‘real’ auxiliaries.

9.4.1.1. *Malu* ‘want’

The semi-auxiliary *malu* ‘want’ still shows some verbal characteristics: it has a few derivations: *kəlu* ‘desire’ and *kəngəlu* ‘desire’ (see section 6.8.2 on irregular verbs). The latter is an abstract noun derived with the prefix *kə(ng)-* that derives nouns from verbal stems. *Malu* ‘want’ has several functions: it can be used as an independent verb as in (36):

- (36) *Rajo Tunggal malu' nong rumo.*
 rajo tunggal malu' nong rumo
 king only.one want OBL 3S
 'The Crown Prince loves her.' [Dayangpukli takes revenge 104]

When *malu'* 'want' is combined with another verb, it is ambiguous: it may express modality 'want'; or inchoative aspect 'about to Verb'; or introduce a subordinate clause of purpose 'so that'.

In example (37), *malu'* is used as a verb in the sense of 'want'. *Malu'* in the sense of 'want' may be followed by a sentential complement, or by a control complement if the subject of the complement clause is identical to the experiencer of *malu'* 'want' (see section 10.2.1. for a description of sentential complements and section 10.2.3. for control). In the latter case, *malu'* 'want' is usually followed by an AV-verb, as in (37):

- (37) *Boyo no malu' mangan pəlanuk.*
 boyo ino malu' mangan pəlanuk
 crocodile yonder want AV.eat mousedeer
 'Those crocodiles wanted to eat the mouse deer.' [Boyo bio Pelanuk 005]

Malu' in the inchoative sense is followed by a sentential complement the verb of which can bear any inflection. Sentence (38) illustrates *malu'* 'want' in the inchoative sense; it is followed by an UV-Non-volitive verb. Sentence (39) shows that the verb of the complement can appear in the Completive Aspect, here referring to a future event that the speaker thinks is inevitable.

- (38) *Ino baya' məngannak Taip malu' tun*
 ino baya' məngannak Taip malu' tun
 yonder place wife Taip want really
- alənnod ngod purus təgai gayo no.*
 a-lənnod ngod purus təgai gayo ino
 NV-drowned because reason sun.hat big yonder
 'This is when Taip's wife was really about to drown, because of her large sun hat.'
 (She bowed forward in the river with a very heavy sunhat that was attached to her head.) [Conversation koko1 210]
- (39) *Na, ino baya' ku tu malu' tu nebput asu.*
 na, ino baya' ku tu malu' tu ni-abput asu
 PRT yonder place 1S.G too want too COM-bite.UV dog
 'Well, this is when I too was about to be bitten by a dog.' [Conversationdogs 445]

Malu' in its function of conjunction of purpose 'so that' or 'in order to' occurs introduces a subordinate clause. It is followed by a sentential complement whose verb may bear any inflection. *Malu'* in this sense is no longer a verb but a function word without arguments. Sentence (40) shows that *malu'* in this function need not have an experiencer argument: the sentence just means 'so that it does not stink' and need not be translated with 'we do not want that it stinks'. Sentence (41) shows how

malu' may take a sentential complement with a finite verb. The verb *bigkay* 'give' is in the Completive Aspect and refers to a desired future event (see section 6.4.2. for this usage of Completive Aspect).

- (40) *Jadi kəmo da tegay kito nong kito togbas*
 jadi kəmo da -i-tagay kito nong kito -u-tagbas
 so if PR -COM-salt.UV 1P.I.N/G AUX 1P.I.N/G -DEP-drain.UV
- ssi bakas ino, malu' sidtu pon bəgəbpow butong.*
 ssi bakas ino malu' sidtu apon bəg-ə-bpow butong
 content wild.pig yonder want merely NEG.P AV-smell rotten
 'So when we have salted (it), we (need) to drain the wild pig meat, so that it will not start to smell like rotten.' [Timba' 003]
- (41) *Summu' nong Ali səmbayong malu' bigkay*
 -u-səmmu' nong Ali səmbayong malu' -i-bəgkay
 -DEP-command.UV OBL Ali pray want -COM-give.UV
- Tuhan məngannak nong rumo pio məngəra'.*
 Tuhan məngannak nong rumo pio məngəra'
 God wife OBL 3S good girl
 'Tell Ali to pray so that God will give him a wife, a beautiful girl.'
 [Conversationkoko3 056]

9.4.1.2. *Kalay* 'not want'

Kalay 'not want' is generally not inflected.⁴ *Kalay* 'not want' has two functions. Its first function is that of an independent verb, in which case it may take an NP complement, as in (42), or a control complement, as in (43) and (44) or a full sentential complement, as in (45). Its experiencer, if pronominal, can appear either in the nominative or in the genitive depending on the position in the clause. (43) illustrates how the experiencer of *kalay* 'not want' appears pre-verbally in the nominative (*aku* 'I') and (44) shows the same verb with a genitive post-verbal experiencer *ku* 'I'.

- (42) *Udi gulo təmmil di gulo, kalay ku dan sapa'.*
 udi gulo təmmil adi gulo kalay ku dan sapa'
 there first cold over.there first not.want 1S.G yet water
 '(Give me) that there first, cold (water) there first; I don't want (hot) water yet.'
 [Conversationharvest 059]

⁴ In some rare cases *kalay* 'not want' can occur in the Dependent: *kolay* (underlying form *k-u-alay*), but I only heard this form in a conversation a few times; I do not have any examples in my corpus. Other inflectional forms of *kalay* do not exist. Anyway, although *kalay* may in rare cases be inflected if used as a verb, it cannot be inflected in its function as conjunction.

- (43) *Minsan busu', aku kalay maya'.*
 minsan busu' aku kalay m-aya'
 although angry 1S.N dont.want DEP-follow.UV
 'Although (father will be) angry, I do not want to join (you).' [Dayangpuklip51]
- (44) *Aku da sulon, kalay ku ləbpo məriu'.*
 aku da sulon kalay ku ləbpo mə-riu'
 1S.N PR cold not.want 1S.G more DEP-bathe.UV
 'I am feeling cold, I do not want to bathe anymore.' [Dayangpuklip53]
- (45) *Kalay rumo nong ku məllit*
 kalay rumo nong ku m-ə-llit
 not.want 3S AUX 1S.G DEP-sew.UV
- gittan sərban sidom no.*
 gittan sərban sidom ino
 instrument thread black yonder
 'He does not want that I sew (his yellow shirt) with black thread.' [Mi-Suk5p7]

Its second function is that of conjunction of purpose that can be translated into English by 'so that not', 'in order not to'. It occurs in the first position of the clause that needs to be subordinated to a previous one, as in (46) and (47).

- (46) *(..) kito missa' satu kotak la,*
 (..) kito m-issa' satu kotak la
 (..) 1P.E.N/G DEP-put.UV one box PRT
- kalay sənuok kulos-kulos.*
 kalay -ə-m-suok kulos-kulos
 not.want -DEP-enter animal-RED
 'We (will) put (the computer in) a box so that insects do not enter (into the computer).' [ConversationtriptoLD 178]
- (47) *Jadi kakkab ton, tujuan kakkab ton məngatak panas,*
 jadi kakkab ton tujuan kakkab ton məng-atak panas
 so cool.down TOP aim cool.down TOP AV-drop hot
- kalay tiu' pədtos suku ulun baya' gəlisang no.*
 kalay tiu' pədtos suku ulun baya' gə-lisang ino
 not.want hit ill all person follow AV-play yonder
 'So as for the *kakkab* (ritual), the aim of *kakkab* is to throw away the heat (i.e.curse or evil things) so that the people who join in playing (the Russay ritual) will not fall ill.'
 (lit. be hit by disease) [Russay 034]

Sentence (47) shows that *kalay* used as a conjunction does no longer have an experiencer argument, as the matrix sentence contains only understood impersonal arguments too. *Kalay* in the function of conjunction is thus no longer a verb that predicates its own arguments.

9.4.1.3. *Atow* ‘know’

The verb *atow* ‘know’ is a psych verb that occurs only in the Non-volitive aspect, but it has a few derivations, such as an AV-form *bəgətow* ‘get to know’ and deverbal nominalisations. Its experiencer argument appears either in the nominative or in the genitive, if pronominal, depending on its position. The experiencer *ikow* in (49) appears preverbally, in the nominative case, whereas the experiencer *ku* in (49) appears post-verbally in the genitive.

- (48) *Da pon atow ku ləbpo.*
 da apon a-tow ku ləbpo
 PR NEG.P NV-know.UV 1S.G more
 ‘I don’t know anymore.’ [Conversationdogs 251]
- (49) *Ikow bay atow.*
 ikow bay a-tow
 2S.N PRF NV-know.UV
 ‘You already know.’ [Mi-Suk1 031]

Atow may take a sentential complement; in that case it means ‘know that [Sentence]’ (see section 10.2.1.). *Atow* can also take a clausal complement of which the subject must be identical to the experiencer of the *atow* (control). In this case, *atow* ‘know’ means ‘know how to Verb’ or ‘having the skill of Verbing’ and the verb of the complement must be in the Actor Voice or Dependent, as in (50).

- (50) *Barong akay ulun di’ KK atow məngallan layo.*
 barong akay ulun di’ KK a-tow məng-allan layo
 whoever EXIST person LOC Kota.Kinabalu NV-know.UV AV-make net
 ‘Anybody in KK knows how to make a net.’ [Mupin Layo 002]

In (51) and (52) *atow* ‘know’ has a human subject but its semantics are slightly bleached to ‘be able to Verb’:

- (51) *Ino baya’ da pio-pio sawot gədino*
 ino baya’ da pio-pio sawot gədino
 yonder place PR good-RED arrive in.yonder.way
- da atow panow.*
 da a-tow panow
 PR NV-know.UV go
 ‘This is when (he got) better until now; he can walk (again).’ [Conversationdogs 074]
- (52) *Na pon atow gussang.*
 na apon a-tow -u-gəssang
 PRT NEG.P NV-know.UV -DEP-sweat
 ‘Well, (I) could not sweat (lit. I did not know how to sweat).’ [Conversationdogs 064]

Atow ‘know’ can sometimes be followed by an inchoative AV-verb with a non-human subject, as in (53). Here, *atow* ‘know’ is used as an aspect marker meaning

‘happen’. A similar example was given in (87) of section 6.3.4.

- (53) *Sawot gədino panas ku ne kan,*
 sawot gədino panas ku ne kan
 arrive in.yonder.way hot 1S.G this isn't.it?

atow bəgəwəw.
 a-tow bəg-ə-wəw
 NV-know.UV AV-lost
 ‘Until now this heat (i.e. fever) of mine, isn’t it?, just does not disappear (lit. does not know how to disappear).’ [Conversationdogs 128]

Atow seems to behave like an ordinary verb in all its meanings ‘know’, ‘know how’, ‘be able’, ‘happen’: it bears inflection and has its own argument structure with an experiencer argument and a stimulus. The reason for including it in the list of auxiliaries is the fact that *atow* in its meaning of ‘happen’ is semantically bleached and merely expresses aspect.

9.4.1.4. *Kəlap/alap* ‘get, succeed’

The verbal forms *kəlap* ‘AV.NV-get’ and *alap* ‘NV-get.UV’ are stative verbs and have an Actor Voice equivalent *məng-alap* ‘get’. The AV-verb *məng-alap* ‘get, catch, take’ can exclusively be used as an independent verb, for example in the sense of getting a job, receiving a present, catching animals, take a thorn out or one’s foot, take a stain out of a cloth, etc:

- (54) “*Gam kito duo bəgarab kərok, məngalap kərok*” *kəmo rumo.*
 gam kito duo bəg-arab kərok məng-alap kərok kəmo rumo
 QM 1P.I.N/G two AV-search bird AV-get bird QTM 3S
 ‘What about if the two of us look for birds, catch birds’ he said. [Zam-Lee and Terus 003]

The Non-volitive variants *kəlap* ‘get’ and *alap* ‘get’ can function as an independent verb:

- (55) *Jadi pog duo dtow,*
 jadi pog duo dtow
 so when two day

da kəlap miro masi bakas tunggal pat tassa’.
 da kə-lap miro masi bakas tunggal pat tassa’
 PR AV.NV-get 3P still wild.pig only.one four CL.animal
 ‘So after two days they even got more wild pigs: four unique wild pigs.’ [Mengasu 007]

Alap and *kəlap* can function as a semi-auxiliary that takes a control complement of which the actor must be identical to the actor of the semi-auxiliary:

- (56) *(..) dullu', pon alap ku dullu'.*
 -u-døllu' apon a-lap ku -u-døllu'
 -DEP-descend NEG.P NV-get.UV 1S.G -DEP-descend
 'As for descending, I did not succeed in descending.' (Context: the speaker was ill.)
 [Conversationdogs 040]
- (57) *Jadi ino la, kəlap tu kəmmi gədagang tilom,*
 jadi ino la kə-lap tu kəmmi gə-dagang tilom
 so yonder PRT AV.NV-get too 1P.E.N/G AV-buy mattress
- rəgko tana'-tana'.*
 rəgko tana'-tana'
 price low-RED
 'So yes, we succeeded in buying a mattress, at a relatively low price.'
 [ConversationtriptoLD 056]

Alap and *kəlap* are real verbs with an agent or recipient argument and a patient argument, but the reason for including *alap* and *kəlap* in the list of auxiliaries is their frequency of occurrence and their modal/aspectual semantics when used in combination with a complement clause instead of as a matrix verb.

9.4.2. Uninflectable auxiliaries

The following items are auxiliaries because (i) they cannot be inflected and do not undergo any morphological operation; (ii) they cannot appear as an independent verb; i.e. they lack argument structure: they do not have an experiencer argument or any other argument (they are transparent to the argument structure of their main verb); (iii) they express aspect or modality.

- (58) *mil* 'ever'
bpos 'finished, after'
sangan 'in the process of'
buli 'can'
səmbay 'must'
sambir 'must'

These auxiliaries occur in two constructions. In the first construction, the auxiliary occurs at the beginning of the sentence and takes a complement with a finite verb, i.e. a verb with any kind of inflection. The complement with a finite verb is probably a sentential complement, because it is strange (though perhaps not impossible) if one clause contains more than one finite element: the auxiliary and the main verb. I assume the following tentatively structure:

Auxiliary [Sentence].

The first four items of (58) occur almost exclusively in this construction.

In the second construction, the auxiliary takes a non-finite verb, i.e. a verb in the AV-Incompletive Aspect or Dependent. I tentatively assume that this construction is monoclausal, because it contains only one finite element, the auxiliary (assuming that the invariable auxiliary counts as a finite element), and has a strict word order. We have seen in 5.3.3.1. that the presence of auxiliaries and certain particles influences the word order of the constituents in the clause. Recall that the subject of the verb occurs either in pre-verbal position before the auxiliary or after the auxiliary before the main verb. There are a few positions available in between the subject and the verb or auxiliary that can be filled with negation or aspectuals. Aspectuals occur either before the main verb, or if there is an auxiliary, before the auxiliary, or if there is a negator, before the negator.

If the clause contains an auxiliary with a non-finite verb, the actor follows the auxiliary, irrespective of the voice of the complement verb, unless it already appears in the subject position before the auxiliary. We find the following patterns:

Scheme 1 Word order of clauses with an auxiliary

Subject	Aspectual	Negator	Auxiliary	Actor	Verb	Undergoer
Actor	(asp)	(neg)	aux		AV-verb	Undergoer
	(asp)	(neg)	aux	Actor	AV-verb	Undergoer
Undergoer	(asp)	(neg)	aux	Actor	UV-DEP verb	
	(asp)	(neg)	aux	Actor	UV-DEP verb	Undergoer

- (59) a. *Aku pon buli mangan bakas.*
 aku apon buli mangan bakas
 1S.N NEG.P can AV.eat wild.pig
 'I cannot eat porc.'
- b. *Pon buli aku mangan bakas.*
 apon buli aku mangan bakas
 NEG.P can 1S.N AV.eat wild.pig
 'I cannot eat porc.'
- c. *Təring no səmbay nong (mo) məllay.*
 təring ino səmbay nong mo m-ə-llyay
 bamboo yonder must AUX 2S.G DEP-boil.UV
 'The bamboo (shoots) must be boiled in water (by you).' [Notebook]
- d. *Səmbay nong (mo) məllay təring no.*
 səmbay nong mo m-ə-llyay təring ino
 must AUX 2S.G DEP-boil.UV bamboo yonder
 'The bamboo (shoots) must be boiled in water (by you).'

The auxiliary *mil* 'ever' is comparable in meaning to its Malay equivalent *pərnah* 'ever'. It is used in sentences of questions of the type 'Have you ever Verbed?'. It is not clear whether *mil* is an auxiliary or an adverb. On the one hand, *mil* looks like an adverb because it is monosyllabic and most monosyllabic words are adverbs, conjunctions, discourse particles or aspectuals. On the other hand, *mil* is verbal because it occurs in the verbal slot. *Mil* takes a sentential complement and it

almost invariably occurs at the beginning of the sentence, as in (60) and (61), where *mil* ‘ever’ is combined with negation or with an aspectual.

- (60) *Jadi da gabpi da buruy gəliput, pon mil ttan mo?*
 jadi da gabpi da b-uruy gə-liput apon mil ttan mo
 so PR night PR MID-stand AV-round NEG.P ever see.UV 2S.G
 ‘And in the evening you stand in a circle. Have you never seen it?’ [Gerussay 006]

- (61) *Pog da kəssob aku tunong apon mil ləbpo*
 pog da kə-ssob aku tunong apon mil ləbpo
 pog PR AV.NV-come 1S.N here NEG.P ever more

[*aku məngata’ oyang.*]_s

aku məng-ata’ oyang

1S.N AV-look movie

‘After I had come here, I have never watched a movie anymore.’ [Mi-Suk3B 095]

Sangan ‘busy’, can be compared with its Malay equivalent *səɖang*. It marks progressive and is not very frequent. More research is needed to find out whether it is an auxiliary or an adverb .

- (62) *Aku sangan mangan.*
 aku sangan mangan
 1S.N in.the.process AV.eat
 ‘I am eating.’

The auxiliary *bpos* ‘after, finished’ is followed by a sentential complement. It occurs very frequently in temporal subordinate clauses as in (63) but may occur in a main clause as in (64).

- (63) *Sob bpos [kənimbo ulu no]_s nong sogkut.*
 sob bpos -ən-kimbo ulu ino nong -u-sagkut
 when after -COM-anoint.UV head yonder AUX -DEP-comb.UV
 ‘After having put oil on her head, it must be combed.’ [Ama` ku pedtos. 116]

- (64) *Da bpos [kito bəgani]_s panow gulo kito*
 da bpos kito bə-gani panow gulo kito
 PR after 1P.I.N/G AV-harvest go first 1P.I.N/G

gələppot kkan mangan di’ llung.

gə-ləppot kkan mangan di’ llung

AV-wrap cooked.rice AV.eat LOC river

‘After we have harvested, let’s go first to wrap rice and eat at the river (side).’

[Conversation koko1 371]

Again, in all attested spontaneous examples, the auxiliary appears in front of anything else, but only in elicited sentences can the subject of the complement appear in front of the auxiliary.

- (65) *Aku bay bpos [mangan.]s*
 aku bay bpos mangan
 1S.N PRF after AV.eat
 'I have already finished eating.'

If *bpos* is an adverb, the typically 'verbal' placement of negation and aspectuals must be explained.

The auxiliary *buli* 'can' is probably a loan word, related to the Malay *boleh* 'can, may'. It is ambiguous between 'can' or 'may'. *Buli* 'can' occurs often at the beginning of the sentence. It may be followed by a sentential complement with a finite verb, as in (66), but in far most cases it takes a verb in the AV-Incompletive Aspect (67) or in the UV-Dependent (68).

- (66) *Pon buli [apon kinnan]s, mənnam.*
 apon buli apon kinnan mənnam
 NEG.P can NEG.P COM.eat.UV taboo
 'It is not allowed that it is not eaten, that is taboo.' (Context: During a funeral ritual, the relatives of the deceased must eat at least a little of the chicken sacrificed for the deceased.) [Ama` ku pedtos. 261]

- (67) *Gusur anu sambir bənnor bəgko,*
 gusur anu sambir bənnor bəgko
 tell whatever must true also

pon buli kito bəgusur pon bənnor.
 apon buli kito bəg-usur apon bənnor
 NEG.P can 1P.I.N/G AV-tell NEG.P true
 'What I say must be true, we cannot say what is not true.' [Haji Mamali 088]

- (68) *Buli tu nong gəmeud dəllay.*
 buli tu nong -əmə-geud dəllay
 can too AUX -DEP-porridge.UV maize
 'Maize can also be turned into porridge.' [Begigkang 016]

If the verb appears in the AV-Incompletive Aspect or in the UV-Dependent, the auxiliary and its main verb probably form a monoclausal construction. In that case, the subject of the clause may appear in front of *buli* 'can', in the subject position of the clause, as in (69), with an actor-subject and (70) with an undergoer-subject.

- (69) *Aku pon buli mangan payow.*
 aku apon buli mangan payow
 1S.N NEG.P can AV.eat deer
 'I cannot eat deer (meat).' [Foodprohibitions 001]

- (70) *Manuk no pon buli togay.*
 manuk ino apon buli -u-tagay
 chicken yonder NEG.P can -DEP-salt.UV
 'This chicken cannot be salted./It is not allowed to salten this chicken.' (Context: burial ritual) [Ama` ku pedtos. 168]

- (71) *Inggos no buli ku gonti.*
 inggos ino buli ku -u-ganti
 all yonder can 1S.G -DEP-replace.UV
 ‘I can replace everything.’ [Masi dolam 027]

Fronting of the subject hardly ever occurs in sentences with *mil* ‘ever’, *lepas* ‘ever’ or *bpos* ‘after’, but is rather frequent for clauses with *buli* ‘can’. I have not attested fronting of subjects of sentential complements with a finite verb, as in (66), but have not elicited it either.

The auxiliary *səmbay* ‘must’ behaves syntactically just like *buli* ‘can’.⁵ In most cases it is followed by a non-finite verb (in the AV-Incompletive or UV-Dependent), but may also take a sentential clause.

If the verb appears in the UV-Dependent, it is preceded by the default auxiliary *nong* in all tokens in my corpus, as in (72), but *nong* can perhaps be omitted in casual speech, as is so often the case. The actor seldomly appears if the verb is in the UV-Dependent, but (73) shows that it can.

- (72) *Səmbay nong puli’ gaud ləkpuđ di tu.*
 səmbay nong p-uli’ gaud ləkpuđ adi tu
 must AUX UV.CAU.DEF-go.home paddle broken over.there too
 ‘(He) had to bring back that broken paddle too.’ [Ləkpuđ gaud. 040]

- (73) *Səmbay nong ikow pəttas kasu’ no.*
 səmbay nong ikow pə-p-ə-ttas kasu’ ino
 must AUX 2S.N UV.CAU.DEF-SF-high foot yonder
 ‘You have to put your feet high.’ (Context: swollen feet.) [Conversationdogs 241]

In the monoclausal construction with a main verb in the AV-Incompletive Aspect or UV-Dependent, the subject often appears in the subject position of the clause, before the auxiliary *səmbay* ‘must’. Sentence (74) shows an actor-subject and (75) an undergoer-subject before the auxiliary:

- (74) *Məřəgkang səmbay məngingog tiru’ təgajo.*
 məřəgkang səmbay məng-ingog tiru’ təgajo
 child must AV-hear teach parent
 ‘Children must listen to the teaching of (their) parents.’ [Mi-Suk1 521]

- (75) *Təring no səmbay nong məllay.*
 təring ino səmbay nong m-ə-lay
 bamboo yonder must AUX DEP-boil.UV
 ‘The bamboo (shoots) must be boiled in water.’ [Notebook]

Sentences (76) through (78) illustrate *səmbay* ‘must’ with a sentential complement. The ordinary word order for reduced complements with an AV-verb is invariably

⁵ *Səmbay* ‘must’ has several pronunciation variants, depending on the speaker: *səmbay* (with schwa), *sumbay* or *simbay*. Nevertheless, these different vowels are not the result of infixation as a different pronunciation does not change the meaning of *səmbay* ‘must’.

auxiliary - subject - AV-verb or with subject before the auxiliary: subject - auxiliary - AV-verb, but the word order in (76) is auxiliary - AV-verb - subject. This word order is typical for independent clauses.

- (76) *Malu' aku maya' suga' səmbay*
 malu' aku m-aya' suga' səmbay
 want 1S.N DEP-follow but must

[*kəbalos gulo aku.*]
 kə-balos gulo aku
 AV.NV-compensate first 1S.N
 'I want to join you but I must (have been able to) take revenge first.'
 [Dayangpukli takes revenge 182]

Similarly, I assume that (77) has a sentential complement, because the actor *ikow* 'you' does not appear before the main verb, as it should in monoclausal auxiliary constructions, but after the main verb.

- (77) *Səmbay [muli' gulo ikow di' balay.]*
 səmbay m-uli' gulo ikow di' balay
 must DEP-go.home first 2S.N LOC house
 'You have to go home first.' [Leiwon 005]

The verb of the complement of (78) is in the Completive Aspect:

- (78) *Minsan tittoy səmbay [kinnan ino manuk no.]*
 minsan tittoy səmbay kinnan ino manuk ino
 although small must COM.eat.UV yonder chicken yonder
 'The chicken must be eaten (of), even if just a little bit.' (Context: during the funeral ritual it is taboo for relatives of the deceased not to eat of the sacrificed chicken.)
 [Ama` ku pedtos. 260]

Again, subjects of reduced complements frequently occur before the auxiliary, but this is not attested for sentential complements.

Sambir 'must' is another sentential operator that takes a sentential or clausal complement with verb in the Actor Voice as in (79) or UV-dependent. It can also be used in ironic exclamations *sambir bəgko!* 'of course!' (literally 'must also'). *Sambir* 'must' may express certainty about something; the speaker is sure that something is unavoidable and is complaining about it, as in (80). This sense of *sambir* where the speaker is complaining gives *sambir* 'must' a slightly negative connotation, which *səmbay* 'must' lacks.

- (79) *Bera' rumo "dda' mo pio, inggos mo*
 -i-bara' rumo dda' mo pio inggos mo
 -COM-say.UV 3S blood 2S.G good all 2S.G

ne pio, suga' ikow sambir mənəgbuk duktur.
ne pio suga' ikow sambir məng-təgbuk duktur
 this good but 2S.N must AV-meet doctor
 'She (the nurse) said "your blood is good, all of you(r body) is good, but you must meet a doctor."' [Conversationcorn 785]

- (80) *Kəmo da səgabpi sambir rəung səmulon no.*
kəmo da sə-gabpi sambir -u-raung səmulon ino
 if PR one-night must -DEP-recur fever yonder
 'After one night the fever (just) has to recur.' (Meant: no doubt about it.)
 [Conversationdogs 125]

9.4.3. Summary

Begak auxiliaries are invariable items that occur in the verbal slot of the clause. Two types can be distinguished: semi-auxiliaries and 'real' auxiliaries. 'Real' auxiliaries do not undergo any morphological operations, but some semi-auxiliaries still occur as an independent verb. If they do, the semi-auxiliary variant has bleached semantics as compared to the independent equivalent.

The semi-auxiliaries take a control complement with a verb in the AV or UV-Dependent, or a sentential complement. Their semantics vary between aspectual and modal semantics: for example *malu* 'has modal semantics 'want' or aspectual semantics 'about to', and *atow* means 'know, be able' versus 'happen', depending on the construction.

The 'real' auxiliaries are sentential operators that occur in two constructions. The first construction is that with a sentential complementor and the second is a monoclausal construction a verb in the AV or UV-Dependent. The aspectual items *mil* 'ever' and *bpos* 'after' occur in almost all cases at the beginning of the sentence and take a sentential complement. The modal items *buli* 'can', *səmbay* 'must' and *sambir* 'must' are ambiguous between a deontic and epistemic reading 'need to' versus 'have to', 'be able to' versus 'may'.

9.5. Adverbs

This section presents most adverbs that occur in Begak. Adverbs generally do not undergo any form of morphological operation, not even reduplication, but there are exceptions. As adverbs form a relatively closed class in Begak, the various adverbs will be treated one by one in the following subsections. A brief description of the meaning and scope will be given for each of the adverbs.

9.5.1. Narrative adverbs

Begak has two adverbs that occur exclusively in narratives and narrative passages in other genres: *ləppap* ‘immediately’ and *mannu* or *mannu-mannu* ‘very’. In fact their meaning is a lot vaguer than their translations suggest. Begak speakers generally do not know how to translate these items. These adverbs are always followed by the core development marker *kat*, followed by the actor, a discourse particle *key/koy* marking focus, a verb in the UV-Dependent or AV (for a description of the discourse particles *kat*, *key* or *koy*, see section 9.6.1. below). If *kat* is preceded by *pon* ‘not’, *mannu* ‘very’ or *ləppap* ‘immediately’, the word order is as follows:

Scheme 2 Word order of clauses with an adverb and the particle *kat*

Adverb	<i>kat</i> (CDM)	Actor	Focus particle	Verb	Undergoer
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This word order is typical for auxiliaries. Moreover, *apon kat*, *mannu kat* or *ləppap kat* can only be followed by a clause with a UV-Dependent or AV-verb, which makes the adverbs even more similar to auxiliaries. Yet, we have seen that the negator *apon* is not an auxiliary: the subject of a finite clause can occur before *apon*. The word class of *mannu* and *ləppap* cannot be checked as they only occur in one construction. Here are two examples with *mannu*:

- (81) *Sob alukka' anak Pəngian,*
 sob a-lukka' anak Pəngian
 when NV-born child sultan's.wife
- mannu-mannu kat anak Pəngian ton tota'.*
 mannu-mannu kat anak Pəngian ton -u-tata'
 very-RED CDM child sultan's.wife TOP -DEP-cry
 ‘As soon as the Sultan’s Wife’s child was born, immediately it started to cry loudly.’
 [Karut 027]
- (82) *Sob təgki' Dəra', mannu kat Dəra' gəlangu.*
 sob təgki' Dəra' mannu kat Dəra' gə-langu
 when pregnant young.lady very CDM young.lady AV-crave
 ‘When Young Lady was pregnant, she craved very much for special food.’
 [Monay bio Dera' 005]

Ləppap never occurs without *kat* and as a consequence, the combination *ləppap kat* is often reduced to *papkat*, *pakat* or other reduced forms. It occurs in sentences that form the backbone of narratives. The following example is from a narrative; it describes an event that is crucial for the development of the story.

- (83) *Ləppap kat boyo key gədino, soggow kasu'*
 ləppap kat boyo key gədino -u-saggow kasu'
 immediately CDM crocodile FOC in.yonder.way -DEP-catch.UV foot

pəlanuk, mabput kasu' pəlanuk no.
pəlanuk m-abput kasu' pəlanuk ino
 mousedeer DEP-bite.UV foot mousedeer yonder
 'Immediately the crocodile caught the paw of the mouse deer and bit in the paw of the mouse deer.' [Boyo bio Pelanuk 020]

9.5.2. Aspectual adverbs

The following items are aspectual adverbs:

- (84) *dan* 'yet'
ləbpo 'more, anymore'
masong 'still/again'
masi 'still'

These adverbs appear in any place in the clause but seem to have scope over the entire clause:

- (85) *Aku apon (dan/ləbpo) kəlap (dan/ləbpo)*
aku apon (dan/ləbpo) kə-lap (dan/ləbpo)
 1S.N NEG.P (yet/more) AV.NV-get (yet/more)

gədagang (dan/ləbpo) səkkol (dan).
gə-dagang (dan/ləbpo) səkkol (dan)
 AV-buy (yet/more) sugar (yet/more)
 'I could not buy sugar yet/anymore.'

- (86) *Ali (masi/masong) məngəppom (masi/masong) koko (masi/masong).*
Ali (masi/masong) məng-ə-ppom (masi/masong) koko (masi/masong).
Ali (still/still.again) AV-spray (still/still.again) cocoa (still/still.again)
 'Ali is still/again spraying the cocoa trees.'

The adverb *dan* often occurs in combination with negation as in sentences (87) and (88).

- (87) *Inga' dan aku muli'.*
ninga' dan aku m-uli'
 NEG.I yet 1S.N DEP-go.home
 'I'm not going home yet.' [Conversation koko1 452]

- (88) *Ama' mo pon mengan dan, pon kuli' dan.*
ama' mo apon -i-mangan dan apon k-uli' dan
 father 2S.G NEG.P -COM-AV.eat yet NEG.P AV.NV-go.home yet
 'Your father has not eaten yet; he has not come home yet.' [Conversationsselectingseed175]

If *dan* 'yet' occurs without a preceding negative particle, it can be translated with 'already' in English; it modifies expressions of quantity. It expresses the attitude of the speaker who evaluates the quantity (often negatively), as in (89).

- (89) *Bay turu' pulu' dan ssin nioy rumo.*
 bay turu' pulu' dan ssin nioy rumo
 PRF seven ten yet money COM.take.UV 3S
 'He has already taken seventy (Ringgit). (Lit: seventy (Ringgit) already is the money he took.)' [Conversation koko1 141]

The adverb *masong* means 'still' or 'again':

- (90) *Suga' bera' duktur, pon dan ləmuən*
 suga' -i-bara' duktur apon dan -əm-luan
 but -COM-say.UV doctor NEG.P yet -DEP-go.outside
- ngod x-ray masong.*
 ngod x-ray masong
 because x-ray still.again
 'But the doctor said (that) he (can) not go out (of the hospital) yet, because he (needs) another x-ray/ he still (needs) an x-ray.' [Conversationdogs 153]

Masi 'still' is probably a loan word from Malay based on *masih* 'still'. Sentence (91) illustrates how *masi* 'still' can function as a synonym of *masong* 'still' with the same place in the sentence. Often *masi* and *masong* are combined:

- (91) *Jadi malu' masi mənguyok, tambo masi suku*
 jadi malu' masi məng-uyok tambo masi suku
 so want still AV-request add still all
- ayug-ayug rumo ne bəgko, bakas ino.*
 ayug-ayug rumo ne bəgko bakas ino
 friend-RED 3S this also wild.pig yonder
 'So all his friends wanted to ask for more wild pig meat.' (Context: a dinner with very good food; all the guests want to eat more than expected.) [Bakas 011]

9.5.3. Adverbs of degree *tun* 'really' and *ganta* 'very'

A few adverbs of degree are listed in (92). An example of a sentence with an adverb of degree is given in (92):

- (92) *tun* 'very', 'really'
ganta 'very'

The adverbs *tun* 'really' and *ganta* 'very' are adverbs of degree which both have a very different syntax. The adverb *tun* 'really' appears after the constituent or word it modifies. It can function as an adjective modifying nouns, as in (93), it can modify stative verbs (94), dynamic verbs (95), adverbs or even aspectuals (96).

- (93) *Akay anak tun gam iro di?*
 akay anak tun gam iro adi
 EXIST child real QM COL over.there
 'Do they there have real (i.e. of their own, not adopted) children?'
 [Conversation koko1 504]
- (94) *Gabpi no da turug tun aku.*
 gabpi ino da turug tun aku
 night yonder PR sleep real 1S.N
 'That night I really slept.' [Conversationdogs 274]
- (95) *Rumo da mǝngabput tun nong anak ku ne.*
 rumo da mǝng-abput tun nong anak ku ne
 3S PR AV-bite real OBL child 1S.G this
 'It (the dog) really bit my child badly.' [Conversationdogs 571]
- (96) *Sa' tun miro muli' sakko di' Indon di kan.*
 sa' tun miro m-uli' sakko di' Indon adi kan
 SQ real 3P DEP-go.home from LOC Indonesia over.there isn't.it?
 'They had only just returned from Indonesia, isn't it?' [Conversationkoko3 101]

The adverb *ganta'* 'very' is always followed by the progressive aspectual *da*, followed by the adjective it modifies. In most cases it modifies an adjective, as in (97) and (98):

- (97) *Ganta' da bahayo bǝgko dda' rumo kǝluar.*
 ganta' da bahayo bǝgko dda' rumo kǝluar
 very PR dangerous also blood 3S go.out (M)
 'It was very dangerous, her blood came out.' [Conversationcorn 910]
- (98) *Pog bǝgugas rumo ganta' da pio paras.*
 pog bǝg-ugas rumo ganta' da pio paras
 when AV-wash 3S very PR good appearance
 'When she will develop (lit. wash) (the photos) they will look very nice!'
 [Conversationharvest 027]

It rarer cases it can also modify a dynamic verb, as in (99):

- (99) *Ulun rayat ganta' da mǝngingog sǝpaya' uni tǝgajo.*
 ulun rayat ganta' da mǝng-ingog sǝpaya' uni tǝ-gajo
 person citizen very PR AV-hear all speak INT-big
 'The citizens listened very welll to everything the leaders said.' [SimAlatp53]

9.5.4. Adverbs of time

A few adverbs of time are given below. Most items usually occur at the beginning or at the end of the sentence, except *gulo* 'first', which tends to appear after the verb.

- (100) *kəmmon* 'a while ago', 'just now'
mutap 'tomorrow'
mutap satu 'the day after tomorrow'
digabpi 'yesterday'
digabpi satu 'the day before yesterday'
gulo 'first'

In sentence (101), the adverb *mutap* 'tomorrow' comes at the beginning of the clause:

- (101) *Mutap bəguru masi kito, subu gam ino?*
 mutap bə-guru masi kito subu gam ino
 tomorrow AV-learn still 1P.I.N/G morning QM yonder
 'Are we still going to study tomorrow, it is in the morning isn't it?'
 [Conversationdogs 353]

The adverb *gulo* 'first' usually appears after the verb. *Gulo* appears very frequently in commands, proposals or adhortations, as in (102) although it can modify predicates in ordinary declarative sentences too, as in (103).

- (102) *Muli' gulo aku.*
 m-uli' gulo aku
 DEP-go.home first 1S.N
 'I'm going home now.'
- (103) *Bəgarab gulo puku' mənguyok anan iro anak.*
 bəg-arab gulo puku' məng-uyok anan iro anak
 AV-search first stake AV-request place COL child
 '(They went home to) get stake first, to ask for stake at their children's place.'
 (Context: about a couple that is gambling in the local shop) [Conversation koko1 492]

9.5.5. Adverbs of certainty

A few adverbs of time are given below:

- (104) *kambor* 'perhaps'
asar 'certainly'
sagay 'surely'

These adverbs usually occur at the beginning of the clause and have scope over the entire clause.

- (105) *Kambor pon nnong.*
 kambor apon nnong
 perhaps NEG.P here
 'He is perhaps not here.' [Conversationcorn 002]

- (106) *Suga' asar kəmmən pio tun nasib kəmmi.*
 suga' asar kəmmən pio tun nasib kəmmi
 but really just.now good real luck 1P.E.N/G
 'But a while ago we really had very good luck.' [ConversationtriptoLD 017]
- (107) *Na sagay ino gkot miro nong miro mippus la.*
 na sagay ino gkot miro nong miro m-ippus la
 PRT surely yonder work 3P AUX 3P DEP-finish.UV PRT
 'Well, surely as for this work, they will finish!' [Conversation koko1 091]

9.6. Discourse markers

Begak has some thirteen different discourse markers, which can be divided into three groups: discourse structuring particles, modal particles and additive particles. The function of the particles in (108) is to structure discourse, for example to mark foreground information, to introduce a new topic etc:

- (108) *koy* 'focus'
key 'focus'
kat 'core development marker'
ton 'new topic'

The additive particles indicate that the word or word group in the scope of the particle is in some sense additional to something else:

- (109) *tu* 'too'
bəgko 'also'
(si)ja' 'merely, only, just' (from Malay?)
sidtu 'merely, only, just'

The modal particles reflect the attitude of the speaker, for example emphasis, uncertainty or politeness.

- (110) *pa* 'emphasis'
la 'emphasis' (from Malay)
kan 'isn't it?' (from Malay)
ka 'contrast'
(kə)toka 'for example'

Most of the particles are indigenous, except for *la* and *kan*, which are loan adaptations from Malay *lah-* and *(bu)kan* respectively. The particle *ka* is an indigenous particle, but as it is homophonous with the Malay particle *kah-*, which is pronounced as *ka* in Sabah, the Begak particle *ka* has taken on some of the functions of Malay *kah-*.

The various discourse particles will be treated one by one below. The particles that structure discourse will be treated in a more precise and slightly more elaborate fashion than the other particles, as their function is more obvious.

9.6.1. Structuring' discourse markers

9.6.1.1. *Kat* 'core development marker'

The function of the discourse markers *kat* and *koy* in Ida'an has already been treated in detail in an excellent paper by Moody. I will just summarise Moody's analysis of *kat* and *koy* and apply it to Begak. Moody (1991:146) describes the function of the particle as marking "those foreground events (..) of the narrative which represent significant developments towards its resolution". It occurs in sentences that constitute the backbone of the story. For example, (111) is from a story about how the Begak people settled down in the area where they still live today:

- (111) *Bəgarab kat rumo llung.*
 bəg-arab kat rumo llung
 AV-search CDM 3S river
 'He (started to) search for a river.' [Haji Mamali 028]

The fact that a man went to search for a river is an important stage in the story that led to the founding of the present village near the Kemukun river. Sentence (112) is the first sentence from a story about an accident in the household of Baby Prawn and Water Snail. The first crucial step towards the resolution of the story is their marriage; therefore this sentence is marked by *kat*.

- (112) *Sərawo kat Gongan bio Tuttul.*
 -ər-sawo kat gongan bio tuttul
 -REC-marry CDM baby.prawn and water.snail
 'Babyprawn married with Watersnail.' [Gongan bio Tuttul 001]

These foregrounded sentences with *kat* often contain a verb in the Dependent or in rarer cases in the Actor Voice and are sometimes introduced by adverbials such as *ləppap* 'immediately' or *mannu* 'very'. As for the syntax of *kat*, it is a second position clitic that comes either after the verb, as in (112), or after the negator *apon* or after the clause-initial adverbs *mannu* 'very' or *ləppap* 'immediately' as in (113).⁶

- (113) *Mannu-mannu kat ulun pasod no matak səra' no.*
 mannu-mannu kat ulun pasod ino m-atak səra' ino
 very-RED CDM person many yonder DEP-drop.UV mat yonder
 'The people immediately threw away the mat. (Context: the mat had a terrible odour).' [Dayangpukli 232]

Adverbial items other than the negator *apon*, or the adverbs *mannu* 'very' or *ləppap* 'immediately' cannot occur in front of *kat*. The element in front of *kat* is made slightly prominent by the intonation as it is in pragmatic prominent position.

⁶ Moody (1991: 146) remarks that "... some speakers tend to place *kat* in the dependent clause". Contrary to Ida'an, Begak does not allow *kat* in subordinate clauses.

9.6.1.2. Key and koy: focus markers

Another particle that occurs very frequently in narratives is *koy* or its synonym *key*. *Koy* and *key* are just pronunciation variants of each other and do not differ in function. *Koy* and *key* occur in imperatives and in certain clauses in narratives. They usually come after the first element of non-verbal clauses, after the verb in imperatives, or after the actor in full clauses. The function of the particle *koy* in narratives is described by Moody (1991: 157) as a current relevance marker: “The particle *koy* indicates that the situation (the state or event) is a response to a previous situation and has a special current relevance in the flow of the discourse”. This situation may be a foreground event or a background event. I would rather analysis *key* and *koy* as focus markers, because of their similarity to the Indonesian focus marker *lah*. The particles mark focus, i.e. new or contrastive information in the clause. Although the core development particle *kat* also marks foregrounding events, there is a difference with *key* or *koy*. The particles *key* and *koy* merely mark focus, but do not necessarily coincide with a crucial new stage in the development of a narrative. *Kat* exclusively occurs in narratives, whereas *key* and *koy* have a wider usage.

The following sentence illustrates how *koy* marks the focus, the new or contrastive information of the sentence. This sentence comes after a discussion about what should be the name of the child of the Sultan; finally the Sultan decides. The information is new and slightly contrastive:

- (114) *Jadi da ino koy naran anak Pəngian*
 jadi da ino koy naran anak Pəngian
 so PR yonder FOC name child sultan's.wife

bio Sərutan ton Monay.

bio Sərutan ton monay
 and Sultan TOP young.man

‘So *this* is the name of the child of the Sultan’s Wife and the Sultan: Young Man.’
 [Bowon Bura’ 018]

Sentence (115) illustrates how *key* can occur without the core development marker *kat*, as the sentence does not express information crucial to the development of the story. The verb *maya’* ‘follow’ is marked with *key* because it is in focus, new information.

- (115) *Dadi da pon tu Masi’ ton gubor,*
 dadi da apon tu Masi’ ton gubor
 so PR NEG.P too Masi’ TOP noisy

maya’ key məngindat.
 m-aya’ key məng-pindat
 DEP-follow FOC AV-clams

‘So Masi’ did not protest (lit. was not noisy), she joined (them) looking for clams.’
 [Masi dolam 013]

Very often, *kat* and *koy* or *key* are combined in one clause, then marking the

clause as new information expressing a core event. For example, (116) is about how the Begak people discovered the river where they still live nowadays. It is marked with *kat* because the event is crucial for the further development of the story. The focus marker *key* marks the clause as new information.

- (116) *Təgbuk rumo llung anak-anak, təmusuk kat rumo key.*
 təgbuk rumo llung anak-anak -ə̃m-tusuk kat rumo key
 meet.UV 3S river child-RED -DEP-follow.road.UV CDM 3S FOC
 'He came across a very small river, and followed the road (downstream).'
 [Haji Mamali 029]

Similarly, (117) is marked with the particle *key* to mark it for focus. The matrix is marked with the particle *kat*, because the event is crucial for the development of the narrative.

- (117) *Pog alap rumo bowon puti' ino gədino,*
 pog a-lap rumo bowon puti' ino gədino
 when NV-get.UV 3S sparrow white yonder in.yonder.way

ləppap kat rumo key missa' nong allom kurung.
 ləppap kat rumo key m-issa' nong allom kurung
 immediately CDM 3S FOC DEP-put.UV OBL inside cage
 'When he had caught the white sparrow he put it into a cage and looked after it and took it home.' [Bowon Bura' 032]

As has already been mentioned above, *koy* and *key* modify imperatives, as in (118).

- (118) *Aro key pa sidtu turug,*
 aro key pa sidtu turug
 NEG.IMP FOC PRT just sleep

buat ko koy sakko turug ino!
 b-uat ko koy sakko turug ino
 MID-get.up PRT CR from sleep ino
 'Stop sleeping all the time. Wake up from your sleep!' [Bowon Bura' 074]

The particles *key* and *koy* put the negator *aro* 'don't!' in focus. As for its syntax, *key* or *koy* come after the predicate, whether it is a verb as in (115) or a nominal predicate as in (114). If this position is already occupied by *kat*, or sometimes even if this position is not occupied, it appears after the actor:

Verb *key* Actor Undergoer
 Verb *kat* Actor *key* Undergoer
 Adverb *kat* Actor *key* Verb Undergoer
 In imperatives: Verb (*key*) (Actor) (*key*) Undergoer

The position of *key* or *koy* then, is partly semantically determined: it is placed after an element it has scope over; and partly syntactically determined: if *kat* already

occupies the place after the verb or narrative adverb, *key* or *koy* appear after the actor.

9.6.1.3. *Ton* ‘new topic’

The discourse particle *ton* introduces new topics. It modifies NPs and can be translated with ‘as for X, ...’. It occurs in definitions, introducing the concept to be defined as a new topic as in (119) and (120).

- (119) *Banay ton anan mənagkob sapa’*
 banay ton anan məng-sagkob sapa’
 bamboo.waterjar TOP place AV-fetch water
 ‘As for *banay* (‘bamboo water jar’), it is a place to store water.’ [Boyo bio Pelanuk 023]

- (120) *Məngindat ton məngay kimo di’ pasang.*
 məng-pindat ton məng-ay kimo di’ pasang
 AV-clam TOP AV-take oyster LOC sea
 ‘As for *məngindat* ‘looking for clams’, (it means) to take oysters at sea.’ [Masi’ 072]

Ton sometimes occurs in certain sentences in narratives or conversations that give background information about one of the protagonists or an explanation about how a certain event could happen. For example, the initial NP of (121) is marked with *ton* because the sentences provide some background information about the main characters Pud and her child that is necessary to understand the story. Similarly, the NP *aku ton* ‘as for me’ in (122) draws the attention to an explanation of how it could happen that the speaker was stopped by the police.

- (121) *Jadi iro gino Pud ton akay barung-barung.*
 jadi iro gino Pud ton akay barung-barung
 so COL wife.and.children Pud TOP EXIST field.hut
 ‘So Pud and her child had a field hut.’ [Pud 023]

- (122) *Suga’ masa ino aku tiu’ ceking, ngod*
 suga’ masa ino aku tiu’ ceking ngod
 but time yonder 1S.N hit checking because

aku ton pakay sədiwor bio baju antang Bisaya’ no pa.
 aku ton pakay sədiwor bio baju antang Bisaya’ ino pa
 1S.N TOP use trousers and shirt manner Bisaya yonder PRT
 ‘But when I was hit by the (police) checking, they checked me because as for me, (I) was wearing a Bisayan style trousers and shirt, you know.’ [Conversationcorn 656]

Ton can introduce a new episode in the narrative or a new turn in a conversation. For example in (123), it marks the beginning of a new topic in the conversation.

- (123) *Na, ari nom lepas di kan,*
 na ari nom -i-lapas adi kan
 PRT day six -COM-pass.by over.there isn't.it?

Tina ton muli' sakko Tawow.
 Tina ton m-uli' sakko Tawow
 Tina TOP DEP-go.home from Tawau

'Well, last Saturday isn't it?, Tina came home from Tawau.' [Conversationcorn 563]

Ton can be used to avoid ambiguity if it is unclear to which entity the speaker is referring. For example in (124) it is used in an afterthought, because in the preceding clauses, the speaker had been talking about several children, and she wants to avoid ambiguity about whom she is talking now. *Ton* reintroduces the topic here.

- (124) *Məɾəgkang ino sidom-sidom, Arji ton.*
 məɾəgkang ino sidom-sidom Arji ton
 child yonder black-RED Arji TOP
 'The child is a bit blackish, (I mean) Arji.' [Conversationcorn 464]

Ton can have a pejorative connotation if it modifies a second person pronoun, as in the following example. The negative tone does not only come from the word *dupong* 'foolish', it is rather enforced by *ton*.

- (125) "Nu tun dupong mo ton wo', turug koy(..)!"
 nu tun dupong mo ton wo' turug koy
 what real foolish 2S.G TOP my.daughter sleep FOC
 'What is this foolishness of yours, my daughter, go (back) to sleep (..)!' [Pud 039]

As for its syntax, *ton* comes at the end of an NP. Most of the times it comes in the demonstrative slot, but if there is a demonstrative, it follows the demonstrative.

9.6.2. Additive particles

The four items *tu* 'too', *bəgko* 'also', *ja* 'merely' and *sidtu* 'merely' are additive particles. Additive particles mark events, states or entities that are somehow additive to something else.⁷ The Begak additive particles have a second use as modal particle expressing the attitude of the speaker.

Tu can be roughly translated with 'too', although this translation is not always adequate. In (126), it clearly has an additive function of simple inclusion, like English 'too'. It is from a story where a rich man got the same disease as the poor man he had insulted.

⁷ This type of particle is sometimes called focus particle because of its interaction with focus structure of the sentence (König 1991).

- (126) a. *Tiu' rumo pədtos antang tu adi.*
 tiu' rumo pədtos antang tu adi
 hit 3s ill manner too over.there
 'He fell ill too like yonder (person).' [Tuo Babi 067]
- b. *Dadi bay məngənnor ilun tu nong rumo.*
 dadi bay məng-ə-nnor ilun tu nong rumo
 so PRF AV-insult other.people too OBL 3s
 'So the other people insulted him too.' [Tuo Babi 069]

In (127), *tu* is combined with *bəgko* 'also'; it does not mark inclusion here. *Tu* merely functions as a kind of modal particle: it expresses the attitude of the speaker. Similarly, in (128), the speaker is slightly surprised about how much the person in question had seen of a certain ceremony. The particle merely expresses the attitude of the speaker and does not have an additive function here.

- (127) *Kəmo antang ino pənguso rumo, pio tu bəgko.*
 kəmo antang ino pəng-uso rumo pio tu bəgko
 if manner yonder AG.NOM-gather.food 3s good too also
 'If his hunting and gathering is in that manner, that is good too.' [Monay bio Dera' 055]
- (128) *Pasod tu ttan rumo.*
 pasod tu ttan rumo
 many too see.UV 3s
 'She has seen a lot too/ She has even seen a lot.' [InterviewInni` 101]

Bəgko 'also' is another additive particle which differs only slightly in meaning from *tu* 'too'. I translate it with 'also' just to distinguish it from *tu* 'too'. *Bəgko* can marker addition, just like *tu*, as in (129) and (130). These sentence are an enumeration of the animals that the main character's hunting dog managed to catch. First the dog caught small animals, then it also caught bigger animals.

- (129) *Mannu key mənaug bakas, mənaug kərok,*
 mannu key məng-taug bakas məng-taug kərok
 very FOC AV-bark wild.pig AV-bark bird
- alap tu kərok.*
 a-lap tu kərok
 NV-get.UV too bird
 '(The dog) barked well at wild pigs; it barked at birds and caught birds too.'
 [Payow Mas 011]
- (130) *Da gajo asu ino, da*
 da gajo asu ino da
 PR big dog yonder PR

təɾəgbuk bəgko rumo bio payow.
 -ər-təgbuk bəgko rumo bio payow
 -REC-meet also 3S and deer
 ‘As the dog got big, it also came across a deer.’ [Payow Mas 012]

Bəgko can mean ‘again’ and it often occurs in combination with *bagku* ‘again (lit. ‘new’). In (131), the first occurrence of *bəgko* in the sense of ‘again’ occurs without other particles while the second occurrence is combined with *bagku* ‘new’.

(131) *Jadi da tettab Tərus payow no, da mənnik*
 jadi da -i-tattab Tərus payow ino da m-ənnik
 so PR -COM-stab.UV Terus deer yonder PR DEP-go.up

payow no bəgko, tattab kat Tərus key bəgko bagku.
 payow ino bəgko -u-tattab kat Tərus key bəgko bagku
 deer yonder also -DEP-stab.UV CDM Terus FOC also again
 ‘So as soon as Terus had stabbed the deer, the deer got up again and Terus stabbed the deer again for the second time.’ [Zam-Lee and Terus 009]

In (132) *bəgko* just reflects the irritation of the speaker: in an abstract sense it marks the addition of yet another question the speaker is asking herself.

(132) *(..) ullo bəgko nong mallan balay?*
 ullo bəgko nong m-allan balay
 why also AUX DEP-make.UV house
 ‘(..) and why do they need to build a house?’ [Conversationcorn 014]

Sidtu ‘merely’ is an indigenous restrictive marker that occurs before the element it modifies. It modifies the predicate verb in (133):

(133) *Turu’ dtow a’ iro sidtu’ gədino gədino*
 turu’ dtow a’ iro sidtu gədino gədino
 seven day yes 3P merely in.yonder.way in.yonder.way

gədino nong allom ino.
 gədino nong allom ino
 in.yonder.way OBL inside yonder
 ‘For seven days they (went) just like this, like this, like this in there.’ (Context: the survivors of The Flood going up and down on the waves in their tub.) [Haji Mamali008]

Sija ‘merely’ is a restrictive marker that is perhaps a loan from Malay *saja* ‘merely’. It is most of the time reduced to *ja*. It can modify a word, a constituent, as in (134) and (135), or a whole clause, as in (136).

- (134) *Jadi ino ja' suran nong məngallan timba'.*
 jadi ino ja' suran nong məng-allan timba'
 so yonder merely story OBL AV-make pickled.food
 'So only this is the story about making pickled food.' [Timba' 009]

- (135) *Nong məgkay risit sija'.*
 nong m-ə-gkay risit sija'
 AUX DEP-give.UV receipt merely
 'They merely gave him a receipt (not the identity card he had applied for).' [Conversationcorn 502]

- (136) *Dadi buat ino gəlindut sija',*
 dadi b-uat ino gə-lindut sija'
 so MID-get.up yonder AV-run merely

pon mugba'-mugba'.
 apon m-ugba'-m-ugba'
 NEG.P DEP-rest-RED
 'So she got up and just run, without resting./ All she did was getting up and running, without resting.' [Dayangpukli 134]

9.6.3. Modal particles

Modal particles are particles that express the attitude of the speaker.⁸ I have glossed them all as PRT 'particle' without distinguishing them from each other, because research is needed to determine their exact function.

Pa emphasises sentences or phrases. It may express confidence if the speaker is certain about what she (s)he says, but depending on the intonation it can also soften the utterance to make it slightly more polite. It functions as an emphasis marker in the following three sentences:

- (137) *Jadi, kulos ino pa, kulos rusok.*
 jadi kulos ino pa kulos rusok
 so animal yonder PRT animal broken
 'So that thing (lit. animal) hey, is definitely broken.' [ConversationtriptoLD 183]

La is probably a loan particle from Malay, which is pronounced without final /h/ in Sabah Malay. Young people use it more frequently than older people. Sneddon (1996:263) describes *lah* in standard Indonesian as a foregrounding particle. In Begak it functions as a synonym of *koy* or *key*, as in (138):

⁸ König (1991:180) defines the function of modal particles as follows: "Such expression can be used to indicate the degree of strength (evidence, confidence, insistence) with which a statement is made or a directive is uttered, they can be used to identify inconsistencies and they may be used to select the context in which a new utterance is to be processed. Moreover, they often characterise the inferential connections between old assumptions and newly presented ones."

- (138) *Jadi kəmmi duo la maya' sawot tunong.*
 jadi kəmmi duo la m-aya' sawot tunong
 so 1P.E./N/G two PRT DEP-follow arrive here
 'So the two of us just went (by bus) until here.' [ConversationtriptoLD 142]

The function of the particle *ka* is probably that of contrast or emphasis. It occurs obligatorily in nominal negation or contrastive negation with *pon* (see section 9.3.2. above). It also occurs frequently after the conjunction *ngod* 'because' as in (139), where *ka* emphasises the reason. *Ngod* 'because' can also occur without the particle *ka*.

- (139) *Ngod ka aku kətoka səlamong asu.*
 ngod ka aku kətoka səlamong asu
 because PRT 1S.N PRT afraid dog
 'Because I, for example, am afraid of dogs.' [Conversationdogs 459]

Ka can occur as in emphasis marker in imperatives as in (140), where it is probably a loan word from Malay *kah*.

- (140) "May ka gaud no" kəmo rumo,
 m-ay ka gaud ino kəmo rumo
 DEP-take.UV PRT paddle yonder QTM 3S
 "məkkoŋ, gittan pissi' puti'.
 m-ə-kkoŋ gittan p-issi' puti'
 DEP-tie.UV instrument SF-tear.UV white
 "Take the paddle", he said, "and tie it up with white pieces of cloth."
 [Lekpud gaud. 047]

The particle *kan* is a loan particle from Malay. It is an abbreviation of the contrastive or nominal negator *bukan*. Its function is to check whether the interlocutor agrees:

- (141) *Məngəgkot nong allom kabbun mo kan, ninga' buli.*
 məng-ə-gkot nong allom kabbun mo kan ninga' buli
 AV-work OBL inside garden 2S.G isn't.it? NEG.I can
 'As for working in your garden, right, that is impossible.' [Conversationcorn 128]

The particle (*kə*)*toka* or *toka* is used when the speaker talks about a certain person or event by means of example. It can be translated with 'person X for example' or 'so to speak'. Speakers of under approximately 40 years of age hardly ever use this particle; it is mainly used by older speakers. The use of the particle *kətoka* is considered to be very *halus* 'refined': very polite and careful. See also example (139) above.

- (142) *Ino pa toka antang Kurit ne.*
 ino pa toka antang Kurit ne
 yonder PRT PRT like Kurit this

Kurit ne ton pasod anak tu, Kurit.
 Kurit ne ton pasod anak tu Kurit
 Kurit this TOP many child too Kurit
 ‘This is a bit like Kurit, for instance. As for Kurit, she has many children too,
 Kurit.’ [Conversationkoko3 050]

9.7. Summary

This chapter treated several types of adverbials and other modifiers. The three aspectual particles *sa'*, *bay* and *da* were described in section 9.2. Section 9.3. treated negation. It was shown that the two forms of sentence negation (*a)pon* and (*n)inga'* differ only slightly in meaning and use. *Apon* is neutral and *ninga'* slightly contrastive. *Pon ka* is contrastive or nominal negation; the two forms for negative imperatives *aro* and *batong* were briefly discussed. It was shown that these two negative imperatives are perhaps auxiliaries, as they can only be followed by a verb in the AV or UV-Dependent.

Auxiliaries were treated in section 9.4. It was shown for each auxiliary in what respect they still resemble verbs, and whether their semantics is bleached. Section 9.5. gave a description of narrative adverbs, aspectual adverbs, adverbs of degree and adverbs of time.

Discourse particles were briefly described in section 9.6. Discourse particles are quite important and frequent in Begak discourse: almost every other Begak sentence contains one or more particles.

10. Interclausal relations

10.1. Introduction

This chapter treats interclausal relations. Section 10.2. will describe complement clauses, such as sentential complements, direct speech and indirect speech complements and control constructions. Section 10.3. will discuss a type of adjunct clause that consists of a controlled clause with a non-finite verb. This adjunct control construction occurs after verbs of motion, in resultative constructions and after manner predicates. Relative clauses will be treated in section 10.4. As clefts and open questions are based on relative clause constructions, they are treated in the same section. Temporal and conditional subordinate clauses introduced by conjunctions will be treated in section 10.5., while coordinate clauses introduced by conjunctions will be discussed in section 10.6.

10.2. Complement clauses

Begak has two main types of complement clauses: sentential complements and complements with a non-finite verb. Sentential complements are complements with a finite verb, i.e. a verb that can bear any inflection. A complement with a non-finite verb contains a verb not inflected for Completive Aspect or Non-volitive Mood: AV-Incompletive Aspect or UV-Dependent.

The form of the complement depends partly on the semantics of the main verb. Verbs of perception and psych verbs tend to take sentential complements but some psych verbs may also take a control clause; sentential complements are treated in section 10.2.1. Verbs of speaking may take a sentential complement in the form of direct speech or indirect speech, but some items may alternatively take a complement with control (a complement construction in which the verb is unmarked for aspect and mood and in which the actor is omitted under coreference with an argument of the matrix clause). Direct speech and indirect speech complements are treated in section 10.2.2., while control complements are treated in section 10.2.3.

10.2.1. Sentential complements

A sentential complement has all the properties of an ordinary sentence. The verb can bear any inflection. The word order of constituents within a sentential complement is subject to the same restrictions as that of a main clause, whereas the word order in a complement with a non-finite verb is more restricted. Omitting arguments in a sentential clause that are coreferential with those in the main clause is not obligatory.

Sentential complements occur in equative clauses, as in (1) where the complement clause forms the predicate, and (2) where both the subject and the predicate are clauses:

- (1) *Dadi ino key akkor Sərutan, [nong matak satu.]_s*
 dadi ino key akkor Sərutan nong m-atak satu
 so yonder FOC plan Sultan AUX DEP-drop.UV one
 ‘So this was the Sultan’s plan: to abandon one (of his children).’ [Dayangpukli 005]
- (2) *[Məngindat]_s ton [məngay kimo di’ pasang.]_s*
 məng-pindat ton məng-ay kimo di’ pasang
 AV-clam TOP AV-take oyster LOC sea
 ‘As for *məngindat* (‘looking for clams’) (it means) to take oysters at sea.’ [Masi’ 072]

Verbs of perception such as *ttan* ‘see’, *kingog* ‘hear’ take a sentential complement. Psych verbs such as *malu* ‘want’, *kalay* ‘not want’, *pəlla* ‘afraid’, *atow* ‘know’, *gədtam* ‘remember’, *liwag* ‘forget’, may take either a sentential complement or a clausal complement with control.

The embedded sentence consists minimally of one clause, as in (3), but may also consist of a matrix clause with one or more subordinate clauses, as in (4). Temporal subordinate clauses always precede their main clause, therefore the subordinate clause *Pog sawot tunong* ‘When (we) arrived here’ belongs to the complement clause instead of to the matrix clause.

- (3) *Kingog ku [ikow pədtos]_s*
 k-ingog ku ikow pədtos
 AV.NV-hear 1S.G 2S.N ill
 ‘I heard you (are/were) ill.’ [Mi-Suk1 153]
- (4) *Jadi pəlla’ aku [[pog sawot tunong]_s*
 jadi pəlla’ aku pog sawot tunong
 so afraid 1S.N when arrive here

kambor paut dalan no bio dali’]_s
 kambor paut dalan ino bio dali’
 perhaps mud road yonder and flood
 ‘I was afraid that, when (we) arrived here, the road (would) be muddy and there (would) be a flood.’ [Mi-Suk3B 074]

Sentential complements are not introduced by a complementiser. Sentential complements are juxtaposed to the main verb without any markers. If the complement is an undergoer of the main verb, it always follows the main predicate and never precedes it, whatever the voice marking on the verb. Even if the verb of the matrix clause is in the UV, and the complement clause is the subject, it must appear after the verb:

- (5) *Ttan ku [ikow məngallan pəngappas gittan təluluk.]_s*
 ttan ku ikow məng-allan pəng-appas gittan təluluk
 see.UV 1S.G 2S.N AV-make AG.NOM-sweep instrument coconut.fibre
 'I see/saw that you are/were making a broom with coconut fibre.' [Mi-Suk2 270]

This is probably because the pre-verbal position in Begak is a pragmatically prominent position that may only be occupied by subjects that consist of words or light constituents, but not by complete sentences or clauses. Perhaps definiteness plays a role too: subjects in pre-verbal position must be definite.

We have seen in the previous chapter that certain auxiliaries may take a complement with an UV-Completive Aspect verb referring to a future event. Certain psych verbs also take a (sentential) complement with UV-Completive Aspect verb referring to an undesirable or desirable future event that is out of control, for instance *pəlla* 'afraid', as in (6):

- (6) *Martin pəlla' [seggow polis.]_s*
 Martin pəlla' -i-saggow polis
 Martin afraid -COM-catch.UV police
 'Martin is afraid that he will be caught by the police.' [Notebook]

The undergoer of the complement clause in (6) is omitted because it is already clear from the rest of the sentence that the gap must refer to *Martin*. Sentence (7) shows that, even if the undergoer-subject of the complement clause *nakon* 'me' is identical to the actor-non-subject argument *ku* 'I' of the matrix clause, it need not be deleted or omitted.

- (7) *Jadi likkad ku rumo ngod*
 jadi -i-ləkkad ku rumo ngod
 so -COM-let.go.UV 1S.G 3S because
- pəlla' aku [nebput rumo nakon.]_s*
 pəlla' aku ni-abput rumo nakon
 afraid 1S.N COM-bite.UV 3S 1S.A
 'So I let it (the dog) go, because I was afraid it would bite me.' [Mi-Suk1 483]

10.2.2. Complements of verbs of speaking

Verbs of speaking can take a direct or indirect speech complement; and certain lexical items can take a control complement (see section 10.3. below). Indirect speech will be treated first. Direct speech will be treated in section 10.2.2.2., while section 10.2.2.3. will discuss quotes, direct or indirect speech with the noun *ukat* 'hearsay'.

10.2.2.1. Indirect speech

Indirect speech in Begak is not syntactically different from sentential complements

of verbs of perception or psych verbs. It differs from indirect speech complement in that indirect speech has deictic shift, i.e. in indirect speech the pronouns are adapted in person and number to fit those of the matrix sentence. In sentence (8), for example, *Ləppit* ‘Thunderstorm’ introduces himself in a clause with indirect speech. The third person singular pronoun *rumo* ‘his’ is used in the complement instead of the first person singular *ku* which would have been the case in direct speech.

- (8) *Bera’ rumo [naran rumo Ləppit.]_s*
 -i-bara’ rumo naran rumo Ləppit
 -COM-say,UV 3S name 3S Thunderstorm
 ‘He said (that) his name was Thunderstorm.’ [Leppit 005]

In (9), the first person singular genitive pronoun *ku* is used in the complement instead of the second person singular genitive *mo* which would have been the case in a direct speech complement.

- (9) *Pasod ulun mənukot nong nakon [anak ari ku*
 pasod ulun məng-sukot nong nakon anak ari ku
 many person AV-inform OBL 1S.A child youngest 1S.G

kusay gam liun.]_s
 kusay gam liun
 man QM woman
 ‘Many people ask me (whether) my youngest child is a boy or a girl.’ [Mi-Suk2 210]

10.2.2.2. Direct speech complements

Direct speech is characterised by the absence of deictic shift, i.e. the personal pronouns are not adapted in person and number to fit those of the matrix clause. The following sentence lacks deictic shift. The personal pronoun in the complement clause is the second person singular genitive pronoun *mo* ‘you’, whereas it would be the third person singular pronoun *rumo* ‘he, him’ in indirect speech.

- (10) *Da mənala’ ina’ rumo “(..) aro mo panow bəgədtu”.*
 da məng-sala’ ina’ rumo (..) aro mo panow bəg-ə-dtu’
 PR AV-sala’ mother 3S (..) NEG.IMP 2S.G go AV-far
 ‘His mother forbade him “don’t you walk too far away!”’ [Mengera’kusr]

Direct speech can optionally be marked by the quote marker *kəmo* which appears before and/or after the quoted material. *Kəmo* cannot occur in indirect speech. The quote marker *kəmo* can function as a predicate itself, without a verb of speaking, as in (11), where *kəmo* and its argument appears before and after the quote. This quote marker *kəmo* has an argument *Monay* ‘Young Man’ here.

- (11) *Jadi kəmo Monay “nay ikow ton?”, kəmo*
 jadi kəmo monay nay ikow ton kəmo
 so QTM young.man who 2S.N TOP QTM
- Monay nong allom nupi rumo ne.*
 monay nong allom nupi rumo ne
 young.man OBL inside dream 3S this
 ‘Young Man said, “who are you?, said Young Man in his dream.’ [Bowon Bura’ 048]

In (12), the quote marker *kəmo* comes before the quoted material, while in (13) it follows it:

- (12) *Dadi kəmo rumo “kito ton tuso.”*
 dadi kəmo rumo kito ton tuso
 so QTM 3S 1P.I.N/G TOP difficult
 ‘So she said “we are in trouble”.’ [Dayangpukli takes revenge 012]
- (13) *“Mənwawo ikow, malu’ akay məngərerə’ nakon,” kəmo rumo.*
 məng-sawo ikow malu’ akay məngə-rerə’ nakon kəmo rumo
 AV-marry 2S.N want EXIST AV-look.after 1S.A QTM 3S
 ‘“(Father, please re-)marry so that there is (someone who) looks after me!”, she said.’
 [Dayangpukli takes revenge 006]

Although *kəmo* can be used as a predicate, it is not a real verb: it cannot be inflected. It is not a noun either because it is followed by nominative instead of genitive pronouns. If it were a noun, its possessor would have to appear in the genitive if pronominal. Moreover, *kəmo* has two other functions: that of a conditional or temporal conjunction ‘if’, ‘as for’. This suggests that it is more like a function word with certain verbal characteristics than like a content word.

Direct speech complements are not real arguments of the sentence. For example, they can precede *kəmo*, whereas ordinary verbal complements cannot precede the complement taking predicate. Moreover, they can be broken up by the predicate. In sentence (14) *kəmo* breaks up the cited sentence on a constituent boundary. Ordinary verbal complements are never broken up by the predicate.

- (14) *Jadi “ngod aku ton” kəmo Masi’, “muli’ key*
 jadi ngod aku ton kəmo Masi’ m-uli’ key
 so because 1S.N TOP QTM Masi’ DEP-go.home FOC
- kəmo da anu sa’ ku may niun.”*
 kəmo da anu sa’ ku m-ay niun
 if PR whatever SQ 1S.G DEP-take.UV 2S.A
 ‘So “because I”, said Masi’, “will go home, and after a while I will take you (there).’
 [Masi’ dolam 030]

The complement of *kəmo* need not be in Begak, but can be in any other language. It need not consist of a clause but may just contain an onomatopoeia, for example an imitation of an animal sound, as in (15):

- (15) *Akay masi bəkətuk 'tok tok tok' kəmo.*
 akay masi bə-kətuk tok tok tok kəmo
 EXIST still AV-cackle tok tok tok QTM
 'There was still this cackling 'tok tok tok' it said.' [Soksok 020]

Sentences (16) and (17) show that the quoted material need not even be verbal but can be an imitation of a movement too.

- (16) *(..) tota', mittat ppi' (movement) kəmo.*
 (..) -u-tata', m-ittat ppi' kəmo
 (..) -DEP-cry DEP-lift.up.UV arm QTM
 '(He) was crying (and) lifted up (his) arms like this (the speaker lifts up her arms to immitate the movement).' [Notebook]
- (17) *Kəmo da panas*
 kəmo da panas
 if PR hot
- nong missa' nong kasu' kito ne, (movement) kəmo.*
 nong m-issa' nong kasu' kito ne kəmo
 AUX DEP-put.UV OBL foot 1P.I.N/G this QTM
 'When (the pan) is hot it (must) be put near our feet, like this (..).' (The speaker puts an imaginary pan with boiling water between her feet to demonstrate the traditional cure for a woman after she has given birth.) [Conversationdogs 055]

The fact that quotes need only *kəmo* but no speech verb, and that they can be broken up, can be in another language and can even consist of non-verbal material proves that they are not real arguments of the clause.

10.2.2.3. *Ukat* 'hearsay'

Another marker of reported speech is *ukat* 'hearsay', which cannot be inflected. Contrary to the direct speech marker *kəmo* it can be followed by a genitive pronoun instead of by a nominative pronoun. Therefore *ukat* can be analysed as an uninflectable verb or a noun. Just like *kəmo*, it can break up reported speech, as in (18).

- (18) *Ino nong goni ukat lomud kumman.*
 ino nong -u-gani ukat -u-lamud kumman
 yonder AUX -DEP-harvest.UV hearsay -DEP-mix.UV DEP.eat.UV
 'It must be harvested, so they say, and be mixed and eaten.'
 [Conversationselectingseed 047]

Ukat 'hearsay' may be combined with the quote marker *kemo*:

- (19) *ʔay bəɾəsi pa pokok kəlapa sawit no” kəmo ukat.*
 bay bəɾəsi pa pokok kəlapa sawit ino kəmo ukat
 PRF clean PRT tree palmtree oilpalm yonder QTM hearsay
 ‘He said allegedly “This oilpalm tree is clean!” (i.e. the weed growing on the stem has been removed). [Conversationharvest 111]

Ukat is translated with ‘hearsay’, because its primary use is to emphasise that the speaker is reporting someone else’s speech especially when the speaker has not heard the words him/herself through a third party. For example, in (20) *ukat* expresses that the speaker herself was not an eyewitness of Kandung and company going to Kota Kinabalu. As *ukat* does not have a possessor here, it is left unspecified whether she obtained the information from Kandung himself or from a third party.

- (20) *Iro Kandung ukat penow di’ KK.*
 iro Kandung ukat -i-panow di’ KK
 COL Kandung hearsay -COM-go LOC Kota.Kinabalu
 ‘Kandung and company went to KK, so they say.’ [Conversationcorn 523]

Ukat ‘hearsay’ need not introduce an observation but can refer to expectations or thoughts as in (21). This sentence is from an animal story about Mrs. Babyprawn who cooks lunch for her husband, Mr. Watersnail. She carries the hot rice on her head and dies because of a cooked brain. The word *ukat* cannot mean ‘hearsay’ here, because there is no other person in the context of the story who told Mrs. Babyprawn about the heat of the sun. *Ukat* refers to her thoughts.

- (21) *Apon nədili’ rumo panas bətuān rumo.*
 apon nə--i-duli’ rumo panas bətuān rumo
 NEG.P UV.CAU.COM--COM-care 3S hot body 3S

ngod ka ukat rumo panas atiu’ dtow.
 ngod ka ukat rumo panas a-tiu’ dtow
 because PRT hearsay 3S hot NV-hit.UV sun
 ‘She did not care that she (lit. her body) was hot, because she thought she was hot because of (lit. hit by) the sun.’ [Tuttul bio Gongan2p3]¹

Nevertheless, *ukat* can best be described as a marker of indirect evidence. Unlike *kəmo*, it may occur in ordinary simple clauses and need not mark an embedded clause or direct speech complement clause.

¹ The verb *nədili* ‘care about something’ is a backformation based on the loan word *pəduli* ‘care’ from Malay, affixed with Begak UV-completive causative morphology *nə-i-*. Loan words starting with *pə-* often form the basis of backformations because the */pə/* sounds are apparently interpreted as the Begak causative morpheme *pə-*. The AV-form of Malay *pəduli* is *məngəduli*.

10.2.2.4. Summary

Verbs of perception, psych verbs and verbs of speaking take sentential complements. Sentential complements have all the properties of an ordinary sentence: they can bear any inflection, they need not share arguments with the matrix clause and may consist of more than one clause. Complement clauses always occur after the main clause.

Verbs of speaking take a complement in indirect speech or direct speech. Indirect speech takes the form of a sentential complement. Indirect speech has deictic shift whereas direct speech has not. Direct speech may but need not be marked with the quote marker *kəmo*. Direct speech complements are not arguments of the sentence. They are only embedded at discourse level: they may be broken up by the quote marker *kəmo*, or even consist of non-verbal material.

Another evidential marker is *ukat*, which is used to report speech from a third party. It may be inserted in a simple clause and need not introduce a complement clause. It may modify direct or indirect speech.

10.2.3. Control constructions

A complement with control is a clausal complement with a non-finite verb, i.e. a verb in the AV-Incomplete Aspect or UV-Dependent. Subjects (or actors) of complements are omitted when they are coreferential with some argument in the matrix clause (Noonan 1985). This section describes under what conditions control takes place in Begak.

Following Pollard and Sag (1991), I will divide the Begak controller verbs into three (semantically based) groups: the commitment type verbs, as in (22), the orientation type, as in (23) and the influence type, as in (24). Commitment type verbs express the commitment of the actor to perform the action described by the complement verb. Orientation type verbs express aspectual notions and describe the orientation of the actor towards the action, while influence type verbs are mostly verbs of speaking that express how the speaker tries to make the addressee perform the action described by the complement verb.

(22)	verbal root	gloss	(23)	verbal root	gloss
	<i>tinam</i>	'try'		<i>maku</i>	'bear'
	<i>akkor</i>	'make plan, intend'		<i>tangka'</i>	'bear'
	<i>timpu</i>	'make appointment'		<i>tubid</i>	'afford, be physically able'
	<i>liwag</i>	'forget'		<i>igbit</i>	'lift up, afford'
	<i>gədtam</i>	'remember'		<i>sərin</i>	'like'
				<i>tus</i>	'have time or occasion'
				<i>raman</i>	'used to'

(24)	verbal root	gloss
	<i>səmmu'</i>	'command' ²
	<i>sala'</i>	'forbid'
	<i>ingut</i>	'force'
	<i>paksa'</i>	'force (Malay)'
	<i>aus</i>	'bring, invite'
	<i>tabang</i>	'help'

The meaning of the control verb determines which argument is the controller. The controller of orientation verbs (23) is the experiencer, while the controller of commitment (22) verbs is the committer and the controller of influence verbs (24) is the undergoer. Besides semantic criteria to divide verbs into these three types, there is also a morphological criterion: most commitment type verbs and influence type verbs are dynamic verbs while most orientation verbs are stative verbs.

Sentences (25), (26) and (27) illustrate a typical control construction. The control verb can appear in any aspect or mood in the AV as in (25) or in the UV-Incompletive Aspect as in (26) or in the UV-Dependent as in (27). The actor of the main clause is the controller in all three sentences, as the controller verb is a verb of commitment. The controller can be any core of the matrix verb. In (25) the controller *kəmmi* 'we', is the subject of the matrix. In (26) and (27) the controller is the actor-non-subject of the matrix clause: *ku* 'I' in (26) and *rumo* 'he/she' in (27).

As for the complement verb, its verb appears either in the AV-Incompletive, as in (25), (26a) and (27a) or in the UV-Dependent as in the (b) variants.

(25)	<i>Kəmmi</i>	<i>məninam</i>	<i>mənannan</i>	<i>kudor</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>bagku.</i>
	kəmmi	məng-tinam	məng-tannan	kudor	ino	bagku
	1P.E.N/G	AV-try	AV-install	mouse.trap	yonder	new
	'We are trying to install the mousetrap again.' [Mi-Suk3B 265]					

(26)	a.	<i>Digabpi</i>	<i>bay</i>	<i>təninam</i>	<i>ku</i>	
		digabpi	bay	-ən-tinam	ku	
		yesterday	PRF	-COM-try.UV	1S.G	
		<i>mənannan</i>	<i>kudor</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>bagku.</i>	
		məng-tannan	kudor	ino	bagku	
		AV-install	mouse.trap	yonder	new	
		'Yesterday I tried to install the mousetrap again.'				

b.	<i>Digabpi</i>	<i>bay</i>	<i>təninam</i>	<i>ku</i>
	digabpi	bay	-ən-tinam	ku
	yesterday	PRF	-COM-try.UV	1S.G

² Some of the verbs in (24), such as *səmmu'* 'command', can take several types of complements: a complement with direct speech, a complement with indirect speech or a control complement.

tonnan kudor no bagku.
 -u-tannan kudor ino bagku
 -DEP-install.UV mouse.trap yonder new
 ‘Yesterday I tried to install the mousetrap again.’

- (27) a. *Pog bpos ino təminam kat rumo key mədtop.*
 pog bpos ino -ə-m-tinam kat rumo key m-ə-dtop
 when after yonder -DEP-try.UV CDM 3S FOC DEP-shine.UV
 ‘After that he tried to turn on (the light).’ [Mi-Suk3A 285]
- b. *Pog bpos ino təminam kat rumo key məngədtop.*
 pog bpos ino -ə-m-tinam kat rumo key məng-ə-dtop
 when after yonder -DEP-try.UV CDM 3S FOC AV-shine
 ‘After that he tried to turn on (the light).’ [Mi-Suk3A 285]

The complement clause cannot contain aspect particles, but it may have its own negation, as in the elicited sentence (28) with orientation verb:

- (28) *Malu’ aku mərim suga’ tangka’ ku tu pon mərim.*
 malu’ aku m-ə-rim suga’ tangka’ ku tu apon m-ə-rim
 want 1S.N DEP-laugh but bear 1S.G too NEG.P DEP-laugh
 ‘I wanted to laugh but I persevered not to laugh.’

Complements with an finite verb are ungrammatical:

- (29) a. **Digabpi bay təminam ku*
 digabpi bay -ən-tinam ku
 yesterday PRF -COM-try.UV 1S.G
- tennan kudor no bagku.*
 -i-tannan kudor ino bagku
 -COM-install.UV mouse.trap yonder new
 ‘Yesterday I tried to install the mousetrap again.’
- b. **Digabpi bay təminam ku*
 digabpi bay -ən-tinam ku
 yesterday PRF -COM-try.UV 1S.G
- mənnən kudor no bagku.*
 məng-i-tannan kudor ino bagku
 AV--COM-install mouse.trap yonder new
 ‘Yesterday I tried to install the mousetrap again.’

Most languages obey the restriction that the controllee must be the subject of the complement clause. This restriction seems not to hold for Begak: in AV-clauses the controllee is the actor-subject, as in (25), (26a) and (27a) while in complement clauses with a verb in the UV-Dependent the controllee is the actor-non-subject, as in (26b) and (27b). The controllee cannot be an undergoer in control construction. The generalisation is that the controllee must be the actor of the

complement clause, just like in certain control constructions in Tagalog (Kroeger 1993).

The choice of the inflection of the complement verb depends on the context. Dependent inflection indicates that the event described by the verb will take place the next moment, whereas AV-inflection is more neutral: the event is already taking place or it will take place at some point in time, but not necessarily immediately. But in many cases, the contrast between AV and UV-Dependent is so subtle that my consultants did not notice any difference in meaning. There is, for instance, no difference in meaning between the (a) and (b) variants above.

Similarly, there is no difference between (30a) and (30b). The original version has a Dependent complement verb, probably because the sentence is from a narrative and most clauses in narratives are in the Dependent. If one clause is in the Dependent, the next clause tends to be in the Dependent too, although this is not a hard rule.

- (30) a. *Makkor kat iro mallan tung.*
 m-akkor kat iro m-allan tung
 DEP-plan.UV CDM COL DEP-make.UV tub
 'They made a plan to make a tub.' [Haji Mamali 003]
- b. *Makkor kat iro mǝngallan tung.*
 m-akkor kat iro mǝng-allan tung
 DEP-plan.UV CDM COL AV-make tub
 'They made a plan to make a tub.' [Haji Mamali 003]

Sentence (31) contains an intransitive complement verb:

- (31) *Bǝttog kat anak no tota'.*
 b-ǝ-ttog kat anak ino -u-tata'
 MID-cease CDM child yonder -DEP-cry
 'The child stopped crying.' [menger'a'kusurp160]

The following sentences illustrate undergoer control. The controller is the goal of the matrix verb:

- (32) *Aku malu' mǝnǝmmu' niun mǝngallan kuy.*
 aku malu' mǝng-sǝmmu' niun mǝng-allan kuy
 1S.N want AV-command 2S.A AV-make cake
 'I want to tell you to make cake.' [Mi-Suk3B 151]
- (33) *Sela' ku anak ku gǝlisang di' awan*
 -i-sala' ku anak ku gǝ-lisang di' awan
 -COM-forbid.UV 1S.G child 1S.G AV-play LOC outside
ngod uran gayo.
 ngod uran gayo
 because rain big
 'I forbade my children to play outside because it was raining hard.' [Mi-Suk1 730]

- (34) *Gam ino akay abur ku*; *kəmo, ‘akay*
 gam ino akay abur ku kəmo akay
 QM yonder EXIST companion 1S.G QTM EXIST
məṇabang nakon bəgapuy”
 məng-tabang nakon bəg-apuy
 AV-help 1S.A AV-cook
 ‘She will be my companion, there is (someone to) help me cooking.’
 [Nine princesses 147]

Some verbs of influence are ordinary verbs in one sense and control verbs in another sense. *Bəg-aus* ‘bring’ can take an inanimate patient, then functioning as an ordinary verb. In its sense ‘invite’, it functions as a control predicate, as in (35) and (36). The word order in this sentence is different from the above sentences in that the controller argument appears after the complement verb instead of after the main verb:

- (35) *Liman bəgaus gətərangu’ nong Pəlanuk.*
 liman bəg-aus gə--ər-tangu’ nong pəlanuk
 elephant AV-bring AV--REC-hide OBL mouse.deer
 ‘Elephant invited Mousedeer to play hide and seek (lit. hide each other).’
 [Liman bio Pelanukp1]
- (36) *Kəmo təgajo Monay ‘b əgaus mangan nong Dəra’*”
 kəmo təgajo Monay bəg-aus mangan nong Dəra’
 QTM parent young.man AV-bring AV.eat OBL young.lady
 ‘Young Man’s parents said ‘invite/make Young Lady to eat (of the water melon)’.”
 [Dera’ Siowp2]

Sometimes the case marking of the actor pronoun in the complement clause is in the nominative instead of in the accusative or oblique, as in (37). Recall from section 5.3.2. that pronominal post-verbal undergoers are always in the accusative even if they are the subject of an UV-verb. It is not clear whether the actor *aku* belongs to the main clause or to the complement clause.

- (37) *Na, neus rumo aku məgramay.*
 na ni-aus rumo aku məg-ramay
 PRT COM-bring.UV 3S 1S.N AV-crowd
 ‘Well, he invited me to make a feast (lit. make a crowd).’ [Renggon 130]

Similarly in (38) the complement clause follows the verb-initial word order and contains an actor in the nominative. However, *səmmu* ‘command, tell’ need sometimes does not take a control complement but a direct or indirect speech complement; therefore (38) may be an indirect speech complement.

- (38) *O Kədo, simmu’ məngannak ku di*
 o kədo -i-səmmu’ məngannak ku adi
 EXCL friend -COM-command.UV wife 1S.G over.there

[*mənnik* *aku* *lakkug* *di.*]_s
 m-ə-nnik aku lakkug adi
 DEP-go.up.UV 1S.N top.of.felled.and.burned.treetrunk over.there
 ‘O my friend, my wife told me that I (should) climb the top of the felled and burnt
 treetrunk over there.’ [Rajo Tunggal Da Kaling Teputow. 349]

More research is for a proper analysis of constructions with *bəgaus* ‘bring, invite’ and *səmmu* ‘command, tell’ and other control constructions.

10.2.4. Summary

Bresnan (1982) and Kroeger (1993) distinguish functional control, which is syntactically based, and anaphoric control, which is semantically based. It can be concluded that Begak control is semantic in nature rather than syntactic: the semantic role of actor is selected as controllee instead of the syntactic role of subject. The complement verb may appear in the AV or in the UV, but the controllee is always the actor.

10.3. Adjunct control and other juxtaposed clauses

Besides complement clauses that form an argument of the main clauses, there are a number of clauses with a non-finite verb that are adjuncts of the main clause. These adjunct control clauses contain a verb in the AV or in the UV-Dependent, just like the control clauses above. For example, the following sentences contain a juxtaposed non-finite clause that is probably a purpose clause adjunct of the matrix clause. The undergoer of the matrix clause of (39) *naton* ‘us’ is an unexpressed actor of its juxtaposed purpose clause.

(39) *Miro ne bəkassow naton [bəguru uni Bəgak.]_s*
 miro ne bə-kassow naton bə-guru uni Bəgak
 3P this AV-disturb 1P.IA AV-learn speech Begak
 ‘They are disturbing us learning Begak.’ [Mi-Suk1 114]

Begak makes extensive use of clause juxtaposition. The following two clauses illustrate a juxtaposed clause that is not adjunct control. In the first place, the verb may appear in the UV-Completive Aspect, and in the second place, it is possible to insert a pause or conjunction *ngod* ‘because’ in between the two clauses without semantic difference:

(40) *Dadi agbog irung Assa’, bekal rumo.*
 dadi a-gbog irung assa’ -i-bakal rumo
 so NV-break nose Assa’ -COM-strike.UV 3S
 ‘So Assa”’s nose broke after he hit it.’ [Assa’ 053]

- (41) a. *Dadi, da gəpunong Bəgak, binu' Bərigas.*
 dadi da gə-p-unong Bəgak -i-bunu' Bərigas
 so PR AV-SF-finish Begak -COM-kill.UV Berigas
 'So Begak started to become extinct, killed by Berigas.' [Berigas 027]
- b. *Dadi, da gəpunong Bəgak ngod binu' Bərigas.*
 dadi da gə-p-unong Bəgak ngod -i-bunu' Bərigas
 so PR AV-SF-finish Begak because -COM-kill.UV Berigas
 'So Begak started to become extinct killed by Berigas.'

Juxtaposition of clauses occurs in the following types of sentences:

- verbs of motion with purpose clause
- resultative construction
- direction construction
- purpose clauses with *m-əgkay* 'DEP-give'
- manner verbs + modified clause

These constructions are tentatively analysed as adjunct control, but more research is needed for a proper analysis. Although the distinction between these subtypes is only semantic and cannot be pinned down, each subtype will be discussed separately, as purpose clauses are very frequent in Begak.

10.3.1. Verbs of motion with purpose or manner clause

Verbs of motion or position as in (42) are often followed by a subordinate clause of purpose, simultaneity or manner. Since the construction with verbs of motion involves argument sharing, it is similar to control, with the difference that verbs taking control-complements are transitive, while verbs of motion are intransitive and thus do not take complement clauses. The subordinate clause is a purpose clause, an adjunct.

- (42) *panow* 'go'
m-ə-ssob 'come'
m-ə-nnik 'go up'
b-uruy 'stand'
b-adung 'sit'
dongay (d-u-angay) 'proceed'

The verb of the purpose clause tends to appear in the AV-Incompletive, as in (43) but can sometimes appear in the UV-Dependent, as in (44).

- (43) *Tərus penow [məngay sapow di.]_s*
 Tərus -i-panow məng-ay sapow adi
 Terus -COM-go AV-take roof over.there
 '(Context: building a house) Terus went to take the roof.' [Conversation koko1 116]

Panow is followed by a Dependent verb in (44). The Dependent morphology on the verb of the complement indicates that the action is about to take place:

- (44) *Ləppap kat Səngoyan kubad di panow [magbag.]_s*
 ləppap kat səngoyan kubad adi panow m-agbag
 immediately CDM monkey rest over.there go DEP-strike.UV
 'Immediately the rest of the monkeys went striking (the butterflies).'
 [Kalibambang bio Sengoyan 087]

The verb *panow* 'go' occurs uninflected, in the Completive Aspect or in the Dependent. In all three cases it may but need not be followed by another verb. The verb *panow* 'go' is not semantically bleached if it is followed by another verb, i.e. it is not merely an aspectual marker but really implies a movement from one place to the other in order to carry out the action described by the verb of the complement. Therefore its status is not (yet) that of an auxiliary but an independent verb, although it occurs very frequently before another verb.

Another verb of motion that is frequently followed by a purpose clause is *m-aya* 'join, follow':

- (45) *Bilo miro sawot gabpi na, da maya' [mənginum basog.]_s*
 bilo miro sawot gabpi na da m-aya' məng-inum basog
 when 3P arrive night PRT PR DEP-follow AV-drink rice.wine
 'When they came at night, well, they joined in drinking rice wine.' [Haji Mamali 076]
- (46) *Kəmo rumo 'Maya' ikow nong nakon [muli'.]_s*
 kəmo rumo m-aya' ikow nong nakon m-uli'
 QTM 3S DEP-follow 2S.N OBL 1S.A DEP-go.home
 'He said 'you (just) join me to go home''. [Rajo Tunggal Da Kaling Teputow. 036]

Certain verbs of motion and position occur in fixed expressions that are idiomatic such as *mənnik mənawo* 'go up to propose for marriage', *b-uruy gə-liput* 'stand go around' refers to the *russay* ritual where people stand in a circle, *b-adung gə-təgki* 'sit be pregnant' means 'craving for special food'. Although the construction with a verb of motion is tentatively analysed as a purpose clause, it may turn out to be monoclausal.

10.3.2. The resultative construction

Begak has a resultative construction that can be semantically compared to the resultative construction in English and other Indo-European languages, as in 'Wipe your hands clean'. The Begak resultative construction, however, consists of a main clause with juxtaposed purpose clause with shared arguments. The first verb may bear any inflection while the juxtaposed purpose clause must be a transitive verb in the AV or in the UV-Dependent. Two clauses together express one complex event.

The following examples with UV-Dependent verbs come from recipes. The undergoer of these examples comes after the first verb. The variant in (47b) is ungrammatical because the lower verb is not causativised and thus not transitive:

- (47) a. [Nong mo manit gulo kulit buduk no]_s
 nong mo m-anit gulo kulit buduk ino
 AUX 2S.G DEP-peel.UV first skin taro yonder
- [pərimot]_s
 pə-rimot
 UV.CAU.DEP-clean
 ‘First you peel the taro (*kəladi*) skin clean.’ [Mi-Suk5Ap128]
- *b. [Nong mo manit gulo kulit buduk no]_s [rimot]_s
 nong mo m-anit gulo kulit buduk ino rimot
 AUX 2S.G DEP-peel.UV first skin taro yonder clean
 Intended: ‘First you peel the taro skin clean.’ [Mi-Suk5Ap128]
 Literal meaning: ‘First you peel the taro skin, which is clean.’

Similarly, (48b) is ungrammatical because the lower verb is intransitive:

- (48) a. [Aro mo dogang kinnas]_s [pəgajo]_s
 aro mo -u-dagang kinnas pə-gajo
 FOC 2S.G -DEP-buy.UV side.dish UV.CAU.DEP-big
- kalay pərasok
 kalay pə-rasok
 not.want UV.CAU.DEP-waste
 ‘Don’t buy too much fish or vegetables, so that it won’t be wasted (lit. don’t buy fish make big).’ (Context: the fridge was off because of a power cut.) [Notebook]
- *b. [Aro mo dogang kinnas gajo], kalay pərasok
 aro mo -u-dagang kinnas gajo kalay pə-rasok
 FOC 2S.G -DEP-buy.UV side.dish big not.want UV.CAU.DEP-waste
 ‘Don’t buy too much fish or vegetables, so that it won’t be wasted.’ (Lit. don’t buy fish make big.)

The verb in the matrix sentence may bear any inflection, such as Completive Aspect, as long as the verb in the purpose clause is non-finite:

- (49) [Niug bio səkkol bio bəgkas]
 niug bio səkkol bio bəgkas
 coconut and sugar and husked.rice
- tebung ku inggos]_s [səmərubpa’]_s
 -i-tabung ku inggos -əm--u-sərəbpa’
 -COM-add.in.water.UV 1S.G all -DEP--DEP-together.UV
 ‘I added the coconut, sugar and husked rice all (mixed) together (at the same time).’
 [Mi-Suk5Bp75]

The verb in the lower clause cannot appear in the Completive Aspect:

- (50) *a. [*Bay tittok ku buduk no*]_S [*nətimok*]_S
 bay -i-təttok ku buduk ino nə--i-tumok
 PRF -COM-cut.small.UV 1S.G taro yonder UV.CAU.COM--COM-small
 'I cut the taro into small pieces.'
- b. [*Bay bigas ku*]_S [*pərimot buduk no*]_S
 bay b--i-ugas ku pə-rimot buduk ino
 PRF MID--COM-wash.UV 1S.G UV.CAU.DEP-clean taro yonder
 'I wash the taro clean.'
- c. [*Nong mo tittok*]_S [*bəgko pətumok*]_S
 nong mo -u-təttok bəgko pə-tumok
 AUX 2S.G -DEP-cut.small.UV also UV.CAU.DEP-small
- [*sa' gəmeud*]_S
 sa' -ə-m-geud
 SQ -DEP-porridge.UV
 'For you to cut (it) into small pieces, and then to turn it into porridge.'
 [Mi-Suk5Ap p129]

The following examples shows that the undergoer can come after the second verb as well:

- (51) *Pog bpos ino, [sa' miro tittok]*_S
 pog bpos ino sa' miro -u-təttok
 when after yonder SQ 3P -DEP-cut.small.UV
- [*pətumok bowong ino*]_S
 pə-tumok bowong ino
 UV.CAU.DEP-small onion yonder
 'After that they cut the onion small.' [Mi-Suk6p30]

This word order is probably caused by the fact that any argument in Begak may be deleted. The undergoer *bowong ino* 'the onion' in (51) was omitted from the matrix clause but was expressed again in the lower clause.³

³ Another explanation is that the construction is monoclausal. The two verbs have become a complex predicate consisting of two verbs and the undergoer appears after the complex predicate. The two verbs express one complex event after all.

10.3.3. Purpose clauses with *m-əgkay* ‘give’

Purpose clauses with *m-əgkay* ‘give’ introduce a recipient, beneficiary or addressee for verbs that lack this argument:

- (52) *Digabpi ikow bəgeus pait, [məgkay namon.]s*
 digabpi ikow bəg--i-*aus* pait m-ə-gkay namon
 yesterday 2S.N AV--COM-bring fish DEP-give.UV 1P.E.A
 ‘Yesterday you brought me fish.’ [Mi-Suk3B 045]
- (53) *Aku malu’ mənulis surat [nong ku paus suru di’*
 aku malu’ mənng-tulis surat nong ku p-*aus* suru di’
 1S.N want AV-write letter AUX 1S.G UV.CAU.DEP-bring direct LOC
gkun Korea]s [məgkay ayug ku]s, suga’ pon kətus.
 gkun Korea m-əgkay ayug ku suga’ apon kə-tus
 village Korea DEP-give.UV friend 1S.G but NEG.P AV.NV-have.time
 ‘I want to send a letter to Korea for my friend, but I do not have time.’ [Mi-Suk3B 152]

The number of verbs that can take an indirect object expressing a recipient, beneficiary or addressee is very restricted in Begak: only the following (underived) verbs can take an indirect object:

- (54) *məngəgkay* ‘give’
məmayo ‘pay’
mənguyok ‘request’
mənukot ‘ask’
gəluat ‘sell’
məmara’ ‘say’
bəgusur ‘tell’ and other verbs of speaking

If a beneficiary needs to be expressed, in sentences like ‘X makes Y for Z’ or ‘X sews a shirt for Y’ etc., a clause with *məgkay* ‘give’ needs to be added in which the beneficiary is expressed, as in (55). Sentence (55c) is ungrammatical because the indirect object *nong Nasrun*, is not licenced since *gədagang* ‘buy’ is a two-place verb.

- (55) a. *Rudi gədagang buk, məgkay (nong) Nasrun.*
 Rudi gə-dagang buk m-ə-gkay (nong) Nasrun
 Rudi AV-buy book DEP-give.UV (OBL) Nasrun
 ‘Rudi buys a book for Nasrun/to give it to Nasrun.’
- b. *Rudi gədagang buk, məngəgkay (nong) Nasrun.*
 Rudi gə-dagang buk mənng-ə-gkay (nong) Nasrun
 Rudi AV-buy book AV-give (OBL) Nasrun
 ‘Rudi buys a book for Nasrun/to give it to Nasrun.’

- c. **Rudi gədagang buk nong Nasrun.*
 Rudi gə-dagang buk nong Nasrun
 Rudi AV-buy book OBL Nasrun
 ‘Rudi buys a book for Nasrun/to give it to Nasrun.’

Again, it does not make much difference whether the verb in the purpose clause is in the AV or in the UV-Dependent, but if the verb is in the AV it is interpreted to take a while before the item is given, while if the verb is in the UV-Dependent, the item is given straight away.

10.3.4. Clauses with adjectives or manner verbs

Manner is expressed by adjectives or verbs instead of adverbs in Begak. Many adjectives do not modify verbs but allow only predication of nouns. Therefore the verb must first be nominalised before it can be combined with one of those adjectives. Manner nominalisations were discussed in section 7.9. Certain adjectives (or verbs) do modify other clauses in a construction where the modified clause is expressed as an infinite complement of the adjective.

Uninflected adjectives and adjectives inflected with Non-volitive morphology take a complement clause with an infinite verb; i.e. the adjective is in the main clause and the modified clause forms a complement. This construction will be treated in 10.3.5.1. When the manner predicate is a verb in the AV-Incomplete Aspect or UV-Dependent, it is sometimes the other way around: the modified clause forms the main clause while the manner verb is in an infinite adjunct clause. This construction will be treated in section 10.3.5.2.

10.3.5.1. Uninflected or non-volitive adjectives with complement

If the manner predicate is an adjective uninflected or in the UV-Non-volitive, it forms the main verb of the clause while the modified clause seems to form a complement. The word order of this construction is that of auxiliary clauses (see section 5.3.3.1.). The modified verb is in the AV-Incomplete or in the UV-Dependent, just like in other infinite clauses. Sentence (56) illustrates the word order where the subject follows the adjective:

- (56) *Pon ka sannang [ikow məngakay kad ilun.]_s*
 apon ka sannang ikow məng-akay kad ilun
 NEG.P PRT easy 2S.N AV-use card other.people
 ‘You cannot easily use other people’s (id) card.’ [Conversationcom 516]

The subject-initial word order is illustrated in the following sentences. In (57) *paŋon* ‘strong’ modifies the verb and in (58) *siat* ‘fast’ modifies the verb.

- (57) *Dtow-dtow rumo pagon [mangan.]_s*
 dtow-dtow rumo p-agon mangan.
 day-RED 3S SF-strong eat.AV
 'Every day she eats a lot (lit. she eats strongly).' [Mi-suk4p205]
- (58) *'Anak ku di' adi bay siat [panow"]_s kəmo.*
 anak ku di' adi bay siat panow kəmo
 child 1S.G LOC over.there PRF fast go QTM
 'My young there already walk fast', said (Mother Pig).' [Asu bio Bakas 013]

In the above examples, the adjective was uninflected, but the following examples show that the adjective of the same construction can be inflected with the UV-Non-volitive prefix *a-*. The prefix *a-* gives the adjective an intensified meaning. The stative verb *papor* 'fluent' in (59), for example, means 'fluently' if uninflected and 'rather fluently' when inflected with the Non-volitive prefix *a-*.

- (59) *Məragkang satu bay (a)papor [gəruni.]_s*
 məragkang satu bay (a-)papor gə-runi
 child one PRF (NV-)fluent AV-speak
 'The other child already speaks (rather) fluently.' [Notebook]

Sentence (60) illustrates the word order with the adjective *aligot* 'late' in initial position:

- (60) *Aligot [aku məssob tunong] ngod*
 a-ligot aku m-ə-ssob tunong ngod
 NV-late 1S.N DEP-come here because
- bətisa' gulo [aku mənissi' pait.]_s*
 bə-tisa' gulo aku məng-tissi' pait
 AV-diligent first 1S.N AV-scales fish
 'I am arriving rather late here, because I had to work hard first to remove the scales off the fish.' [Mi-Suk3A 279]

The manner expression need not be an adjective, but may be a stative verb or an (intransitive) verb of motion inflected with the Non-volitive prefix *a-* as in the following sentence:

- (61) *Akkak [rumo mərim.]_s*
 a-kkak rumo mərim
 NV-choke 3S laugh
 'He laughed (until he) choked.' [Notebook]

Sentences where the modified AV-verb appears in the Completive Aspect or in Non-volitive Mood have not yet been attested, and the elicited ones are ungrammatical:

- (62) a. **Digabpi aligot [aku bəgəpuy]_s ngod punong ges.*
 digabpi a-ligot aku bəg--i-apuy ngod p-unong ges
 yesterday NV-late 1S.G AV--COM-cook because AV-finished gas
 'Yesterday I cooked (dinner) late because the gas was finished.'
- b. *Digabpi aligot [aku bəgapuy]_s ngod punong ges.*
 digabpi a-ligot aku bəg-apuy ngod p-unong ges
 yesterday NV-late 1S.G AV-cook because AV-finish gas
 'Yesterday I cooked (dinner) late because the gas was finished.'
- (63) a. **Səgboya' [kəmmi kuli' di' balay.]_s*
 səgboya' kəmmi k-uli' di' balay
 together 1P.E.N/G AV.NV-go.home LOC house
 'We came home together.'
- b. *Səgboya' [kəmmi muli' di' balay.]_s*
 səgboya' kəmmi m-uli' di' balay
 together 1P.E.N/G DEP-go.home LOC house
 'We went home together.'

But in the following example the verb *tilud* 'flew' appears in the UV-Completive despite the presence of the adjective *adtu* 'far':

- (64) *Da adtu' [tilud miro,]_s sawot di' balay Monay.*
 da a-dtu' -i-tulud miro sawot di' balay monay
 PR NV-far -COM-fly.UV 3P arrive LOC house young.man
 'They had flown far, until the house of Young Man.' [Monay bio Dera'033]

It is not entirely clear, then, whether the main verb may be inflected, but transitive verbs in spontaneous examples all occur in the AV-Incompletive Aspect. The adjective seems to be the main verb that bears the inflection (even though the inflection may be zero instead of Non-volitive Mood) while the AV-verb cannot be inflected for aspect or mood and belongs to an infinite complement clause.

Further research must reveal whether the construction of an adjective with a verb is monoclausal or biclausal. In a monoclausal analysis, the adjective functions as a kind of auxiliary.

10.3.5.2. Manner predicates in the AV or UV-Dependent

Some (causativise) verbs in the AV-Incompletive or UV-Dependent function as a manner predicate and form the main verb of the clause. They take an infinite complement, probably a control complement. Sentence (65a) shows how the causativised, transitive form *ngəbuay* 'make long' is the main verb of the sentence, while the modified clause forms the complement of *ngəbuay* 'make long'. In (65b), the speaker just remarks that someone is preaching for a long time whether intentionally or not, whereas (65a) describes a volitional action.

- (65) a. *Aku ton pon malu' [ngəbuay [bəgaus firman Tuhan.]s]s*
 aku ton apon malu' ngə-buay bəg-aus firman Tuhan
 1S.N TOP NEG.P want AV.CAU-long AV-bring word (M) Lord (M)
 'I don't want to preach for a long time.' [Tessorp232]
- b. *Buay rumo bəgaus firman Tuhan!*
 buay rumo bəg-aus firman Tuhan
 long 3S AV-bring word Lord
 'He preaches for a long time!'

When the manner verb appears in the UV-Dependent, it may appear after the modified verb instead of before it. This makes the sentence look similar to the resultative construction. It is unclear here which verb is the main verb: the verb of the modified clause *tomos* 'store' or the manner verb *pəbuay* 'make long'. Manner verbs in the UV-Dependent have volitional semantics as compared to their uninflected equivalent.

- (66) a. *Pait ino pon buli tomos pəbuay.*
 pait ino apon buli -u-tamos pə-buay
 fish yonder NEG can -DEP-store.UV UV.CAU.DEP-long
 'This fish cannot be stored for a (very) long time.' [Notebook]
- b. *Pait ino pon buli tomos buay.*
 pait ino apon buli -u-tamos.UV buay
 fish yonder NEG.P can -DEP-store.UV long
 'This fish cannot be stored for a long time.' [Notebook]

The following examples illustrate how manner verbs in the UV-Dependent may appear before or after the modified verb, so that it is unclear which verb is the main verb:

- (67) a. *Məgkot key magon, pəlla' ka ratu'!*
 m-ə-gkot key m-agon, pəlla' ka ratu'
 DEP-work.UV FOC DEP-strong.UV afraid PRT fall
 'Hold (me) strongly for fear that you fall!' (Context: on the back of a motor).
- b. *Magon key məgkot, pəlla' ka ratu'!*
 m-agon key m-ə-gkot pəlla' ka ratu'
 DEP-strong.UV FOC DEP-work.UV afraid PRT fall
 'Hold (me) strongly for fear that you fall!' (Context: on the back of a motor).
- (68) a. *Soyu key mulo səsuku mulo mo ne!*
 -u-sayu key m-ulo sə-suku mulo mo ne
 -DEP-good.UV FOC DEP-plant.UV one-all crop 2S.G this
 'Plant your all your crops carefully!' [Karut1 0015]

- b. *Mulo key soyu!*
 m-ulo key -u-sayu
 DEP-plant.UV FOC -DEP-good.UV
 'Plant carefully!'

Just like in the resultative construction, the first verb may appear in the UV-Completive. In this case, the modified clause is the main clause as its verb may be finite, and the Dependent manner verb is the head of an adjunct clause.⁴

- (69) *(Nu pun ne ikow,) səkəssa' ikow kərok*
 nu pun ne ikow sə-kəssa' ikow kərok
 what too this 2S.N NOM-since 2S.N bird

pon nəreərə' ku soyu?
 apon nə-reərə' ku -u-sayu
 NEG.P COM-look.after.UV 1S.G -DEP-good.UV
 '(Moreover, as for you), did I not look well after you ever since you were a bird?'
 (Context: prince Monay 'young man' wants to marry a girl who used to be a bird but has changed into a human being.) [Bowon Bura' 132]

In yet another construction, any AV-verb expressing manner may occur in a juxtaposed clause. In this case, the modified clause is the main clause, while the verb expressing manner forms an adjunct clause. The manner clause may be juxtaposed before or after the other clause. The reciprocal verb *gəgəruk* 'share a plate' in (70) and the verb *gəlīput* 'go round' in (71) occur before the clause they

⁴ Or perhaps it is more correct to say that if the verb in the modified clause is finite, for example Completive Aspect, the modified clause has to be the main clause, as in (69). As a sentence can only contain one finite verb, the manner verb automatically appears in an infinite clause. However, if the manner verb is inflected for UV-Dependent and the modified clause appears after it, the modified clause can no longer contain a finite verb:

- (i) **Dəra' apon soyu mənigal paray.*
 Dəra' apon -u-sayu məng--i-tugal paray
 young.lady NEG.P -DEP-good AV--COM-plant paddy
 'Young Lady did not carefully plant paddy.'
- (ii) *Dəra' apon soyu mənugal paray.*
 Dəra' apon -u-sayu məng--tugal paray
 young.lady NEG.P -DEP-good AV-plant paddy
 'Young Lady does not carefully plant paddy.'

It is too speculative, though, to draw any conclusions on the basis of this one elicited example. The sentence was perhaps rejected because transitive AV-verbs in the Completive Aspect are grammatical but rare, or because it is only marginally grammatical to let an actor appear before an UV-Dependent main verb. Further research must reveal the exact status of the modified clause if it occurs after and not before an UV-Dependent manner predicate as in (i) and (ii).

modify respectively, while the inherently reciprocal verb *gəgedtan* ‘sit side by side’ in (72) occurs after the clause it modifies:

- (70) (..) *Buli gəgəruk mangan, ulun da sərawo.*
 buli gəgə-ruk mangan ulun da -əɾ-sawo
 can AV.REC-share.plate AV.eat person PR -REC-marry
 ‘(Now they) can eat sharing a plate, (these) people are married.’ (Context: wedding ceremony of eating from the same plate.) [geteratab 086]
- (71) *Gəliput mənadtay nong balay, mba’ baya’ jam muyu?*
 gə-liput məng-sadtay nong balay mba’ baya’ jam muyu
 AV-round AV-shine.torchlight OBL house where place watch 2P.N/G
 ‘(You) walked around in the house shining with a torch light ‘where is your clock!’
 (Context: grandmother was looking for the clock in the middle of the night.)
 [Conversationharvest 085]
- (72) *Nong pəbadung gəgedtan no tu.*
 nong pə-b-adung gə-gedtan ino tu
 AUX UV.CAU.DEP-MID-sit AV.REC-sit.side.by.side yonder too
 ‘They have to be seated side by side.’ [geteratab 101] (Context: wedding seremony.)

10.3.5. Summary

Begak makes extensive use of juxtaposed clauses. Some of these cases were tentatively analysed as adjunct control: the actor of the juxtaposed clause is controlled by an argument of the main clause, but the juxtaposed clause is an adjunct of the main clause, not an argument. The verb in these juxtaposed clauses has the same restrictions as the controlled verb in a control construction: it can only appear in the AV-Incompletive or in the UV-Dependent.

It was described in section 10.3.1 how verbs of motion are often followed by a purpose clause. Section 10.3.2. treated resultative constructions where the manner verb occurs in the matrix clause while the result is a transitive verb expressed in an adjunct control clause. Section 10.3.3. treated purpose clauses containing the verb *məgkay* ‘give’. It was shown that this construction has the function of adding a beneficiary, addressee or recipient to verbs that lack this argument. Section 10.3.4. treated adjectives and verbs expressing manner. It was shown that if manner predicates are uninflected or in the UV-Non-volitive they form the main predicate of the sentence, while the modified clause is an infinite complement clause. If inflected for UV-Dependent, the modified clause is the main clause and the manner verb is an infinite juxtaposed adjunct clause.

Although these constructions were tentatively analysed as adjunct clauses, they may turn out to be monoclausal.

10.4. Relative clauses

Relative clauses in Begak follow the head noun. Begak does not have any relative pronouns or other relative markers, such as Malay *yang*. Relative clauses in Begak are formed with two different strategies: relative clauses of terms are formed with the gapping strategy, whereas relative clauses of oblique arguments and adjuncts are based on a generic noun. Relative clauses of terms (direct arguments) are verbal in nature whereas relative clauses of adjuncts are somewhat nominal. Relative clauses based on direct arguments are treated first.

10.4.1. Relative clauses of direct arguments

Just like many other Austronesian languages, Begak has the restriction that the gap referring to the antecedent must be the subject of the relative clause. Therefore, if the gap referring to the antecedent is an actor argument in the relative clause, the verb in the relative clause must appear in the AV so that it is the subject. The following sentence illustrates a relative clause in which the gap of the relative is the actor of the clause.

- (73) a. *Pap* *kat* *rumo* *rokop* *tu* *rokop*
 ləppap kat rumo -u-rakop tu -u-rakop
 immediately CDM 3S -DEP-catch.UV too -DEP-catch.UV

ulun [*bəgəssi* *alud* *no,*]_s *munu*’.
 ulun bəg-ə-ssi alud ino m-unu’
 person AV-content boat yonder DEP-kill.UV
 ‘Immediately he caught and caught the people who were filling the boat (with gold) and killed them.’ [Payow Mas 032]

- b. **pap* *kat* *rumo* *rokop* *tu* *rokop*
 ləppap kat rumo -u-rakop tu -u-rakop
 immediately CDM 3S -DEP-catch.UV too -DEP-catch.UV

ulun [*nissi* *alud* *no,*]_s *munu*’.
 ulun ni-ssi alud ino m-unu’
 person COM-content.UV boat yonder DEP-kill.UV
 # ‘Immediately he caught and caught the people who had been filled by the boat and killed them.’ Not good for: ‘Immediately he caught and caught the people who were filling the boat (with gold) and killed them.’

Similarly, the verb *gəligkut* ‘swallowed’ in (74) is in the AV because the gap of the relative clause is the actor:

- (74) *Mengan* *pait* [*gəligkut* *nong* *bano* *rumo* *ne,*]_s
 -i-mangan pait gə--i-ləgkut nong bano rumo ne
 -COM-AV.eat fish AV--COM-swallow OBL husband 3S this
 ‘(They) ate the fish that had swallowed her husband.’ [Tudow 116]

If the gap is the undergoer argument of the verb in the relative clause, the verb in the relative clause must appear in the UV so that the gap is the subject, as in (75).

- (75) *Akay tu key kubad no məngay nipon [bellan rumo.]_s*
 akay tu key kubad ino məng-ay nipon -i-ballan rumo
 EXIST too FOC rest yonder AV-take tooth -COM-make.UV 3S
 ‘There are some people too who take (false) teeth made by him.’
 [Conversation koko1 102]

Similarly, the verb of the relative clause in (76a) is in the UV because the undergoer is the subject. Sentence (76b) shows that the gap cannot be the direct object of the relative clause: the sentence is ungrammatical because the verb of the relative clause is in the AV while the gap refers to the undergoer of the clause. The only possible interpretation of the sentence is one in which the gap is interpreted as the actor of the relative clause, resulting in a strange reading.

- (76) a. *Pog titu, aləpis paray [titu kito ne,]_s*
 pog -i-tutu a-ləpis paray -i-tutu kito ne
 when -COM-pound.UV NV-flatten paddy -COM-pound.UV 1P.I.N/G this

ino rumo da jadi sellag.
 ino rumo da jadi sellag
 yonder 3S PR become roasted.rice
 ‘After pounding (it), the rice we have pounded has become flat; it has now become *sellag* ‘roasted rice’.’ [seillag 010]
- b. *Aləpis paray [mənutu kito ne (..)]_s*
 a-ləpis paray məng-tutu kito ne
 NV-flatten paddy AV-pound 1P.I.N/G this
 # ‘The rice that is pounding us is flattened.’ Or if there is a break between *paray* and *mənutu*: ‘The rice is flat, (come on) let’s pound it.’
 Not good for: ‘The rice we are pounding is flattened.’

If the verb of a relative clauses of an undergoer appears in the UV-Dependent, the default auxiliary *nong* is added, because this verb form needs an auxiliary or adverb to be licensed, as in (77) and (78).⁵

- (77) *Aku bay kətəgbuk ulun [nong ku sowo.]_s*
 aku bay kə-təgbuk ulun nong ku -u-sawo
 1S.N PRF AV.NV-meet person AUX 1S.G -DEP-marry.UV
 ‘I have met the person I am going to marry.’ [Assa’ II p170]

⁵ Even if the auxiliary *nong* is omitted, the word order is still that of a clause with auxiliary, with the actor before the verb. The actor of an UV-verb usually comes after the verb if there is no auxiliary.

- (78) *Na, siag [nong ku məllit ate]_s siag sigbu'*
 na, siag nong ku m-ə-llit ate siag sigbu'
 PRT cloth AUX 1S.G DEP-sew.UV this cloth yellow
 'Well, this cloth I am sewing/about to sew is a yellow cloth.' [Mi-Suk5Ap7]

The examples above show that the relative clause is a full sentence whose verb is not infinite: the verb may appear in the Completive Aspect or with other morphology.

10.4.2. Relative clauses based on oblique arguments or adjuncts

Just like in many other Western Austronesian languages, relative clauses on indirect arguments or adjuncts are formed with a generic noun followed by a possessor/actor, followed by the verb and other arguments. This construction is schematised below.

Scheme 1 Relative clauses based on oblique arguments or adjuncts

(Head noun) [Generic noun Possessor-actor-(genitive) AV-Verb arguments]

(Head noun) [Generic noun Possessor-actor-(genitive) UV-Verb arguments]

The head noun in the schema is put between brackets because it is often omitted. Sentence (79a) illustrates a relative clause of place with a head noun *pəlastik* 'plastic bag' and a generic noun *baya* 'place'. Sentence (79b) shows that the same sentence is grammatical if only the head noun *pəlastik* 'plastic bag' is present, but this is most probably a possessor construction with two nouns *pəlastik kattung* 'the plastic bag of the frog'. Sentence (79c) demonstrates that the head noun can be omitted if the generic noun is present.

- (79) a. *Suga' bay nəsiwok rumo kulos-kulos*
 suga' bay nə--i-suok rumo kulos-kulos
 but PRF UV.CAU.COM--COM-enter 3S animal-RED
- nong allom pəlastik baya' kattung no.*
 nong allom pəlastik baya' kattung ino
 OBL inside plastic place frog yonder
 'But he has already inserted insects into the plastic bag where the frog is.'
 (Context: keeping a frog as a pet.) [Mi-Suk3A 028]
- b. *Suga' bay nəsiwok rumo kulos-kulos*
 suga' bay nə--i-suok rumo kulos-kulos
 but PRF UV.CAU.COM--COM-enter 3S animal-RED
- nong allom pəlastik kattung no.*
 nong allom pəlastik kattung ino
 OBL inside plastic frog yonder
 # 'But he has already inserted insects into the plastic bag of the frog.'

- c. *Suga' bay nissa' rumo kulos-kulos baya' kattung no.*
suga' bay ni-issa' rumo kulos-kulos baya' kattung ino
 but PRF COM-put.UV 3S animal-RED place frog yonder
 'But he has already put insects where the frog is.'

The subject of an oblique argument or adjunct relative clause appears in the genitive case if it is expressed by a pronoun, regardless of the voice morphology on the verb. Sentence (80) contains a relative clause with a locative generic noun *anan* 'place'. It shows how the pronominal actor *ku* 'my, I', is in the genitive although it is the subject of the verb: pronominal subjects of AV-verbs in ordinary matrix clauses always appear in the nominative instead of in the genitive.

- (80) *Pon sarag ku ino [anan ku bəgəllun.]_s*
apon sarag ku ino anan ku bəg-ə-llun
 NEG.P count.on.UV 1S.G yonder place 1S.G AV-live
 'I do not count on it that this is the place where I (can) live.' [Conversationkoko3 065]

In (81), the verb of the relative clause is in the UV, therefore the undergoer *ku* 'I' is the subject of the clause. In ordinary sentences the pronominal undergoer-subjects of UV-verbs appear in the nominative if in pre-verbal position, or in the accusative if in post-verbal position (see 5.3.2.). Here, however, it is in the genitive because of its function as possessor of the generic noun *baya* 'place'.

- (81) *Dalan gayo [baya' ku nebput asu.]_s*
dalan gayo baya' ku ni-abput asu
 road big place 1S.G COM-bite.UV dog
 'The big road is where I was bitten by a dog.'

The genitive case can best be explained by analysing the relative construction of adjuncts as a possessor construction, in which the subject is the possessor of the generic noun.⁶ The choice of the generic noun depends on its semantic role in the relative clause. The various generic nouns are treated below.

10.4.2.1. Place or indirect object

Relative clauses of indirect objects are formed with *anan* 'place' while relatives of place are formed with the generic noun *baya* 'place'. *Anan* 'place' is a locative noun which is often used in combination with the preposition *nong*, meaning 'near a person', 'at a persons place'. It is also used for non-human entities. *Baya* is the more neutral word for 'place'. Sentence (82) contains a relative clause of an indirect object with the head noun *ulun* 'person, someone' and the generic noun *anan* 'place'. Sentences (83) and (84) illustrates relative clauses of place without a head noun but with generic noun *baya* 'place'.

⁶ Paul Kroeger (p.c.) suggests that in fact, the generic noun takes a clausal complement and stands in apposition to the head noun, unlike normal relative clauses which are modifiers of the head noun.

- (82) *Panow kat rumo key bəgko*
 panow kat rumo key bəgko
 go CDM 3S FOC also
- bəgarab ulun [anan rumo gəluat payow no.]_s*
 bəg-arab ulun anan rumo gə-luat payow ino
 AV-search person place 3S AV-sell deer yonder
 'He went again to look for a person to sell the deer (meat) to.' [Mi-Suk5Ap87]
- (83) *Ninga', ikow akay [baya' mo guog.]_s*
 ninga' ikow akay baya' mo guog
 NEG.I 2S.N EXIST place 2S.G stay
 'No, you have a place where you stay.' [Dayangpukli takes revenge 111]
- (84) *Rodta' kat Bərigas [baya' ulun pasod mənattab*
 -u-radta' kat Bərigas baya' ulun pasod məng-tattab
 -DEP-step.on.UV CDM Berigas place person many AV-stab
- battas no.]_s*
 battas ino
 bridge yonder
 'Berigas stepped on the place (where) many people had cut off (lit. stabbed) the bridge.' [Berigas 036]

10.4.2.2. Instruments

Relative clauses of instruments are formed with the generic noun *gittan*. This word never occurs as an ordinary noun in ordinary NPs but only in headless PPs (PP with only a locative noun without preposition) or relative clauses, see section 4.4.2. on locative nouns. Seen the fact that all the other generic nouns can be proven to be nouns, I assume that *gittan* is also a noun. Sentences (85) and (86) contain both a head noun and the generic noun *gittan*.

- (85) *Na bəgaus ikow gaud [gittan mo bəgalud.]_s*
 na bəg-aus ikow gaud gittan mo bəg-alud
 PRT AV-bring 2S.N paddle instrument 2S.G AV-boat
 'Well, you (must) bring a paddle with which you ride the boat.' [Lekpud gaud. 010]
- (86) *Dadi Sərutan ton, ino ja' gkot rumo, bəgamad*
 dadi Sərutan ton ino ja' gkot rumo bəg-amad
 so Sultan TOP yonder merely work 3S AV-sharpen
- denop [gittan rumo mənədti' təray Pəngian.]_s*
 denop gittan rumo məng-sədti' təray Pəngian
 knife instrument 3S AV-cut.open.belly belly sultan's.wife
 'So as for the Sultan, only this was what he did: sharpening the knife with which he would cut open the Sultan's Wife's belly.' (Context: the Sultan wanted to do a caesarian on his pregnant wife because there was no midwife). [Karut 008]

10.4.2.3. Relative clauses of time

Relative clauses of time are formed with various generic nouns: *Angka'* as in (87) is a decisive moment, *tua'* is a longer stretch of time in the past, while *waktu* or *oktu* as in (88) means 'time' and is a loan word from Malay (*waktu* 'time'). In fact, relative clauses of time lack a head noun in most if not all cases as any noun referring to time may function as a generic noun. Therefore the relative clauses below could simply be nouns with a complement clause. Sentence (87) also demonstrates that relative clauses can have their own aspectuals.

- (87) *Satu maso, da sawot [angka' rumo da muli'.]s*
 satu maso da sawot angka' rumo da m-uli'
 one time PR arrive time 3S PR DEP-go.home
 'One time, the moment arrived that she returned.' [Dayangpukli 043]

- (88) *Na, nu ngod, [waktu ku bəgami', sawot tikung-kərow.]s*
 na nu ngod waktu ku bəg-ami' sawot tikung-kərow
 PRT what because time 1S,G AV-baby.sit arrive bird.without.tail
 'Well, when I was baby sitting the Tikung-kerow bird arrived.' [Rengngon 128]

Relative clauses of manner or reason do not exist, probably because manner nominalisations already carry that functional load. Relative clauses of reason do not exist, probably because coordinate clauses with a conjunction of reason express the same content.

10.4.3. Headless relatives

Headless relatives are relative clauses without a head noun. They often occur after the existential marker *akay* 'there is' in the same context where English would have an indefinite pronoun 'someone' or 'something'. Sometimes the argument of the existential marker consists of a bare verbal stem used as a noun. The following sentence illustrates a headless relative in which the gap is an actor, therefore the verb of the headless relative is in the AV:

- (89) *'Gam ino akay abur ku', kəmo, 'əkay*
 gam ino akay abur ku kəmo akay
 QM yonder EXIST companion 1S,G QTM EXIST

[mənabang nakon bəgapuy'.]s
 məng-tabang nakon bəg-apuy
 AV-help 1S,A AV-cook
 "She will be my companion", she said, "there is (someone to) help me cooking."
 [Nine princesses 147]

The gap in the headless relative of (90) is an experiencer; therefore the verb is in the UV-Non-volitive:

- (90) *Dadi tua' di' bpung apon akay*
 dadi tua' di' bpung apon akay
 so period LOC former.time NEG.P EXIST
- atow [məŋəgkot tərɔy.]s*
 a-tow məŋ-ə-gkot tərɔy
 NV-know.UV AV-work belly
 'In former times there was no(one) who knew midwivery (lit. to work bellies).' [Karut 006]

In the following sentence, the existential *akay* is omitted and the headless relative clause just consists of a verb plus PP:

- (91) *Jadi pog da gətəŋga'-gətəŋga' gabpi no gədino*
 jadi pog da gət-əŋga'-gət-əŋga' gabpi ino gədino
 so when PR AV-middle-RED night yonder in.yonder.way
- rumo mata' məssob [bəgədtɔp]s allom balay no.*
 rumo m-ata' m-ə-ssob bəg-ə-dtop allom balay ino
 3S DEP-see.UV DEP-come AV-shine inside house yonder
 'When it was becoming midnight he saw (something) shining coming into the house.'
 [Bowon Bura' 105]

The following sentence contains a headless relative whose gap is the undergoer of the clause; therefore the verb of the relative is in the UV:

- (92) *Kussu key pa Tingkas mba' ne key*
 -u-kəssu key pa Tingkas mba' ne key
 -DEP-soon.UV FOC PRT Tingkas where this FOC
- [pəpuy mo ne]s da assak?*
 p-i-apuy mo ne da a-ssak
 SF--COM-cook.UV 2S.G this PR NV-cooked
 'Hurry up Tingkas, where is (the food) you cooked, is it cooked?'
 [Conversationharvest 078]

Sentence (93) shows a headless relative of an instrument. In fact, as has already been mentioned above, many relative clauses of adjuncts are headless; the presence of a generic noun makes the headnoun optional. Not all headless relative clauses of adjuncts are formed with *akay* 'exist', however.

- (93) *Nong summu' masi səbətuan ulun məŋəmmog gkung*
 nong -u-səmmu' masi sə-bətuan ulun məŋ-ə-mmog gkung
 AUX -DEP-command.UV still one-CL.person person AV-beat.gong gong

bio kəmo akay [gittan mənimbak]_s nong təmbak.
 bio kəmo akay gittan məng-timbak nong -əm-timbak
 and as.for EXIST instrument AV-shoot AUX -DEP-shoot.UV
 ‘We tell someone to beat the gong and if there is (anything) to shoot with, to shoot.’
 (Context: salute shots for the Russay singing and dancing event. [Russay044])

10.4.4. Open questions (questions with interrogative pronouns)

Questions with interrogative pronouns are based on relative clause constructions. They resemble relative clauses in that the semantic role of the interrogative pronoun the voice marking on the verb in the case of a direct argument, and that questions of adjuncts or oblique argument are formed with a generic noun.

When a direct argument is questioned, the interrogative pronoun must be the subject of the clause. If the interrogative pronoun is the actor of the clause, the verb appears in the AV, as in (94), whereas the verb must appear in the UV (Completive Aspect or Dependent) if the interrogative pronoun is the undergoer of the clause, as in (100) and (101).

(94) *Nay mənəmmu’ niun məngə’rera’ ulang!?*
 nay məng-səmmu’ niun məngə-rera’ ulang
 who AV-command 2S.A AV-look.after snake
 ‘Who told you to look after a snake!?’ [Pud 065]

(95) *‘Na nu nong mo təmiduk di’*
 na nu nong mo -əm-tiduk adi
 PRT what AUX 2S.G -DEP-point.UV over.there
 ‘Well, what are you pointing at overthere?’ [Bowon Bura’ 189]

(96) *Nu liwat mo di’ Dəngon?*
 nu -i-luat mo di’ Dəngon
 what -COM-sell.UV 2S.G LOC Dəngan
 ‘What did you sell in Dəngan?’

Example (97) below is ungrammatical because the interrogative pronoun is not the subject of the sentence as the nominative pronoun *ikow* ‘you’ is already the subject.

(97) **Nu gəliwat ikow di’ Dəngon?*
 nu gə--i-luat ikow di’ Dəngon
 what AV-COM-sell 2S.N LOC Dəngan
 ‘What did you sell in Dəngan?’

In (98b), the verb *mengan* ‘eaten’ is in the AV and makes the sentence ungrammatical because the interrogative pronoun is not the subject of the sentence. Sentence (98c) is correct because the verb is in the UV and *nu* ‘what’ is the subject.

- (98) a. *Ai'* *ku* *pədtos*
 ai' *ku* *pədtos*
 younger.sibling 1S.G ill
 'My younger sibling is ill.'
- b. **Nu* *mengan* *rumo?*
 nu -i-mangan *rumo*
 what -COM-AV.eat 3S
 Not good for: 'What has he eaten?'
 Good for: 'What ate him?'
- c. *Nu* *kinnan* *rumo?*
 nu *kinnan* *rumo*
 what COM.eat.UV 3S
 'What did he eat?'

The sentences in (99) illustrate how the voice morphology of the verb helps to disambiguate whether the actor or the undergoer is being questioned: in (99a) the actor is being questioned so the verb appears in the Actor Voice and in (99b) the undergoer is questioned so the verb appears in the Undergoer Voice.

- (99) a. *Nay* *məngikul* *niun?*
 nay *məng--i-ukul* *niun*
 who AV--COM-beat 2S.A
 'Who hit you? (you=undergoer)'
- b. *Nay* *nikul* *mo?*
 nay *ni-ukul* *mo*
 who COM-beat.UV 2S.G
 'Who did you help to cook?' (you=actor)

Questions of adjuncts can be formed in several ways. Questions of place and instrument are based on relative clauses and are formed with the same generic noun as their relative clause equivalents. Sentences (100) and (101) are questions of place starting with the interrogative pronoun *mba'* 'where, which' based on the generic noun *baya'* 'place'. Just like their relative clause equivalents, pronominal subjects following the generic noun appear in the genitive irrespective of the voice morphology of the verb. The verbs of (100) are in the AV while the verb of (101) is in the UV.

- (100) '*Mba'* *baya'* *mo* *mangan*, *mba'* *baya'* *mo* *mənakow?*
 mba' *baya'* *mo* *mangan* *mba'* *baya'* *mo* *məng-takow*
 where place 2S.G AV.eat where place 2S.G AV-steal
 'Where (lit. which place) do you eat, where do you steal?'
 [Dayangpukli takes revenge 040]
- (101) *Mba'* *baya'* *mo* *nebput* *rumo?*
 mba' *baya'* *mo* *ni-abput* *rumo*
 which place 2S.G COM-bite.UV 3S
 'Where (lit. which place) were you bitten by it (the dog)?' [Conversationdogs398]

Sentence (102) can be interpreted as a question of place or as a question of beneficiary as *anan* can refer to the place of a person or to the person him/herself.

- (102) *Nay anan mo məngayo bil ino?*
 nay anan mo məng-ayo bil ino?
 who place 2S.G AV-pay bill yonder
 ‘To whom did you pay the bill?/literally: at whose place did you pay the bill?’

Questions of instruments are formed with the interrogative pronoun *nu* ‘what’ followed by the generic noun *gittan*.

- (103) *Nu gittan rumo məngallan no?*
 nu gittan rumo məng-allan ino
 what instrument 3S AV-make yonder
 ‘With what did he make it?’ (Talking about a swinging cradle.) [Mi-Suk3B 284]

The subject of the verb appears in the genitive if it is pronominal:

- (104) ‘*Nu gittan mo məngəllit baju no?*’
 nu gittan mo məng-ə-llit baju ino
 what instrument 2S.G AV-sew shirt yonder
 ‘With what do you sew that shirt?’

Questions of manner are formed with the interrogative pronoun *ngod* ‘how’ and must be followed by nominalised verb with *sə-*; questions with *ngod* ‘how’ cannot be followed by a verb. For a description of nominalisations with *sə-*, see section 7.9.

Questions of time, reason or quantity are not based on relative clauses. They are ordinary sentences starting with an interrogative pronoun, followed by the subject, predicate and other arguments and/or adjuncts.

Questions of reason are formed with *ullo* ‘why’. The following two sentences demonstrate that the pronominal subject appears in the nominative, like in ordinary matrix sentences, not in the genitive, as in adjunct questions based on relative clauses.

- (105) *Ullo ikow pon kəssu muli’?*
 ullo ikow apon kəssu m-uli’
 why 2S.N NEG.P soon DEP-go.home
 ‘Why do you not go home soon?’ [Dayangpukli takes revenge 113]

Questions of time are formed with *kidon* ‘when (in future)’ or *bilo* ‘when’ *Bilo* ‘when’ is a loan word from Malay and can refer to the past or to the future, while the indigenous form *kidon* ‘when’ can only refer to the future.

- (106) *Kidon muyu panow?*
 kidon muyu panow
 when.fut 2P.E.N/G go
 ‘When are you going?’ [Mi-Suk1 103]

Questions of quantity are formed with *piro* 'how much, how many':

- (107) *Piro rəgko ano?*
 piro rəgko ano
 how.many price that
 'How much does it cost?' [Mi-SukI 010]

10.4.5. Clefts

Cleft constructions are based on relative clauses. They consist of a demonstrative pronoun *ino*, optionally followed by the third person singular pronoun *rumo*, followed by a relative clause. The function of the third person singular pronoun *rumo* is emphasis. The form of the relative clause depends on the grammatical function of the head noun: actors and undergoers are relativised by using the gapping strategy while adjuncts take a generic noun. Only subjects can be relativised in this way; therefore if the head noun is an actor, the verb takes on Actor Voice morphology and if the head noun is the undergoer, the verb takes on Objective Voice morphology. Clefts are schematised below:

Scheme 2 Clefts

actor: ino (rumo) [gap, AV-verb, (NP etc)] noun
 undergoer: ino (rumo) [gap, UV-verb, (NP etc)] noun
 non-terms: ino (rumo) [generic noun, Verb, (NPetc)] noun

The following sentence contains a cleft of an actor with a verb in the AV:

- (108) *Ino rumo kəkukka' nakon: ulun ino.*
 ino rumo kə-kukka' nakon ulun ino
 yonder 3S AV.NV-recovered 1S.A person yonder
 'This is the one who healed me: this person.' [Manngung Kebasanp167]

The next two sentences contain a cleft of an undergoer with a verb in the UV:

- (109) *Aku tuso səbob ino rumo*
 aku tuso səbob ino rumo
 1S.N difficult because yonder 3S

 [*simmu' məngannak ku marab]: atay bəssing.*
 -i-səmmu' məngannak ku m-arab atay bəssing
 -COM-command.UV wife 1S.G DEP-search.UV liver squirrel
 'I am in trouble because this is what my wife told me to look for: the liver of a squirrel.' (Context: his wife is pregnant and craves for special food) [Bowon Bura'153]
- (110) *Ano [bigkay nakon]: tissing tiud.*
 ano -i-bəgkay nakon tissing tiud
 that -COM-give.UV 1S.A ring coconut.shell
 'This is what (they) gave me, a coconut shell ring.' [Berigas 018]

Sentence (111) looks like a cleft of an instrument except that the ‘clefted’ NP does not occur in the sentence:

- (111) *Jadi ino gittan rumo gədagang rangkop rumo ne.*
 jadi ino gittan rumo gə-dagang rangkop rumo ne
 so yonder instrument 3S AV-buy necessary.items 3S this
 ‘This is what he used to buy his necessary items.’ [Kerom 007]

Clefts of time are the most frequent of all clefts. They are formed with the generic noun *baya* ‘place’ which does not refer to a place but to time here. Here too the ‘clefted’ NP is omitted:

- (112) *Pog turug Monay ino baya’*
 pog turug monay ino baya’
 when sleep young.man yonder place

runna’ kat nupi bagku anan rumo.
 -u-rənna’ kat nupi bagku anan rumo
 -DEP-descend CDM dream again place 3S
 ‘When Young Man slept again, this is when the dream came to him again.’
 [Bowon Bura’ 055]
- (113) *Ino baya’ da pərsayo miro la.*
 ino baya’ da pərsayo miro la
 yonder place PR believe 3P PRT
 ‘This is when they believed (it).’ [Conversationkoko3 088]

10.4.6. Summary

Relative clauses of direct arguments are verbal in nature and follow the case marking of ordinary matrix sentences. The gap must refer to the subject. Relative clauses of adjuncts are built upon generic nouns and are nominal in nature. They follow nominal case marking of possessor constructions irrespective of the voice marking of the verb. The head noun can be omitted as long as the generic noun is present. Relative clauses without head noun, open questions and clefts are all based on relative clause constructions.

10.5. Temporal and conditional subordinate clauses with conjunction

Temporal and conditional subordinate clauses follow the verb-initial word order and always precede their matrix clause. The matrix clause often also exhibits the verb-initial word order, but may display the subject-initial word order. The verb in the subordinate clause is fully inflected.

- (114) *pog* 'when, after'
sob 'at the moment that'
kəmo 'if, when'
kidon 'when (future)'
bito 'when from Malay *bila*'

Temporal subordinate clauses have a verb-initial word order, while the word order of the matrix is free. The conjunction *pog* 'when' is almost synonymous with *sob* 'when', but sentence (115) shows the difference between *pog* and *sob*. Sentence (116) shows that *sob* 'when' refers to a more specific point in time than *pog* 'when'.

- (115) [*Pog panow miro*], [*sob pata miro*], *nnong pait di*.
pog panow miro sob p-ata' miro nnong pait adi
 when go 3P when SF-look.UV 3P here fish over.there
 'When they went, when they looked, the fish was there.' [Dayangpukli takes revenge059]

- (116) [*Sob buay miro sərawo*], *gədino*,
sob buay miro -ər-sawo gədino
 when long 3P -REC-marry in.yonder.way

tubpu' kat akkor Tuttul malu' məngallan alud.

-u-təbpu' kat akkor tuttul malu' məng-allan alud

-DEP-grow CDM plan watersnail want AV-make boat

'When they had been married for a long time, Watersnail got the plan to make a boat.' [Gongan bio Tuttul 002]

Kəmo 'if' is homophonous with the topic introducer *kəmo* 'as for X' and with the quote marker *kəmo*.

- (117) “[*Kəmo da punong alud no*]
kəmo da p-unong alud ino
 if PR SF-finish boat yonder

kito da kagom" kəmo Kalibambang.

kito da kagom kəmo kalibambang

1P.I.N/G PR sink QTM butterfly

'If the boat is finished (eaten up) we will sink', said Butterfly.' (Context: Monkey was eating the boat made of sugar cane while they were still inside.)

[Kalibambang bio Sengoyan 052]

- (118) [*Dadi kəmo madtan pəritay nong*
dadi kəmo m-adtan pəritay nong
 so if DEP-cheep.only.once small.bird OBL

konan mo], ikow tuso.

konan mo ikow tuso

right 2S.G 2S.N difficult

'So if the Peritay bird cheeps only once on your right side you are in trouble.'

[Leiwon 009]

Kidon ‘when’ always refers to the future, as in (119), while *bilu* ‘when’ from Malay can refer to the past and future. In (120) it refers to the past.

- (119) [*Kidon da akay suran balik antang ano*],
 kidon da akay suran balik antang ano
 when.fut PR EXIST story return manner that

malu' maya' aro antang suntu' Monay Irat-irat.
 malu' m-aya' aro antang suntu' monay Irat-irat
 want DEP-follow.UV NEG.IMP manner example young.man imitate-RED
 ‘When (in future) there is a similar rumor again, please do not follow the example of
 Young Man the Imitator.’ [Monay bio Dera’ 087]

- (120) [*Bilu bugkas tung ino] mata' miro*
 bilu b-ugkas tung ino m-ata' miro
 when MID-opened tub yonder DEP-look.UV 3P

da baya' miro ino da akay.
 da baya' miro ino da akay
 PR place 3P.N yonder PR EXIST
 ‘When they had opened the tub, they saw the place where they were.’ [Haji Mamali 011]

10.6. Coordinated clauses introduced by conjunctions

Coordination or juxtaposition of clauses or sentences is very frequent in Begak and need not be marked with conjunctions. Conjunctions that coordinate clauses do exist:

- (121) **conjunctions :** **gloss**
suga' ‘but’
ngod (ka) ‘because’
minsán ‘although’
səbob ‘because’ (from Malay *sebab* ‘because’)
untuk ‘in order to’ (from Malay)

The link between two coordinated clauses is rather weak and both clauses are entirely independent from each other. The conjunction *suga'* ‘but’ expresses contrast and usually occurs in between two coordinated clauses as in (122).

- (122) ‘O’ *kəmo ina' Assa' 'panow koy, anak, mənawo,*
 o *kəmo ina' Assa' panow koy anak məng-sawo*
 EXCL QTM mother Assa' go FOC child AV-marry

suga' aro mənawo kəmo ulun gəruni ddat."
 suga' aro məng-sawo kəmo ulun gə-runi ddat
 but NEG.IMP AV-marry if person AV-speak bad
 ‘O’, said Assa ’s, ‘just go propose for marriage, my son, but don ’t propose (to her)
 if (she) talks bad (things)’. [Assa’ 004]

It is possible start a sentence with *suga* 'but' without preceding contrastive sentence. The contrast is then implicit:

- (123) *Suga' rumo pakay kad kito kan.*
 suga' rumo pakay kad kito kan
 but 3S use card 1P.I.N/G isn't.it?
 'But she used our card, isn't it?' [Conversationcorn 605]

The conjunction *ngod* 'because' is sometimes combined with the particle *ka*, see section 9.6.3.3. for a description of *ka*. *Ngod* expresses reason and occurs in between two coordinated clauses as in (124). *Ngod* 'because' is homophonous with the interrogative pronoun *ngod* 'how' and the adverb *ngod* 'as if'.

- (124) *Tepuk ku sasanggan ngod aku malu' mangan.*
 -i-tapuk ku sə-sanggan ngod aku malu' mangan
 -COM-stay.behind.UV 1S.G one-basin because 1S.N want AV.eat
 'I left one basin (of porc) behind because I want to eat (of it).' [Bakas 040]

Minsan 'although' introduces concepts and concession of clauses. The concessive clause precedes the coordinated clause as is demonstrated in the following examples.⁷

- (125) *Minsan akay ceking nong dalam no*
 minsan akay ceking nong dalam ino
 although EXIST checking OBL road yonder

pon nong soggow.
 apon nong -u-saggow
 NEG.P AUX -DEP-catch.UV

'Although there are (police) checkings on the road, (illegal immigrants) will not be caught.' [Conversationcorn 146]

- (126) *Lati suran ano minsan lumu bətuan rumo syukur.*
 lati suran ano minsan lumu bətuan rumo syukur
 meaning story that although tired body 3S grateful
 'The meaning of this story is that although (his) body was tired, he was grateful.'
 [Kak 012]

The conjunction *səbob* 'because' is a loan word from Malay *sebab* 'because'. It is used as a synonym of the indigenous *ngod* 'because', but *ngod* tends to be more frequent in pure Begak speech while *səbob* is more frequent in speech that is more or less mixed with Malay elements, as in (127).

⁷ It could be the case that pre-posed concessive clauses or reason clauses are subordinated instead of coordinated, but this is yet unclear.

- (127) *Pon akay pa səbob pon beja'*
 apon akay pa səbob apon -i-baja'
 NEG.P EXIST PRT because NEG.P -COM-fertiliser.UV
 'There are no (fruits on the eggplant) because it is not treated with fertiliser.'
 [Conversation koko1 252]

The conjunction *untuk* 'in order to' is also from Malay and occurs in speech that is slightly mixed with Malay elements. Juxtaposition of clauses often implies purpose in the indigenous Begak grammar, but purpose is not always expressed explicitly. The Malay word *untuk* expresses purpose explicitly.⁸

- (128) *Nong sugkow bəgko satu, səbətuan ulun liun tuo,*
 nong -u-səgkow bəgko satu sə-bətuan ulun liun tuo
 AUX -DEP-call.UV also one one-CL.person person woman old
- barong atow gəruni, untuk gəsəgkow doto.*
 barong a-tow gə-runi untuk gə-səgkow doto
 whoever NV-know.UV AV-speak for AV-call angelic.being
 '(..) to call an elderly lady, whoever knows to speak (the ritual words) to call the
 angelic being.' (Context: the Russay singing and dancing ritual.) [Russay 023]

10.7. Summary

This chapter has treated interclausal relations. Complement clauses were described in section 10.2. It has been shown that direct speech and indirect speech are subtypes of sentential complements that differ from each other only in the presence versus absence of the quote marker *kəmo* and in the absence versus presence of deictic shift.

We have seen that control constructions in Begak involve actor control rather than subject control, in terms of Bresnan (1982) anaphoric control instead of functional control. A possible explanation for this phenomenon is that the Begak verbal inflection is reduced; certain aspect or mood combinations do not exist for both voices. Therefore, the verb cannot always be marked for AV in certain types of mood or aspect so that the actor cannot always be the subject of the clause.

Several types of infinite clauses of purpose or manner were treated in section 10.3. It was shown how verbs of motion take purpose clauses. The resultative construction was tentatively described as a main clause with a purpose clause expressing the result. Purpose clauses with *məgkay* 'give' were shown to express a beneficiary, recipient or addressee to verbs that lack this argument. Two types of constructions with manner predicates were treated: one in which the manner predicate forms the main clause and the modified clause the complement, and one in which the modified clause is the main clause and the manner predicate an adjunct

⁸ In code switching contexts the Malay conjunction *supaya* 'so that' sometimes occurs, pronounced as *supayo*, expressing purpose or goal, but it does not occur in relatively 'pure' Begak.

clause.

Relative clauses were treated in section 10.4., as well as clefts and open questions, since these are based on relative clause constructions. It has been shown that relative clauses of direct arguments follow the gapping strategy; the gap must be the subject of the clause. Relative clauses of oblique arguments and adjuncts are based on generic nouns.

Temporal and conditional subordinate clauses introduced by conjunctions were treated in section 10.5., while coordinate clauses introduced by conjunctions were discussed in section 10.6.

11. Pragmatics, word order and genre

11.1. Introduction

This chapter describes the relation between word order, certain pragmatic functions and genre. We have seen in chapter 5 that there are two word orders in Begak: the verb-initial word order which is semantically based, and the subject-initial word order which is syntactically based. Both word orders may occur with a verb in either Actor Voice or Undergoer voice. Subsection 11.2.1. will describe how the choice between these two word orders is determined by the information flow in texts, while subsection 11.2.2. will explain how the voice marking on the verb determines the choice of the word order to a great extent. Subsection 11.2.3. will briefly discuss how question-and-answer pairs help in identifying the pragmatic function of a certain position in a sentence as topic and or focus. This method is subsequently used for identifying the pragmatic function of the pre-verbal slot in the subject-initial word order in Begak. Section 11.3. will treat another mechanism regulating the flow of information in Begak discourse: tail-head linkage.

Section 11.4. will give some quantitative evidence for the (provisional) claims made in the previous sections. Subsection 11.4.1. will explain the method adopted and section 11.4.2. will motivate the texts chosen for the quantitative method. The subsections 11.4.3. through 11.4.6. will discuss the text frequency of verb forms in Actor Voice and Undergoer Voice in three genres, the relation between voice and word order, the relation between the choice of voice marking on the verb and the relative topicality of the arguments of the verb respectively. This chapter will be summarised in section 11.5.

11.2. Pragmatics of the two word orders and two voices

11.2.1. Function of both word orders

As mentioned above, the Begak verb-initial word order is semantically determined: Verb-Actor-Undergoer and the subject-initial word order is syntactically determined: Subject-Verb-Object. The schemas of the word order and nominal case marking are repeated from section 5.3.2.:

Scheme 1 Word order and pronominal case marking

pre-verbal slot	verbal slot	Actor slot	Undergoer slot
	AV-verb	Actor: Nom	Undergoer: Acc/Obl
Actor: Nom	AV-verb		Undergoer: Acc/Obl
	UV-verb	Actor: Gen	Undergoer: Acc
Undergoer: Nom	UV-verb	Actor: Gen	

Recall from section 5.3.1. that the terms verb-initial and subject-initial only refer to the position of the subject, verb and object relative to each other. Even if a sentence begins with an adverb or aspectual, but the subject is in front of the verb, the word order is called subject-initial. Likewise, a sentence is called verb-initial when the verb is in front of the arguments, even if the verb is preceded by, for instance, an adjunct. This section describes the function of both word orders.

Opening sentences of narratives or sentences that give background information about the setting are often subject-initial. Sentences (1) is the first sentence of a short personal story how Zam Lee and his friend Terus caught a deer that had fallen into the river. The sentences that follow are all verb-initial.

- (1) *Subu-subu kəmmon Jam Li panow koluk anan Tərus.*
 subu-subu kəmmon Jam Li panow -u-kaluk anan Tərus
 morning-RED just.now Zam Lee go -DEP-visit place Terus
 ‘Early this morning Zam-Lee went to visit Terus.’ [Zam-Lee and Terus 002]

Similarly, the myth of origin about the man from the egg contains a subject-initial clause introducing the background of one of the main characters. The first clause introduces one of the main characters with an existential *akay* and the second clause, which gives necessary back ground information, is subject-initial and contains an AV-verb *bəkaung* ‘collect and burn trees and branches after the first burning of newly cleared land’:

- (2) *Akay Pəngəlimo. Pəngəlimo bəkaung*
 akay pəngəlimo pəngəlimo bə-kaung
 EXIST commander commander AV-clear.land

umo, məngəgkot umo.
 umo məng-ə-gkot umo
 rice.field AV-work ricefield
 ‘There was a Commander. Commander was collecting and burning wood in his rice field, (he was) working his rice field.’ [Leppit 001]

Example (3) is a sentence that gives background information after the main characters, the Crocodiles and the Mousedeer, have been introduced. Again, the word order is subject-initial and the main verb is in the AV.

- (3) *Boyo pasod, boyo no malu’ mangan pəlanuk,*
 boyo pasod boyo ino malu’ mangan pəlanuk
 crocodile many crocodile yonder want AV.eat mousedeer

mangan suku kulos-kulos lottos llung no.
 mangan suku kulos-kulos -u-lattos llung ino
 AV.eat all animal-RED -DEP-cross.river river yonder
 ‘The many crocodiles, those crocodiles wanted to eat (him), wanted to eat the mouse deer, to eat all the animals that crossed the river.’ [Boyo bio Pelanuk 005]

The subject-initial word order may serve to introduce a new subject of conversation, as in (4). This sentence came totally out of the blue in the conversation, as all the preceding utterances in the conversation had been about a different, unrelated topic.

- (4) *Tərus penow məngay sapow di.*
 Tərus -i-panow məng-ay sapow adi
 Terus -COM-go AV-take roof over.there
 ‘Terus went to take the roof (roofing material).’ [Conversation koko1 116]

Verb-initial sentences usually express thematic continuity, as in the following sentences where the speaker tells how she went to town to buy cushions for a chair and how she just missed Semerayang’s mini bus to return to the village. The first sentence is transitive, while the second and third sentence are intransitive, but all three are verb-initial as the theme of the discourse is constant.

- (5) *Jadi bay atəgbuk kəmmi ano, anu bangku’ no.*
 jadi bay a-təgbuk kəmmi ano anu bangku’ ino
 so PRF NV-meet.UV 1P.E.N/G that whatever chair yonder
 ‘So we had already come across this, whatchemecallit, this chair.’
 [ConversationtriptoLD 019]

- (6) *Bay kuli’ Səmərayang tunong.*
 bay k-uli’ Səmərayang tunong
 PRF AV.NV-go.home Semerayang here
 ‘(But) Semerayang had already gone home here.’ [ConversationtriptoLD 021]

- (7) *Jadi dalud kəmmi.*
 jadi dalud kəmmi
 so wait 1P.E.N/G
 ‘So we waited.’ [ConversationtriptoLD 022]¹

The same principles that regulate the choice of the word order within texts also regulate the word order within a sentence. Temporal subordinates are almost exclusively verb-initial, as they are usually about a known topic and often repeat information from the previous sentence (see also section 11.3. on tail-head linkage). They are often followed by one or more other verb-initial clauses, because the context has already been set by the subordinate, as in (8). The first clause is a temporal subordinate clause with a transitive UV-verb *nigkay* ‘gave’, the second clause is a matrix clause with verb-initial word order containing a transitive AV-verb *mənginum* ‘drink’, while the third clause contains an intransitive verb *roban* ‘jump up’.

¹ The verb of this sentence is a bare stem, but bare stems of verbs are rare. See section 6.3 about bare verbal stems.

- (8) *Sob da nigkay rumo, kəmo* (movement),
 sob da ni-gkay rumo kəmo
 when PR COM-give.UV 3S QTM
- nong anak ku ne, nu key təlombung no,*
 nong anak ku ne nu key təlombung ino
 OBL child 1S.G this what FOC young.coconut yonder
- da mənginum anak ku di,*
 da məng-inum anak ku adi
 PR AV-drink child 1S.G over.there
- roban kat asu miro di.*
 -u-raban kat asu miro adi
 -DEP-jum.up CDM dog 3P over.there
 ‘When she had given (it) (speaker demonstrates the movement) to my child,
 the whatchemecallit, young coconut, my child was drinking (it) (and) the dog
 jumped on him.’ [Conversationdogs 568]

In summary, the subject-initial word order introduces new topics or contrastive topics, while the verb-initial word order is used for thematic continuity.

11.2.2. Word order and voice

The choice of the word order seems to be determined not only by the context of the clause, but also by the voice of the verb. AV-verbs tend to occur in subject-initial clauses, and UV-verbs in verb-initial clauses. Consider the elicited sentence which is repeated from chapter 5. Initially only (9a) was judged correct by my consultants and (9b), and in fact all elicited verb-initial clauses with AV-verbs, were considered *ayat tergantung*, ‘a sentence coming out of the blue’. The verb-initial word order with AV-verb is perfectly grammatical, but only as long as it is embedded in a discourse context.

- (9) a. *Lina bəgarab (nong) niun*
 Lina bəg-arab (nong) niun
 Lina AV-look.for (OBL) 2S.A
 ‘Lina is looking for you (Acc/Obl).’
- b. *(..)bəgarab Lina (nong) niun (..)*
 bəg-arab Lina (nong) niun
 AV-look.for Lina (OBL) 2S.A
 ‘(..) Lina is looking for you (Acc/Obl) (..).’

If an AV-verb or (intransitive) verb of motion occurs in the verb-initial word order, and it is not embedded in a context with a continuous theme, it is most probably interpreted as an imperative (10), excuse or announcement about one’s own plans

(11), or proposal (12), in other words, an imperative in the second, first singular, or first plural inclusive person.

- (10) *Kəmo da tidog dtow, bəgapuy ikow kkan.*
 kəmo da tidog dtow bəg-apuy ikow kkan
 if PR high sun AV-cook 2S.N cooked.rice
 'When it is noon (lit. high sun), you cook rice!' [Tuttul bio Gonganp1]

- (11) *Ngata' aku nong sapa', kambor bay kagok.*
 məng-ata' aku nong sapa' kambor bay kagok
 AV-look.at 1S.N OBL water perhaps PRF boil
 'I'm having a look at the water, perhaps it's boiling already.' [Conversationdogs 382]

- (12) *Suga' mənnik kito gulo mangan.*
 suga' m-ə-nnik kito gulo mangan
 but DEP-go.up 1P.I.N/G first AV.eat
 'But (let)'s go up (to the hut) first to eat.' [Conversationselectingseed 573]

UV-verbs tend to occur in verb-initial clauses. Contrary to AV-verbs without context, UV-verbs without context may appear in the verb-initial word order without sounding as if they come 'out of the blue', as the elicited sentence pair in (13) shows.

- (13) a. *Paray no bay geni ku.*
 paray ino bay -i-gani ku
 paddy yonder PRF -COM-harvest.UV 1S.G
 'I have just harvested the rice.'
- b. *Bay geni ku paray no.*
 bay -i-gani ku paray ino
 PRF -COM-harvest.UV 1S.G paddy yonder
 'I have just harvested the rice.'

The UV occurs far less frequently with subject-initial word order than with verb-initial word order and if it does, it is slightly pragmatically marked. The subject-initial word order with UV-verb is often used to introduce background information. Sentence (14) is from a personal account of how the speaker walked home in the dark and came across an angry dog near an empty house. The subject-initial word order without actor expresses a state rather than an action.

- (14) *Balay no bay tengob, balay gku'.*
 balay ino bay -i-tangob, balay gku'
 house yonder PRF -COM-close.UV house dead
 'That house was already closed, it was a house where someone had passed away.'
 [Conversationdogs 540]

The subject-initial word order with UV-verbs may introduce a new topic in a conversation, as in (15). This example can also be analysed as fronting of the

undergoer-subject, as there is a particle *toka* ‘for instance’ in between the subject and the verb.

- (15) *Anak ku toka lepas nebut asu(..).*
 anak ku toka -i-lapas ni-abput asu
 child 1S.G PRT -COM-pass.UV COM-bite.UV dog
 ‘My child, for instance, was once bitten by a dog (..).’ [Conversationdogs 563]

The following example illustrates how the subject-initial word order with UV-verb expresses emphasis. The speaker tells about her sickness in the past few days and emphasises the fact that she could not eat even a little bit:

- (16) *Tittoy kinnan ku, gəmuad.*
 tittoy kinnan ku -əm-guad
 small COM.eat.UV 1S.G. -DEP-vomit
 ‘I had eaten a little bit, I vomited.’ [Conversationdogs 104]

Sentences (17) and (18) illustrate how the subject-initial word order with UV-verb expresses contrast. The speaker tells about how her family and relatives went to Kota Kinabalu in two cars following each other, when there was a police checking on the road. She contrasts the fact that Pelai and company were allowed to pass whereas her car had to stop.

- (17) *Iro Pəlay nəlepas.*
 iro Pəlay nə--i-lapas
 COL Pelai UV.CAU.COM-COM-pass.by
 ‘Pelai and his family were allowed to pass.’ [Conversationcorn 558]
- (18) *Pog sawot anan kəmmi simmu’ bə-rəndong.*
 pog sawot anan kəmmi -i-səmmu’ bə-rəndong
 when arrive place 1P.E.N/G -COM-command.UV AV-stop
 ‘When (the police) arrived at our place, (we) were told to stop.’ [Conversationcorn 559]

Another example of contrastive use or emphasis of the pre-verbal subject position is (19). This sentence is taken from a story about Mr. and Mrs. Cameleon. Mr. Cameleon goes out fishing but instead of catching a fish, he ends up being eaten himself by a large fish. After some time, Mrs. Cameleon decides to go and look for him, but all she can find is a large dead fish that still looks fresh. Back home, she wants to cut the fish open to clean and cook it, as she is as cutting open the fish, someone starts to talk to her. When she finally sees her husband in the fish’s stomach, she cries out “so *you* were there, swallowed by the fish!”.

- (19) *Ikow gam ligkut pait no(..)!*
 ikow gam -i-ləgkut pait ino
 2S.N QM -COM-swallow.UV fish yonder
 ‘So *you* were swallowed by the fish (..)!’ [Tudow 096]

More research is needed to establish the basic word order for intransitive verbs and non-verbal clauses. Contrary to dynamic intransitive verbs in the AV or transitive verbs in the AV, verbs of motion and non-verbal predicates seem not to have a preferred word order. If the clause is not embedded in a context or expresses background information the subject-initial word order is chosen, but if the clause is embedded in a context, the predicate-initial word order must be chosen, as is illustrated in (20). Compare this sentence with the subject-initial variant in (1) above which contains the same verb *panow* 'go'.

- (20) *Panow kat kəmmi di' bas.*
 panow kat kəmmi di' bas
 go CDM 1P.E.N/G LOC bus
- Pog sawot kəmmi ddi' bay lagbi'.*
 pog sawot kəmmi ddi' bay lagbi'
 when arrive 1P.E.N/G there PRF full
 'We went to the bus, when we arrived there it was already full.'
 [Conversation koko1 023]

Sentences (21a) and (21b) illustrate an adjectival predicate in subject-initial word order and in the predicate-initial order. Sentences (21a) is just a somewhat isolated remark of the Sultan after dinner while (21b) is one stage in a long series of events:

- (21) a. *"Aku da biag! aku da biag!" kəmo Sərutan.*
 aku da biag aku da biag kəmo Sərutan
 1S.N PR full.of.food 1S.N PR full.of.food QTM Sultan
 "I am full! I am full" said the Sultan.' [Dayangpuklip55]
- b. *Da biag key suku ayug rumo, (..)*
 da biag key suku ayug rumo
 PR full.of.food FOC all friend 3S
 'So all his friends were full, (..).' (Context: after a dinner in a folk tale) [Bakas036]

In summary, the word order in Begak depends not only on the flow of information in the text but also on the voice-marking of the verb. The neutral word order for AV-verbs is the subject-initial word order. A clause with AV-verb with verb-initial word order is odd if it is not embedded in a context, or, if possible, it is interpreted as a command or proposal. However, a clause with UV-verb in verb-initial order without context is perfectly fine. The subject-initial word order is the more marked word order for clauses with UV-verbs. More research is needed to make reliable claims about a basic word order for intransitive verbs and non-verbal predicates.

The relation between voice, word order and function is summarised in the following table:

Table 1 Relation of word order, voice, and pragmatic function

Word order	Voice	Pragmatic function
Verb-initial: <i>Verb-Actor-Undergoer</i>	AV: marked	None: unmarked Thematic continuity (if embedded in a context) Imperative (if not embedded in a context)
Verb-initial: <i>Verb-Actor-Undergoer</i>	UV: unmarked	Thematic continuity Action
Subject-initial: <i>Subject-Verb-Object</i>	AV: unmarked	None: unmarked Background New topic
Subject-initial: <i>Subject-Verb-Object</i>	UV: marked	Background / state New topic Emphasis Contrast/contrastive topic

11.2.3. Word order and voice in question and answer pairs: pragmatic topic and focus

Having seen that the AV and UV-forms of the verb and different word orders have different functions, the question is what is the pragmatic function of the subject, and what is the pragmatic function of the pre-verbal position. Two main pragmatic functions are generally distinguished, topic and focus. Focus can be defined as crucial new information that is not presupposed (Comrie 1989). Topic is usually defined as what the sentence is about; this is usually old, known, presupposed information. A topic may be the same throughout several sentences, but there may be a change of topic.

In order to identify the pragmatic function of the subject in pre-verbal position, we will have a look at wh-question and answer pairs. The answer to a wh-question corresponding to the element questioned by the interrogative pronoun usually bears the pragmatic function of focus. Therefore, if the subject of a clause has to be topic it cannot be the answer to a wh-question and if the pre-verbal subject of a clause must be topic, it cannot contain the answer to a wh-question. Consider example (22).²

- (22) *Nu nepuy Neneng?*
 nu ni-apuy Neneng
 what COM-cook.UV Neneng
 'What did Neneng cook?'

Hypothetical answers are:

² Question and answer pairs in Begak need further research. Only very few elicited questions and answers were checked with the consultants and although their answers were more or less unanimous in most cases, their judgements disagreed in a few other cases. Therefore I will just tentatively describe the tendencies but will not draw hard conclusions.

- (23) a. *Nepuy rumo lisi manuk.*
 ni-apuy rumo lisi manuk
 COM-cook.UV 3S egg chicken
 'She cooked chicken eggs.'
- b. *Rumo bəgepuy lisi manuk.*
 rumo bəg--i-apuy lisi manuk
 3S AV--COM-cook egg chicken
 'She cooked chicken eggs.'
- ?c. *Lisi manuk nepuy rumo.*
 lisi manuk ni-apuy rumo
 egg chicken COM-cook.UV 3S
 'She cooked chicken eggs.'
- *d. *Bəgepuy rumo lisi manuk.*
 bəg--i-apuy rumo lisi manuk
 AV--COM-cook 3S egg chicken
 'She cooked chicken eggs.'
- e. *Ino nepuy rumo: lisi manuk.*
 ino ni-apuy rumo lisi manuk
 yonder COM-cook.UV 3S egg chicken
 'This is what she cooked: porc.'

Answer (23a) with UV-verb in verb-initial word order is the preferred answer. The fact that the undergoer is the subject shows that the subject of the clause may bear the function of pragmatic focus. Answer (23b) is less preferred but is pragmatically correct too. This sentence contains an AV-verb in subject-initial position, showing that the NP corresponding to interrogative pronoun in the question need not be the subject of the clause. Answer (23c) is pragmatically less felicitous because the subject-initial word order with UV-verb is a marked construction. Its undergoer-subject appears in pre-verbal position and bears pragmatic focus as it expresses new information. Apparently, the pre-verbal position of an UV-verb is less compatible with the function of focus or new information. Answer (23d) is incorrect, as the verb-initial word order with AV-verb in an answer to a question is, according to my consultants, *tərbalik* 'upside down'. Answer (23e) is a cleft-construction and is pragmatically correct, as cleft-constructions assign focus to the clefted NP.

Now consider (24) in which an actor is questioned:

- (24) *Nay məngikul nong ai' mo?*
 nay məng--i-ukul nong ai' mo
 who AV--COM-beat OBL younger.sibling 2S.G
 'Who beat your younger sibling?'

Hypothetical answers are:

- (25) a. *Nikul kusay arat no nong rumo.*
 ni-ukul kusay a-rat ino nong rumo
 COM-beat.UV man NV-bad yonder OBL 3S
 ‘That bad man beat him.’
- ?b. *Kusay arat no mǝngikul nong rumo.*
 kusay a-rat ino mǝng--i-ukul nong rumo
 man NV-bad yonder AV--COM-beat OBL 3S
 ‘That bad man beat him.’
- *c. *Mǝngikul kusay arat no nong rumo.*
 mǝng--i-ukul kusay a-rat ino nong rumo
 AV--COM-beat man NV-bad yonder OBL 3S
 ‘That bad man beat him.’
- ?d. *Rumo nikul kusay arat no*
 rumo ni-ukul kusay a-rat ino
 3S COM-beat.UV man NV-bad yonder
 ‘That bad man beat him.’
- e. *Ino mǝngikul nong rumo: kusay arat no*
 ino mǝng--i-ukul nong rumo kusay a-rat ino
 yonder AV--COM-beat OBL 3S man NV-bad yonder
 ‘That bad man beat him.’

Answer (25a) is one of the two preferred answers and is a verb-initial clause with an UV-verb. The new information *kusay arat no* ‘the bad man’ is neither the subject, nor the focus (i.e. new information) of the clause. Answer (25b) was accepted by one of the two consultants. It is a subject-initial clause with AV-verb. The new information *kusay arat no* ‘the bad man’ corresponding to the interrogative pronoun is the subject of the clause and appears in pre-verbal position. The problem with (25b) may be the fact that AV-Completive Aspect is not that frequent, or the problem lies in the pre-verbal position. However, the fact that its subject is in focus cannot be problematic, because answer (25c), in which the subject *kusay arat no* ‘the bad man’ appears after the verb, is even worse. Answer (25d) is also questionable. Although the pre-verbal subject position is not filled by the focussed element, the subject-initial word order is slightly marked for UV-verbs and therefore the sentence is less felicitous. Answer (25e) is a cleft where the element corresponding to the interrogative pronoun is clefted. This sentence shows that the focussed element may form the subject of the clause.

The question and answer pairs above suggest that the subject of the clause, i.e. the actor of an AV-verb and the undergoer of an UV-verb, may receive pragmatic focus, but that the pre-verbal position of an UV-verb is preferably not filled with a focussed element. A pre-verbal position of an AV-verb filled with a focussed element did not receive unanimous judgments from both consultants. The following question and answer pairs show that in some cases, the pre-verbal position may be filled with the element corresponding to the interrogative pronoun.

- (26) a. *Nay bəgisud niun di' Lahad Datu?*
 nay bəg-isud niun di' Lahad Datu
 who AV-send 2S.A LOC Lahad Datu
 'Who brought you to Lahad Datu?'
- b. *Benson bəgisud nakon ddi'.*
 Benson bəg-isud nakon ddi'
 Benson AV-send 1S.A there
 'Benson brought me there.'

The question-and-answer pairs in (26) differs from those in (22) through (25) in two respects. Firstly, the question in (26) are in the AV-Incompletive, while the questions in (22) through (25) are in the Completive Aspect. It is likely that the answer to a question appears in the same aspect. However, we have seen in section 6.3. that the UV-Incompletive Aspect is rare in matrix sentences; therefore an UV-equivalent to (26b) does not exist. Secondly, affectedness and newsworthiness could play a role here. The undergoer of (22) through (25) is very much affected by the action described by the verb; therefore an answer in the UV is preferred, while the undergoer of (26) is less so; therefore an answer in the AV with actor-subject is preferred.

Although pre-verbal subjects of UV-verbs may not bear focus, the subject-initial word order is not excluded for answers to questions. If the undergoer-subject is not the element corresponding to the interrogative (i.e. not in focus), it may occur in pre-verbal position in certain cases. Consider the following (semi-spontaneous) question-and-answer pair:

- (27) *Nay məngellan bangku' no?*
 nay məng--i-allan bangku' ino
 who AV--COM-make chair yonder
 'Who made that chair?' [Mi-Suk2 116]
- (28) *Bangku' no bellan ku gərunay.*
 bangku' ino -i-ballan ku gərunay
 chair yonder -COM-make.UV 1S.G self
 'I made this chair myself.' [Mi-Suk2 117]

The undergoer-subject in (28) does not correspond to the interrogative pronoun and is not focus but topic. Moreover, the answer expresses a state rather than an action, therefore the subject-initial word order is acceptable for this sentence.

A very tentative conclusion, then, is that the subject of a clause may be topic or focus. The pre-verbal position seems to be filled preferably by topics. Exceptions are interrogative pronouns in questions, which are focussed elements. In question-and-answer pairs, the pre-verbal position of the answers seems to be filled with a non-focussed element. Answers to questions with AV-verbs occur in the subject-initial word order, while UV-verbs usually occur in the verb-initial word order if expressing an action, or in the subject-initial word order when expressing a state. However, it is yet impossible to draw hard conclusions on the pragmatic function of the pre-verbal position as much more data are needed.

11.3. Tail-head linkage

The preceding section discussed how the word order in Begak is one of the mechanisms regulating the flow of information in discourse. Another mechanism is tail-head linkage. Tail-head linkage is a construction where (part of) the preceding clause (the tail) is repeated in the first clause (the head) of the next sentence. Each new step in a procedural text in Begak is usually expressed by the auxiliary *nong* followed by the actor, a verb in the Dependent and the undergoer. This step is repeated in a temporal or conditional subordinate clause, but this time the verb is in the UV-Completive Aspect to signal that the step in the procedure is finished. This pattern can be schematised as follows:

Scheme 2 Tail-head linkage

Subordinate clause

Tail

step 1: UV-Completive Aspect
step 2: UV-Completive Aspect
step 3: UV-Completive Aspect

Matrix Clause

Head

step 1: UV-Dependent or AV-Incompletive Aspect
step 2: UV-Dependent
step 3: UV-Dependent
step 4: UV-Dependent

Sentence (30) is the first step in the procedural text about how to make pickled meat or fish:

(29) *Mulay-mulay rumo kito mængurud*
mulay-mulay rumo kito mæng-urud
begin-RED 3S 1P.I.N/G AV-cut.to.pieces

ssi bakas no tumok-tumok.
ssi bakas ino tumok-tumok
content wild.pig yonder small-RED

'First (lit. in the very beginning) we cut the wild pig meat to small pieces.' [Timba'002]

The next sentence starts with a conditional/temporal clause repeating part of the previous sentence. Note that the verb *tittok* 'cut to pieces' is in the UV-Completive Aspect to mark completion of the action. The main clause expresses the next step in the procedure and its verb is in the UV-Dependent.

(30) **(Head)** *Jadi kəmo da tittok kito,*
jadi kəmo da -i-təttok kito
so if PR -COM-cut.to.pieces.UV 1P.I.N/G
'So after we have cut (it) to pieces,'

(Tail) *nong kito togay ssi bakas no.*
nong kito -u-tagay ssi bakas ino
AUX 1P.I.N/G -DEP-salt.UV content wild.pig yonder
'we salten the wild pig meat.'

The next sentence repeats part of the preceding clause with the verb *tegay* ‘salted’ in the UV-Completive Aspect and the verb *togbas* ‘drain’ of the main clause is in the UV-Dependent again:

- (31) **(Head)** *Jadi kəmo da tegay kito,*
 jadi kəmo da -i-tagay kito
 so if PR -COM-salt.UV 1P.I.N/G
 ‘So after we have salted (it),’
- (Tail)** *nong kito togbas ssi bakas ino,*
 nong kito -u-tagbas ssi bakas ino
 AUX 1P.I.N/G -DEP-drain.UV content wild.pig yonder
 ‘we drain the wild pig meat,’
- (Tail)** *malu’ sidtu pon bəgəbpow butong.*
 malu’ sidtu apon bəg-ə-bpow butong
 want merely NEG.P AV-smell rotten
 ‘so that it does not smell rotten.’ [Timba’ 003]

Tail-head linkage is the main characteristic of procedural texts but often occurs in narrative texts as well.

11.4. Quantitative analysis of voice

The preceding sections described the function of the relation between voice markers and word order in a qualitative manner. In this section a quantitative approach is taken to measure the relation between genre, voice marking, word order and topic continuity. The quantitative method developed by Cooreman (1982, 1985, 1987) and Givón (1983, 1994) was adopted. This method involves several quantitative tests designed to answer the question whether a construction in a given language behaves like a typical active or direct construction, an inverse, passive or antipassive construction. Givón (1994:8) adopts the following pragmatic definition of the four main voices from Cooreman (1982, 1985 and 1987):³

Table 2 Relative topicality of the agent and patient in the four main voices

Voice	Relative topicality
Active/Direct	Agent > Patient
Inverse	Agent < Patient
Passive	Agent << Patient
Antipassive	Agent >> Patient

³ Givón (1984) and Cooreman (1982, 1985, 1987) use the terms Agent and Patient in the sense of the most agent-like argument and the most patient-like argument respectively. Please recall that in this book, the terms ‘actor’ and ‘undergoer’ respectively are used in the same sense.

The Agent of a typical active or direct construction is more topical than the Patient, but the Patient is still highly topical. In an inverse construction the patient is more topical than the Agent, but the Agent is still highly topicality. In a passive construction the Patient is much more topical than the Agent and the Agent has low topicality, while in an antipassive construction the Agent is much more topical than the Patient and the Patient has low topicality. The topicality of Agents and Patients are calculated with two topicality measures: the Referential distance and the Topic persistence. These two topicality measures are discussed in section 11.4.4. below.

Another test for distinguishing voice constructions pragmatically is the text frequency of the constructions. Givón (1994:11) reports that a typical active/direct construction accounts for 60-70% of all clauses in narratives, inverse around 20% and passive and antipassive both for less than 10%. Note, however, that these percentages are based on the narrative genre in Chamorro and are perhaps different in other genres.

Yet another test is the frequency of deletion of non-referring arguments. A non-referring zero undergoer is, for instance, the absent undergoer in 'John is eating' where the undergoer is omitted not because it is highly topical, but because it is unimportant and generic. Similarly, a non-referring actor occurs in impersonal passives. Non-referring zero-actors are typical for passive constructions while non-referring patients are a characteristic of antipassive constructions.

These tests must decide whether the Begak AV and UV behave like antipassive and passive respectively or like ordinary transitive constructions such as active/direct and inverse. Apart from the Givón method, another test was performed to calculate the relation between word order and voice, in order to corroborate intuitions and claims made in section 11.2. above.

The method of Givón is usually applied to the narrative genre only. However, for this study I decided to apply the text to other genres as well, because each genre has its own characteristics. In fact, Begak narrative texts are not neutral or basic because they contain specific constructions not heard in other genres (unless the speaker switches to the narrative mode). Three texts of considerable length were chosen: one conversation of 50 minits, one folk story of 50 minits and a procedural text/explanation of 40 minits. Only transitive verbs were counted, both in matrix sentences and in subordinate sentences. Intransitive verbs were not counted. For each verb, its voice was determined and the word order in which it occurred was noted, as well as the type of NP.

11.4.1. The nature of the three texts

The texts were selected on the basis of length and quality and had to be representative for their genre. As for length, I have chosen to work with three long representative texts rather than with a number of short texts of the same genre for practical reasons. Most procedural texts and a few narratives are relatively short, but since the conversation genre was already represented by one long text, I thought it would be better to take one long procedural text and one long narrative to compare conversation with, rather than a set of short procedural text and narratives.

As for representativeness, some texts are more typical for their genre than others. A typical Begak narrative text starts off with a few sentences with AV-verbs to sketch the background of the story, but quickly switches to the main part of the story. The sentences which carry the main story line are all verb-initial clauses with Dependent verbs, often followed by the core development marker *kat* (see section 9.6.1.1.). These typical verb-initial clauses followed by the core development marker *kat* are totally absent outside of the narrative genre; in fact this construction is the main characteristic of narrative discourse. Narrative texts may contain some tail-head constructions, but never as many as a procedural text.

A typical procedural or explanatory text contains many tail-head-linkage constructions and clauses with the auxiliary *nong* followed by a Dependent verb. Certain explanatory texts in my corpus have the character of an interview with pairs of questions and answers while other texts resembled narrative texts: in a text about marriage customs, for instance, a speaker did not explain about Begak marriage customs in general, but about the marriage of her son and switched to the narrative mode. In that case the text is atypical for its genre.

Conversations consist of various turns of several speakers, and may contain statements, questions and answers. A conversation may develop into a narrative or procedural text if one of the speakers gives a long monologue. For instance, the first part of conversation “dogs” consists of various turns of the speakers, but as the conversation progresses, one speaker gives a long monologue about her illness of the past week. As she switches into the narrative mode, she starts to use verb-initial clauses with the core development marker *kat*, which are highly typical of the narrative genre. As the conversation progresses, the topic switches to how to treat dog bites. One of the speakers explains her method of treatment and switches to the procedural genre. Therefore, if a conversation changes into a monologue and contains a long passages of another genre, the conversation cannot be distinguished anymore from the other genres. The three texts chosen in this chapter do not mix genres too much.

The explanatory/procedural text of this chapter is about funerals where the speaker explains in detail the necessary steps of what needs to be done from the moment a person is critically ill until the last ceremony three days after the funeral.

The narrative chosen for this chapter is *Bowon Bura* ‘the white feathered sparrow’, a folk tale about a prince who catches a white feathered sparrow and keeps it as a pet. The bird changes into a human being during the night, when she takes off her bird costume, and keeps the prince company. The prince wants to marry her and one day, he decides to hide her bird costume while she is sleeping. When the girl wakes up she realises that her human state is now permanent. She has no choice but to marry with the prince, but after several years of marriage she finds her bird costume back, changes back into a bird, and escapes from the palace.

The conversation chosen for this chapter was recorded in the cocoa orchard, where the speakers were peeling cocoa fruits and talking to each other at the same time. The topics of the conversation were the quality of the cocoa fruits, the trip one speaker made to Lahad Datu, the illness of a neighbour, a business discussion of the salary of the workers hired by some of the speakers, plans to go fishing (see appendix A), rumours about people in the village who had allegedly been fighting, the recent travel and family matters of a certain family in the village. The

conversation was characterised by turn taking of all speakers and contained no long monologues.

11.4.2. Text frequency of voice and its relation with genre

As can be seen in Table 3, the choice of the voice marking on transitive verbs in Begak is heavily influenced by the genre. The conversation contains almost the same number of AV-verbs as UV-verbs, whereas in the folk tale the UV-verbs are twice as numerous as the AV verbs. The procedural text contained even more UV-verbs.⁴

Table 3 Text frequency of voice per genre

	Conversation	Narrative	Procedural
AV	196 (51%)	96 (34%)	121 (30%)
UV	185 (49%)	189 (66%)	280 (70%)
total	381 (100%)	285 (100%)	401 (100%)

A logistic regression was carried out with the number of AV-verbs and the number of UV-verbs as dependent variable and the genre (Conversation, Narrative and Procedural) as independent variable. Genre emerged as a significant factor for determining voice ($F_{2,3} = 20.566$, $p < 0.001$). Additional chisquare showed that the Conversation differed significantly from Narrative text ($X_1^2 = 20.1704$, $p < 0.001$, all p -values with Bonferroni adjustment) and from Procedural text ($X_1^2 = 35.7885$, $p < 0.001$). Procedural text and Narrative text did not differ from each other ($X_1^2 = 0.7935$, $p > 0.1$).⁵

I have no explanation for the fact that percentage of AV-verbs and UV-verbs is almost fifty-fifty in the conversation other than the hypothesis that conversation is perhaps the most basic and neutral genre. However, the percentages in the other genres can easily be explained by the constructions they use. Begak folk tales, for instance, usually do not contain a lot of back ground information, but quickly go from one action to the other. Most clauses describing successive actions are verb-initial clauses with an UV-Dependent verb followed by the core development marker *kat*. Forms other than the UV-Dependent are attested too in the main story line, but occur more often in back ground clauses. As soon as the protagonist (often the actor) is known, it is often non-overt or expressed by a pronoun and the verb appears in the UV to make the undergoer the more prominent NP of the clause. The following passage from the narrative 'Bowon Bura' illustrates how Begak expresses successive actions. Both sentences start with a temporal clause with *pog* 'when, after', followed by a verb in the UV. The main clauses following

⁴ Ten out of 121 AV-verbs in the procedural genre are AV-forms with a non-referential zero-undergoer argument from a relative clause construction in a formula. Recall that the choice of voice marking on relative clauses is syntactically determined. Moreover, the fact that these items occurred in a formula suggests that they should perhaps better be left out of consideration, making the percentage of AV-forms even smaller for the procedural genre.

⁵ I am grateful to Miriam Ernestus who performed the statistical analysis.

this temporal clause are in the UV-Dependent. Hence UV-forms are more numerous than AV forms in narrative texts.

- (32) *Pog alap rumo bowon puti' ino gədino,*
 pog a-lap rumo bowon puti' ino gədino
 when NV-get.UV 3S sparrow white yonder in.yonder.way
- ləppap kat rumo key missa' nong allom kurung,*
 ləppap kat rumo key m-issa' nong allom kurung
 immediately CDM 3S FOC DEP-put.UV OBL inside cage
- ləmera' bowon ano maus muli'.*
 -əm-lera' bowon ano m-aus m-uli'
 -DEP-look.after.UV sparrow that DEP-bring.UV DEP-go.home
 'When he had caught the white sparrow he put it into a cage and looked after
 it and took it home.' [Bowon Bura' 032]
- (33) *Pog sawot ddi, mara' kat rumo key nong ina'*
 pog sawot ddi m-ara' kat rumo key nong ina'
 when arrive there DEP-say.UV CDM 3S FOC OBL mother
- rumo bio ama' rumo rumo kəlap bowon.*
 rumo bio ama' rumo rumo kə-lap bowon
 3S and father 3S 3S AV.NV-get sparrow
 'When he came home he told his mother and his father that he had caught a
 sparrow.' [Bowon Bura' 033]

The procedural text is a description of actions performed on an undergoer. Although it is specified in certain clauses who performs a certain action, most clauses lack an overt actor, or the actor is impersonal, as a procedural text is after all a general description of a hypothetical case rather than a report of a specific event. Each step in the procedure consists of one orienting clause with an AV-verb explaining whose task it is to perform the next step. This clause is followed by several clauses describing the details of that particular step in the procedure. These clauses all consist of *nong* followed by UV-Dependent verbs or tail-head linkage constructions. The tail of a tail-head linkage construction always contains an UV-Completive Aspect verb while the head is a clause with *nong* with UV-Dependent verb. This explains why procedural texts contain so many UV-verbs. Example (34) is such an orienting sentence. The speaker had been talking about funeral preparations upstairs: how to wash the corpse, what ingredients to prepare, how to decorate the house, and then the topic switches to the activities down stairs. The verb is in the AV to stress whose task is what:

- (34) *Da kubad da məngallan panggung anan mangan,*
 da kubad da məng-allan panggung anan mangan
 PR rest PR AV-make platform place AV.eat

kubad da mǝngallan lagbang bǝrǝmatay.
 kubad da mǝng-allan lagbang bǝrǝmatay
 rest PR AV-make plateau.halfway.up.the.stairs spirits.of.dead
 ‘Some of them make a platform where meals will be eaten, some of them
 make a plateau halfway up the stairs for the spirit of the dead.’ [Ama` ku pedtos. 070]

This orienting sentence is followed by an explanation of what the plateau is for and then the text continues with a series of clauses describing how to make the plateau. Nearly all these clauses consist of the auxiliary *nong* with an UV-Dependent verb.

- (35) *Nong lobak putti no, pat sila’, nong*
 nong -u-labak putti ino pat sila’ nong
 AUX -DEP-put.UV banana yonder four CL.GEN AUX
- mukos putti no pat sila’, sa’ lobak.*
 m-ukos putti ino pat sila’ sa’ -u-labak
 DEP-cut.UV banana yonder four CL.GEN SQ -DEP-put.UV
 ‘You have to place banana trees, four trunks, you have to cut these four banana
 trees and then place them.’ [Ama` ku pedtos. 073]

The fact that AV and UV are equally frequent in conversations and that the frequency of UV is higher in other genres shows that, at least on the basis of discourse frequency, UV cannot be analysed as passive. Givón (1983:23) states that the text frequency of the passive tends to be in between 5 and 20% of all transitive verbs in narratives. In fact, a percentage of around 60% is the norm for active/direct voice in narratives (Givón). The UV is probably the basic voice in Begak. Other Austronesian languages where the UV is the more frequent voice type are Tagalog (Cooreman, Fox and Givón 1984), Sama Banginggi’ (Gault 1999:61), and Toba Batak (Wouk 1984).

The fact that in certain genres UV is more frequent than AV, with percentages of 70% against 30% in procedural texts shows that Begak is discourse-ergative, where the term discourse-ergative means that the voice where the undergoer is the subject (UV) is more frequent than the voice where the actor is the subject (AV). However, the high percentage of UV-forms in narratives and procedural texts does not turn Begak in an ergative language. The percentage of AV is lower than the 20% typical for antipassives in narratives (Givón 1994). Moreover, as has already been mentioned in section 5.2.4., other formal criteria are needed for an ergative analysis. All that can be concluded is that Begak has a clear preference for UV in certain constructions and genres.⁶

⁶ The Ida’an dialect of the language seems to make much more frequent use of Actor Voice in narrative texts than Begak. Moody (1991:147) reports a ratio of 3:1 AV-verbs to UV-verbs in three texts and 6:1 in one text in main clauses. He found ratios of 9:2, 6:1, 11:1 and 11:6 AV-verbs to UV-verbs respectively in subordinate clauses. Moody does not make any claims on other genres. However, I have only counted transitive verbs, whereas Moody (1991) counted all verbs. I analyse the Dependent as a tense, whereas Moody counts it as voice.

11.4.3. Voice and word order

We have seen in section 11.2. what the functions of the two word orders are. The first column of the following tables contains the number and percentage of subject-initial clauses. This column includes subject-initial clauses without overt object with pre-verbal subject. The second column is for verb-initial clauses. Crucial is here that the subject comes after the verb: the actor-subject of AV-verbs comes after the verb, whether or not the clause contains an overt undergoer, and the undergoer-subject of an UV-verb comes after the verb, whether or not the clause contains an actor. The third column is for clauses without subject, whether or not the object is present. The fourth column is for clauses with auxiliary *nong* and UV-Dependent verb where the undergoer-subject follows the verb. The cases where the undergoer-subject occurs in pre-verbal position are counted under subject-initial clauses.

Table 4 Word order in Conversation text

word order	Subject-initial	Verb-initial	no subject	auxiliary construction	Total
AV	61 (31%)	25 (13%)	110 (56%)	-	196 (100%)
UV	29 (16%)	91 (49%)	47 (25%)	18 (10%)	185 (100%)
Total	90 (24%)	116 (30%)	157 (41%)	18 (5%)	381 (100%)

The clauses with an AV-verb were significantly more often subject-initial than in verb-initial while clauses with an UV-verb were significantly more often verb-initial than subject-initial. ($X_1^2=42.6504$, $p<0.001$ with Bonferroni adjustment). Sentences without subject or with auxiliary construction were left out of consideration.

Table 5 Word order in Narrative text

word order	Subject-initial	Verb-initial	no subject	auxiliary construction	Total
AV	32 (33%)	26 (27%)	38 (40%)	-	96 (100%)
UV	20 (11%)	101 (53%)	33 (17%)	35 (19%)	189 (100%)
Total	52 (18%)	127 (45%)	71 (25%)	35 (12%)	285 (100%)

The clauses with AV-verbs were significantly more often subject-initial than verb-initial while clauses with an UV-verb verb-initial more often than subject-initial ($X_1^2=26.5622$, $p<0.001$ with Bonferroni adjustment). Sentences without subject or with auxiliary construction were left out of consideration.

Table 6 Word order in Procedural text

word order	Subject-initial	Verb-initial	no subject	auxiliary construction	total
AV	37 (31%)	15 (12%)	69 (57%)	-	121 (100%)
UV	16 (6%)	49 (17%)	52 (19%)	163 (58%)	280 (100%)
Total	52 (13%)	63 (16%)	121 (30%)	163 (41%)	401 (100%)

The clauses with an AV-verb were significantly more often subject-initial than verb-initial, while clauses with an UV-verb were significantly more often verb-initial than

subject-initial ($X_1^2=23.4073$, $p<0.001$ with Bonferroni adjustment). Sentences without subject or with auxiliary construction were left out of consideration.

As can be seen from the tables, the voice marking on the verb seems to determine to some extent the word order in Begak. Although the percentages are not identical for each genre, the tendencies are fairly constant across genres. Transitive AV-verbs occur about twice as often in the subject-initial word order as in the verb-initial word order, whereas transitive UV-verbs occur up to five times as often in the verb-initial order as the subject-initial order. The actor-subject is omitted more frequently in transitive clauses with AV-verbs than the undergoer-subject in transitive clauses with UV-verb. The statistics in the tables confirm the claims of the preceding sections that the subject-initial word order is basic for AV-verbs and the verb-initial word order is basic for UV-verbs.

Although the voice marking of the verb is the most important factor determining the word order of the clause, genre has some influence on the word order. The narrative contains more clauses with verb-initial word order, with both AV and UV verbs, than the conversation. This can be explained by the fact that the narrative contains many passages of successive actions which are all verb-initial, whether the verb is in the AV or UV, as in examples (31) and (32) above. My hypothesis is that the verb-initial word order is used more for thematic continuity whereas the subject-initial word order is used for a thematic discontinuity. The narrative contains several passages where the narrative theme is constant over many clauses, whereas the subject of the conversation tends to be less constant. This is reflected in the word order.

It has already been remarked about procedural texts that all steps in the procedure are expressed by *nong* with UV-Dependent verb. Clauses with auxiliaries have a fixed word order Auxiliary-Actor-Verb-Undergoer. Because a procedural text contains a very high number of clauses with an auxiliary, the number of clauses containing another word order are automatically lower.

11.4.4. Relational Distance (referent topicality)

The topicality of an argument of a verb is calculated with two measures (Givón 1983, 1994). The first measure is that referential distance (RD) and the second that of topic persistence (TP). Only the measure of referential distance was applied to Begak. Topic Persistence counts the number of clauses in which the referent is mentioned after its present mention. The method of measuring the RD of the referent counts the number of clauses that separate the referent from its last mention in the text. (Givón 1994:10). If this is in the previous clause or only a few clauses back, the argument of the verb is highly topical, but if this is many clauses back, the argument is less topical. The number of clauses that separates the argument from its last mention is called the Relational Distance (RD). First mentions or non-referential zero arguments are not taken into consideration except for the procedural genre; this explains why the number of clauses in the tables of RD below are lower than in the tables with percentages on word order above. The following table shows the results of the RD measure.

Table 7 Relational Distance in conversation

RD	Actor AV	Undergoer AV	Actor UV	Undergoer UV
non-referential: left out of consideration	2	15	11	-
1-3	138 (71%)	82 (45%)	101 (58%)	87 (47%)
>3	56 (29%)	99 (55%)	73 (42%)	98 (53%)
	196-2=194 (100%)	196-15=181 (100%)	185-11=174 (100%)	185 (100%)

The analysis shows that Actors have an RD of 1-3 significantly more often than Undergoers ($F(1,3) = 49.442$, $p < 0.001$), but the interaction between Actor/Undergoer and voice marking was not significant ($F(1,3) = 0.161$, $p=0.6878$). The choice of voice marking AV/UV was not significant either ($F(1,3) < 1$, $p > 0.1$).

Table 8 Relational Distance in narrative text

RD	Actor AV	Undergoer AV	Actor UV	Undergoer UV
non-referential: left out of consideration	1	12	3	-
1-3	88 (93%)	35 (42%)	156 (84%)	94 (50%)
>3	7 (7%)	49 (58%)	30 (16%)	95 (50%)
total	96-1=95 (100%)	96-12=84 (100%)	189-3=186 (100%)	189 (100%)

The analysis shows that Actors have an RD of 1-3 significantly more often than Undergoers ($F(1,3) = 103.5020$, $p < 0.001$). There is a significant interaction between Actor/Undergoer and voice ($F(1,3) = 6.0901$, $p=0.014$). An Actor leads to a lower RD when the verb is in the AV. The choice of voice marking AV/UV did not emerge as a main effect ($F(1,3) < 1$, $p > 0.1$).

Table 9 Relational Distance in procedural text

RD	Actor AV	Undergoer AV	Actor UV	Undergoer UV
non-referential: left out of consideration	21	24	107	-
1-3	71 (59%)	44 (60%)	90 (52%)	165 (59%)
>3	29 (41%)	53 (40%)	83 (48%)	115 (41%)
total	121-21=100 (100%)	97-24=73 (100%)	280-107=173 (100%)	280 (100%)

The analysis shows that Actor have an RD of 1-3 significantly more than Undergoers ($F(1,3) = 14.8317$, $p < 0.001$) but the interaction between Actor/Undergoer and voice marking was not significant ($F(1,3) = 0.161$, $p=0.6955474$). The choice of voice marking and RD was not significant either ($F(1,3) < 1$, $p > 0.1$).

Apparently, Referential Distance is irrelevant for the choice of voice marking in Begak. The percentages also show that the actor of both AV and UV is

highly topical, whereas the undergoer of UV-clauses is relatively topical and the undergoer of AV-clauses less topical. This means that AV and UV are both transitive constructions, in Givón's terminology 'inverse'.

11.4.5. Voice and nominal reference

Another quantitative test for differentiating the four basic types of voices is the frequency of clauses in which an argument is omitted. Non-referential actors are often omitted in the passive while non-referential undergoers are often omitted in the antipassive (Givón 1994:12). Therefore, the percentage of non-referential omitted arguments must reveal whether the Begak AV behaves like a typical antipassive, and whether the Begak UV behaves like a typical passive. Consider the following tables.

The more topical an argument, the less strongly it needs to be expressed: zero arguments are more topical than pronominal arguments, which are in their turn more topical than full NPs. This is measured in the following tables:

Table 10 Nominal reference in conversation

type of NP	Actor AV	Undergoer AV	Actor UV	Undergoer UV
zero (non-referential)	2 (0,5%)	15 (8%)	11 (5%)	-
zero (referential)	103 (52,5%)	52 (27%)	61 (31%)	51 (27,5%)
pronoun	56 (29%)	14 (7%)	88 (45%)	22 (12%)
quote	-	23 (11%)	-	51 (27,5%)
full NP	35 (18%)	92 (47%)	25 (14%)	61 (33%)
total	196 (100%)	196 (100%)	185 (100%)	185 (100%)

AV has significantly more zero referential Undergoers than Actors (11.704, $p < 0.001$), while UV has significantly more zero referential Actors than Undergoers with $F(1,3) = 15.586$, $p < 0,001$. Actors are significantly more often expressed by a pronoun $F(1,3) 110.821$ $p < 0,001$ than by a full NP, but voice has no influence.

Table 11 Nominal reference in narrative text

type of NP	Actor AV	Undergoer AV	Actor UV	Undergoer UV
zero (non-referential)	1 (1%)	12 (13%)	3 (1%)	-
zero (referential)	38 (40%)	11 (11%)	53 (28%)	42 (22%)
pronoun	34 (35%)	9 (9%)	108 (57%)	10 (5%)
quote	-	13 (14%)	-	37 (20%)
NP	23 (24%)	51 (53%)	26 (14%)	100 (53%)
total	96 (100%)	96 (100%)	189 (100%)	189 (100%)

AV has significantly more zero referential Undergoers than Actors ($F(1,3) 11.647$, $p < 0.001$), while UV has significantly more zero referential Actors than Undergoers with $F(1,3) = 4.1829$, $p < 0,05$. The effect is stronger on AV-verbs: AV-verbs have a zero-referential Undergoer more often. Actors are significantly more often expressed by a pronoun $F(1,3) 159.651$ $p < 0,001$ than by a full NP. Actors of UV-verbs are especially more often expressed by a pronoun, $X\text{-squared} = 23.185$, $df=1$, p value $1.471e-06$.

Table 12 Nominal reference in procedural text

type of NP	Actor AV	UndergoerAV	Actor UV	Undergoer UV
(non-referential)	21 (17%)	24 (20%)	107 (38%)	-
0 (referential)	49 (40%)	19 (16%)	101 (36%)	98 (35%)
pronoun	33 (33%)	4 (4%)	56 (20%)	8 (3%)
quote	-	3 (2%)	-	19 (7%)
NP	18 (19%)	71 (58%)	16 (5%)	155 (55%)
total	121 (100%)	121 (100%)	280 (100%)	280 (100%)

The Actor of an UV-verb is significantly more often zero-referential than other arguments ($F_{1,3} = 173.85$, $p < 0.001$). Actors are significantly more often expressed by a pronoun ($F_{1,3} = 14.8317$, $p < 0.001$) than by a full NP. Voice has no influence.

The effect of genre on the interaction of zero referential Actors in AV-verbs and zero referential Undergoers in UV-verbs was not significant. In other words, zero referential non-subject arguments are equally frequent in any genre.

The tables show that the percentage of non-referential zero-undergoers of AV-verbs was 8-20% and did not vary to much from one genre to another. However, the percentage of non-referential zero-actors of UV-verbs varied from 1-37%, and was somewhat stronger in the procedural genre. As can be read in Table 12, the table of the procedural genre distinguishes clauses with UV-verbs without overt actor where the zero-expression refers to an argument mentioned earlier in the text from case where there is no overt actor because the actor is impersonal. Impersonal actors are typical of Begak procedural texts, and are virtually absent or at least far less frequent in narratives and conversations. These impersonal actors occur especially in clauses with UV-Dependent verbs.

As for the zero-undergoers of AV-verbs, all AV-verbs with non-referring undergoer in the conversation were tokens of the following list: *bəgapuy* 'cook (food)', *mangan* 'eat', *gədirik* 'slash (land)', *məngəgkot* 'work', *bəkait* 'knock down (fruit) with a pole'. All items found in the narrative were tokens of *bəgapuy* 'cook' and *mangan* 'eat'. The items found in the procedural text were all tokens of *məngəriu* 'cause to bathe', *mənimbak* 'shoot', *mənanom* 'burry', *məngəkkan* 'feed', *məngappas* 'sweep (the floor)', *məngəssay* 'lay down (dead body)', *bəgapuy* 'cook'. The items of this rather reduced list were responsible for the number of non-referring zero arguments. Eight out of twenty four items in the procedural text were tokens of *ulun məngəkkan* 'the person feeding (the deceased)', which is a relative clause construction, but may alternatively be analysed as a kind of compound. Even if these forms are not taken into consideration it does not change the statistics too much.

In any case, the number of non-referential arguments in AV-verbs and UV-verbs is much lower than expected for typical antipassives and passives respectively (60 for antipassive and around 90 for passive according to Givón 1994:12). Therefore the Begak AV and UV do not behave like antipassives and passives with respect to non-referential zero-arguments.

As for the topicality of the arguments: Actors tend to be expressed more often by pronouns than Undergoers. Especially the Actor of UV-verbs tends to be

expressed by a pronoun in the narrative genre, but not in the other genres. This means that Actors are generally more topical than Undergoers, irrespective of voice marking.

11.5. Summary

This chapter has tentatively described the function of the verb-initial and subject-initial word order in Begak and its relation with the voice marking on the verb. It was shown both with qualitative and quantitative data that the word order is determined by the voice marking on the verb to a great extent. The neutral word order for AV-verbs (and intransitive verbs) is the subject-initial word. Clauses with AV-verbs and intransitive verbs may occur in the verb-initial word order if they are clearly embedded in a discourse context or if they express an imperative, proposal, excuse or warning. Clauses with UV-verbs tend to occur in the verb-initial word order, even if they are not embedded in a context, but may occur in the subject-initial word order if a contrast is expressed or background information about the undergoer is given. Question-and-answer pairs point out that the argument in preverbal position may be topic or focus of clauses with AV-verbs, but probably only topic and not focus for UV-verbs.

The Begak AV and UV are both transitive constructions. The AV does not behave like a typical antipassive, nor does the UV behave like a typical passive with respect to discourse features such as relative text frequency, topicality of the arguments and argument expression.

Firstly, the relative percentage of AV and UV forms was found to be almost fifty-fifty in conversation, while UV is twice as frequent as AV in the narrative and three times as frequent in the procedural text. If conversation is indeed the most basic genre, this means that AV cannot be considered antipassive, nor can UV be considered passive on the basis of text frequency, as the expected frequency for a typical antipassive and passive respectively is usually lower than 20% (Givón 1994). The statistics corroborates the claim that the voice marking on the verb largely determines the word order of the clause and reveals that UV is the basic voice in Begak.

Secondly, the RD test showed that the undergoer of AV verbs has lower topicality than its actor, but is not very a-topical, whereas typical antipassives have an a-topical actor. The RD of actor of UV-verbs was almost as high as the RD of actor of AV-verbs, showing that the actor of UV-verbs is highly topical, whereas actors of passive verbs tend to be a-topical. We have seen in section 11.4. that voice is the main factor determining the word order, but topicality of the arguments turned out to be not a significant factor.

Thirdly, the test of argument expression showed that the undergoer of AV-verbs is zero-referential in only 14-29% of the cases which is a low percentage compared to typical antipassives. The actor of UV-verbs is zero-referential in 29-39%, which is considerably lower than in a typical passive. Actors were expressed by pronouns more often than by full NPs. This means that Actors are more topical than Undergoers, but voice is not determined by the topicality of the arguments.

Topical Persistence (Givón 1994), another test that could shed a light on the discourse features of the Begak AV and UV, was not performed for Begak. It would be interesting to see if the results these tests change the general conclusion on voice and word order. It was claimed in section 11.2. that one factor determining word order is voice, and the other is thematic continuity. It would be interesting to measure the effect of thematic continuity statistically. But these factors are a matter of further research.

Appendix A: Begak texts

1. Animal story *Iro Gamo Rəngngon* ‘Mr. and Mrs. Civet’ told by Mr. Appan bin Puksang

This is an animal story about Mr. and Mrs. Civet and their friends. It explains a few phenomena in nature, for instance why the crab walks on its side, why the prawn has two large pincers and why the Rengog fish has red eyes. In all animal stories, animals call each other by the *abit* ‘nickname for friends’, (see section 1.3.5) *kədo* which I translate with ‘my friend’ although it cannot be translated. The original version of the story is 30% longer, but in order to save space, all long dialogues have been cut out.

- (1) *Bəgusur masong aku balik.*
bəg-usur masong aku balik
AV-talk still.again 1s.N return
‘I will talk once more again.’
- (2) *Suran ku ne suran nong iro gamo Rəngngon.*
suran ku ne suran nong iro gamo Rəngngon
story 1s.G this story OBL COL married.couple Civet
‘My story is a story about Mr. and Mrs. Civet.’
- (3) *Ino suran nong kulos bəgko.*
ino suran nong kulos bəgko
yonder story OBL animal also
‘This is also a story about animals.’
- (4) *Panow kat iro gamo Rəngngon.*
panow kat iro gamo Rəngngon
go CDM COL married.couple Civet
‘Mr. and Mrs. Civet went.’
- (5) *Da panow, penow iro gamo Rəngngon.*
da panow -i-panow iro gamo Rəngngon
PR go -COM-go COL married.couple Civet
‘They went, Mr. and Mrs. Civet went.’
- (6) *Miro ton, malu’ panow məniud.*
miro ton malu’ panow məng-siud
3P TOP want go AV-creel
‘They wanted to go fish with a creel.’

- (7) *Jadi iro gamo Rəngngon ton, akay anak,*
jadi iro gamo Rəngngon ton akay anak
 so COL married.couple Civet TOP EXIST child

anak miro ton di' balay.
anak miro ton di' balay
 child 3P TOP LOC house

'So Mr. and Mrs. Civet had a child, their child was at home.'

- (8) *Jadi, sob penow miro, təgbuk miro Pəlanuk.*
jadi sob -i-panow miro təgbuk miro Pəlanuk
 so when -COM-go 3P meet.UV 3P Mousedeer
 'So when they went, they came across Mousedeer.'

- (9) *Ləppap kat iro gamo Rəngngon*
ləppap kat iro gamo Rəngngon
 immediately CDM COL married.couple Civet

maus gəruni Pəlanuk.
m-aus gə-runi Pəlanuk
 DEP-bring.UV AV-speak Mousedeer

'Immediately Mr. and Mrs. Civet started to speak with Mousedeer.'

(Mr. and Mrs. Civet tell Mousedeer that they want to go fishing, but that they do not have a babysitter yet. They ask Mousedeer to watch their child while they go fishing. They give him instructions how to be a good babysitter and what to do when their child begins to cry. As soon as Mr. and Mrs. Civet leave him, Tempitut Bird walks by. Mousedeer tells him that he promised to watch Baby Civet. Tempitut Bird decides to accompany Mousedeer. As soon as the two arrive in the house of Mr. and Mrs. Civet, Tempitut asks:)

- (10) *“Nu, ikow malu' gəlisang? malu' məgramay?”*
nu ikow malu' gə-lisang malu' məg-ramay
 what 2S.N want AV-play want AV-feast
 “What, do you want to make a feast?”

- (11) *“Malu', kəmo Pəlanuk.”*
malu' kəmo Pəlanuk
 want QTM Mousedeer
 ‘“Yes, I would like to”, said Mousedeer.’

- (12) “*Nu lisang atow mo?*”
 nu lisang a-tow mo
 what play NV-know.UV 2S.G
 ‘What play do you know?’
- (13) “*Na, biluk. Suga’ ngod səbiluk ku kəmo pon akay*
 na biluk suga’ ngod sə-biluk ku kəmo apon akay
 PRT dance but how NOM-dance 1S.G if NEG.P EXIST

abur ku gəlisang?”
 abur ku gə-lisang
 companion 1S.G AV-play
 ‘Well, dancing. But how can I dance if I do not have a companion playing?’
- (14) *Ikow atow ano, titik-tambur? kəmo Pəlanuk.*
 ikow a-tow ano titik-tambur kəmo Pəlanuk
 2S.N NV-know.UV this play.with.sticks-drum QTM Mousedeer
 ‘Do you know er..., to play the drum with sticks?’, said Mousedeer.’
- (15) “*K ədo, atow.*”
 kədo a-tow
 friend NV-know.UV
 ‘My friend, I know’.
- (16) “*Na, suba’, gəlisang kito,*” *kəmo Pəlanuk.*
 na suba’ gə-lisang kito kəmo Pəlanuk
 PRT try (M) AV-play 1P.1.N/G QTM Mousedeer
 ‘Well then, try, let’s play’, said Mousedeer.’
- (17) “*Na, titik-tambur ikow, kədo*”
 na titik-tambur ikow kədo
 PRT play.with.sticks-drum 2S.N friend
 ‘Well, you will play the drum, my friend’

kəmo Pəlanuk nong tikung-kərow.
 kəmo Pəlanuk nong tikung-kərow
 QTM Mousedeer OBL bird.without.tail
 ‘said Mousedeer to Tikung-kerow.’
- (18) *Tikung-kərow ton kərok.*
 tikung-kərow ton kərok
 bird.without.tail TOP bird
 ‘A Tikung-kerow is a bird.’

- (19) *“Aku biluk”*
 aku biluk
 1S.N dance
 ‘I will dance’.
- (20) *“Na buli” kəmo tikung-kərow.*
 na buli kəmo tikung-kərow
 PRT can QTM bird.without.tail
 ‘Well, that’s fine.’ said Tikung-kerow.’
- (21) *Jadi apon dan miro gəlisang ino, tota’ anak Rəngngon.*
 jadi apon dan miro gə-lisang ino -u-tata’ anak Rəngngon
 so NEG.P yet 3P AV-play yonder -DEP-cry child Civet
 ‘So before they started playing (lit. they had not yet played), Baby Civet (began) to cry.’
- (22) *Ləppap kat Pəlanuk muat anak Rəngngon sakko*
 ləppap kat Pəlanuk m-uat anak Rəngngon sakko
 immediately CDM Mousedeer DEP-get.up.UV child Civet from

di’ ubut di sa’ məlonggo.
 di’ ubut adi sa’ mə--u-langgo
 LOC swinging.cradle over.there SQ DEP--DEP-lay.to.sleep.on.the.floor.UV
 ‘Immediately Mousedeer took Baby Civet up from the swinging cradle and layed it to sleep on the floor.’
- (23) *Məlonggo tu pəturug assar.*
 mə--u-langgo tu pə-turug assar
 DEP--DEP-lay.to.sleep.on.the.ground.UV too CAU.DEP-sleep floor
 ‘Məlonggo means to put (a baby) to sleep on the floor.’
- (24) *Jadi, na gəlisang kat tikung-kərow bio Pəlanuk.*
 jadi na gə-lisang kat tikung-kərow bio Pəlanuk
 so PRT AV-play CDM bird.without.tail and Mousedeer
 ‘So, well, Tikung-kerow and Mousedeer played.’
- (25) *Titik-tambur kat tikung-kərow, biluk kat Pəlanuk.*
 titik-tambur kat tikung-kərow biluk kat Pəlanuk
 play.with.sticks-drum CDM bird.without.tail dance CDM Mousedeer
 ‘Tikung-kerow played the drum and Mousedeer danced.’
- (26) *Biluk Pəlanuk ton lottu’-lottu’ sija’.*
 biluk Pəlanuk ton -u-lattu’--u-lattu’ sija’
 dance Mousedeer TOP -DEP-leap-RED merely
 ‘Mousedeer’s dancing was only jumping up and down.’

- (27) *Lottu'-lottu' kat Pəlanuk.*
 -u-lattu'--u-lattu' kat Pəlanuk
 DEP-leap-RED CDM Mousedeer
 'So Mousedeer jumped up and down.'
- (28) *Da buay Pəlanuk lottu', atindak rumo ulu anak Rəngngon.*
 da buay Pəlanuk -u-lattu' a-tindak rumo ulu anak Rəngngon
 PR long Mousedeer -DEP-leap NV-step.on.UV 3S head child Civet
 '(When) Mousedeer had jumped up and down for a long time, he accidentally stepped on Baby Civet's head.'
- (29) *Sob tindak rumo ləbpu'.*
 sob tindak rumo ləbpu'
 when step.on.UV 3S leak
 'When he stepped on Baby Civet's head, it got pierced.'
- (30) *Sob ləbpu', ulu anak Rəngngon ne, tərus matay.*
 sob ləbpu' ulu anak Rəngngon ne tərus matay
 when leak head child Civet this straight dead
 'When it was pierced, Baby Civet's head, it died immediately.'
- (31) *Na, ngod ləbpo no kədo?" kəmo rumo nong tikung-kərow.*
 na ngod ləbpo ino kədo kəmo rumo nong tikung-kərow
 PRT how more yonder friend QTM 3S OBL bird.without.tail
 ' "Well, how do you go about now, my friend?", he said to Tikung-kerow.'
- (32) "Ullo?"
 ullo
 why
 'Why?'
- (33) "Na da matay ano, anak Rəngngon ton."
 na da matay ano anak Rəngngon ton
 PRT PR dead this child Civet TOP
 'Well, it is dead, Baby Civet'.
- (34) "Na, pon atow ku. Ngod ikow biluk."
 na apon a-tow ku ngod ikow biluk
 PRT NEG.P NV-know.UV 1S.G because 2S.N dance
 'Well, I don't know. Because you danced.'
- (35) *Na, bera' Pəlanuk, "Ninga' aku biluk*
 na -i-bara' Pəlanuk ninga' aku biluk
 PRT -COM-say.UV Mousedeer NEG.I 1S.N dance

kəmo ikow pon titik-tambur *kəmo.*
 kəmo ikow apon titik-tambur kəmo
 if 2S.N NEG.P play.with.sticks-drum QTM
 ‘“Well”, said Mousedeer, “I would not have danced if you had not played the
 drum”, he said.’

- (36) *Jadi da mulay iro duo no gəsəragga’ gətəragbis.*
 jadi da mulay iro duo no gə--ər-sagga’ gə--ər-tagbis
 so PR begin COL two this AV--REC-fight AV--REC-blame
 ‘So those two started to quarrel and blame each other.’

- (37) *Satu mənagbis suru anan satu, satu*
 satu məng-tagbis suru anan satu satu
 one AV-blame direct place one one

no da mənagbis suru anan satu no.
 ino da məng-tagbis suru anan satu ino
 yonder PR AV-blame direct place one yonder
 ‘One blamed the other and the other blamed the first.’

- (38) *Ləppap kat tikung-kərow muli’.*
 ləppap kat tikung-kərow m-uli’
 immediately CDM bird.without.tail DEP-go.home
 ‘Immediately Tikung-kerow went home.’

- (39) *Jadi koy, mikir-mikir kat Pəlanuk, ngod kətənnan rumo*
 jadi koy m-pikir-m-pikir kat Pəlanuk ngod kə-tənnan rumo
 so FOC DEP-think-RED CDM Mousedeer how AV.NV-come.across 3S

kəmo da muli’ iro gamo Rəngngon ne.
 kəmo da m-uli’ iro gamo Rəngngon ne
 if PR DEP-go.home COL married.couple Civet this
 ‘So Mousedeer thought and thought what will happen if Mr. and Mrs. Civet come home.’

- (40) *Kalay ləbpo, ino anak iro*
 kalay ləbpo ino anak iro
 not.want more yonder child COL

gamo Rəngngon matay no.
 gamo Rəngngon matay ino
 married.couple Civet dead yonder
 ‘He did not want anymore, the child of Mr. and Mrs. Civet was dead.’

- (41) *Ləppap kat Pəlanuk may siag sa' təmuən.*
 ləppap kat Pəlanuk m-ay siag sa' -ə-m-tuan
 immediately CDM Mousedeer DEP-take.UV cloth SQ -DEP-wrap.in.cloth.UV
 'Immediately Mousedeer took a cloth and wrapped (the baby) in it.'
- (42) *Təmuən, məkkos kasu', məkkos ppi',*
 -ə-m-tuan m-ə-kkos kasu' m-ə-kkos ppi'
 -DEP-wrap.in.cloth.UV DEP-tie.UV foot DEP-tie.UV arm
- sa' mubak balik nong ubut no.*
 sa' m-ubak balik nong ubut ino
 SQ DEP-lay.in.cradle.UV return OBL swinging.cradle yonder
 'He wrapped it in cloth, tied its feet, tied its arms and layed it back in the
 swinging cradle.'
- (43) *Mubak balik nong ubut*
 m-ubak balik nong ubut
 DEP-lay.in.cradle.UV return OBL swinging.cradle
- no, sa' gəlindut məlauy.*
 ino sa' gə-lindut mə-lauy
 yonder SQ AV-run DEP-flee
 'He laid it back in the swinging cradle and ran away (lit. ran to flee).'
- (44) *Da buay, kuli' iro gamo Rəngngon.*
 da buay k-uli' iro gamo Rəngngon
 PR long AV.NV-go.home COL married.couple Civet
 'After a long time, Mr. and Mrs. Civet came home.'
- (45) *Kuli' iro gamo Rəngngon kəlap pait.*
 k-uli' iro gamo Rəngngon kə-lap pait
 AV.NV-go.home COL married.couple Civet AV.NV--get fish
 'Mr. and Mrs. Civet came home; they had caught fish.'
- (46) *Jadi iro gamo Rəngngon ton, ino-ino*
 jadi iro gamo Rəngngon ton ino-ino
 so COL married.couple Civet TOP yonder-RED
- rumo kəngəllun miro mangan pait*
 rumo kəng-ə-llun miro mangan pait
 3S NOM.ABSTR-live 3P AV.eat fish

sija', bio mangan kaba' bio mangan pəsawow.
 sija' bio mangan kaba' bio mangan pəsawow
 merely and AV.eat crab and AV.eat river.prawn
 'So as for Mr. and Mrs. Civet, this was their way of living, they just eat fish,
 crab and river prawn.'

- (47) *Pog kuli', sagay suran, bəgapuy kat*
 pog k-uli' sagay suran bəg-apuy kat
 when AV.NV-go.home surely story AV-cook CDM

miro koy, uso miro ne.
 miro koy uso miro ne
 3P FOC gathered.food 3P this
 'When they came home - this is of course a story - they cooked the fish they had
 caught.'

- (48) *Bpos miro bəgapuy no da mangan.*
 bpos miro bəg-apuy ino da mangan
 after 3P AV-cook yonder PR AV.eat
 'After they had cooked, they ate.'

- (49) *Jadi ulun tua' di' bpung, suran-suran dtan,*
 jadi ulun tua' di' bpung suran-suran dtan
 so person time LOC former.time story-RED old

kidon da bpos mangan, suku ulun akay anak,
 kidon da bpos mangan suku ulun akay anak
 when.fut PR after AV.eat all person EXIST child

da məngukow anak no məngətusu, malu' mangan tu
 da məng-ukow anak ino məngə-tusu malu' -i-mangan tu
 PR AV-wake.up child yonder CAU.AV-drink.milk want -COM-AV.eat too

bəgko anak no suku uso alap miro ne.
 bəgko anak ino suku uso a-lap miro ne
 also child yonder all gathered.food NV-get.UV 3P this
 'So people in former times, in the old stories, as soon as they have eaten,
 everybody who has children, they wake up their child to breast feed it, so that
 their child has also eaten all the fish they had caught.'

- (50) *Jadi da malu' Rəngon liun məngukow*
 jadi da malu' Rəngon liun məng-ukow
 so PR want Civet woman AV-wake.up

anak rumo ne mængətusu.
 anak rumo ne mængə-tusu
 child 3S this CAU.AV-drink.milk
 ‘So Mrs. Civet wanted/was about to wake up her child to breast feed it.’

- (51) *Bera’ Rəngon kusay, ino bano rumo ne, “ullo*
-i-bara’ Rəngon kusay ino bano rumo ne ullo
 -COM-say.UV Civet man yonder husband 3S this why
 ‘Mr. Civet, her husband, said.’

mərəgkang ino, anak kito ne” kəmo Rəngon kusay.
 mərəgkang ino anak kito ne kəmo Rəngon kusay
 child yonder child 1P.I.N/G this QTM Civet man
 ‘why this child, our child’, said Mr. Civet.’

‘K əssa’ mulay kito muli’ sakko mənguso ino
 kəssa’ mulay kito m-uli’ sakko məng-uso ino
 since begin 1P.I.N/G DEP-go.home from AV-gather.food yonder
 ‘since we first (lit. began to) came home from gathering food’

sawot gədino pon mil kingog ku anak kito ne
 sawot gədino apon mil k-ingog ku anak kito ne
 arrive in.this.way NEG.P ever AV.NV-hear 1S.G child 1P.I.N/G this
 ‘until now, I have not yet heard our child cry’

tota’, kəmo Rəngon kusay.
 -u-tata’ kəmo Rəngon kusay
 -DEP-cry QTM Civet man
 ‘said Mr. Civet.’

- (52) *Bera’ Rəngon liun ‘m ərəgkang asar gədino,*
-i-bara’ Rəngon liun mərəgkang asar gədino
 -COM-say.UV Civet woman child really in.this.way
 ‘Mrs. Civet said “the child is really like that.’

sayu ino mərəgkang no,
 sayu ino mərəgkang ino
 good yonder child yonder
 ‘it is a good boy/girl.’

pio səturug rumo, ngod akay bəgami’.
 pio sə-turug rumo ngod akay bəg-ami’
 good NOM-sleep 3S because EXIST AV-baby.sit
 ‘(s)he sleeps well, because there is someone babysitting.’

- (53) *Suga' mba' koy Pəlanuk?*” *kəmo Rəngon kusay.*
 suga' mba' koy Pəlanuk kəmo Rəngon kusay
 but where FOC Mousedeer QTM Civet man
 ‘ “But where is Mousedeer”, said Mr. Civet.’
- (54) *Tow?*
 tow
 know.UV
 ‘I don’t know’. (lit. “know?”)
- (55) *Ullo bəgko ino Pəlanuk muli’*
 ullo bəgko ino Pəlanuk m-uli’
 why also yonder Mousedeer DEP-go.home

kito bay pon akay tunong?
 kito bay apon akay tunong
 1P.I.N/G PRF NEG.P EXIST here
 ‘And why does this Mousedeer go home before we are here (lit. we are not yet here)?’
- (56) *Ino rumo nerab kito bəgami’ nong mərəgkang no.*
 ino rumo ni-arab kito bəg-ami’ nong mərəgkang ino
 yonder 3S COM-search.UV 1P.I.N/G AV-baby.sit OBL child yonder
 ‘He is the one we found to watch the baby.’
- (57) *Suga’ sayu tu bəgko Pəlanuk ne,” kəmo Pəlanuk liun ne.*
 suga’ sayu tu bəgko Pəlanuk ne kəmo Pəlanuk liun ne
 but good too also Mousedeer this QTM Mousedeer woman this
 ‘ “But Mousedeer is nice”, said Mrs. Civet.’
- (58) *Səbob na, pon tota’ bəgko anak kito,”*
 səbob na apon -u-tata’ bəgko anak kito
 because PRT NEG.P -DEP-cry also child 1P.I.N/G

kəmo Rəngngon liun.
 kəmo Rəngngon liun
 QTM Civet woman
 ‘ “Because, well, our child does not even cry” said Mrs. Civet.’
- (59) *Jadi, muat kat Rəngngon liun ino*
 jadi m-uat kat Rəngngon liun ino
 so DEP-get.up.UV CDM Civet woman yonder

anak rumo ne, asar da mængətusu.
 anak rumo ne asar da mængə-tusu
 child 3S this really PR CAU.AV-drink.milk
 ‘So Mrs. Civet took up her child and sure she (began to) breast feed it.’

- (60) *Sob pata’ miro, sob pəgkot rumo*
 sob p-ata’ miro sob p-əgkot rumo
 when SF-look.UV 3P when SF-work.UV 3S

anak rumo ne pa mənguat, təmmil.
 anak rumo ne pa məng-uat təmmil
 child 3S this PRT AV-get.up cool
 ‘When they looked, when she held her child to get it up, it was cold.’

- (61) *Pon kat rumo gubor, muat ino*
 apon kat rumo gubor m-uat ino
 NEG.P CDM 3S noisy DEP-get.up.UV yonder

anak miro ne, sa’ pətusu, pon mənusu.
 anak miro ne sa’ pə-tusu apon məng-tusu
 child 3P this SQ CAU.DEP-drink.milk.UV NEG.P AV-drink.milk
 ‘It made no noise, she took her child up (out of bed), and (tried to) breast feed it,
 (but) it did not drink milk.’

- (62) *“Ullo ne ino, Rəngngon kusay, mərəgkang no pon malu’*
 ullo ne ino Rəngngon kusay mərəgkang ino apon malu’
 why this yonder Civet man child yonder NEG.P want

mənusu bio ulu bay təmmil, bio pon atow gəgidu?”
 məng-tusu bio ulu bay təmmil bio apon a-tow gə-gidu’
 AV-drink.milk and head PRF cool and NEG.P NV-know.UV REC-move
 ‘Why, Mr. Civet, does our child not want to drink milk, and its head is cold and it
 cannot move?’

- (63) *‘Suba’ mata’ gulo!*
 suba’ m-ata’ gulo
 try DEP-look.UV first
 ‘Try to look at it first!’

Rəmiksa’ gulo!” kəmo Rəngngon kusay.
 -ə-m-riksa’ gulo kəmo Rəngngon kusay
 -DEP-examine.UV (M) first QTM Civet man
 ‘Examine it first!’, said Mr. Civet.’

- (64) *Sob pata' miro, bay matay anak miro ne.*
 sob p-ata' miro bay matay anak miro ne
 when SF-look.UV 3P PRF dead child 3P this
 'When they looked, (they saw that) their child was dead.'
- (65) *'Te!' kəmo Rəngngon liun*
 te! kəmo Rəngngon liun
 EXCL QTM Civet woman
 '“Hey!”, said Mrs. Civet.'
- (66) *'Bay matay pa anak iro gamo Rəngngon ton!'*
 bay matay pa anak iro gamo Rəngngon ton
 PRF dead PRT child COL married.couple Civet TOP
 '“Our child is dead!”'
- (67) *“Ullo?”*
 ullo
 why
 “Why”
- (68) *“Ttan mo ano bakkos nong ulu no*
 ttan mo ano bakkos nong ulu ino
 see.UV 2S.G that trace OBL head yonder

kərabong ulu anak iro gamo Rəngngon!”
 kərabong ulu anak iro gamo Rəngngon
 hole.in.head head child COL married.couple Civet
 “Do you see that trace on the head? Our child has a hole in its head!”
- (69) *“Nu səbob?”*
 nu səbob
 what because
 ‘How come?’
- (70) *“Tow?”*
 tow
 know.UV
 “I don’t know?” (lit. know?)
- (71) *Kəmo Rəngngon liun,*
 kəmo Rəngngon liun
 QTM Civet woman

“*ano ngod sikon Pəlanuk no.*
 ano ngod sikon Pəlanuk ino
 that like foot.print Mousedeer yonder
 ‘Mrs. Civet said, “this (looks) like the foot print of the Mousedeer.”’

- (72) *Bakkos kasu’ Pəlanuk ano.*
 bakkos kasu’ Pəlanuk ano
 trace foot Mousedeer that
 ‘This is is the trace of Mousedeer’s foot.’

- (73) *‘O, na, kito tonom koy anak iro*
 o na kito -u-tanom koy anak iro
 EXCL PRT 1P.I.N/G -DEP-burry.UV FOC child COL

gamo Rəngngon ton.
 gamo Rəngngon ton
 married.couple Civet TOP
 ‘O, well, we will burry our child’.

- (74) *Sa’ kito marab Pəlanuk.*
 sa’ kito m-arab Pəlanuk
 SQ 1P.I.N/G DEP-search.UV Mousedeer
 ‘Then we will look for Mousedeer.’

- (75) *Kito munu’ tu Pəlanuk.” kəmo iro gamo Rəngngon.*
 kito m-unu’ tu Pəlanuk kəmo iro gamo Rəngngon
 1P.I.N/G DEP-kill.UV too Mousedeer QTM COL married.couple Civet
 ‘We will kill Mousedeer too’, said Mr. and Mrs. Civet.’

- (76) *Jadi tonom kat miro anak miro ne,*
 jadi -u-tanom kat miro anak miro ne
 so DEP-burry.UV CDM 3P child 3P this

sa’ marab Pəlanuk.
 sa’ m-arab Pəlanuk
 SQ DEP-search.UV Mousedeer
 ‘So they burried their child and looked for Mousedeer.’

- (77) *Marab Pəlanuk, da buay təgbuk miro.*
 m-arab Pəlanuk da buay təgbuk miro
 DEP-search.UV Mousedeer PR long meet.UV 3P
 ‘They looked for Mousedeer, after a long time they found him.’

- (78) “*O kədo!*”
 o kədo
 EXCL friend
 “O my friend!”
- (79) “*Nu?*” *kəmo Pəlanuk.*
 nu kəmo Pəlanuk
 what QTM Mousedeer
 ‘“What?”, said Mousedeer.’
- (80) *Suga’ Pəlanuk ton gəruni sakko di’ dtu’, pon malu’ rottop,*
 suga’ Pəlanuk ton gə-runi sakko di’ dtu’ apon malu’ -u-rattop
 but Mousedeer TOP AV-speak from LOC far NEG.P want -DEP-close
 ‘But Mousedeer spoke from far away, and did not want to come closer.’
- ngod bay atow rumo rumo məminu’ anak Rəngngon di.*
 ngod bay a-tow rumo rumo məng--i-bunu’ anak Rəngngon adi
 because PRF NV-know.UV 3S 3S AV-COM-kill child Civet over.there
 ‘because he already knew that he had killed Baby Civet.’
- (81) *Ullo anak iro gamo Rəngngon di matay?*
 ullo anak iro gamo Rəngngon adi matay
 why child COL married.couple Civet over.there dead
 “Why has our child died?”
- (82) “*Tow ku?*”
 tow ku
 know.UV 1S.G
 “I don’t know! (lit. know?)”
- (83) “*Binu’ mo ino!*” *kəmo iro gamo Rəngngon.*
 -i-bunu’ mo ino kəmo iro gamo Rəngngon
 -COM-kill.UV 2S.G yonder QTM COL married.couple Civet
 ‘“You killed it!” said Mr. and Mrs. Civet.’
- (84) “*Ninga’ pa kədo!*”
 ninga’ pa kədo
 NEG.I PRT friend
 ‘I did not, my friend!’
- (85) “*B inu’ mo, ikow nong kəmmi munu’.*
 -i-bunu’ mo ikow nong kəmmi m-unu’
 -COM-kill.UV 2S.G 2S.N AUX 1P.E.N/G DEP-kill.UV
 “You killed it, and we are going to kill you!”

- (86) *Nnong sikon mo nong ulu anak kəmmi ne.*
 nnong sikon mo nong ulu anak kəmmi ne
 here foot.print 2S.G OBL head child 1P.E.N/G this
 ‘Here is your footprint in the head of our child.’
- (87) *Akərəbong ulu anak iro gamo*
 a-kərəbong ulu anak iro gamo
 NV-hole.in.head head child COL married.couple
- Rəngngon ne, sikon mo nnong ne.”*
 Rəngngon ne sikon mo nnong ne
 Civet this foot.print 2S.G here this
 ‘The head of our child is pierced, your foot print is here.’
- (88) “*Na, nu ngod, waktu ku bəgami’, sawot tikung-kərow.”*
 na nu ngod waktu ku bəg-ami’ sawot tikung-kərow
 PRT what because time 1S.G AV-baby.sit arrive bird.without.tail
 ‘Well, because what? While I was babysitting (lit. the time that I was babysitting),
 Tikung-kerow came.’
- Mousedeer explains how Tikung-kerow played the drum so that Mousedeer danced, which was the cause of Baby Civet’s death. Mr. and Mrs. Civet go to Tikung-kerow to ask him why he played the drum. Tikung-kerow says he played the drum because Crab was walking on his side. Mr. and Mrs. Civet go ask Crab why he walks on one side. Crab says because River prawn carries two large pincers on his shoulder. When Mr. and Mrs Civet ask River prawn why he carries two large pincers on its shoulder, he says it is because the Rəngog fish has read eyes.
- (89) *Panow kat miro di’ llung, təgbuk miro Rəngog.*
 panow kat miro di’ llung təgbuk miro Rəngog
 go CDM 3P LOC river meet.UV 3P small.river.fish.with.red.eyes
 ‘They went to the river, and came across Rəngog.’
- (90) *Rəngog ton pait.*
 Rəngog ton pait
 small.river.fish.with.red.eyes TOP fish
 ‘A Rəngog is a fish.’
- (91) “*O Rəngog, ullo ikow səkkot mato?”*
 o Rəngog ullo ikow səkkot mato
 EXCL small.river.fish.with.red.eyes why 2S.N red eye
 ‘O Rəngog, why are you red-eyed?’”

- (92) *“Ullo aku pon sakkot mato,*
 ullo aku apon sakkot mato
 why 1S.N NEG.P red eye

tibo iro gamo Rəngngon nakon!”
 -i-tubo iro gamo Rəngngon nakon
 -COM-poison.prawns.UV COL married.couple Civet 1S.A
 ‘Why should I not be red-eyed, you (lit. Mr. and Mrs. Civet) poisoned me!’
- (93) *Jadi, apon jadi miro məmunu’ nong Pəlanuk,*
 jadi apon jadi miro məng-bunu’ nong Pəlanuk
 so NEG.P become 3P AV-kill OBL Mousedeer
 ‘So it did not happen that they killed Mousedeer.’

məmunu’ nong tikung-kərow məmunu’ nong kaba’,
 məng-bunu’ nong tikung-kərow məng-bunu’ nong kaba’
 AV-kill OBL bird.without.tail AV-kill OBL crab
 ‘killed Tikung-kerow, killed Crab.’

məmunu’ nong pəsawow, sawot nong Rəngog.
 məng-bunu’ nong pəsawow sawot nong Rəngog
 AV-kill OBL prawn arrive OBL small.river.fish.with.red.eyes
 ‘killed Prawn, until (killing) Rəngog.’
- (94) *Apon alap miro məmunu’, səbob Rəngog*
 apon a-lap miro məng-bunu’ səbob Rəngog
 NEG.P NV-get.UV 3P AV-kill because small.river.fish.with.red.eyes
 ‘They did not succeed in killing (them) because Rəngog’

sakkot mato, tibo miro, nu key
 sakkot mato -i-tubo miro nu key
 red eye -COM-poison.prawns.UV 3P what CR
 ‘was red-eyed, having been poisoned by them, you know.’

miro panow mənguso, tepuk miro anak miro ne.
 miro panow məng-uso -i-tapuk miro anak miro ne
 3P go AV-gather.food COM-stay.behind.UV 3P child 3P this
 ‘(when) they went fishing, they left their child.’
- (95) *Jadi kuli’ iro gamo Rəngngon.*
 jadi k-uli’ iro gamo Rəngngon
 so AV.NV-go.home COL married.couple Civet
 ‘So Mr. and Mrs. Civet went home.’

- (96) *Pon akay alap miro mənuntut, səbob*
 apon akay a-lap miro məng-tuntut səbob
 NEG.P EXIST NV-get.UV 3P AV-take.revenge because

anak miro matay ino, sala' miro gərunay.
 anak miro matay ino sala' miro gərunay
 child 3P dead yonder mistake 3P self
 'They did not succeed in taking revenge, because their child had died because of
 their own fault.'
- (97) *Na miro mənubo nong rəngog.*
 na miro məng-tubo nong rəngog
 PRT 3P AV-poison.prawns OBL small.river.fish.with.red.eyes
 'Well, they poisoned some Rəngog fish.'
- (98) *Miro məngalap rəngog-rəngog*
 miro məng-alap rəngog-rəngog
 3P AV-get small.river.fish.with.red.eyes-RED

səbob ləngkumman miro di.
 səbob ləngkumman miro adi
 because food 3P over.there
 'They caught some small Rəngog fish because that was their food.'
- (99) *Ino sija' kiron suran ku nong iro*
 ino sija' kiron suran ku nong iro
 yonder merely up.to story 1S.G OBL COL

gamo Rəngngon.
 gamo Rəngngon
 married.couple Civet
 'Only until here is my story of Mr. and Mrs. Civet.'

2. Myth: Leppit ‘Thunderstorm’, told by Mrs. Tujun binte Gasah.

Although this myth is the myth of origin, it is not the most well known myth in the area. The myth has high resemblance with the Ida’an myth in Sabah’s oldest document, which is also about a man in a mythical egg-fruit called *təgwak-uak*. At the end of the myth, the speaker lists her own geneology, by means of example only.

- (1) *Ano gusur aku niun akay Pəngəlimo,*
 ano usur aku niun akay pəngəlimo
 that talk 1S.N 2S.A EXIST commander
 ‘This is what I will tell you: there was a Commander.’
- (2) *Pəngəlimo bəkaung umo, məngəgkot umo.*
 pəngəlimo bə-kaung umo məng-ə-gkot umo
 commander AV-gather.wood.from.land ricefield AV-work ricefield
 ‘Commander gathered burned wood from his rice field, worked his rice field.’
- (3) *Jadi da bəkaung umo tidog dtow,*
 jadi da bə-kaung umo tidog dtow
 so PR AV-gather.wood.from.land ricefield high.straight day
 ‘So (when) he was working, his rice field at noon,’
- ratu’ bua’ təgwak-wak sakko ttas langit.*
 ratu’ bua’ təgwak-wak sakko ttas langit
 fall fruit tegwak-wak from top sky
 ‘a *təgwak-wak* fruit fell from the sky.’
- (4) *Sawot nong buta’ no nong kilid rumo ne.*
 sawot nong buta’ ino nong kilid rumo ne
 arrive OBL earth yonder OBL side 3s this
 ‘It came down on earth beside him.’
- (5) *Agbog bua’ təgwak-gwak no, buruy ulun.*
 a-gbog bua’ təgwak-wak ino b-uruy ulun
 NV-break fruit tegwak-wak yonder MID-stand person
 ‘The fruit broke (open) and a person stood up.’
- (6) *Sugkow kat kətuə ino,*
 -u-səgkow kat kətuə ino
 -DEP-call.UV CDM leader yonder
 ‘The leader called.’

- (7) *Sugkow kat Pəngəlimo.*
 -u-səgkow kat pəngəlimo
 -DEP-call.UV CDM commander
 ‘The commander called.’
- (8) *Pog sigkow Pəngəlimo, səmukot nay naran.*
 pog -i-səgkow pəngəlimo -əm-sukot nay naran
 when -COM-call.UV commander -DEP-inform.UV who name
 ‘When the Commander called, he aksed (the person) what his name was.’
- (9) *Bera’ rumo naran rumo Ləppit.*
 -i-bara’ rumo naran rumo ləppit
 -COM-say.UV 3S name 3S thunderstorm
 ‘He said his name was Thunderstorm.’
- (10) *Jadi bua’ kayu baya’ rumo maya’ no*
 jadi bua’ kayu baya’ rumo m-aya’ ino
 so fruit tree place 3S DEP-follow yonder
 ‘So this fruit where he went (followed);’
- bua’ təgwak-gwak baju rumo.*
 bua’ təgwak-wak baju rumo
 fruit tegwak-wak shirt 3S
 ‘this təgwak-wak fruit was his shirt.’
- (11) *Jadi da neus Ləppit muli’ di’ balay,*
 jadi da ni-aus ləppit m-uli’ di’ balay
 so PR COM-bring.UV thunderstorm DEP-go.home.UV LOC house
 ‘So (he) took Thunderstorm home,’
- mə nukot ulun pasod “nay ulun ino?”*
 məng-sukot ulun pasod nay ulun ino
 AV-inform person many who person yonder
 ‘and many people asked “who is this person?”’
- (12) *Bera’ Pəngəlimo di ulun*
 -i-bara’ pəngəlimo adi ulun
 -COM-say.UV commander over.there person
 ‘The Commander said told (them that he) was a person’
- sakko ttas langit, kədəllu’ nong səkəbuta’*
 sakko ttas langit kə-dəllu’ nong səkəbuta’
 from top sky AV.NV-descend OBL here.on.earth
 ‘from high in the sky, (who had) descended to earth.’

- (13) *Ino naran Ləppit.*
 ino naran ləppit
 yonder name thunderstorm
 ‘This was his name: Thunderstorm.’
- (14) *Jadi sawot di’ balay, pasod ulun nnong mənabu.*
 jadi sawot di’ balay pasod ulun nnong məng-sabu
 so arrive LOC house many person here AV-welcome
 ‘So (when they) arrived at home, many people where there to welcome him.’
- (15) *Summu’ kat Pəngəlimo ino Ləppit mənawo.*
 -u-səmmu’ kat pəngəlimo ino ləppit məng-sawo
 -DEP-command.UV CDM commander yonder thunderstorm AV-marry
 ‘The Commander told Thunderstorm to marry/propose for marriage.’
- (16) *Bera’ Ləppit guog rumo məmara’ məngəra’ pasod*
 -i-bara’ ləppit guog rumo məng-bara’ məngəra’ pasod
 -COM-say.UV thunderstorm stay 3S AV-say maiden many
 ‘Thunderstorm said that he stayed, he said to the many girls’
- no, kəbpung rumo atow sakko ttas langit di.*
 ino kə-bpung rumo a-tow sakko ttas langit adi
 yonder AV.NV-former.time 3S NV-know.UV from top sky over.there
 ‘He knew in advance from above the sky.’
- (17) *Bəgilow rumo məngata’ nay-nay*
 bəg-ilow rumo məng-ata’ nay-nay
 AV-look.down 3S AV -look who-RED
 ‘He looked down to see’
- ulun nong alag no mba’ kəlu’ rumo.*
 ulun nong alag ino mba’ kəlu’ rumo
 person OBL beneath yonder where desire 3S
 ‘which person from down under he wanted (lit. who was his desire).’
- (18) *Bera’ Ləppit ino kəlu’ rumo:*
 -i-bara’ ləppit ino kəlu’ rumo
 -COM-say.UV thunderstorm yonder desire 3S
- anak Pəngəlimo no.*
 anak pəngəlimo ino
 child commander yonder
 ‘Thunderstorm said this was the one he wanted: the Commander’s daughter.’

- (19) *Jadi tərus rumo kawin.*
 jadi tərus rumo kawin
 so straight 3S marry
 ‘So he married immediately.’
- (20) *Pog kewin rumo, pon buay-buay rumo kewin, tægki’.*
 pog -i-kawin rumo apon buay-buay rumo -i-kawin tægki’
 when -COM-marry 3S NEG.P long-RED 3S -COM-marry pregnant
 ‘When he was married, he was not married for a long (time), (his wife) got pregnant.’
- (21) *Pog tægki’, mængannak Ləppit di, mara’ kat rumo*
 pog tægki’ mængannak ləppit adi m-ara’ kat rumo
 when pregnant wife thunderstorm over.there DEP-say.UV CDM 3S
 ‘When Tunderstorm’s wife got pregnant,’
- nong Pəngəlimo no “tamong, mængannak ku bay tægki’.*
 nong pəngəlimo ino tamong mængannak ku bay tægki’
 OBL commander yonder father.in.law wife 1S.G PRF pregnant
 ‘he told the Commander:’ “Father-in-law, my wife is already pregnant.”
- (22) *Suga’ aro muyu sugkow naran.*
 suga’ aro muyu -u-səgkow naran
 but NEG.IMP 2P.N/G -DEP-call.UV name
 ‘But don’t you call the name (of the child).’
- (23) *Ullo pon buli bera’ ku gəsəgkow naran.*
 ullo apon buli -i-bara’ ku gə-səgkow naran
 why NEG.P can -COM-say.UV 1S.G AV-call name
 ‘Why have I told you not to call its name?’
- (24) *Səbob kəmmi ulun ttas, ulun ttas langit.*
 səbob kəmmi ulun ttas ulun ttas langit
 because 1P.E.N/G person top person top sky
 ‘Because we are people from high in the sky.’
- (25) *Jadi ino naran rumo Rudtug.*
 jadi ino naran rumo Rudtug
 so yonder name 3S Thunder
 ‘So this is his name: Thunder.’
- (26) *Anak ku allom təray no sa’ təllu bulan kusay.”*
 anak ku allom təray ino sa’ təllu bulan kusay
 child 1S.G inside belly yonder SQ three month man
 ‘The child in (my wife’s) woomb (lit.belly) is just three months, it is a boy.’

- (27) *Da lukka' Rudtug, "təgki' məngannak ku bagku."*
 da lukka' ruddug təgki' məngannak ku bagku
 PR born thunder pregnant wife 1S.G again
 'When Thunder was born: "my wife is pregnant again.'"
- (28) *Pog təgki' bagku, "na tamong!"*
 pog təgki' bagku na tamong
 when pregnant again PRT parent.or.child.in.law
 'When she got pregnant again (Thunderstorm said) "Well father-in-law,'
- kəmo bəgko bagku, "məngannak ku bay təgki'.*
 kəmo bəgko bagku məngannak ku bay təgki'
 QTM also again wife 1S.G PRF pregnant
 'he said again, "my wife is pregnant.'"
- (29) *Təllu bulan təgki' məngannak ku key suga'*
 təllu bulan təgki' məngannak ku key suga'
 three month pregnant wife 1S.G FOC but
 'My wife is three months pregnant, but'
- anak ku ne kusay tu.*
 anak ku ne kusay tu
 child 1S.G this man too
 'my child will be a boy again.'
- (30) *Aro muyu sugkow naran.*
 aro muyu -u-səgkow naran
 NEG.IMP 2P.N/G -DEP-call.UV name
 'Don't you call his name.'
- (31) *Aku gəsəgkow naran."*
 aku gə-səgkow naran
 1S.N AV-call name
 'I will call his name.'
- (32) *"Nay naran?"*
 nay naran
 who name
 'What is his name?'
- (33) *"Ino naran Bəriot, naran anak ku ne.*
 ino naran Bəriot naran anak ku ne
 yonder name Flash name child 1S.G this
 'This is his name: Flash, the name of my child.'

- (34) *Kusay tu anak ku di' allom təray di.*
 kusay tu anak ku di' allom təray adi
 man too child 1S.G LOC inside belly over.there
 'It is also a boy, my child in (my wife's) womb.'
- (35) *O, dadi da lukka' Bəriot.*
 o dadi da lukka' Bəriot
 EXCL so PR born Flash
 'O so Flash was born.'
- (36) *Da gajo anu Rudtug bio Bəriot ne,*
 da gajo anu rudtug bio Bəriot ne
 PR big whatever thunder and Flash this

mara' Ləppit "tamong!"
 m-ara' ləppit tamong
 DEP-say.UV thunderstorm parent.or.child.in.law
 'Thunder and Flash were grown up (lit.big) and Thunderstorm said "father in law!"'
- (37) "nu?"
 nu
 what
 "What?" (said the Commander)
- (38) "Aku pədtos."
 aku pədtos
 1S.N ill
 'I am ill. (said Thunderstorm)'
- (39) "Nu pədtos mo?"
 nu pədtos mo
 what ill 2S.G
 "What is your disease?"
- (40) "Pon atow ku, pədtos-pədtos."
 apon a-tow ku pədtos-pədtos
 NEG.P NV-know.UV 1S.G ill-RED
 "I don't know, just a bit sick."
- (41) *Suga' mara' aku muyun soyu muyu anak ku ne.*
 suga' m-ara' aku muyun -u-sayu muyu anak ku ne
 but DEP-say.UV 1S.N 2P.A -DEP-good.UV 2P.N/G child 1S.G this
 'But tell you to look after my children.'

- (42) *Kəmo akay məngannak, anak ku ne da gajo,*
 kəmo akay məngannak anak ku ne da gajo
 if EXIST wife child 1S.G this PR big
 ‘When (my children) have a wife, and my children are grown up (lit. big)’
- (43) *pidtu’ Murip, ligkang doto bəgko,*
 pi-dtu’ Murip -i-ləgkang doto bəgko
 CAU.COM-far.UV God -COM-blow.away.UV angelic.being also
 ‘-God forbid it, the angelic being forbid it- (lit. may God cause it to be far away,
 may the angelic being blow it away)’
- (44) *Kəmo matay anak-anak Bəriot ton, atow pun anak Bəriot ton*
 kəmo matay anak-anak Bəriot ton atow pun anak Bəriot ton
 if dead child-RED Flash TOP or too (M) child Flash TOP
 ‘When the grandchildren of Flash or the children of Flahs have died,’
- məgkay muyu siag puti’, jəmbira, pandi’.*
 m-ə-gkay muyu siag puti’ jəmbira pandi’
 DEP-give.UV 2P.N/G sarung white banner, flag
 ‘give them a white colth, a banner, a flag.’
- (45) *Məgkay muyu siag puti’, pandi’, malu’ atow*
 m-ə-gkay muyu siag puti’ pandi’ malu’ atow
 DEP-give.UV 2P.N/G sarung white flage want NV-know.UV
 ‘give them a white cloth, a flag, so that we know’
- kəmmi miro məssob di’ anan kəmmi di’ ttas langit.*
 kəmmi miro m-ə-ssob di’ anan kəmmi di’ ttas langit
 1P.E.N/G 3P DEP-come LOC place 1P.E.N/G LOC top sky
 ‘that they have arrived at our place high in the sky.’
- (46) *Ino pəngata’ muyu: matay.*
 ino pəng-ata’ muyu matay
 yonder AG.NOM-look 2P.N/G dead
 ‘He will be dead in your view.’
- (47) *Inga’ matay”, kəmo rumo, “bay kuli’ anan ku*
 ninga’ matay kəmo rumo bay k-uli’ anan ku
 NEG.I dead QTM 3S PRF AV.NV-go.home place 1S.G
 ‘(But) he is not dead”, he said, “he has already returned to me (lit. to my place)’
- di’ ttas langit di” kəmo.*
 di’ ttas langit adi kəmo
 LOC top sky over.there QTM
 ‘high in the sky”, he said.’

- (48) *Jadi t̄orus rumo m̄ngay t̄rugan.*
 jadi t̄orus rumo m̄ng-ay t̄rugan
 so straight 3S AV-take bed
 ‘So he immediately took a bed.’
- (49) *Turug, pog tugban rumo turug, bay matay L̄ppit.*
 turug pog tugban rumo turug bay matay l̄ppit
 sleep when collapse 3S sleep PRF dead thunderstorm
 ‘He slept, when he collapsed and fell asleep Thunderstorm was dead.’
- (50) *Pog matay L̄ppit, ino p̄ngindon ulun pasod*
 pog matay l̄ppit ino p̄ng-indon ulun pasod
 when dead thunderstorm yonder AG.NOM-think person many
 ‘When Thunderstorm had died, this was what many people thought.’
- ino L̄ppit ne bay matay, inga’ matay.*
 ino l̄ppit ne bay matay ninga’ matay
 yonder thunderstorm this PRF dead NEG.I dead
 ‘Thunderstorm has died, but he was not dead.’
- (51) *Bay nioy rumo bua’ t̄gwak-gwak di bagku*
 bay nioy rumo bua’ t̄gwak-wak adi bagku
 PRF COM.take.UV 3S fruit tegwak-wak over.there again
- baju rumo di.*
 baju rumo adi
 shirt 3S over.there
 ‘He had already taken his t̄gwak-wak fruit again, his shirt.’
- (52) *Bay kuli’ rumo anan ina’ rumo di’ ttas langit di.*
 bay k-uli’ rumo anan ina’ rumo di’ ttas langit adi
 PRF AV.NV-go.home 3S place mother 3S LOC top sky over.there
 ‘He had already gone home to his mother (lit. to his mother’s place) high in the sky.’
- (53) *Sawot ḡadino ne rumo pon k̄dullu’*
 sawot ḡadino ne rumo apon k̄-d̄llu’
 arrive in.this.way this 3S NEG.P AV.NV-descend
- l̄bpo bagku nong s̄k̄abuta’.*
 l̄bpo bagku nong s̄k̄abuta’
 more again OBL here.on.earth
 ‘Until now, he has not descended again anymore to here on earth.’

- (54) *Anak rumo bay ddi', kuli' anan rumo ttas langit.*
 anak rumo bay ddi' k-uli' anan rumo ttas langit
 child 3S PRF there AV.NV-go.home place 3S top sky
 'His children are already there, they have gone home to his place, high in the sky.'
- (55) *Dadi bəganak Ləppit anu Bəriot Təmbasung.*
 dadi bəg-anak ləppit anu Bəriot Təmbasung
 so AV-child thunderstorm whatever Flash Tembasing
 'So Thunderstorm..er..Beriot gave birth to Tembasing.'
- (56) *Pog bəgenak Bəriot nong Təmbasung.*
 pog bəg--i-anak Bəriot nong Təmbasung
 when AV--COM-child Flash OBL Tembasing
 'When Flash gave birth, to Tembasing.'
- (57) *Pog panak Təmbasung, Bəgasa'.*
 pog p-anak Təmbasung Bəgasa'
 when SF-child.UV Tembasing Bəgasa'
 'When Tembasing gave birth, Bəgasa'.'
- (58) *Pog panak Bəgasa', Tujun.*
 pog p-anak Bəgasa' Tujun
 when SF-child.UV Bəgasa' Tujun
 'When Bəgasa' gave birth, Tujun.'
- (59) *Pog bəganak Tujun, iro Jingkit.*
 pog bəg-anak Tujun iro Jingkit
 when AV-child Tujun COL Jingkit
 'When Tujun gave birth, Jingkit and his brothers and sisters.'
- (60) *Pog bəganak iro Jingkit, iro anu Totom.*
 pog bəg-anak iro Jingkit iro anu Totom
 when AV-child COL Jingkit COL whatever Totom
 'When Jingkit and his brothers and sisters gave birth, ..er..Totom and his brothers and sisters.'
- (61) *Ino anak Jingkit.*
 ino anak Jingkit
 yonder child Jingkit
 'That is Jingkit's child.'
- (62) *Ino rumo tubu kəmmi sakko ttas, sakko ttas langit.*
 ino rumo tubu kəmmi sakko ttas sakko ttas langit
 yonder 3S descendance 1P.E.N/G from top from top sky
 'This is it: our descendance is from high in the sky.'

- (63) *Jadi suku ino matay ino, inga' bənnor matay.*
 jadi suku ino matay ino ninga' bənnor matay
 so all yonder dead yonder NEG.I true dead
 'So all who die, are not really dead.'
- (64) *Rumo mənnik ttas langit.*
 rumo m-ənnik ttas langit
 3S DEP-go.up top sky
 'He is not really dead, he goes up to the sky'
- (65) *Dadi rumo gkun no, gkun ama' rumo.*
 dadi rumo gkun ino gkun ama' rumo
 so 3S village yonder village father 3S
 'So to his land, the land of his father.'
- (66) *Ina' rumo ino ulun səkəbuta'.*
 ina' rumo ino ulun səkəbuta'
 mother 3S yonder person here.on.earth
 'His mother was from down to earth.'
- (67) *Da pun ama' kəmmi ulun ttas langit, doto.*
 da pun ama' kəmmi ulun ttas langit doto
 PR too father 1P.E.N/G person top sky angelic.being
 'And our father is from above the sky, an angelic being.'
- (68) *Ino suku kəmmi suku doto.*
 ino suku kəmmi suku doto
 yonder all 1P.E.N/G all angelic.being
 'This descendance of ours is a descendance of angelic being.'
- (69) *Na ino sija' usur, suran ku niun.*
 na ino sija' usur suran ku niun
 this yonder merely talk story 1S.G 2S.A
 'Well, only this is my talk, my story for you.'

3. Conversation ‘Koko’

This conversation was recorded in the cocoa tree orchard where we (Tingkas Lebpo, Payna Bibos, Zam Lee Bibos and Nelleke Goudswaard) were splitting cocoa fruits and taking the white flesh out of the shells. After a while, Minan Mipai joined us and told us she had been fishing in the river the previous day. When we heard that, we made a plan to go fishing too.

Speakers:

TL Tingkas Lebpo (my hostmother)

PB Payna Bibos (my older ‘sister’)

ZLB Zam Lee Bibos (my older ‘brother’)

MM Minan Mipai (aunty)

NG Nelleke Goudswaard

MM *Tasak koko kowin.*
MM *tasak koko -u-kawin*
MM *blossom cocoa -DEP-marry.UV*
‘Blossoms of cross bred cocoa.’

TL *Tow, kito te akod te anan kito mundok.*
TL *tow kito ate akod ate anan kito m-undok*
TL *know.UV 1P.I.N/G this upstream this place 1P.I.N/G DEP-go.places*
‘I don’t know, as for us, upstream is the where we go (lit.our place of going).’

MM *Na ino llon Təlumad ku ne kəmo*
MM *na ino llon Təmulad ku ne kəmo*
MM *PRT yonder point Temulan 1S.G this if*

da anu kito maus iro Lija’.
da anu kito m-aus iro Lija’
PR whatever 1P.I.N/G DEP-bring.UV COL Liza
‘Well, that is Temulad’s point: then we bring Liza and company.’

PB *Di’ baya’ kito di’ bpung no.*
PB *di’ baya’ kito di’ bpung ino*
PB *LOC place 1P.I.N/G LOC former.time yonder*
‘To the place we were some time ago.’

TL *Bio Babu, bay kuli’ pa Babu, bay kuli’.*
TL *bio Babu bay k-uli’ pa Babu bay k-uli’*
TL *and Babu PRF AV.NV-go.home PRT Babu PRF AV.NV-go.home*
‘With Babu, Babu has already returned, already returned.’

PB *Muyu di' bpung.*
 PB *muyu di' bpung*
 PB 2P.N/G LOC former.time
 '(Where) you (went) some time ago.'

NG *Bay kuli'. Rumo bay kuli'.*
 NG *bay k-uli' rumo bay k-uli'*
 NG PRF AV.NV-go.home 3S PRF AV.NV-go.home
 'Already returned. She has already returned.'

MM *Muyu di' bpung bio Təlumad akay.*
 MM *muyu di' bpung bio Təlumand akay*
 MM 2P.N/G LOC former.time and Telumad EXIST
 '(When) you (went fishing) and Telumad was there.'

TL *Mba' baya'? Antang milu sapa'. Kutok tun, tittoy pon*
 TL *mba' baya' antang milu sapa' kutok tun tittoy apon*
 TL where place like cocoa water troubled really small NEG.P
 'Where?', The water was like Milo (chocolat milk).'

buli məmangngat. Jadi ino sija' akay alap ku.
buli məng-pangngat jadi ino sija' akay a-lap ku
 can AV-fishing.rod so yonder merely EXIST NV-get.UV 1S.G
 '(The river water) was really troubled, (I caught) a little; (we) could not fish with
 a fishing rod.' 'So this is all I caught (lit. So only this is what I caught).'

Mannu-mannu kat kəmmi bəgko bangog nong llung, məriu'
mannu-mannu kat kəmmi bəgko bangog nong llung mə-riu'
 very-RED CDM 1P.E.N/G also soak OBL river DEP-bathe
 'We also soaked in the river as well as we could and bathed'

bio bəkakkam tuttul. Na kolay-kolay bəgko gədili'.
bio bə-kakkam tuttul na -u-kalay--u-kalay bəgko gə-dili'
 and AV-feel.around watersnail PRT -DEP-not.want-RED also AV-choose
 'and felt around for water snails'. 'We did not want to select them.'

sillun tuttul rumo di. Pon ka paut anan ku məngay.
sillun tuttul rumo adi apon ka paut anan ku məng-ay
 other watersnail 3S over.there NEG.P PRT mud place 1S.G AV-take
 'The watersnails there are different.' 'It was not in the mud where I took (them).'

Nu key batu təgajo nu kan, nong ikow kokkam
nu key batu tə-gajo nu kan nong ikow -u-kakkam
 what FOC stone INT-big what isn't.it? AUX 2S.N -DEP-feeling.around.UV
 'What its it, that very large stone isn't it?'

səlang batu no. Jadi sakop ikow məngay.
səlang batu ino jadi sakop ikow məng-ay
 in.between stone yonder so prepared 2S.N AV-take
 ‘You feel around in between the stones. So you can easily take them.’

MM *Tuttul butot?*
 MM *tuttul butot*
 MM *watersnail small.round*
 ‘Small round watersnails?’

TL *Inga’ pa, tuttul buat-buat no. Ninga’ tuttul butot,*
 TL *ninga’ pa tuttul buat-buat ino ninga’ tuttul butot*
 TL *NEG.I PRT watersnail long-RED yonder NEG.I watersnail small.round*
 ‘No, those longish watersnails. Not round watersnails.’

tuttul buat no. Gədino ne pon akay.
tuttul buat ino gədino ne apon akay
watersnail long yonder in.this.way this NEG.P EXIST
 ‘those long watersnails. Now there are none.’

MM *Ullo?*
 MM *ullo*
 MM *why*
 ‘Why?’

TL *Bay punong baya’ kəmmi məngay baya’ (...)*
 TL *bay p-unong baya’ kəmmi məng-ay baya’*
 TL *PRF SF-finished place 1P.E.N/G AV-take place*
 ‘They are already finished where we took them, where (...)’

PB *Baya’ kəmmi iro inni’ yun ku di*
 PB *baya’ kəmmi iro inni’ liun ku adi*
 PB *place 1P.E.N/G COL grandparent woman 1S.G over.there*
 ‘Where we joined (them), grandmother and company,’

TL *ikow bəgami’ kəmmi iro Lidi iro kamman*
 TL *ikow bəg-ami’ kəmmi iro Lidi iro kamman*
 TL *2S.N AV-baby.sit 1P.E.N/G COL Lidi COL uncle*
 ‘you were babysitting, Lidi and company, my uncle Suton and company,’

Suton ku di pupus llung.
Suton ku adi p-upus llung
Suton 1S.G over.there SF-reach.end.of.line river
 ‘we went until the end of the river.’

MM *Ullo ne? llung no pon dali'?*
 MM ullo ne llung ino apon dali'
 MM why this river yonder NEG.P flood
 'Why? Was the river not flooded?'

PB *Ninga'. Sikot ku nong Nancy.*
 PB ninga' -i-sukot ku nong Nancy
 PB NEG.I -COM-inform.UV 1S.G OBL Nancy

"Pon" kəmo, digabpi di.
 apon kəmo digabpi adi
 NEG.P QTM yesterday over.there
 'No it isn't. I asked Nancy, "it is not (flooded)", she said yesterday.'

TL *O, a', bənor bəgko. Suga' kəmo malu' akkor muyu pa,*
 TL o a' bənor bəgko suga' kəmo malu' akkor muyu pa
 TL EXCL yes true also but if want plan 2P.N/G PRT
 'O, yes, that is true too. But if you want to make a plan.'

mutap panow kito, bəkəttong anggur awan no pa.
 mutap panow kito bə-kəttong anggur awan ino pa
 tomorrow go 1P.I.N/G AV-straight shin outside yonder PRT
 '(let)'s go stretch our legs (lit. shins) outside tomorrow.'

Bənor pa, inga' dali'. Bio kəmo da dali', pa muli'.
 bənor pa ninga' dali' bio kəmo da dali' pa m-uli'
 true PRT NEG.I flood and if PR flood PRT DEP-go.home
 'It is true: there is no flood.' 'And if there (the river) is flooded, we just go home.'

Lapas sətiow nu pa, tuso pa məngay pait tu.
 lapas sə-tiow nu pa tuso pa məng-ay pait tu
 pass.by NOM-clear what PRT difficult PRT AV-take fish too
 'If (the river water) is too clear (lit. if the clearness exceeds), the fishes hardly bite too (lit. it is difficult for the fishes to take).'

MM *Minsan digabpi ne, tiow toka.*
 MM minsan digabpi ne tiow toka
 MM although yesterday this clear PRT
 'At least yesterday (the river water) was clear for example.'

TL *Sagay.*
 TL sagay
 TL surely
 'Surely.'

MM *Sidtu səmərɪduk pait ino*
 MM *sidtu -əm-sərɪduk pait ino*
 MM merely -DEP-bite.and.swim.around fish yonder
 ‘Those fishes merely bite and swim around’

mangan bɸas niug no.
mangan bɸas niug ino
 AV.eat left.over coconut yonder
 ‘eating the coconut leftovers (what is left over after maing santan).’

Kəmo da ikow rəmottop bay kərawong-rawong.
kəmo da ikow -əm--u-rattop bay -ər-kawong--ər-kawong
 if PR 2S.N -DEP--DEP-closeby PRF -REC-suddenly.disappear-RED
 ‘When you approach (them they) all suddenly disappear.’

Ganta’ da tiow, sillun alimbow.
ganta’ da tiow sillun a-limbow
 very PR clear other NV-shallow
 ‘(The river water) is very clear and otherwise rather shallow.’

TL *Aku ton (..)*
 TL *aku ton*
 TL 1S.N TOP
 ‘As for me (..)’

PB *A buli anan mənimbak pəsawow masong?*
 PB *a’ buli anan məng-timbak pəsawow masong*
 PB yes can place AV-shoot river.prawn still.again
 ‘Yes, is it still possible as a place to shoot prawns?’

TL *Nong ku masang ringgi’ ku di.*
 TL *nong ku m-pasang ringgi’ ku adi*
 TL AUX 1S.G DEP-fix.UV fishing.net 1S.G over.there
 ‘I am going to install my fishing net.’

ZLB *Digabpi gam?*
 ZLB *digabpi gam*
 ZLB yesterday QM
 ‘Yesterday?’

MM *A’ digabpi.*
 MM *a’ digabpi*
 MM yes yesterday
 ‘Yes, yesterday.’

TL *Kito maus ringgi' kito tunong ne kan,*
 TL kito m-aus ringgi' kito tunong ne kan
 TL 1P.I.N/G DEP-bring.UV fishing.net 1P.I.N/G here this isn't.it?
 'We bring our fishing net, (it) is here right?'

tərabang kito məngasang. Da di məmangngat kito
 -ər-tabang kito məng-pasang da adi məng-pangngat kito
 -REC-help 1P.I.N/G AV-fix PR over.there AV-fishing.rod 1P.I.N/G
 '(and) help each other to install it. (When) it is there (installed and well)'

bpas niug no. Lou' di' sarog, sarog.
 bpas niug ino -u-lau' di' sarog sarog
 left.over coconut yonder -DEP-go.downstream LOC downstream downstream
 'we fish with a fishing rod with coconut lefovers. We go downstream, downstream'

Nu pəduli mo, sukur bəgko kəmo pon.
 nu pəduli mo sukur bəgko kəmo apon
 what mind.UV (M) 2S.G thank also as.for NEG.P
 'What do you care, (let's) be thankful even if (we do) not (catchanything).'

PB *Ringgi' no minan san pait*
 PB ringgi' ino minan san pait
 PB fishingnet yonder aunt once fish
 'As for this fishing net, aunty, even if big fish,'

təgayan ne kəlap, padan tun.
 tə-gayan ne kə-lap padan tun
 INT-huge this AV.NV-get measure really
 'you get them, (the fishing net) is really of the right size.'

TL *A, pait gayan ttan nnong.*
 TL a pait gayan ttan nnong
 TL yes fish huge see.UV here
 'Yes, big fish are seen here.'

PB *Akay ringgi' kəmmi dtan no.*
 PB akay ringgi' kəmmi dtan ino
 PB EXIST fishingnet 1P.E.N/G old yonder
 'There is this old fishing net of ours.'

TL *Bəgaus basi kito*
 TL bəg-aus basi kito
 TL AV-bring bush.knife 1P.I.N/G

kəmo da panow kəmo anu mutap la. Na ino bəgko
kəmo da panow kəmo anu mutap la na ino bəgko
 if PR go if whatever tomorrow PRT PRT yonder also
 ‘(Let)’s bring our bush knife if we go, when er.. tomorrow.’

iro ttas tun dtow, sa’ subu-subu antang səpanow kito
iro ttas tun dtow sa’ subu-subu antang sə-panow kito
 COL high really day SQ morning-RED manner NOM-go 1P.I.N/G
 ‘Well, it is also when the sun is becoming really high, from early in the morning, we (go)’

iro Babu di’ bpung di pa, gaus kkan.
iro Babu di’ bpung adi pa bəg-aus kkan
 COL Babu LOC former.time over.there PRT AV-bring cooked.rice
 ‘like Babu and company’s manner of going some time ago, (we) bring rice.’

Jadi kəmo sawot kito di’ pon buli kito mənguso,
jadi kəmo sawot kito di’ apon buli kito məng-uso
 so as.for arrive 1P.I.N/G LOC NEG.P can 1P.I.N/G AV-gather.food
 ‘so if we arrive (at the river) and we cannot gather food’

muli’ la, pa nu kito tənunggu bəgko ddi’.
m-uli’ la pa nu kito -əm-tunggu bəgko ddi’
 DEP-go.home PRT PRT what 1P.I.N/G -DEP-wait.UV (M) also there
 ‘we just go home, what’ ‘(would) we wait for there.’

Kito di pog panow mənguso məngata’ llung bəgko.
kito adi pog panow məng-uso məng-ata’ llung bəgko
 1P.I.N/G over.there when go AV-gather.food AV-look river also
 ‘As for us, when we go gathering food, we look at the river too.’

Kəmo imbo-imbo kito buli kito mənguso məmangngat.
kəmo imbo-imbo kito buli kito məng-uso məng-pangngat
 if maybe-RED 1P.I.N/G can 1P.I.N/G AV-gather.food AV-fishing.rod
 ‘if we maybe we can go gathering and fishing with a fishing rod.’

Səmbatan Babu.
səmbatan Babu.
 way.of.saying Babu
 ‘As Babu always says it.’

- ZLB *Ullo pon buli mənguso?*
 ZLB ullo apon buli məng-uso
 ZLB why NEG.P can AV-gather.food
 ‘Why (would) we not be able to go gathering?’

TL *Kəmo pon dali', e!, kəmo dali' no*
 TL *kəmo apon dali' e kəmo dali' ino*
 TL if NEG.P flood EXCL if flood yonder
 'If (the river) is not flooded, hey!..if it is flooded.'

ngod sənguso səkutok.
 ngod səng-uso sə-kutok
 how NOM-gather.food NOM-troubled
 'how do we go fishing, so troubled.'

ZLP *Mata' key ja' kəadaan awan.*
 ZLB *m-ata' key ja' kəadaan awan*
 ZLB DEP-look.UV FOC merely situation outside
 'Just look at the weather (lit. situation of outside).'

MM *Koko bagku no ino pon akay rusok.*
 MM *koko bagku ino ino apon akay rusok*
 MM *cocoa new yonder yonder NEG.P EXIST broken*
 'This new cocoa has no bad spots (lit has no broken).'

TL *Kəmo pon uran dtow ano.*
 TL *kəmo apon uran dtow ano*
 TL if NEG.P rain day that
 'If it does not rain today.'

MM *Pon akay uran.*
 MM *apon akay uran*
 MM *NEG.P EXIST rain*
 'It does not rain.'

ZLB *Ino pa nan nong məppom sa' pio kəmo pon(..).*
 ZLB *ino pa minan nong m-ə-ppom sa' pio kəmo apon*
 ZLB *yonder PRT aunt AUX DEP-spray.UV SQ good if NEG.P*
 'As for this one, aunty, it (must) be sprayed, only then it is good. If not (...)'

TL *Ano, nu naran no. Səmbatan Babu*
 TL *ano nu naran ino səmbatan Babu*
 TL *that what name yonder way.of.saying Babu*
 'Er, what do we call it. Like Babu always says.'

baya' kito bəgani di. Da bpos kito bəgani,
baya' kito bə-gani di da bpos kito bə-gani
 place 1P.1.N/G AV-harvest over.there PR after 1P.1.N/G AV-harvest
 'where/when we harvested. After we have harvested'

panow gulo kito nu naran no, gələppot kkan
 panow gulo kito nu naran ino gə-ləppot kkan
 go first 1P.I.N/G what name yonder AV-wrap cooked.rice
 ‘(let)’s go, what is it called,

mangan di’ llung.
 mangan di’ llung
 AV.eat LOC river
 ‘wrap rice and eat near the river.’

MM *Pon pakay?*
 MM apon pakay
 MM NEG.P use
 ‘Do (you) not use these? (Context: she is pointing at cocoa fruits of lesser quality)’

ZLB *Bay buay, pasod bay butong.*
 ZLB bay buay pasod bay butong
 ZLB PRF long many PRF rotten
 ‘(The cocoa tree) is already old; many (fruits) are rotten.’

MM *Bay buay.*
 MM bay buay
 MM PRF long
 ‘Already old (lit. long time).’

PB *Neli, ikow pon malu’ maya’?*
 PB Neli ikow apon malu’ m-aya’
 PB Nelly 2S.N NEG.P want DEP-follow
 ‘Neli, do you not want to join (us fishing)?’

NG *Maya’!*
 NG m-aya’
 NG DEP-follow
 ‘(I will) join (you)!’

PB *Ləppot kkan bio məmangngat.*
 PB ləppot kkan bio məng-pangngat
 PB wrap cooked.rice and AV-fishing.rod
 ‘Wrapping rice and fishing with a fishing rod.’

NG *Maya’, pon akay gkot kəmo da mutap.*
 NG m-aya’ apon akay gkot kəmo da mutap
 NG DEP-follow NEG.P EXIST work if PR tomorrow
 ‘(I will) join (you); I have no work tomorrow.’

4. Procedural text (recipe): *Timba* ‘How to make pickled meat or fish’, by Payna Bibos¹

- (1) *Tunong ano, aku malu’ bəgusur suran ngod*
 tunong ano aku malu’ bəg-usur suran ngod
 here that 1S.N want AV-talk story how

antang mənimba’ bakas,
 antang məng-timba’ bakas
 manner AV-pickled.food wild.pig
 ‘Here, I want to tell a story about how to pickle wild pig.’

mənimba’ bakas atowpun mənimba’ pait, cara rumo.
 məng-timba’ bakas atowpun məng-timba’ pait cara rumo
 AV-pickled.food wild.pig or (M) AV-pickled.food fish way (M) 3S
 ‘to pickle wild pig or to pickle fish, its manner.’

- (2) *Mulay-mulay rumo kito məngurud*
 mulay-mulay rumo kito məng-urud
 begin-RED (M) 3S 1P.I.N/G AV-cut.to.pieces

ssi bakas no tumok-tumok,
 ssi bakas ino tumok-tumok
 content wild.pig yonder small-RED
 ‘First (lit. in the very beginning) we cut the wild pig meat to small pieces.’

- (3) *Jadi kəmo da nirud kito*
 jadi kəmo da ni-urud kito
 so if PR COM-cut.to.pieces.UV 1P.I.N/G
 ‘So after we have cut (it) to pieces,’

nong kito togay ssi bakas no.
 nong kito -u-tagay ssi bakas ino
 AUX 1P.I.N/G -DEP-salt.UV content wild.pig yonder
 ‘we salt the wild pig meat.’

- (4) *Jadi kəmo da tegay kito*
 jadi kəmo da -i-tagay kito
 so if PR -COM-salt.UV 1P.I.N/G
 ‘So after we have salted (it),’

¹ Pickled fish or meat is considered a typically Sabahan delicacy. The pronunciation of the vowel /i/ in *timba*’ is somewhat lowered: [tɪmbaʔ], but not quite [tembaʔ]. Some speakers claim that the word should actually be written as *temba*’. For the time being, I write it as *timba*’.

nong kito togbas ssi bakas ino,
nong kito -u-tagbas ssi bakas ino
 AUX 1P.I.N/G -DEP-drain.UV content wild.pig yonder
 ‘we drain the wild pig meat.’

malu’ sidtu pon bəgəbpow butong.
malu’ sidtu apon bəg-ə-bpow butong
 want merely NEG.P AV-smell rotten
 ‘so that it does not start to smell rotten.’

- (5) *Jadi kəmo da tegbas kito ino,*
jadi kəmo da -i-tagbas kito ino
 so if PR -COM-drain.UV 1P.I.N/G yonder
 ‘So after we have drained it,’

kito məngay ssi səkilo-kayu.
kito məng-ay ssi səkilo-kayu
 1P.I.N/G AV-take content cassava
 ‘we take a cassava.’

- (6) *Nong kito malap kulit ssi səkilo-kayu ino,*
nong kito m-alap kulit ssi səkilo-kayu ino
 AUX 1P.I.N/G DEP-get.UV skin content cassava yonder
 ‘We take (off) the skin of the cassava,’

nong kito mugas,
nong kito m-ugas
 AUX 1P.I.N/G DEP-wash.UV
 ‘we wash it, we cook it,

nong kito mapuy nong robus.
nong kito m-apuy nong -u-rabus
 AUX 1P.I.N/G DEP-fire.UV AUX -DEP-boil.UV (M)
 ‘we boil it.’

- (7) *Jadi kəmo da assak səkilo-kayu ino,*
jadi kəmo da a-ssak səkilo-kayu ino
 so if PR NV-cooked cassava yonder
 ‘So when the cassava is cooked,’

nong kito pətəmmil gulo.
nong kito pə-təmmil gulo
 AUX 1P.I.N/G CAU.DEP-cool.UV first
 ‘we first let it cool down.’

- (8) *Kəmo da təmmil, nong kito məncur, lomud tagay.*
 kəmo da təmmil nong kito m-ə-ncur -u-lamud tagay
 if PR cool AUX 1P.I.N/G DEP-crush.UV -DEP-mix.UV salt
 ‘When it is cool, we crush (it), add salt.’
- (9) *Kəmo da bpos ino, sa’ kito lomud*
 kəmo da bpos ino sa’ kito -u-lamud
 if PR after yonder SQ 1P.I.N/G -DEP-mix.UV
 ‘When this is finished, then we mix (it with)’
- ssi bakas nirud kəmmon ne.*
 ssi bakas ni-urud kəmmon ne
 content wild.pig COM-cut.to.pieces.UV just.now this
 ‘the wild pig meat that we just cut to pieces.’
- (10) *Jadi rumo sigkow (...)sərait nong rumo timba’.*
 jadi rumo -i-səgkow sə-rait nong rumo timba’
 so 3S -COM-call.UV NOM-pronounce OBL 3S pickled.food
 ‘So this is called, its name is *timba’*.’
- (11) *Jadi timba’ bakas atowpun timba’ pait no*
 jadi timba’ bakas atowpun timba’ pait ino
 so pickled.food wild.pig or (M) pickled.food fish yonder
 ‘So this pickled wild pig or pickled fish’
- səlalū nong kito nong Bəgak makay,*
 səlalū nong kito nong Bəgak m-pakay
 always AUX 1P.I.N/G AUX Bəgak DEP-use.UV
 ‘we, the Bəgak always use (it)’
- səlalū rumo oktu akay lami-lami*
 səlalū rumo oktu akay lami-lami
 always 3S time EXIST feast
 ‘always when there is a feast’
- antang mo akay təgunggu’ atow gərussay.*
 antang mo akay təgunggu’ atow gə-russay
 manner 2S.G EXIST gong or AV-sing.and.dance
 ‘like playing the gong or singing and dancing.’
- (12) *Jadi ino sija’ suran nong mallan timba’.*
 jadi ino sija’ suran nong m-allan timba’
 so yonder merely story AUX DEP-make.UV pickled.food
 ‘So only this is the story about making *timba’*.’

5. Explanation: *Bandi* ‘poetry bee’, told by Mrs. Kenutik Petatang

This explanation is a short passage taken from an interview of with Mrs. Kenutik Petatang on the customs of marriage. The whole interview contains an explanation of the whole procedure of proposing for marriage, setting the date, getting engaged, and the traditional wedding customs. After the speaker has explained the original wedding customs, the author asks Mrs. Kenutik Petatang about a recent wedding in the village with yet other customs. Mrs. Kenutik Petatang answers that that particular wedding was a one-day-wedding. People nowadays tend to chose for a one-day-wedding rather than for the traditional wedding.

- (1) *Kawin dtow ton bio kawin tun, ino biang.*
 kawin dtow ton bio kawin tun ino b-iang
 marry day TOP and marry real yonder MID-seperate
 ‘A one-day-wedding and a real wedding are different, it’s different.’
- (2) *Kawin dtow ton, kəmo miro di’ bpung ino addot rajo-rajo.*
 kawin dtow ton kəmo miro di’ bpung ino addot rajo-rajo
 marry day TOP as.for 3P LOC former.time yonder custom king-RED
 ‘A one-day-wedding, as for the people in former times, it was a custom of kings.’
- (3) *Ino kawin dtow ton.*
 ino kawin dtow ton
 yonder marry day TOP
 ‘This is a one-day wedding.’
- (4) *Jadi kəmo kawin tun ino, soding sija’*
 jadi kəmo kawin tun ino -u-sanding sija’
 so as.for marry real yonder -DEP-sit.on.a.dais merely

mangan sija’ antang kəmmon ne la.
 mangan sija’ antang kəmmon ne la
 AV.eat merely like just.now this PRT
 ‘So as for a real wedding, this is a real wedding, (it is) just sitting on a dais and eating, like (I explained to you) just now.’
- (5) *Suga’ kəmo kawin dtow no, pasod addot rumo ino.*
 suga’ kəmo kawin dtow ino pasod addot rumo ino
 but as.for marry day yonder many custom 3s yonder
 ‘But as for a one-day-wedding, it has many customs. (lit many are its customs).’

- (6) *Ano antang kusay ino kan, pog sawot sija' kusay,*
 ano antang kusay ino kan pog sawot sija' kusay
 that like man yonder isn't.it? when arrive merely man
 'That is, like the man right? When he arrives, just the man,'¹
- pəngantin kusay no, nong bəlakang ino,*
 pəngantin kusay ino nong bəlakang ino
 bride(groom) (M) man yonder OBL fence yonder
 'the bridegroom,"at the fence,'
- (7) *ninga' dan buli səmuok, pantun gulo ulun,*
 ninga' dan buli -ə̄m-suok pantun gulo ulun
 NEG.I yet can -DEP-enter sing first person
 'he cannot enter yet, he sings first,'
- bəgaus kəpalo no.*
 bəg-aus kəpalo ino
 AV-bring headman (M) yonder
 'the headman (M) invites (lit. brings) him.'
- (8) *Kəpalo bəgaus nong kusay ino pantun.*
 kəpalo bəg-aus nong kusay ino pantun
 headman (M) AV-bring OBL man yonder sing
 'The headman invites (lit.brings) the man to sing.'
- (9) *Ino tujuan pantun rumo ne kəbewang bəlakang no,*
 ino tujuan pantun rumo ne məkə-b--i-awang bəlakang ino
 yonder aim sing 3S this PET.AV-MID--COM-open fence yonder
 'This is the aim of his singing: to request (the people inside) to open the door,'
- məkəbewang bəlakang ino mənukot piro gayan bayo?*
 məkə-b--i-awang bəlakang ino məng-sukot piro gayan bayo
 PET.AV-MID--COM-open fence yonder AV-inform how.many size pay
 'to request (the people inside) to open the door, to inform how much the price/pay is.'
- (10) *Jadi pantun bəgko ulun di' səbila' liun di,*
 jadi pantun bəgko ulun di' səbila' liun adi
 so sing also person LOC side woman over.there
 'So the people at the side of the woman sing too,'

¹The word *antang* 'manner, like' is very often used as a meaningless filler which can be translated with 'er..', 'you know?', or 'whatchemecallit'.

kətuo liun bəgko, mənambut nong miro ne,
kətuo liun bəgko məng-sambut nong miro ne
 leader woman also AV-receive OBL 3P this
 ‘the leader of the women too, she answers them’

məmara’ gədino gayan miro muyok
məng-bara’ gədino gayan miro m-uyok
 AV-say in.this.way size 3P DEP-request.UV
 ‘says like this (much) they ask’

- (11) *bera’ da miro mukag bəlakang ino,*
-i-bara’ da miro m-ukag bəlakang ino
 -COM-say.UV PR 3P DEP-open.UV fence yonder
 ‘she told then they will open the door’

da miro mukag bəlakang ino.
da miro m-ukag bəlakang ino
 PR 3P DEP-open.UV fence yonder
 ‘then they will open the door.’

- (12) *Jadi da buli iro ino səmuok, səbila’ liun no.*
jadi da buli iro ino -əm-suok səbila’ liun ino
 so PR can COL yonder -DEP-enter side woman yonder
 ‘So then they can enter, to the side of the women.’

- (13) *Jadi ino lati pantun miro gəsərəmbung ino.*
jadi ino lati pantun miro gə--ər-səmbung ino
 so yonder meaning sing 3P AV--REC-continue yonder
 ‘So this is the meaning of their singing in pairs.’

- (14) *Pog sawot di’ kəlambu’ di bəgko, gədino tu.*
pog sawot di’ kəlambu’ adi bəgko gədino tu
 when arrive LOC mosquito.net over.there also in.this.way too
 ‘When she arrives in the musqtonet too, in the same way.’

- (15) *Jadi bandi bəgko ino antang rumo liun no,*
jadi bandi bəgko ino antang rumo liun ino
 so poetry.bee also yonder like 3S woman yonder

inga’ akay bəgko kusay.
ninga’ akay bəgko kusay
 NEG.I EXIST also man
 ‘So the women also sing in a poetry bee, (now) there are no men (singing).’

- (16) *Ino liun la, liun no məkəbewang kəlambu ino,*
 ino liun la liun ino məkə-b--i-awang kəlambu ino
 yonder woman PRT woman yonder PET.AV-MID--COM-open mosquito.net yonder
 ‘So the lady, the lady requests to open the door’

mənukot tu bəgko miro piro bəgko gayan
 məng-sukot tu bəgko miro piro bəgko gayan
 AV-inform too also 3P how.many also size
 ‘(and) also asks to them how much the sum’

*səngujok kəlambu’ di?*²
 səng-uyok kəlambu’ adi
 NOM-request mosquito.net over.there
 ‘their request (to enter) the musquitonet is.’

- (17) *Jadi məmara’ ulun di’ allom kəlambu’ di’*
 jadi məng-bara’ ulun di’ allom kəlambu’ adi
 so AV-say person LOC inside mosquito.net over.there
 ‘So the person in the musquitonet there says,’

bəgko ulun abur liun no,
 bəgko ulun abur liun ino
 also person companion woman yonder
 ‘also a companion of the woman,’

“gədino gayan miro muyok”.
 gədino gayan miro m-uyok
 in.this.way size 3P DEP-request.UV
 ‘they ask this much’.

- (18) *Kəmo duo pulu’, duo pulu’, kəmo təllu pulu’*
 kəmo duo pulu’ duo pulu’ kəmo təllu pulu’
 if two ten two ten if three ten

təllu pulu’ la. Miro muyok.
 təllu pulu’ la miro m-uyok
 three ten PRT 3P DEP-request.UV
 ‘If it is twenty, twenty, if it is thirty, thirty. They ask.’

² The manner nominalisation of the root *uyok* ‘request’ tends to be pronounced with /j/ (*səngujok*) instead of with the expected /y/. More Begak words with /y/ are in free variation with /j/, for instance *gayo/gajo* ‘big’.

- (19) *Jadi na kəmmi da məngawang kəlambu' no.*
 jadi na kəmmi da məng-awang kəlambu' ino
 so PRT 1P.E.N/G PR AV-open musquito.net yonder
 'So, well, then we open the musqitonet.'
- (20) *Jadi dongay ulun səbila' ino məkay.*
 jadi -u-dangay ulun səbila' ino m-ə-gkay
 so -DEP-proceed person side yonder DEP-give.UV
 'So the person on the one side proceeds and gives it.'
- (21) *Məkay ssin no, a' miro mawang.*
 m-ə-gkay ssin ino a' miro m-awang
 DEP-give.UV money yonder yes 3P DEP-open.UV
 '(S)he gives the money, yes, they open (the door).'
- (22) *Jadi ino-ino miro pon dan məngawang ino,*
 jadi ino-ino miro apon dan məng-awang ino
 so yonder-RED 3P NEG,P yet AV-open yonder
- miro məngngut gulo liun no.*
 miro m-ə-ngngut gulo liun ino
 3P DEP-spin.UV first woman yonder
 'So that is, before they open it (lit. they have not opened it yet), they turn the woman around.'
- (23) *Məngngut liun no, miro*
 m-ə-ngngut liun ino miro
 DEP-spin.UV woman yonder 3P
- pəpadop di' anan kusay sawot di.*
 pə-p-adop di' anan kusay sawot adi
 CAU,DEP-SF-face.to.face.UV LOC place man arrive over.there
 'They turn the woman around and make her face the place of the man who has just arrived.'
- (24) *Gəgedtan badung.*
 gə-gedtan b-adung
 AV-sit.side.by.side MID-seat
 'They sit side by side.'
- (25) *Jadi ino da sawot di, sa'*
 jadi ino da sawot adi sa'
 so yonder PR arrive over.there SQ

da pon akay ləbpo la bayo rumo ino.
 da apon akay ləbpo la bayo rumo ino
 PR NEG.P EXIST more PRT pay 3s yonder
 ‘So when he has arrived there, then there is no paying for him anymore.’

(26) *Ino maksud miro pantun.*
 ino maksud miro pantun
 yonder intention 3P sing
 ‘This is the meaning of their singing.’

(27) *Bandi la miro makay.*
 bandi la miro m-pakay
 poetry.bee PRT 3P DEP-use.UV
 ‘Bandi they use.’

(28) NG. *Uni dtan?*
 NG. *Uni dtan?*
 NG. speech old
 ‘Is that archaic speech?’

(29) *A’ uni dtan ino, uni di’ bpung pa ino.*
 a’ uni dtan ino uni di’ bpung pa ino
 yes, speech old yonder speech LOC former.time PRT yonder
 ‘Yes, it is archaic speech, it is the speech of former times.’

Appendix B: wordlist

This preliminary word list is based mainly on the corpus of texts, but also contains elicited words and words from overheard speech. Frequent as well as less frequent words are given side by side; therefore that the data for some entries may be much more complete and accurate than for other entries. Frequent loan words are included in the list with an indication of their donor language.

As for the word class of certain entries: although it was argued in chapter 4 that Begak distinguishes between adjectives and stative verbs, this distinction has not been made for the items in this word list. All adjectives and stative verbs are listed as *Vs* ‘stative verb’, as I have not yet checked for each item all its morphological possibilities, which is necessary to determine its (sub) class.

Although this word list is organised on the basis of roots of words, it must be emphasised that many verbs never occur in their root form, as they need affixation in order to appear in conversation. Roots that cannot occur without affixation are marked with an asterisk *. For some verbs that have only one inflected form it is impossible to know the root form. For instance, *koyur* ‘go around’ only occurs as such. We know that /o/ in prefinal position only occurs as result of vowel coalescence of a stem vowel /a/ with the infix -u- (see section 2.4.5.). Therefore it is safe to assume that the hypothetical root is *kayur. However, for a verb such as *madtan* ‘faint’ the phonology does not help: it is not clear whether *madtan* consists of a root *adtan* prefixed with *m-* or of an unaffixed consonant-initial root *madtan*. In this case, the choice for assuming that **adtan* is the root is arbitrary. Another problem arises for verbs with root allomorphy, such as **bunu*’/**unu*’ ‘kill’ where speakers can choose between the AV-forms *məmunu*’ and *məngunu*’ (see section 2.4.2.1). For these verbs, the labial-initial root allomorph serves as entry form. For yet other verb forms it is not clear whether the initial labial is part of the prefix or part of the root, because, even if the labial is part of the root, it is deleted anyway in the Dependent and in the AV. For instance, is it *p-udtung* ‘SF-cut off’ or *pudtung* ‘be cut off’? In both cases the AV is *məngudtung* and the Dependent *muttung*. (see section 6.3.2). Concluding, the choice for a certain root form is sometimes arbitrary.

Most of the entries of verbal roots have a field *pd* ‘paradigm’ which lists the most important possible verb forms. This list is not meant to be exhaustive, but is merely an indication of the verbal class (*gə-*, *bə(g)-* or *məng-*). For active verbal roots, at least the AV-Incompletive form, the Dependent and the UV-Completive Aspect forms are given, in this order. If a verbal root can be used intransitively and transitively, the intransitive form is given first, followed by the AV-Incompletive form, the Dependent and the UV-Completive Aspect forms respectively, for instance *badung* ‘sit’, *məngadung*, *madung*, *nedung* ‘sit on something’. If a verbal root lacks the field *pd* ‘paradigm’, it means that the verb has only one (unaffixed) form, which is identical to the form of the entry.

The abbreviation (fig.) ‘figurative’ indicates that an entry serves as *uni leipid* ‘layered language’ (see section 1.3.4) while archaic entries are marked as such.

Abbreviations used in the word list:

Adv	adverb	Prep	preposition
Dem	demonstrative	Pron	pronoun
Excl	exclamation	Prt	particle
Fig	figurative language, <i>uni lepid</i>	Qnt	quantifier
N	noun	V	verb
Nloc	locative noun	Vi	intransitive verb
Neg	negation	Vs	stative verb or adjective
Prdm	paradigm	Vt	transitive ver

A - a

- a-** *Prefix.* Non-volitive prefix.
- a'** *Excl.* yes.
- *abay** *Vi.* arm in arm. *Prdm:* bəgabay, gəgabay-gabay.
- abit** *N.* nickname for close friends.
— *V.* share nickname. *Prdm:* gəgabit.
- *abpak** *V.* weed. *Prdm:* məngabpak, mabpak, nebpak.
- *abput** *Vi.* bite. *Prdm:* məngabput, mabput, nebput.
- abuk** *N.* dust.
- abur** *N.* companion. *Prdm:* mabur, bəgabur.
- *adam** *Vi.* scratch (writing). *Prdm:* məngadam, madam.
- *adan** *Vi.* measure. *Prdm:* məngadan, madan, padan.
- addot** *N.* custom.
- *addot** *Vi.* serve guests. *Prdm:* bəgaddot, maddot, neddot.
- *addun** *Vi.* knead dough. *Prdm:* məngaddun, maddun, neddun.
- adi** *Dem.* over there.
- adil** *Vs.* just. *From:* Malay.
- *adop** *Vi.* face to face. *Prdm:* məngadop, gəgadop, pəpadop.
- adoy** *Excl.* alas.
- *adtan** *Vi.* faint (people); cheep only once (bird). *Prdm:* madtan.
- *adtik** *Vi.* raise up (to the house, etc).
Prdm: məngadtik, madtik, nedtik, bedtik (raise something up), badtik (ascend).
- *adtung** *Vi.* repeatedly. *Prdm:* madtung.
- *adung** *Vi.* sit. *Prdm:* badung (sit), məngadung, madung, nedung (sit on something).
- aga'** *N.* certain period of time.
— *Vi.* estimate. *Prdm:* məngaga', maga', nega'.
- agamo** *N.* religion. *From:* Malay.
- *agbad** *Vi.* expand. *Prdm:* magbad, kagbad, kogbad.
- *agbag** *Vi.* strike with a club. *Prdm:* məngagbag, magbag, negbag.
- *agbas** *Vi.* weed the yard. *Prdm:* məngagbas, magbas.
- agbot** *N.* small rice basket.
- *agon** *Vi.* strong, do something strongly.
Prdm: pagon (be strong), magon, bagon, bəbagon, məngagon (do something strongly).
- *agow** *Vi.* grab; take away. *Prdm:* bəgagow, magow, negow.
- ai'** *N.* younger sibling.
— *Vi.* treat as younger sibling.
Prdm: bəgai'.
- aji** *N.* pilgrim. *From:* Malay?
- *ajun** *Vi.* swing. *Prdm:* bəgajun.

- ajung** *N.* wooden swing used for rituals.
- *akal** *Vt.* strike with a club. *Prdm:* mængakal, makal, nekal, bekal.
- akay** *exist.* existential.
- akkor** *N.* plan.
— *V.* make plan. *Prdm:* makkor, bægakkor, akkor.
- akod** *N.* upstream.
- akon-akon** *Adv.* suddenly.
- aku** *Pron.* 1st person singular nominative 'I'.
- *aku** *Vt.* pretend. *Prdm:* mængaku.
- *akut** *Vt.* take up one's baggage. *Prdm:* bægakut, makut.
- alag** *Nloc.* beneath.
- alag balay** *N.* space under house.
- alap** *Vt.* get; take; fetch; catch. *Prdm:* mængalap, alap, kəlap, səngalap, abalap.
- *alid** *Vt.* pour out rice with a winnow to remove the chaff. *Prdm:* bəgalid, malid, nelid.
- *alli'** *Vt.* prepare. *Prdm:* məngalli', malli', nelli'.
- allom** *Nloc.* inside.
- alob** *N.* knee.
- *alos** *V.* compensate. *Prdm:* məngalos, malos, nelos, səbalos.
- *alot** *V.* disturb women; flirt. *Prdm:* bəgalot, malot.
- alow** *N.* red durian.
- alud** *N.* boat.
— *V.* ride a boat. *Prdm:* bəgalud.
- alud** *N.* turn inside out (pocket). *Prdm:* məngalud, malud, nelud.
- ama'** *N.* father.
- *amad** *Vt.* sharpen. *Prdm:* bəgamad.
- *ambot** *V.* approach someone with several persons (to catch a person or animal). *Prdm:* bəgambot, mambot, nembot.
- ambur** *N.* false long hair.
- *ambur** *Vt.* scatter. *Prdm:* məngambur, bambur-bambur, mambur.
- *ami'** *Vt.* babysit. *Prdm:* bəgami', nemi'.
- ammog** *N.* blue-black of a bruise.
- *ammol** *Vt.* chew. *Prdm:* məngammol, mammol, nemmol.
- *amot** *Vt.* butcher. *Prdm:* məngamot, mamot, nemot.
- *ana'** *Vt.* shoot with arrow. *Prdm:* məngana', gəgana', nena'.
- anak** *N.* child.
— *V.* bear a child. *Prdm:* bəganak, nenak, panak.
- anak lupid** *Vs.* adolescent.
- anak makon** *N.* niece or nephew.
- anan** *N.* place (person).
- *andu'** *Vt.* know (a person). *Prdm:* pandu', məngandu', mandu', kəpandu', apandu'.
- angas** *N.* forehead.
- angas** *Vi.* whisper. *Prdm:* bəgangas.
- *angas** *Vt.* tear off (something hung up). *Prdm:* məngangas, pangas, nengas, mangas.
- angay** *N.* vocative for people with the same name.
- anggur** *N.* shin.
- angka'** *N.* time, crucial moment.
- *anit** *Vt.* peel with a knife. *Prdm:* mənganit, manit, nenit.
- *annu** *Vi.* suffer from one disease after the other. *Prdm:* məngannu pədtos.
- *annut**
- ano** *Dem.* that.
- antang** *N.* manner; like.
- anting** *N.* ear ring.
- antu** *N.* antu disease.
- anu** *Qnt.* whatever.
- *apa'** *Vt.* hinder. *Prdm:* bəgapa', mapa', nepa'.
- apag** *N.* wok.
- *apak** *V.* make ladder from tree trunk. *Prdm:* məngapak, mapak, nepak.
- apid** *N.* second wife.
— *V.* be second wife. *Prdm:* gegapid.
- apo** *N.* chaff; husk.
- apon** *Neg.* standard sentence negator. Often shortened to *pon*.

- *appa'** *Vt.* chew; masticate. *Prdm:* məngappa', mappa', neppa'.
- *appang** *Vi.* follow riverbank. *Prdm:* mappang, neppang.
- *appas** *Vt.* sweep. *Prdm:* məngappas, neppas, mappas.
- apu'** *N.* ancestor.
- apug** *N.* lime.
- *apung** *Vit.* hide. *Prdm:* məngapung, mapung, nepung.
- apuy** *N.* fire.
— *V.* cook.
- *arab** *Vt.* look for; search. *Prdm:* bəgarab, marab, nerab, səgarab.
- *arap** *Vt.* hope. *Prdm:* marap. *From:* Malay.
- ari** *N.* youngest child.
- ari duo** *N.* Tuesday.
- ari limo** *N.* Friday.
- ari minggu** *N.* Sunday.
- ari nom** *N.* Saturday.
- ari pat** *N.* Thursday.
- ari satu** *N.* Monday.
- ari təllu** *N.* Wednesday.
- aro** *Neg.* negative imperative, don't!
- *arok** *Vt.* smell. *Prdm:* məngarok, marok, parok, kəparok, aparok.
- *arom** *Vs.* illegal. *From:* Malay, Arabic. *Prdm:* nerom.
- asal** *N.* origin. *From:* Malay.
- asar** *Adv.* really.
- asil** *N.* profit. *From:* Malay?
- askar** *N.* soldier. *From:* Malay.
- aspal** *N.* asphalt. *From:* Malay, English.
- asrama** *N.* boarding school. *From:* Malay.
- assar** *N.* floor.
- asu** *N.* dog.
— *V.* hunt with dogs. *Prdm:* məngasu.
- asu gagol** *N.* dog without fur because of ringworm.
- *ata'** *Vt.* look. *Prdm:* məngata', mata', neta', pata', səngata'.
- *atag** *Vt.* support ill person. *Prdm:* məngatag, matag, netag.
- *atak** *Vt.* threw away; leave. *Prdm:* məngatak, matak, netak, betak, batak, abatak.
- atay** *N.* liver.
sannang atay at ease.
tuso atay worried.
sigak atay happy.
panas atay angry; impatient.
gətillab atay heart is beating (fear of heights, fear for an accident).
- ate** *Dem.* this.
- *ati'** *Vt.* snap (archaic). *Prdm:* məngati'.
- atob** *N.* room separated by clothes.
— *V.* lock up a girl in the house. *Prdm:* matob.
- *atong** *Vt.* look around. *Prdm:* matong, patong.
- *atu** *Vt.* oppose. *Prdm:* məngatu, matu, gəgatu.
- au** *N.* ashes.
- *aus** *V.* bring.
— *N. aus.* things brought. *Prdm:* bəgaus, maus, neus, kəkeus, səgaus.
- awak** *N.* waist.
- awal** *Adv.* early. *From:* Malay.
- awan** *N.* sky.
— *Nloc.* outside.
- *awang** *Vt.* open. *Prdm:* məngawang, mawang, newang, bawang, abawang, bewang, pawang.
- awat** *N.* difference.
- *ay** *Vt.* take. *Prdm:* may, məngay, nioy.
- *aya'** *V.* follow. *Prdm:* maya', baya', kəbaya'.
- ayam** *N.* toy.
— *Vit.* play. *Prdm:* bəgayam, mayam, neyam.
- *ayas** *Vi.* look up. *Prdm:* bəgayas, payas.
- ayat** *N.* sentence. *From:* Malay, Arabic.
- ayug** *N.* friend.
— *V.* be friends. *Prdm:* gəgayug.

B - b

- b-** *Prefix.* Middle prefix.
- bab** *N.* light bulb. *From:* English.
- babak** *N.* episode. *From:* Malay.
- babar** *N.* prayer.
— *V.* pray. *Prdm:* babar, mabar.
- babas** *Vs.* fade; loose colour. *Prdm:* babas, gəbabas.
- babpa'** *N.* mouth.
- badas** *N.* honeydew.
- badas kayu** *N.* papaya.
- baddok** *N.* lotion.
- Bagay** *N.* Bajau.
- *bagi** *Vt.* distribute. *From:* Malay? *Prdm:* məngagi, magi, negi, begi.
- bagid** *N.* flintstones; matches.
- bagkang** *N;* *Vi.* branch. *Prdm:* bagkang, bəbagkang.
- bagku** *Vs.* new; again. *Prdm:* bagku, abagku.
- baguy** *Vs.* naked.
- bahayo** *Vs.* dangerous. *From:* Malay.
- baja'** *N.* fertilizer. *From:* Malay?
- baju** *N.* shirt.
— *Vi.* wear a shirt. *Prdm:* gəbaju.
baju lapi' *N.* traditional shirt or blouse.
- bakas** *N.* wild pig.
- baki'** *N.* corn porridge.
- bakkay** *N.* corpse.
- bakkos** *N.* trace.
- bakor** *N.* hard part of flesh of clams (its closure muscles).
- balak** *N.* log. *From:* Malay?
- balay** *N.* house.
- *balik** *Vt.* repeat. *From:* Malay. *Prdm:* malik.
- *ballan** *Vt.* make. *Prdm:* məngallan, mallan, nellan, bellan, səngallan.
- ballon** *N.* noisy gathering.
- balug** *N.* swarm of birds; school of fish.
- baluy** *Vi.* transform oneself. *Prdm:* baluy, boluy.
- bama'** *Vi.* chew betelnut. *Prdm:* bama'.
- banay** *N.* bamboo waterjar.
- bandar** *N.* town. *From:* Malay.
- bandi** *N.* poetry bee for marriage or funeral.
- *banding** *Vt.* compare. *From:* Malay. *Prdm:* manding.
- *banga'** *Vs.* open mouth. *Prdm:* pəbanga'.
- banggu'** *N.* bowl.
- bangku'** *N.* chair.
- banggon** *N.* arm.
- bango** *N.* husk.
- bangog** *Vi.* soak. *Prdm:* bangog.
- bangow** *N.* large egret.
- bangso** *N.* race. *From:* Malay?
- *bantis** *V.* shave eyebrows. *Prdm:* bantis, məngantis.
- *bangun** *Vt.* resurrect. *Prdm:* məngangun, mangun, bongun.
- bangus buat** *Vi.* immediately.
- bannu** *Vs.* pass away (archaic).
- bannut** *N.* coconut fibre.
— *Vt.* peel coconut. *Prdm:* məngannut, mannut, nennut.
- bano** *N.* husband.
— *Vi.* have a husband. *Prdm:* gəbano.
- bantug** *Vs.* well known; boast. *Prdm:* bantug (well known), məngantug (boast).
- *bara'** *Vt.* tell. *Prdm:* məmara'/məngara', mara', bera', nera', s əbara'.
- *baris** *Vi.* line up. *From:* Malay. *Prdm:* bəbaris.
- barong** *Qnt.* whosoever. *From:* Malay?
- barung-barung** *N.* field hut.
- *barut** *Vt.* cut hair; shave. *Prdm:* barut, marut, məngarut, məmarut, berut, nerut.
- bas** *N.* bus. *From:* English, Malay.

- basa'** *Vs.* wet.
- basi** *N.* machete.
- basog** *N.* rice wine.
- *basso** *Vt.* read. *From:* Malay? *Prdm:* mǝngasso, masso, nesso, besso.
- batang** *N.* tree trunk.
- *batin** *Vt.* change clothes. *Prdm:* mǝngatin, matin, netin, batin.
- batong** *Neg.* negative imperative, don't!
- battas** *N.* bridge.
- batu** *N.* stone; mile.
- baul** *N.* wooden box.
- bawo** *Vt.* carry with shoulders. *Prdm:* bawo, mawo.
- bay** *Asp.* perfective.
- baya'** *N.* place.
- *bayo** *Vt.* pay. *Prdm:* mǝngayo / mǝmayo, mayo, neyo / beyo.
- bbang** *N.* just above breasts and under armpit (place to tie a sarong).
- bbat** *N.* border of ricefield. *Prdm:* gǝgǝbbat.
- bbi'** *N.* saliva. *Prdm:* mǝbbi', bǝgǝbbi'.
- bbong** *N.* skin disease which causes white itchy scales all over the body.
- bǝbba' adong** *N.* fire ant.
- bǝbua'** *N.* fruits.
- bǝbuo** *Vi.* sing a lullaby. *Prdm:* bǝbuo.
- bǝbuto** *N.* plant (used at funerals).
- bǝdatan** *N.* monitor lizard.
- bǝ(g)-** *Prefix.* Actor Voice class prefix.
- Bǝgak** *N.* Begak.
- bǝgamong** *Vi.* have breakfast. *Prdm:* bǝgamong, bǝgemong.
- bǝgappak** *Vt.* cut short (hair, wood). *Prdm:* bǝgappak.
- bǝgingot** *Vt.* take others into account. *Prdm:* bǝgingot.
- bǝgkas** *N.* husked rice.
bǝgkas pǝrikpig *N.* half ripe rice that has been boiled and dried and pounded.
- bǝgkat** *Vs.* heavy. *Prdm:* bǝgkat, abǝgkat.
- bǝgko** *Adv.* also.
- bǝgku'** *N.* medicinal plant.
- bǝgubu-sukang** *V.* cure for sickness caused by a curse.
- bebos** *N.* guava.
- bellos** *Vs.* rotten.
- bero-bero** *Vi.* pretend. *Prdm:* bero-bero.
- bǝkalat-bǝkalat** *Vi.* make flowery speech. *Prdm:* bǝkalat-bǝkalat.
- bǝkǝdilap** *Vi.* twinkle. *Prdm:* bǝkǝdilap.
- bǝkǝlipus** *Vi.* go round. *Prdm:* bǝkǝlipus.
- bǝlabat** *Vi.* happen at the same time. *Prdm:* bǝlabat, abǝlabat.
- bǝladut** *Vi.* upside down. *Prdm:* bǝladut.
- bǝlakang** *N.* fence.
 — *V.* make a fence. *Prdm:* mǝlokang.
- bǝlan** *N.* vine.
- bǝlango** *N.* low wide water jar.
- bǝlanja'** *N.* money to spend.
 — *V.* spend. *From:* Malay. *Prdm:* bǝlanja, mǝngǝlanja.
- bǝlatok** *N.* basket carried on the back.
- bǝlenan** *N.* large basket carried on the back.
- bǝligbid-tu-bǝligbid** *Vi.* zigzag. *Prdm:* bǝligbid-tu-bǝligbid.
- bǝlika'** *N.* large basket.
- bǝlingo** *N.* shellless egg.
 — *Vi.* pregnant (fig). *Prdm:* gǝbǝlingo.
- bǝlising** *Vi.* turn around. *Prdm:* bǝlising.
- bǝllu'** *N.* flower (meal); dough.
- bǝlumbang** *N.* waves.
- bǝmbol** *Vs.* have constipation (adults). *Prdm:* bǝmbol, gǝbǝmbol.
- bǝndira** *N.* banner. *From:* Malay.
- bǝngur** *Vi.* cry (archaic). *Prdm:* gǝbǝngur.
- bǝnnor** *Vs.* true.
- bǝnnud** *Vs.* thirsty (archaic).
- bǝnnuk** *N.* addled egg (of a chicken).
- bǝran-bǝran** *N.* female vampire.
- bǝrdi** *N.* bucket. *From:* Malay.
- bǝrǝ(g)-** *Prefix.* Distant Past Prefix.
- bǝrǝkkot** *Vi.* reside with someone. *Prdm:* bǝrǝkkot.
- bǝrǝmatay** *N.* spirits of dead.

- bəreŋg-** *Prefix.* Distant Past Prefix.
- Bərigas** *N.* Berigas.
- bəring-bəring** *Vi.* bright.
- *bəringot** *Vi.* be angry without showing it (fig.). *Prdm:* gəbəringot.
- bəriot** *N.* flash.
- bəris** *N.* sand.
- bərkədtow** *Vi.* go and return in one day.
- bəruan** *N.* person who performs chicke ritual at funeral.
- bəruas** *Vi.* descend from a mountain with river below.
- bərubus** *Vs.* fall (objects), leak. *Prdm:* bərubus, abərubus.
- bərus** *N.* brush.
— *V.* brush. *From:* Malay. *Prdm:* məngərus, mərus, nirus, birus.
- bərusan** *Vi.* urinate in pants.
- bəsaro** *Vi.* discuss. *From:* Malay.
- bəsi** *N.* iron.
- bəssing** *N.* squirrel.
bəssing bəgitom Prevost's squirrel.
bəssing talun plantain squirrel.
- bəsuring** *Vi.* get worse. *Prdm:* bəsuring.
- bəsurut** *Vi.* decline. *Prdm:* bəsurut.
- bətayan** *N.* jetty; dock.
- bəttal** *N.* word.
- bəttan** *N.* harvest basket.
- bəttu'** *N.* very undeeep gorge; valley.
- bəttun** *N.* star.
- bəttut** *Vs.* kneeling upside down. *Prdm:* bəttut, gəbəttut.
- bətuan** *Cl.* classifier for persons.
— *N.* body.
- bətula'** *N.* loofah.
- biag** *Vs.* full (after a meal). *Prdm:* biag.
- biag kkan** *N.* frog that enters houses to eat rice (lit. full of rice).
- bibit** *N.* seed.
- bidan** *N.* midwife. *From:* Malay?
- bidda'** *Vs.* different.
- bil** *N.* bill. *From:* Malay, English.
- bilik** *N.* room. *From:* Malay.
- billod** *N.* broken crushed rice after pounding.
- bilo** *Conj.* when. *From:* Malay.
- bilu** *Vs.* blue. *From:* English, Malay.
- biluk** *Vi.* dance. *Prdm:* biluk, biluk-biluk.
- bimbang** *Vs.* worry. *From:* Malay.
- bing** *N.* bank. *From:* English, Malay.
- bio** *prep.* and; with.
- bisan** *N.* parents whose children have intermarried.
— *V.* be parents whose children have intermarried. *Prdm:* bəbisan.
- Bisaya'** *N.* Bisaya.
- biskal** *N.* bike. *From:* English, Malay.
- biso** *N.* poison.
- bit** *N.* wallet.
- bitis** *N.* shin.
- bius** *Vs.* anesthetized. *From:* Malay.
- bobo** *N.* hand bag.
- bogbod** *N.* wild star fruit.
bogbod bəlimbing *N.* star fruit.
- borok** *N.* leprozy.
- bow** *N.* horn of hornbill.
- bowon** *N.* sparrow; *Passer montanus malaccensis.*
bowon bəgkang brown sparrow.
bowon bəssir dark brown sparrow.
bowon bura' white feathered sparrow.
bowon kətudom black sparrow.
bowon silong Malay loriquet;
Loriculus galgulus galgulus.
- bowong** *N.* onion.
- bowong puti'** *N.* garlic.
- boyan** *N.* hen.
- boyo** *N.* crocodile.
- bpas niug** *N.* waste of coconut.
- bpo** *Vs.* suddenly come.
- *bpob** *Vt.* steam; smoke. *Prdm:* məngəbpob, məbpob, nibpob, abpob.
- bpos** *Adv.* after; passed away (fig.).
- *bpot** *Vt.* wait for someone. *Prdm:* məngəbpot, məbpot, nibpot.
- bpow** *N.* smell.
— *V.* stink. *Prdm:* bəgəbpow.
- *bpu'** *Vs.* spoil. *Prdm:* abpu', bəgəbpu'.
- bpuk** *N.* hair.

- *bpuk** *Vs.* dizzy; drunk. *Prdm:* abpuk, bəgəbpuk.
- bpung** *N.* former time.
— *V.* earlier. *Prdm:* bpung, kəbpung.
- buā'** *N.* fruit.
- buag** *Vi.* cat; pronounce. *Prdm:* buag, gəbuag.
- buat** *Vs.* long (length). *Prdm:* buat, abuat, səbuat, təbuat.
- buay** *Vs.* long (time). *Prdm:* buay, abuay.
- bubuk** *N.* insects in the rice.
- bubun** *N.* crown of the head.
- buduk** *N.* taro.
- Bugis** *N.* Bugis.
- bugol** *N.* alone, self.
- buk** *N.* book.
- *bukag** *Vt.* open. *Prdm:* bukag (open by itself) məngukag, mukag, bikag, pukag (open something).
- *bukkas** *Vt.* unstitch woven basketry. *Prdm:* bukkas (become unstitched) məngukkas, mukkas, bikkas (unstitch something).
- bukku'-bukku'** *Vs.* have a dowager's hump.
- *bukul** *Vt.* beat (person). *Prdm:* məngukul/məbukul, mukul, nikul/bikul.
- bula'** *N.* ball. *From:* Malay.
- bulan** *N.* month.
- bulan-bulan** *N.* round cake fried in oil.
- bulat** *Vs.* round. *From:* Malay.
- buləkəkkom** *N.* bug with many legs.
- buli** *Aux. can.* *From:* Malay.
- bulig** *N.* rice ear.
- *bullog** *Vs.* blue eyed. *Prdm:* gəbullog.
- bulo** *Vt.* plant. *Prdm:* bulo, mulo, bilo.
- bulu** *N.* fur.
- bulud** *N.* hill.
- *bummur** *Vi.* rinse the mouth. *Prdm:* bummur, məngummur, nimur.
- bun** *N.* bottle.
- bunggung** *Vt.* perch. *Prdm:* bunggung.
- bungkan** *Vs.* featherless (chicken).
- bungo** *N.* flower.
- bungun** *Vs.* deaf.
- bunsud** *N.* fishing trap.
- buntas** *Vs.* starved. *Prdm:* buntas, gəbuntas.
- *bunu'** *Vt.* kill. *Prdm:* məmunu/məngunu', munu', binu'/ninu'.
- buol-buol** *Vi.* stick out.
- buow** *Vt.* chase birds from rice field. *Prdm:* buow.
- bura'** *Vs.* white feathered.
- buris** *N.* unhusked rice grains.
- burod** *Vs.* blind.
- busol** *N.* boil.
busol birit *N.* small boil in the eye.
- busu'** *Vs.* angry. *Prdm:* busu', musu', bisu'.
- busung** *N.* curse.
- buta'** *N.* earth.
- butit** *Vs.* belly is growing. *Prdm:* butit, abutit.
- butong** *Vs.* rotten (uncooked food, plants or flesh). *Prdm:* butong, gəbutong.
- butor** *Vs.* gaze. *Prdm:* butor, bəbutor.
- butot-butot** *Vs.* round.
- buttas** *N.* small lake.
- butus** *Vi.* smoke.
- buyong** *Vi.* grumble; grouse. *Prdm:* gəbuyong.
- buyu** *N.* betel vine.

C - c

- *cek** *Vt.* check. *From:* English. *Prdm:* məngəcek, məcek, nicek.
- ceking** *N.* police checking.

D - d

- da** *Asp.* progressive aspect.
- dadān** *Qnt.* all.
- dadi** *Prt.* so. *From:* Malay.
- *dagang** *Vt.* buy. *Prdm:* gədagang, dogang, degang.
- *dagow** *Vi.* look by stretching the head. *Prdm:* gədagow.
- *dalam** *Vi.* mourn. *Prdm:* dolam.
- dalan** *N.* main road.
dalan gayo
- dali'** *N.* flood.
- dalir** *Vs.* think. *Prdm:* dalir, gədalir, bəgədalir.
- dallay** *Vs.* slow. *Prdm:* dallay, dallay-dallay.
- dallom** *Vs.* deep. *Prdm:* dallom.
- *dalud** *Vi.* wait. *Prdm:* gədalud, dolud, delud.
- *dalun** *Vt.* roll up a mat. *Prdm:* gədalun.
- damar** *N.* resinous wood.
- dami** *N.* rice stalk.
- damok** *N.* damok tree.
- dan** *Adv.* yet.
- *danggar** *Vt.* ram. *Prdm:* gədanggar.
- *dangol** *Vt.* inset a piece of wood to support something. *Prdm:* gədangol, dongol, dangol.
- danow** *N.* lake.
- *dappit** *Vi.* stop for a while. *Prdm:* doppit, deppit, kədappit.
- *daptar** *Vt.* register. *From:* Malay. *Prdm:* məndaptar, doptar, deptar.
- *darak** *Vi.* travel. *Prdm:* dorak.
- *darang** *Vi.* warm body. *Prdm:* gədarang.
- darjah** *N.* class, form, standard. *From:* Malay.
- datu'** *N.* sire. *From:* Malay.
- daun** *N.* leaf.
- *dawang** *Vi.* look out of the window to stretch the legs and breathe some fresh air. *Prdm:* gədawang.
- dawat** *N.* ink. *From:* Malay.
- daway** *N.* wire. *From:* Malay.
- *dawot** *Vi.* reply. *Prdm:* gədawot.
- Dayangpukli** *N.* Dayangpukli, name of a princess.
- dayo** *Vs.* rich.
- dda'** *N.* blood.
— *V.* bleed. *Prdm:* adda', bəgədda'.
- ddan** *N.* branch (tree).
- ddat** *Vs.* bad. *Prdm:* ddat.
- ddu'** *N.* juice; broth.
— *V.* make into broth. *Prdm:* məngəddu', məddu', niddu'.
- deip** *Vs.* astonished. *From:* Malay. *Prdm:* deip, gədeip.
- dendam** *N.* resentment. *From:* Malay.
- dendi** *N.* vow. *From:* Malay.
- denop** *N.* knife.
- dero** *N.* rolled cake.
- derum** *N.* needle. *From:* Malay 'jarum'.
- dewo** *N.* deiwo weed.
- deya'** *Vs.* spoilt.
- deyow** *Adv.* may you.
- dəlas** *Vs.* steep, sloping.
- dəllay** *N.* maize; corn.
— *Vi.* grow corn. *Prdm:* gədəllay.
- *dəllu'** *Vi.* descend. *Prdm:* dullu', dəllu', dəmullu', sədəllu'.
- dəllus** *Vs.* burn.
- *dəmus** *Vt.* bathe a baby. *Prdm:* gədəmus, dumus.
- Dəra'** *N.* Dera'.
- dərip** *Vi.* drive. *From:* English. *Prdm:* gədərip.
- dərom** *N.* barrel. *From:* English.
- di'** *Prep.* preposition for locations far away.
- digabpi** yesterday. *Adv.*
- digabpi satu** the day before yesterday. *Adv.*
- dila'** *N.* tongue.
- *dili'** *Vt.* choose. *Prdm:* gədili', dəmili'.

- dənili'.
- *dirik** *Vt.* clear field. *Prdm:* gədirik, dəmirik, dənirik.
- domar** *Vs.* full moon. *Prdm:* domar.
- dongay** *Vi.* process. *Prdm:* dongay.
- doto** *N.* good spirit.
- *dta'** *Vt.* extinguish (fire). *Prdm:* mədta', məngədta', nidta'.
- dtan** *Vs.* old. *Prdm:* dtan.
- dtat** *N.* species of sharp weed.
- *dtat** *Vt.* open eyes. *Prdm:* mədtat, bədtat, nidtat.
- *dtit** *V.* uncover vagina. *Prdm:* bədtit, nidtit,
- dtom** *N.* bile; gall.
- *dtong** *Vt.* close eyes. *Prdm:* bədtong, mədtong, məngədtong, bidtong.
- *dtop** *Vt.* light up; turn on light. *Prdm:* dtop, mədtop, məngədtop, nidtop.
- dtow** *N.* day; sun.
- *dtu'** *Vs.* far. *Prdm:* ədtu', adtu', bəgədtu', səgədtu'.
- *dua'** *V.* pray. *Prdm:* dəmua'.
- *dudung** *Vt.* carry on the head. *Prdm:* gədudung, dəmudung, didung.
- dugor** *Vs.* worry. *Prdm:* dugor, gədugor.
- duktur** *N.* doctor. *From:* English, Malay.
- dukut** *N.* weed.
— *V.* weed. *Prdm:* gədukut.
- *dulang** *Vt.* serve. *Prdm:* gədulang, dəmulang, dilang.
- *duli** *Vt.* mind. *From:* Malay. *Prdm:* pəduli, ngəduli, nədili.
- dullok** *Vs.* overflowing. *Prdm:* dullok.
- dullun** *Adv.* continuously.
- dungit** *N.* dirt from body.
- dunyo** *N.* world. *From:* Malay?
- duo** *Num.* two.
- dupong** *Vs.* foolish. *Prdm:* dupong.
- duran** *Excl.* now you know!
- *duruk** *Vi.* grow second rice crop. *Prdm:* gəduruk.
- duruy** *N.* deep part of the river.
- Dusun** *N.* Dusun.

E - e

- ennak** *N.* fat.
- estet** *N.* estate. *From:* English.
- əm-** *Infix.* Dependent.
- ən-** *Infix.* Completive Aspect.
- ər-** *Infix.* Reciprocal.

G - g

- gabag** *Vs.* placed crosswise. *Prdm:* gabag, bəgabag.
- *gabar** *Vi.* flare up; become angry. *Prdm:* gabor.
- gabir-tu-gabir** *Vt.* hold in hand close to body.
- gabpi** *N.* night.
- gabpon** *N.* small cloth mask for dead body.
- gabur** *Vi.* spend the night. *Prdm:* gabur, gebur.
- gaddung** *Vs.* green.
- gagal** *Vs.* fail. *From:* Malay.
- gagas** *Vs.* skin is peeled off. *Prdm:* gagas.
- gagko** *Adv.* quick.
- gaid** *N.* itch of rice.
- gaji** *N.* salary. *From:* Malay, English.
- gajo** *Vs.* big.
- *gajud** *Vt.* drag people. *Prdm:* bəgajud, gojud, gejud.
- *gaking** *Vt.* hang with rope. *Prdm:* bəgaking, goking, geking.
- *gakop** *Vt.* put arms around. *Prdm:* bəgakop, gokop, gekop.
- galuy** *Vs.* child like; senile; mentally behind. *Prdm:* galuy.

- gam** *Prt.* question marker, dubitative marker.
- gambar** *N.* picture, take pictures. *From:* Malay. *Prdm:* bəgambar, gombar, gembar.
- gambat** *Vs.* lie. *Prdm:* gambat, bəgambat.
- *gambus** *Vi.* nagging; troublesome. *Prdm:* bəgambus, səgambus.
- gamo** *N.* married couple.
— *V.* be a married couple. *Prdm:* gəgamo.
- *gan** *Vs.* light (weight). *Prdm:* agan, pəpəgan.
- gana'** *Vs.* carefully. *Prdm:* gana'-gana'.
- ganak apu'** *N.* descentence.
- ganak missan** *N.* cousin.
- gangit** *Vs.* tangled up. *Prdm:* gangit, agangit, gəgangit.
- gangkul** *Vs.* half ripe (coconut). *Prdm:* gangkul.
- *gani** *Vt.* harvest. *Prdm:* bəgani, goni, geni.
- ganta'** *Adv.* very.
- *ganti** *Vt.* replace. *From:* Malay. *Prdm:* bəganti, gonti, genti.
- gantong** *N.* 4,54 liter. *From:* Malay?
- gantung** *Vt.* hang.
- gapid** *Vi.* have two wives. *Prdm:* gapid, bəgapid.
- gapol** *N.* twins.
- gapot** *Vt.* face the direction of. *Prdm:* gapot, gopot, bəgapot.
- gapu'** *Vs.* decayed. *Prdm:* gapu', gopu'.
- *gapus** *Vt.* tie up an ennemy with a rope around a tree. *Prdm:* bəgapus, gopus.
- *garab** *Vi.* hunt. *Prdm:* gorab.
- gara'-gara'** *Adv.* in the end.
- garing-arang** *Excl.* O my wife! (during wailing only).
- garut** *Vs.* hoarse. *Prdm:* garut, agarut.
- *gasa'** *Vi.* shout. *Prdm:* bəgasa', gosa', gesa'.
- gatang** *N.* dowry.
- gaud** *N.* paddle.
- gaun** *N.* smoke.
- *gaung** *Vi.* trumpet (elephant sound). *Prdm:* bəgaung.
- gaut** *N.* gout.
- gawang** *Vs.* damaged at the tip.
- gaway** *N.* goal.
- gayan** *N.* size.
- gayang** *N.* long bushknife.
- gayo** *Vs.* big.
- gban** *N.* jungle.
- *gbog** *Vs.* break. *Prdm:* agbog, məngəgbog, məgbog, nigbog, səngəgbog.
- *gbud** *Vs.* burst open. *Prdm:* agbud, məngəgbud, məgbud.
- gə-** *Prefix.* Actor Voice class prefix.
- gəbpa'** *Vs.* collapse. *Prdm:* gəbpa'.
- gədano** *Adv.* in this way.
- gədate** *Adv.* in this way.
- gədin** *Vs.* catch up with someone. *Prdm:* gədin, gəgədin.
- gədino** *Adv.* in this way.
- gədtam** *Vs.* remember. *Prdm:* gədtam, agədtam, bəgədtam.
- gədtan** *N.* stairs.
- gəgedtar** *Vi.* sit side by side. *Prdm:* gəgedtar.
- gəgəttup** *Vi.* split in two like a betelnut.
- gəgidu'** *Vi.* move.
- gəgingu'** *Vi.* shake (tooth). *Prdm:* gəgingu'.
- gəgko** *Vs.* have a miscarriage(child). *Prdm:* gəgko, agəgko, bəgəgko.
- gegka'** *Vt.* boil (bananas). *Prdm:* gəmegka', gənegka'.
- gepag** *Vt.* order in rows. *Prdm:* gəmepag, gənepag, gənərepag, gəmərepag.
- ges** *N.* gas. *From:* Malay.
- geud** *N.* porridge.
— *Vt.* turn into porridge. *Prdm:* gəmeud.
- gəlamud** *V.* mix. *Prdm:* gəlamud, gənəlemud, gəlomud, gəməlomud.
- gəlar** *Vt.* give nickname. *From:* Malay. *Prdm:* gular.
- gəlas** *N.* glass. *From:* Malay.

- gələmay** *N.* type of small bird.
gəllu *N.* pestle.
gəlong *N.* bangle.
gəmaran *N.* whetstone.
gəməra'-gəməra' *Vi.* dress up (women).
gəmmis *Vs.* conscious.
gəmonay-gəmonay *Vi.* dress up (men).
***gəngnguk** *Vi.* scream. *Prdm:* gungnguk.
gərawo *N.* spirit; breath; enthusiasm; feeling.
gajo gərawo love someone very much.
kəlu' gərawo hart's wish.
tuso gərawo worry.
arat gərawo offended, hurt.
pədtos gərawo angry.
bulud gərawo like to do something very much (archaic). *V.* breathe. *Prdm:* gərowo.
gərəbid-gərəbid *Vs.* with diagonal stripes.
gərəbuta' *V.* walk. *Prdm:* gərəbuta'.
gərəgbit-tu-gərəgbit *Vi.* argue shouting.
gərəkkak-tu-gərəkkak *Vi.* many people laughing.
gərgadi *N.* saw.
gərija' / gəreja' *N.* church. *From:* Malay.
gəropan *Vs.* hungry. *Prdm:* gəropan.
gəruap-tu-gəruap *Vi.* chat noisily.
***gərubang** *Vt.* sew all seeds in one hole. *Prdm:* gənəribang, gəmərubang.
gəruko-tu-gəruko *Vi.* constantly talking.
gərukut-tu-gərukut *Vi.* rummage about.
gərunay *Pron.* self.
gəruyong-tu-gəruyong *Vi.* buzz of many people.
gəssang *N.* sweat. — *Vi.* sweat. *Prdm:* gussang.
***gətung** *Vt.* fast beat (play gong for announcing death). *Prdm:* gutung, gitung.
ggud niug *N.* edible soft part of a palm shoot.
giay *Vs.* hang down (objects); slovenly (people). *Prdm:* giay, giay-giay, gəriay-gəriay.
- gibang** *N.* left.
gibod-ibod *Vs.* go to and fro. *Prdm:* gibod-ibod, agibod-gibod.
***gigir** *Vt.* pound gently. *Prdm:* bəgigir.
***gigki'** *Vt.* cut in parts. *Prdm:* bəgigki', gəmigki'.
***giking** *Vt.* hang something with a rope. *Prdm:* bəgiking, gəmiking.
***giling** *Vt.* grind. *Prdm:* bəgiling, gəmiling, gəniling.
gindok-indok *Vi.* tiptoe. *Prdm:* gindok-indok.
gini *Adv.* more or less.
ginis *N.* sort. *From:* Malay, Arabic.
gino *N.* wife and children.
ginon *N.* child (fig.).
ginsu *N.* lipstick. *From:* Malay.
gittan *N.* use.
***giung** *Vi.* shake (tree). *Prdm:* bəgiung.
***gka'** *Vt.* squeeze out; wring out. *Prdm:* məngəgka', məgka', nigka'.
gkang təgərang *Vi.* shout (eg. football players to each other).
***gkas** *Vs.* burned. *Prdm:* agkas.
***gkay** *Vt.* give. *Prdm:* məngəgkay, məgkay, nigkay, bigkay.
gking *N.* supernatural power. — *Vs.* miraculous. *Prdm:* agking.
***gkog** *Vi.* jealous. *Prdm:* bəgəgkog.
***gkom** *Vt.* soak (non edible items). *Prdm:* məngəgkom, məgkom, nigkom.
gkot *Vt.* work; hold. *Prdm:* məngəgkot, məgkot, nigkot.
gkot *N.* work.
gkun *N.* village. — *V.* live in a village. *Prdm:* bəgəgkun.
gkung *N.* large gong.
gkut *N.* cleared land that is ready to be burnt.
gobpi *N.* afternoon.
gongan *N.* fresh water prawn.
goyan *N.* nuclear family.
gua' *N.* cave.
***guad** *Vi.* vomit. *Prdm:* gəmuad.

- guang** *N.* chest cavity.
gubong-gubong *Vs.* upside down.
gubor *Vs.* noisy. *Prdm:* gubor, gəməbor.
gugku' *N.* big hole.
gugkuy *Excl.* what can you do?
gugur *N.* piercing.
gula' batu *N.* candy. *From:* Malay.
gulla' *Vi.* divorce.
gulo *Adv.* first.
gulu *Vs.* front. *Prdm:* gulu, kəgulu.
***guna'** *Vt.* stir. *Prdm:* gəmunə'.
- guno** *N.* use. *From:* Malay?
gunting *N.* scissors.
— *Vt.* cut with scissors. *Prdm:* bəgunting, gəmunting, ginting.
guog *Vs.* stay. *Prdm:* guog, məngəguog, aguog.
***guring** *Vt.* fry. *Prdm:* bəguring, gəmuring, giring.
guro *N.* cane sugar.
***guru** *Vt.* learn. *Prdm:* bəguru, gəmuru, bəguru, giru, məngəguru.

H - h

- hal** *N.* matter. *From:* Malay.

I - i

- i-** *Infix.* Completive Aspect.
***iang** *V.* separate. *Prdm:* biang, miang, məngiang, bəbiang.
***iap** *Vt.* count. *Prdm:* məngiap, miap, niap.
iba' *N.* wild starfruit.
***ida'** *Vt.* rape. *Prdm:* bida', məngida', nida'.
Ida'an *N.* Ida'an.
***iday** *Vt.* dry in the sun. *Prdm:* məngiday, miday, niday.
***idir** *V.* collide, clash. *Prdm:* məngidir, nidir.
***idtām** *Vt.* borrow, lend. *Prdm:* məngidtām, midtām, nidtām (borrow), məngəpidtām, pəpidtām, nəpidtām (lend).
***idtus** *V.* take out. *Prdm:* bidtus (fall out), abidtus, midtus, məngidtus (take out).
***iduk** *Vt.* put on the fire. *Prdm:* məngiduk, niduk, miduk.
idus *N.* bush knife.
ie' *Excl.* vocative for younger sibling.
igbit *Vs.* lift. *Prdm:* igbit.
igkang *N.* cornfield.
- *V.* grow something on a cornfield. *Prdm:* bəgigkang.
ikar *N.* acre.
***ikas** *Vt.* wipe something off the table out of anger. *Prdm:* məngikas, mikas.
***ikod** *Vi.* cough. *Prdm:* bəgikod.
ikow *Pron.* 2nd person singular nominative 'you'.
ikpa' *Vt.* put down something heavy. *Prdm:* mikpa'.
ikug *N.* tail.
***ila'** *Vt.* split; operate (surgery). *Prdm:* məngila', mila', nila', bila'.
***ilag** *Vi.* shine. *Prdm:* məngilag.
***ilow** *Vi.* look down. *Prdm:* bəgilow, pilow.
ilun *N.* other people.
imbo-imbo *Adv.* maybe.
ina' *N.* mother.
***indang** *V.* tear. *Prdm:* pindang (be torn), məngindang, mindang (tear).
indon *N.* thinking.
— *V.* think. *Prdm:* mindon, məngindon, pindon, pəngindon.
indus *N.* rice scoop.
inga' *Neg.* Sentence negator. Short form

- of *ninga'*.
- *ingat** *V.* open something narrow. *Prdm:* mingat, bingat.
- inggos** *Qnt.* all.
- *ingog** *Vt.* hear. *Prdm:* mingog, mangingog, kingog, akingog, ningog.
- *ingut** *Vt.* force. *Prdm:* bægingut, mingut, ningut.
- *init** *Vt.* economize. *Prdm:* mænginit, minit.
- inni'** *N.* grandparent; ancestor.
- ino** *Dem.* yonder.
- *inum** *Vt.* drink. *Prdm:* mænginum, minum, ninum, kinum, kəkinum, pinum, kəpinum, bərenginum.
- io'** *N.* older sibling.
— *V.* call someone 'older sibling'.
Prdm: bægio'.
- *iow** *Vi.* meow. *Prdm:* mængiow.
- ipos** *N.* leopard.
- ipos-ipos** *N.* cockroach.
- *ipot** *Vt.* watch and wait for something.
Prdm: bægipot, mipot, nipot.
- *ippon** *V.* look for medicine plant. *Prdm:* mængippon, mippon.
- *ippus** *V.* finish. *Prdm:* mippus, mængippus, nippus.
- ipus** *N.* nape; back of neck.
- *irat** *Vt.* imitate. *Prdm:* mængirat; irat-irat.
- *iris** *Vt.* slice. *From:* Malay? *Prdm:* məngiris, miris, niris.
- iro** *Qnt.* Collectivity marker 'X and company'.
- irok** *N.* armpit.
- irung** *N.* nose.
- isan** *N.* border with forest.
- iskul** *N.* school. *From:* English.
— *Vt.* send to school. *Prdm:* məngəpiskul, pəpiskul, nəpiskul.
- Islom** *N.* Islam. *From:* Malay.
- *isol** *Vi.* rub eyes. *Prdm:* misol.
- *issa'** *Vt.* put; place. *Prdm:* missa', məngissa', nissa'.
- *issi'** *Vt.* tear (cloth). *Prdm:* bissi' (be torn), məngissi' (tear).
- *issog** *V.* move. *Prdm:* bissog (move), kissog, missog, məngissog, nissog (move something).
- *isud** *Vt.* bring someone. *Prdm:* bægisud, misud, nisud, (a)pisud.
- iting** *N.* string of a rice ear.
- *ittat** *Vt.* lift. *Prdm:* məngittat, mittat, nittat.
- *itti'** *Vt.* pour. *Prdm:* məngitti', mitti', nitti'.
- ittoy** *Adv.* little.
- itung** *Adv.* almost.
- *iud** *V.* move up. *Prdm:* biud, məngiud, miud.
- *iwas** *Vi.* return. *Prdm:* miwas, kiwas.
- *iwod** *Vt.* go home (archaic). *Prdm:* miwod.

J - j

- ja'** *Adv.* merely. *From:* Malay?
- jadi** *Adv; Vi.* so; become. *From:* Malay.
- *jago** *Vt.* watch. *From:* Malay. *Prdm:* gəjago.
- jam** *N.* hour; watch. *From:* Malay.
- *jamin** *Vt.* guarantee. *From:* Malay. *Prdm:* gəjamin, jomin.
- janggut** *N.* beard. *From:* Malay.
- *janji** *Vt.* promise. *From:* Malay. *Prdm:* gəjanji, jənji.
- jantoy** *N.* tobacco.
- jəlanda'** *N.* soursop. *From:* Malay?
- jəli'** *Vs.* multicolour with varied stripes.
- jəmurān** *N.* drying place. *From:* Malay.
- jəndila** *N.* window. *From:* Malay.
- jil** *N.* jail.
— *V.* put in jail. *From:* Malay, English. *Prdm:* məjil.

- jinjir** *N.* type of vegetable that grows in ditches.
- *judi** *Vi.* gamble. *From:* Malay? *Prdm:* gəjudi.

K - k

- k-** *Prefix.* Actor Voice Non-volitive.
- ka** *Prt.* discourse particle
- kaba'** *N.* crab.
- kabbun** *N.* garden.
— *V.* grow cashcrops in a garden.
Prdm: bəkabbun.
- *kabling** *Vi.* carry in hand. *Prdm:* kobing, bəkabing, kebing.
- kad** *N.* card. *From:* English, Malay.
- Kadajan** *N.* Kadazan.
- kadang-kadang** *Adv.* sometimes. *From:* Malay.
- kadday** *N.* shop. *From:* Malay?
- kadong** *Vs.* short. *Prdm:* kadong, pəkadong.
- kadut** *N.* rice sack.
- *kagbut** *Vi.* hold with fingertips. *Prdm:* bəkagbut, kogbut.
- kagok** *Vs.* boil. *Prdm:* kagok.
- kagom** *Vs.* sink. *Prdm:* kagom.
- *kagor** *Vi.* talk like a dead person. *Prdm:* bəkagor.
- *kagut** *Vi.* scrape on coconut scraping bench. *Prdm:* bəkagut, kogut, kegut.
- *kait** *Vi.* knock down (fruit) with a long pole. *Prdm:* bəkait, koit, keit.
- kak** *N.* crow.
- kaki limo** *N.* veranda. *From:* Malay.
- *kakkab** *Vi.* cool down a curse. *Prdm:* bəkakkab, kokkab, kekkab.
- *kakkam** *Vi.* feeling around. *Prdm:* bəkakkam, kokkam, kekkam.
- kakkang** *N.* young of tiger.
- *kakkas** *Vi.* rake up. *Prdm:* bəkakkas.
- kakkot** *Vs.* dry (river). *Prdm:* kakkot, akakkot.
- kako** *Vs.* eldest (of two persons).
— *V.* be siblings. *Prdm:* bəkako.
- kakong-kakong** *Excl.* O my husband!
- (wailing only).
- kalay** *Aux.* don't want. *Prdm:* kalay, kolay.
- *kali** *Vi.* dig. *Prdm:* bəkali, koli, keli.
- kalibambang** *N.* butterfly.
- *kaluk** *Vi.* visit. *Prdm:* koluk, keluk.
- *kalun** *Vi.* go (archaic). *Prdm:* bəkalun.
- kalut** *Vs.* with stripes in different colours.
- kamang** *N.* necklace.
- kambing** *N.* goat.
- kambor** *Adv.* perhaps.
- kamman** *N.* uncle.
- kamo** *N.* mattress.
- kampu'** *Vs.* defeated. *Prdm:* kampu'.
- kampus** *Vs.* out of breath. *Prdm:* kampus, akampus.
- kan** *Prt.* isn't it? *From:* Malay.
- kanak-kanak** *Vs.* small.
- *kandik** *Vi.* go upstream. *Prdm:* kondik.
- kandit** *N.* sash.
- kangguy** *Vs.* trip over something.
- *kanut** *Vi.* pull. *Prdm:* bəkanut, konut, kenut.
- kapir** *N.* pagan. *From:* Malay, Arabic.
- kapo** *N.* axe.
- kapor** *N.* ship.
- *kappang** *Vi.* crawl. *Prdm:* koppang.
- kappu'** *Vs.* position of a person playing or studying on the floor.
- kapuk** *N.* cotton.
- karan** *N.* electricity. *From:* English, Malay.
- *karap** *Vi.* crawl. *Prdm:* korap.
- *karat** *Vi.* spread. *Prdm:* bəkarat, korat.
- karis** *N.* kris.
- karit** *N.* pray after burrying the coffin.
- karow** *Vs.* get bags under the eyes. *Prdm:* karow, bəkarow.
- karut** *N.* wild cat.

- ***karut** *Vt.* scratch. *Prdm:* bəkarut, korut, kerut.
- kaset** *N.* casset. *From:* English.
- ***kasi'** *Vt.* tie up coffin. *Prdm:* bəkasi', kosi'.
- kassa'** *N.* bottle; glass. *From:* Malay, Sanskrit.
- ***kassol** *Vi.* feeling around in water to look for water snails. *Prdm:* bəkassol.
- ***kassow** *Vt.* disturb. *Prdm:* bəkassow, kossow, kessow.
- kasu'** *N.* foot.
- kat** *Prt.* Core Development Marker.
- ***kati** *Vt.* tease. *Prdm:* bəkati, koti, kərati.
- katol** *Vs.* itch. *Prdm:* katol.
- kattung** *N.* frog.
- katun** *N.* cartoon.
- ***kaung** *Vt.* collect and burn in heaps trunks and branches left after the first burning of newly felled jungle. *Prdm:* bəkaung, koung, keung.
- kaut** *N.* cloud.
- ***kaut** *V.* tasten, to dig. *Prdm:* bəkaut, kout, keut.
- ***kauy** *Vt.* roast without oil. *Prdm:* bəkauy, kouy, keuy.
- kawa'** *N.* large wok.
- kawat** *N.* wire.
- kawin** *Vi.* marry (people), crossbreed (trees). *From:* Malay. *Prdm:* kawin, kewin.
- kawong** *Vs.* suddenly disappear. *Prdm:* kawong, kərawong-rawong.
- ***kawor** *Vt.* take (ask someone to pass something on). *Prdm:* bəkawor, kowor, kewor.
- ***kayag** *Vt.* follow. *Prdm:* bəkayag, koyag, keyag.
- ***kayan** *Vt.* clothe dead body. *Prdm:* məngəkayan, məkoyan, nəkeyan.
- kayang-kayang** *Vs.* upsidedown. *Prdm:* kayang-kayang.
- kayu** *N.* tree; wood.
- ***kayu'** *Vi.* swim like a fish. *Prdm:* koyu'.
- ***kayur** *Vi.* go around. *Prdm:* koyur.
- kə-** *Prefix.* Actor Voice Non-volitive.
- kəbpang** *N.* well.
- ***kəbpit** *Vt.* touch (to draw someone's attention). *Prdm:* bəkəbpit.
- kədayow** *N.* prosperity.
- kədəmon** *N.* disgust; on edge for seeing something strange.
- kədiras** *N.* ringworn.
- kədo** *N.* nickname with which animals in stories address each other.
- ***kədtit** *Vt.* take out stomach of a fish. *Prdm:* bəkədtit, kudtit, kidtit.
- kədtop** *N.* eyelashes.
- ***kədtut** *Vt.* pinch. *Prdm:* bəkədtut, kudtut, kidtut, kərədtut.
- ***kəbul** *Vt.* salten wild pig meat. *Prdm:* kəmebul, kənebul, bəkəbul.
- kemot** *N.* end of world. *From:* Arabic, Malay 'kiamat'.
- key** *Prt.* particle marking focus.
- ***kəkkong** *Vt.* draw in legs. *Prdm:* kukkong, kikkong.
- kəkumpol** *Vs.* gathered on a spot. *Prdm:* kəkumpol.
- kəkuran** *N.* bench for scraping coconut.
- ***kəlakkong** *Vt.* hold tight. *Prdm:* bəkəlakkong, kəlökkong.
- kəlalang** *N.* pumpkin.
- kəlambu'** *N.* mosquito net. *From:* Malay.
- kələpa sawit** *N.* oil palmtree. *From:* Malay.
- ***kələsag** *V.* plait. *Prdm:* bəkələsag.
- ***kələwat** *Vt.* coil a rope. *Prdm:* kəmələwat, kələwat.
- kəlayon** *Vs.* fade away (light). *Prdm:* kəlayon.
- kələbpon** *N.* poor thing.
- kələgbungan** *N.* ridgepole.
- kələnenon** *Adv.* o'clock sharp.
- ***kələkkom** *Vi.* roll up (animals). *Prdm:* bəkələkkom, kəmələkkom.
- kəlias** *Vs.* shocked, pounding (liver). *Prdm:* bəkəlias atay.
- kəlikan** *N.* instrument to catch crocodiles.
- kəlinik** *N.* clinic. *From:* Malay, English.

- ***kallob** *Vi.* crawl. *Prdm:* kullob.
- ***kəlos** *Vt.* roll up a mat. *Prdm:* bəkəlos.
- kəlu'** *N.* desire.
- kəluarga** *N.* family. *From:* Malay.
- kəlukub** *N.* corn leaf that covers the fruit; shirt (fig.).
- kəlumon** *Vs.* honoured. *Prdm:* kəlumon.
- kəlunggot** *Vs.* curled (hair). *Prdm:* kəlunggot.
- kəmənno** *N.* feeling.
- kəmmi** *Pron.* 1st person plural exclusive nominative or genitive.
- kəmmon** *Adv.* just now.
- kəmo** *Conj.* as for; quote marker; if, when.
- Kəmukun** *N.* Tungku.
- kəmulid** *Excl.* long may (s)he/live.
- kənanan** *N.* kitchen utensils.
- kəneat** *Vs.* flowery (speech). *Prdm:* bəkəneat, səkəneat.
- kə(ngə)-** *Prefix.* abstract deverbial noun.
- kənio-nio** *Vs.* respectively; own. *Prdm:* kənio-nio.
- kənnod** *Vs.* corpulent. *Prdm:* kənnod, kunnod.
- kənnop** *Vs.* each. *Prdm:* kənnop, bəkənnop.
- kənnu'** *Vs.* corpulent. *Prdm:* kənnu, kunnu.
- kənnuy** *N.* eagle; kite.
- kəpatay** *N.* death.
- kəpin** *N.* looks like.
- ***kəppi'** *Vt.* fold. *Prdm:* bəkəppi', kuppi', kippi'.
- kəppol** *N.* species of medicinal plant.
- kəppow** *Vs.* swollen. *Prdm:* kəppow.
- kəpuos** *Vs.* ended, last.
- kəra'** *Vs.* waist (pity to throw away). *Prdm:* kəra', bəkəra'.
- kəraban** *Vs.* fall (grass). *Prdm:* kəraban, kəroban, reban.
- kərabi** *Vs.* identical.
- kəraig** *Vs.* food poisoning.
- kərassuy** *Vs.* slip.
- kəratang** *Vi.* line up.
- kəratos** *N.* paper.
- kərabong** *N.* hole in head.
— *Vs.* step into a hole in the road.
- kərabow** *N.* water buffalo.
- kərəkkak-tu-kərəkkak** *Vi.* burst of laughter of many people.
- kərəmbu** *N.* costume.
- kərəmis** *Vs.* crushed.
- kəriap** *N.* certain disease.
- kəribpan** *Vs.* landslide.
- kərigow-tu-kərigow** *Vt.* make sound.
- kəriog** *Vs.* shiver.
- kərito** *N.* car. *From:* Malay.
- kərito** *N.* dandruff.
- kərod** *Vs.* stranded.
- kərok** *N.* bird.
- kərok sidtom** *N.* woodpecker.
- kərom** *Vs.* cripple.
- kəropok** *N.* crisps. *From:* Malay.
- kəros** *Vs.* shrunk (withered plants, swollen feet).
- ***kərot** *V.* cut vegetables into small pieces.
Prdm: bəkərot, kurot, kirot.
- kərudop** *Vi.* blink.
- kərudu'** *Vi.* show pity for.
- kərugbok** *Vs.* drop; sit down clumsily; hang down (rice).
- kərugbos** *Vs.* bowing down (dying grass).
- kərugong** *Vs.* withered.
- kəruk** *N.* nose flute.
— *V.* play the nose flute. *Prdm:* bəkəruk.
- kərukkus** *Vs.* lose completely (money or sarong that falls off).
- kəruot-tu-kəruot** *Vi.* keep going on but without result.
- kəruping** *N.* bark (tree).
- kərup-kərup** *Vi.* crisp (as a biscuit).
Prdm: kərup-kərup; kərup-tu-kərup.
- kərusus** *N.* course. *From:* Inonesian.
- kəssa'** *Nloc.* since.
- kəssu** *Vs.* soon. *Prdm:* kəssu, kussu, pəkəssu.
- ***kəssuy** *Vi.* stretch legs. *Prdm:* bəkəssuy, kussuy.
- kəsumbang** *N.* ear rings.

- kəta'** *N.* wattles.
- kətənnan** *N.* manner of going about.
Prdm: kətənnan.
- kətəpusan** *N.* last item.
- kətig bulud** *N.* branch of hill.
- kətoka** *Prt.* for instance.
- kətop** *Vs.* bite on one's tongue. *Prdm:* kətop, akətop.
- kəttng** *N.* line (for hanging clothes).
- *kəttir** *V.* irritate. *Prdm:* bəkəttir, kuttir, kittir.
- kəttong** *Vs.* straight; stretch. *Prdm:* bəkəttong, kuttong.
- *kətuk** *Vi.* cackle. *Prdm:* bəkətuk, kutuk.
- kətuo** *N.* leader. *From:* Malay.
- kətur** *Vs.* stiff (hair); rigor mortis (dead body). *Prdm:* kətur.
- kibut-tu-kibut** *Vi.* walking without being seen (in high standing rice; child that is playing with bedsheets, ect).
- kidon** *Int.* when (future).
- *kidong** *Vi.* wink. *Prdm:* bəkidong, kəmidong.
- kigkis** *Vt.* scrape clean; broke, without money (fig.). *Prdm:* bəkigkis, kəmigkis; akigkis.
- kigung** *N.* death ritual.
- *kikit** *Vt.* bite off meat. *Prdm:* bəkikit.
- kilid** *Nloc.* side.
- kim** *N.* oil palm estate. *From:* English.
- *kimbo** *Vt.* anoint; comb oil through the hair. *Prdm:* bəkimbo, kənimbo, kənimbo.
- kimo** *N.* oyster.
- *kimos** *Vt.* hold in fist. *Prdm:* bəkimos, kəmimos.
- kinnan** *V.* eat (Completive Aspect).
Prdm: mangan, kinnan, kumman.
- kinnas** *N.* side dish.
- kios-tu-kios** *Vi.* to and fro.
- kiow** *N.* mynah bird (*gracula religiosa*).
- *kioy** *V.* wave. *Prdm:* bəkioy, kəmioy, kənioy.
- kipas** *N.* fan. *From:* Malay?
- kippi'** *N.* folded cloth.
- *kiput** *Vi.* closed by itself (hole). *Prdm:* kiput, bəkiput.
- kiro** *Adv.* about. *From:* Malay?
- kiron** *Vs.* up to. *Prdm:* kiron, kəmiron.
- kisol-tu-kisol** *Vi.* turn over in sleep; sleeping restlessly.
- kisor** *Vs.* fast (walking).
- kisow** *N.* orangutan.
- kito** *Pron.* 1st person plural inclusive nominative or genitive.
- *kitok** *Vt.* tickle. *Prdm:* bəkkitok, kəritok.
- *kkak** *Vs.* choke (of laughter or crying).
Prdm: akkak.
- kkan** *N.* cooked rice.
- *kkan** *Vt.* feed (animals); eat. *Prdm:* məngəkkkan, məkkan, nikkan, pəkkan, apəkkan, kəpəkkan.
- *kkos** *Vt.* tie in bundle. *Prdm:* məngəkkkos, məkkos, nikkos.
- *kkung** *Vst.* crooked. *Prdm:* bəkkung, məngəkkung, məkking.
- kok** *N.* cork. *From:* Malay, English cork.
- koko** *N.* cocoa. *From:* Malay, English cocoa.
- kombo'** *N.* children's game with lines drawn on the floor.
- kombur runna'** *Vi.* restlessly playing around of many children.
- konan** *N.* right.
- korak; orak** *Vs.* dare.
- koro** *Vs.* healed. *Prdm:* koro, akoro, bəkoro.
- koso** *Vs.* rich.
- kotak** *N.* box.
- kow-tu-kow** *Vi.* search something.
- koy** *Prtc.* particle marking focus.
- kpar!** *Excl.* sound of something falling.
- kpil!** *Excl.* sound of a deer.
- kpis!** *Excl.* sound of sneezing.
- kristian** *N.* christian. *From:* Malay, English.
- ku** *Pron.* 1S G.
- *kua'** *Vi.* crow. *Prdm:* bəkua'.
- kuag** *Vs.* horizontal (flag pole, tail, fishingrod). *Prdm:* kuag, pəkuag.

- ***kuar** *Vt.* stir. *Prdm:* bəkuar, kəmuar, kiwar.
- kuat** *Vs.* diligent; industrious.
- kubad** *N.* part of something; the rest.
- kubol** *Vs.* fat.
- kubpa'** *Adv.* 'where are you going?'
- kubut** *N.* liana.
- kudal-tu-kudal** *Vi.* wag (tail).
- kudor** *N.* mouse trap.
- ***kugit** *Vt.* pick teeth. *Prdm:* bəkugit.
- kukka'** *Vs.* recoverd.
- kukkor** *Vs.* cough suddenly. *Prdm:* kukkor, akukkor.
- kukkud** *Vs.* landslide. *Prdm:* kukkud.
- ***kuku'** *Vt.* command spirit to go home. *Prdm:* bəkuku'.
- ***kukut** *Vi.* whistle. *Prdm:* bəkukut, kəmukut mikut.
- kulat** *N.* fungus.
- kuling** *Vs.* rolled up.
- kulintangan** *N.* kulintangan.
- kulit** *N.* skin.
- kulok** *N.* big suitcase.
- kulos** *N.* animal.
- kulos-kulos** *N.* insect.
- kumbun** *N.* triangle veil.
- kumman** *Vt.* Dependent form of 'eat', irregular verb. *Prdm:* mangan, mengan, kumman, kinnan.
- kumpulan** *N.* group. *From:* Malay.
- kunci** *N.* key.
— *V.* lock with a key. *From:* Malay? *Prdm:* bəkunci, kəmunuci, kinci.
- kungan latip** *N.* handle of a spear.
- kuop** *N.* child that grows slowly.
- kupi** *N.* coffee. *From:* Malay.
- ***kupor** *Vt.* rub clothes with the hands when washing them. *Prdm:* bəkupor, kəmpor, kipor.
- kurang** *Vs.* less. *From:* Malay. *Prdm:* kurang, akurang, kəmurang.
- kurit** *Vs.* multicolour with varied stripes.
- kurkur** *N.* dove.
- kuron** *N.* rice pot.
- kurung** *N.* cage.
- kusay** *N.* man.
- ***kusu'** *V.* wash the lower body after urinating or defecating. *Prdm:* bəkusu'.
- kusur** *N.* medicinal plant.
- kusu-tu-kusu** *Vi.* turn around in sleep (sick or worried people).
- ***kutak** *Vi.* cackle. *Prdm:* bəkutak.
- kutok** *Vs.* troubled (water).
- kuttow-tu-kutow** *Vi.* walk around aimlessly.
- ***kuttu** *Vt.* pick. *Prdm:* bəkuttu, kəmuttu, kittu.
- kutu** *N.* lice.
- kutub** *N.* big sound.
- kutup-tu-kutup** *Vi.* moving without purpose and making a lot of noise.
- kutur** *Vs.* dirty. *From:* Malay.
- kuy** *N.* cake. *From:* Malay?
- kuyow-kuyow** *Vs.* tall and skinny.

L - I

- la** *Prt.* discourse particle.
- ***labak** *Vt.* put; place. *Prdm:* gəlabak, lobak, lebak.
- labo** *Vs.* a lot (game caught in forest).
- ***labot** *Vt.* prepare a feat meal for guests. *Prdm:* gəlabot, lobot, lebot.
- ***labpung** *Vi.* ascend (lid of a cookingpot). *Prdm:* lobpung, labpung.
- labu** *N.* squash.
- lado** *N.* pepper.
- ***ladtak** *Vs.* shocked. *Prdm:* gəladtak atay.
- ***ladung** *Vi.* go down. *Prdm:* lodung, kəladung.
- lagas** *Vs.* bald.
- lagay** *N.* rice ear.
- lagbang** *N.* stair landing; shoe plateau.

- lagbi'** *Vs.* full. *Prdm:* lagbi', alagbi', mængəlagbi', pəlagbi'.
- *lagkos** *V.* strain. *Prdm:* gəlagkos logkos, legkos.
- lagu** *N.* song. *From:* Malay.
- *lagut** *Vt.* insert. *Prdm:* gəlagut, logut, legut.
- Lahad Datu** *N.* Lahad Datu.
- *lais** *Vt.* polish. *Prdm:* gəlais, lois, leis.
- *lakad** *Vt.* let. *Prdm:* lokad.
- lakkag** *N.* remote relative.
- lakkod** *Vs.* incomplete. *Prdm:* lakkod, alakkod.
- *lakkos** *Vi.* take a short cut. *Prdm:* gəlakkos, lökkos.
- lakkug** *N.* top of felled and burnt treetrunk.
- *lakpa'** *Vi.* take one step. *Prdm:* lokpa', gəlakpa'.
- laku** *Vs.* in demand; easily sold.
- *lali'** *Vi.* become senile. *Prdm:* gəlali'.
- *lallak** *Vt.* remove bark of a tree. *Prdm:* gəlallak.
- *lamak** *V.* eat (very rude, said in curses). *Prdm:* gəlamak.
- *lambus** *Vi.* go on. *Prdm:* lombus, alambus, kəlambus.
- lami-lami** *N.* feast with many people.
- lammuk** *N.* mosquito.
- lamog** *Vs.* slippery.
- lampu** *N.* lamp. *From:* Malay, via Portuguese.
- lanas** *Vs.* withered (vegetables). *Prdm:* lanas, gəlanas.
- lancong** *N.* nail. *From:* Malay.
- lancuk** *N.* candle.
- landap** *N.* turban.
- landu'** *Vs.* exceed. *Prdm:* landu', londu'.
- *langgo** *Vt.* lay to sleep on the ground. *Prdm:* pəlonggo.
- langgung** *N.* relative.
— *V.* be relatives. *Prdm:* langgung, məglanggung.
- langit** *N.* sky.
- *langog** *Vt.* soak. *Prdm:* gəlangog, longog, lengog.
- langon** *N.* pillow.
— *V.* lie on a pillow; use as a pillow.
- langow** *N.* housefly.
- *langu** *Vi.* crave. *Prdm:* gəlangu.
- langu'** *N.* brother or sister in law.
- *lanit** *Vt.* peel off skin. *Prdm:* gəlanit, lonit, lenit, alanit.
- lano** *N.* oil.
— *V.* make oil. *Prdm:* lono.
- *lantik** *Vt.* install. *From:* Malay. *Prdm:* gəlantik, lontik, lentik.
- *lantok** *Vt.* insert a pole vertically. *Prdm:* gəlantok, lontok, lentok.
- lanu'** *Vs.* smooth (skin).
- Lanun** *N.* Ilanun.
- lapad** *Cl.* classifier for flat objects.
- *lapas** *Vs.* pass by. *Prdm:* ləpas, kəlapas, alapas, lepas.
- lapay** *Vs.* overflowing. *Prdm:* lapay, alapay.
- lapid** *N.* layer.
- lappas** *Vs.* Said of a (young) woman who has already got one or more children and who has not become pregnant for a few years despite not using contraceptives.
- lappow** *Vs.* stand -out.
- *lasing** *V.* uncover sheets of a sleeping person. *Prdm:* gəlasing, losing, lesing.
- lasog** *N.* testicles.
- *lassan** *Vs.* drop out of one's hands. *Prdm:* kəlassan, nəlessan.
- *lassi'** *Vt.* peel with hands. *Prdm:* gəlassi, lossi, lessi'.
- lassot** *N.* species of fruit; lansium domesticum.
- lassu'** *Vs.* cross; pass. *Prdm:* lassu', kəlassu', alassu'.
- lassun** *N.* poison.
- lasuk** *Vs.* enter (strangers or thieves).
- *lasut** *Vt.* flesh out. *Prdm:* gəlasut, losut.
- lati** *N.* meaning.
— *Vs.* understand. *Prdm:* lati,

- kəlati, bəgəlati, məngəlati.
latib-latib *Vs.* ly down (dead animal).
latip *N.* spear.
***lattam** *Vi.* float on water (oil). *Prdm:* lottam.
***lattos** *Vi.* wade across; cross. *Prdm:* lottos, kəlattos, lattos.
***lattu'** *Vi.* leap. *Prdm:* lottu'.
***lattung** *Vi.* walk over the high part of a hill. *Prdm:* lottung.
lattung-lattung *Vs.* come into view.
***lau'** *Vi.* go downstream. *Prdm:* lou'.
laud *N.* wind.
***laug** *Vi.* jump. *Prdm:* loug, gəlaug.
***laut** *Vt.* insert post in ground. *Prdm:* lout.
***lauy** *Vi.* escape. *Prdm:* məlauy, kəlauy.
***lawan** *Vi.* oppose. *From:* Malay. *Prdm:* gəgəlawan.
lawang *N.* door.
lawas *Vs.* clear. *Prdm:* lawas, alawas, məngəlawas, pəlawas, nəlewas.
laway *N.* colourful thread.
lawog *N.* bee; wasp.
***laya'** *Vt.* love. *Prdm:* gəlaya'.
***layag** *Vi.* sail. *Prdm:* gəlayag.
layang *Vs.* fall from a certain height. *Prdm:* layang, alayang; gəlayang.
layo *N.* fish net.
layom *Vs.* suddenly disappear. *Prdm:* layom, kəlayom.
layon *Vs.* bowing (head of rice). *Prdm:* layon.
ləbanus *N.* type of mustard spinach (Brassica).
ləbpo *Vs.* more. *Prdm:* ləbpo, aləbpo.
ləbpog *N.* mud where buffalos bathe.
ləbpom *N.* think, accuse. *Prdm:* ləbpom, gələbpom.
ləbpong *N.* grave.
ləbpu' *Vs.* leak. *Prdm:* ləbpu'.
ləbput *Vs.* muddy.
ləgbatu *Cl.* classifier for fruit.
***ləgkut** *Vt.* swallow. *Prdm:* gələgkut, lūgkut, ligkut.
ləguan *Nloc.* front.
ləguok *N.* ravine with river.
lejo *N.* ginger.
lepid *Vs.* metaphoric; secret.
***lera'** *Vt.* look after. *Prdm:* məngələra', pələra', nələra', mələra', məkəpələra'.
***lesan** *V.* give birth (fig.). *Prdm:* gəlesan.
letrik *N.* electricity.
lewon *N.* omen.
ləkkad *Vt.* let go. *Prdm:* ləkkad, aləkkad, gələkkad, lūkkad, likkad, nəlikkad.
***ləkkang** *Vt.* remove skin; scrape skin. *Prdm:* gələkkang, lūkkang, aləkkang.
***ləkkob** *Vt.* stick in ground; plant; burry. *Prdm:* gələkkob, lūkkob, likkob, aləkkob.
***ləkkow** *Vi.* scream. *Prdm:* gələkkow, lūkkow.
***ləkkuy** *Vt.* tie neck. *Prdm:* gələkkuy, lūkkuy, likkuy.
ləkpud *Vs.* broken. *Prdm:* ləkpud, aləkpud.
ləmama' *N.* betelnut.
ləmatok *N.* jungle leech.
ləmbat *Vs.* few. *Prdm:* ləmbat, aləmbat.
***ləmmak** *Vt.* dry in sun. *Prdm:* gələmmak, lummak, limmak.
ləmusug *N.* sprout.
ləmuttug *N.* swelling of a musquito bite.
ləmutus *N.* cigaret.
ləngalu *N.* gums.
***ləngas** *Vi.* scream. *Prdm:* gələngas.
ləngati *N.* worm.
lənggaman *N.* harvesting knife.
ləngipot *N.* firefly.
ləngkuas *N.* alpinia galanga.
ləngkumman *N.* food.
lənnod *Vs.* drowned. *Prdm:* lənnod, alənnod, gələnnod.
ləppap *Adv.* immediately.
***ləppi'** *Vt.* apply liquid medicine. *Prdm:* gələppi', luppi', lippu'.
ləppis *Vs.* flat. *Prdm:* ləppis, aləppis.

- ləppit** *N.* thunderstorm.
- ləppos** *Vs.* faint (people); go loose (object).
Prdm: luppōs, kələppos.
- ləppot** *N, Vt.* wrap. *Prdm:* gələppot, luppot, lippot.
- ləppow** *Vs.* flat tyre.
- ləpus** *Vs.* come out (eye). *Prdm:* ləpus.
- ləttud** *Vs.* full of blood (mosquito or leech). *Prdm:* ləttud.
- lian** *N.* wild male pig.
- lias** *N.* sort of bamboo.
- *lid** *Vt.* look for. *Prdm:* bəgəlid, məlid, nilid.
- lidu'** *N.* female flying lizard.
- ligot** *Vs.* late. *Prdm:* ligot, aligot, məngəligot.
- *ligow** *Vt.* deceive. *Prdm:* məngəligow, məligow, nəligow.
- liking** *N.* dried bananas.
- *likkos** *Vt.* hug. *Prdm:* məngəlikkos, məlikkos, nəlikkos.
- lilla'** *N.* mercy.
- liman** *N.* elephant.
- *limbas** *Vi.* take turns. *Prdm:* gəlimbas.
- limbow** *Vs.* shallow. *Prdm:* limbow.
- limo** *Num.* five.
- *lindut** *Vi.* run. *Prdm:* gəlindut, ləmindut.
- *linok** *Vt.* peep at; tiptoe while hunting in the forest. *Prdm:* məngəlinok, ngəlinok.
- lipos mato** *Vs.* confused because of too many things to see.
- *lippat** *Vt.* coax. *Prdm:* məngəlippat, məlippat, nəlippat.
- liput** *Vs.* round. *Prdm:* liput, gəliput.
- lisang** *Vi.* play. *Prdm:* gəlising.
- lisang** *N.* play.
- lisi** *N.* egg.
— *Vi.* lay eggs. *Prdm:* gəlisi.
- lisin** *N.* round floor beam.
- *lising** *Vt.* turn around to expose the other side. *Prdm:* ləmising, gəlising.
- lisong** *N.* wild ox.
- lissog** *N.* seed.
- *litong** *Vt.* spy. *Prdm:* məngəlitolong, məlitong, nəlitong.
- lituk** *N.* deep spot in river.
- litun** *Vs.* have constipation (small children). *Prdm:* litun, gəlitolun.
- *liud** *Vi.* flow. *Prdm:* ləmiud.
- *liug** *Vt.* exchange. *Prdm:* məngəliug, məliug, nəliug, gəgəliug.
- liun** *N.* woman.
- liun gidtan** *N.* spinster.
- liwag** *Vs.* forget. *Prdm:* liwag, aliwag, ləmiwag, gəlilwag.
- *liwong** *V.* miss each other on the road.
Prdm: gəlilwong.
- *llad** *Vt.* lay out something flat, eg. a mat.
Prdm: məngəllad, məllad, nillad.
- *llang** *Vs.* hard. *Prdm:* allang.
- *llas** *Vt.* wipe. *Prdm:* məngəllas, məllas, nillas.
- llat** *N.* joints of the hand.
- *llay** *Vt.* boil in water; rinse clothes.
Prdm: məngəllay, məllay, səngəllay.
- llig** *N.* neck.
- *llit** *Vt.* sew. *Prdm:* məngəllit, məllit, nillit, billit.
- llon** *N.* point (made in a discussion).
- *llop** *Vs.* sharp. *Prdm:* allopp, məngəpəllopp.
- *llow** *Vt.* scare. *Prdm:* məllow.
- llu' mato** *N.* tear.
- llud** *N.* slime, slimy (eel).
- *llun** *Vs.* live. *Prdm:* allun, bəgəllun.
- llung** *N.* river.
- *llus** *Vs.* stuck. *Prdm:* allus, bəgəllus.
- lluy** *N.* seed basket.
- *lo** *Vs.* defeated. *Prdm:* alo, bəgəlo, gəgəlo.
- lori** *N.* truck. *From:* English.
- *lua'** *Vi.* let go out of the mouth. *Prdm:* ləmuə'.
- luag** *Vs.* loose. *Prdm:* luag, aluag.
- *luan** *Vi.* go outside. *Prdm:* ləmuə, kəluə, akəluə.
- *luat** *Vt.* sell. *Prdm:* gəluə, ləmuə, liwə, aliwə.

- lubi-lubi** *Vs.* just lying (animals). *Prdm:* lubi-lubi.
- lubing** *Vs.* roll.
- ludtu** *N.* skin of feet of animal.
- *lug** *Vs.* food being stuck in throat. *Prdm:* alug, bəgəlud.
- lugi** *Vs.* loss (of profit). *From:* Malay
- *lugis** *Vt.* knead; crush. *Prdm:* gəlugis, ləmugis.
- *lugit** *Vt.* gouge out. *Prdm:* gəlugit, ləmugit, ligit.
- lugoy** *N.* skin disease on hands and feet which causes white spots with puss.
- lugus** *N.* betel nut; areca nut.
- lujan** *N.* yellow durian.
- lukis** *N.* cleared land that has just been burned.
- lukka'** *Vs.* born. *Prdm:* lukka', alukka'.
- lukki'** *Vs.* stingy. *Prdm:* lukki', gəlukki', səlukki'.
- lulus** *Vs.* pass exam. *From:* Malay. *Prdm:* lulus.
- *lumba'** *Vi.* race. *Prdm:* gəlumba'.
- lumbi'** *N.* jar.
- lumbur** *N.* number. *From:* Malay.
- lumit** *Vs.* fine. *Prdm:* lumit, alumit.
- lumit tullang** *Vs.* lazy (fig.).
- lumon** *N.* silent person.
- lumu** *Vs.* tired. *Prdm:* lumu, alumu.
- lumut** *N.* algae. *Prdm:* lumut, gəlumut.
- lundung** *Vs.* lazy. *Prdm:* lundung, alundung, gəlundung.
- *lunguy** *Vi.* swim. *Prdm:* gəlunguy.
- *luos** *Vt.* take off (clothes). *Prdm:* ləmuos, gəluos, liwos.
- *lutow** *Vi.* disturb people (evil spirit). *Prdm:* gəlutow.
- lutu'** *N.* luch packet.

M - m

- m-** *Prefix.* Dependent.
- Madday** *N.* Madai.
- mahal** *Vs.* expensive. *From:* Malay. *Prdm:* mahal.
- makkas** *N.* three striped ground squirrel.
- makkug** *Vs.* rice is ripe but its stem is still alive. *Prdm:* makkug, amakkug.
- makow** *N.* cup.
- maku** *Vs.* capable. *Prdm:* maku, kəmaku.
- malaria** *N.* malaria. *From:* European.
- malob** *N.* tortoise with flat shield.
- malu'** *Aux.* want. *Prdm:* malu', kəlu', kəngəlu'.
- mandur** *N.* supervisor. *From:* Malay/Portugese.
- mangan** *Vt.* eat (Actor Voice Incomplete Aspect). *Prdm:* mangan, kumman, kinnan.
- mangga'** *N.* mango.
- manggis** *N.* mangosteen.
- mangkat** *N.* time.
- mannu** *Vs.* apply oneself; very.
- mansak** *Vs.* very happy.
- manuk** *N.* chicken.
- manusia'** *N.* mankind. *From:* Malay, Sanskrit.
- map** *N.* pardon. *From:* Malay, Arabic.
- mappang** *N.* edge.
- mas** *N.* gold.
- masala'** *N.* problem. *From:* Malay, Arabic.
- masi** *Adv.* still. *From:* Malay.
- maskid** *N.* mosque.
- maso** *N.* time. *From:* Malay.
- masong** *Adv.* still again.
- matay** *Vs.* dead. *Prdm:* matay, amatay.
- mato** *N.* eye.
mato gabag *N.* cockeyed, cross eyed, squinting.
mato dtow *N.* sun.
mato bubun *N.* crown of the head.
- mba'** *Int.* where.
- mbi** *Qnt.* wherever.
- mə-** *Prefix.* Ordinal number.
- məg-** *Prefix.* Unproductive prefix for

- denominal verbs.
- məgat** *Vs.* burst.
- məgmusu** *Vi.* be animies.
- məkə(k)-** *Prefix.* Petitive.
- Məkwow** *N.* Makuau.
- Məlayu** *N.* Malay.
- məllan** *N.* vegetable seed.
- məməli** *N.* type of plant.
- mənambat** *V.* block the way with a spear.
- məndar-məndar** *V.* lift.
- mənəppo** *Vt.* make busknife.
- məng-** *Prefix.* Actor Voice class prefix.
- məngag** *N.* wide area (valley).
- məngannak** *N.* wife.
- məngə-** *Prefix.* Actor Voice Causative.
- məngəlluk** *Vs.* not in the right mood for doing something.
- məngəllung** *N.* rooster.
- məngəra'** *N.* maiden.
- məngəttung** *Vs.* (baby) clinging to his mother.
- mənna'** *Vs.* be ebb. *Prdm:* mənna'.
- mənnam** *N.* taboo.
- mənnang** *V.* win.
- mənoton** *Vs.* jealous.
- mənsirod** *Vs.* often. *Prdm:* mənsirod, sirod-sirod, asirod.
- mənurug** *Vi.* camp during hunting or fishing.
- mənus-nus** *Vi.* blowing very strong.
- mərəgkang** *N.* child.
- mərəkot** *N.* rambutan.
- mərəpud** *N.* widdow.
- məri bulud** *N.* main part of hill.
- mərinow** *N.* anchovis.
- məritom** *N.* rambutan without 'hair'.
- mərodət** *Vi.* open the eyes for a second.
- məruay** *N.* relation between two men who married two sisters or between two women who married two brothers.
- məruo** *N.* spirit.
- məsapi** *N.* eel.
- mija'** *N.* table. *From:* Malay.
- mil** *Aux.* ever.
- milu** *N.* cocoa drink.
- mimbi** *Qnt.* wherever.
- mimbo-mimbo** *Vi.* think a little. *Prdm:* mimbo-mimbo.
- minan** *N.* aunt.
- minggu** *N.* week.
- mingor** *Vs.* hard of hearing.
- minsən** *Conj.* although.
- mintol** *N.* bulb. *From:* Malay.
- miran** *Vs.* surprized. *Prdm:* miran, gəmiran.
- miro, iro** *Pron.* 3rd person plural 'they'.
- misin** *N.* machine.
- miskin** *Vs.* poor. *From:* Malay.
- missən** *Adv.* once.
- mital** *N.* tin, can. *From:* Malay.
- *mmad** *V.* ask permission. *Prdm:* bəgəmmad.
- *mmis** *Vs.* sweet. *Prdm:* ammis, bəgəmmis.
- *mmis** *Vt.* clean rotan. *Prdm:* məngəmmis, nimmis.
- *mmog** *Vt.* beat gong. *Prdm:* məmmog, məngəmmog.
- *mmon** *Vs.* mute. *Prdm:* ammon.
- mo** *Pron.* 2nd person singular genitive 'you'.
- modes** *N.* sanitary towel. *From:* Malay.
- monay** *N.* young man.
- mugbud** *Vs.* rice is heading up.
- muk** *N.* mug.
- muko** *N.* face.
- mulay** *Vi.* begin. *From:* Malay.
- mulok** *Vs.* young.
- mumu** *Adv.* always.
- mundu** *N.* thief.
- *mung** *Vt.* help a friend work on the land. *Prdm:* məngəmung, gəgəmung.
- munin** *N.* civet.
- mupun** *Adv.* that is why.
- Murip** *N.* God.
- Murut** *N.* Murut.
- musim** *N.* season.
- musu'** *N.* ennemy. *Prdm:* musu', məgmusu'.
- mutap** *Adv.* tomorrow.

mutap satu	the day after tomorrow. <i>Adv.</i>		or genitive.
mutur	<i>N.</i> motor. <i>From:</i> English.	muyun	<i>Pron.</i> 2nd person plural accusative.
muyu	<i>Pron.</i> 2nd person plural nominative		

N - n

na	<i>Prt. prt.</i>	*ngngut	<i>V.</i> spin. <i>Prdm:</i> mængngut, bingngut, bængngut, gəbængngut.
nabi	<i>N.</i> prophet. <i>From:</i> Malay, Arabic.	ngod	<i>Int; Conj.</i> how; because.
nadi	<i>Int. so.</i> <i>From:</i> Malay.	*ngor	<i>Vi.</i> make sound of pig or grunting dog. <i>Prdm:</i> bəgəngor.
nagas	<i>N.</i> dry riverbank.	ni-	<i>Prefix.</i> Completive Aspect.
najal	<i>N.</i> croud of people making a wish during a ritual.	niat	<i>N.</i> wish; vow.
nakon	<i>Pron.</i> 1st person singular accusative.	ninga'	<i>Neg.</i> Sentence negator. Often shortened to <i>inga'</i> .
namon	<i>Pron.</i> 1st person plural exclusive accusative.	nioy	<i>Vi.</i> take (Undergoer Voice-Completive Aspect).
nana'	<i>N.</i> pus. <i>Prdm:</i> nana', gənona'.	nipon	<i>N.</i> tooth; teeth.
nanam	<i>N.</i> taste.	nipon asu	<i>N.</i> milk tooth.
napu'	<i>N.</i> valley.	nitu	<i>N.</i> ghost.
naran	<i>N.</i> name.	niug	<i>N.</i> coconut.
nas	<i>N.</i> nurse. <i>From:</i> English.	niun	<i>Pron.</i> 2nd person singular accusative.
nasip	<i>N.</i> luck. <i>From:</i> Malay.	*nnik	<i>Vi.</i> go up. <i>Prdm:</i> mənnik, kənnik.
*nat	<i>Vt.</i> roll out mat. <i>Prdm:</i> mængənat, mənət, ninat.	nnong	here. <i>Dem. Adv.</i>
natađ	<i>N.</i> yard.	*nnud	<i>Vs.</i> float. <i>Prdm:</i> annud, bəgənnud, pənnud.
naton	<i>Pron.</i> 1st person plural inclusive accusative.	nnung	<i>N.</i> porc fat. <i>Prdm:</i> mənnung.
nay	<i>Int.</i> who.	*nnuy	<i>V.</i> straight. <i>Prdm:</i> bənnuy, mængənnuy, mənnuy.
nayo-nayo	<i>N.</i> large valley.	nom	<i>Num.</i> six.
*ncur	<i>Vs.</i> crush. <i>Prdm:</i> ancur, məncur.	nong	<i>prep; Aux.</i> oblique preposition; default auxiliary.
ndo!	<i>Excl.</i> poor thing!	nu	<i>Int.</i> what.
ndow	<i>N.</i> ghost that steals food.	nu kərengan	<i>Excl.</i> its your own fault!
nə-	<i>Prefix.</i> Causative Undergoer Voice Completive Aspect.	nud	<i>N.</i> sound.
ne	<i>Dem.</i> this.	nupi	<i>N.</i> dream. — <i>V.</i> dream. <i>Prdm:</i> gənupi.
nəraaka'	<i>N.</i> hell.	nuri	<i>N.</i> pigeon.
ngag	<i>N.</i> land owned.	nus-nus	<i>Vs.</i> very swift.
ngam	<i>Adv.</i> exact.		
*ngngot	<i>Vs.</i> tight. <i>Prdm:</i> angngot, pəpəngngot.		

O - o

o!	<i>Excl.</i> exclamation.	oktu	<i>N.</i> time. <i>From:</i> Malay.
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olu *Num.* eight.
oren *N.* lemonsyrup.

oyang *N.* movie. *From:* Malay.
oyar *N.* wire. *From:* English.

P - p

p- *Prefix.* stem forming prefix.
pa *Prt.* discourse particle.
padang *N.* coarse grass.
pado *Adv.* luckily.
pagung *N.* thatching palm.
pain *N.* fine. *From:* Malay; English.
paip *N.* pipe. *From:* English, Malay.
pait *N.* fish.
pakat *N.* root.
pakay *use. Vt.* *From:* Malay. *Prdm:* pakay, mŕngakay, makay, pekay, nekay.
***pakkot** *V.* discuss. *Prdm:* mŕpakkot.
pakkow *N.* handle of a cup.
pakpak *Vs.* drop something small. *Prdm:* pakpak, makpak.
***paling** *Vi.* look down briefly. *From:* Malay? *Prdm:* maling, paling.
palis *Vs.* blown away by the wind. *Prdm:* palis.
pamak *Vs.* fall from a certain height. *Prdm:* pamak, apamak, mŕngamak.
pana' *N.* slingshot.
 — *V.* shoot with a slingshot. *Prdm:* mŕngana', gŕgana'.
panas *Vs.* hot. *Prdm:* panas, mŕnganas, nenas, penas, manas.
panday *Vs.* clever. *From:* Malay.
pandi' *N.* banner.
panggung *N.* platform. *From:* Malay.
pangku' *N.* veranda.
pangngat *N.* angle.
 — *V.* fish with an angle. *Prdm:* mŕmangngat.
panid *N.* wing.
panow *Vs.* go. *Prdm:* panow, ponow, monow, penow.
pantun *Vi.* sing. *From:* Malay?
papo *N.* porch.
pappang *N.* beach; river side.

paras *N.* appearance.
paray *N.* paddy.
paray budu-budu type of rice.
paray damit type of rice.
paray gigi tikus type of rice. *From:* Malay.
paray keuy half ripe rice that is roasted, dried and pounded.
paray lisi tuka' type of fragrant red rice.
paray pulutan sticky rice.
paray Sarawak type of rice.
paray sŕmbingan sidom type of black rice.
paray ugow tatung species of red rice.
parud *Vs.* scrape wounded.
pasang *N.* sea.
***pasang** *Vt.* fix. *From:* Malay. *Prdm:* pasang, masang, mŕngasang, pesang/nesang.
pasod *Qnt.* many. *Prdm:* pasod, gŕpasod.
pasor *Conj.* because. *From:* Malay?
paspot *N.* passport. *From:* Malay, English.
pasung *N.* large root of a tree.
pat *Num.* four.
patar *N.* region.
pattok *N.* long pin to fix a bun in the hair.
***pattok** *Vt.* jab (needles, darts). *Prdm:* mŕngattok, pattok, mattok, nettok.
patung *N.* doll. *From:* Malay?
patut *N.* bear.
paut *N.* mud.
payo *Vs.* critically ill. *Prdm:* payo, apayo.
payow *N.* deer.
payung *N.* umbrella.
pŕ- *Prefix.* Dependent Causative.
pŕdakkang *Vs.* fall backward when sitting.

- pədong** *N.* very long bushknife that looks like a keris.
- pədtos** *Vs.* ill.
- pəg-** *Prefix.* Agent Nominalisation.
- pəgalob** *Vs.* fall and come down on the knees. *Prdm:* apəgalob.
- pəgarong** *N.* charcoal.
- pəgekin** *N.* expectation.
- pəgəpug** *N.* money or sign of engagement.
- pəgkil** *N.* type of wood.
- pəgsugan** *N.* family relationship.
- pəgtunga'** *Vi.* tell in a rude way. *Prdm:* pəgtunga'.
- pen** *N.* pen.
- pepan** *N.* planks. *From:* Malay.
- perak** *N.* silver; ringgit.
- perung** *N.* small attic.
- petay** *N.* recently deceased person.
- pəjəngot** *N.* water ghost.
- pəkəlob** *Vs.* position of a person playing with the chest on the floor. *Prdm:* pəkəlob, nəkilob.
- pəlanuk** *N.* mousedeer.
- pəlassik** *Vs.* spatter, scatter (small stones, water, mud, etc).
- pəlastik** *N.* plastic. *From:* Malay, English.
- pəlewud** *N.* plywood. *From:* English.
- pələngos** *N.* sting; awl.
- pəlla'** *Vs.* afraid. *Prdm:* pəlla'.
- pəmasul** *N.* curse leading to death.
- pəmato panggat** *N.* fish hook.
- pəemudi** *N.* front of a boat.
- pəmuntok** *N.* top of a hill.
- pənambun** *N.* belt (women).
- pənə-** *Prefix.* Undergoer Voice
Completive Aspect Causative.
- pəng-** *Prefix.* Agent Nominalisation.
- pəngangan** *N.* food stock.
- pəngədtow** *N.* dry season.
- pəngəlimo** *N.* commander. *From:* Malay?
- pəngian** *N.* sultan's wife.
- pəngka** *Neg.* constituent negation (from *pon ka*).
- pəngngal** *N.* snake head fish (type of river fish), fresh water murrel,
Ophicephalus striatatus.
- pənna'** *N.* fruit stalk.
- pənting** *Vs.* important. *From:* Malay.
- pənunggal** *N.* best; main (hunting dog).
- pənurug** *N.* person who sleeps too much; lazybones.
- pəppan** *Vt.* show. *Prdm:* məngəpəppan, pəppan, nəpəppan.
- pəppos kuku** *N.* beaten-chicken (in a funeral ritual).
- pəras** *Vs.* sound. *Prdm:* gəpəras.
- pərasok** *Vs.* wasted. *Prdm:* pərasok.
- pəreton** *N.* positively talkative.
- pərelisang** *N.* playful person.
- pəria'** *N.* bittergourd.
- pərittay** *N.* small bird of omen.
- pərom** *Vt.* store to ripen quickly. *From:* Malay?
- pərot** *Vs.* salty.
- pərsayo** *Vs.* believe. *From:* Malay.
- pəruan** *N.* kitchen.
- pərukkat** *Vs.* broken and fallen apart.
- pərungan** *N.* eye of the rice.
- pəsalag** *N.* night shelter.
- pəsawow** *N.* fresh water prawn.
- pəsayan** *N.* salt water prawn.
- pəssa'** *Vs.* chicken hatches.
- pəssi** *N.* fishingline without rod.
— *V.* fish with line without rod.
Prdm: məməssi.
- pəssit** *Vs.* narrow.
- pəssu** *N.* hole.
- pəsuog** *N.* buttocks; tree; roots; classifier for plants and trees. Shortened to *suog*
- pətəray** *N.* relatives.
- pido** *N.* short bushknife.
- pikir** *V.* think. *From:* Malay. *Prdm:* pilkir, mikir, pənikir, məngikir / məmikir.
- pikiran** *N.* thinking.
- pikot** *N.* kind of fly that bites.
- pilat** *N, Vs.* cut wound. *Prdm:* pilat, apilat.
- pilay** *N.* salted and dried meat.

- *V Prdm:* milay.
- pilik-tu-pilik** *Vi.* blur.
- pilim** *N.* movie. *From:* Indonesian.
- Pilipin** *N.* Philippines.
- pindat** *N.* clam.
— *V.* look for clams. *Prdm:* mængindat.
- pinggan** *N.* plate. *From:* Malay.
- pinsil** *N.* pencil. *From:* English, Malay.
- pintor** *Vs.* smart. *From:* Malay.
- pio** *Vs.* good. *Prdm:* pio, apio, gəpio, pio-pio.
- piro** *Int.* how many.
- pittut** *Vs.* breathe last breath. *Prdm:* pittut, apittut, gəpittut, pərittut.
- pog** *Adv.* when.
- pon** *Neg.* standard negator. Short form of *apon*.
- pon tottan** *Vi.* will never arrive. *Prdm:* pon tottan.
- pongun** *N.* low medicinal tree.
- *por** *Vi.* walk around the foot of a hill. *Prdm:* mængəpor.
- powang** *Vs.* noble.
- ppa'** *N.* thigh.
- ppak** *N.* breadth.
- ppan** *N.* bait.
- *ppan** *Vs.* bright. *Prdm:* appan.
- ppi'** *N.* arm.
- *ppid** *Vt.* wipe off. *Prdm:* bəgəppid, məppid.
- *ppom** *Vt.* spray. *From:* Malay? English? *Prdm:* mængəppom, məppom, nippom, apəppom.
- *ppos** *Vt.* hit with cane. *Prdm:* mængəppos, məppos, nippos, pəppos, pippos.
- ppug** *N.* angle rod.
- *pput** *Vt.* tie up ends. *Prdm:* mængəpput, məpput, nipput.
- pudol** *N;* *Vs.* itchy sore.
- pukan** *Vs.* be blown down by the wind (rice in the field). *Prdm:* kəpukan.
- pukok** *Vs.* short (said of objects). *Prdm:* pukok, apukok.
- puku'** *N.* stake.
- pukul** *N.* 'o clock (hour). *From:* Malay.
- pukut** *N.* fishing net.
- puling** *Vs.* irritated eye.
- pulis** *N.* police. *From:* English, Malay.
- pullut** *N.* sap (plants and trees).
— *Vs.* full (said of basket during the harvest time in order to avoid the taboo word lagbi 'full').
- pulow** *N.* island.
- pulu'** *Num.* ten.
- puncok** *N.* top.
- pungag** *N.* wounded to the bone.
- pungol** *N.* stalk.
- pungu** *N.* rice seed.
- pungud-pungud** *Vs.* suddenly sit.
- purog** *N.* barking deer.
- purow** *N.* crest of a bird.
- purpur** *N.* rubbish.
- purus** *N.* reason.
- *pus** *Vt.* post. *From:* English, Malay post. *Prdm:* mængəpus, məpus.
- *pus** *Vs.* broke after gambling. *Prdm:* apus.
- pusing** *Vs.* turn around. *From:* Malay.
- pusod** *N.* navel.
- pussun** *N.* ant hill.
- pusu'** *Vs.* brave. *Prdm:* pusu', gəpusu'.
- pusu'** *N.* heart.
- puti'** *Vs.* white.
- puto** *Vs.* extinct.
- puttan** *Vs.* recovering from childbirth.
- putti** *N.* banana.
putti gaba' type of small banana.
putti mənurun plantain.
putti kalling type of banana with spots on the skin.
- putuk** *N.* mouth.
- puyan** *N.* pan (archaic).

R - r

- raban** *Vi.* pounce; leap. *Prdm:* raban, araban, gəraban, roban, reban.
- rabis** *Vs.* blistered (skin) because of water or mud. *Prdm:* rabis, arabis, gərabis, robis.
- rabut** *Vs.* blurred.
- radi** *Vs.* become; succeed. *Prdm:* radi, rodi.
- *rado** *Vi.* float on the surface after poisoning (fish). *Prdm:* rodo.
- *radta'** *Vt.* step on. *Prdm:* gəradta', rodta', redta'.
- *radtas** *Vi.* rain falls. *Prdm:* rodtas.
- *ragob** *Vi.* flame up. *Prdm:* rogob.
- *rait** *Vt.* pronounce. *Prdm:* gərait, roit, reit, sərait.
- rajo** *N.* king.
- *rakam** *Vt.* record. *Prdm:* gərakam, rokam, rekam.
- *rakit** *V.* spread (disease). *Prdm:* gərakit.
- *rakkot** *Vi.* stick. *Prdm:* rokkot, arakkot.
- *rakkow** *Vi.* go. *Prdm:* rokkow.
- *rakod** *Vi.* ascend (hill). *Prdm:* rokod.
- *rakop** *Vt.* catch. *Prdm:* gərakop, rokop, rekop, gəgərakop.
- rakow-rakow** *N.* kind of grasshopper that stinks.
- raman** *Vs.* used to. *Prdm:* raman, gəraman.
- ramay** *N.* crowd. *From:* Malay.
- rambung** *Vs.* rampant. *Prdm:* rambung, arambung, sərambung.
- *rambut** *Vt.* pull out. *Prdm:* gərambut, rombut, rembut.
- rambutan** *N.* rambutan. *From:* Malay.
- rana'** *N.* colour.
- ranas** *Vs.* melt; land slides down. *Prdm:* ranas, aranas, gəranas.
- *rang** *Vs.* seldom; rare. *Prdm:* arang, bəgərang.
- *ranggum** *Vt.* hold in fist. *Prdm:* gəranggum, ronggum, renggum.
- *rangkat** *Vt.* pull out (nails). *Prdm:* gərangkat, rongkat.
- rangkop** *N.* necessary items.
- rangngan** *N;* *V.* measure with thumb and one other finger. *Prdm:* gərangngan.
- rangud** *N.* coffin extremity.
- rannot** *Vs.* close (many trees on a small surface). *Prdm:* rannot; arannot.
- rapot** *Vs.* fast (speech). *Prdm:* rapot.
- *rappi** *Vi.* come close. *Prdm:* roppi, rappi.
- *rasop** *Vt.* step on. *Prdm:* gərasop, rosop, resop, arasop.
- rasso** *N.* feeling. *From:* Malay.
- *rat** *Vs.* bad; mean. *Prdm:* arat, bəgərat.
- *ratas** *Vt.* cut (rope). *Prdm:* gəratas, rotas, retas.
- *rattab** *V.* fan. *Prdm:* gərattab, rottab, rettab.
- rattop** *Vs.* closeby. *Prdm:* rattop, arattop, gərattop, gəgərattop, pərattop.
- ratu** *Num.* hundred.
- ratu'** *Vs.* fall. *Prdm:* ratu', aratu', rotu', məngəratu'.
- *raung** *Vi.* recur (disease). *Prdm:* roung.
- *rəbus** *Vt.* boil. *Prdm:* rubus, ribus.
- rədtag** *N.* trap.
— *V.* catch in a trap. *Prdm:* rudtag.
- rəgkas** *Vs.* clean (rice that is clean from husk).
- rəgko** *N.* price.
— *Vs.* expensive. *Prdm:* bərəgko, arəgko.
- rəgkos** *N.* sound heard somewhere.
— *V.* make a sound. *Prdm:* rugkos.
- repug** *N.* remaining wood after burning rice field.
- rəmmon** *Vs.* quiet person.
- *rəndong** *Vi.* stop. *Prdm:* bərəndong, kərəndong.
- rəngngon** *N.* otter.
- rəngog** *N.* small river fish with red eyes.

- rænna'** *Vs.* descend and land. *Prdm:* rænna', arænna', runna' .
- *rænnos** *Vt.* press down content of a container in order to make space for more. *Prdm:* gærænnos, runnos, rinnos.
- ræppo** *N.* armspan.
— *V.* measure armspan. *Prdm:* gæræppo.
- rætta'** *N.* heritage.
- *ri'** *Vt.* tear to pieces. *Prdm:* mængæri', mæri' .
- ria'-ria'** *N.* drizzle.
- ribow-tu-ribow** *Vs.* sudden sound of metal.
- ribu** *Num.* thousand.
- ribut** *N.* storm. *From:* Malay?
- rigbun** *Vs.* cover with blanket.
- rigkas** *N.* larvae or eggs of flies.
- *riksa'** *Vt.* examine. *From:* Malay. *Prdm:* mængæriksa', pæriksa', mæriksa', næriksa' .
- *rim** *Vi.* laugh. *Prdm:* mærim, tægærim.
- rimot** *Vs.* clean. *Prdm:* rimot, arimot, pærimot, særimot.
- rimpun** *N.* artist who knows russay ritual.
- rimu'** *N.* black magic.
- rinding** *N.* wall.
- ringgi'** *N.* fishingnet.
— *V.* fish with a net. *Prdm:* gæringgi' .
- ripon** *N.* slave.
- *rissik** *V.* splash. *Prdm:* mængærisik, pærisik, nærisik.
- *rissit** *V.* spurting out. *Prdm:* mængærisit, nærisit, pærisit.
- *ritob** *V.* ritual three days after funeral. *Prdm:* mængæritob.
- *rituk** *Vt.* eat (slang). *Prdm:* gærituk.
- riu'** *Vi.* bathe. *Prdm:* mæriu', kæriu', mængæriu' .
- *rod** *Vs.* difficult. *Prdm:* arod.
- *ron** *Vi.* sit on eggs (chicken). *Prdm:* mæron.
- *row** *Vs.* thirsty. *Prdm:* arow.
- ruang** *N.* living room.
- ruay** *Vs.* easy to bring.
- rudtug** *N.* thunder.
- rugbun bakas** *N.* place where a pig sleeps and bears young.
- *ruk** *Vt.* share plate. *Prdm:* mængæruk, gægæruk, pængæruk.
- rumman** *Vs.* skinny (sick child). *Prdm:* rumman, gærumman.
- rumo** *Pron.* 3rd person singular 'he, she' .
- Rungus** *N.* Rungus.
- *runi** *Vit.* speak. *Prdm:* gæruni, ræmuni, rini, pæruni.
- rusok** *Vs.* broken. *Prdm:* rusok, arusok, mængærusok.
- rusong** *Vs.* stuffy; dank.
- russay** *N;* *Vi.* sing and dance. *Prdm:* gærusstay .

S - s

- sa'** *Num; Asp.* one; SQ.
- Sabah** *N.* Sabah.
- sabu** *V.* go to meet someone. *Prdm:* sabu, særabu, mænabu.
- sabun** *N.* soap. *From:* Malay.
- sabur** *Vs.* naughty.
- *sadtay** *Vt.* shine torchlight. *Prdm:* mænadtay, sæsadtay.
- sadtong** *N.* shoulder.
— *V.* carry; carry on shoulder. *Prdm:* mænadtong, sodtong, sedtong.
- sagay** *Adv.* surely.
- sagbang** *Vs.* meet; come across. *Prdm:* sagbang, særagbang.
- *sagbay** *V.* put arm around someone's shoulder. *Prdm:* mænagbay, sogbay, segbay.

- ***saggow** *Vt.* catch. *Prdm:* mənaggow, soggow, seggow, asaggow.
- ***sagkang** *Vt.* hang. *Prdm:* mənagkang, sogkang, segkang.
- sagkit** *Vt.* tuck in. *Prdm:* sagkit, gəsagkit, mənagkit, sogkit, segkit.
- ***sagkob** *Vt.* fetch water. *Prdm:* mənagkob, sogkop, segkop.
- ***sagkud** *V.* comb. *Prdm:* gəsagkud, mənagkud, sogkud, segkud.
- sail** *N.* tusk.
- sain** *Vt.* sign (contract). *From:* English. *Prdm:* sain, soin, sein.
- ***sakag** *Vi.* multiply; prolific. *Prdm:* sokag.
- ***sakay** *Vi.* get on board. *Prdm:* sokay.
- sakit** *Vs.* crazy. *Prdm:* sakit, asakit, sokit.
- sakko** *Nloc.* from.
- sakop** *Vs.* prepared. *Prdm:* sakop, asakop, gəsakop, sokop.
- sakor** *Vs.* spread legs during sleep. *Prdm:* sakor, mənakor, sokor, sekor.
- sala'** *N.* mistake.
- sala'** *Vs.* mistaken. *Prdm:* sala', asala'.
- sala'** *Vt.* forbid. *Prdm:* mənala', sola', sela'.
- salag** *N.* nest.
- ***salag** *Vt.* smoke; roast. *Prdm:* solag, mənalag, selag.
- salak** *N.* cigarette paper.
- salla'** *Vs.* dislike bad habits. *Prdm:* salla', gəsalla'.
- ***salung** *Vt.* catch up (water, fruit from a tree). *Prdm:* mənalung, sölung, selung.
- saluy** *Vt.* eat one thing after the other. *Prdm:* saluy, soluy, mənaluy.
- sambal** *N.* sambal. *From:* Malay.
- sambat** *Vs.* joined. *From:* Malay.
- sambin** *Vt.* carry in arms. *Prdm:* mənambin, sombin, sembin, məkəsemin, sambin, sərambin.
- sambir** *Aux.* must.
- ***sambor** *Vt.* snatch. *Prdm:* mənambor, sambor, sembor.
- samir** *N.* nipah palm leaves.
- sammang** *N.* coffin.
- sampig** *Vs.* run aground; stick to the river side. *Prdm:* sampig, gəsampig; mənampig, sompig, sempig.
- ***sampok** *Vt.* punch. *Prdm:* mənampok, sompok, sempok.
- sampot** *Vs.* adolescent.
- ***sanding** *Vi.* sit on a dais. *From:* Malay. *Prdm:* soding, sending.
- ***sandog** *Vi.* lean on. *Prdm:* sondog, mənandog, sendog.
- sandu** *Vs.* reach something. *Prdm:* sandu.
- sangan** *Aux.* in the proces of.
- sanggan** *N.* basin.
- sanggor** *N.* smell of urine.
- sanggup** *Vs.* willing and able. *From:* Malay.
- ***sangit** *Vi.* wail (at a funeral). *Prdm:* songit, sangit.
- sangkir** *N.* kettle. *From:* Malay.
- sangkul** *N.* hoe.
— *Vt.* hoe. *From:* Malay. *Prdm:* mənangkul, songkul.
- sangun** *Vt.* fix. *Prdm:* mənangun, songun, sengun.
- sannang** *Vs.* easy.
- ***santik** *Vt.* kick. *Prdm:* mənantik, sontik, sentik.
- sapa'** *N.* water.
- sapa' agbong** *N.* waterfall.
- sapa' gəlilu'** *N.* whirlpool.
- sapi** *N.* cow. *From:* Malay.
- ***sapit** *Vt.* tuck in sarong. *Prdm:* gəsapit, sopit, sepit.
- sapor** *N.* brown solids in coconut oil.
- sapow** *N.* roof.
- sapping** *N.* cheek.
- ***sappun** *V.* wash face. *Prdm:* gəsappun angas; mənappun, soppun, seppun.
- ***sapul** *Vt.* rescue. *Prdm:* mənapul, sopul, sepul.
- sara'** *N.* manner. *From:* Malay?
- ***sarab** *Vt.* burn rice field. *Prdm:* mənarab, sorab, serab.
- ***sarag** *Vi.* count on. *Prdm:* sorag.

- ***sarap** *Vi.* nervous about something. *Prdm:* sorap. *Prdm:* sorag.
- sarat** *N.* condition. *From:* Malay.
- Sarawak** *N.* Sarawak.
- sarog** *N.* downstream.
- sarong** *N.* charcoal.
- satu** *Num.* one.
- ***saut** *Vt.* catch transport. *Prdm:* saut, mənaut.
- sawit** *N.* oilpalm. *From:* Malay.
- ***sawo** *Vt.* marry. *Prdm:* sərawo, gəsərawo, pəsawo, səmərowo.
- ***sawo** marry; propose for marriage. *Vt.* *Prdm:* mənawo, mənnik mənawo (propose), sərawo-rawo, sərawo (marry).
- sawot** *Vs.* arrive. *Prdm:* sawot, sowot, sərawot.
- sayu** *Vs.* good (person); repair, do carefully. *Prdm:* sayu, seyu, soyu, mənayu, səreyu.
- sə-** *Prefix.* one; manner nominalisation.
- Səbābpul** *N.* Sebābpul.
- səbannu** *N.* mean or bad behaviour.
- səbarut** *N.* wax gourd.
- səbila'** *N.* side.
- səbin (ka)** *Conj.* although (archaic).
- səbop** *Conj.* because. *From:* Malay.
- səbot** *Vi.* fish jump. *Prdm:* səbot, mənəbot.
- ***səbpit** *Vt.* carry under armpit; put in between. *Prdm:* gəsəbpit, subpit, sibpit.
- səbulud** *N.* resurrected giant.
- sədanan** *N.* lazybones.
- sədegor-degor** *Vs.* wide (uncombed hair).
- ***sədio** *Vt.* make ready. *Prdm:* sədio, mənədio, səmədio, sənədio.
- sədiwor** *N.* trousers.
— *V.* wear trousers. *Prdm:* gəsədiwor.
- ***sədti'** *Vt.* cut open belly. *Prdm:* mənədti', sudti', sidti'.
- sədtop** *Vs.* sink; go down. *Prdm:* sədtop, sudtop.
- sədtu'** *N.* chest.
- ***sədun** *Vi.* hiccup. *Prdm:* gəsədun.
- səg-** *Prefix.* manner nominalisation.
- səgagkut** *Vs.* stuck; tangled up. *Prdm:* səgagkut, səgagkut-gagkut, səgegkut.
- səgai'** *N.* mankind with tail.
- Səgamo** *N.* Segama.
- səgaur** *Vt.* whip. *Prdm:* səgaur, səməgaur, sənəgeur.
- səgboya'** *Vs.* together. *Prdm:* səgboya', asəgboya'.
- səgegkow** *Vi.* wrestle.
- səgkap** *N.* small bird.
- ***səgkow** *Vt.* call. *Prdm:* gəsəgkow, sugkow, sigkow, mənəgkow.
- səguow-guow** *Vs.* uncombed (hair).
- ***segor** *Vs.* crushed (fish dish). *Prdm:* sənəgor.
- sellag** *N.* roasted rice.
- ***serad** *Vt.* scrape with scraper. *Prdm:* mənərad, səmerad, sənərad.
- səkagbot** *Vs.* stumble and fall.
- ***səkalla'** *Vt.* carry a child on the hip.
Prdm: səməkolla', sənəkella'.
- səkayan** *Vs.* enough space; loaded.
- səkəbuta'** *N.* earth (as opposed to heaven).
- səkərətək** *N.* frog with long legs.
- səkilo** *N.* sweet potato.
- səkilo kayu** *N.* cassava; tapioca.
- səkko** *N.* rattan.
- səkkog** *N.* ribs.
- səkkol** *N.* sugar.
- səkkot** *Vs.* red.
- səkkuk** *Vs.* food or drink going the wrong way. *Prdm:* səkkuk, asəkkuk.
- səlammin** *N.* glasses. *From:* Malay.
- səlamong** *N, Vs.* shocked.
- ***səlannok** *Vt.* press down. *Prdm:* səməlōnnok, sənəlennok.
- səlesma** *N.* cold. *From:* Malay.
- səlimbog** *N.* rhythm of the gong for dying village head.
- səllang** *Nloc.* in between. *Prdm:* səllang lawang; synonym: səppi' lawang.

- səllit** *Vs.* sticky.
- səllo** *Vs.* shy; ashamed. *Prdm:* səllo, asəllo, gəsəllo.
- səllun** *N.* nail.
- *səlubud** *Vt.* cover up completely with a bed sheet. *Prdm:* səməlubud, sənəlibud.
- səmbari'** *N.* pineapple.
- səmbay** *Aux.* must.
- səmbayong** *Vit.* worship. *From:* Malay. *Prdm:* səmbayong, səməboyong, sənəmbeyong.
- *səmbung** *Vt.* continue. *Prdm:* səmbung, simbung, mənəmbung.
- səməriduk** *Vi.* bite and swim around (fish).
- səmmang** *N.* buttocks.
- *səmmu'** *Vt.* command. *Prdm:* mənəmmu', summu', simmu'.
- *səmmul** *Vt.* put something against the edge of a basket to prevent it from overflowing. *Prdm:* summul.
- səmor** *Vs.* dirty. *Prdm:* səmor, gəsəmor.
- səmulon** *Vs.* fever.
- sənapang** *N.* rifle. *From:* Malay.
- səndait** *N.* sing in pairs.
- sənduk** *N.* scoop.
— *V.* scoop. *Prdm:* mənənduk, sunduk, sinduk.
- səneo** *N.* underpants.
- səng-** *Prefix.* manner nominalisation.
- səngə-** *Prefix.* manner nominalisation of causative verbs.
- sənggan** *Vs.* fit in.
- səngow** *N.* steam.
- səngoyan** *N.* monkey.
- *səngu** *V.* wipe nose. *Prdm:* mənəngu, sungu, singu.
- səmindat** *N.* the late.
- Səpagayo** *N.* Sepagaya.
- səpare** *Excl.* friend! ('abit' nickname for friends in folk tales).
- səpari** *N.* concussions; epilepsy.
- səpatut** *Vs.* naturally. *From:* Malay.
- səpaya'** *Qnt.* everything.
- səpəlidok** *N.* species of fruit (tree).
- səpəttut** *N.* species of beetle.
- səpitar** *N.* hospital. *From:* English.
- *səppa'** *Vt.* slap. *Prdm:* mənəppa', suppa', sippa', sərəppa'.
- *səppi'** *Vi.* begin to bear fruit (corn). *Prdm:* mənəppi' suppi', sippi'.
- səppun** *N.* snot.
- *səpput** *Vt.* blow. *Prdm:* mənəpput, supput, sipput.
- səpukos** *N.* piece.
- səpukut-tu-səpukut** *Vi.* rummage about.
- səra'** *N.* woven mat.
- sərabung** *Vi.* spur of a rooster.
- sərabut** *Vi.* everybody talking at once.
- səragga'** *Vi.* fight. *Prdm:* səragga', gəsəragga'.
- sərago** *Vs.* identical. *Prdm:* sərago, asərago.
- sərakot-tu-sərakot** *Vi.* move in groups.
- sərambi** *N.* kitchen (with gas stove).
- sərangay** *Vs.* have the same name; make the same sound.
- sərapa'** *N.* sirih box.
- sərawang** *Vs.* cut away plants at the border of a rice field to see the neighbours.
- sərawang uni** *Vi.* quarrel. *Prdm:* sərawang uni, gəsərawang uni.
- səray** *N.* lemongrass.
- sərdin** *N.* sardine. *From:* Malay, English.
- sərbəban** *N.* thread.
- sərbəpa'** *Vs.* together. *Prdm:* sərəbpa', səmərbpa'.
- səregkow** *Vt.* grab. *Prdm:* səregkow, gəsəregkow.
- səreman** *Vs.* ticklish.
- sərəngga'** *N.* species of flower.
- sərigbu'** *N.* curcuma.
- sərin** *Vs.* enjoy. *Prdm:* sərin, asərin.
- sərubok** *N.* medicine plant.
- *sərunu'** *V.* sleep side by side. *Prdm:* mənərunu', səmərunu'.
- sərutan** *N.* sultan.
- səserad** *N.* scraper.
- səsiab** *N.* window.

- sətattan** *N.* begin to tell a story. *Prdm:* sətattan.
- sətem** *N.* stamp. *From:* English.
- sətrɔw** *N.* straw. *From:* English.
- sətugal** *N.* dibble stick.
- sətukul** *N.* hammer.
- *sia'** *Vi.* sneeze. *Prdm:* bəsia'.
- siag** *N.* sarung, cloth.
- siat** *Vs.* fast. *Prdm:* siat, asiat, gəsiat, siat-siat, səsiat.
- sibow** *N.* comb of a cock.
- sibug** *N.* third wedding day.
- sidom** *Vs.* black.
- sidtan** *N.* flying ant.
- sidtom** *N.* ant.
- sidtu** *Adv.* merely.
- *sidtul** *Vt.* knock down with pole. *Prdm:* mənidtul, səmidtul, sənidtul.
- sidu** *Vi;* *N.* urine. *Prdm:* səmidu.
- sigak** *Vs.* glad.
- *sigbot** *Vt.* fish pulling hard at the bait. *Prdm:* mənigbot, səsigbot.
- sigbu'** *Vs.* yellow.
- *signal** *Vi.* signal. *From:* English. *Prdm:* səmignal.
- sigor** *Vs.* with obstacles. *Prdm:* sigor, asigor.
- sigu** *N.* teacher. *From:* Malay.
- sija'** *Adv.* merely.
- sikin** *Vi.* shake hands. *From:* English. *Prdm:* sikin, səmikin, sənikin.
- *sikit** *Vi.* light up. *Prdm:* mənikit, sənikit, səmikit.
- *sikog** *Vt.* push. *Prdm:* mənikog, səmikog, sənikog.
- *sikok** *Vi.* cry sobbing. *Prdm:* gəsikok.
- sikon** *N.* footsteps.
- siku** *N.* elbow.
- sikut** *N.* mouse.
- sila'** *Cl, N.* cl gen; a grain of rice.
- *silak** *V.* lick. *Prdm:* mənilak, səmilak, sənilak.
- sili'** *N.* kettle.
- siling** *N.* ceiling. *From:* English.
- sillun** *Vs.* other.
- *sillung** *V.* clothe. *Prdm:* mənillung, səmillung, gəsillung.
- silokomut** *N.* halfgod.
- silong** *N.* Malay parrot.
- silop** *Vs.* water being over the head.
- silot** *N.* Malay self defence. *From:* Malay.
- silut** *N.* each person.
- simbor** *Vs.* obstruct(ed), hinder(ed). *Prdm:* simbor, asimbor, mənimbör.
- *simbung** *V.* always talk about one's problems. *Prdm:* gəsimbang.
- sina'** *N.* Chinese.
- sinag** *Vs.* shine.
- *singgit** *Vt.* touch. *Prdm:* məninggit, səninggit, səminggit.
- singki** *N.* sink. *From:* Malay/English.
- singol** *N.* handkerchief; towel.
- sinso** *N.* chainsaw.
- siop** *Vs.* ready. *From:* Malay. *Prdm:* siop, gəsiop.
- sio-sio** *Adv.* vain. *From:* Malay. *Prdm:* sio-sio.
- sipa'** *Vi.* play sepak takraw. *Prdm:* gəsipa'.
- sipag** *N.* other side.
- sipat** *Vit.* disturb. *Prdm:* sipat, asipat, mənipat.
- *siram** *Vt.* pour water on. *From:* Malay. *Prdm:* məniram, səmiram, səniram.
- *siri** *Vt.* sort grains with winnowing tray. *Prdm:* məniri, səmiri, səniri.
- sirom** *N.* world of the dead.
- siruk** *Vs.* ashamed. *Prdm:* siruk, asiruk, gəsiruk.
- sirung** *Vi;* *N.* shade. *Prdm:* sirung, asirung, mənirung.
- siub** *N.* blanket.
- siud** *N.* creel.
- siway** *Num.* nine.
- sob** *Conj.* when.
- soksok** *N.* houselizard.
- sollot** *Adv.* sometimes.
- soro** *N.* voice.
- sot** *Vs.* short (electricity). *From:*

- English.
- *ssak** *Vs.* ripe; cooked. *Prdm:* assak, bəgəssak.
- ssay** *N.* large frog.
- *ssay** *Vt.* lay out dead body. *Prdm:* məngəssay.
- ssi** *N.* content (general; meat (animal)).
- *ssi** *Vt.* fill. *Prdm:* məngəssi, məssi, nissi, bərengəssi.
- ssin** *N.* money.
- ssing** *N.* cat.
- *ssob** *Vi.* come. *Prdm:* məssob, kəssob.
- *ssol** *Vt.* press with the fingers. *Prdm:* məngəssol, məsson, nissol.
- ssom** *N.* citrus fruit.
- ssom anak-anak** lime.
- ssom gayo** pomelo.
- *ssom** *Vs.* sour. *Prdm:* assom, məngəssom, məssom, nissom.
- *ssuk** *Vs.* thick. *Prdm:* assuk.
- ssul** *N.* salary.
- ssung** *N.* mortar.
- *ssur** *Vt.* push forward. *Prdm:* məssur, məngəssur, nissur, gəgəssur.
- *su'** *V.* rope getting loose; knot coming undone. *Prdm:* bəsu'; məngəsu', məsu', nisu'.
- sua'** *N.* boat pole.
- suat** *Vs.* suitable. *Prdm:* suat, gəsuat.
- suba'** *Vt.* try. *From:* Malay.
- subot** *Vs.* overgrown.
- Subpan** *N.* Subpan.
- subu** *N.* morning. *From:* Arabic.
- *subul** *Vt.* coax. *Prdm:* mənubul, səmubul, sənibul.
- sudu'** *N.* spoon.
- suga'** *Conj.* but.
- sugbol** *Vs.* come up by chance.
- *sugbuk** *Vt.* collide. *Prdm:* mənugbuk, səmugbuk, sənikbuk, asugbuk.
- *sugka'** *V.* sow. *Prdm:* mənugka', səmugka', sigka'.
- sugkang** *N.* hornbill.
- sujan** *N.* tortoise.
- sujan bbu'** soft shielded tortoise; river tortoise; *Trionyx cartilagineus*.
- sujan llang** hard shielded tortoise.
- sujan sapit** soft shielded river tortoise.
- *sukab** *Vt.* open roof from inside out for the russay ritual. *Prdm:* səmukab sapow.
- sukang** *N.* something that blocks a curse.
- suk kib** *N.* lid of water snail.
- sukkol** *Vs.* worry. *Prdm:* sukkol, gəsukkol.
- *sukot** *Vt.* inform. *Prdm:* mənukot, səmukot, sikot, sərukot.
- sukpu'** *N.* live coals.
- suku** *Qnt, N.* all.
- suku sakat** *N.* descentence.
- sukud** *N.* luck.
- *sukung** *Vi.* flood coming up. *Prdm:* səmukung.
- sukup** *Vs.* enough. *Prdm:* sukup, gəsukup.
- sukur** *Vs.* thank. *From:* Malay. *Prdm:* sukur, məgsukur.
- *sulok** *Vi.* creeping under something. *Prdm:* səmulok.
- sulon** *Vs.* cold.
- Sulug** *N.* Sulu.
- sumba'** *Vs.* pink.
- sumur** *Vs.* usual.
- sundor** *Vs.* coquet; immodest (of a woman's conduct). *Prdm:* sundor.
- *sungang** *N.* opening song of russay ritual. *Prdm:* gəsungang.
- *sungkit** *Vt.* harvest with pole. *Prdm:* mənungkit, səmungkit, singkit.
- suntu'** *N.* example. *From:* Malay.
- suok** *Vi.* enter. *Prdm:* suok, səmuok.
- suran** *N.* story.
- surat** *N.* letter.
- *surip** *Vt.* weave basket. *Prdm:* mənurip, səmurip, sirip.
- suru** *Vs, Nloc.* direct; heading. *Prdm:* suru.
- surun** *N.* poisonous wasp.
- susu** *N.* milk.
- suti** *N.* holiday. *From:* Malay.
- suwu'** *Vt.* feed by putting food into

someone's mouth. *Prdm:* suwu', siwu'.

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- tabak** *N.* large tray on legs.
- *tabang** *Vt.* help. *Prdm:* mənabang, tobang, tebang, məkətebang, tərabang.
- *tabas** *Vt.* cut pattern out of cloth. *Prdm:* mənabas, tobas, tebas.
- *tabid** *Vt.* hold and twist. *Prdm:* mənabid, tobid, tebid, tərabid.
- *tabung** *Vt.* add into liquid. *Prdm:* mənabung, tobung, tebung, sətabung.
- tada'-tada'** *N.* first night of russay ritual.
- taddi'** *N.* spur.
- *tadin** *Vt.* curse. *Prdm:* mənadin, todin, tedin, təradin.
- *tadtas** *Vt.* chase. *Prdm:* mənadtas, todtas, tedtas, təradtas, sətadtas.
- tadtik** *N.* small village far inland.
- taga'** *N.* adze.
- *tagad** *Vt.* hurl. *Prdm:* mənagad, togad, tegad.
- tagay** *N.* salt.
— salt something. *Prdm:* mənagay, togay, tegay.
- *tagbas** *Vt.* drain off juice. *Prdm:* mənagbas, togbas, tegbas.
- *tagbis** *Vt.* throw with objects out of anger; blame. *Prdm:* mənagbis, togbis, tegbis, tərabis.
- *tagbun** *Vt.* cover something drying in the sun. *Prdm:* mənagbun, togbun, tegbun.
- taggop** *Vs.* sturdy; strong of body.
- *tagi'** *Vt.* demand money. *From:* Malay? *Prdm:* mənagi'.
- tagub** *Vit.* each. *Prdm:* tagub, mənagub.
- tahun** *N.* year. *From:* Malay?
- *taing** *Vt.* swing something heavy; throw away swinging. *Prdm:* toing, mətosing, mənasing.
- takas** *Vt.* hurry up. *Prdm:* gətakas, tokas, takas-takas.
- Takəlan** *N.* Takelan.
- takin** *N.* fragrant leaves.
- *takkor** *Vt.* dare do something. *Prdm:* tokkor, təkəkor.
- *takku'** *Vt.* give (in the sense of pass on). *Prdm:* mənakku', tokku', tekku'.
- takkuy putti** *N.* banana blossom.
- *takow** *Vt.* steal. *Prdm:* mənakow, tokow, tekow.
- *talang** *Vt.* suspend. *Prdm:* tolang, mənalang.
- tali** *N.* rope.
- *talid** *Vt.* avoid (places or persons). *Prdm:* mənalid, tolid, telid.
- talli'** *Vs.* has a speech problem. *Prdm:* talli', atalli'.
- *tallop** *V.* many people visit a dying person. *Prdm:* mənallop, tollop.
- talow** *Vs.* always afraid; be a coward. *Prdm:* talow, sətalow, pənalow.
- talun** *N.* fallow land.
- talung** *N.* eggplant; brinjal.
- *tambang** *Vt.* noise of house lizard; knock with knockels. *Prdm:* tombang, tambang.
- *tambo** *Vt.* add. *From:* Malay. *Prdm:* tombo.
- tambur** *N.* drum.
- tambus** *Vs.* pierced. *Prdm:* tambus, tərambus.
- tamong** *N.* parent in law; child in law.
- *tamos** *Vt.* store. *Prdm:* mənamos, tomos, temos.
- tamu** *N.* guest.
- tana'** *Vs.* low. *Prdm:* tana', atana', tona'.
- tanan** *Vs.* (can't) bear to. *Prdm:* tanan.
- tanda'** *N.* sign.
- *tandak** *Vt.* perch. *Prdm:* tondak.

- *tanding** *Vt.* inspect; look carefully.
Prdm: mənanding, tonding, tending.
- tanduk** *N.* horns.
- *tanggung** *Vt./N.* yoke; carry with yoke.
Prdm: mənanggung, təranggung.
- tangka'** *Vs.* endure. *Prdm:* tangka', tongka', mənangka'.
- tangkay** *N.* stalk. *From:* Malay.
- tangki** *N.* tank.
- *tangkap** *Vt.* catch. *From:* Malay. *Prdm:* mənangkap, tongkop, tengkop.
- tangob** *Vt.* close door; cover food. *Prdm:* mənangob, tongob, tengob.
— *N.* lid, cover.
- *tangos** *Vi.* have a steam bath to recover from childbirth. *Prdm:* tongos, tengos.
- tangsi** *N.* catgut. *From:* Malay.
- *tangu'** *V.* hide. *Prdm:* mənangu', tengu'.
- *tangug** *Vt.* bark; carry in the beak. *Prdm:* məngangug, tongug, tengug.
- taning** *N.* winnowing tray.
- *tannan** *Vt.* fix trap. *Prdm:* mənannan, tonnan, tennan.
- *tanom** *Vt.* burry. *Prdm:* mənanom, tonom, tenom.
- tantu** *Adv.* fixed.
- tapak** *N.* plate; tip.
- tapak-taway** *N.* last house of village.
- tapoy** *N.* rice wine.
- tappag** *N.* frame.
- tappak** *N.* end.
- tappig** *Vi.* go boldly. *Prdm:* mənappig, tappig.
- tapuk** *Vit.* stay behind. *Prdm:* tapuk, mənəpuk, topuk, tepuk.
- *taram** *Vi.* gather (ants). *Prdm:* mənaram, sətaram.
- tari** *Vs.* fruits that do not get ripe.
- tarom** *N.* tray.
- *taru** *Vt.* put. *From:* Malay. *Prdm:* mənaru, tətaru.
- tasak** *N.* blossom. *Prdm:* gətosak.
- tassa'** *Cl.* classifier for animals.
- tassam** *N.* vegetables.
— *V.* grow vegetable; cook vegetables. *Prdm:* gətassam, mənassam, tossam, tessam.
- *tassap** *Vt.* peel sugar cane. *Prdm:* mənassap, tossap, tessap.
- *tata'** *Vi.* cry. *Prdm:* tota', sətata'.
- *tatab** *Vt.* ask to marry. *Prdm:* mənatab, təratab, totab, tetab.
- *tato** *V.* call searching for someone. *Prdm:* gətato, teto.
- *tatta'** *Vi.* drip. *Prdm:* totta', sətatta'.
- *tattab** *Vt.* stab. *Prdm:* mənattab, tottab, tettab.
- *tattag** *Vt.* fix rattan rope on the roof above a dead body. *Prdm:* mənattag, tottag, tettag.
- *tattas** *Vt.* unstitch. *Prdm:* mənattas, tottas, tettas, atattas.
- *taug** *V.* bark; carry in the beak. *Prdm:* məngaug, toug.
- taum** *N.* type of plant used as medicine.
- taun** *N.* fire wood.
- *tawar** *Vt.* treat with prayer. *From:* Malay. *Prdm:* mənawar, towar, tewar, sətawar.
- tawar dda'** *N.* white sweatband for a dead person.
- *tawog** *Vt.* catch crocodile. *Prdm:* mənawog.
- *tawog-tawog** *Vt.* slow beat of the gong for announcing death. *Prdm:* towog-towog, tewog-tewog.
- tayar** *N.* tire.
- təbarut** *N.* waxgourd.
- təbiot** *Vi;* *N.* behave; behaviour. *From:* Malay.
- təbpan** *N.* bank.
- təbpang təllu** *N.* cooking place for a huge cauldron with three poles.
- *təbpas** *Vit.* let go a cloth (to install kelambu or curtain). *Prdm:* mənəbpas, tubpas, tibpas.
- təbpi** *N.* steep riverside.
- təbpi'** *Vs.* chipped.
- təbpi pasang** *N.* full sea.

- təbpo** *Vs.* aware.
- *təbpok** *Vt.* inject. *Prdm:* mənəbpok, tubpok, tibpok.
- təbpol** *N.* blowpipe.
— *Vt.* shoot with blowpipe. *Prdm:* mənəbpol, tubpol, tibpol.
- *təbpong** *Vt.* fell. *Prdm:* mənəbpong, tubpong, tibpong, atəbpong.
- təbpu** *N.* sugercane.
- *təbpu'** *Vi.* grow. *Prdm:* tubpu', təbpu', sətəbpu'.
- təbpud** *N.* bathing place in river.
- təbpud** *Vs.* still hard even after boiling (rice). *Prdm:* təbpud, gətəbpud.
- *təbpul** *Vi.* appear somewhere (people who are travelling). *Prdm:* təbpul, tubpul.
- təbuan** *N.* ant eater (*Manis javanica*).
- *tədtung** *N;Vt.* cover head. *Prdm:* mənədtung, tudtung.
- tədupuk** *Vs.* collide.
- təduru'** *N.* finger.
təduru' ppi' finger.
təduru' kasu' toe.
təduru' ittoy little finger.
təduru' manis ring finger.
təduru' pəniduk index finger.
təduru' tənga' middle finger.
- tə(g)-** *Prefix.* intensive form of adjectives.
- təgabag** *Vs.* placed crosswise (girt, or child in the womb).
- təgagak** *N.* small bird.
- təgai** *N.* sun hat.
- *təgalan** *Vt.* weed. *Prdm:* mənəgalan, tənəgalan, tənəgelan.
- təganno** *Vs.* accidentally break a secret. *Prdm:* təganno, atəganno.
- təgbangan** *N.* macaque.
- təgbəngol** *Vs.* choke (eating tough meet etc).
- təgbolay** *Vi.* start family.
- təgbuk** *Vt.* meet. *Prdm:* təgbuk, atəgbuk, mənəgbuk, tugbuk, tigbuk, tərəgbuk.
- təgbuku** *N.* bun in the hair.
- təgbungan** *Vs.* recur (disease after complete recovery).
- təgigkab** *Vs.* burp.
- təgkas** *N.* hard wood.
- təgki'** *Vs.* pregnant. *Prdm:* təgki', atəgki', gətəgki', badung gətəgki'.
- təgkop** *Vs.* covered with a blanket (children). *Prdm:* təgkop, gətəgkop.
- *təgkuk** *Vt.* drink (fig.). *Prdm:* mənəgkuk, tigkuk, bərənīkuk.
- təgunggu'** *N; Vi.* gong. *Prdm:* təgunggu', gətəgunggu'.
- tekka'** *Adv.* in vain.
- tekuan** *N.* teapot. *From:* Malay, Chinese?
- temba'** *N.* pickled food.
— *V.* pickle food. *Prdm:* mənemba', tənemba', tənemba'.
- tep** *N.* tape. *From:* English.
- tes!** *Excl.* exclamation of irritation.
- teso** *N.* larbe bundle of nipah palm (nipah fruticans).
- *təjom** *Vi.* smile. *Prdm:* gətəjom.
- təkala'** *Vi.* burst out in laughter.
- təkəp** *Vs.* stay in the row.
- təkəsan** *N.* house where someone has passed away.
- təkərung** *N.* puddle in the jungle.
- təkiron ama'** *N.* child whose father is dead.
- təkiron ina'** *N.* child whose mother is dead.
- təkiron ina' ama'** *N.* orphan.
- təkka'** *Vs.* flat belly.
- *təkkon** *Vt.* burn, wood on the land. *Prdm:* mənəkkon, tukkon, tikkon.
- təkulon** *N.* scar.
- təlaktur** *N.* tractor. *From:* English.
- təlanguy** *N.* ground lizard.
- tələppu' kasu'** *N.* big toe.
- tələppu' ppi'** *N.* thumb.
- *təling** *Vi.* look back. *Prdm:* gətəling.
- təlingo** *N.* ear.
- təlis** *Vs.* clear sound. *Prdm:* təlis, atəlis.
- təliso** *Vs.* hear clearly.
- təliting** *N.* tree-trunk.

- təllad** *Vs.* correct.
- *təllong** *Vi.* dive. *Prdm:* gətəllong.
- təllu** *Num.* three.
- tələmbung** *N.* young coconut.
- tələbow** *N.* brim of hat.
- tələttuk** *N.* coconutfibre.
- təmbaga'** *N.* copper.
- təmbarun** *N.* owl.
- təmbuku** *N.* button.
- təməgundu'** *V.* see big and numerous people from afar. *Prdm:* təməgundu'.
- təmərībus** *Vi.* many people enter water. *Prdm:* təmərībus.
- *təmmak** *Vt.* divide in two. *Prdm:* mənəmmak, tummak, timmak, təəmmak, təmərummak, tənərimmak.
- təmmil** *Vs.* cool.
- *təmmog** *Vt.* pierce with sharp object. *Prdm:* mənəmmog, tummog, timmog.
- təmmol** *Vs.* soft. *Prdm:* təmmol, atəmmol.
- təmpayan** *N.* jar. *From:* Malay?
- təmpitut** *N.* small bird.
- təndippan** *N.* kind of seafood laut.
— *V.* look for tendippan. *Prdm:* məndippan.
- təngap** *N.* bag.
- *təngip** *Vt.* bail. *Prdm:* mənəngip, tungip, tingip.
- təngga'** *Vs.* half.
- tənggos** *Vs.* fast flowing.
- tənggul** *N.* throat.
- tənnuk** *Vs.* sound asleep. *Prdm:* tənnuk, atənnuk.
- *tənnung** *Vi.* foretell. *Prdm:* gətənnung.
- təpisan** *N.* strainer. *From:* Malay.
- tərakin** *N.* string.
- tərapig** *N.* wild female pig.
- təray** *N.* belly.
- *tərepag** *Vt.* lay down in piles. *Prdm:* mənərepag.
- *tərəmi** *Vt.* tidy up. *Prdm:* mənərəmi, təmərumi, tənərimi.
- tərampanid** *N.* legendary bird.
- təratton** *Vs.* of one piece again (broken bones or sticks).
- təridang** *Vs.* burst because of drought (earth).
- *tərima'** *Vt.* receive. *From:* Malay. *Prdm:* mənərima', təmərima', tənərima'.
- tərimuk** *Vs.* have goose bumps.
- tərimuk** *Vi.* spirits of the rice crawl to the place where the harvest is stored.
- təring** *N.* bamboo.
- tərinib** *Vs.* close to each other (houses).
- təripun** *Vit.* gather. *Prdm:* təripun, gətəripun, mənəripun, təməripun, tənəripun.
- təritup** *Vs.* grains burst open while popping.
- təron** *Vs.* panic. *Prdm:* təron, atəron.
- tərsilo** *N.* signal.
- tərubag** *Vs.* sound of marbles beating against each other in a tin.
- tərugan** *N.* bed.
- təruppa'** *N.* shoes.
- tərus** *Vs.* straight. *From:* Malay.
- tərutun** *Vs.* packed; compact (words).
- tərutu'** *Vs.* arranged (speech).
- təssong** *Vt.* stuff.
— *N.* stopper; plug; cork. *Prdm:* mənəssong, tussong, tissong, atəssong.
- tətamu** *N.* guest. *From:* Malay.
- *təttob** *Vt.* split (watermelon or young coconut). *Prdm:* mənəttob, tuttob, tittob.
- təttod** *Vi.* stick (leech). *Prdm:* tuttod.
- təttog** *Vs.* steady. *Prdm:* təttog.
- *təttok** *Vt.* chop up (flesh and bones). *Prdm:* mənəttok, tuttok, tittok.
- *təttol** *Vt.* tidy up to pack a bag. *Prdm:* mənəttol, tuttol, tittol.
- tətukkol-tukkol** *Vs.* long objects piled up stuffed without order.
- tətuo** *N.* old person.
- tībom** *Vs.* toothless. *Prdm:* tibom, atibom.
- *tību'** *Vt.* hit with fist. *Prdm:* mənību',

- təmbu', tənibu'.
- tidig** *N.* side of the head.
- tidog** *Vs.* high, straight. *Prdm:* tidog, mənidog.
- tidog dtow** *N.* noon.
- tidong** *Cl.* classifier for one finger of banana's or one corn cob.
— *N.* wild banana.
- *tiduk** *Vt.* point. *Prdm:* məniduk, təmiduk, təniduk.
- tigku** *Vs.* bright (the whole place).
- tigur** *N.* nipah palm (nipa fruticans).
- Tikog** *N.* Tikog river.
- tiksa'** *Vs.* suffer. *Prdm:* tiksa', məngətiksa'.
- tikung-kərow** *N.* bird without tail.
- tilab** *Cl.* cl flat objects.
- tili'** *N.* step relative.
- *tillab** *Vi.* nervous; heart beats because of something scaring. *Prdm:* gətillab atay.
- tilom** *N.* mattress.
- timba'** *N.* bucket. *From:* Malay.
- *timbang** *Vit.* shoot. *Prdm:* gətimbang (explode), mənimbak (shoot), təmimbak, tənimbak, tərimbak.
- *timbow** *Vit.* eat (speaker is cursing out of anger). *Prdm:* gətimbow, sətimbow.
- timpu** *V.* set the date. *Prdm:* timpu, tərimpu, mənimpu, təmimpu, tənimpu.
- timun** *N.* cucumber.
- *tina'** *Vt.* pass message. *Prdm:* mənina' təmina', tənina'.
- *tinam** *Vt.* try. *Prdm:* məninam, təminam, təninam, tərinam.
- *tindak** *Vit.* step on. *Prdm:* gətindak, mənindak, təmindak, tənindak, atindak.
- tindog** *N.* pole.
- tinggol** *Adv.* remains only this. *From:* Malay.
- tingguk** *N.* beak.
- tingkot** *N.* story (level). *From:* Malay.
- tingo** *N.* food rests between the teeth.
- tino** *N.* mother (animals); mother (people, fig).
- *tinong** *Vt.* aim at (shooting). *Prdm:* məninong, təminong, təninong.
- tiop** *Vs.* every. *From:* Malay.
- tiow** *Vs.* clear.
- tipol** *Vs.* whole (day). *Prdm:* tipol dtow.
- *tippak** *Vt.* shake out. *Prdm:* mənipak, təmippak, tənippak, tərippak.
- tippas** *Vs.* whole (night through).
- *tippus** *Vt.* suck up. *Prdm:* mənipus, təmippus, tənippus.
- tiru'** *Vt.* teach. *Prdm:* məniru', təmiru', təniru', tətiru'.
— *N.* teaching.
- *tisa'** *Vi.* work hard for. *Prdm:* bətisa'.
- tissi'** *N.* scales.
— *V.* remove scales. *Prdm:* mənissi', təmissi', tənissi'.
- tissing** *N.* ring.
- titik** *N;* *Vt.* play kulintangan or drum with sticks. *Prdm:* titik, gətitik.
- titin** *N.* toilet.
- tittib** *Vit.* fly against obstacle. *Prdm:* tittib, tənittib, təmittib.
- tittib llung** *N.* water side.
- tittoy** *Vs.* small.
- tiu'** *Vs.* hit. *Prdm:* tiu', təriu'.
- tiud** *N.* coconut shell.
- toke** *N.* landowner. *From:* Chinese.
- tola'** *N.* towel. *From:* Malay.
- tolop-tolop** *Vs.* fade away; become unclear.
- ton** *Prt.* particle marking contrastive or new topic.
- *tot** *Vt.* oppress. *Prdm:* məngətot, mətot, nitot, apətot.
- *tow** *Vs.* know. *Prdm:* atow, tow, bəgətow.
- tow puti'** *N.* white person.
- *tta'** *Vs.* unripe. *Prdm:* atta'.
- ttak** *N.* portion.
- ttan** *Vs.* see. *Prdm:* ttan, kəttan, gəgəttan, kəkəttan.
- *ttang** *Vi.* run away (for good). *Prdm:*

- məttang, kəttang.
***ttap** *Vt.* winnow. *Prdm:* məngəttap, məttap, nittap.
ttas *Nloc.* top.
***ttas** *Vs.* high. *Prdm:* attas, bəgəttas, məngəpəttas.
ttay *N.* excrements.
***ttog** *Vt.* cease. *Prdm:* bəttog, məngəttog.
ttud *N.* tree trunk.
***ttut** *Vi.* fart. *Prdm:* bəgəttut.
ttuy *Vi.* defecate. *Prdm:* ttuy, kəttuy.
tu *Prtv.* too.
tua' *N.* period; era; time.
***tuan** *Vt.* wrap baby in cloth. *Prdm:* mənuan, təmuan, tiwan.
tuay *N.* clam.
— *V.* look for clams. *Prdm:* mənuyay.
tubag *Vs.* serious (illness); bang one's head against something. *Prdm:* tubag, mənubag.
tubid *Vs.* capable. *Prdm:* tubid, atubid, kətibid.
***tubo** *Vt.* poison prawns or fish. *Prdm:* mənubo, təmubo, tibo.
tubu *N.* descendance.
tudow *N.* male flying lizard.
***tuduk** *Vt.* dip. *Prdm:* təmutuk.
***tudung** *Vt.* pile up. *Prdm:* mənərudung, tərudung, təmərudung.
tudur *N.* tail bone (person).
***tug** *Vs.* dry. *Prdm:* atug, bəgəttug, pəpəttug.
***tugal** *Vt.* plant with dibble. *Prdm:* mənugal, təmugal, tugal.
tugban *Vs.* collapse; lie down. *Prdm:* tugban, təmugban.
tugu *N.* monument. *From:* Malay.
tugus *Vst.* go on; exceedingly. *Prdm:* tugus, təmugus, mənugus, sətugus.
Tuhan *N.* Lord. *From:* Malay.
tui *Dem.adv.* here.
tuka' *N.* grasshopper.
tuka' ragow *N.* type of grass hopper.
tukal *Vs.* thin.
tukong *N.* craftsman. *From:* Malay.
tukong mənarot *N.* person who bathes a dead body.
tukpik-tukpik *Vt.* threw small object (water, mud, dough).
tuku *N.* crossbeam.
tukud *N;* *Nloc.* back.
***tukun** *Vt.* wrap cigarette. *Prdm:* mənukun, təmukun, tikun.
***tula'** *Vt.* blame. *Prdm:* mənula', (gə)təru'la'.
***tulis** *Vt.* write. *Prdm:* mənulis, təmulis, tilis.
tullang *N.* bone.
tullang dda' *N.* chin.
***tulud** *Vi.* fly. *Prdm:* təmulud.
***tulung** *Vt.* help. *From:* Malay.
***tumbos** *Vt.* return a good deed; revenge. *Prdm:* mənumbos.
tumok *Vs.* small.
***tumor** *Vt.* wrap a newborn baby in cloth. *Prdm:* təmumor.
tumpi' *N.* egg shaped donuts.
tun *Prt.* really.
tuna' *Vs.* fixed; permanent. *Prdm:* tuna', təmuna'.
tunang *N.* fiancé.
— *V.* get engaged; be engaged. *Prdm:* tərunang, gətərunang.
tunay *Vs.* hit exactly; spear hits an object and stays there.
***tundan** *Vt.* follow behind. *Prdm:* mənundan, tərundan.
tung *N.* tub.
tunggal *N.* sole; single.
tungkang *N.* pan (archaic).
Tungku *N.* Tungku.
tunob *N.* heel (of the foot).
— *V.* kick with the heel. *Prdm:* mənunob, təmunob, tinob.
tunong *Adv.* here.
***tunsud** *Vt.* plough under. *Prdm:* mənunsud, təmunud, tinsud.
***tunu** *Vt.* burn. *Prdm:* mənunu, təmunu, tinu.

- ***tunuy** *Vt.* attach a rope. *Prdm:* mənunuy, təmunuy, tinuy.
tuō *Vs.* old.
tuong *Vs.* dark. *Prdm:* tuong, gətuong.
tuow *N.* peacock.
tuppuk *N.* bunch. *Prdm:* sətuppuk, təruppuk.
turu' *Num.* seven.
turug *Vs.* sleep.
turug məpog *Vs.* stay away from home for too long. *Prdm:* turug, mənurug.
turug-manuk *Vs.* half asleep.
***tus** *Vs.* have time. *Prdm:* kətus, atus.
tuso *Vs.* difficult. *Prdm:* tuso, atuso, gətuso.
***tussug** *Vt.* invite. *Prdm:* mənussug, tissug, təmissug, bərnissug.
- ***tusu** *Vt.* drink milk. *Prdm:* mənusu, pətusu.
***tusuk** *Vt.* follow road. *Prdm:* mənusuk, təmusuk, tisuk.
***tusun** *Vt.* arrange. *Prdm:* mənusun, təmusun, tisun.
tutot *Vs.* fixed; regular.
tuttug *Vt.* fall out (grains, hair). *Prdm:* tuttug, mənuttug, təmuttug.
tuttul *N.* watersnail.
— *V.* look for water snails. *Prdm:* mənuttul.
***tutu** *Vt.* pound rice. *Prdm:* mənutu, təmutu, titu.
***tutun** *Vt.* follow. *Prdm:* mənutun, təmutun, titun.

U - u

- u-** *Infix.* Dependent.
uam *N.* straw.
***uang** *Vi.* howl. *Prdm:* bəguang.
***uat** *Vit.* get up. *Prdm:* buat (get up); muat, mənguat, niwat (get someone up).
***ubak** *Vt.* lay in cradle. *Prdm:* məngubak, mubak, nibak.
***ubor** *Vt.* thresh with hands. *Prdm:* məngubor, mubor, nibor.
ubot *N.* medicine.
— *V.* give medical treatment. *Prdm:* bəgubot, bəgibot, mubot, nibot.
***ubus** *Vt.* pour out. *Prdm:* mubus, nibus.
ubut *N.* swinging cradle.
udi *Dem.* there.
udtung *N.* watermelon.
***udtung** *Vt.* cut off top part (trees). *Prdm:* məngudtung, mudtung, pudtung, gəpudtung.
ugamo *N.* religion. *From:* Malay.
***ugas** *Vt.* wash. *Prdm:* bəgugas, mugas, nigas, bigas; bugas, abugas.
ugba' *Vi.* rest. *Prdm:* mugba', kugba'.
- *N.* rest.
ukat *N.* hearsay.
ukok *N.* underpants.
***ukos** *Vt.* cut a long object in two. *Prdm:* məngukos, mukos, nikos, pikos, (a)pukos.
***ukow** *Vit.* wake up. *Prdm:* pukow (wake up), məngukow, mukow (wake someone up).
***ukpuk** *Vt.* hit with a hammer. *Prdm:* məngukpuk, mukpuk.
ukum *N.* judgement. *From:* Malay.
***ukur** *Vt.* measure. *From:* Malay. *Prdm:* məngukur, mukur, nikur.
ulan *N.* luggage; clothes; goods; load.
— *Vt.* load. *Prdm:* bəgulan.
ulang *N.* snake.
***ulang** *Vt.* repeat. *From:* Malay. *Prdm:* mulang.
***uli'** *Vi.* go home. *Prdm:* muli', kuli', kuli-uli', təguli'.
ullo *Int.* why.
***ullo** *Vt.* rinse. *Prdm:* məngullo, mullo, nillo.

- ulod** *N.* worm.
ulod gonggo *N.* type of worms.
ulod tataru *N.* poisonous worm with itchy fur.
ulu *N.* head.
***ulug** *Vt.* bring down. *Prdm:* mængulug, mulug, nilug.
ulun *N.* person.
umang *N.* heremitecrab.
***umban** *Vt.* rummage through. *Prdm:* mængumban, mumban, nimban.
***ummu'** *Vt.* take away to the house. *Prdm:* mængummu', mummu', nimmu' .
umo *N.* rice field.
— *V.* grow rice. *Prdm:* bægumo.
umur *N.* age. *From:* Malay.
undang *N.* law. *From:* Malay.
***undok** *Vi.* go places. *Prdm:* mundok.
***undom** *Vi.* miss. *Prdm:* bægundom.
ungal *N.* cob.
***unggol** *Vt.* break off. *Prdm:* punggol, mængunggol, munggol.
***ungung** *Vt.* pull out (milk tooth). *Prdm:* bungung (fall out) mængungung, mungung, bingung, ningung (pull out).
unguy-tu-unguy *Vi.* cry loudly. *Prdm:* unguy-tu-unguy, səməunguy.
uni *N.* speech.
***unong** *Vt.* finish. *Prdm:* punong, mængunong, munong, gəpunong.
untuk *prep.* for. *From:* Malay.
uo' *N.* my daughter.
***upin** *Vt.* repair; be careful. *Prdm:* mængupin, mupin, nipin.
***upog** *Vt.* thresh. *Prdm:* bægupog, mupog, nipog.
***uppu'** *Vt.* launder. *Prdm:* mænguppu', muppu', nippu', apuppu' .
***upud** *Vs.* finish (battery). *Prdm:* pupud; mænguput, muput.
***urak** *V.* attack. *Prdm:* bəgurak, murak, nirak.
uran *N;Vi.* rain.
***urud** *Vt.* cut to pieces (meat). *Prdm:* bəgurud, murud, nirud.
urung *N.* end.
***urus** *Vt.* look after. *From:* Malay. *Prdm:* mængurus, murus, nirus, gəgurus, purus.
***urut** *Vt.* pick up; collect, gather. *Prdm:* mængurut, murut, nirut.
***uruy** *Vt.* stand. *Prdm:* buruy (stand), mængəburuy, mænguruy (cause to stand).
uso *N.* gathered food; result of hunting or fishing.
— *V.* gather food by hunting or fishing. *Prdm:* mænguso, pənguso.
us-tu-us *Vs.* out of breath.
***usur** *Vt.* talk; tell. *Prdm:* bəgusur, musur, nisur, gəgusur.
utang *N.* debt.
utin *N.* penis.
***uyok** *Vt.* request. *Prdm:* mənguyok, muyok, niyok, sənguyok, bərəngiok.

W - w

- widwid** *N.* small bird of omen.
wog *N.* vagina.
***wow** *Vs.* lost. *Prdm:* awow, bəgəwow.

Appendix C: List of texts

Main Corpus, texts entered into Shoebox

Speaker	Age	Sex	Genre	Title	Topic	Words
Ama' Bibos Sumbingan	60+	M	Animal story	<i>Asu bio Bakas</i>	Dog and Wild Pig	420
Ama' Bibos Sumbingan	60+	M	Animal story	<i>Boyo bio Pelanuk</i>	Crocodile and Mousedeer	538
Kamman Purakog	60+	M	Animal story	<i>Bangow</i>	Large Egret	162
Kamman Purakog	60+	M	Animal story	<i>Belekekkom</i>	Bug	108
Kamman Purakog	60+	M	Animal Story	<i>Kak</i>	Crow	119
Minan Bellu' Tawid	40+	F	Animal story	<i>Gongan bio Tuttul</i>	Baby Prawn and Water Snail	411
Minan Bellu' Tawid	40+	F	Animal story	<i>Kalibambang bio sengoyan</i>	Butterfly and Monkey	691
Kamman Appan Puksang	50+	M	Animal story	<i>Rengon</i>	Mr. and Mrs. Civet	1217
Minan Kenutik Petatang	40+	F	Animal story	<i>Tudow</i>	Mr. and Mrs. Cameleon	1307
Payna Bibos Ina' Tingkas Lebpo Inni' Sipag Martin Nelleke Goudswaard	30+ 50 60+ 30+ 27	F F F M F	Conversation	<i>Conversation Harvest</i>		1670
Ina' Tingkas Lebpo Inni' Sipag Minan Mipay Nelleke Goudswaard	50 60+ 50+ 27	F F F F	Conversation	<i>Conversation selectiong seed</i>		4030

Speaker	Age	Sex	Genre	Title	Topic	Words
Payna Bibos	30+	F	Conversation	<i>Conversation Trip to Lahad Datu</i>		1760
Ina' Tingkas	50	F				
Lebpo						
Elvin Pius	12	M				
Nelleke Goudswaard	27	F				
Ina' Tingkas	50	F	Conversation	<i>Conversation koko1+2+3</i>		7200
Lebpo						
Minan Mipay	50+	F				
Payna Bibos	30+	F				
Zam Lee	30+	M				
Bibos						
Nelleke Goudswaard	27	F				
Priscilla Pius (Mimi)	3	F				
Minan Metig	40+	F	Conversation	<i>Conversation corn</i>		3800
Minan		F				
Kenutik	40+	F				
Petatang		F				
Babu	40+	F				
Liza	30	F				
Minan	30+					
Selampun						
Tawid Nelleke Goudswaard	27					
Minan Metig	40+	F	Conversation	<i>Conversation dogs</i>		5430
Minan	40+	F				
Kenutik		F				
Petatang	30+	F				
Payna Bibos						
Nelleke Goudswaard	27					
Minan Tujun Gasah	60+	F	Explanation	<i>Foodprohibitions</i>		118
	60+		Explanation	<i>Gerussay</i>	Singing and Dancing ritual	356
Minan Tujun Gasah	60+	F	Explanation	<i>Leiwon</i>	Birds of Omen	337
			Explanation	<i>Mupin Layo</i>	Repairing a fishingnet	70

Speaker	Age	Sex	Genre	Title	Topic	Words
Minan Bellu' Tawid	40+	F	Explanation	<i>Ndow</i>	Child ghost	115
Inni' ssay	70+	M	Explanation	<i>Interview Inni'</i>	Burial customs	2123
Inni' Sagbon	70+	F	Explanation	<i>Menugal</i>	Planting rice	1223
Minan Kenutik Petatang	40+	F	Explanation	<i>Teratab</i>	Marriage customs	2285
Minan Metig	40+	F	Explanation/p rocedure	<i>Ama' ku pedtos</i>	Burial customs	3838
Kamman Purakog	60+	M	Folktale	<i>Bbong</i>	Guy with Skindisease	195
Inni' Sagbon	70+	F	Folktale	<i>Dayangpukli</i>	Princess abandoned by the Sultan	2003
Kamman Purakog	60+	M	Folktale	<i>Karut</i>	The first midwife	319
Kamman Purakog	60+	M	Folktale	<i>Ponglamuk</i>	Mr. and Mrs. Musquito	912
Kamman Purakog	60+	M	Folktale	<i>Puttebulig</i>	Crocodile Tamer	319
Kamman Purakog	60+	M	Folktale	<i>Terempanid</i>	Mythical bird	319
Minan Kenutik Petatang	40+	F	Folktale	<i>Bakas</i>	Wild Pigs	781
Minan Lepason Turmiang	40+	F	Folktale	<i>Lekpud gaud</i>	The Broken Paddle	650
Kamman Appan Puksang	50+	M	Folktale	<i>Monay bio Dera'</i>		915
Minan Lepason Turmiang	40+	F	Folktale	<i>Dayangpukli takes revenge</i>	Princess and her stepmother	1638
Minan Lepason Turmiang	40+	F	Folktale	<i>Nine princesses</i>		1963
Kamman Appan Puksang	50+	M	Folktale	<i>Pud</i>	Don't Take a Snake as Pet	334

Speaker	Age	Sex	Genre	Title	Topic	Words
Minan Lepason Turmiang	40+	F	Folktale	<i>Rajo da Kaling Teputow</i>	Prince marries with heavenly princess	2915
Kenutik Petatang	40+	F	Folktale	<i>Soksok</i>	The house lizard	749
Kamman Purakog	60+	M	Folktale	<i>Terampudol</i>	Man with Skindisease	556
Minan Lepason Turmiang	40+	F	Folktale	<i>Tuo Babi</i>	The Poor Man and the Rich Man	999
Kamman Sauh	60+	M	Folktale	<i>Assa'1</i>	Assa' marriage	580
Minan Tujun Gasah	60+	F	Legend	<i>Berigas</i>	Origin of the Berigas Hill	676
Ketua kampung	70+	M	Legend	<i>Buludsung1</i>	Origin of the Sung Hill	89
Kamman Sau'	60+	M	Legend	<i>Buludsung2</i>	Origin of the Sung hill	200
Kamman	60+	M	Legend	<i>Pait Liway</i>	Very Big Fish	190
Minan Tujun Gasah	60+	F	Legend	<i>Tabu Bessa'</i>	Bessa's descendence	189
Minan Tujun Gasah	60+	F	Myth	<i>Leppit</i>	Origin of mankind	528
Inni' Timpu	70+	M	Myth	<i>Anak Doto</i>	Child of the good spirit	235
Inni' Timpu	70+	M	Myth	<i>Payow Mas</i>	The Golden Deer	891
Inni' Timpu	70+	M	Myth	<i>Silokomut</i>	'Silokomut' beings	313
Inni' Tanug	60+	F	Myth	<i>Masi'</i>	Masi' goes to the underworld	1363
Ama' Bibos Sembingan	60+	M	Myth/folktale	<i>Bowon Bura'</i>	The White Sparrow	4933
Ketua kampung	70+	M	Personal story	<i>BibitKPD</i>	Seed of the KPD	252
-		F	Personal story	<i>Kerom</i>	Crippled	113
-		F	Personal story	<i>My husbands</i>		361
Payna Bibos	30+	F	Personal story	<i>Tiu' leiwon</i>	Birds of Omen	105
Ama' Bibos Sembingan	60+	M	Personal story	<i>Zam Lee and Terus</i>		189

Speaker	Age	Sex	Genre	Title	Topic	Words
headman's wife	50+	M	Personal Story	<i>headman's wife</i>		137
Kamman Jadi	60+	M	Personal Story	<i>Jadi</i>		1024
Tina	18	F	Personal story	<i>Tina</i>		82
Kamman Jadi	60+	M	Procedure	<i>Niug</i>	How to process coconuts	219
Payna Bibos	30+	F	Procedure	<i>Timba'</i>	How to make pickled food	149
Minan Bellu' Tawid	40+	F	Procedure	<i>Begigkang</i>	How to grow corn	242
daughter of Minan Bellu' Tawid	30+	F	Procedure	<i>Lano niug</i>	How to make coconut oil	141
Kamman Appan Puksang	50+	M	Procedure	<i>Russay</i>	Singing and dancing ritual	903
Ina' Tingkas Lebpo	50	F	Procedure	<i>Seillag</i>	How to roast rice	695
TOTAL						73.345

The texts in the following table were not entered into Shoebox for various reasons, although some sentences were used as example sentences in this book. These texts were used for language learning.

Speaker	Sex	Age	Genre	Title	Topic	Words
Minan Bellu' Tawid	F	40+	Animal story	<i>Tuttul</i>	Watersnail and Deer	+500
			Conversation	<i>Conversation Kadday</i>		+1500
Inni' Sulok	M	70+	Folktale	<i>Dayangpukli</i>	The abandoned Princess	+2000
Kamman Sau'	M	60+	Folktale	<i>Boluy</i>	Dead man resurrected as giant	+500
Minan Bellu' Tawid	F	40+	Folktale	<i>Mengera' kusur</i>	The Plant-Girl	+ 800
Inni' sipag	F	60+	Folktale	<i>Assa' 2</i>	Assa's marriage	+200

Speaker	Sex	Age	Genre	Title	Topic	Words
<i>Inni'</i> sipag	F	60+	Folktale	<i>Manggung Kebasan</i>	Man eats a whole pig on his own	+400
<i>Minan</i> Mingot	F	50+	Folktale	<i>Karut</i>	The first midwife	+400
<i>Inni'</i> Sim Alat	M	70+	History	<i>Sejarah</i>	History	+400
<i>Minan</i> Tujun Gasah	F	60+	Myth	<i>Kebasi'</i>	Kebasi' goes to the underworld	+500
<i>Kamman</i> Tessor Petatang	M	50+	Sermon	<i>Sermon Tessor</i>		+3000
<i>Ama'</i> Bibos Sembingan	M	60+	Sermon	<i>Sermon Bibos</i>		+2000
Nisah	F	30+	Sermon	<i>Sermon Nisah</i>		+2000
Payna Bibos	F	30+	Sermon	<i>Sermon Payna</i>		+4400
TOTAL						+19.000

The following texts were recorded by Jong-Dae Lee in 1999 and checked by my informants. Although these texts were entered into Shoebox, most of them only served for language learning purposes. All but two speakers are anonymous.

Corpus Jong-Dae 1999-2000

Sex	Genre	Title	Topic	Number of words
F	Explanation	Addot menawo	Marriage customs	240
M	Explanation	Mengasu	Hunting with dogs	238
M	Explanation	Pedtos separi	What to do against Epilepsi	131
M	Explanation	Tukong Ubot	Herbalist	399
M	Folktales	Haji Mamali	Various folk tales by Haji Mamali (60+)	2062
M	Folktales	UsulAsal Ida'an	Origins of the Ida'an	128
F	Myth	Masi dolam	Masi' goes to the underworld	486
F	Myth	Origin of work		156
F	Personal story	Anak Gapol	When I got twins	112
F	Personal story	Anak ku	My children	
F	Personal story	Balay ku	My house	61
F	Personal story	Helen	Life story of Helen Pandak (30+)	368
F	Personal story	Testimony	Life story	405
	Personal story	Sarawak	Trip to Sarawak	223
	TOTAL			4763

The following corpus was recorded and transcribed by Mi-Suk An and checked by my own informants. Only the transcriptions of first three tapes were entered into Shoebox. These texts served not only language learning purposes but also as illustrating sentences for the analysis.

Title	Speaker	Genre	Words
Mi-Suk1	<i>Minan</i> Bellu Tawid 40+	Sentences from conversation	4232
Mi-Suk2	<i>Minan</i> Bellu' Tawid	Sentences from conversation	3836
Mi-Suk3A	<i>Minan</i> Bellu' Tawid	Sentences from conversation	2926
Mi-Suk3B	<i>Minan</i> Bellu' Tawid	Sentences from conversation	3267
Mi-Suk4	<i>Minan</i> Bellu' Tawid	Sentences from conversation	+ - 2000
Mi-Suk5	<i>Minan</i> Bellu' Tawid	Sentences from conversation	+ - 2000
Mi-Suk6	<i>Minan</i> Bellu' Tawid	Sentences from conversation	+ - 2000
TOTAL			+ -20,000

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Samenvatting

De Begak (Ida'an) taal van Sabah

Dit boek is een eerste beschrijving van de Begak (Ida'an) taal van Sabah, Borneo, Maleisië. Hoofdstuk 1 geeft een inleiding over de taal, de dialecten, de methode van onderzoek, en het verband tussen taal en cultuur. De Ida'an taal heeft drie dialecten: Ida'an, Begak en Subpan. Het Ida'an dialect wordt door ongeveer 4.500 mensen gesproken in Sepagaya en andere dorpen ten oosten van Lahad Datu; het Begak wordt door ongeveer 1500 mensen gesproken in Ulu Tungku, ten westen van Lahad Datu, op het Dent Schiereiland, aan de oostkust van Sabah. De Subpan hebben zich dusdanig vermengd met de Dusun Segama, dat ze de Ida'an taal niet meer spreken. Tot in het midden van de 15e eeuw vormden deze drie bevolkingsgroepen een eenheid, maar later hebben zij zich afgesplitst in drie afzonderlijke bevolkingsgroepen die dezelfde taal spreken. Dit boek beschrijft het Begak dialect, maar de meeste generalisaties die in dit boek gemaakt worden gelden ook voor het Ida'an dialect.

Hoofdstuk 2 beschrijft de klankleer van het Begak. Het Begak heeft de medeklinkers (consonanten, C): /p, b, m, t, d, n, k, g, ŋ, l, r, s, y, w, ʔ/ en de klinkers (vokalen, V) /a, e, i, o, u, ə/. Lettergrepen zijn van de typen V, VC, CV en CVC. Stammen bestaan vrijwel altijd uit twee lettergrepen, waarvan de laatste beklemtoond is. Het Begak heeft een aantal prefixen, drie infixen en één historisch, onproductief suffix. Clusters van medeklinkers zijn toegestaan binnen de stam, maar niet op morfeemgrenzen. De taal benut een aantal fonologische processen om open lettergrepen op morfeemgrenzen te creëren: consonantdeletie, schwainsertie, nasaalassimilatie. Verder kent de taal een proces van infixallomorfie, waarbij in bepaalde gevallen de klinker van de infixen *-i-* en *-u-* samensmelten met de klinker van de stam. Het Begak kent volledige reduplicatie, voetreduplicatie en Cə-reduplicatie.

Hoofdstuk 3 definiëert een aantal morfologische begrippen zoals wortel, stam en affix. Een aantal criteria worden gegeven voor het onderscheid tussen afleiding en vervoeging.

Hoofdstuk 4 behandelt de woordsoorten van het Begak. Het Begak onderscheidt dynamische werkwoorden, statische werkwoorden, bijvoeglijke naamwoorden, zelfstandige naamwoorden, adverbia, voorzetsels en een aantal kleinere woordsoorten zoals discourse partikels. Dynamische werkwoorden drukken handelingen en gebeurtenissen uit en worden vrijwel altijd vervoegd, terwijl statische werkwoorden toestanden en onvrijwillige gebeurtenissen uitdrukken en zonder enige affigering kunnen voorkomen. Bijvoeglijke naamwoorden vormen een subklasse van de statische werkwoorden, omdat ze dezelfde morfologische en syntactische eigenschappen hebben als statische werkwoorden. Het enige verschil is dat bepaalde derivatieve affixen een ander semantische effect hebben op bijvoeglijke naamwoorden dan op statische werkwoorden. Zelfstandige

naamwoorden vormen de argumenten van een predikaat en worden niet gemarkeerd voor naamval, geslacht of getal.

Hoofdstuk 5 beschrijft de syntaxis van de basis zin. Het Begak heeft een zogenaamd voice systeem, dat kenmerkend is voor West-austronesische talen. Dit houdt in dat de voicemarkering op het werkwoord aangeeft welke nominale woordgroep het subject van de zin is. In de 'Actor Voice' is de 'actor', het meest agensachtige element, het subject, en in de 'Undergoer Voice' is de 'undergoer', het meest patiensachtige element, het subject. De 'Undergoer Voice' vertoont enige gelijkenis met de 'passieve vorm' in Indo-Europese talen, maar verschilt hiermee op enige punten. De actor van een 'Undergoer Voice' werkwoord wordt zelden weggelaten, in tegenstelling tot de actor van de passieve (lijdende) vorm in Indo-Europese talen, die juist vaak wordt weggelaten. De 'Undergoer Voice' is zelfs iets frequenter dan de 'Actor Voice'. De 'Actor Voice' en de 'Undergoer Voice' zijn beiden transitieve constructies. Aangezien het Begak geen naamval markeert op nominale elementen (behalve op pronomina) is de rigide woordvolgorde belangrijk voor de juiste interpretatie van de zin. Er zijn twee woordvolgorden: een syntactisch bepaalde en een semantisch bepaalde. In de syntactisch bepaalde woordvolgorde is subject-werkwoord-object, en de semantisch bepaalde woordvolgorde is werkwoord-actor-undergoer. Een interessant verschijnsel is dat niet alleen de grammaticale functies, maar ook de woordvolgorde de naamval van pronomina bepaalt. Zo verschijnt een undergoer-subject van een werkwoord in de 'Undergoer Voice' in de nominatief als het vóór het werkwoord staat, maar in de accusatief als het na het werkwoord komt.

Hoofdstuk 6 behandelt de werkwoordsvervoeging. Begak werkwoorden worden vervoegd voor 'voice', aspect en modus. Zoals vermeld worden twee soorten 'voice' onderscheiden: 'Actor Voice' en 'Undergoer Voice'. De 'Actor Voice' wordt gemarkeerd door prefixen, terwijl de 'Undergoer Voice' ongemarkeerd is. Een werkwoord kan in drie aspectvormen voorkomen: 'Completive', 'Incompletive' of 'Dependent'. 'Completive aspect' (voltooid aspect) en de Dependent (neutraal aspect, tijdloos) worden beide gemarkeerd met een infix, terwijl 'Incompletive Aspect' (onvoltooid aspect) ongemarkeerd is. Verder onderzoek moet uitwijzen of 'Completive aspect' ook werkelijk voltooid aspect uitdrukt, of veeleer verleden tijd. De 'Dependent' is een werkwoordsvorm die gebruikt wordt in de gebiedende wijs, op werkwoorden die opeenvolgende handelingen uitdrukken in verhalende teksten, na hulpwerkwoorden en op werkwoorden van beweging. Deze werkwoordsvorm komt alleen voor in de 'Undergoer Voice'. Het Begak maakt onderscheid tussen twee modi: 'Volitive Mood' en 'Non-volitive mood'. Werkwoorden in de 'volitive mood' drukken vrijwillige handelingen uit, terwijl werkwoorden in de 'non-volitive mood' onvrijwillige gebeurtenissen uitdrukken waarover men geen controle heeft.

Hoofdstuk 7 beschrijft de derivatieve morfologie, zoals reciproken, causatieven, petitieven (iemand om iets vragen), 'distant past' (werkwoordsvorm voor handelingen in een wat verder verleden), 'intensive' (vergelijkbaar met overtreffende trap voor adjectieven), verschillende typen nominalisatie.

Hoofdstuk 8 behandelt de nominale woordgroepen. Adjectieven en andere modificeerders komen na het zelfstandig naamwoord, en aanwijzende voornaamwoorden komen aan het eind van de nominale woordgroep, dus

bijvoorbeeld *balay gayo ino*, letterlijk: ‘huis grote dat’ oftewel ‘dat grote huis’. Het Begak heeft vijf aanwijzende voornaamwoorden: één voor entiteiten binnen handbereik, één voor entiteiten die zowel dichtbij de spreker als bij de aangesprokene zijn, één voor entiteiten die zich iets verder weg bevinden, één voor entiteiten die ver weg zijn maar nog wel zichtbaar, en één voor entiteiten buiten het gezichtsveld. Bezitsuitdrukkingen volgen de woordvolgorde bezit-bezitter, dus *balay Ali*, letterlijk: ‘huis Ali’, oftewel ‘Ali’s huis’.

Hoofdstuk 9 geeft een overzicht van adverbiale elementen. Drie aspectpartikels worden besproken: progressief, inceptief en perfectief aspect. Het Begak heeft vijf vormen van negatie. De negators *apon* en *ninga* worden gebruikt voor zinsnegatie. *Apon* is de neutrale vorm voor zinsnegatie, terwijl *ninga* wat sterker ontkennend werkt. Nominale woordgroepen worden ontkend met *pon ka*. Imperatieven worden ontkend met de moderne vorm *aro*, of de archaische variant *batong*. Verder worden in dit hoofdstuk een aantal hulpwerkwoorden, bijwoorden en discourse partikels besproken. Een aantal hulpwerkwoorden zijn semi-hulpwerkwoorden die nog als zelfstandige werkwoorden kunnen fungeren. Echte hulpwerkwoorden kunnen alleen in combinatie met een werkwoord voorkomen en drukken modaliteit uit. Het Begak maakt veelvuldig gebruik van ‘discourse’ partikels, partikels die structuur in de tekst aanbrengen, iets in ‘focus’ zetten, een nieuw ‘topic’ introduceren, iets benadrukken, of het gevoel van de spreker uitdrukken.

Hoofdstuk 10 beschrijft verschillende typen bijzinnen. Complementzinnen komen voor na werkwoorden van spreken, bevelen, of waarnemen. Het Begak onderscheidt de directe reden van de indirecte reden alleen door middel van de verschuiving in de persoonlijke voornaamwoorden. Betrekkelijke bijzinnen worden op twee manieren gevormd. Betrekkelijke bijzinnen waarvan het antecedent een direct argument is worden gevormd zonder betrekkelijk voornaamwoord. Bovendien moet het antecedent het subject zijn van de betrekkelijke bijzin, dus als het een agens betreft, verschijnt het werkwoord in de Actor Voice, maar als het een patiens is verschijnt het werkwoord in de Undergoer Voice. Dus bijvoorbeeld ‘de koek door Marie is gebakken is lekker’ i.p.v. ‘de koek *die* door Marie is gebakken is lekker.’ Betrekkelijke bijzinnen waarvan het antecedent een indirect object of bijwoordelijke bepaling is, nemen de vorm aan van een bijstelling. Bijvoorbeeld ‘de hamer instrument van mijn timmeren’ i.p.v. ‘de hamer waarmee ik timmer’. Verder geeft dit hoofdstuk een overzicht van onderschikkende en nevenschikkende voegwoorden en hun bijzinnen.

Hoofdstuk 11 gaat in op de pragmatische functie van de twee woordvolgorden. De woordvolgorde waarbij het subject vóór het werkwoord komt, bijvoorbeeld ‘wij gingen naar de stad’, wordt gebruikt om een nieuw onderwerp van gesprek aan te snijden in een gesprek, om een verhaal mee te openen, of om achtergrondinformatie te geven. De woordvolgorde waarbij het werkwoord voorop komt, bijvoorbeeld ‘gingen wij naar de stad’, wordt gebruikt om opeenvolgende gebeurtenissen mee uit te drukken als de context al bekend is, bijvoorbeeld midden in een gesprek of verhaal. Statistisch onderzoek toont aan dat de woordvolgorde met het subject vóór het werkwoord vaker voorkomt bij werkwoorden in de Actor Voice, terwijl de woordvolgorde met het werkwoord voorop vaker voorkomt bij werkwoorden in de Undergoer Voice. Verder is, met name in verhalende en

procedurele teksten, de Undergoer Voice frequenter dan de Actor Voice, wat overigens kenmerkend is voor veel talen uit de regio. In conversaties zijn beide werkwoordsvormen even frequent.